

This volume, *Denormalizing Disinformation: Defying Denial in 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 30 volumes in this series can be found on the Islands in Between website at <https://islandsinbetween.com/>, and at 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>.

Denormalizing Disinformation

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Denormalizing Disinformation

Defying Denial in the Study of the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond

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



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UNIVERSITY
OF CURAÇAO
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ



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and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond

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and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond**

Volume 1

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Cover: Cover: Ceramics by Ellen Spijkstra, *Frozen Turmoil*, 2004, earthenware, fossil coral and steel,
30 x 18 x 20 cm.

See more at: <https://ellenspijkstra.com/2005/01/01/baranka-korsou-02-04/>; www.ellenspijkstra.com.

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Introduction and acknowledgements

The two publications *Denormalizing Disinformation: Defying Denial in the Study of the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond* together with *Denaturalizing Domination: Defying Denial in 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 30 volumes, together a total of 32 volumes published in this series between 2009 and 2024, can be found on the Islands in Between website at <https://islandsinbetween.com/> as well as on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of the University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

**DEFYING DENIAL IN THE
STUDY OF DISCOURSE**

“SNAKE-TACTICS” AND THE EVILS OF FAKE NEWS: A CARIBBEAN READING OF POPE FRANCIS’ 2018 WORLD COMMUNICATION DAY MESSAGE

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Abstract

A rich but under-researched source of reflection on spirituality, the digital environment and day-to-day life is found in the World Communication Day Messages of the Roman Catholic pontiffs. In his 2018 Message on World Communications Day (WCD), for example, Pope Francis introduces the notion of “snake-tactics” in order to denounce fake news, thus locating his denunciation firmly in the Christian biblical tradition of the story of the Fall (Gen 3:1-24) in a fashion that is intelligible to professed Christian and non-Christian citizens of Western society alike, among whom are to be counted Caribbean peoples. The question of fake news has taken on significant meaning particularly in light of the Covid-19 pandemic. This article critically assesses the nature, purpose, use and value of Francis’s argument about the evils of fake news in WCD messages focussing on the 2018 Message from the perspective of Caribbean people for whom the biblical story of the snake in the garden remains deeply meaningful. It draws upon the work of three Caribbean poets: Mervyn Morris, John Robert Lee and Celia A. Sorhaindo to demonstrate how the idea of “snake-tactics” is meaningful, given the continued developments in technology and the impact of the Covid pandemic, which was significantly influenced by fake news.

Key terms: fake news; World Communications Day Message 2018; Pope Francis, snake-tactics; Caribbean; poetry.

The pastoral challenge to the digital era is to ensure that technology serves human interaction, multiplies the opportunities for social relationships, and thus highlights the human need and the Gospel value of being a neighbour
Antilles Episcopal Conference, 2017 §3

YOUNG ADULT FICTION UNDER ATTACK: PRESERVING THE FREEDOM TO READ CARIBBEAN HISTORY

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Abstract

Peggy Carr's (2020) new young adult (YA) novel is published at a time when dozens of YA novels are being banned in the US. Her historical novel, while not yet censored, could be for its feminist elements. I argue that the fear caused by changing times and by new research that demonstrates how powerful fiction can be in terms of changing attitudes is the reason for the frantic banning of books. PEN America reported that 4,349 books were banned in US schools in 2023 (Blair, 2024). There is no official record of the number of banned YA books in the Caribbean. However, Ian McDonald's classic *The Hummingbird Tree* was censored. Many of the books banned seek to suppress historical truths.

Key terms: Young Adult (YA) fiction, feminism, masculinity, Caribbean history.

Dat wings on a woman / don't mean horns / on a man

Peggy Carr (2006, p. 85)

History is a story. Whose story is the significant question that St. Vincent and the Grenadines author Peggy Carr (2020) answers in her new young adult (YA) novel, *Shape of a Warrior*. The genre Carr has chosen is the novel; however, her subject matter is historical. A historical novel differs from a historiography by including fictional characters and some imagined events, whereas the historian is expected to stick to what they believe are the facts regarding people and events. Nevertheless, facts and fiction often are indistinguishable. Michel-Rolph Trouillot makes clear the relationship between history and the power of story when he writes that his book "deals with the many ways in which the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production" (1995, p. xix).

For example, people of African descent in general and especially women of African descent in particular have not enjoyed equal access to the means of historical production. As more women become trained historians there remains a wide gap in history and historical fiction to be filled from a woman's perspective and experience. Carr makes a valuable contribution to addressing this lacuna by focusing on the history of the role of women in society, the history of indigenous people, and the history of the formation of prejudices and the fear of differences, all subjects about which young people should be knowledgeable. Narrative is far more engaging than the dry presentation of facts and dates that many believe must constitute history. The desire to ban books such as Carr's speaks to the power of story.

The *Shape of a Warrior* (Carr, 2020) begins with a challenge to preconceived notions of what girls should and should not do. Yurubi, the protagonist, does not behave as "all the other little girls do" (p. 2) which is what her mother would like for her to do. Instead, she is a 'tomboy,' a term that immediately challenges gender roles, and one laden with both positive and negative connotations. Historically this term has been used to describe a girl who acts like a boy by playing rough. The term first appeared in the 16th century and was used to refer to male children who were rude or boisterous (King, 2017). Later the term would be applied to girls. By the 19th and 20th centuries tomboy was used to refer to those women who were active in the women's suffrage and first wave feminist movements. As categories and consciousness have evolved, the relevance of this term has been rendered questionable. Some people have adopted the term 'gender creative' as an alternative meaning 'gender non-conforming', a label inappropriate for Yurubi because the way she behaves has little to do with her sex assignment at birth. Given that the setting of the novel is pre-Columbian, 'tomboy' fits although 'gender neutral' would work as well.

Although the novel is historical and takes place in the pre-Invasion Indigenous Americas, it still reflects contemporary issues of male aggression, violence, and competition. Sociologist Goran Therborn states that there is a "confluence of social forces and practices" (2004, p. 5) that is changing gender roles and social expectations. Patriarchy is being challenged by institutional and legal changes, which are forcing men to reexamine the meaning of masculinity and their own gendered identities. In the novel (Carr, 2020) the hegemonic pressure to conform to gender norms is challenged as the two main characters embrace their feminine and masculine traits.

The changing status of women in relation to men throughout the world is why *Shape of a Warrior* is a timely work, especially for youth. Given the rate at which young adult books are presently being banned in the US, one can only hope that the lack of profanity or sex scenes will keep Carr's novel off the banned book list. There is no guarantee of this, however, because there is a suicide in the story line which might be used as a pretense for silencing Carr's contestatory voice. Young adult novels have become a focus for censorship in a political context of reactionary backlash and frontal assault

by conservatives who are afraid of the changes being ushered in with the twenty-first century. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing declared the equality of women and men. Some people have seen this declaration as bringing about the erosion of patriarchy. Lewis suggests that in order for boys and men to participate in the ongoing transformations of gender roles and sexualities, they have to defy tradition and act out of character against traditions which are assumed to be based on some 'natural order' whereby men lead and women follow (2007, p. 12, see also Lewis, 2003).

Men are socialized into acceptable warriorhood. Carr's (2020) narrative interrogates patriarchal power and the meaning of masculinity. She engages in gender resocialization with her two main characters, Yurubi and her African companion Aloo. Yurubi is strong physically and strong willed. She is assertive and possesses the courage of a warrior. She saves Aloo from the sea and helps him to survive on her islands of Hiroon, the original name for Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. In stating why she wrote the novel (Fraser, 2023), Carr said that she wanted to imagine what life was like on these islands before the arrival of Europeans. Her imagination is at play, but she also spent eight years researching the islands' history, during which time she was greatly influenced by the ground-breaking research of historian Ivan Van Sertima (1976), which appears in his volume *They Came Before Columbus*. In that work, he documents Africans navigating the Atlantic long before Christopher Columbus.

As the story unfolds Yurubi, who is seven, helps her strange young friend hide in the forest. He is deathly afraid of the sea. She loves the sea, builds boats, swims, and fishes. She recognizes that her friend is different because he looks like no one she has ever seen. His skin is black. Years pass and she is the only one who knows of his existence. During the time that he is in hiding, he learns from her how to fish and he teaches her how to hunt. Their relationship is built on trust and respect. Aloo is not from a culture that adheres to strict gender performance, or if he is, he was separated from his people before becoming acculturated. Carr creates a perfect egalitarian relationship. But when a great volcanic eruption occurs Aloo is forced out of hiding. When people first see him, they think he has been burned by the volcanic ash. Later they discover that his color would not rub off.

Aloo represents the existence of an other in a completely homogenous society. The boys who are training to be warriors at first want to bully him, but he beats them at everything, the result of his foraging in the woods to stay alive and undiscovered for five years. Aloo stands as a sign for what they are not. Yurubi also is cast as other because she refuses to be the way the other females in her community are. Together the two friends who grow to love each other romantically learn to negotiate socially with the goal of being accepted as themselves. This is a powerful lesson for young people and old people who attempt to censor anything that they perceive to be unlike themselves.

Only after World War II did young adult fiction become a recognized genre which targets readers aged 13-18. YA fiction has recently grown exponentially in importance, experiencing something of a golden age ushered in by J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series beginning in 1997. Within the Anglophone Caribbean Carr's novel is among the few listed as YA. Also on the list is the work of Rosa Guy, who was born in Trinidad but grew up in the United States. Guy wrote a series of YA books in the 1970s and 1980s, but her books are out of print. Jean D'Costa's (1975) YA novel *Escape to Last Man Peak* is on the banned book list as it narrates the love story of a racially mixed couple. Asha Bromfield's (2021) *Hurricane Summer*, which is set in Jamaica, remains unbanned so far. What one might wonder is the issue with all the censorship and why is it imposed so regularly on YA fiction?

Psychologists have found links between reading fiction and social awareness. Evidence shows that stepping into a character's world and walking in their shoes engages the same area of the brain that is activated when our biases are challenged whenever we think about other people and see their point of view (Bal & Veltkamp, 2013; Dodell-Feder & Tamir, 2018). Given that they are prone to challenge the status quo, adolescents are a key group that stands to benefit from reading fiction written not only to entertain but also to educate them about the world they will inherit. Adults who are afraid of change tend to resist reading fiction that might challenge their preconceived ideas, and often try to prevent young people from reading anything that will encourage them to question the established order.

Carr (2020) exposes the conditions under which people become aware of gendered subjectivities, with a focus on female sexuality, desire and power. In "Man talk" Lewis (2007) describes this awareness as an awakening of consciousness for both males and females. Carr's title refers not only to the sustained resistance of Caribbean women to colonial domination, but also to the fierce resistance waged against the invading Europeans by the indigenous peoples of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, who were the very last indigenous peoples to be conquered in the island Caribbean in 1797.

One purported justification for the existence of patriarchy has been that in hunter-gatherer societies men supposedly were the hunters, warriors and providers. Carr (2020) questions this assumption by privileging the female voice and centering women's innate strength. Her heroine hunts, kills, and fights like a warrior. Those who call themselves conservatives and parade their patriarchal religiosity as an assertion of their belief in their superiority over others might be threatened by the idea that women can provide for themselves, even though they have been doing so for centuries. If they choose not to read, or to have their young people not read, a book with liberating ideas, this is their prerogative. The problem with censorship is that those who censor want to decide for everyone else what is appropriate, which reveals a tremendous amount of arrogance on their part. There is, however, one thing worse than banning books, and that is not reading them at all. With *Shape of a Warrior* (2020), poet, journalist, and

novelist Peggy Carr, has written an engaging and timely work about what life might have been like in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines before the onset of invasion, enslavement and colonialism.

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BILLBOARDS, JUNK FOOD AND COLONIAL/NEOCOLONIAL HEGEMONY IN PUERTO RICO AND THE REST OF THE CARIBBEAN

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Abstract

This article focuses on the critical description and analysis of a series of billboards that advertise fast food and other food industry products and services, all of which exemplify the colonial gaze over Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean. In the case of these billboards, the focus is on some of the aspects of the present and future that the peoples of the Caribbean have been urged by colonial/ neocolonial authorities and the corporate interests behind them to enthusiastically embrace.

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Key terms: Hegemony/ discursive domination, junk food, Caribbean, billboards

Discursive domination/hegemony in Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean

The general impulse behind the colonizing messages conveyed, mental models constructed, social representations consolidated and ideologies activated by billboards in Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean are as old as colonial domination in the region itself, and can be summarized by the following quote from Kachru (1986) who himself quotes one of the US officials who articulated the mission, vision, goals and objectives of the colonial project in Puerto Rico in this way:

English is used as a tool of power to cultivate a group of people who will identify with the cultural and other norms [of the colonizer] developing a culturally distinct group who would form “a class who may be interpreters between us [the colonizers] and those whom we govern, a class of persons ... [local] in blood and color, [but] English [or American] in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect.” The US government’s view ... [was that, in the words of an American Commissioner of Education] ‘if the schools became American and the teachers and students were guided by the American spirit, then the island would be essentially

American in sympathies, opinions, and attitudes toward government.’ (Kachru, 1986, pp. 318-319)

In summary, the overarching ideology behind the US colonial project on the island is a product of the same colonial discourse that has prevailed since the dawn of the European maritime invasion of the world beginning in the 15th century, which has always been aimed at the complete erasure of everything associated with what under the colonial gaze is considered to be the ‘pagan/ damned/ savage/ monstrous/ undeveloped’ ‘nature’ of colonized people of non-European descent in favor of the ‘Christian/ blessed/ civilized/ normal/ developed’ ‘nature’ of the European descended colonizers (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021). What is new in all of this is that, while for most of their colonial history the people of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean were mainly exposed to these colonizing discourses only in formal situations involving the church, government, formal education, etc., over the course of the 20th century, the gradual incursion of the mass media into all of the households on the island meant that these poisonous messages became harder and harder to escape. With the addiction of virtually the entire population of the world to mobile devices since the dawn of the 21st century, it could be said that the people of the Caribbean are now relentlessly subjected to these colonizing discourses at almost every moment of every day of their lives.

There are very few times during an average day that people in the Caribbean are not (or are not supposed to be) looking at their devices, such as the significant number of hours when they are driving or being transported in motor vehicles. To make sure that the colonial message comes through loud and clear even during these moments when the personal screen is supposed to be turned off, over the past decades the roadways of Puerto Rico have been increasingly enclosed by a seemingly endless sequence of one electronic billboard after the other, each using high intensity light to blast a series of one advertisement after another every few seconds. And even though the hundreds of thousands of people who travel these congested highways daily are bombarded by hundreds of different high-powered advertisements on their way to and back from their destination, the underlying message is still the same: everything associated with what under the colonial gaze is considered to be the ‘nature’ of the island’s people must be erased and replaced by everything associated with the ‘nature’ of their European descended US colonizers.

Throughout the linguistic landscapes along the roadways and elsewhere in Puerto Rico, the older more traditional print-based ‘static’ billboards that were once the norm are now being crowded out on both the private and public land along the roadsides by a massive new wave of billboards. These newer billboards are as colossal as the older ones, measuring an average of some 14 feet by 48 feet, but they are digital, incorporating the latest technologies designed to enhance their brightness and flash a series of publicity spots in rapid succession, making them almost completely impossible to ignore. As shown in Figure 1, they are also almost indestructible, since they are usually supported by

massively thick metal poles or pilons of over one meter in diameter which are anchored so firmly and so deeply in a concrete casing that penetrates the ground to a depth that is almost equal to their height above ground, so that even when Category 5 hurricane Maria struck the island in September of 2017, most of these newer billboards suffered little or no damage, while the rest of Puerto Rico was devastated. And even though it took months to restore power to most of the island after the disaster, electricity to these high-powered electronic billboards was restored in a matter of a few weeks.



Figure 1 Billboard in Guaynabo, March 2019 with the image taken from an angle that provides a sense of its size, height and anchoring against natural disasters such as hurricanes. Photo taken by the author.

As if all of this were not enough, there are also a new and growing host of similarly light-enhanced, but even more enormous digital billboards that are plastered across a significant part of the facades of the biggest private and public buildings to be found anywhere on the island. Some of these billboards are over a dozen stories high, as shown in Figure 2.

Colonial hegemony has not only been formulated in such a way as to convince Puerto Ricans and other Caribbean peoples that, in order to live lives that conform to what is defined in dominant discourses as 'normal', they have to change the way they look in such a way as to hide any of their physical features that may be associated stereotypically with being raced as [minus white] by 'relaxing' their hair, etc. The colonial project in Puerto Rico has also been designed to change peoples' lifeways and their means of gaining a livelihood by convincing them that the traditional subsistence economies and the sovereignty over land and food that people throughout the Caribbean had maintained up until just a few generations ago need to be replaced by wage slavery in the money economy and the addictive consumption of fast food. This process is not unique to Puerto



Figure 2 Example of an electronic building façade billboard in San Juan, December 2021. Photo taken by author.

Rico or the Caribbean. A consistent thread that runs throughout Western colonial discourse centers around notions of ‘progress’ and ‘development’ that have been effectively utilized to transfer colonized peoples’ sovereign power over production and consumption to the corporate interests that control colonial economies.

But the case of Puerto Rico is perhaps atypical because of the unprecedented extent to which successive colonial and neo-colonial administrations have been able to operationalize these discourses. In this respect, Puerto Rico can be considered to have been a testing ground and model for colonial and neo-colonial policy elsewhere in the Caribbean, elsewhere in Latin America and beyond. The massive exodus of Puerto Ricans from their traditional rural subsistence holdings to work in factories established by US corporations in urban centers on the island under the regime of tax breaks and inexpensive labor costs guaranteed by the neo-colonial ‘Operation Bootstrap’ policy from the late 1940s onward was achieved through a concerted governmental campaign of ‘popular education’ under the auspices of DIVEDCO (División de Educación para la Comunidad) which was established in 1949 by the first locally elected governor of the island, Luis Muñoz Marín, just as Operation Bootstrap was taking shape.

Cotto (2020) effectively demonstrates how tropes such as that of the *jibarx* and Puerto Rican indigeneity were manipulatively reconfigured and then popularized by DIVEDCO, not in order to remind Puerto Ricans of the real power that they had always retained in the countryside over their means of production and modes of consumption, but instead to convince them that they needed to reject the considerable sovereignty and

security in relation to work and food that they had achieved over generations of resistance to colonialism in order to serve as precarious and low paid laborers

Fast food, addiction and the discourses of fast capitalism

The popular saying in English that goes something like “you are what you eat” may in some ways seem trivial, but, to the extent that food consumption patterns and practices reflect a broad array of linguistic, cultural and identificational repertoires, the ever more rapid and complete transformation of the Caribbean diet over the past several decades from a regime based on locally cultivated and relatively unprocessed tubers, meat, fish, fruits and vegetables to a regime of highly processed imported commodities and fast food can be seen as both a cause and a result of an equally rapid and complete transformation of Caribbean lifeways over the same period of time. That said, even though the government, the schools, the media, and the other machinery of the symbolic elites have convinced generation after generation of Caribbean people that consuming ever more processed and ever ‘faster’ food is a marker of ‘development’ and ‘modernity,’ many continue to value elements of traditional pre-colonial island cuisine. Systems of domination such as capitalism are like cancers that must grow until they have entirely consumed their hosts. It is therefore no accident that an appreciable proportion of the messages still being projected at the people of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean from billboards today focuses on the consumption of fast food.

So, the people of Caribbean are still undergoing a process whereby they have been gradually alienated from a series of agentive, healthy, non-addictive, non-commodified, non-polluting and fulfilling activities such as planting, cultivating and harvesting their own healthy food and preparing, cooking and serving their own satisfying meals and induced instead to passively consume unhealthy, addictive, commodified, polluting and ultimately non-satisfying junk food. We now demonstrate how these messages are transmitted throughout the Puerto Rican linguistic landscape, specifically through the use of language and images on electronic billboards.

While the written message on the billboard in Figure 3 is in Spanish, the global commercial and discursive reach of the company sponsoring the advertisement therein is so pervasive that there is really no need for written text at all. All the average Puerto Rican needs to do is to see the corporate logo, and our brains literally replay a nearly endless cascade of expertly designed and aggressively marketed images and language that have imposed on us literally for our entire lives, to the extent that they have become part of the fabric of our earliest childhood visual, auditory and smell/taste memories, almost as primal as the faces of our mothers.

Puerto Ricans have been carefully conditioned to salivate at the image of the hamburger presented on the billboard, even though it and the other addictive products pushed by fast food corporations have a major responsibility for the current epidemics of obesity,



Figure 3 Billboard in Carolina, January 2019 [“A quarter pound of flavor”] (all translations are by the author unless specified otherwise). Photo taken by the author.

diabetes, hypertension, heart disease, and cancer on the island and throughout the Caribbean and the rest of world, an epidemic that has resulted in the deaths of millions. The abuse of discursive power here extends beyond the fact that the actual product is not health food, but instead is an addictive poison-laced food-like product, or that what you receive at the counter looks nothing like what is represented in the photo.

While fast food may be relatively inexpensive to buy, there are many hidden costs, including: 1) the cost of medical care for the millions of diseased people who consume the products served by fast food corporations; 2) the cost of lower wages for literally billions of workers based on the model of unabashed exploitation perfected first by fast food corporations and then gradually extended to the rest of the workforce; 3) the assassination of hundreds of indigenous leaders and the removal of tens of thousands of indigenous peoples throughout Latin America and elsewhere from their ancestral lands to make way for agribusiness; 4) the systematic destruction of small locally owned eateries and the livelihoods of the hundreds of thousands of people who used to own and run them; and 5) the cost to the environment by the massive destruction of rain forest and the equally massive pollution of bodies of water that result from the expansion of unsustainable cattle ranches, poultry factories, etc. which are presently threatening the very existence of all of the nearly eight billion people on the planet.

The discursive means by which the fast food addictions that feed this global system that is killing or bodies and rendering our planet uninhabitable are succinctly depicted on the billboard in Figure 4, where passersby are tempted to consider the fast food restaurant sponsor as their optimal choice for their next meal. For the population of Puerto Rico, that has been devastated economically by US colonialism since 1898 and *Junta*-led neo-colonialism since 2016 on the one hand, and a series of disasters such as Hurricanes Irma and Maria in 2017, the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic from 2019 to 2022, etc., the possibility of purchasing a meal that will both satisfy their addictive cravings for sugars, salt, saturated fats, and chemical flavorings for only four dollars is hard to resist. For that price, the billboard offers:

- 1) a cup of a popular sugary drink, which contains a high dose of the most diabetes-inducing kinds of sugars, such as High Fructose Corn Syrup laced with caffeine and a host of artificial flavorings designed to make it difficult for the consumer to accept any other liquid as an acceptable means to satisfy their thirst;
- 2) a packet of fried potatoes, steeped in the most artery-damaging forms of saturated fats and then completely covered with a thick layer of stroke-inducing salt;
- 3) a packet of “nuggets” each of which consists of a deadly combination of mass-produced chicken paste full of cancer-causing and body-disfiguring growth hormones and immune system damaging antibiotics, covered with a crust consisting of sugars in the form of the empty carbohydrates that constitute hyper-processed white flour, another deadly dose of almost as much saturated fat, and even more salt than in the fries; and finally,
- 4) the “choice” of one of four sandwich/ wrap options, all of which contain various combinations of the least healthy forms of sugars and fats steeped in prohibitive quantities of salt and other chemicals added to “enhance” the flavor, texture and color of the meal, rendering it all the more addictive to the consumer.



Figure 4 Billboard in Carolina, December 2021. [“Here you eat more. Four (items) for four dollars. Your favorite with nuggets, (French fried) potatoes, and a soft drink”]. Photo taken by author.

And who appears beside the meal combination on the billboard in Figure 4? Predictably, it is a white-raced peaches-and-cream skinned, strawberry-blonde young woman. This is just another reminder to Puerto Ricans that if they want any of the leftovers from the imperial feast, they had better be sure to deny their Afro-Indigenous bloodlines, lifeways and lifestyles, and act as “white” as possible. An important part of this process of “whitening” has been a concerted, centuries-long effort by the symbolic elites to completely excoriate any of the original renegade, maroon, Afro-Indigenous, and transgressive meanings of identificational terms which are close to the hearts of Puerto Ricans, such as *jibarx*, *criollx* and *boricua*, and consciously replace them with meanings that reduce

the people of the island and their diaspora to domesticated and indebted consumers of automobiles, “beauty” treatments, and junk food.

Over the past decades, the fast food industry, in collaboration with the American Medical Association and other organizations representing the medical profession in the US, has systematically opposed any efforts to acknowledge and deal with the public health crisis caused by the mass consumption of their products. Here we witness how the collaboration between the financial interests and plunder of the dominant socio-economic classes through fast food corporations on the one hand, and the symbolic elites such as the medical establishment and the advertising agencies and their corporate-sponsored “scientific” defense and persuasive promotion of the consumption of fast food on the other, create the conditions for society wide addiction and disease, whose consequences are left to the individual and the ever more expensive and inadequate public health system to deal with.

The ageing population of Puerto Rico and many other places in the Caribbean is now plagued by health conditions such as diabetes, heart conditions, cancers, stroke, etc., all of which can be attributed at least in part to the fact that, since their youth, the senior “citizens” of the island have been subjected to the colonial imposition of a diet of “inexpensive” addictive fast food, which is cheap in terms of immediate cost to the consumer, but not in terms of costs related to the destruction of the consumer’s body, destruction to the environment, destruction of rural subsistence livelihoods, and so on. In non-trivial ways, this can be seen as a continuation of the system under which the enslaved peoples of African descent on the plantations of the Caribbean were subjected to a diet of inexpensive and unhealthy processed flour and corn grits (‘empty’ sugars), salt and smoked fish (unimaginably high in sodium and other chemicals used in the curing and smoking processes), lard and rejected cuts of meat (the worst saturated fats imaginable), etc.

In any case, it is not the fast food corporations that are being held responsible for the public health crisis that they have inflicted on the world. Instead, as is the case everywhere else, the day-to-day provision of care to the senior population of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean to counter the long-term negative effects of a life of fast food consumption is largely left to the diseased elderly individuals themselves and their immediate families, especially those of their family members who are gendered as female. Moreover, these same individuals and families are forced to cope with an ever more expensive and less adequate public health care system to deal with acute health crises that can be traced back to years of eating fast food. As the neo-colonial policies of simultaneously cutting social services and lowering the tax rates on fast food corporations and other large businesses take root in the Caribbean, the availability of affordable health care has become ever more scarce.

The fast food industry has expanded to the point that at present, through the neo-liberal and neo-colonial processes of globalization and “free” trade, US based franchises are to

be found literally in nearly every neighborhood of nearly every major population center of nearly every country in the world. So, what Puerto Rico has experienced for more than a century under previous waves US colonization is now being experienced by the rest of the Caribbean and the rest of the world under a newer wave of neo-colonization. The proliferation of fast food consumption has been accompanied by the expansion of popular opposition to the corporate colonization and neo-colonization of our diets and bodies. Global movements such as Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy and Slow Food International have mounted sustained campaigns of awareness, advocacy and action regarding the effects of addiction to fast food on our bodies, our environment, and our food security.

Popular opposition to fast food has encouraged the less co-opted elements of the symbolic elites to begin to investigate, expose and critique the unhealthy relationship between the fast food industry and the US medical establishment by analyzing the nutritional content of fast food. For example, in response to the decades long epidemic of heart disease in the US, the American Heart Association (n.d.) has established clear correlations between the consumption of fast food and diseases such as arterial sclerosis and stroke, while other organizations of scientists have established similar correlations between the consumption of fast food and diabetes, cancer, and other diseases. For example, in Table 1 we encounter the sugar, salt, saturated fat and chemical additive content of the meal advertised in Figure 4.

Table 1 Sources: Nutritional Value (n.d.) for sugar, salt, fat and additive content, American Heart Association (n.d.) for daily limits.

Item	Amount	Sugar/ Empty Starch: Major Cause of Diabetes	Salt: (Major Cause of Stroke, Hypertension)	Saturated Fat: (Major Cause of Heart Disease)	Additives: (Major Cause of Cancer)
Cola Drink	1 cup	26 gm			Caffeine, artificial flavors and colors
Fried potatoes	Medium packet		311 mg	4 gm	
Nuggets	5 pieces		481 mg	3.3 gm	Growth hormones, antibiotics, artificial flavors, colors, etc.
Cheeseburger	1 serve	2 gm	1123 mg	12 gm	Growth hormones, antibiotics, artificial flavors, colors, etc.
Total one meal		28 gm	1,635 mg	19.3 gm	
Recommended limits for full day (women)		25 gm	1,500 mg	20 gm	Should never be consumed
Recommended limits for full day (men)		36 gm	1,500 mg	30 gm	Should never be consumed

On its website, the World Health Organization has documented what can only be described as a worldwide health crisis related to malnutrition. They identify three types of malnutrition, which afflict nearly half of the world's eight billion people:

- 1) undernutrition, which includes wasting (low weight-for-height), stunting (low height-for-age) and underweight (low weight-for-age);
- 2) micronutrient-related malnutrition, which includes micronutrient deficiencies (a lack of important vitamins and minerals); and
- 3) overweight, obesity and diet-related noncommunicable diseases (such as heart disease, stroke, diabetes and some cancers). (World Health Organization, 2024)

In 2021, at least one half billion people, mainly in the Global South, suffered from undernutrition worldwide and undernutrition was linked to 45% of deaths among children. In many ways, the globalized food system can be blamed for undernutrition, since most of those suffering from this type of malnutrition are living in countries where people have been coerced in one way or another to leave the land that traditionally provided them with healthy subsistence and balanced nutrition, not only in terms of calories (to avoid undernutrition and obesity), but also in terms of other nutrients (to avoid micronutrient-related malnutrition). In most of those same countries, there is enough food produced to feed the entire population, but the food produced is not affordable by most of the local population because it is produced and priced for export to countries in the Global North. The land that people of the Global South traditionally used to feed themselves is now owned by multinational corporations, that use most of it for the industrial production of meat and other cash crops for export to make the 2 billion people in the world who suffer from overweight/obese malnutrition, mainly in the Global North, even more overweight and more obese.

Just like the hamburgers on the billboards enclosed between two halves of the same toxic breadroll, the people of the Caribbean find themselves trapped between the opposing ends of a system that doubly exploits and poisons them in some ways as people of the Global South, and in other ways as people of the Global North.

The tropes of cultural ‘authenticity’, natural ‘authenticity’ and cosmopolitan ‘taste’

The fast food industry has come under increasing pressure to make its food appear to be more nutritious on the one hand, as well as to make its food appear to be more suitable to local tastes and sensibilities on the other. Bordieu's (1991) work on how the designers of menus at restaurants use language and images to project certain messages to particular audiences includes extensive discussion on and around notions of “authenticity.” There are two primary ways in which this trope of authenticity is commonly deployed in relation to the marketing of food: 1) Companies promote their food as “authentic” in relation

to accountability to some notion of “authentic culture”; and 2) Companies promote their food as “authentic” in relation to accountability to some notion of “authentic nature.”

In Puerto Rico, for example, such constructed notions converge on the figure of the *jibarx*. The *jibarx* has been promoted not only as the quintessential source and bearer of Puerto Rican culture and identity from the now depopulated countryside of the island to its urban areas, but also as the quintessential organic farmer who for centuries produced and consumed sustainably grown nutritious food in the mountainous interior of the island in harmony with some idyllic understanding of nature. Therefore, all an advertising agency needs to do is to mention terms like ‘*jibarx*’ or ‘*boricua*’ and immediately mental models, social representations and even ideologies are automatically activated in the minds of the audience which are associated with what it means to be “authentically” Puerto Rican and what it means to produce food “authentically” in accordance with the natural environment of the island.

This means that these companies feel more and more compelled to engage in discourse which could be referred to as “brownwashing” that portrays these fast food products which were originally invented and popularized by people of Northern European descent who have been raced as [plus white] in the US as somehow authentically Puerto Rican or authentically Caribbean. It also means that, while marketing products that are highly processed and damaging to the environment, these same companies feel more and more compelled to engage in discourse that has been characterized as “greenwashing” whereby these same products are portrayed as “organically,” “naturally,” or at least “locally” grown. This is exemplified by the billboard depicted in Figure 5, which proclaims that there is no meat that is more *boricua* than the meat used by this particular fast food franchise. This claim to both cultural and natural authenticity is in direct contradiction to the actual sandwiches depicted underneath it, which consist of the typical Northern European inspired North American fast food cocktail of highly un-natural and un-organic processed sugars/ starches, salt, saturated fats, and artificial additives and have nothing at all to do with the food produced and eaten traditionally on the island or in the rest of the Caribbean.

Instead, the marketing of fast food in Puerto Rico has everything to do with replacing the authentic traditional diet, which is based on a fusion of African, Indigenous Caribbean and Southern European Mediterranean culinary traditions, with a diet that is based on the meat, milk product and potato cuisines associated with Northern Europe. While fast food is associated in multiple ways with the North American colonization of the island, one of its most insidious associations is with the imposition of the racialized norm of [plus white] on the people of Puerto Rico. This imposition is operationalized through various colonial institutions, including the schools, the church, the media, etc., that have programed many Puerto Ricans to aspire to look like, think like, speak like, act like, and, in this case, eat like the white-raced peaches-and-cream skinned, strawberry-blond young woman on the billboard.

These artificial constructions of authenticity are set up as binary oppositions to equally artificial constructions such as “American-ness,” and the companies cleverly use both poles of these oppositions to appeal simultaneously to different audiences. The population of the island is deeply divided in terms of its stand in relation to US colonization, with one of the major political factions advocating assimilation to US cultural norms and full integration into the US political economy, and the other major political faction advocating the preservation and strengthening of “authentically” Puerto Rican cultural norms and the island’s political and economic autonomy. Both the typically North American meals depicted on these billboards as well as the white-raced peaches-and-cream skinned, strawberry-blonde young woman associated with this particular fast food corporation are designed to appeal directly to the former faction, while the use of the term “*boricua*” is designed to appeal directly to the latter.

Subliminally, however, the use of *boricua* appeals to both factions at the same time, by appealing to a notion of a monolithic Puerto Rican identity that extends across such political divides. The same can be said for the image of the blonde girl, because even many of those who advocate for Puerto Rican economic and political autonomy typically adhere to a racialized ethnocentric binary normativity in which the plus white pole is generally positively associated with desirable things, such as “good (i.e., straight) hair,” while the minus white pole is negatively associated with undesirable things, such as “bad (i.e., frizzy) hair”



Figure 5 Billboard in San Juan 2019. [Our meat couldn’t (possibly) be more authentically Puerto Rican]. Photo taken by author.

Another trope identified by Bordieu (1991) which is used by restaurants on menus and, by extension, on their billboards, is that of the “civilization” and “sophistication” normally associated in dominant discourses with people who are classed socio-economically within the binaries of plunder as [plus rich] or [plus propertied]. When the trope of civilization/ sophistication is deployed to market fast food, some curious contradictions emerge. For example, the figure of the *jibarx*, which, as mentioned above, is promoted

by fast food companies to manipulate the race-based ethnocentric binary associated with Puerto Rican authenticity and the nature-based anthropocentric binary associated with the Puerto Rican countryside is now rejected in order to manipulate the socio-economic class-based binary of accumulation and plunder, because the mental models, social representations and ideologies linked to the construction of the *jibarx* are associated with people who are classed [minus propertied] or [minus rich].

As exemplified by the billboards depicted in Figures 6 and 7, when the civilization/sophistication trope is utilized, the locality and geographic and cultural specificity normally associated with the *jibarx* is repackaged and rejected as a type of insularity that must be abandoned by Puerto Ricans in favor of cosmopolitan “international taste.” Of course, what is commonly packaged as international and universal “good taste” is nothing more than some idealized version of European cuisine. In the US for example, fast food is equated with unsophisticated North American mass culture, while European *haute cuisine* is associated with “international” and therefore “classical” or “universal” refined taste in food. Similarly, the organic, “natural” rurality normally associated with the *jibarx* is repackaged and rejected as a type of “backwardness” and “vulgarity” that must be abandoned by Puerto Ricans in favor of urbanity and refined “taste.” So, when the civilization/sophistication trope is deployed to sell fast food, the positive associations with the *jibarx* which are related to the history of struggle against ethnocentrism and anthropocentrism in Puerto Rico are backgrounded while the negative associations with the *jibarx* which are related to socioeconomic class are foregrounded.

In Figure 6, we witness the extremely contradictory discursive acrobatics that must be performed to somehow equate North American quantity-focused inexpensive mass-produced fast food normally consumed by those classed as [minus rich] to the European quality-focused expensive meticulously choreographed but microscale dishes served in five-star restaurants, which are normally consumed by those who are classed as [plus rich]. Most of those who have the economic means to afford the more expensive alternatives to fast food usually avoid eating it, and even if they do consume it, they would be reluctant to admit to doing so in public, because fast food is normally associated with the diet of the working classes rather than the diet of the propertied classes.

This billboard attempts to promote the North American/ “American” fast food that it is marketing as somehow “international”/ European through the use of a few sesame seeds sprinkled on top of what is otherwise an inexpensive mass produced American white bread bun, the use of inexpensive highly processed “American cheese,” the use of a slice of hydroponic greenhouse tomato, and the use of inexpensive factory farmed iceberg lettuce (referred to as *lechuga americana* [American lettuce] in the supermarkets on the island) to embellish an otherwise non-descript and banal North American hamburger. By featuring these cheap facsimiles of typically European high-end ingredients, this billboard appeals to the mental models and social representations associated with the use of expensive European hand-crafted breads, expensive European cheeses, organic

European vegetables and greens in the *haute cuisine* consumed by people who are classed as [plus rich] and [plus propertied]. In the end, this masquerade of North American cheap fast food as some kind of expensive European/ international fine *cuisine* becomes so obvious that the billboard itself attempts to turn the opposition between unsophisticated North American/ American food versus sophisticated international/ European food on its head by featuring the words “Internacional” and “Americano” in a desperate attempt to equate “international” *haute cuisine* with “American” junk food.

Food preferences are thus used as a way to index class, that is, as a way to prove to the world that those who, because they own substantial amounts of property, do not have to work for a living but instead live off the hard work of everyone else, are somehow superior to people who are classed as [minus rich] and [minus propertied], and that the “sophisticated,” “cosmopolitan” and “international taste” of the propertied classes is superior to the “vulgar taste” associated with the working classes. As previously mentioned, the messaging here is aimed at several different audiences simultaneously. To those who do not have the financial means to afford what is normally considered to be “international” cuisine, it provides an opportunity to pretend that they can somehow eat like the rich do, and for those who can afford European “international” cuisine and are otherwise ashamed to consume fast food, it allows them to somehow justify their indulgence in consuming the addictive North American junk food of the poor, because it is masquerading as “international” by means of a few sesame seeds, a slice of tasteless tomato, a leaf of nutrition-less lettuce and a slice of a cheese-like product that might not even qualify to be called “cheese” in many European countries.



Figure 6 Billboard in Carolina, December 2021 [“International American”]. Photo taken by author.

The billboard that appears in Figure 7 adds more dimensions to this masquerade. The American bun with sesame seeds, the American hothouse tomato, the American iceberg lettuce and the American cheese are now used to market a portion of typically North American deep-fried chicken as somehow “international.” To add to this ruse, the

billboard highlights the use of “spice” to lend credence to its claim that the totally bland domestic North American fast food that it is promoting is in fact “international” because it is “spicy.” Traditional Northern European and North America diets which are prototypically associated with people who are raced as [plus white] are notorious for their blandness and their avoidance of spice. So, the use of the three words “internacionales,” “Americano” and “spicy” as the key words on this billboard are aimed at manipulating the mental models of the audience so that the “unsophisticated” North American fast food on display not only qualifies as “sophisticated/ international” because it incorporates a few elements supposedly associated with European *haute cuisine*, but also because it goes beyond relatively bland Northern European taste to include the spicier tastes of other cuisines that are becoming more and more accepted as “international” fine food as well, such as the spicier dishes found at restaurants that feature meals based on the culinary traditions of Thailand, India, Japan, etc.



Figure 7 Billboard in Carolina, December 2021 [“Chicken internationals. American. Spicy”]. Photo taken by author.

The trope of size/quantity

Abandoning any pretention of cultural authenticity, natural authenticity or sophistication, other billboards, such as that depicted in Figure 8, utilize a trope of size/ quantity to market the portions of fast food as being simply of sufficient bulk, weight and volume to completely satisfy one’s hunger. Of course, because of the addictive nature of the salt, the fats, the artificial additives and the processed sugars/ starches upon which fast food is based, this “satisfaction” has less to do with real nutritional fulfillment than it has to do with a momentary “alimentary fix” that gives the consumer the illusion of satisfaction, but in the end, makes the consumer ever more insatiably hungry for and dependent on repeated, regular, unhealthy doses of fast food. Moreover, this emphasis on quantity directly contradicts the emphasis on quality and small portions that has come to typify advertising associated with the international *haute cuisine* consumed in restaurants frequented by those who are classed as rich.

The name of the product advertised on the billboard in Figure 8 is the first word that hits the eye of the observer and is associated with extremely large size and quantity. The letters used to represent that name are also of larger size than the other letters on the billboard, which nevertheless denote large quantity as well: “*mas carne que nunca*” [“more meat than ever”]. The product depicted on the billboard is of such exaggerated size that it cannot be contained by the billboard itself, and instead extends beyond the left hand and upper margins of the rectangle that conventionally defines the limits of most billboards. The product is depicted as consisting of extra thick layers of ingredients, especially those containing meat, piled one on top of the other, with the two halves of the bread roll that enclose the ingredients into a sandwich constituting only about one third of the total image. This unrealistic ratio of one third bread to two thirds ingredients (especially meat) is found as well on the billboard shown in Figure 5. On the billboard depicted in Figure 8, this deceptive representation of quantity is even more exaggerated, with the ingredients portrayed as constituting 75 per cent of the sandwich and the bread 25 per cent. In reality, the product that is delivered to the customer is usually much smaller than that shown on these billboards, and normally consists of a ratio of at least one half bread to at most one half ingredients and much smaller portions of meat.



Figure 8 Billboard in Carolina, December 2021. [“Whopper. More meat than ever”]. Photo taken by author.

This tendency to exaggerate quantity, especially when it comes to the ingredients between the two halves of the bread roll that enclose the sandwich is taken to its extreme on the billboards represented in Figures 9 and 10, where the layers of ingredients between the two halves of the bread bun are so numerous and so thick that one wonders how the product could avoid toppling over under its own weight and bulk, much less how anyone trying to consume the product could actually do so without the fillings falling out all over their clothes. The billboard in Figure 9 highlights the deep-fried processing undergone by several of the ingredients by visually depicting their crispiness as well as by the use of the lead word, whose chunky uneven capital lettering seems to evoke the feel and image of teeth biting into crunchy food. Deep fried foods, despite the

unhealthy and addictive nature of the fats, starches and salt used to produce them, are associated as well with food that is bulky and filling (such as meat), not only because of its high caloric content, but also because it is difficult to avoid the irresistible urge to consume it in large quantities.

On the same billboard, this enormous sandwich is itself “sandwiched” to the left by an oversized sugary beverage and to the right by a generous helping of fried potatoes. The other lead word on the billboard is “Combo” which refers to the fact one normally consumes this product in combination with other equally unhealthy and addictive complements, which are sold as a discounted package to the consumer at a price which is less than the price of purchasing the sandwich, the sugar-laden drink and the salt-laced deep fried potatoes separately. A “supersize” option is also sometimes available, whereby some of the components of the combo, such as the beverage, can be increased in size for a minimal extra charge. On the billboard in Figure 18, the trope of quantity takes on both a vertical dimension where the sheer size of the sandwich is emphasized, as well as a horizontal dimension, where the sheer size of the ‘Combo’ on offer is emphasized.



Figure 9 Billboard in Carolina, January 2019. [Cruncher supreme from \$3.49. My combo”]. Photo taken by author.

The fact that the tropes of quantity and authenticity are not completely incompatible is evident on the billboard represented in Figure 10. For the many Puerto Ricans who have already contracted high blood pressure, heart disease and diabetes from consuming products such as the sandwich shown in Figure 9, and who have been told by medical professionals that they need to limit their intake of saturated fats, highly processed starches, and salt, the billboard in Figure 10 offers an apparent alternative, that uses the tropes of cultural and natural authenticity mentioned above to market a sandwich with fewer deep fried ingredients that is supposedly prepared *a la parilla* that is, by using “authentically” Latin American culinary techniques.

The cut of poultry *pechuga* [chicken breast] is the lead word on the billboard. This allows those marketing the product to present it as somehow “healthy” since that particular cut normally contains less saturated fat than other cuts of poultry. Since the mental models associated with “healthy” food are also associated with food that is naturally “authentic” (organic food, unprocessed food, etc.) the audience is led to believe that consuming the chicken in the sandwich will be somehow beneficial to their health. While it may be true that the breast meat of the free-range chicken that Puerto Ricans used to raise on their own farms was relatively low in saturated fats, all of the meat (including the breast cuts) of the factory produced chicken that is actually used in the product on display in Figure 10 is relatively high in saturated fats, due to the growth hormones and other chemicals injected into them to increase the fatty bulk of their meat. In this way, the trope of quantity (which nearly always comes at the expense of quality) extends to the production of the meat in virtually all fast food sandwiches. Meat production has become a process that has one major goal, producing a maximal amount of product in a minimal amount of time, no matter what the impact of the practices and



Figure 10 Billboard in Carolina, January 2019 [“Chicken breast. Grilled”]. Photo taken by author.

substances used to achieve this goal on either the animals that are subjected to its poisonous methods or the consumers who are subjected to its poisonous end product. Just as was the case in Figure 9, the size of the product marketed in Figure 10 is also exaggerated both vertically by an impossibly overstuffed bread roll and horizontally by a “combo.” But, in line with the trope of natural authenticity, the beverage portrayed to the left of the sandwich is a bottle of water instead of a sugary drink, and the portion of fried potatoes on the right is much more modest than the portion depicted in Figure 9.

The trope of affordability

As amply illustrated in the Figures 4 and 9 above, the trope of quantity is inextricably linked to the trope of affordability. Implicit in all of the advertising that emphasizes quantity is not just that you get more food, but also that you get it for less money. This

“more for less” message is one of the most basic mental models and social representations associated with fast food by Puerto Ricans and the rest of the peoples of the Caribbean and the world, who are experiencing unprecedented increases in the cost of living as corporations are raising prices on all of their products, especially food.

In the corporate-controlled media, these enormous so-called “post-COVID” price hikes have been justified in a number of ways. But several studies (for example, Hogg, 2023) have shown that the major component involved in the waves of inflation that have broken like a tsunami over the majority of the peoples of the Caribbean, who were already struggling to put food on the table before the onset of the pandemic, is sheer corporate greed. In other words, the corporations raised prices mainly because people were beginning to spend more money as COVID restrictions were relaxed, which increased demand, and, instead of increasing supply to meet this demand, these same companies allowed artificial scarcities to emerge, which gave the CEOs and their shareholders a golden opportunity to raise prices. This explains the record profits and record stock prices currently being enjoyed by fast food and other corporations, while more and more of the world’s population is forced to cut back on the quantity and quality of food that they consume.

The billboards in Figures 4 and 9 exemplify just some of the many “combos” that are featured as lead options by most fast food restaurants, which offer them as inexpensive ways to eat one’s fill without spending too much money. On the surface, this seems to make sense. Given the obscene rise in prices on even the most basic food items that have recently taken place, it would be extremely difficult for anyone on the island to cook a meal such as the combos on offer in Figures 4 and 9 which consists of beef, chicken, lettuce, tomato, potatoes, onions, bread, condiments and even cheese in some of the options, for only \$4.00 (Figure 4) or even \$3.49 (Figure 9).

However, as has been previously noted, such ‘savings’ to consumers on the price of fast food over the short term mask the painfully high cost to these same consumers of producing and consuming fast food over the long term. Table 1 demonstrates how the consumption of fast food has been responsible for a significant part of the current epidemics of diabetes, hypertension, heart disease and cancer which, in monetary terms alone, are now costing the world economy trillions of dollars, which totally negates any savings to consumers on their fast food meals. Of course, this financial cost is accompanied by an even more painful and devastating cost counted in human lives and human suffering.

Another long term cost to the production of fast food, in terms of both money and human life, threatens to be even more devastating. The planet has just experienced its first full year of temperatures averaging 1.5 degrees Celsius over pre-industrial levels, which means that a climate crisis of unprecedented proportions is now on the horizon. The production of fast food has played a significant part in the emissions of greenhouse gases such as the methane that is emitted from cattle in the process of the mass production of beef in Central and South America, the carbon dioxide that is emitted by the ships,

trucks, and other means of transport that carry the meat to consumers in the Global North, the destruction of carbon sinks through the deforestation that turns rainforest into cattle plantations, etc. This rise in temperatures is already causing the polar ice caps to melt to the point that the inflows of fresh water into the oceans will not only cause sea level rises that will require the massive relocation of coastal populations and infrastructure, but will also cause the currents in the Atlantic to slow down or stop altogether, completely reconfiguring the weather patterns over vast regions of the Earth in such a short amount of time that there is little possibility of adaptation before massive destruction of life and livelihood.

The trope of variety

Another key mental model that is activated by the depiction of the “combos” on the billboards depicted in Figure 4 has to do with the trope of variety. Because humans have been nomadic for most of their history on the Earth, and because humans are omnivores, their diet is exceptionally varied when compared to many other animals. So, humans are wired to seek variety in their consumption of food, not just for the sake of avoiding monotony, but more importantly for the sake of ensuring a diverse intake of all of the vitamins, minerals and other nutrients that are essential to optimal health outcomes.

With the increasing popularity of fast food, the traditional Puerto Rican diet of tubers, rice, wheat and other relatively unprocessed starches, a diverse array of seasonal fruits and greens, plus a rich combination of beans, milk products, meat, seafood and other sources of protein has given way to a much more restricted regimen of highly processed starches, fats, plantation raised beef and factory raised poultry, all generously saturated with highly processed sugar and salt. On the billboard in Figure 4 this very real “mono-culture of the palate” promoted by the fast food industry is portrayed as the exact opposite. The “combo” being advertised is presented as incorporating sufficient heterogeneity to accommodate any need for a change of pace in our eating patterns. The written and especially the visual messages on the billboard accomplish this by notifying the audience that one of the four components of the ‘combo’ is variable, rather than constant. So, even though the “combo” on offer in Figure 4 always includes a sugary drink, a packet of salty fried potatoes and a packet of equally salty chicken nuggets covered with deep fat fried processed white flour, the fourth component has four options that the consumer can choose from: 1) a regular sized hamburger (optionally with cheese); 2) a double sized hamburger (optionally with cheese); 3) a regular sized hamburger but with a deep fried chicken filet substituted for the beef component; and 4) a wrap with non-deep fried chicken in it.

It should be noted that this veneer of variety cleverly masks the fact that what is really being promoted here are essentially 4 versions of the same product, all of which use essentially the same optional condiments including a slice of onion, leaf of nutrient free pesticide coated iceberg lettuce, a slice of equally nutrient free hothouse produced

tomato, a slice of saturated fat infused imitation cheese product, and sugar and salt laced mustard, ketchup and/ or mayonnaise condiments. In the first place, there is absolutely no difference between option 1 and option 2, except for the fact that option 2 has an extra helping of fatty mass produced beef on it. The difference between options 1 and 2 on the one hand, and option 3 on the other is simply the substitution of an unhealthy portion of growth hormone saturated plantation raised fried beef by an equally unhealthy portion of growth hormone saturated factory raised deep fried chicken, coated in processed starch and salt.

As was the case with the meal depicted on the billboard in Figure 10, Option 4 in Figure 4 seems to be designed for those who are concerned about their health and their consumption of fast food, first by substituting the highly processed white flour hamburger bun laced with sugar and salt in options 1, 2 and 3 for an equally highly processed white flour flatbread laced with sugar and salt. While the mental models linked to hamburger buns are not usually associated with healthy eating, the mental models linked to flatbreads have been established through the discourses articulated by the food industry in such a way that consumers associate flatbreads to healthy diets such as the highly publicized “Mediterranean diet” where flatbreads traditionally feature prominently. The other difference is that the unhealthy portion of growth hormone saturated factory raised deep fried chicken in option 3 is replaced by an unhealthy portion of growth hormone saturated factory raised non-deep fried chicken. An added incentive to choose option 4 has to do with the fact that the mental models associated with wraps are also linked to the tropes of both natural and cultural authenticity, and by extension to *haute cuisine* and pretentious upper class food consumption patterns.

The written messages on the billboard in Figure 4 start by activating mental models associated with quantity in the minds of the reader, with “Aquí comes más” [“Here you eat more”] as the leading sentence written in capital letters. Mental models linked to affordability are then activated by the next written message “4 x \$4” [“Four (items) for four dollars”]. Finally, mental models associated with variety are activated by the third written message “Tu favorito más nuggets, papas y refresco” [“Your favorite with nuggets, (French fried) potatoes, and soft drink”] also written in capital letters. The first two words of the third sentence describe the variable option of the combo (the sandwich or wrap), with the four possible choices depicted in the photos on the billboard which are placed alongside the company logo, while the rest of the sentence refers to the three non-variable options (the chicken nuggets, the fried potatoes and the drink). By referring to the variable option as “Your favorite” the text conveys the message that there is sufficient variety among the options to allow the reader to make a meaningful choice.

The trope of facility/accessibility

Another of the most common mental models activated by the images and written messages on billboards that advertise fast food is that of facility/ accessibility. The use of

this trope conditions the audience to associate fast food with a minimum expenditure of time and energy. Links between the consumption of fast food and “saving” time and energy in terms of preparing one’s own food at home are cemented in the minds of the targeted audience. In practical terms, preparing one’s own meals at home involves a substantial investment of time and energy, which includes, but is not limited to, meal planning, managing stocks of ingredients and shopping for them, processing and cooking the ingredients, serving the meal, and cleaning up the byproducts of preparing and consuming it.

Moreover, the fewer financial resources available to the consumer, the more and more complex and expensive in terms of time, energy and money these tasks become. While those who have more financial resources can afford to shop at “food clubs” and stock up on reserve supplies of the ingredients that they commonly use for preparing meals, thus expending less time and energy shopping for ingredients, those with fewer financial resources can only afford to purchase what is immediately necessary at the local supermarkets and thus find themselves constantly making shopping trips. Similarly, those with more financial resources can afford to shop at just one supermarket, even though they know that some of the items on their lists can be obtained for less money elsewhere, while those with fewer resources have to shop at several markets and compare pricing and weekly discounts to make sure to pay the lowest prices available for what they need. Those with more financial resources can afford to remodel their kitchens and purchase time- and energy-saving kitchen equipment for meal preparation (such as ceramic top or convection stoves, high quality cookware, food processors, etc.) and for cleaning up (such as dishwashing machines, robotic floor sweepers, etc.). Those with fewer financial resources, however, must be content with older, more labor and time intensive methods and equipment, and often lack the ability to replace that equipment when it breaks down. In the past, day to day food preparation in Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean was usually done by persons sexed and gendered as cis-hetero-females and was an activity which often involved women pooling their resources in terms of what they had available in their food gardens, what they might have in the way of food processing equipment (communal ovens, communal mills, food grinders) etc. The output of each instance of meal production typically fed a significant number of people in an extended family at each sitting. Over the past decades, this communal aspect of food preparation has been eroded to the point that while cooking is still most often done by persons sexed and gendered as cis-hetero-females, they as individuals can no longer rely on anyone else to help them in the complex process of putting a meal on the table. This increased isolation in terms of food preparation has been matched by a corresponding isolation in terms of consumption, with the typical daily meal now shared by at most a single nuclear family consisting of two or three people. More recently, this trend toward the breakdown of all communal structures (community, family, etc.) has become so complete that a

substantial number of people in the Caribbean now prepare and consume their own individual meals in virtual solitude.

This trend toward isolation in meal production and consumption has been consciously cultivated by fast capitalism and the fast food industry. In the past, most people in the Caribbean (except for those, mostly mothers, who were saddled with the responsibility of obtaining and preparing food) were able to have access to regular meals at no individual cost to themselves in terms of time, energy and money. At present however, many, if not most, people are faced with the daily challenge of budgeting enough time, energy and money to prepare and consume their own individual meals. This means that the expenditure of money in acquiring the necessary ingredients as well as the expenditure of time and effort in meal preparation has increased exponentially, as any possibilities of savings that could be attributed to people cooking together and especially eating together have evaporated. To make things worse, while most people in the Caribbean in the past could depend on non-commodified, non-monetized family relationships to obtain the food that they needed, nowadays virtually all acts of food preparation and food consumption have been commodified and transformed into a monetized exchange from which corporations extract a hefty profit at each and every stage. Literally, as the North American saying goes: “There is no free lunch” any longer in Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean.

Against this backdrop, the fast food industry has mushroomed, growing rapidly like the cancers that its products induce. Originally marketed in the United States in the 1960s as a way for overworked housewives to liberate themselves from all of the energy and time intensive activities related to providing meals for their families, fast food is now targeted at all of us, because we are all now forced to provide these meals for ourselves and do all of the other things that our female family members used to do for us. Preparing food for a number of people at the same time is not that much different, in terms of time and energy, from preparing one’s own individual meals. In this way, capitalism has created a new scarcity around the increase in time and energy needed in the process of food preparation that it pretends to solve through the availability of fast food produced by wage slaves working at minimum wages in fast food franchises. The monetary savings and financial benefits derived in the past from cooking in bulk for larger groups of people in an extended family have now been shifted from our homes to the corporations. Because they produce in quantity and employ low waged labor to do so, fast food companies can now offer their meals to consumers at a price that, at first glance, at least, seems to be unbelievably affordable.

As demonstrated in the signage depicted in Figures 11 and 12, this trope of facility/ accessibility was in particular evidence at the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, when the focus of the messages on fast food billboards shifted toward highlighting the drive-through and take-out facilities of their franchises. Fast food chains were quick to resume and expand their drive-through and take-out opening hours with each governmental

decree that gradually lessened the duration of the curfews imposed to control the spread of COVID-19.

The message to consumers, who had been forced by the curfews to abandon their addictive dependence on fast food, was that there were once again “safe” options for reverting to their former fast food consumption patterns. It is no accident that there is substantial continuity in how the trope of facility/ accessibility has been deployed by the fast food industry from the 1960s up until the present. As noted above, the mental models established through the aggressive advertising campaigns waged by fast food corporations during the 1960s depicted their products as a form of “liberation” of women from the task of meal production. The messaging on the billboards in Figures 11 and 12 shows how these same mental models that associate fast food with “liberation” were re-activated in order to market fast food not only as a way to “liberate” the population of the island from confinement to their homes during the curfew period, but also as a way to “liberate” the population from being obliged to prepare their own meals at home, during the period when the fast food outlets along with the rest of the restaurant industry were shut down to slow the propagation of COVID-19.

One of the most contradictory aspects of the COVID-19 crisis was that the dramatic short-term increases in mortality rates due to the disease itself were accompanied by equally dramatic decreases in many of the longer-term causes of mortality that can be attributed to the measures taken to contain COVID-19, such as the drop in carbon emissions and other forms of air pollution as the use of combustion engines lessened, and the drop in consumption of unhealthy addictive food as the fast food outlets were forced to shut their doors. During the height of the pandemic, Puerto Ricans as well as other Caribbean people found themselves obliged to plan and prepare their own food at home. As a consequence, they were often eating healthier meals and to some extent at least, re-establishing communal systems of meal planning, production and consumption.

As soon as the curfew restrictions were relaxed, however, these temporary gains were completely reversed. Today, despite the fact that Puerto Rico has lost nearly 20 percent of its population to outmigration in recent years, the highways are more congested than ever with carbon-emitting vehicles, and the fast food industry is one of the few growth sectors on the island. So, in the name of “liberation” the people of Puerto Rico and the rest of the Caribbean have been re-subjugated to the enslavement of fast food addiction after a brief “detox” period during the height of the pandemic.



Figures 11 and 12 Billboards in San Juan, April 2020; and March 2020. [Drive-through service and carry out. OPEN"]. Photos taken by author.

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DEFYING DENIAL IN THE STUDY OF LITERATURE

LA INTERSECCIÓN DE LAS EMOCIONES EN LA POESÍA DE ESCRITORAS LATINOAMERICANAS Y DEL CARIBE: UN ANÁLISIS A TRAVÉS DEL GIRO AFECTIVO

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Resumen

Este ensayo explora la intersección entre la poesía de escritoras latinoamericanas y del Caribe y la teoría del giro afectivo. Analiza cómo autoras como Gabriela Mistral, Olga Orozco, Delmira Agustini, Reina María Rodríguez y Gioconda Belli utilizan la poesía para explorar emociones profundas relacionadas con temas como la maternidad, el erotismo, la identidad y el compromiso político. Se destaca cómo sus obras ejemplifican la influencia del giro afectivo al reconocer el papel crucial de las emociones en la experiencia humana y en la construcción de identidades.

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Términos clave: poesía latinoamericana, giro afectivo, emociones, escritoras, identidad

Introducción

En las últimas décadas, la teoría del giro afectivo ha emergido como un enfoque influyente en el ámbito académico, ofreciendo nuevas perspectivas sobre el papel de las emociones en la experiencia humana y política. Iniciada por Silvan Tomkins (1962) y desarrollada por pensadoras como Martha Nussbaum (2003), Sara Ahmed (2004) y Lauren Berlant (2011), esta teoría se ha centrado en comprender las emociones como fuerzas que moldean nuestras vidas e interacciones. En este ensayo, argumentaremos que las obras poéticas de escritoras latinoamericanas y del Caribe, incluyendo a Gabriela Mistral, Olga Orozco, Delmira Agustini, Reina María Rodríguez y Gioconda Belli, ejemplifican la influencia del giro afectivo en la literatura. Sostenemos que estas autoras utilizan la poesía como un medio para explorar y expresar emociones profundas, conectando así sus creaciones con las teorías del giro afectivo. A lo largo de este ensayo, demostraremos cómo la teoría del giro afectivo proporciona una lente valiosa para analizar la relación

entre las emociones y la creación poética en el contexto de la literatura latinoamericana y del Caribe.

La teoría del giro afectivo y su relevancia en el análisis de las emociones en la poesía de Gabriela Mistral, Olga Orozco, Delmira Agustini, Reina María Rodríguez y Gioconda Belli

La teoría del giro afectivo, formulada por Silvan Tomkins (1962), representa un avance significativo en la comprensión de las emociones humanas. En el núcleo de esta teoría se encuentra la noción de “afecto,” que Tomkins definió como respuestas innatas y biológicamente arraigadas a estímulos emocionales. Estos afectos, según Tomkins, son las unidades fundamentales de la experiencia emocional y actúan como una paleta de colores emocionales que conforman nuestra respuesta ante el mundo que nos rodea. En este contexto, sostenemos que la tesis central de nuestro ensayo es que la teoría del giro afectivo proporciona un marco teórico que sirve para confirmar el hecho de que, a través de sus versos, estas poetisas han demostrado cómo las emociones son un vehículo poderoso para la expresión artística, la resistencia política y la construcción de identidad en el contexto de la literatura latinoamericana y del Caribe.

Sara Ahmed (2004), destacada teórica del giro afectivo, ha desempeñado un papel fundamental al abordar las emociones en el contexto político y social y una de sus contribuciones más notables es su concepto de “orientaciones emocionales.” Esta noción se refiere a las maneras en que nuestras emociones están dirigidas o inclinadas hacia ciertos objetos, personas o situaciones. En el contexto que nos ocupa actualmente, el de la poesía escrita por mujeres en América Latina y El Caribe, la idea de orientaciones emocionales es relevante porque permite analizar cómo las poetisas eligen y moldean sus emociones para expresar ideas, experiencias y perspectivas específicas. La poesía escrita por estas mujeres a menudo se caracteriza por una profunda exploración de las emociones y su relación con la sexualidad, la identidad de la mujer, la historia y el compromiso político. La noción de orientaciones emocionales de Ahmed ofrece una herramienta conceptual valiosa para desentrañar la riqueza emocional y simbólica que impregna la poesía de estas autoras y permite comprender cómo las emociones dan forma a sus creaciones literarias y cómo estas, a su vez, influyen en la audiencia y la sociedad en general.

La poesía de Gabriela Mistral, una de las figuras literarias más prominentes de América Latina y la primera mujer en recibir el Premio Nobel de Literatura en 1945, se distingue por su profunda exploración de la maternidad y la pérdida. La poesía de Mistral se convierte en un testimonio de las complejidades de la maternidad, desde la alegría y el amor maternal hasta la angustia y el dolor de la pérdida. En muchos de sus poemas, Mistral teje la experiencia de la maternidad con una profunda conexión con la naturaleza, creando una simbiosis entre la madre y la tierra. Además, la pérdida de su sobrino, a quien crió como su propio hijo, influyó en su obra, manifestándose en su poesía como un lamento por la partida de un ser querido. En esta intersección entre maternidad y

pérdida, se encuadra dentro del concepto de orientaciones emocionales de Sara Ahmed (2004) anteriormente expuesto.

En su soneto “Los sonetos de la muerte. I” (1923), Gabriela Mistral aborda esta temática y lamenta la partida de un ser querido y utiliza la naturaleza como un reflejo de sus propios sentimientos de dolor y pérdida.

I

Del nicho helado en que los hombres te pusieron,
te bajaré a la tierra humilde y soleada.
Que he de dormirme en ella los hombres no supieron,
y que hemos de soñar sobre la misma almohada.

Te acostaré en la tierra soleada con una
dulcedumbre de madre para el hijo dormido,
y la tierra ha de hacerse suavidades de cuna
al recibir tu cuerpo de niño dolorido.

Luego iré espolvoreando tierra y polvo de rosas,
y en la azulada y leve polvareda de luna,
los despojos livianos irán quedando presos.

Me alejaré cantando mis venganzas hermosas,
¡porque a ese hondo recóndito la mano de ninguna
bajará a disputarme tu puñado de huesos! (Mistral, 1923, p. 160)

Este soneto de Gabriela Mistral encapsula las emociones que causan la tristeza por la pérdida de un ser querido, a la vez que explora el vínculo entre la maternidad y la naturaleza en un contexto de lamento y despedida.

La poesía de Olga Orozco, una de las voces más influyentes de la literatura argentina, se caracteriza por su profundo compromiso con las emociones (orientaciones emocionales de Sara Ahmed) y la exploración de los recovecos más ocultos de la psique humana. Su obra presenta una notable convergencia entre el surrealismo emocional y las teorías del giro afectivo. Al igual que los teóricos de este último, Orozco reconoce la complejidad de las emociones humanas y su capacidad de moldear nuestras experiencias y percepciones. Sus poemas a menudo se adentran en los abismos de la psicología humana, revelando el flujo constante de afectos y las tensiones emocionales que residen en lo profundo de la mente. La poesía de Orozco desafía las convenciones literarias tradicionales al explorar la ambigüedad, el desconcierto y las emociones aparentemente contradictorias, conectando así el surrealismo emocional con las teorías contemporáneas del giro afectivo.

En “Las muertes” de su poemario *Las muertes* (publicado originalmente en 1952 y reimpreso en una colección editada en 2013), Olga Orozco muestra su habilidad para fusionar elementos del surrealismo emocional con una profunda exploración de las emociones humanas. En este poema, la autora desafía la lógica y la realidad para representar un estado de ánimo:

He aquí unos muertos cuyos huesos no blanqueará la lluvia,
lápidas donde nunca ha resonado el golpe tormentoso
de la piel del lagarto,
inscripciones que nadie recorrerá encendiendo la luz
de alguna lágrima;
arena sin pisadas en todas las memorias.
Son los muertos sin flores.
No nos legaron cartas, ni alianzas, ni retratos.
Ningún trofeo heroico atestigua la gloria o el oprobio.
Sus vidas se cumplieron sin honor en la tierra,
mas su destino fue fulmíneo como un tajo;
porque no conocieron ni el sueño ni la paz en los
infames lechos vendidos por la dicha,
porque sólo acataron una ley más ardiente que la ávida
gota de salmuera.
Esa y no cualquier otra.
Esa y ninguna otra.
Por eso es que sus muertes son los exasperados rostros
de nuestra vida. (Orozco, 2013, p. 11)

Este poema de Olga Orozco puede relacionarse con las teorías del giro afectivo en la medida en que aborda temas y emociones relacionadas con la pérdida, el duelo y el sufrimiento humano. En el poema, Orozco explora la idea de muerte y pérdida de una manera profunda y emotiva. Describe a los muertos como seres que no reciben reconocimiento ni homenaje, cuyas vidas pasaron desapercibidas y cuya muerte no dejó ningún legado tangible. La ausencia de reconocimiento y el olvido de estos individuos resaltan la desolación y la falta de conexión humana, lo que puede evocar emociones de tristeza, soledad y melancolía.

Este poema, además, sugiere que la muerte de estos individuos refleja aspectos dolorosos de la existencia humana, como el sufrimiento y la sumisión a fuerzas implacables. Esta representación de la muerte como un fenómeno desgarrador y desafiante puede resonar con las teorías del giro afectivo, que destacan la importancia de reconocer y comprender las emociones y afectos asociados con experiencias humanas difíciles y dolorosas.

“Las muertes” de Olga Orozco se relaciona con las teorías del giro afectivo porque explora temas de pérdida, sufrimiento y emociones asociadas con la muerte y el duelo y se centra en la experiencia humana desde una perspectiva emocional y afectiva.

La obra de Delmira Agustini, una de las poetisas más influyentes de la literatura uruguaya, se caracteriza por su exploración audaz y apasionada del erotismo y la pasión. Sus poemas trascienden las convenciones sociales de su época al abordar de manera franca y directa temas relacionados con el deseo, el cuerpo y la sexualidad de la mujer. Estas temáticas encuentran conexiones profundas con las teorías del giro afectivo, ya que Agustini revela la intensidad emocional que subyace en el ámbito del deseo y la pasión humanos. Sus versos exploran la complejidad de las emociones vinculadas al erotismo, revelando cómo las experiencias sensuales y la búsqueda de la satisfacción sexual son intrínsecamente emocionales y, a menudo, están cargadas de turbulencias. A través de la poesía de Agustini, se puede apreciar cómo las teorías del giro afectivo sirven para analizar la conexión entre el erotismo, la pasión y la experiencia humana.

En su poema: “El intruso” de *El libro blanco (frágil)*, publicado originalmente en 1907 y disponible en línea por el Centro Virtual Cervantes, n.d.), la voz poética explora el tema del deseo y el erotismo y personifica el deseo como un “intruso” que se apodera de su ser y la consume con pasión:

Amor, la noche estaba trágica y sollozante
Cuando tu llave de oro cantó en mi cerradura;
Luego, la puerta abierta sobre la sombra helante
Tu forma fue una mancha de luz y de blancura.
Todo aquí lo alumbraron tus ojos de diamante;
Bebieron en mi copa tus labios de frescura,
Y descansó en mi almohada tu cabeza fragante;
Me encantó tu descaro y adoré tu locura.
¡Y hoy río si tú ríes, y canto si tú cantas;
Y si tú duermes, duermo como un perro a tus plantas!
¡Hoy llevo hasta en mi sombra tu olor de primavera;
Y tiemblo si tu mano toca la cerradura;
Y bendigo la noche sollozante y oscura
Que floreció en mi vida tu boca tempranera! (Agustini, n.d.)

En este poema, Agustini evoca una intensa experiencia emocional centrada en el amor. Desde el principio, la atmósfera se describe como “trágica y sollozante,” y esto sugiere una sensación de intensidad emocional y vulnerabilidad. La llegada del amante se representa como un momento de luz y blancura que irrumpe en la oscuridad de la noche, lo cual se asocia con la llegada de la pasión y el deseo que transforman la vida del yo lírico. La presencia del amante se describe como luminosa y fresca, en contraste con la

sombra helada que lo rodea. Los sentidos se ven inundados por la experiencia del amor: los ojos brillantes, los labios frescos, el aroma primaveral. Estas imágenes sensoriales reflejan la intensidad emocional y la vivacidad de la experiencia amorosa. La voz poética revela una entrega total al amante, expresando su disposición a seguir sus emociones y acciones. Se identifica completamente con el amante, compartiendo su risa, su canto y su sueño. Esta fusión de identidades refleja una profunda conexión emocional y una dependencia afectiva hacia el ser amado. El poema culmina con una expresión de gratitud y bendición hacia la noche en la que floreció el amor temprano. Esta imagen evoca la idea de que el amor es un fenómeno que trae luz y vida a la oscuridad y la soledad de la existencia humana.

Este poema de Agustini encapsula la intensidad emocional y la entrega apasionada que caracterizan muchas experiencias amorosas. Su enfoque en las emociones y los afectos, así como en la conexión profunda entre los amantes, relaciona este poema con las teorías del giro afectivo.

Reina María Rodríguez es una de las poetisas cubanas contemporánea que ha recibido mayor renombre en las últimas décadas y cuya obra se caracteriza por su profunda exploración de las emociones humanas y la experiencia personal. Sus poemas a menudo reflexionan sobre temas como el amor, la identidad, el exilio y la memoria, y están impregnados de una intensa carga emocional. Poemas como “Las campanas de San Juan” de su libro *La detención del tiempo* (Madrid: Visor, 1999), “Estancia de amor” que aparece en *Bajo la alfombra del mundo* (Madrid: Visor, 2005), o “Desnuda en la sala” de *En la arena de Padua* (Madrid: Visor, 1996) son ejemplos de ello.

Si tenemos en cuenta el tema del habanocentrismo que ha permeado de manera constante en la producción literaria de Cuba, “La ola” (2021) de Rodríguez, poema rescatado recientemente por Alex Fleites en su “Ellas escriben versos en/para/por La Habana” (2004) presenta una reflexión profunda sobre la identidad, la experiencia humana y la relación con el entorno, especialmente con el mar. El poema comienza con una metáfora poderosa que equipara al individuo con una ola responsable de un naufragio, sugiriendo que somos parte integral del entorno que nos rodea y que nuestras acciones tienen consecuencias significativas. En la primera parte del poema, la voz poética cuestiona la experiencia personal del mar, describiéndolo como vasto y aparentemente vacío, con una aparente indiferencia hacia la humanidad. Sin embargo, a pesar de su inmensidad y su aparente falta de interés, el mar despierta un profundo sentimiento de conexión y contemplación en el hablante. La segunda parte del poema se centra en un momento específico de interacción con el entorno urbano, simbolizado por un viaje en lancha y un encuentro con un chofer. Aquí, el hablante experimenta una sensación de desapego y alienación, reflejada en el chofer que “tironea las pocas formas” de identidad y conexión que le quedan. La descripción del contacto físico entre el chofer y el hablante sugiere una sensación de vulnerabilidad y pérdida de control sobre la propia identidad. “La ola” es un poema que reflexiona sobre la complejidad de la identidad humana y la

conexión con el entorno natural y urbano e utiliza imágenes evocadoras e introspectivas para explorar temas como la soledad, la pertenencia, la alienación y el impacto que nuestras acciones tienen en el mundo que nos rodea.

“La ola”
*Deseáramos poder conocer la ola
responsable del naufragio,
pero resulta que nosotros somos esa misma ola.*
Inger Crithense

¿Viste el mar?
¿Alguna vez viste el mar?
Ese mar que no tiene fondo,
no tiene peces
-bocas que auxiliar tampoco-,
en la patana que te lleva a Regla
ida y vuelta para bautizarte
por un centavo
echado en la bahía?
¡Vale tan poco y es tan azul!

El mar con su indiferencia
no me deja navegar -no me deja ser-,
con la pena clavada contra el girasol
pisoteado por la gente.
Su sonrisa a medias que fueron olas
que ya no estallan de dolor.

II

Al volver de la lancha,
el carro demasiado alto donde me subí
y el chofer me rasgó la mano sin querer
para que no cayera contra el pavimento.
Ese chofer que tironea
las pocas formas que tengo de ser ya
-y de sentir- que me quedan:
desde un no ser de donde provengo
que quiere convertirse en yo,
es el único roce que tengo:
aquel contacto de piel pegajosa
contra el rallado de la mano
con su eterna juventud,
contaminándome

de una luz que relampaguea en el cristal
y enciende un poco,
solo por un momento en el retrovisor,
su rostro
desde ese otro mar desde donde partí
(que no es el mismo
y que tampoco es otro)
hacia donde no llego tampoco,
resbalándome. (Rodríguez, 2021)

La poesía de la nicaragüense Gioconda Belli está profundamente arraigada en su compromiso político y social. Belli ha utilizado su voz poética para abordar cuestiones de justicia, desigualdad y lucha política en América Latina. En su poesía, no solo expresa las emociones personales relacionadas con la lucha y el activismo, sino que también examina cómo las emociones colectivas pueden movilizar a las comunidades y dar forma a movimientos sociales. La teoría del giro afectivo, que destaca la importancia de las emociones en la experiencia humana y política, encuentra una aplicabilidad clara en la poesía de Belli, donde las emociones son vehículos poderosos para la movilización y la lucha social. Esto se refleja en su poema “Necesitamos aire para respirar” (1997) que aparece en *El ojo de la mujer*.

Todos pedimos aire,
aire para reír y suspirar,
aire para que nuestras palabras
no se estrellen en murallas
construidas a punta de muerte.

Es por el aire por lo que cantamos,
poetas, músicos, habladores,
nuestro pueblo está sediento de aire,
se está ahogando nuestro pueblo
en el olor fétido de la carroña.

Es aire lo que se respira en el subsuelo
allí donde se esconde el verbo nuevo.
Es aire lo que se respira en las montañas,
a pesar de los gritos,
es aire lo que se respira,
es aire,
todos están oliendo

-subrepticamente y a escondidas-
un aire limpio. (Belli, 1997, p. 98)

Este poema se relaciona con el compromiso político y las teorías del giro afectivo porque aborda temas de opresión, lucha por la libertad y esperanza en medio de la adversidad. La mención de “nuestro pueblo” y su sed de aire sugiere solidaridad con la comunidad y conciencia de las injusticias. Por otro lado, la referencia al “verbo nuevo” que se esconde en el subsuelo puede interpretarse como una metáfora del cambio social y político, implicando un compromiso con la transformación y la resistencia contra el statu quo opresivo.

A la vez, el poema evoca emociones intensas y universales como la sed de libertad, la frustración ante la opresión y la esperanza en medio de la adversidad. Estas emociones son elementos centrales de las teorías del giro afectivo que destacan la importancia de las emociones en la comprensión de la experiencia humana y en la motivación para el cambio. La descripción del pueblo sediento de aire, luchando contra murallas de muerte, evoca una sensación de desesperación y opresión que resuena de manera emocional en la audiencia. Este sentimiento de asfixia y sofoco representa la lucha por la libertad de una manera vívida. Sin embargo, el poema también transmite un sentido de esperanza y resistencia, simbolizado por el aire limpio que se respira en las montañas y el “verbo nuevo” que persiste a pesar de la represión. Estas imágenes sugieren una fuerza emocional y un compromiso con la búsqueda de la libertad y la justicia.

“Necesitamos aire para respirar” de Gioconda Belli se relaciona con el compromiso político porque aborda temas de opresión y lucha por la libertad, y con las teorías del giro afectivo porque evoca emociones intensas y universales de la experiencia humana. El poema representa una llamada a la acción y un recordatorio de la importancia de la solidaridad, la resistencia y la esperanza para la lucha por un cambio social y político.

Conclusiones: La poesía latinoamericana de escritoras y el giro afectivo

A lo largo de este ensayo, hemos explorado cómo la teoría del giro afectivo proporciona una lente valiosa para analizar la poesía escrita por mujeres latinoamericanas y caribeñas como Gabriela Mistral, Olga Orozco, Delmira Agustini, Reina María Rodríguez y Gioconda Belli. Estas autoras han utilizado la poesía como un medio para explorar y expresar emociones profundas y complejas y, a través de sus versos, hemos visto cómo abordan la soledad, el aislamiento, la maternidad, la pérdida, el erotismo, la identidad, la pasión, el compromiso político y la lucha social.

En resumen, este tipo de poesía latinoamericana escrita por mujeres es un terreno fértil para la exploración de las emociones humanas en toda su complejidad. Estas autoras han demostrado cómo las emociones son un vehículo poderoso para la expresión artística, la resistencia política y la construcción de identidad. A través de la poesía, han logrado capturar y transmitir las emociones en su máxima expresión, enriqueciendo así

el panorama literario y contribuyendo al entendimiento de la experiencia humana en un mundo marcado por la pasión, el dolor, la esperanza y la lucha.

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ALTERNATIVES TO MODERNITY IN THE POETRY OF FRIDI MARTINA

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Abstract

This article examines Curaçaoan poet Fridi Martina's proposal for being which embraces a multiplicity of being(s) expressed through relation, sound, and language. By using Walter Mignolo's (2007) theoretical tool of delinking, Sylvia Wynter's (2003) proposition of a new human based on relationality, and Fred Moten's (2017) concept of the "not-in-between" to understand the colonial foundations of modernity and to imagine beyond these limitations, I offer a reading of Martina's poetry from her anthology *Fridi Martina in Good Company: Een meertalige bloemlezing met gedichten, liedteksten en monologen van Fridi Martina*.

Key terms: modernity, human, Papiamentu, delinking, Black radical tradition

Fridi Martina (1950-2014) was a Curaçaoan poet, playwright, and performance artist. I look at how Martina offered radical alternatives to modernity by using Walter Mignolo's (2007) conceptual tools of delinking and modernity/ coloniality, Sylvia Wynter's (2003) new defining of the human as a break from the modernity/ colonial paradigm, and finally Fred Moten's (2017) blurry concept of the not-in-between. Instead of modernity, that is the foundation of coloniality, Martina urged for a development of self and collective based on personal and ancestrally determined standards.

Walter Mignolo offers the tool of delinking to distinguish alternative modernities as a post-colonial project from alternatives to modernity as a decolonial and thus revolutionary project. Because the colonial matrix of power is the foundation of modernity, advocating for alternative, non-Western modernities fundamentally means accepting colonial power as the normative operating order. This speaks to the limitations of diversity and inclusion initiatives, or the restricted potential of identity politics and representation within empire metropolises. Although necessary, not revolutionary. Mignolo calls for a

delinking from colonial knowledge centers by looking at alternatives to modernity, instead of adopting and adapting to colonial-capitalist expansion that absorbs subaltern people and knowledges.

Two such alternatives to modernity born from this delinking process are Sylvia Wynter's new definition of human, as well as Fred Moten's concept of not-in-between. Wynter, like Mignolo, explains how modernity defined Human as white and male, where indigenous and Black people "were made to reoccupy the matrix slot of Otherness—to be made into the physical referent of the idea of the irrational/ subrational Human Other" (Wynter, 2003, p. 266). Modernity was the project of the West's reinvention of its christian self as a rational self. Wynter destabilizes what is understood as human, thus rejecting the limited operating order of Western humanism. Instead of arguing that Black and indigenous people be included as human, she dismantles the modernist concept of human, offering instead one born from a Black radical tradition and based on relationality and emergence amongst beings. After all, "one cannot 'unsettle' the 'coloniality of power' without a redescription of the human outside the terms of our present descriptive statement of the human" (Wynter, 2003, p. 268). She is very clear that redefining who and what is human is necessary in unsettling the coloniality of power. But also, trying to imagine beyond what is currently imaginable takes great skill.

This is where Moten's concepts of not-in-between and blurring offer generative alternatives to modernity. The not-in-between rejects both poles in colonial dialectics, as well as the hybridity born from simply mixing two distinct sources. The not-in-between is "the refusal of an oscillation that seems, ultimately, to be part and parcel of the dialectic" (Moten, 2007, p. 11). It refuses to become static, and thus definable. It repels the modernist instinct to classify through rationality. Instead, not-in-between is the constantly emerging, animated, errant network of relations and being. This way of being not-in-between is recognizable in the Black radical tradition, especially in the Caribbean. The ever active blur is a site of rupture and trauma, as well as generative possibilities, as in the case of creole languages for example.

We can see all these criticisms of and alternatives to modernity play out in the poetry of Fridi Martina (1950-2014), who was a Curaçaoan poet, performance artist, and director. Martina is lauded locally in Curaçao and in the Netherlands for her theater and film productions, as well as community organizing. Recently she has also become an increasingly popular referent in academic circles because of her recorded resistance to Dutch homonationalism, and praxis of a distinct Dutch Caribbean sexuality (Isenia, 2021). In 2007 Martina recorded a CD of her poetry and songs with students at the University of Curaçao. A decade later, and after her passing, several scholars compiled a written anthology of her poems under the same title as her published CD, *Fridi Martina in Good Company: Een meertalige bloemlezing met gedichten, liedteksten en monologen van Fridi Martina* [Fridi Martina in Good Company: A Multilingual Anthology of Poems,

Lyrics and Monologues by Fridi Martina] (all translations are by the author, unless specified otherwise). In analyzing these poems and songs, we see Martina's nuanced criticisms of modernity and the radical framework towards not-in-between that she engages by creating in the interplay of speech and writing. As Martina shifted across geographies within and beyond the colonial Dutch empire throughout her lifetime, she engaged in a delinking process as evidenced by her poetry's changing treatment of modernity and thus the human.

Fridi Martina in Good Company is a compilation of around fifty songs, texts and mostly poems written over her lifetime. Generally, Martina's earlier works were in Dutch and mark her twenty-five years living in The Netherlands after studying dramaturgy. Once she moved back to Curaçao, she wrote primarily in Papiamentu and English. Martina considered this anthology as recorded orally (and posthumously in written form) her magnum opus. I currently only have access to her written anthology, and so I will be working within the limitations and affordances of this medium.

The shift from creating in Dutch to Papiamentu and English is indicative of a shift in the geopolitics of her knowledge production. The language change is more than mere translation, but points to a change in intended audience and thematic content. Martina's poetry is often structured as a monologue where the "I" or "we" refers to herself, and the "you" changes depending on the intended audience. In Dutch, the "jij" [you] always refers to The Netherlands, often in a general society-at-large manner. In Papiamentu, the "bo" [you] often refers to Curaçao or a specific community of Antillean individuals. In Papiamentu she also uses "nos" [us] to include herself in her intended audience, something that never happens in her Dutch poetry. In the poem "Skucha" ["Listen"], Martina affirms:

Nos te'i siña awor sí	[Now we will learn
Pa nos bira	to become
HENDE	HUMAN
Bo n' sa	You don't even know
Ta nos mes ta doño	That we are masters
di e mundu akí	of this world here
Tuma e desishon pa konstruí	Take the decision to build
Kanta	Sing/
(Martina, 2019, p. 19)	

The poem's narrator explains that "*Nos te'i siña/ Pa nos bira/ HENDE*" (emphasis added), including herself in the "we" that will learn to become human. She goes on to criticize the "you" for not knowing that "you" are masters of this world. The "bo" [you] in reference refers to Curaçaoans, given who would be able to understand Papiamentu. In case there is any doubt, in another Papiamentu poem "Ma Karaggggma!!" ["But

Come Oooooon”], this link is explicitly named when the narrator speaks directly to Curaçao, saying “Kòrsou bo sa” [Curaçao you know] (Martina, 2019, p. 57). In Papiamentu, Martina builds a world that speaks from and to Curaçaoan people and sensibilities. It is also notable that the poem’s narrator suggests singing as a form of world-building, especially given the Seú and Tumba songs (harvest festival and carnival songs) she composes later in the anthology. These songs are popular music forms meant to be experienced in collective celebration. Although there is no need to define them as such, Seú and Tumba songs mark an embodied practice of collective Black aliveness, given their Afro-Caribbean roots and current popular participation.

In Papiamentu, Martina is able to delink from a colonial matrix of power that needs to accommodate the social order of the European Netherlands. In Papiamentu Martina does not speak to the Netherlands, nor does she speak towards herself or any “we” that need consider Dutch sensibilities. Although Mignolo (2007, p. 464) is blurry in defining what constitutes creating from within the empire versus colonial memories and sensibilities, Martina undoubtedly engages in a delinking practice in her Papiamentu poems and songs once situated in Curaçao. Being and creating in Papiamentu necessarily means locating one’s center in the ABC islands.

Along with a delinked positionality through shifts in pronoun and language geopolitics, Martina also engages a direct critique of modernity as such. In the poem “Ma Karagggmba!!”, the narrator criticizes Curaçao for wanting to modernize without thinking through the consequences of that desire.

Bo ke kore tras di modernismo sin studia tur su konsekuensianan (Martina, 2019, p. 57)	[You want to run after modernism without studying all its consequences]
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The narrator is critical of modernism, but also of the Curaçaoans who chase after modernism without considering the colonial foundations it stems from and leads to. Indeed, she continues by connecting modernism to white sugar and physical toxins to the body, in this poem along with several others. White sugar becomes a symbol of modernity, something somewhat common especially in the Black radical tradition. In the same poem “Ma Karagggmba!!”, she states:

Bo salú bo a neglighá ku mal kuminda i modernismo
Pasó ta zeta puru bo ta kome, anto sushi tambe
pa despues bah’é ku suku blanku sin niun klase di nutrition
Ta p’esei bo no por sobra energia pa kultivá bo dignidat
(Martina, 2019, p. 58)

[You have neglected your health with bad food and modernism
Because it is pure oil that you eat, and dirty too]

which you then swallow down with white sugar without any kind of nutrition
That's why you don't have enough energy to cultivate your dignity]

Martina's criticism of modernity is clear. Specific processed foods, and white sugar in particular, are symbolic vehicles by which to criticize modernism. Although some of her poems may read as a manifesto, and oppositional and thus dialectically, Martina also uses food and the environment to imagine beyond colonial-modern dialectics.

Much like Sylvia Wynter, Martina uses relationality as a way to birth new ways of being into an otherwise dialectically cornered world. The poem "Salubridat, Seguridad, Medio Ambiente" [*Health, Security, Environment*] opens with the narrator calling all her relations forward to listen to what she has to say. These are not general members of an audience but individuals recognized as such because of their relation to the speaker. They are her children, her siblings, her friends, her parents; instead of the general non-descript audience of The Netherlands when Martina writes in Dutch, here in Papiamentu she speaks to a general Curaçao made up of specific people who share familial and non-familial relations. Check it out:

Awél bin tende mi yu, ruman, amigu, papi, mai
Awe Kòrsou ta e sentro di salú
A la fin nos a realisá
ku nos rais mes ta e forza
di e atenshon
ku nos ta duna na balor,
na norma i na étika
pa haña sa si di bérdat nos ta humano
(Martina, 2019, p. 82)

[Well, come listen my child, sibling, friend, father, mother
Today Curaçao is the health center
We finally realized
that our own roots are the strength
of our care
from which we give value to ourselves
to standards and to labels
to know if we are really human]

Martina proposes a new vocabulary for determining who or what is human. The source of this vocabulary lies in the relational roots of those from Curaçao. The "we" refers to Martina herself, as well as all her relations, circumscribed by those with relations to Curaçao. The task charged by Wynter, and Martina in this poem, is to redescribe the

human using terms and standards outside present colonial-modern language and the imaginary implicit therein. The location of this new language to describe the human is in relational roots.

If the location is in relational roots, the alternative vision to modernity Martina puts forth through this delinked, new humanist language is a multiplicity of being(s) best expressed through sound. Fred Moten argues for a new revolutionary proposal within the Black Radical Tradition of a complex constructed, nonoppositional, material interplay of speech and writing (Moten, 2017, pp. 4-5). He argues that the not-in-between rejects binary trappings common in dialectic thinking, instead creating from a constantly emerging, constantly rupturing creative space. In this non-definable location, one is allowed to be multiple and alive. In “Vuurdoop” [“Baptism by Fire”], one of Martina’s Dutch prose passages, the narrator asks if colonial forces want to sever her from her voice, so that she won’t recognize her ability to be multiple beings. Given the multilingual code switching inherent in Antillean life, it is unsurprising that she ties the self to voice. Furthermore, the active being of orality, and the multiple versions of self that different languages afford, show how Martina’s critical question goes beyond dialectic response. She is demanding not to be a single being; she is speaking from the not-in-between:

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Wil je dat ik zwijg? Wil je dat ik verzuim mijn stem te kennen, om eraan te wennen, dat er maar één IK bestaat in deze hele wereld? Deze erkenning is de herkenning bij eenieder, die dit weet. Dan pas reflecteer je uit pure zelfstandigheid. (Martina, 2019, p. 55)

[Do you want me to shut up? Do you want me to fail to know my voice, to get used to the fact that there is only one I in all this world? This recognition is the recognition of everyone who knows this. Only then do you reflect out of pure independence.]

Martina asks rhetorically because she has come to the answer already. She is not asking to be included. Through her multilingual, and thus multi-selved anthology, she asserts her not-in-between alternative to modernity. Although she is indeed less caring of colonial valorizations once she is in Curaçao and creating in and from Papiamentu, the anthology also shows how Martina went through a process of delinking, it was not merely an event. The result is a shifting redescription of the human as an emergent multiplicity of beings.

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RETHINKING WHITENESS IN ARCHIPELAGIC CARIBBEAN FICTION

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Abstract

This essay argues that “golden whiteness” is an underexamined trope in Anglophone Caribbean fiction. More specifically, I contend that studies on Caribbean literature systematically ignore lesser narrative forms when providing their perspective on literary traditions. To substantiate this claim, “Rethinking Whiteness” examines an understudied stream of pulp fictions whose narratives are set in the Lesser Antilles (Dominica, St. Eustatius, Virgin Islands), tracing the boom in representations of “golden whiteness” in Anglophone pulp or trash fiction published in the 1970s and early 1980s, such as Eleanor Heckert’s *The Golden Rock* (1971) and Jeanne Wilson’s *The Golden Harlot* (1980).

Key terms: Caribbean literature; Archipelagic fiction; *Wide Sargasso Sea*; Jeanne Wilson; Lesser Antilles fiction

The emergence of Anglophone Caribbean trash fiction

When Jean Rhys in *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) referred to Antoinette Mason as a “white cockroach,” something wonderful happened. Her comment cemented in twentieth-century Caribbean literary imagination a new category of whiteness, one whose value has been trashed by the decapitalization of the West Indies as a source of Imperial wealth and power. As a result of increasingly organized resistance among the enslaved culminating in the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s and the ensuing British emancipation of the enslaved in 1832, the West Indian plantation complex that had been the engine of wealth in Europe collapsed. In this context, the trashing of the former white Caribbean planter subject takes place, and the emergence of the “white cockroach” type takes shape in the Anglophone literary imagination. Forgotten is a long-held cultural belief that white skin unquestionably signified value in the Caribbean. For too long, whiteness

stood for the three pillars that guaranteed its value: white skin, wealth, and status. Suddenly, a leveling of white hue valuation ensues.

Once the plantation system's bubble burst, the monolithic value of whiteness broke, and a new literary type emerged to mirror it. Trash fiction means, in this context, Anglophone Caribbean pulp narratives of decapitalized whiteness written during the mid to late twentieth century. Rhys makes explicit the catastrophic change in the value of white skin in the Caribbean, but she is not the only one. In 1934, Caribbean sociologist Gordon H. Andrews drew attention to this newly trashed whiteness emerging in Anglophone Caribbean cultures. He explained that these newly poor whites amount to "nothing more than 'White Trash'" in the Caribbean (492). In the 1970s and 1980s, Caribbean literature witnessed a boom in the number of works emphasizing the decapitalization of whiteness. The representation of decapitalized whiteness grew in the Anglophone Caribbean's production of trashy novels featuring newly impoverished white trash types.

Late-twentieth-century trashy novels expand the dissemination of decapitalized white types, resulting in the category of trash assuming greater critical importance. Trash fiction has become essential to the Anglophone Caribbean's literary cultural production (Soto-Crespo, 2020a). Because literary traditions have systematically ignored lesser narrative forms until recently, examples of this vast body of work remain underexamined (Soto-Crespo, 2020b; Donnell, 2006, p. 192). "Rethinking Whiteness" examines exemplary gaps in the Anglophone Caribbean literary traditions. It shows how traditions have been shaped not only by canonical works but also by an understudied stream of pulp fiction whose narratives are set in the Caribbean archipelago.

To substantiate this claim, this essay examines representations of decapitalized whiteness in Anglophone trash fiction published in the 1970s and early 1980s, such as Peter Grange's *The Golden Goddess* (1973), Eleanor Heckert's *The Golden Rock* (1971), Lance Horner's *The Golden Stud* (1975) and *Sword of the Golden Stud* (1977), and Jeanne Wilson's *The Golden Harlot* (1980). My essay argues that in these works the "golden whiteness" trope becomes a counterintuitive descriptor of decapitalized whiteness. "Golden" proliferated as a strategic rethinking of Caribbean whiteness. These Anglophone Caribbean writers found inspiration in the archipelagic history of the Lesser Antilles when composing their pulp fiction narratives. In their works, we encounter themes such as human trafficking, shipwrecks, rebellions, the appearance of counterintuitive white trash entities, and the violent actions of vengeful imperial agents. These narratives are set in Dominica, St. Eustatius, Grand-Isle and Grand-Terre Islands, the Virgin Islands, and Haiti. Their world is enriched by the Caribbean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the marine sounds, straights, channels, and whirlpools that connect them.

From unlettered gutter trash to golden whiteness

Whereas full whiteness had been the gold standard of social value in early twentieth-century Caribbean fiction, Jamaica's Jeanne Wilson punctures the white bubble by distinguishing between full whiteness and golden whiteness. Emblematic of the height of civilization, the qualifier golden has always represented the zenith of a civilization's cultural achievement. For instance, both Spanish and English golden ages are so titled because of their period's exceptional cultural production. The adjective golden marks also, in historical terms, a cultural revival where kingdoms regained the political status they once held, for example by expelling an otherness within (e.g., Arabs from the Iberian Peninsula) or the breaking away from the influence of a supra-national power (e.g., the rise of Protestantism in England, and its liberation from papal doctrine). In either case, *golden age* refers to a newfound value in a purified national body. By contrast, Wilson takes golden in an unexpected direction. *The Golden Harlot* (1980) shows that, unlike full whiteness (pale and pasty), golden whiteness attains its extra value from a mixed blood background. In the context of Wilson's novel, a drop of black blood in an otherwise full white lineage paradoxically increases rather than diminishes its value. Here, Wilson is turning the one-drop rule of Jim Crow on its head and mocking the golden age underlying ideology of renewed purity. This type of revalorization is typical of trash fictions' remaking of whiteness in the archipelagic Caribbean.

The title *The Golden Harlot* refers to the female protagonist Topaze Barrett, who was born in the streets of London and refers to herself as a "gutter child" (Wilson, 1980, p. 39). Her childhood name was "Clementine", she had "no last name" (p. 24). In the Anglophone Caribbean trash fiction subgenre, no last name typically signifies lack of breeding, lineage, or heritage. She refers to her young self as the "Unlettered Clementine" and remembers that during those early years she lacked cultural capital: "of course, I couldn't read or count" (p. 11). Clementine grew up in the London of the 1700s, a society deeply divided between "the destitute and the very rich," where whiteness without wealth, education, or culture was worth nothing (p. 55). Nicknamed "Clementine of the alley" (p. 24) she was raised in an impoverished part of London described as follows:

There was filth and garbage everywhere, night soil flung from upper windows to land where or on whom it might. Rotting fish and entrails from fowls added to the stench. Half-starved dogs moved hopefully among the heaps, sending up clouds of buzzing flies, and barefoot children ran and shrieked amidst it all, while their mothers sat listlessly by window or doorway, befuddled by gin. (p. 99)

It is from the point of view of the neighborhood's street gutter level that Clementine (not yet Topaze) would watch "the fine ladies in their carriages" (p. 9). If the gutter neighborhood where she grew up was awful, the whorehouse where she was sent to work at the tender age of fourteen was even worse:

Looking back, I can see it for what it was: cramped, mean and ugly, with a pervasive smell of close-shut musty rooms and unwashed bed-linen, and another

odour that was all too soon to become sickeningly familiar—a mixture of stale and fresh semen. (p. 12)

Born decapitalized (as the illegitimate “youngest daughter of Sir Charles and Lady Prendergast, of Pembroke”) (Wilson, 1980, p77) and less than full white, Clementine’s prospects improved when her guardian married her at a young age. Rescued from impoverishment by her first husband Justin Barrett, and renamed Topaze, the protagonist finds herself unable to transform completely into full whiteness, since, as she says: “The shadow of the alley still lay over me” (p. 101).

Wilson portrays Clementine’s transformation into Topaze in a scene where the alley child fails to recognize herself in a mirror after she is given a makeover in the Barrett household.

She turned me around and pointed to the far corner. I looked in amazement at the girl who stood there. Where had she come from? I hadn’t heard her come into the room. Oh, but she was beautiful, much more so than any fine lady I had seen driving in a carriage. Her gown was of cinnamon-brown against which the creamy, golden skin of her bosom and arms glowed with a soft sheen. Her hair was golden too, the rich gold of ripe wheat, and her eyes—I involuntarily took a step towards her, as she did to me—her eyes were gold, amber gold, with long curling, dark-gold lashes and brows like wings on her creamy forehead. “Well, don’t stand gazing at yourself as if you were bewitched.” I turned my head at the words and the golden girl turned hers. “*Myself?*” I whispered. “*Myself?*” I looked back in wonder. That was *me*? (pp. 26-27)

The rags-to-riches theme so successful in novels such as *The Great Gatsby* falls short in Wilson’s narrative. The references to golden in Clementine’s transformation into Topaze exemplify why this “second rank” gemstone (topaz) may look like a “first rank” gem, but it is not so. Golden topaz, also known as Imperial topaz, signifies in the novel’s context neither real gold nor full whiteness, and, as such, it indexes a peculiar, not-quite-one-nor-the-other characteristic. In this case, the not-quite category echoes Matt Wray’s understanding of white trash as a not-quite-white racialized class category (Wray, 2006, pp. 47-64). For Wray, lesser whites historically have been understood as not-quite-(full) white due to their lack of breeding (Wray, 2006, pp. 47-64).

The novel’s primary concern is for Topaze to circumvent full whiteness when she has been brought up as a lesser white – “I talked like a gutter child even though I looked like a princess” (Wilson, 1980, p. 39). Later in the novel, she reminisces about this period and notes: “My past seemed like a barrier” (p. 241). In her case, education helps somewhat, and the transition is marked by the shift from “unlettered Clementine” to “tutored Topaze” (p. 77). But notice that “tutored” refers to a method of teaching that targets more specific areas of need. In Topaze’s case, her instruction only reaches so far, and the narrative recounts a series of tales where Topaze makes wrong decisions every time: “I have never ... forgotten the rule of the gutter: flight in the face of danger” (p. 101).

Following the conventions of this trash fiction subgenre, the connection to the Caribbean is mediated by her sugar cane plantation. She acknowledges this link when stating: “I learned that my income came from the sugar estate at Pimento Hall, and fluctuated yearly as production and prices rose and fell” (Wilson, 1980, p. 99). After evading a murder charge in London, she ends up in Haiti on her way to Pimento Hall, the Barrett family plantation in Jamaica. In Haiti, she finds herself a stranger between two dominant classes, the *grands blancs*, and the *petits blancs*. Her odd location in a stratified society, between high and low white minorities, makes her aware that her wealth and background prevent her from fitting into either class. That is to say, she was rich but, as she admits, “I was not fully white” (p. 143). The *grands blancs* – also often called “high born whites” – were the wealthy merchants and planters (p. 114). The *petit blancs* – or lower whites – were the “clerks, the artisans, grocers and so forth” (p. 114). In the Caribbean, Topaze is exposed to a world where it is no longer the case that “white skin makes him [or her] a person of quality” (p. 114). Reaching Jamaica after managing to escape the throes of the Haitian Revolution, her fate seems destined to a different path.

Topaze’s golden whiteness in the Anglophone Caribbean leads her to a life of romance, security, and contentment. Her first marriage and the two others that follow take place from pragmatic but not fully informed decisions. After marrying several times, she finds love and romance with her first husband’s brother. This last liaison is perceived, according to White Creole Jamaican morals, as an “unorthodox marriage” (Wilson, 1980, p. 236). In Wilson’s novel, Topaze never returns to the English gutter of her childhood, choosing instead to stay in the West Indies, where she marvels at her surroundings, “a burning sun in a bleached sky, the Caribbean Sea all a-glitter, the deepest blue I had ever seen” (p. 164). Topaze’s golden recapitalization could be summarized in those two speech acts in the novel where she reminisces “I was nothing but a gutter whore once,” and then subsequently she asks, “Me – Clementine of the alleys – a lady?” (pp. 65, 34). True to the conventions of Caribbean trash fiction genres, it is at the end of her life that Topaze reveals her past to her husband, including the fact that her golden whiteness was due to a touch of blood not quite white. Matthew Pratt Guterl points out that the Caribbean is a geographic space where whiteness is always on the verge of eroding the boundaries of its identity due to widespread miscegenation, “a dense stratum of in-between types” referred to as “Gulf Society” (Guterl, 2015; Wilson, 1980, p. 37). Wilson’s Topaze becomes the latest attempt by trash fiction writers to undermine a monolithic understanding of whiteness. In this context, golden whiteness acquires a different value than full whiteness. That is to say, it acquires a leveling value higher than decapitalized whiteness but separate and distinct from the full value associated with the old understanding of whiteness. Full whiteness seems an unreliable vestige in the post-plantation Caribbean, a separate and distant logic that barely survives after centuries of inhabiting the tropics. Golden whiteness is mobilized here as an alternative to decapitalization and yet is not the full whiteness of an old racial logic.

From golden whiteness to *Golden Goddess*

If the word trashy triggers the imagination with images of sexual licentiousness and foul language, Grange's *The Golden Goddess* (1973) overturns those expectations. The novel sets us on a Caribbean journey of sexual frustration in which the protagonist, Heliere L'Eree, is unable to lose her virginity. Married at a young age on the island of Guernsey to an English lord, the new Lady Canday is ready to be "deflowered" during her honeymoon when her beloved is called to battle and is unable, against all odds, to fulfill his promise of ravaging her. This event sparks a series of tragic developments where the protagonist becomes a fugitive and is sold as an indentured servant to a slaver captain, who takes her to Africa and later to the West Indies to be sold in the lucrative slave trade.

Her virginity is safeguarded to increase her salability at the slave auction:

I was to be incarcerated, to be sold upon arrival in the horrid West Indies ... I could hardly consider myself in partnership with the brute who had kidnapped me, stolen my money, and my jewels, and looked forward to delivering me to the licentious desires of some West Indian planter. (Grange, 1973, pp. 83, 86)

Kidnapping is a recurring motif in lesser archipelagic trash fiction (Jordan & Wash, 2008). Lady Canday is sold to a "lesbian" plantation owner in Antigua for the whopping price tag of 500 pounds sterling. Her new owner torments her but does not penetrate her. This is because Mistress Madelaine Rearn condemns the behavior of her peers, the patriarchal plantocracy that excludes her from political power: "Had I my way, they would all be gelded at puberty" (Grange, 1973, p. 123).

Heliere is captured during a Carib Indian raid on the Rearn Estate plantation, and taken to the island of Dominica where, after a storm, she is revered as a golden goddess. Her stature as a goddess is dependent on her virginal condition. The island is invaded by Spaniards, and the heroine is captured and incarcerated for witchcraft by the Holy Cardinal in Santo Domingo. After escaping, she marries an impotent pirate and becomes a virginal buccaneer, thereby accumulating an enormous fortune. She loses her loot during a Spanish attack on her compound in the Virgin Islands, but flees the attack and becomes a virgin Madam in a whorehouse in St. John, Antigua, where she is once again put on trial for treason and sent back to England to be judged by her peers in the House of Lords. She is found not guilty of piracy, and when she cannot adjust to London life, she returns to her Caribe tribe in Dominica and recovers her title as Golden Goddess.

The Golden Goddess may be the quintessential archipelagic Caribbean novel. The narrative is composed of a sequence of island-to-island journeys, with no mainland or continent visited. In fact, the fundamentally archipelagic journey takes us from Guernsey to England, from there to an island on the coast of Africa, then to Antigua, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Tortuga, Virgin Islands, Antigua (again), England, and once again, Dominica. The Atlantic Ocean and the islands of the Caribbean Sea are preferred over continental locations. The subgenre's decontinentalizing of narrative settings peaks in

The Golden Goddess. And, if geography becomes decentered in this archipelagic fiction, the same happens with whiteness.

The destruction of the big plantation house is a turning point in the novel. The collapse of the plantation leads to illicit ventures such as piracy and exclusive brothels. The crumbling of the plantation system, symbolized by the big plantation house, opens the possibility of a golden whiteness. The fall of plantation slavery, as characterized by Rhys in *Wide Sargasso Sea*, leads to the decapitalization of large segments of the planter class and the increasing unreliability of white skin as an unquestionable marker of value. But Grange does something different when he detaches golden whiteness from full whiteness and also from mixed blood. Unlike Topaze, whose golden whiteness is based on the protagonist's mixed-blood heritage, Heliere's low-class background and illegitimate birth are the only components leading to golden whiteness. She tells us how her not-quite-white background is being revalued and placed at center stage. Using Mistress Madeleine's mirror, Heliere informs us about her whiteness:

When I considered myself in Madelaine's spotted mirror, I regarded a radiant object, shrouded in that marvellous golden hair which reached past my thighs, with skin so translucent I could see my every vein, with perfect carriage and dimpled chin, with the purest white teeth and the palest blue eyes, in fact, the most flawless picture of feminine beauty it would be possible to imagine. (Grange, 1973, p. 140)

Even when golden whiteness signals an escape from decapitalization, it is still regarded with suspicion.

The Golden Goddess is framed as a story of "doubtful moral taste" (Grange, 1973, p. 7). It is written in the style of a memoir, whose publication resulted in pure scandal and is said to have been "prosecuted on grounds of blasphemy and obscenity, and six hundred and forty copies were burned by the common hangman" (p. 6). The narrator and editor of the newly printed version finds the memoirs valuable because the protagonist "contracted various liaisons of an immoral, unchristian, and in one instance, unnatural complexion" (p. 7). The narrator challenges readers to interpret the protagonist in a new way: "you must judge for yourselves whether she was a blasphemous, indecent whore, as her critics would have it" (p. 8). None of the novels published in the Caribbean trash fiction genre is as sexually truncated as *The Golden Goddess*. The novel stands in sharp contrast to its predecessors, but what makes it more perverse is not the fact that sexual depictions are missing but that no sex is present. Obscenity and indecency have been detached from the sex act for adjudicating perversion. The novel is obscene in its endless displays of sexual frustration, as sex is always sought but systematically refused, deferred, or curtailed. No other trash fiction is equaled in its sexual frustrations.

However, not all sexual references are fully curtailed in this narrative of unfortunate virginity. Sexual penetration does not take place, but our heroine gets away with erotic gazing. At a young age the future Lady Canday developed a love for the male member;

“I was fascinated,” she confessed in her memoir (Grange, 1973, p. 15). In an early memory of being exposed to such delight she recounts, “I reached forward to seize, and if possible, to examine, this wonderful appendage of which I was so sadly ignorant ... surely there had to be more than flesh in so lovely and indeed, so powerful looking an appendage” (pp. 15, 17). Unexpectedly, lack of sexual fulfillment seemed tied to decapitalization but enabled her to attain the status of a Caribbean golden goddess.

A golden Antilles and vengeful decapitalization

Eleanor Heckert’s *The Golden Rock* (1971) combines the descriptor “golden” with Lesser Antillean geography. Set in St. Eustatius (or Statius), a Dutch Caribbean island located Southeast of Saba and Northwest of St. Kitts, the novel tells the story of smuggling and whiteness in the Lesser Antillean archipelago. In *The Golden Rock*, the descriptor ‘golden’ has been extended to geography, thereby attributing value to the islands of the Lesser Antilles. For too long overlooked by literary history, the lesser Caribbean islands are located at this narrative’s center.

This historical novel recounts the story of the capture of Sint Eustatius in 1781 by Sir George Brydges Rodney, Admiral of the British Military Forces in the Americas. Referred to as the “Golden Rock” both historically and in the narrative, the island is characterized by its role as a critical player in the destiny of new world nations at a moment of revolutionary fervor. In the late eighteenth century, during the American Revolution, the neutral Dutch island of Sint Eustatius became a place where arms were traded to the rebellious colonies, thereby evading the British blockade of New England. As Heckert explains, the British colonies in the Caribbean depended on St. Eustatius to supply the goods that once came from trade with New England: “cut off from trade with the colonies, Great Britain’s Leeward Islands turned to St. Eustatius for vital North American raw material” (Heckert, 1971, p. 133). A central link in international commerce, St. Eustatius became the wealthiest island in the Lesser Antilles.

Commerce and slavery allowed decapitalized European settlers to level their status. Because of this golden position as a fortune-builder island, the British decided to attack, plunder, and destroy. Determined to reverse the trajectory of the War for Independence in North America, the British Crown declared war on the politically neutral Netherlands and invaded the Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. Admiral Rodney took over St. Eustatius in a strategic maneuver: “This piece of land known as the Golden Rock was now his golden opportunity” (p. 134). Heavily indebted to gambling houses in London, Rodney plundered and auctioned all possessions on the Golden Rock: “The confiscated inventories and records confirmed a veritable gold mine, vastly beyond his original estimate” (p. 134). Heckert’s novel narrates this act of island-wide decapitalization: “Those who had been living on Statia had been reduced to poverty overnight” (p. 192).

From representing the English lower classes and the decapitalized planter class, the trash fiction subgenre thus evolves to narrate the decapitalization of an entire insular society.

Dispossessed of wealth, property, and status, all Statian residents are displaced and deported to nearby islands. Abruptly impoverished, they are allowed to take only their clothes. However, their pieces of clothing are cut in strips at the departure processing station to prevent the smuggling of money or jewelry. In the hurricane-prone Caribbean, Statian houses' roofs are a precious commodity, so they are removed and transported to Barbados. St. Eustatius is left as a deserted, uninhabitable rock. Admiral Rodney fulfilled his imperial design: "When I leave the island of St. Eustatius, it will be as barren a rock as the day it erupted from the sea. Instead of one of the greatest emporiums on earth, it will be a mere desert, and known only by report" (p. 107).

Enriching himself and the Crown by stripping the island of its wealth, Rodney committed one of the most heinous crimes that would stain the history of imperial might in the Caribbean. Heckert explains:

It had been accepted procedure in the West Indian islands that, when a colony surrendered to an enemy force, its inhabitants would come under the protection of the conquerors ... the British merchants felt that Rodney had committed the greatest crime against the British West Indies by exciting enemy forces to seek revenge, thus replacing the 'civilized practice of war' with a 'predatory system of destruction.' (1971, p. 192)

By decapitalizing the whole island of St. Eustatius, Rodney himself became a decapitalized monster.

Romance and suspense abound in this novel about systematic dispossession by a Crown representative who seizes a golden opportunity to recapitalize his future. For instance, the novel's protagonist True Brandenburg, a born Statian, becomes disposed of her wealth. With the help of her lover, Thaddaeus Prescott, a smuggler from the US colony of Virginia, True escapes to St. Croix, a nearby island. True's relationship with Thad is challenged by Admiral Rodney's advances. With his eyes on the wealthy widow, Admiral Rodney coveted the beautiful woman and her vast riches. Thad's smuggling network becomes useful for transporting True off the island. Yet the romantic story pales when compared with the atrocities associated with St. Eustatius society's devaluation. What makes this novel unique is the narrative of vengeful decapitalization of a whole insular society by a decapitalized imperial subject. Heckert provides an account of a crucial moment in the history of the Lesser Antilles. Accounts of archipelagic solidarity with anti-imperialist efforts in the Americas are often missing in literary histories.

The circulation of Archipelagic golden whiteness across the Americas

In the previous sections, we have encountered examples of quintessentially archipelagic novels where the Lesser Antilles has assumed the center stage, at places where a decapitalized white subject recapitalizes into a golden goddess (*The Golden Goddess*), or at a place where a brutal decapitalization is orchestrated by a subject seeking recapitalization (*The Golden Rock*). With the success of the archipelagic Caribbean golden whiteness trope, its currency finds circulation in the Greater Caribbean. By the mid-1970s, we find ‘golden whiteness’ in narratives set in the Bayou islands south of New Orleans in Louisiana. Set on Grand-Terre and Grand Isle islands, Lance Horner’s *Golden Stud* (1975) and *Sword of the Golden Stud* (1977) share traits and tropes developed by the archipelagic Caribbean trash fiction subgenre. Horner had previously co-authored with Kyle Onstott the sequels to best-seller *Mandingo* (1957). With *The Golden Stud* and its sequel, Horner moved the US pulp fiction subgenre from the continental setting of *Mandingo* to the archipelagic bayous of Southern Louisiana. The Cajun archipelago becomes, for him, a place to rethink continental understandings of whiteness. The *Golden Stud* series provides the best example of archipelagic golden whiteness north of the Caribbean Sea. *The Golden Stud* and its sequel tell the story of Jeff Carson, the son of an “octoroon wench” and a passing red-headed white stranger (Horner, 1975, p. 46). If in the US, Horner’s story would be understood as a novel of passing during the age of the one-drop rule, in the context of the Caribbean, these novels are understood as belonging to trash novels of decapitalized whiteness in the Americas. ‘Golden’ follows the logic set in the archipelagic Caribbean, as golden whiteness is shown to provide a revaluation of whiteness. However, unlike the trash fiction of the Lesser Antilles, in the Cajun archipelago, the extra value is found in the novels’ sexually explicit trashy traits.

Licentious in content, the novels describe the golden whiteness of the protagonist, Jeff Carson, whose one drop of African American blood makes him golden. Jeff is introduced as appearing “Caucasian parentee white” with marvelous attributes. These exceptional traits are underscored in a *ménage à trois* scene, during which the two women “knelt forward, gazing raptly at the colossus, clinging to it jealously” (Horner, 1975, p. 30). The narrative sequence takes us through many references to characters being “wracked by orgasms,” “figuratively and literally whipsawed,” with many “agonies,” “fevered orgasms,” and extreme “exhaustion” (pp. 30-34). The rhapsodic scene ends with the protagonist unveiling the phallic appendage as corroborating evidence of his extra value: “He was beat but proud of himself. Why shouldn’t he be proud of that which nature had endowed him, and which he had learned to use to its ultimate value?” (p. 34). Exemplifying of the trashiness of trash fiction, Horner adds a new dimension to the descriptor “golden.” Golden whiteness in Horner’s *Golden Stud* series refers to “the clear whiteness of his skin” (p.19), his “auburn hair” (p. 19), and his golden ticket, that is, the fact that Madame Hortense describes him as “hung like a horse” (p. 95). In the archipelago of Barataria Bay, in Grand Isle and Grand-Terre islands, we find the transformation from

the lesser Caribbean golden goddess to the trashiest and finest example of golden whiteness.

Conclusion

If, during the 1950s and 1960s, Anglophone Caribbean narratives were ideologically invested in the foundation of a nationalist canon, by the late 1960s and 1970s, the pulp narrative form gave flexibility to explore non-nationalist themes and to pursue a wide range of archipelagic settings. In this context, 1970s and early 1980s Anglophone Caribbean writing produced trash fiction with energetic archipelagic narratives. Their innovation is not only thematic or stylistic but also politico-evaluative. By rethinking whiteness beyond the old full white imperial ideology, Anglophone Caribbean archipelagic trash fictions produce understandings of whiteness different from those impressed by imperial or continental ideologies of race. Decapitalized whiteness generates multiple trash forms, such as Rhys's widely known "white cockroach" character in *Wide Sargasso Sea* and the lesser known 1970s and early 1980s trash fiction representations of golden whiteness. The marvelously archipelagic trash fiction in Grange's, Heckert's, and Wilson's works underscore some of the lesser known dimensions of Lesser Antillean history. With their success, golden whiteness spreads widely, influencing the writing of works of trash fiction in other archipelagic regions across the Americas.

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DE VERBEELDING VAN ARUBA EN DE ARUBAAN IN TWEË CARIBISCH-NEDERLANDSE REISTEKSTEN (1969-1986)

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Abstract

The representation of the Other in (post-)colonial travel writing is a key area of focus in travel writing studies. A deconstruction of these representations can give insight in the often difficult relation between former colonizing countries and their former colonies. In this article two post-colonial travel texts are analyzed: *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* by W.F. Hermans (1969), and *Reis naar de West* by H.M. van den Brink (1986). Both of these authors display a condescending attitude towards Aruba and Arubans. The analysis of other travel writing from this period may indicate the degree to which the attitudes adopted by Hermans and Van den Brink are in line with more widely shared attitudes about Aruba and the Arubans.

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Kernwoorden: Aruba, travel texts, W.F. Hermans, H.M. van den Brink, imagology

Samenvatting

In *travel writing studies* draait het om de analyse van de representaties van de Ander en het Andere in (post-)koloniale reisteksten. Een deconstructie van deze verbeeldingen kan onder andere inzicht geven in de vaak moeizame relatie tussen een voormalig moederland en een ex-kolonie. In dit artikel worden twee post-koloniale reisteksten over Aruba geanalyseerd: *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* van W.F. Hermans (1969) en *Reis naar de West* van H.M. van den Brink (1986). Beide auteurs tonen een neerbuijgende houding jegens Aruba en de Arubaan. Onderzoek van andere reisteksten uit deze periode zal moeten uitwijzen in hoeverre de houding van Hermans en Van den Brink persoonlijk was of dat beide auteurs een breder gedragen idee over Aruba en de Arubaan verwoordden.

Key terms: Aruba, reisteksten, W.F. Hermans, H.M. van den Brink, imagologie

Inleiding

Het is er klein en kalm, dor en droog, warm en winderig. De Nederlandse schrijver Willem Frederik Hermans (1921-1995) in *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland* (1969) en Hans Maarten van den Brink (geb. 1956, Nederland) in *Reis naar de West* (1986) zijn het over veel dingen eens waar het Aruba betreft. Het eiland is verder weinig authentiek, zo lezen we, niet erg Nederlands maar wel heel Amerikaans. Wat schreven ze nog meer over Aruba? Hoe zagen zij de Arubaan? Welk beeld gaven zij de Nederlandse lezer van het eiland? Alvorens de teksten van beide auteurs op basis van deze vragen aan een nadere analyse te onderwerpen, zijn er eerst enkele andere kwesties die aandacht verdienen. Binnen welke sociaal-historische context werden de genoemde boeken geschreven? En waarom is het relevant om deze teksten te analyseren? Wat levert zo'n analyse op? Wat hebben we eraan?

In 1954 wordt met het Statuut voor het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden de verhouding tussen Nederland en de voormalige koloniën in de West in een nieuw jasje gegoten: Nederland, Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen zijn vanaf dat moment gelijkwaardige partners binnen één koninkrijk. Rust en duidelijkheid - voor zolang als het duurt. Binnen korte tijd vertroebelen de relaties en steken oude en nieuwe spanningen tussen het voormalige moederland en de ex-koloniën de kop op. In Suriname wordt begin jaren zeventig de roep om onafhankelijkheid steeds luider en in de tijd dat Hermans en Van den Brink hun teksten publiceren, halen ook de toenmalige Nederlandse Antillen, en met name de drie Benedenwindse Eilanden, regelmatig de voorpagina's van de Nederlandse kranten. Eind mei 1969, een paar maanden nadat Hermans zijn Antilliaanse reis heeft afgesloten en kort voor het verschijnen van *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland*, zijn verslag van de reis, staat de Curaçaose hoofdstad Willemstad in brand na een uit de hand gelopen staking. De gebeurtenissen op Curaçao hebben hun weerslag op de Arubaanse politiek. Na de oprichting van de politieke partij MEP (Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo) in 1971 draait het op Aruba om maar één thema: de status aparte. Reinders (1993, p. 100) schrijft daar het volgende over:

Niet zozeer wijziging in de band met Nederland was het hoofdstreven, maar nodig was een wijziging in de verhouding tussen landen [en] eilandgebieden, [lees: het door Curaçao gedomineerde land en Aruba. (...)] Op initiatief van de Eilandsraad werd in februari 1972 besloten tot het zenden van een Arubaanse delegatie naar Nederland om de belangen van Aruba te bepleiten. In Nederland kreeg men evenwel nul op het rekest.

In de jaren die volgen wordt er druk overlegd en veel heen en weer gereisd tussen Den Haag en Oranjestad. Uiteindelijk krijgt Aruba zijn zin. Op 1 januari 1986 krijgt het eiland een autonome status binnen het Koninkrijk; de status aparte is een feit. In de pagina's die NRC-journalist Hans Maarten van den Brink in zijn reportage *Reis naar de West* (1986) aan Aruba wijdt, is de politieke status van het eiland een van de onderwerpen van gesprek.

De twee hierboven genoemde teksten behoren tot wat Rutgers (2007) de Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur noemt. Het zijn teksten geschreven door Nederlandse auteurs, gepubliceerd in Nederland door Nederlandse uitgeverijen en bestemd voor een Nederlands publiek. Hermans en Van den Brink waren passanten, mensen “die het gebied uit eigen waarneming hebben gekend, soms enkel op een korte reis, soms van een jarenlang verblijf en een intensieve vereenzelviging met land en volk”. (Van Kempen en Rutgers, 2005, p. 19) De aandacht voor dit soort teksten is de afgelopen decennia onder invloed van onder andere het werk van Edward Said, Michel Foucault en Mary Louise Pratt en als gevolg van de dekoloniseringsdebatten in zowel de voormalige moederlanden als in de ex-koloniën sterk gegroeid. In landen als Engeland en Nederland vormen (post-)koloniale (reis)teksten inmiddels een serieuze bron van onderzoek. Bij deze onderzoeken wordt ervan uitgegaan dat dit soort teksten geen objectieve weergave zijn van de werkelijkheid, maar dat het gaat om representaties van die werkelijkheid; representaties die deel uitmaken van een discours dat een meer of minder verhulde visie geeft op die werkelijkheid. Deze visie is vervolgens medebepalend voor de relatie tussen twee landen. In de analyses van (post-)koloniale (reis)teksten wordt veelvuldig gebruik gemaakt van de theoretische kaders zoals die zijn ontwikkeld binnen de imagologie, een tak van de vergelijkende literatuurwetenschap die zich bezig houdt met de bestudering van transnationale percepties en verbeeldingen in (semi-)literaire teksten. Centraal in imagologische analyses staat de bestudering van het *image*, dat door Leerssen (2007a, p. 342) als volgt wordt gedefinieerd: “The mental or discursive representation or reputation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’.” De door schrijvers gecreëerde verbeeldingen van de Ander en het Andere zijn, hoe weinig correct en compleet ze ook mogen zijn, hardnekkig, en dragen bij aan de vorming van het cultureel archief waarmee vanuit het Westen de Ander en het Andere in het koloniale verleden en het post-koloniale heden worden bekeken.

Bij onderzoeken binnen deze kaders worden (post-)koloniale (reis)teksten gelezen, gedeconstrueerd en onderworpen aan een kritische discoursanalyse. Het draait in deze analyses om begrippen als etnocentrisme, eurocentrisme en exoticisme; om het zichtbaar maken van de gehanteerde *othering strategies* en de koloniale representaties van de Ander en het Andere; om het ontrafelen van mythes en machtspatronen; om het achterhalen van de koloniale ideologie die middels deze teksten wordt gecreëerd, onderschreven, bestendigd en verspreid. Het doel van dergelijke analyses is duidelijk. Een ‘tegendraadse’ herlezing van in het koloniale en post-koloniale tijdperk geschreven (reis)literatuur kan ons bewust maken van onze blinde vlekken, kan een gekoloniseerde geest dekoloniseren en kan leiden tot inzicht in de vaak moeizame verhoudingen tussen een voormalig moederland en een ex-kolonie. Dit inzicht kan vervolgens de basis vormen voor een nieuwe, andere, meer gelijkwaardige relatie.

Het bovenstaande rechtvaardigt niet alleen de conclusie dat de teksten van Hermans en Van den Brink (onbewust) hebben bijgedragen aan het Nederlandse beeld van Aruba en

de Arubaan, maar ook dat een (bewuste) deconstructie van dat beeld kan bijdragen aan een beter begrip van de vaak moeizame relatie tussen Nederland en Aruba en wellicht zelfs aan een betere relatie tussen beide landen. Het bestuderen en analyseren van de representaties van Aruba en de Arubaan in de genoemde reisteksten is om die reden relevant.

(Post-)koloniale reisteksten

Met name in Engeland maar zeker ook in Nederland is de academische belangstelling voor *travel writing*, een breed, interdisciplinair onderzoeksgebied, de laatste decennia sterk toegenomen. (Meier, 2007; Pettinger & Young, 2021; Honings, 2023) Gezien het gestelde in het voorafgaande is die toegenomen aandacht niet vreemd. Juist in reisteksten draait het om het beschrijven en contrasteren van het bekende en het vertrouwde met het vreemde, het nieuwe, het andere. De reiziger-schrijver fungeert daarbij als een soort middelaar: op basis van het eigen culturele frame en de eigen verwachtingen en vooroordelen creëert en verbeeldt hij een *hetero-image*, een beeld van de Ander en het Andere. Dit beeld is subjectief maar heeft juist in reisteksten de schijn van objectiviteit, waardoor de werking van het gevormde en verspreide beeld des te krachtiger is. Terecht stelt Meier (2007, p. 446) dat een reistekst wellicht feiten bevat, maar dat het uiteindelijk een tekst is met een epische structuur waarin de poëtische functie centraal staat. Rutgers (1997, p. 222) gebruikt om die reden de hybride term ‘romantropologie’ als hij het heeft over reisteksten over het 19e-eeuwse Aruba. Honings (2023, p. 17-18) benadrukt dat de schrijver van een reistekst zich bedient van retorische middelen en dat de tekst altijd een constructie is. Een reisschrijver beweegt zich tussen twee polen: als verslaggever presenteert hij zo objectief mogelijk feiten; als verteller is hij subjectief en beschrijft hij de eigen belevenissen en ervaringen. Zowel Meier als Rutgers stellen dat lezers van reisteksten zich in het algemeen te weinig rekenschap gaven en geven van de poëtische functie van dit soort teksten; lezers hebben volgens Meier (2007, p. 446) de neiging “to read the texts naïvely as an unrefracted reflection of reality – confusing representation with fact.” Wat hier wordt gesteld voor reisteksten in het algemeen, geldt nog sterker voor reisteksten die geschreven zijn in een (post-)koloniale context: deze teksten zijn verre van objectief, bevatten in bijna alle gevallen verborgen ideologieën en hebben volgens Jedamski en Honings (2023, p. 19) “substantially contributed to the legitimization of the imperial project as presented to domestic audiences.”

“Verder heb ik het er niet aan afgezien” – W.F. Hermans over Aruba

De reis die Hermans begin 1969 naar Suriname en de toenmalige Nederlandse Antillen voert, maakt hij op uitnodiging van Sticusa (Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking). In september van hetzelfde jaar publiceert uitgeverij De Bezige in een oplage van 10.000 exemplaren *De laatste resten tropisch Nederland*, het bij tijden ironische en badinerende

verslag van Hermans' reis naar de West. In het slot van het boek spreekt de auteur openlijk zijn twijfels uit over het nut van zijn reis en over de relatie tussen Nederland en de overzeese gebiedsdelen in het Caribisch gebied:

Vraagt iemand mij welk voordeel of nut mijn bezoek de Surinamers en Antilliaanen heeft opgeleverd, dan zou ik daar geen duidelijk antwoord op weten en misschien kom ik er wel nooit achter. Als me zou worden gevraagd welk nut of genoeg er voor het nederlandse volk is verbonden aan de omstandigheid dat het met Suriname en de Antillen in één koninkrijk verenigd is, dan moet ik zeggen: uitgezonderd de enkelingen die de gelegenheid krijgen deze rijkdelen te bezoeken, is er misschien wel niemand die er enig nut of genoeg van ondervindt. (p. 199)

Het boek werd wisselend ontvangen, zo meldt Hermans' biograaf Willem Otterspeer. (2015, p. 486-487) Het oordeel uit katholieke hoek was positief; links Nederland (onder andere *Het Vrije Volk* en *Vrij Nederland*) reageerde heel wat negatiever en ook in Suriname en op de eilanden was men kritisch.

Het hoofdstuk over Aruba telt slechts vijf pagina's, wat niet vreemd is aangezien Hermans' bezoek aan het eiland maar één dag duurde. In de beschrijvingen wordt Aruba vrij consequent gecontrasteerd met Curaçao, wat soms uitvalt in het voordeel van het ene eiland, soms in dat van het andere. Dat de verhouding tussen beide eilanden moeizaam is, is Hermans niet ontgaan: "Het zou het beste zijn als Aruba zich maar losmaakte van de vijf andere Antillen, vinden heel wat Arubanen. Ze voelen zich door Curaçao op menig gebied in de hoek gedrukt en haten alles wat op Curaçao bedacht wordt als de pest." (p. 146) Hermans lijkt de Arubaanse sentimenten jegens Curaçao niet helemaal serieus te nemen. Aansluitend aan de hierboven geciteerde observatie, noteert hij: "Begrijpelijk dat, wanneer Curaçao een nederlandse schrijver uitnodigt, Aruba als enige Antil weten laat geen belangstelling te hebben voor die man en dat hij daar geen lezingen hoeft te komen houden." (p. 146) Ook Hermans' reactie op een opmerking van de heer Henriquez, die hem namens de Arubaanse overheid rondleidt over het eiland, is wat dat betreft veelzeggend: "Henriquez vertelt over de grieven van Aruba jegens Curaçao. De enige die mij nog te binnen wil schieten ging over de opening van een veerdienst op Venezuela." (p. 150) Tussen de regels door lijkt Hermans te suggereren dat de Arubanen een inderwaardigheidscomplex hebben ten opzichte van grote broer Curaçao, wat er paradoxaal genoeg toe leidt dat ze graag opscheppen over de eigen prestaties. Hermans noteert dat als volgt: "Aruba bezit de grootste zoetwaterfabriek van het Westelijk Halfrond, zeggen de Arubanen" en "Aruba's olieraffinaderij is de grootste ter wereld, zeggen de Arubanen." (p. 147)

Het Arubaanse landschap is droog en wild, er zijn interessante archeologische en geologische raadsels, zo meldt Hermans, maar verder heeft het eiland weinig eigens. Aruba is vooral duur en Amerikaans. En Nederlands is het al helemaal niet. Het eindoordeel van het bezoek aan Aruba is weinig verrassend:

ARUBA – A TOUCH OF DUTCH IN THE CAREFREE CARIBBEAN, zegt een folder. Het is waar dat zich hier een restaurant in de vorm van een echte hollandse windmolen bevindt, die, door palmen omringd, nog het meeste denken doet aan een Staphorster boerin in een hoela-hoela-rokje. Verder heb ik het er niet aan afgezien. (p. 150)

“Toegegeven: er was een museum” – de Arubaanse observaties van H.M. van den Brink

Van den Brink bezoekt de Nederlandse Antillen in het voorjaar van 1985, een klein jaar voordat Aruba op 1 januari 1986 de lang gekoesterde status aparte krijgt binnen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, een gebeurtenis waar in het aan Aruba gewijde hoofdstuk (15 pagina's) logischerwijs aandacht aan wordt besteed. De journalistieke reportage *Reis naar de West* verschijnt in 1986 bij uitgeverij Meulenhoff, nadat er eerder al delen van het verslag zijn gepubliceerd in *NRC Handelsblad*.

Het reisverslag van Van den Brink is niet alleen uitgebreider dan dat van Hermans, de toon is ook meer journalistiek en minder ironisch en neerbuigend. Dit laatste neemt niet weg dat ook Van den Brink het eiland en zijn bevolking niet altijd even serieus lijkt te nemen. In zijn beschrijving van politicus Betico Croes, de grote man achter de status aparte, lezen we woorden als “volksmenner”, “bleek en pafferig”, “zwetend en stamelend” en “platitudes”. (p. 68) Wat bij Hermans opschepperij was, is bij Van den Brink zelfbewustzijn. Economisch gezien gaat het goed met het eiland; cultureel gezien is er weinig te beleven. Net als Hermans ziet Van den Brink nauwelijks iets eigens, Aruba lijkt een eiland zonder eigen karakter. In de interviews die Van den Brink tijdens zijn verblijf op het eiland houdt, komt dit thema aan de orde. Felipe Tromp, die enkele maanden na zijn gesprek met Van den Brink de eerste gouverneur van Aruba zal worden, merkt op: “Een eigen culturele identiteit? Ik geloof niet dat men zich daar op ons eiland erg druk over maakt, zoals op Curaçao. Alles heeft tot nu toe in de schaduw gestaan van het streven naar de *status aparte*.” (p. 71) In een ander gesprek voegt Alice van Romondt, de toenmalige directrice van de openbare bibliotheek, daar aan toe “dat op Aruba niemand zich ook druk maakte over de strijd voor het Papiamentu, de eigen taal.” (p. 72) In Fort Zoutman bezoekt Van den Brink het historisch museum; dat is “vooral een zeer geordend niets [...] Het merendeel van die voorwerpen zou binnen één middag op een goed gesorteerde Hollandse rommelmarkt bijeen te garen zijn. Het museum was een lijst zonder inhoud.” (p. 69-70) En in het algemeen is die lijst, om dat woord van Van den Brink te gebruiken, vooral Amerikaans.

Voor de rest lezen we net als bij Hermans dat Aruba droog is, dat er cactussen zijn en rotsblokken en dat Arubanen zich graag afzetten tegen Curaçao, hun burens, die “lui, slordig en arrogant” (p. 66) zijn. In de slotalinea lijkt Van den Brink te suggereren dat de economische voorspoed van het eiland een duister randje heeft:

Terwijl ik in de hal van mijn hotel wachtte om te kunnen afrekenen, stond voor mij een kleine, perfect gecoiffeerde Zuidamerikaan in een gestippeld kostuum. Ik kon het niet helpen dat ik over zijn schouder in zijn attaché-koffertje kon kijken, toen hij het op de balie legde en behoedzaam openmaakte. Zoiets had ik alleen nog maar in gangsterfilms gezien. De gehele koffer was gevuld met stapels dollarbiljetten, ordelijk gerangschikt en bijeengehouden met elastiekjes. Er werd nog genoeg geld verdiend op Aruba. Althans genoeg om te exporteren. (p. 79-80)

Slotopmerkingen

In zijn overzicht van de Caribisch-Nederlandse literatuur merkt Rutgers (2007) op dat de schrijvers van deze teksten een sterk wisselende betrokkenheid hebben bij de Caribische maatschappij:

Naast de verhalen waarin de Cariben als niet meer dan een exotisch decor dienden, is er het werk met een persoonlijke positiebepaling ten opzichte van het land van tijdelijk verblijf en het werk waarin een visie op gewenste en ongewenste sociale ontwikkelingen op geëngageerde wijze wordt verwoord. Er spreekt uit diverse werken een dilemma tussen afstandelijkheid en betrokkenheid. (p. 453)

Als we de in dit artikel besproken teksten afzetten tegen deze algemene opmerkingen, dan moet worden vastgesteld dat er noch bij Hermans noch bij Van den Brink sprake is van een persoonlijke positiebepaling of het verwoorden van een eigen visie. Misschien was hun Arubaanse verblijf hier ook simpelweg te kort voor. Hermans en Van den Brink waren slechts op doorreis op Aruba. Niet voor niets noteert Hermans: “Het is moeilijk wanneer je rondgeleid wordt iets niet alleen te zien, maar ook te beleven.” (p. 149) In de beschrijvingen wordt het eiland veelal ‘negatief’ gedefinieerd: Aruba is geen Curaçao, Aruba is geen Nederland, Aruba heeft nauwelijks iets eigens en is zeker bij de stranden en de hotels vooral heel erg Amerikaans. Daarbij is de Arubaan zelden (Van den Brink) of nooit (Hermans) een serieuze gesprekspartner. In de *contact zone*, een concept van Pratt (2008), is van contact nauwelijks sprake.

Er is in beide teksten relatief veel aandacht voor het Arubaanse landschap: Aruba is warm en winderig, dor en droog, zo lezen we. Willen de schrijvers met deze landschapsbeschrijvingen iets zeggen over de Arubanen? Beller (2007) legt uit dat in de *theory of climate zones* verschillen tussen samenlevingen worden toegeschreven aan verschillen in klimatologische omstandigheden: “This theory postulates a causal link between people’s surroundings and their psychological and intellectual dispositions.” (p. 298) Dit oorspronkelijk uit de etnografie afkomstige idee “has influenced literary representations of living environments and personal appearance.” (p. 298) Dergelijke klimaattheorieën hebben vandaag de dag geen wetenschappelijke status meer; echter, zo stelt Beller: “Various types of travel literature and country descriptions, representations in the

media in news broadcasts, documentaries, tourist advertisements: all this still links impressions of climate, landscape, nature and types of people.” (p. 303) Moeten we op basis van deze opmerkingen van Beller concluderen dat Hermans en Van den Brink de Arubanen net zo dor en droog vonden als het Arubaanse landschap? Dat Arubanen met alle winden meewaaïen? Een landschappelijk gezien moeilijk ‘grijpbaar’ eiland bewoond door een moeilijk ‘grijpbare’ bevolking? Hermans heeft het in zijn tekst over geologische en archeologische raadsels; misschien is Aruba ook een antropologisch raadsel.

De vraag is natuurlijk in hoeverre het Nederlandse publiek de representaties van Aruba en de Arubaan zoals die zijn terug te vinden bij Hermans en Van den Brink, geloofwaardig vond. Het feit dat het een boek betrof van een gerenommeerd auteur dat verschillende malen werd herdrukt (Hermans), dat er voorpublicaties waren in vooraanstaande tijdschriften en kranten (Hermans in *Avenue*, Van den Brink in *NRC Handelsblad*) rechtvaardigt de conclusie dat de inhoud van de teksten waarschijnlijk weinig discussie opleverde. Een lastig te onderzoeken vervolgvraag is wat de invloed van deze teksten geweest zou kunnen zijn op de houding van Nederland ten opzichte van Aruba. Dat er invloed uitgaat van (post)koloniale (reis)teksten staat voor Honings *et al* (2021) niet ter discussie: “teksten representeren niet alleen de werkelijkheid, maar geven die mede vorm.” (p. 14) Waar het reisteksten betreft, gaat Meier (2007) nog een stapje verder; reisliteratuur, zo stelt hij, “has often offered ideological support for both political and economical developments.” (p. 449) Bij Pratt (2008, p. 3) vinden we eenzelfde standpunt als het gaat om koloniale reisteksten: “Travel books [...] gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized. [...] They were [...] a key instrument [...] in creating the ‘domestic subject’ of empire.”

Wat is Aruba? Wie of wat zijn Arubanen? Op basis van de hier geanalyseerde teksten kon de Nederlandse lezer concluderen dat Aruba een eiland was zonder veel eigen karakter, dat vooral veel dingen niet was. Een eiland bewoond door mensen die niet helemaal serieus genomen konden worden en waar weinig hoogte van te krijgen was. Dit lijkt een twijfelachtige basis voor goede gesprekken over bijvoorbeeld de positie van het eiland binnen het Koninkrijk. Natuurlijk zijn de hier getrokken conclusies zeer voorlopig. Een onderzoek waarbij meer (semi-)literaire bronnen worden bekeken kan het hier gepresenteerde beeld ondersteunen of nuanceren. Of onderuithalen natuurlijk.

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DEFYING DENIAL IN THE STUDY OF MEMORY AND CULTURE

THE ROLE OF MIGRATION IN RECLAIMING CARIBBEAN IDENTITIES THROUGH CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

This article seeks to place the Dutch Caribbean space within a comprehensive regional historical context, using Curaçao as a case study. Our objective is to embed the Dutch Caribbean islands within the intricate tapestry of Caribbean historiography by focusing on interregional migrations and their cultural impacts. Increasingly, scholars are recognizing the pivotal role of migrations, particularly those within the Caribbean during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in shaping various facets of life—from religious practices and language to arts, cultural expressions, and socio-political movements such as anticolonial and antiracist activism. Through the careful study of oral history, the research upon which this article is based delves into how the people of the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao have acquired cultural expressions through migration, which have forged and affirmed their identities as Caribbean individuals. By doing so, we aim to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of Caribbean histories and identities, emphasizing the agency of Caribbean communities in crafting narratives that transcend colonial limitations. Through the lens of Curaçao's historical narratives, this article illuminates pathways toward a more holistic understanding of the Caribbean past and present.

Key terms: Migration, Caribbean identities, oral history, cultural expression, historiography

Introduction

In his seminal work titled “The Great Curassow or the Road to Caribbeaness” (1998), Frank Martinus Arion, a distinguished author hailing from Curaçao and recognized for his profound engagement with Caribbean studies, articulated a poignant critique of Caribbean cultural identity. Arion contended that Caribbean nations exhibited a profound lack of mutual recognition, asserting that there existed a greater affinity towards European cultural paradigms than towards a distinctly Caribbean identity. This assertion emerged as a direct response to the discourse presented in *Éloge de la créolité* (1993) by Martinican authors Jean Barnabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant. These authors interconnected notions of Americanness, Caribbeaness, and creolization, positing them as central to the formation of cultural identities within the Caribbean. Arion’s deep reflections on the erosion of Caribbean distinctiveness shed light on a pressing concern: the growing trend of Europeanization, or “Dutchification” as he calls it, notably among voices advocating for Curaçao’s integration into the Netherlands. This phenomenon has gained significant traction in the Dutch Caribbean during the twenty-first century, evidenced by the progressive alignment of the islands with Dutch political and financial interests.

Arion uses the “Curassow” (*Crax rubra*) as a metaphor to embody Caribbean identity, illustrating how it transcends geographic and political boundaries. This native bird symbolizes a shared heritage that unites people across the Caribbean, highlighting the identity’s dynamic, inclusive nature and its ability to adapt and thrive amidst diverse cultural influences and historical challenges. Arion’s analysis also illuminates the intricate challenges faced by non-independent Caribbean nations as they navigate their colonial legacies while asserting their unique identities within the broader Caribbean context. Arion therefore emphasizes the inherent fragility of Caribbeaness, perpetually imperiled by the enduring influence of European imperial ideologies. This perspective, however, does not fully address the colonial legacy and the persistence of elitist colonial attitudes that continue to influence nearly all Caribbean societies. Even in nations that have achieved independence, individuals often maintain a strong loyalty to their respective territories, deeply intertwined with their colonial heritage. Historians O. Nigel Bolland and Franklin W. Knight (1997) emphasize that fragmented nationalisms still shape contemporary notions of belonging in the post-colonial Caribbean. Within this enduring colonial framework, intra-Caribbean migration has often been discouraged. Nevertheless, both historical and recent migration patterns inadvertently foster what might be termed cultural cross-fertilization. This process, involving the exchange and blending of cultural elements, has significant transformative potential. It plays a crucial role in shaping the vibrant and dynamic cultural tapestry of the Caribbean, reflecting both the challenges and opportunities of regional mobility.

Recent studies by Allen (2015) and Groenewoud (2021) have recognized the necessity of delving into the interconnectivity between Caribbean nations by examining the

contributions of their highly mobile and transnational working classes, which have transcended colonial barriers and which can provide us with a different understanding of the shared cultural heritage of the region. Drawing upon my past oral history research, this article provides empirical examples of cultural practices and ideas in Curaçao that have emerged from organic connections forged through these migrations, contributing to creolization processes. The concept of “organic connectivity” is introduced to describe the webs of interconnectedness woven between people of different Caribbean societies through grassroots cultural interactions. Contrasting with top-down institutional policies of integration and assimilation, this bottom-up phenomenon produces new cultural ideas and practices while reinforcing identities throughout the region. Despite its pivotal role, intra-Caribbean organic connectivity is often overlooked in the conceptualization of creolization, which traditionally centers on the mixing of European, African, Indigenous and Asian cultural elements. This paper argues for the inclusion of intra-regional migrations as integral components of the ongoing process of shaping creolized cultural identities in the Caribbean and fostering notions of Caribbeanness.

Interwoven identities: Curaçao as both sender and receiver

Migration stands as a recurrent and deeply ingrained phenomenon within the Caribbean, attracting considerable scholarly attention. Elizabeth M. Thomas-Hope (2002), a prominent geographer, delves into this subject in her seminal work titled *Caribbean Migration*. Within this scholarly discourse, Thomas-Hope articulates the Caribbean as steeped in a pervasive culture of migration, fostered and facilitated by prominent societal institutions. Julia Crane (1971) further enriches our understanding of Caribbean migration dynamics through her exploration of the concept of “Educated to Emigrate” within the context of the Dutch island of Saba. Here, Crane illustrates migration's pivotal role as an intrinsic component of the socialization process for Saban inhabitants, something that can be extended to the rest of the Caribbean. Building upon these foundational perspectives, Gordon K. Lewis, in his foreword to Palmer's book *In Search of a Better Life* (1990), characterizes the Caribbean as a “seaborne frontier society,” emphasizing the enduring quest for fulfillment and prosperity through migration (Lewis, 1990, p. xiv). This characterization underscores migration's integral role in shaping Caribbean societies and individual aspirations. The anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig (1993) provides a more historical perspective in her insightful analysis of the intricate interplay between migration and cultural identity in Nevis. Through her work, Olwig sheds light on the complexities of cultural identity formation in the aftermath of enslavement, as marginalized populations sought social and economic opportunities through migratory endeavors within the region. Even preceding the revolutions in global transportation and communication, intra-regional migration within the Caribbean catalyzed the emergence of novel identity constructs that transcended conventional notions of colonial boundaries. This phenomenon played a pivotal role in the dynamic evolution of regional identities,

fostering a process of cultural dynamism liberated from the constraints imposed by colonialism.

Building upon the scholarly discourse surrounding Caribbean migration, Curaçao emerges as a significant case study, offering valuable insights into the transgenerational transmission of cultural ideas and practices through migratory movements. Despite its small size, Curaçao has a rich history of experiencing both emigration and immigration on a large scale.

Before the abolition of slavery in 1863, Curaçao witnessed a notable exodus of African descended, freed, working-class individuals seeking refuge from the island's impoverished economic conditions. Many of these migrants embarked on journeys to destinations such as Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and Saint Thomas, in search of better opportunities and improved livelihoods. This historical context highlights the pivotal role of migration in shaping the demographic and cultural landscape of Curaçao. The movement of individuals across borders facilitated the exchange of cultural ideas and practices, contributing to the diversification and enrichment of the island's cultural heritage. Moreover, the transgenerational transmission of cultural knowledge and traditions through migration underscores the enduring impact of migratory experiences on Curaçaoan society.

After 1863, freed Curaçaoans continued to seek improved livelihoods through emigration, moving to countries such as Costa Rica, Venezuela, Panama, and the Dominican Republic, as well as Suriname, another Dutch colony at that time. In the early 20th century, a significant circular movement occurred between Curaçao and Cuba, primarily involving young men who worked in the Cuban cane fields. Women also participated in these migrations, although to a lesser extent.

Curaçaoans joined migrant laborers from other Caribbean nations to support post-enslavement, primarily agricultural economies in the region. However, the migration pattern shifted in the 1920s with the establishment and subsequent expansion of an oil refinery in Curaçao. The island began to attract immigrants, including Syrians, East-European Jews, (East-)Indians, Chinese, Venezuelans, Portuguese (from Madeira), Surinamese, and individuals from other Caribbean nations, particularly the English-speaking sub-region. Curaçao, once characterized by waves of short-term emigration, became a net receiver of immigrants in the first half of the 20th century.

Exploring intercultural dynamics through oral history: Methodological insights

In exploring migration patterns encompassing both emigration from and immigration to Curaçao, I've employed an oral history approach, conducting interviews with individual migrants to comprehend their motives for migration, their experiences in their destination countries, and the insights gained from their journeys. The objective of this endeavor is to comprehensively investigate this recurring phenomenon from the perspective of those who have directly experienced migration. The resulting body of data

includes a significant number of testimonies from individuals who participated in the large wave of Curaçaoans migrating to Cuba during the immediate post-Emancipation era (1917-1922). Additionally, for insights into Caribbean connectivity from the perspective of emigrants, I utilized interviews with individuals from the Caribbean who arrived in Curaçao at the beginning of the twentieth century (Allen, 2000, 2001).

To ensure the collection of authentic and comprehensive data, rigorous methods and techniques were meticulously employed. The interviews concerning emigration commenced in the 1980s, a period when many of these migrants had advanced in age, thus offering invaluable firsthand insights into this distinct migration wave. Notably, this research emphasizes the inclusion of female migrants, a demographic often overlooked in historical documentation. Through oral history interviews, the experiences of both male and female migrants were carefully documented, shedding light on the multifaceted nature of migration. Structured around open-ended questions, the interviews provided informants with the opportunity to freely recount their life experiences before, during, and after migration. Encompassing various aspects such as lifestyle, motives for migration, socio-cultural conditions in the countries involved, interactions with locals and other migrants, health, spiritual life, recreational activities, and eventual return to their homeland, the interviews yielded a rich tapestry of insights.

Conducted with informed consent, the interviews were recorded to ensure accuracy in capturing the nuances of the migrants' narratives. Subsequently, the data obtained were utilized to provide a deeper understanding of the migration experience from the migrants' perspectives. In the context of migration to Cuba, which represents one of the more recent intra-Caribbean migrations involving a substantial number of migrants who were still alive at the time, written documents offered insights into the challenges faced by migrants in their destination countries as recorded by the government and the Roman Catholic Church. Oral history interviews enriched these narratives by uncovering personal perspectives and experiences that complemented existing written documentation, highlighting themes of suffering, resilience, and personal growth. This approach complemented and enriched existing scholarly work by gaining access to individual stories and emotions, providing a more nuanced understanding of historical migration patterns through the capture of migrants' lived experiences. The oral history approach offered a human dimension to the study of migration different from official records, as it allowed for the exploration of challenges of migrants coping with new environments and reflections on their new experiences. Similarly, this oral history approach was applied to immigrants from the English-speaking Caribbean who arrived in Curaçao at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a result, important comparisons could be made regarding these various migration patterns (Allen, 1988, 2013).

Emigrant narratives: Redefining Caribbeaness from the ground-up

In this discussion on popular, cross-cultural intra-Caribbean exchanges, we will delve into the migration dynamics between Curaçao and Cuba, a significant phenomenon with profound economic and cultural implications. This migration, occurring predominantly in the early 20th century, represented the last major labor out-migration from Curaçao before significant movements of in-migration commenced. Initiating in 1917 and reaching its zenith in 1919, this migration wave saw a substantial portion of Curaçao's labor-productive male population departing for eastern Cuba to engage in cane-cutting activities for prominent sugar companies like the American Chaparra Sugar Company and Manati Sugar Company. They joined a vast influx of labor immigrants from neighboring islands such as Jamaica, other English-speaking territories, and Haiti. Despite the economic opportunities presented by Cuba's sugar industry boom, migration from Curaçao to Cuba remained predominantly a male working-class phenomenon, with only a minority of women accompanying their partners or venturing alone.

The cultural landscape of Cuba, particularly in the eastern region known as the Oriente, served as a hub of musical creativity. In his influential book *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940*, the ethnomusicologist Robin Moore (1997) highlights the significance of Afro-Cuban music in the lives of black Cubans and its journey toward recognition and elevation as national expression. This period marked a transformative era where Afro-Cuban music played a central role in shaping cultural identity and challenging societal perceptions, ultimately contributing to the broader national discourse on identity and artistic innovation. During the period studied by Moore, characterized by heightened migration to Cuba, music emerged as a pivotal medium for bridging the gap between immigrants and the local Cuban populace, despite initial concerns that immigrants could pose threats to local job opportunities. Music played a crucial role in fostering connections and cultural exchange, transcending economic anxieties and facilitating social integration within the community. It was through music that immigrants and locals found common ground, fostering understanding and unity amidst societal changes and challenges.

Oral history interviews conducted with male Curaçaoan return migrants in the 1980s shed light on their deep engagement with Cuban musical culture during their time as cane-cutting immigrants. During their leisure hours, they enthusiastically embraced Afro-Cuban musical genres, mastering instruments such as the *bongo*, *tres*, and *marímbula*, which were previously unfamiliar in Curaçao. These instruments, described by the influential Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz as creole Cuban music instruments with notable African influences, enabled the performance of genres like *son*, *guaguanco*, *rumba*, *mambo*, *guaracha*, and *guajira* (Moore, 2018)

Curaçaoans would gather and exchange musically with Cubans after their arduous work-days. An illustrative instance of this is the following example, in which a Cuban worker

initiated a song in the style of a *guaracha*, with its satirical lyrics prompting a clever retort from a Curaçaoan co-worker.

*Esta mañana en la iglesia yo vi una muchacha de Curazao,
Era una muchacha muy bonita, delgadita de cintura.
Como me da gana enamorarla, fui a preguntar a su madre.
Y su madre me lo dijo que era chica todavía.
Yo le dije a su madre que la dejara por sí misma porque era fea.*
[This morning in church, I saw a girl from Curaçao.
She was a very beautiful girl, slim-waisted.
As I felt like falling in love with her, I went to ask her mother.
Her mother told me she was still a young girl.
I told her mother to let her be on her own because she was ugly.]
(all translations are by the author unless specified otherwise)

The Curaçaoan responded to the song:

*Si yo voy para Curazao
Yo no guardo en Cuba más, porque en Cuba se matan gente
Porque en Cuba se comen gente.*
[Yes, I will return to Curaçao,
I am not staying in Cuba anymore,
Because in Cuba they kill people.
Because in Cuba they eat people.]¹

This form of verbal combat, typical in the Caribbean and also attested in Curaçao, demonstrates how this region is culturally intertwined. The Curaçaoan worker humorously exchanges insults as a way to express deeper emotions and feelings without directly offending the other. It also masks his complex perceptions of life in Cuba, including his sentiments and frustrations experienced there. This dynamic interconnectedness also leads to cultural enrichment, whereby new forms and ways of expression are introduced into the lives of migrants, as highlighted in the following text.

One day we went to play in the house of a black Cuban foreman. All of us were people of colour, but they treated us as if we were white; with a lot of respect, taking off their hats and things like that, when the musicians arrived. It was very marvellous. They also gave us money, because when you play the guitar and play songs from them, they would throw money in your guitar. You would hear *plòdòt, plòdòt*, when the money fell inside your guitar. That stimulated us more to play. A man named Andres Badiga, a black man with a wooden leg, had showed me how to play the guitar. I would usually accompany him when he played. One day another Curaçaoan man from Banda 'Bou called Dito Damon came when I was practicing. I later also taught him to play. It is necessary to have

¹ Interview with Nicolaas Petrona (born 1898 in Kent U Zelf, eastern part of Curaçao), by Rose Mary Allen in 1986 and stored at the National Archives Curaçao (NatAr)

skill, but if you ask me something about the notes of the song, I do not know anything about that. However, I learned to play the *tres* and the *bongo*, and I taught several other people. Even a [Jamaican] boy we used to call *Ingles* [English] who also taught others.²

This vividly described event provides insight into the encounter between different Caribbean communities present in Cuba. The narrator learned to play the guitar from someone who he described as a black Cuban man and would perform with him regularly during festive encounters. Racialism is further emphasized when he stated that they as black musicians were treated as white people, receiving all the respect and privileges typically afforded to white individuals. Later, the narrator passed on this knowledge to others, including individuals from his own country and other immigrants from Jamaica known as *Ingles* (English), also present in Cuba. These interactions highlight the collaborative and educational nature of cross-cultural encounters. The narrator's mention of receiving money and the excitement of hearing coins (onomapoetically depicted as *plòdòt, plòdòt*) drop into the guitar during performances emphasized the motivation and inspiration that music offered in this setting. Additionally, this event highlights the unique musical experiences of receiving money for performances and exchanging musical skills, which was quite a new experience for Curaçaoans.

The migration between Curaçao and Cuba did not always bring about the economic well-being that many had hoped for when leaving Curaçao, as expressed in slogans in Cuba that even lizards rustled with American dollars. Nonetheless, as it catalyzed a rich cultural exchange the migration facilitated new ideas, particularly in the area of musical expression. This musical exchange continued even upon their return to the island, reflecting the enduring impact and influence of cross-cultural encounters on their musical practices and traditions. These musical experiences became significant markers of personal identity for Curaçaoan returnees, often reflecting their experiences as individuals who had traveled and “seen the world.” Many returnees, including the interviewee mentioned earlier, continued to play Cuban musical instruments and formed bands that introduced Cuban music genres to the Curaçaoan population, gaining popularity in the process. In the 20th century, Afro-Cuban music had a strong presence in Curaçaoan society, as evidenced by an extensive survey conducted by J. Martijn (2002).

This music had to fight to establish itself, encountering prejudiced and condemning behavior similar to that faced by the long-banned traditional Afro-Curaçaoan drumming genre known as *tambú*. Musicians performing Afro-Cuban music in the streets of Curaçao were harassed and pursued by police, much like *tambú* players. Their bands

² Interview with Angel Martina (born 2 October 1902) by Rose Mary Allen on 17 January 1985 and stored at the National Archives Curaçao (NatAr)

were derogatorily labeled as “bongo bands.” However, Afro-Curaçaoan returnees challenged and deconstructed such cultural assessments by naming their bands *conjunto* [ensemble] and opting to perform more privately in homes and musical venues. Some bands sought to distinguish themselves through dress codes, organizational strategies, and the number of musicians included, and displayed creativity by composing songs in Papiamentu or blending Curaçaoan songs with Afro-Cuban styles. An example of this blending is evident in the following song, originally a *tambú* song, which illustrates the fusion of Curaçaoan and Afro-Cuban musical elements.

Everybody has said something
Why did I not say anything?
I did a business
but the business turned out unsatisfactorily
I did a business
But the business turned out bad
I bought a barrel of black sugar
I sold it at a loss
People, he asked me to clean the bush
He asked me to burn the trash
Now that there is a fruit at the twine
He has sent me to my mother³

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From Cuban music to Curaçao's *kombèk*: Cultural hybridization

The musical experiences acquired through the emigration process introduced Cuban music more profoundly and readily to Curaçao. Additionally, the development and spread of Cuban music in the early 20th century, including its recording by American companies around 1912-1920, had a significant influence on musical life in Curaçao. This influence was further amplified by regular radio broadcasts that extended its reach to markets in Cuba, the United States, Spain, Mexico, and parts of South America (Ferguson, 2003).

The transmission of popular Cuban music styles to younger generations in Curaçao, known as *muzik di kombèk* [comeback music], constitutes a fascinating phenomenon that reflects the enduring impact of transnational migration on cultural practices. Nanette de Jong's (2009) research on this musical style elucidates its significance, positioning *muzik di kombèk* as a distinctive, Cuban-inspired genre that has seamlessly integrated into contemporary musical life on the island. Drawing from Cuban genres such as *son montuno*, *guaracha*, *guaguancó*, and *danzón*, *muzik di kombèk* serves as a conduit bridging the present with a past that is increasingly distant yet nostalgically revered.

In Curaçao, musical ensembles and DJs skillfully amalgamate Cuban classics dating back to the 1920s with original compositions evocative of Cuba's musical traditions of yesteryear. This harmonious blending of Cuban influences with native Curaçaoan elements

³ Interview with Didi Sluis (born August 1904) by Rose Mary Allen in September 1984.

serves not only to safeguard historical musical legacies but also to cultivate a vibrant cultural synthesis that is distinctly emblematic of the island. Accompanied by unique dance forms, *muzik di kombèk* solidifies its position within Curaçaoan cultural identities, permeating diverse facets of social gatherings and ceremonial events. The acknowledgment of *muzik di kombèk*'s significance at prestigious occasions such as Santiago de Cuba's Festival del Caribe underscores its cultural resonance and transnational appeal. Its inclusion in such esteemed platforms reinforces its stature as a treasured symbol of Curaçao's rich musical heritage, transcending geographical confines to garner global recognition. Furthermore, its integration into solemn rituals like funerals serves as a poignant testament to its enduring emotional impact and profound legacy within the local community.

In the context of Curaçaoan-Cuban migration, *muzik di kombèk* serves as a tangible manifestation of social remittances, embodying the enduring cultural connections forged through historical migration patterns. The adaptability of *muzik di kombèk* across successive generations highlights the fluid nature of cultural identity, challenging rigid notions of authenticity and purity. Instead of being tethered solely to its Cuban origins, *muzik di kombèk* has evolved into a quintessential expression of Curaçao's creolized culture, reflecting the dynamic interplay between local and transnational influences. Its continued significance within Curaçaoan society underscores the lasting impact of migration on cultural landscapes and the fostering of interconnectedness across the Caribbean region.

Reimagining Caribbean identities through immigrant experiences: Carnival as an example

Immigration to Curaçao in the mid-20th century also played a significant role in shaping the cultural fabric of the island. The influx of migrants from various Caribbean countries, including former British colonies, contributed to the dissemination and fusion of diverse Caribbean cultures within Curaçaoan society. This interplay of emigration and immigration dynamics reflects the complex interactions and exchanges that have shaped cultural identity in Curaçao over time. In this section, I explore the dissemination of Caribbean culture in Curaçao, particularly catalyzed by the influx of West Indian migrants after the establishment of the oil refinery on the island in the early 20th century. These migrants primarily came from former British Caribbean colonies, such as Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. This migration wave also included a considerable number of young single women recruited as domestic workers, commonly referred to as "sleep-in maids," particularly from the 1940s onward. Their living conditions were studied by historian Ann Philipps (1988) in her study *Labour and Migration in the Caribbean: British West Indian Domestic Servants in Curaçao, 1940-1960*. The influx of young single female

migrants from these islands working as domestic workers in Curaçao significantly impacted traditional gender roles and the socialization of gender in several notable ways. The impact of British West Indian immigrants on Curaçaoan cultural expressions, notably Carnival, is evident. Initially, at the dawn of the 20th century, Carnival in Curaçao was a reserved, European-style affair predominantly enjoyed by the elites in Willemstad within a confined, elitist sphere. However, the advent of Caribbean immigrants heralded a transition towards a broader, more dynamic form of Carnival, characteristic of contemporary celebrations. For these immigrants, Carnival embodied a synthesis of European Carnival customs and African *kambule* traditions, amalgamated into a distinctly Caribbean Carnival experience.

Furthermore, street carnival emerged as a cherished tradition among the English-speaking Caribbean immigrant community, drawn to Curaçao as laborers for the oil refinery. Residing in neighborhoods adjacent to the refinery, these individuals engaged in Carnival parades with a focus on enjoyment rather than extravagance, epitomized by the expression *karnaval di paña bieu* [Carnival of old clothes] (Allen, 1988). Notably, English-speaking participants would also often adorn themselves in black attire, embellished with mirrors sewn onto cloaks to reflect sunlight, and partook in symbolic acts reminiscent of Carnival customs observed in Trinidad, such as whip-cracking and masquerade mask-wearing. All these would be accompanied by steel band music, brought by English-speaking migrants to the island.

The English-speaking community was very instrumental in influencing Curaçao's Carnival history. Their significant presence in Carnival festivities prompted a reaction from cultural nationalists, which became stronger in the 1960s, to curtail them. For example, controversy arose over criteria stipulating that Carnival costumes must be of "Curaçaoan make," prompting the leader of the carnival group Zambesie, Mr. Alexander, born in Trinidad, to contest this requirement due to his group's procurement of costumes from overseas (Amigoe di Curaçao, 1969). Alexander's stance underscores concern regarding excessive cultural essentialization, artificial tropes of authenticity, and a quest for ownership, while highlighting the significance of the English-speaking community in shaping Curaçaoan cultural landscapes through Carnival.

This also demonstrates the transformation of an expression initially associated with immigrant groups into one that the local population embraces. Such acceptance was also facilitated by the Carnival's economic significance for tourism, as in the rest of the Caribbean. Calypso songs, in the form of contests, were an integral component of Curaçao Carnival celebrations in the 1960s (Allen, 1988), maintaining a number of traditional characteristics, such as gender interplay, sexual innuendo, and socio-political commentary. Some were sung in English lexifier creole, while some were also sung in Papiamentu Iberian lexifier creole. An example of socially conscious discourse is found in the following Curaçaoan calypso song entitled *Trinta di Mei* [the 30th of May] by the Curacaoan calypsonian Jimmy Richardson with Conjunto San Jose

(<https://canoncuracao.cw/30-dertig-mei-1969/>)

The 30th of May is here to stay(2X)

When they burn down that place and they burn down that big big building also

If you don't know

He fights for his civil rights

Rather you are black or white

All you have got to do is to fight for him

Chorus:

Stop of ik schiete

Para of mi ta tira [Stop or I will shoot]

(Allen, 1988)

This calypso song serves as a homage to the Curaçaoan trade union leader Wilson 'Papa' Godett (1932-1995), whose pivotal role in the social unrest of May 30, 1969 is commemorated through its lyrics. The song's content is topical, as a report and commentary on this historic event. The chorus, delivered in both Dutch and Papiamentu, resonates with the phrase "Stop or I will shoot", echoing the tense atmosphere of May 30 when Dutch soldiers were airlifted from the Netherlands to assist in restoring order in Curaçao, an act seen as prototypically colonial by some Curaçaoans.

Carnival, a widely recognized cultural institution in the Caribbean, along with the comparatively lesser-practiced calypso in Curaçao, stands as a testament to the rich tapestry of creolized cultural expressions that have been introduced into Curaçao by people from diverse Caribbean societies (Allen & Richardson, 2021; Allen, 2021). These imported cultural elements have profoundly influenced and shaped the local cultural landscape, leaving an enduring and unmistakable imprint on the collective identity of Curaçaoan society.

Final consideration: Migration and the search for Caribbean identities

In conclusion, this paper has aimed to provide insight into the complex process by which Caribbean individuals shape and embody their personal and cultural identities within the context of intra-regional migratory dynamics. It suggests that migrations, far from being merely social or economic phenomena, also profoundly influence the fluidity of culture and the intergenerational transmission of cultural values within the Caribbean environment. The nexus between migration and cultural expression serves as a crucial locus for the negotiation and evolution of Caribbean identities. In this context, musical expressions emerge as important channels through which the contours of Caribbean cultures and identities are continually reaffirmed amidst the flux of migration. By emphasizing aspects the co-creation of meaning through language and communication, musical

expressions serve as powerful media for cultural influence and reflect the dynamic nature of Caribbean identities.

The case study of Curaçao is a compelling example that shows how Caribbean cultures emerge not solely from the indigenous amalgamation of African and European, and occasionally also Indigenous and Asian influences, but from the interplay of intra-Caribbean interactions spurred by migratory movements as well. These interactions foster a rich tapestry of cultural cross-pollination, promoting interculturality, the amalgamation of cultural facets, and the celebration as well as the intrinsic valorization of diversity.

Through the lens of Curaçao, it becomes clear that Caribbean identities are not static but rather dynamic and fluid constructs. The ongoing process of cultural exchange and integration driven by migration underscores the importance of viewing Caribbean cultures as products of continuous interaction and adaptation. This perspective challenges conventional interpretations that view Caribbean identity formation as a linear process dominated by external influences, instead highlighting the region's intrinsic capacity for cultural innovation and resilience.

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BACK TO AFRICA: MYTH, MIGRATION AND MUSIC

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Abstract

2024 marks the final year of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) International Decade for People of African Descent. Focusing on the African Diaspora, this essay considers the concept of "back to Africa" in the context of legends; repatriations, migrations and tourism; as well as the musical exchanges which have occurred across the "Black Atlantic." Both historical context and recent events inform the examination of each area.

Key terms: Flying Africans, freed slaves, Afrobeats, Afro-Caribbean

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*It will be a long time before we see
this land again, these trees
again, drifting inland with the sound of surf, smoke rising.*

*It will be a long time before we see
these farms again, soft wet slow green
again: Aburi, Akwamu
mist rising.*

From "New World A-Comin'" Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1967/1973 p. 11)

No return

*And while they were waiting, I read, they were advised not to turn around. No!
That was not their children crying. Not their mother, their father, their husband
or wife. Just remnants of a home they'd known, scattered between their sandy
toes; and once the ship arrived – they rubbed them together to still the fear that
rose as they stepped on deck.*

(From "The Door of No Return" Yomi Sode, 2021, stanza 5)

The fact that most of the more than 12 million Africans captured and shipped into slavery (Slave Voyages, 2021) were never to return to their homes has been memorialized in recent times by places of “no return” dotted along the Atlantic coast. Examples of “the door of no return” are found in slave houses and castles such as Goree Island in Senegal and Cape Coast Castle in Ghana.



Figure 1 Door of no return, Cape Coast, Ghana, Source: “Door of no Return” by David Stanley, Creative Commons cc-by-2.0 via Wikimedia Commons

The island of Gbeferu, Badagry, Nigeria, north of Lagos, has also been designated a “point of no return” for Africans embarked on slave ships (Oyediran, 2016). More recently, artists and architects created an arch, with figures, in 1995, named “*La Porte Du Non Retour*” on the beach at Ouidah, Benin. This gate of no return was raised as a monument to all those who were forced onto ships from this notorious port located in the Bight of Benin, the bay known to European and American traders as the “slave coast” (Akhtar & Colmenares, 2016).



Figure 2 Gate of No Return Ouidah, Benin, Source: “Ouidah Door 01” by Brian Kelley, Creative Commons, cc-by-sa-2.0, via Wikimedia Commons

The flying Africans

Once all Africans could fly like birds.

(From “All God’s Chillun Had Wings,” Hughes & Bontemps, 1958, p. 62)

Possibly in response to the desperateness of their desire, some Africans expressed their longing to return home in legends and folktales which asserted that some Africans could fly back across the Atlantic Ocean. For example, folktales documenting various versions of the myth were recounted by some of the last living survivors of slavery to have been captured in Africa and illegally carried to the US (e.g., Georgia Writers’ Project, 1940/1973; Hughes & Bontemps, 1958). These stories have since been retold to wider audiences in African American fiction for both adults and children, such as Toni Morrison’s *Song of Solomon* (1977) and Virginia Hamilton’s *The People Could Fly* (1985), respectively.



Figure 3 Detail from the cover illustration for Hamilton’s *The People Could Fly* , Source: Albany after Dillon 1985 (Hamilton, 1985).

McDaniel (1990) and Dewulf (2021) also attest to the prevalence of this myth in the Greater Caribbean. McDaniel (1990, p. 29) asserts that “One can find thousands of variants throughout the Caribbean among older folk who know the myth, tale or story (that I call ‘The Flying Africans’).” Her examples come from Curaçao, Surinam, Guyana, Cuba, Tobago, Grenada and Jamaica (p. 29). Dewulf contributes additional examples from Dutch and Papiamentu sources such as the stories collected by Paul Brenneker in Curaçao in the 1950s.

However, scholars disagree about how literally to interpret “flying Africans.” For example, Dewulf contests both the interpretation that the legends and tales depict people actually flying back to Africa found in McDaniel and an American focus on the Igbo people of modern Nigeria, such as Miller (2004). While the story of Igbo (Ibo) Landing, in which newly disembarked Africans walked back into the sea off Georgia in 1803 has

also been interpreted as a mass suicide, some have taken this to be the source of the legend of Africans who could fly back home (e.g., Gomez, 1998). Focusing on West Central African cultures and the American and Caribbean legends which claim that eating salt can prevent the ability to fly, Dewulf instead points to a Christian interpretation, noting the Kikongo expression “to eat salt,” referring to Christian baptism.

Whether the legend of the flying Africans should be interpreted spiritually, metaphorically, or literally, as Storey (2004) argues “To make it consistent or to pin down its meaning immediately belies its basic attributes: its range, its fluidity, and its exceptional vitality” (para. 2). That the myth continues to inspire is illustrated by the current exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York entitled “Before Yesterday We Could Fly: An Afro-Futurist Period Room” (2021-ongoing) inspired by Hamilton’s 1985 “legendary retellings of the Flying Africans” (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2021, para. 3).

Those who made it back

*...go
back, back
to the black
man lan’
back, back
to Af-
rica*

(From “Wings of a Dove” by Edward Kamau Brathwaite, 1967/1973, p. 43)

In rare instances, we know of enslaved individuals fortunate enough to have been freed and repatriated. Perhaps the most famous is the Muslim scholar Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (1701-1773). Sent from Maryland to England and freed, Diallo became celebrated in Britain and was able to return to Senegambia (Diouf, 2013).



Figure 4 “Portrait of Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (1701-1773)” by William Hoare 1733, Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons, Creative Commons CC0 License

As support for the abolition of both the slave trade and the institution of slavery spread, groups of African and African-descended ex-slaves were returned, if not to their proper homelands, at least to locations on the African continent. In the late eighteenth century, British abolitionists chose Sierra Leone “as a place to resettle free slaves, which started with the arrival of the Black Poor from London” (Kaifala, 2017, p. vii). They were followed by so-called Black Loyalists who sided with the British during the American Revolution and who left Canada for Sierra Leone in 1792. The third group to migrate to Sierra Leone, were Jamaican Maroons exiled in Canada after the Maroon Wars of 1795-1796 (Kaifala).

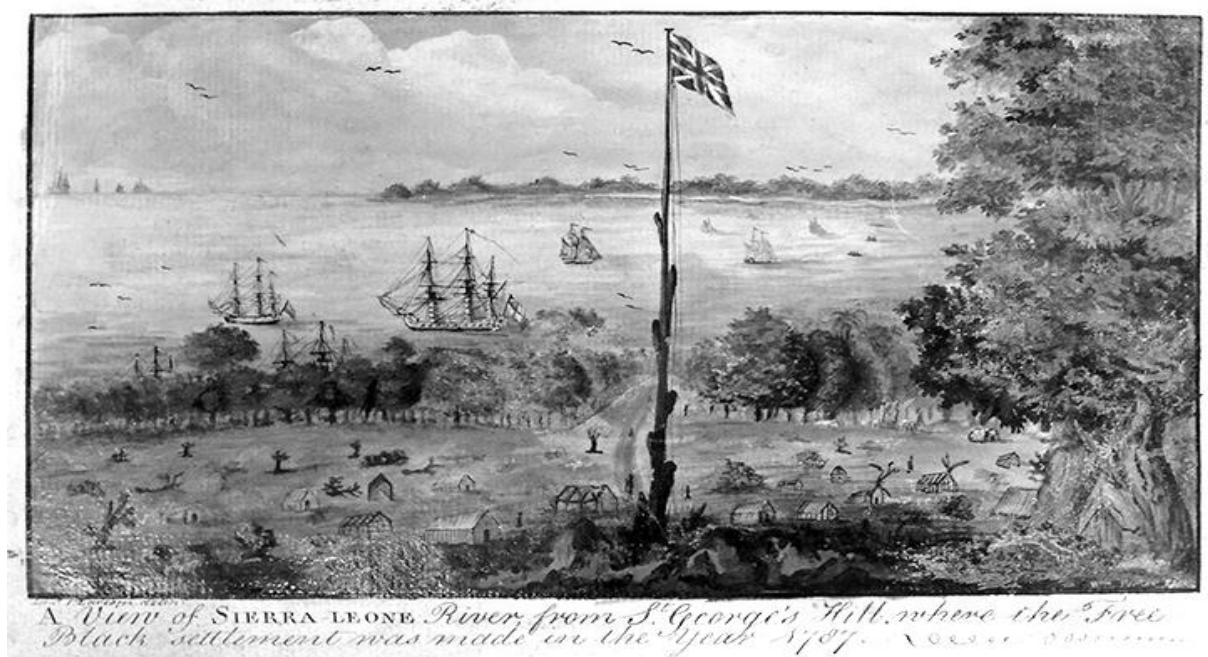


Figure 5 “A View of Sierra Leone River from St. George’s Hill, where the Free Black settlement was made in the year 1787” John Matthews (1787). Source [public domain] Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

During the nineteenth century, other groups of ex-slaves were settled on the continent. Noting the direct intervention in the late trans-Atlantic slave trade by “[g]overnments from Haiti in the west, Britain in the north, Argentina in the south and colonial Mauritius to the east,” da Silva et al. (2014) point to “extensive documentation of Africans liberated from slave vessels” to conclude that “receptive communities in Freetown [Sierra Leone] most closely met the aspirations of Liberated Africans themselves” (p. 347). Their records document 180,969 Africans liberated from slave ships, of which almost 135,000 returned to locations in Africa from Senegambia to Luanda (Angola), with the majority disembarked in Sierra Leone.

African Americans are most often the focus of a “Back to Africa” movement which resulted in the establishment of Liberia in 1821. The US State Department claims that some 16,000 African Americans immigrated to Liberia over the course of the nineteenth

century (Price, 2022). However, Liberia subsequently opened its doors to other members of the African diaspora. Banton (2019) quotes the black nationalist Alexander Crummell who “cordially invite[d] Barbadians, Jamaicans, Sierra Leoneans as well as Americans to this common heritage of the Negro” (p. 1). Banton studied a group of almost 350 Afro-Barbadians who accepted the invitation in 1865. Characterizing Liberia as “more auspicious shores” in the title of her book, Banton asserts that the “middle-class” Afro-Bajans were fleeing a failed post-emancipation Caribbean. “The Liberian republic thus became a national receptacle for the deeply held aspirations of the African diaspora and a prescription for their historical trauma” (p.1).

Other African-descended people also emigrated from the Caribbean and the Americas to settle in West Africa. Otero (2010) traces Afro-Cubans of Yoruba descent who settled in Lagos, Nigeria. Afolabi and Falola (2017) similarly trace Afro-Brazilians settling there. Amos (2017, p. 66) notes that from the 1850’s “Afro-Brazilians (and Afro-Cubans) began arriving in Lagos in a steady stream.” The “Afrolatinos” came to be called the Aguda (Agudá). Most settled in Lagos, but some Afro-Brazilians also settled in Badagry, the slave port city discussed above. Paris (2017, p. 119) states that “Perhaps one of the most valuable skills that the Agudás possessed that the British [colonial government] desired desperately was their exceptional mastery of architectural designs and elaborate constructions,” asserting that the Afrolatinos became established as elites in the colony. (Although it is beyond the scope of this essay, it is worth noting here that the elite status sometimes accorded diasporan migrants could be the source of friction, a modern example being the Pan- African Village in Ghana mentioned below and discussed in Akinwotu, 2024.)

Afro-Brazilian communities exist not only in Yorubaland, which covers areas of Nigeria, Togo and Benin, but also in Ghana. The Afro-Brazilian settlers and their descendants in Accra are called the Tabon or Tabom. Schaumloeffel (2009) quotes the Reverend C. K. Nelson (G. K. Nelson) who claimed that the Afro-Brazilians in Accra “spoke Portuguese, but understood and spoke Yoruba and Hausa, languages from Nigeria” (p. 129).



Figure 6 Brazil House in Accra, Ghana, Source: “*Casa do Brasil em Acra, Gana – Brazil House in Accra, Ghana*” by EnzoRivos, Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic License via Wikimedia Commons

In recent years some of the African countries which were part of the slave trade have continued to offer a refuge to African-descended people. For example, Senegal responded to the 2010 earthquake in Haiti by inviting Haitians to move there. More than 150 Haitians accepted scholarships and free housing to continue their university studies in Senegal. Greeted by signs that proclaimed “Welcome to the home of your ancestors” the students were taken to an enormous bronze statue of a family pointing westward for a welcoming ceremony with the presidents of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau and the prime minister of Niger. The Senegalese president, Abdoulaye Wade, told them: “it is on this point of land that sticks out farthest into the Atlantic that we have chosen to receive you. You are neither strangers nor refugees. You are members of our family” (Bojang, 2010, para. 8).

However, the African country arguably most welcoming to members of the diaspora in recent times seems to be Ghana. The first European colony to become independent in 1957, Ghana attracted a number of African American and Caribbean intellectuals, artists and activists starting with W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), who spent the last years of his life in Ghana, as did the Trinidadian Pan-Africanist George Padmore (1903-1959). The Barbadian poet and academic Edward Kamau Brathwaite (1930-2020) worked for the Ministry of Education in Gold Coast/Ghana from 1955 to 1962. The African American author Maya Angelou (1928-2014) also lived there in the early 1960’s (Hoving et al., 2004). Akinwotu (2024) declares that “thousands of foreigners of African heritage have made Ghana their home – a proud legacy championed by independence leader Kwame Nkrumah, and his vision of Ghana as a beacon of African unity” (para. 4). Besides individuals who have moved to Ghana, groups of African American and Afro-Caribbean immigrants have settled there in communities developed specifically for them, such as the Fihankra settlement in the 1990s and the Pan-African Village in the 2020s (Akinwotu).

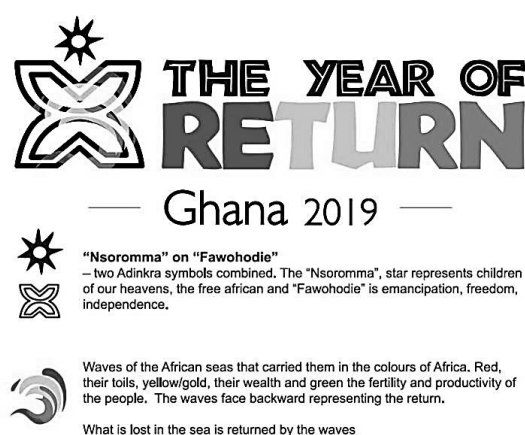


Figure 7 Ghana’s Year of Return 2019, Source: The Year of Return Ghana 2019 Facebook page (2024) <https://www.facebook.com/groups/493895031176422/>

Over the past few decades, countries like Senegal and Ghana have also facilitated tourism to surviving landmarks of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, as well as encouraging members of the diaspora and others to explore their cultures. In the twenty-first century, Ghana, in particular, has continued to welcome members of the African diaspora, for example, instituting a Year of Return in 2019.

The official website of The Year of Return Ghana declared:

While August 2019 marks 400 years since enslaved Africans arrived in the United States, “The Year of Return, Ghana 2019” celebrates the cumulative resilience of all victims of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade who were scattered and displaced through the world in North America, South America, the Caribbean, Europe and Asia. (Year of Return Ghana, 2019)

For many in government and business reaping the rewards of increased tourism was a major goal of this initiative. For example, the travel site Culture Trip stated, “Ghana’s Year of Return is one of the most successful tourism initiatives the African continent has ever seen” (Ankoma 2020).

A musical round trip

Were it not for the lyrics in [Nigerian] pidgin English and the nationality of the artist, people in the Caribbean would have mistaken the hit for theirs.

Franck Kuwonu, (2019)

As Englert et al., (2021) point out: “While the primordial link between Africa and the Caribbean is marked by enforced and violent mobilities, mobilities are never unidirectional” and the “forced mobility of humans across the Atlantic” has been countered by movements such as Ghana’s Year of Return (pp. 1-6). But as their book illustrates, cultural mobilities in what Gilroy (1993) termed the Black Atlantic are as important as the physical movement of peoples.

One of the most obvious manifestations of cultural mobility is music which has developed as Collins (1989) points out in “a centuries-old trans-Atlantic musical feedback cycle, i.e. African music taken to the Americas by slaves, transmuted there, and then brought back to Africa” (p. 221).

Africa’s “first popular fusion-music called ‘gome’ or ‘gombey’ in the early nineteenth century” developed in Sierra Leone, shaped by the freed Maroons of Jamaica who had settled there (Collins, 1989, p. 221). Subsequent contact between West African musicians and African American and Kru sailors from Liberia resulted in a style of music called palm wine highlife which combined traditional African musical instruments with e.g., guitars, banjos, harmonicas and accordions (Collins, 1989). During the late nineteenth century, a version of highlife associated with regimental bands was developed due to contact between West African musicians and West Indian troops stationed in places like Cape Coast Castle in Ghana, who, besides military brass band marches,

played Caribbean mentos and calypsos. Dance band highlife began to develop before World War II among the “coastal elite of Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria,” but the influence of diasporic music on African musicians really arrived after the war (Collins, 1989, p. 223).

Veal (2021) points out that musical exchange across the Black Atlantic prior to the mid-twentieth century “had been hindered by the history of slavery and the dynamics of colonization, as well as by the necessity of face-to-face contact between the different culture bearers of the Black Atlantic world” (para. 2). As Veal explains this situation crucially changed in the mid-twentieth century with “the dismantling of European colonization, and the global spread of broadcast and sound recording technologies following the war,” and as a result, “cultural exchange intensified exponentially (para. 2).

African American jazz, which Veal notes “developed concurrently with the earliest years of the American broadcast industry,” was the first popular style to significantly impact particularly anglophone areas of the continent (para. 4). In West Africa, jazz and Trinidadian calypso became fundamental catalysts in the development of modern versions of highlife. From the latter half of the twentieth century on, there have been numerous musical exchanges and fusion creations (Veal, 2021).

For example, James Brown and African American music styles influenced the development of “Afrobeat” (Stewart, 2013). Adofu (2023) explains: Afrobeat [was] a genre developed in Nigeria in the 1960s, led by the late, great Fela Kuti, which combined aspects of jazz, soul and Ghanaian highlife with the polyrhythmic drumming of the Yoruba, Ewe and Ga” people (para, 2).

Similarly Afro-Caribbean musical genres from Jamaica, such as reggae and dancehall, have significantly impacted music created by African musicians. Jamaican reggae became a musical force throughout sub-Saharan Africa from the 1970s due to the popularity of Jamaican musicians, most famously Bob Marley (Veal, 2021). Its most recent iteration, “reggae fusion,” is currently performed by artists such as the Ghanaian musician Jahplaka, pictured below.



Figure 8 Reggae fusion artist Jahplaka, Source: cropped photo from “Vitamin c” (Jahplaka) by Originalmuzikgroup, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License via Wikimedia Commons

As well as the Afro-Caribbean and African American music styles, African musicians in the former colonies of Britain have adapted the language of the lyrics. For example, Ghanaians singing reggae have used Jamaican Patois, an English-lexifier creole (Wilberforce, 2023), and Nigerians singing hip hop, discussed below, have used both Jamaican Patois and African American Vernacular English in their lyrics (Akande, 2012). However, one of the most significant musical exchanges has occurred across colonial language barriers. In his groundbreaking book *Roots in Reverse*, Shain (2018) explores musical links between the Hispanophone Caribbean and francophone West Africa. Shain's research focuses on Afro-Cuban music and Senegal as an illustration of a West African "obsession with Cubanidad" (p. ix). Veal states that Afro-Cuban music "played a formidable role in the development of national popular music styles in newly independent nations such as Guinea, Mali, Senegal and the two Congos" (2021, para. 4). Shain asserts that: "In Senegal, listening and dancing to Afro-Cuban music created structures of feeling that united generations and bridged ethnic differences" (2018, p. xx).

While Senegalese studying in Paris in the 1930s were the first to encounter Afro-Cuban music, its popularity and influence also grew after the second world war. Illustrating Collins' trans-Atlantic musical feedback cycle, in the 1980s, fusion Senegalese Afro-Cuban music returned to the diaspora through the group Africando with radio hits in Latino New York and the Hispanic Caribbean (Shain, 2018, pp. 128-134).

Africando helped popularize an "African-flavored salsa" which can be found beyond Senegal in Mali, Guinea and Benin (Veal, 2021) and Côte d'Ivoire as illustrated in the photograph below, described as "*Les invités dansent au son de la salsa*" [Guests dance to the sound of salsa] (all translations are by the author, unless specified otherwise).



Figure 9 Dancing salsa at a baptism party in Côte d'Ivoire, Source: "Danse au baptême" by Michaëllil 16, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License via Wikimedia Commons

If Afro-Cuban music became popular throughout ex-French and Belgian colonies, Afro-Brazilian music returned home to African countries which were also colonies of Portugal. Moehn (2011) examines the collaboration of Brazilian and Angolan musicians forging “new dialogues” along “old routes” (p. 175). Once again diasporan music is seen to play a role in nation building post-independence, which the Portuguese colonies in Africa finally achieved in 1975. Dias (2011) traces the influence of “*música brasileira*” in Cabo Verde, Cape Verde. That Cape Verde may feel a stronger bond to Brazil than other African countries do to its diasporan communities is suggested by Dias, who asserts “The importance attributed to Brazil by Cape Verdeans is closely connected to the perception of Cape Verde as a creole society” (2011, p. 101). To illustrate, Dias (2011, pp. 101-103) quotes and translates lines from the poem “Você, Brasil” (You, Brazil) by Jorge Barbosa (1956):

*Eu gosto de Você, Brasil,
Porque Você é parecido com a minha terra
(...)
É o seu povo que se parece com o meu,*

[I like You, Brazil/because You are just like my homeland/ (...) It is your people that look like mine.]

Although numerous other diasporan musical genres, such as Trinidadian soca, have inspired musicians on the African continent (Kuwonu, 2019; Veal, 2021), one of the most influential has been hip hop. Reporting that “hip hop music represented half of the top-ten global digital songs in 2009,” Morgan and Bennett (2011) clarify that hip hop is distinguished from rap music “in that it does not focus solely on spoken lyrics” (p. 177). “*Hip-hop* refers to the music, arts, media, and cultural movement and community developed by black and Latino youth in the mid-1970s on the East Coast of the United States” (p. 176). That hip hop music and culture brought both African American and Afro-Caribbean influences together is illustrated by works such as Flores (2000) *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity*. While hip hop currently has a global reach (Morgan & Bennett, 2011), as essays in *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in the Globalizing World* (Charry, 2012) illustrate, arguably the most significant link is between musicians in Africa and the diaspora. As Tang (2012) states, hip hop “could be seen as having taken a grand tour from its ancestral homeland to its birth in the New World and then back” (p. 79).

Currently taking this grand tour—what, according to Kuwonu (2019), music experts characterize as “a round-trip phenomenon” (para.14)—is a fusion genre called “Afrobeats.” Fofana (2023) explains that:

Afrobeat morphed into Afrobeats and simply became the new sound of Africa. It has diverse influences that take inspiration from its African roots and are combined with other music genres such as rap, reggae, dancehall, R&B, and hiplife,

a musical style that Ghanaians identify as hip hop with a more modern expression. (para. 5)

In “How Afrobeats took over the world – and is still evolving” Adofo (2023) points to the music festival Afro Nation in which Afrobeats artists have performed in Portugal, Ghana and Puerto Rico. Adofo asserts that “It’s this merging of different genres from both sides of the Atlantic that has brought African music to the mainstream organically” (para. 17). Illustrating both the mainstream appeal and women artists’ greater role is the Nigerian singer called the “Queen of Afrobeats,” Tiwa Savage, who grew up in Lagos and London and became the first woman to win an MTV award for the Best Africa Act in 2018 (Pareles, 2020).

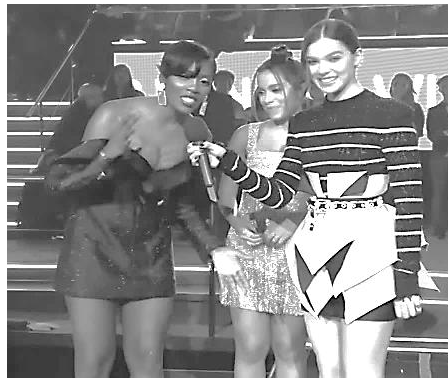


Figure 10 Tiwa Savage (left) receiving MTV award, Source: “Haile Steinfeld Presents the Best Acts from Germany, Brazil and Africa EMA 2018 2” by The Salvator, Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License via Wikimedia Commons

Future directions signal other round trips

“Descendants of Barbadian emigrants to Liberia will travel to Barbados for the inaugural Sankofa Back2Barbados Pilgrimage from May 6-13, 2024” (Nyanwapolu, 2023)

The Ghanaian adinkra symbol called Sankofa has often been appealed to when people in the diaspora are looking to trace their roots in Africa. In the version of the adinkra invoked by those seeking roots in the opposite direction, i.e. from Africa back to the Caribbean.



Figure 11 Adinkra symbol Sankofa, Source: author

symbol below, the past and the future are represented by the bird's turning backward and taking an egg from its back. Associated with a Twi (Akan) proverb often translated as "Go back and get it" (Adinkra Symbols, 2024), the Sankofa has most recently been Through the Sankofa Back to Barbados Pilgrimage, descendants of the nineteenth-century Afro-Bajan immigrants to Liberia, described by Banton, will be returning to their Caribbean roots this month. The impetus for the pilgrimage appears to be research conducted in Barbados by descendants of the Afro-Bajan immigrants, prominent among them, Liberian Ambassador L. Llewelyn Witherspoon. Government approval has followed, and the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs lauded the pilgrimage as a "Heritage Event of Historical Significance" (Lomax, 2023). Witherspoon's broad invitation is quoted on the official website.

While it celebrates the lives and contributions of our Barbadian ancestors, the Sankofa Pilgrimage to Barbados is opened to Liberians, Africans and persons everywhere interested in the story of Africa's past and the historical connection of the African people with Barbados, to learn, reflect and to build a stronger future together. (We went back to Barbados, 2024, para. 5)

A reaching "back to the Caribbean" in order to learn, reflect and build a stronger future together, thus, presents a fitting close to the final year of UNESCO's International Decade for People of African Descent (United Nations, n.d.).

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MEDITATION ON DAGAABA *LOBA*: AN ETHNO/PSYCHOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Abstract

Loba problematically translated into English as ‘riddles’, but perhaps more accurately defined as ‘playful tone-riddle-proverbs’ are an extremely complex, entertainingly educative, and intellectually artistic form of oral verbal art among the Dagaaba of the Upper West Region of Ghana, Southeastern Burkina Faso, and Northeast Côte D’Ivoire. The pseudo-competitive nature of *loba* is seen in their incorporation of two or more opposing groups or individuals with shifting roles in which the performance is defined by one group asking a question, whether by using recognizable word forms or by merely enunciating patterns of sound. The opposing team or individual then must give a recognizable or known response that is rhythmically similar in tone and length to the question. Similar genres are encountered throughout West Africa, other regions of Africa, as well as in the Afro-Atlantic. This article utilizes examples and discussion of performative elements to provide the basic contours of an ethno-psycholinguistic portrait of *loba* as a genre.

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Key terms: Dagaaba, Dagaare, *loba*, riddles, proverbs, verbal dueling

STIMULUS: *Dakpela ngme taa ka suni yire*

[Dry trees hit each other and sap flows]

RESPONSE: *Dakoba ngme taa dɔzɔŋ ɛŋang*

[Bachelors fight each other over locust bean powder]

STIMULUS: *Sieloo daala sieloo*

[Sieloo market is sieloo]

RESPONSE: *Kūū meŋ saana goɔŋ*

[Death too spoils sleep]

STIMULUS: *Tobaalaa tobie to bɔl bɔl*

[Slim baobab seeds/fruits oblong oblong]

RESPONSE: *Ba daaŋ kare monii te kyeo pɔga.*
 [Have they ever chased bush cows to marry a wife]
 STIMULUS: *Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*
 [Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú ú]
 RESPONSE: *A vari nyanɔala a yi le*
 [And leaps wildly and falls down]
 STIMULUS: *Damboli yooɔre zeng kyɔge tenga*
 [The fool's penis sits and pricks the ground]
 RESPONSE: *Ka naŋa kaa-nyɛ a tee zoore*
 [A scorpion sees it and shoots a tail]

Definitions and conventions of performance

Lɔba (plural, *Lɔɔri* singular) problematically translated into English as ‘riddles’, is an extremely complex, entertainingly educative, and intellectually artistic form of oral verbal art among the Dagaaba of the Upper West Region of Ghana, Southeastern Burkina Faso, and Northeast Côte D’Ivoire (all translations in this article are by Dannabang Kuwabong, unless specified otherwise). It is a highly developed recreational verbal and rhetorical art form, performed by communities of speakers of every dialect that makes up the Dagaare language speaking community, including Southern Dagaare (Waala, Manlarla, Dolimbo, Chakaleɛ, and Monyarla, Isaala), Central Dagaare (Nadowlee, Dafiamba, Kyarikphomee, Jirabaala, etc.), Northern Dagaare (Nandomee, etc.), and Northwestern, Southeastern, and Southwestern Dagaare (Lobr, Wiile, Losaala, Birifuola, etc.). Though not a major ethnicity in Ghana or adjacent nations, Dagaare boasts a vast number of dialects which we claim may have originated from the settlement patterns in the part of West Africa that they inhabit. Migration narratives trace to different ethnicities from Northern Nigeria, Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Côte D’Ivoire, Northeastern and Central-Northern Ghana, etc., each group bringing their own linguistic repertoires and in the process of cohabitation with other inhabitants of the area such as the Sisaala, the Dyan, the Vagla and later the Gonja, they developed a creolized language they now call Dagaare or Dagara or the variant of the dialect one may choose to call his or her version of Dagaare. It is this amalgam of languages and verbal art forms that have yielded the Dagaare *lɔba* as we know it today, performed with local specificities peculiar to each dialect area, but with each variant resonating with the others.

Any equation therefore of the English word ‘riddles’ with the Dagaare *lɔba* must be done cautiously as various scholars have asserted (Tetteh et al. 2022; Kyoore, 2010, pp. 22-40; Kyoore, 2018, pp. 216-247; Kyiileyang, et al. 2017, pp. 222-224; Finnegan, 2012, pp. 413-430; Bemile, 2010; Somé & Bouygues, 1992). This arises from the recognition that though *lɔba* are pithy and fall into the category of competitive playful question and answer rituals of performance by the youth, they also incorporate elements, structures, performativity, and situations observable during the performance of other

genres such as proverbs, non-*loba* riddles and parables among the Dagaaba. However, Dagaaba *loba* do not exude the same persuasive profundity of proverbs, nor the same psychological complexity of the non-*loba* riddle, nor the same narrative style of the parable. Indeed, unlike the daily engagement of proverbs among the Dagaaba to sound erudite and demonstrate wisdom while generating ambiguity, the performance of *loba* never feature in ordinary day to day communication strategies. In considering the Dagaaba *loba*, therefore, we can see them as riddle-proverbs (Finnegan, 2012, pp. 379-412). Yankah, 1983, p. 106) in his study of Akan riddle-proverbs describes them as tone-riddles. In this essay we combine the core elements of Finnegan's and Yankah's definitions by labeling the Dagaaba *loba* as playful tone-riddle-proverbs. This mouthful best describes and defines the Dagaaba *loba*, their performance situation and spatial-temporal appropriateness.

Loba are always to be found among the youth as part of a formulaic, ritualized, competitive, hilarious, purposeful, and quasi-serious verbal game. *Loba* are performed mostly as a socializing game that precede other oral performance texts such as non-*loba* riddles, parables, and folktale narratives. They are mostly performed in the evening either before the night meal or shortly thereafter before bedtime by children and young adults, even if during their performance adults do participate sometimes to redirect, correct, challenge, incite, or harmonize the linguistic dueling. Their pseudo-competitive nature is seen in their incorporation of two or more opposing groups or individuals with shifting roles in which the performance is defined by one group asking a question, whether by using recognizable word forms or by merely enunciating patterns of sound. The opposing team or individual then must give a recognizable or known response that is rhythmically similar in tone and length to the question. *Loba* performance is a form of non-physical drama in which everyone is not only actor, but also audience, referee, player, and fan.

Loba, like all riddle-proverbs, are short sayings that demand the alert use of wit for the game to be interesting. Unlike the ordinary riddle or proverb, with their implied or overt logicity and coded nature, the *loba* have no narrative in the ordinary sense. What one finds in *loba* is "an intense use of the relative clause" with a peculiarity of non-specificity in its definitive patterns and a "tonal and rhythmic correspondence between the problem and solutions" (Yankah, 1983, p. 90) as well as semantic parallelism. Dagaaba *loba* are related to what among the Mossi of Burkina Faso is called the *solem kuease* (Giray-Saul, 1983, pp. 68-69). The Mossi language belongs to the linguistic grouping formerly referred to as Voltaic or Central Gur but now being redefined as the Maba Languages (Bodomo et al., 2020; Giray-Saul, 1983, pp. 68-69). As is the case with the tone-riddle-proverbs found in Akan, Ibibio, Mossi, Tahi in West Africa and in Lovale as far south as Zambia, etc., some Dagaaba *loba* also involve vulgarities and humiliation (Giray-Saul, 1983, p. 70).

Much like those of some other performance genres, *loba* sessions are characterized by an atmosphere of playfulness, raucous jollity, and guarded camaraderie. The atmosphere is always informal and relaxing. *Loba* performances incorporate the excitement of jeering and leering, mockery, and roaring laughter without as much of the excruciatingly insulting or obscene material that typifies similar performances among the Mossi (Giray-Saul, 1983, p. 72), and the Akan (Yankah, 1983, p. 90). Nonetheless, Dagaaba *loba* are never performed in acrimonious competition resulting in praising winners and shaming losers. Their performance, unlike what Yankah (1983: 90) describes among the Akan, do not degenerate into brawls or vicious personal invective. *Loba* are instead rhetorically sanitized and devoid of personal emotions, although the elliptical diction performs some emotive and evocative roles. The performance of *loba* is purely and strictly pseudo-intellectual, witty, tonal, metaphysical, and symbolic. Yabang (1987, p. 11) argues that in days gone-by, every child in Dagao, was supposed to learn a rich repertoire of *loba* through imitation and memorization of these superficially complex, rhetorically stimulating, imagistic, symbolic and pithy brain teasers. A child or adolescent and even an adult found wanting in their mastery of this game was teased, but sparingly, so as not to shame the person.

Nɔkpeene naane ka Loba e la bibiiri deene yelwombaŋ ulee kaŋa, kye nenkponni meng mang loo a la, a na wuli a bibiiri anaŋ mine soŋ ka baban kye ba ban. Ba nan la tōō de a la wuli bee goō ne ba—paaba.

[It is undoubtedly true that *loba* is a children's game. But adults also can perform it to teach the children some *loba* they should know, but do not know. They also use *loba* to teach or entertain a new friend] (Yabang, 1987, p. 11)

Like the *solem kuease* of the Mossi, this vigorous exercise of wit, memorization, creative intelligence and originality may stir debate about its efficacy or appropriateness in a given situation. However, such objections are usually brushed aside, and laughed off because there is allowance made for a performer who when really cornered, subtly coins a personal *loori* that is acceptable. Therefore, while the *loba* repertoire may seem to be very ritualized, memorized, and fixed, the enforcement of any such rigidity is very lax, thus allowing space for creativity and borrowing.

Loba performance has a specific time, place and situation. These conditions are universal in Dagao.

Loba eng yelkpon ne a yeltegroŋ za a la a noo nan be a loobo ne a iribuŋ. Lenso kan gyele a te wuli ka bam aŋ de a la gu ne saana tensogo saŋa—ka ka ba mala ne laare ka o kyelle be ka teeroŋ wore gyeŋ-poge paalaa moŋ eŋ naane.

[*Loba*'s main aim lies in the enjoyment derived from their performance. That is why I have concluded that they use them to keep company with visitors at night—to make fun so that they will not worry—this is more so in the case of a new bride.] (Yabang, 1987, p. 92)

Yabang's statement is problematic here. We contend that the Dagaaba *loba* are art forms that go beyond pure entertainment, with *loba* rhetorical style, the poetry, the allusions, the sound, the imagery, and symbols, etc., all playing roles in helping the young to develop their communicative competence, to deploy quick thinking in abstract yet meaningfully pragmatic ways, to acquire the art of socializing, etc.

***Loba* performance situations and strategies**

Loba are performed mostly in the evening or early part of the night among children and young people. The situation could be while they are waiting for their food, which is often served around 7 p.m. or 9 p.m. If food is served earlier, then it could be while waiting to go to bed. They are also performed in the runup to the main story-telling time. In the evening, visitors tend to miss their own homes and *loba* are used to make them both forget home and feel at home. This is particularly the case involving new brides while they are in the “fattening room” at the residence of the Women's leader (*Maakanzee*) awaiting the day when they will go to their husbands' house or room. All evening the groom's close friends move to the *Maakanzee*'s house where the bride resides in luxury for a week before the wedding night, to entertain her with *loba*, *silma* [folk tales], *sikpɔga* [riddles], *maanoo* [parables] and folk songs accompanied by hand-held musical instruments such as the *gbambili*, *koni*, *penaa*, etc. *Loba* are performed as well at an in-law's house during courtship while *pito* [locally brewed beer] is being consumed. This is particularly important as it enables the group to buy and drink a lot more, and to show the prospective in-laws that the potential bridegroom and his friends are jovial and not tightfisted. *Loba* are also performed when the groom and his friends go to help the woman's father on his farm, and when they spend the night in the in-law's house. *Loba* are more often performed, however, among adolescents and children to pass the time while doing otherwise boring chores such as shelling groundnuts and corn for planting or storage, etc.

The main strategies involving *loba* performance begin with a suggestion that *loba* should be performed (Kyoore, 2018, p. 252; Jirata, 2012, pp. 272-273; Jirata, 2018). The group may then split up without physical separation into two groups. The preparatory move is initiated informally and arbitrarily. The move can either be a direct statement like “*Ye e ka te loo loba*” [Let us cast *loba*]; or “*Ye goro goro ya!*” [Expect, expect I say!] and the answer to the second statement is ‘*Te go yeh*’ [We are ready]. Alternatively, the prompter could just offer up a *loori* and that begins the performance. As in the case with riddling, the basic format is query/answer, prompting/responding, call/answer, stimulus/response, etc. In a *loba* situation, the two groups are both stimulators/questioners and respondents/answerers. To illustrate, we can label the groups as Group S and Group R. In the first instance, Group S provides the stimulus/question in sound patterns or in words. Group R then proffers an acceptable response that is often universally known;

the response must be in intelligible language in sentence form. If Group R's reaction/response is acceptable, the onus of stimulation then falls on Group R, and Group S now becomes the respondent. But as long as the respondent group fails to give the right responses, the stimulus group must continue to provide questions until the respondent group responds appropriately. Then the response team takes over and performs the role of the stimulus. Examples are the famous *Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú* and the *Bintim bintimbu loba*, each with about ten stimulus/response sets:

Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú loba

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*

[*Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *A leŋ gulonsoŋ a de tuo*

[To tie a bundle and put it on the head]

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*

[*Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *Ba nang gaa na ba ba wa*

[Since they went they have not returned]

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*

[*Ùhúú ú, Ùhúú, ú*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *Ba nang mɔŋ ba ba kɔre*

[They cooked they never served]

[Etc.]

Bintim bintimbu loba

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Bintim bintimbu*

[*Bintim bintimbu*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *Damaara tuo goora*

[Weighed down by a load of wet wood]

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Bintim bintimbu*

[*Bintim bintimbu*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *Pɔntere mɔŋ doɔre*

[The toad cooks locust bean powder]

STIMULUS—GROUP S: *Bintim bintimbu*

[*Bintim bintimbu*]

RESPONSE—GROUP R: *Dongyuo kponkpolimo*

[Dongyuo's chicken coop]

[Etc.]

In this case, the stimulator can pile up all stimuli in one minute or spread them out. The reverse is also that the respondent is allowed to seize the occurrence of one stimulus to rattle through all the acceptable responses without waiting for more stimulation. This choice by the respondent wins a lot of admiration for him or her and intimidates the

stimulator. Finally, if Group S gives only one stimulus and does not insist on all the responses at a go, Group R can also turn around and offer a question to Group S, now turned into Group R with the same stimulus either immediately or later on.

A participant or observer audience at a *loba* session comes away with the conclusion that the performers endeavor to give correct responses as quickly as possible. This is to enable one to have the upper hand of being the stimulator. Difficult *loba* are therefore reserved for tighter situations. Here one sees a closeness to the Mossi *solem kueese* except that there is no guessing allowed in *solem kueese*, while in *loba* performances the respondents are allowed a few guessing attempts. While the guessing goes on, the respondents are taunted and told to give a *náán* to group S. The taunts and jeers confuse and confound the respondents and after a few futile guesses, they give the *náán*, unless they suddenly remember the right response. In the *loba* situation, Group R takes over as the stimulus immediately upon showing that they can respond satisfactorily to Group S's stimulus. If they fail to respond correctly they offer what is known as a *náán* to Group S. This enables Group S to respond to their own stimulus. A *náán* implies submission of the answering group to the stimulus group, thereby giving this group temporary *loba* kingship. Group S then must respond to its own stimulus, and immediately offers a new stimulus for Group R to respond to. The responses can be judged as acceptable or not because everyone knows them. Here is an example of a performance strategy.

GROUP S—STIMULUS: *Tampelong waa logaloga da naa lee zɔŋ*

[Ash so fine should have been flour]

GROUP R—RESPONSE: *Wiri waa kyeuu da naa buli eele*

[Horse so high should have grown horns]

GROUP S—STIMULUS: *Kɔŋkɔnne naayiri*

[Lepers king's palace]

GROUP R—RESPONSE: *Veelonɔŋ kɔŋ baare*

[Beauty will never end]

GROUP S—STIMULUS: *Nɔnyanɔaa gaa wee wane biiri*

[Mother hen goes to farm and brings home children]

GROUP R—RESPONSE: *Dee naang*

[Take kingship]

GROUP S—RESPONSE: *Simiruu kpe bogi wane nyeeme*

[Bambara bean enters hole and brings nuts]

In certain cases, where the responses are multiple (and these are very few) the group proffering the stimulus can either keep repeating the stimulus until the responses are exhausted or hold on for a later time when the same stimulus can be reapplied for one more of the responses not already given. One cannot repeat the same response to the same stimulus unless asked by a different person. Even then, the audience usually intervenes by pointing out that that riddle-proverb has already been performed. Neither can the person who offers the question repeat a stimulus he or she has already offered, unless

previously he or she did not exhaust the complete package of a particular multilayered stimulus as in the examples above.

Lɔba performances often end in a free for all exhibition of memorized wit, introductions of new *lɔba* from other communities, or merely invented ones. This provides the opportunity for the group to expand their *lɔba* repertoire. The attempts by unseasoned performers such as children generate great fun for everyone including the fledgling performers. A formal closing ceremony is held, and there is no real winner and loser, no draw. Of course, the presumed winning team utters a closing riddle-proverb meant to symbolically seal the lips and wits of the surrendered side with call and response phrases such as these.

Kuri gboglon

[Big baggy pantaloons]

Sankana naa kuri gboglon

[Sankana king's drop-crotch pantaloons]

Kaleo naa kuri gboglong

[Kaleo king's drop-crotch pantaloons]

After this, the groups melt into individuals again and they proceed to the performance of *silma* [folk tales] and *sikpɔga* [riddles] or *sinsilma* [folktale sharing}.

***Lɔba* features and style**

The most notable features of the Dagaare *lɔba* include what is termed “tonal and rhythmic correspondence” and sometimes semantic correspondence between the stimulus/query and response/solution (Yankah, 1983, p. 90). Semantically, however, there need not be a direct correspondence or “semantic fit” between the stimulus and response as observed in several instances (p. 90). As Giray-Saul has also asserted in his discussion of the Mossi *solem kueese*, there often is no “explicit metaphor that could be guessed by the opponent ... as it is with the ordinary riddle”; but sometimes there is a close “structural semblance between stimulus and response” (Giray-Saul, 1983, p. 83). Dagaaba *lɔba* engages three types of structural parallelism: synonymous, antithetical, and syncretic, all reflected in rhythms, rhymes, assonance, alliteration, allusion, imagery etc. for aesthetic and rhetorical effect.

All of the ingredients identifiable in the genre of poetry abound in *lɔba*. The majority of Dagaare *lɔba* derive their communicative significance, dramaturgy, symbolism, and educative entertainment value from their embodiment of ancestral and cultural wisdom through which children learn the arts of oratory and wit through memorized responses to stimuli in *lɔba* performance. The poetic aspects of *lɔba* are realized through personification, hyperbole, onomatopoeia, allusion, metaphor, paradox, rhyme, rhythm, simile, synecdoche, anecdote, and symbol. Consider the following *lɔba*.

STIMULUS: *Sankana pikpaga zɛŋ dire naalon*

[Sankana boulder-rocks sit and rule]

RESPONSE: *Gbonboe anii lang kpeere bogi yeni*

[Eight hyenas live together in one cave]

STIMULUS: *Gooraa see pieto*

[Faidherbia Albida tree wears underpants]

RESPONSE: *Bindangmaa gaa doobo*

[A log-like excrement goes to defecate]

A cursory glance at the *loba* cited above demonstrates concretely that the use of imagery is highly symbolic, referring to inanimate or non-human entities to signify human beings. The “boulder-rocks” assume the power of human kings over their kingdoms. They also exude a kind of spirituality in their immutable and external grandeur and nobility. The response, however, seems contradictory to the stimulus. Eight hyenas dwelling in one cave together is symbolic of the Dagaaba view on the world. In Dagaaba culture, literature, and cosmovision, hyenas stand for greed, cowardice, stupidity and lack of foresight, though they live together as family packs. There is an implication here of humans learning to live like wolves together so that they can stay strong, majestic, and united like the rocks that provided places of resistance for the different clans and villages in the area during the slave wars of Babatu and Samori Toure in the late 19th century. The stimulus and response are linked together here by a non-linear logic to suggest that humans can learn from non-human entities like the hyenas and from inanimate entities like the boulders to build cohesive frameworks for social life. The second stimulus stretches our imagination in a funny direction. The *gooraa* (Faidherbia Albida) is a thorn tree that blooms only during the dry and windy harmattan season. Here, one compares its blooming during the driest months in the Upper West Region of Ghana, with adorning itself with beautiful underwear. The green leaves and beautiful flowers cover its nakedness that was exposed during the rainy season, when it was the only tree without leaves. But now this thorny tree wears a *pieto* because of its odd behavior of blooming only when the other trees stand naked after shedding their leaves. The response is even more ironic and funny. A hard ball of feces is imagined going to the toilet. The non-consonance between stimulus and response is weakened by the poetry of impossibilities, ironies, and rhythms of the phrases within the world of symbol.

The poeticality of Dagaare *loba* embraces rhythmic and sound patterns. The super-abundance of rhyme (para, end, and internal), alliteration, onomatopoeia enhance the mnemonic and musical qualities of *loba*. Some strings of sounds are non-translatable because, as elements of sound poetry, their meaning is encoded in the cultural nuances understood by Dagaaba.

STIMULUS: *Kokoro kokoro*

[Kokoro kokoro]

RESPONSE: *Wiri kogri do tana*

[Lean horses climb a hill]

STIMULUS: *Ee lee zaa eele gbongbon*

[Any horn is all horns]

RESPONSE: *Bon nyuu zaa bon nyu pompon*

[Any smelly thing all stinking things]

STIMULUS: *Dagangarema gare kye, kye gare kye*

[A fallen branchy branch lies across here, and across here]

RESPONSE: *Ngmentoonzee puri kye, kye kpe kye*

[Red sun bursts open here and enters here]

The metaphoric and symbolic implications of these riddle-proverbs cannot be overemphasized. In *loba* both the stimuli and responses are sometimes independent of each other in imagery, lexical, and syntactic arrangements. Sometimes too, the stimulus may generate an image/metaphor/symbol which is contradicted, explicated, complicated, supported or expanded by the response. But whatever the case is, the two have linkages in tone rhythm, rhyme, semantic parallelism, etc. Here are two *loba* that are linked not by imagery but by the theme of the dangers involved in trying to obtain the best of life juxtaposed with the theme of death.

STIMULUS: *Dangbale velaa be kolaa nooreŋ*

[A beautiful walking stick stands by the riverbank]

RESPONSE: *Pɔgobili velaa be soɔba yiriŋ*

[A beautiful girl lives in the witch's house]

STIMULUS: *Zɛ doge kpolɛɛ ŋa na doge n yɔgvaare baare*

[The tiny pot will cook all my pumpkin leaves]

RESPONSE: *Bog bili fululu ŋaŋ na vɔle te zaa baare*

[This narrow hole will finish by swallowing all of us]

The metaphors in the stimuli appear tentative, however, they are comprehended in their symbolism, which extends into the responses. The message is a warning about the end of one's life. These *loba* are one of the ways by which the Dagaaba acknowledge the inevitability of death, and by which children are prepared psychologically, emotionally, and socially to expect and consequently accept death when it comes for them. The little pot and little hole both symbolize the grave. Some of the most outstanding and satisfying aspects of *loba* are their stylized rhythmic patterns, syntactic and lexical parallelisms and tonal switches that indicate that a question is tendered without the normal questioning intonation.

STIMULUS: *Pedaa be zagaŋ viire lane, viire lane*

[A ram is in the pen swinging testicles, swinging testicles]

RESPONSE: *Zenlee be nooreŋ leere yeɛ, leere yeɛ*

[A tongue is in the mouth turning talk, turning talk]

STIMULUS: *Nye tanaa naŋ noma le kye ngmaŋ bonyeni*

[See how beautiful this shea tree is but has only one fruit]

RESPONSE: *Nye pɔgolee naŋ veɛle la kye fego nimbiri*

[See how beautiful this lady is but she is blind in one eye]

Interestingly, not all *loba* tend to obey these basic features. There are very few that have differing tonal and rhythmic patterns between the stimulus and response. For example, the following sounds more like a non- *loba* riddle.

STIMULUS: *Pɔgenyang bɛrɛ arɛ dɛllɛ tuo*

[Old woman big, big, lean against a baobab]

RESPONSE: *Tobo*

[Ears]

Dagaare *loba* riddle-proverbs do not seem to engage much in the language of abuse or obscenity. There are examples of obscene and insulting *loba*, but these are few. This is because the performance of obscene and abusive *loba* in public situations of playfulness, and where children are present, is frowned upon among the Dagaaba. Children are not encouraged to refer to the sexual anatomy freely and one is not surprised that a full grown Dagao will use a euphemism rather than refer directly to the human reproductive organs. Secondly, the few obscene and abusive *loba* differ from other tone-riddle-proverbs for their impersonality. References made are objectively universal and not personal. We would like to suggest that, as much as the Dagaare riddle-proverbs resemble the *solem kueese* of the Mossi, the *aborome* of the Akan, the riddles of the Efik and Ibibio of Nigeria, the Anang of Mozambique, the Frafra of Ghana, Luluwa of Zaire, etc., there are differences. The preservation of *loba* has been ensured by their anonymous expression of communal creativity and their ever-expanding repertoire among the Dagaaba in different locales, and among the many clans, villages, and dialects of the Dagaaba in Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Côte D'Ivoire. As a branch of oral literature, the *loba* repertoire is not limited to any inviolable tradition. *Loba* tradition is elastic and allows for innovative ideas and experiences to be incorporated into the repertoire that make sense to the present generation without erasing the past generation's cultural worldview. Even where new *loba* reflecting modern trends have also been grudgingly accepted, the anonymity of creation still holds sway. *Loba* are enjoyably fresh in their educative, recreational, and aesthetics of rhetoric.

A yi a bibil yeng puoring, loba zaa la taa la nankpong yɛŋ, bee yeng zulung. Anga n nang yeli na, bibiiri eng ba banga ne a yeng zulung nga; see ka nenkpong yeng na nang kpɛ a poɔ. A yeng zulung nga la ka nenkponi mang de wulo bee goɔra bee kpaana ne bapaaba.

[Aside from the children, all *loba* have some adult meaning or possess great wisdom. As I have said, the children and the youth may not perceive this deep knowledge, unless an adult intervenes. It is this deep wisdom that adults use to teach, or correct, or entertain friends.] (Yabang, 1987, p. 7)

Tentative concluding remarks

In this article, we have used examples of Dagaaba *lɔba* to help describe the conventions, styles and performance strategies associated with them. We have also argued that *lɔba* are integral to the development of the youth among the Dagaaba, because they play important socio-cultural functions and are central to the cohesiveness of Dagaaba society. As the *lɔba* tradition is inculcated into the younger generations it functions as an element of cultural memory, while training the youth concerning Dagaaba understandings of rhetoric, morality, intelligent thinking, tolerance, and humility in defeat (Bangnikon, 1999). Through *lɔba* performances, young people also learn how to think creatively and develop broadmindedness in relating to others. *Lɔba* performance stimulates and enhances the younger generations' participation in Dagaaba cultural production and retention through "collective wisdom, cosmic relationship, natural justice and shared entertainment" (Kyiileyang, et al., 2017, p. 222; see also Dansieh, 2019).

Dagaaba *lɔba* and their performance are infused with a dichotomous pleasure derived from combinations words and sound that seem illogical in their pairing. Yet it is this seamless dichotomy that makes *lɔba* so uniquely entertaining but also informational, in such a way as they become launch pads for the young to learn about the cultural ways of their parents and ancestors, and thus become tools for the preservation of Dagaaba cultural memory. Even where there is no direct semantic, tonal or rhythmic parallelism or correspondence, there is always a generally accepted "notion or rightness" (Yankah, 1983, p. 103) that allows for judging the correctness of responses. *Lɔba* poeticality lies in their parallel rhythmic structures, their vibrant onomatopoeia, their intentional ambiguities, their illusive illogicalities, their implied arbitrariness of language use, their pithiness, and their playful seriousness. The language is a blend of everyday words and non-verbalized sounds, coupled with uncommon, sometimes nonsensical, yet proverbially expressive and tonally stylized words. The tonalities, lexicality, and structural patterns found in *lɔba* are not those typically found in everyday parlance. They never take on the form of the ordinary conversational discourse that is associated with proverbs. Technically *lɔba* encode subtle and forceful implications of semantic and tonal parallelism and equivalence between contiguous and discrete episodes, metaphors, sounds, words, and meaning, that may be related or not at all levels. What also links *lɔba* stimulus and response in what appears to be a system of illogicality is the emotional suggestiveness and the motivational force of their images, symbols, and other poetic features.

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APPENDIX

More examples of the thousands of Dagaaba *loba*.

Haanaa pare ɔng pɔɔrong

[A rotten mouse under the African blackplum tree]

Nimi fege soba bang gbieloo

[The monocular one can slyly glance]

N deeme doge simie ne suree

[My mother in-law cooks bambara beans in a ladle]

Iri gaa be tengbelɛɛ ni a zirii

[Get away from tengbelɛɛ with the lies]

Dalugri gyinegyine le kye are gu wege

[A weak looking y-shaped wooden pillar but supports a beam]

Maale zeng teloo, kye gu ze-kyeene

[You just wait patiently and wait for fried soup]

Pelempelem te uuni vaare puli

[Flying confusedly only to hide under leaves]

Nɔ̀bil baala zuuni zuuni

[A sick chicken, drooping, drooping]

Koore baalang nyeere binkpoge

[A weak farmer defecates hard feces]

Bada pelaa gang bigri

[White male dog lies watching]

Benne naa kpaare kpoll

[Chief parasite long occiput]

Vige kang vige

[Vige kang vige]

Konga yage tuo

[A leper throws stones to bring down a baobab fruit]

Tampelong pa doge

[Ash fill a pot full]

Dakɔ̀bang pa yiri

[It is bachelor's that fill the house]

Tampelong pere gorengmene

[Ash bottom 'gorengmene']

Dakoore see kparemana

[A bachelor's thin waist]

Kpaanyoo gay baa kye fuolo

[Guinea-fowl crosses river but is whistling]

Lambi-yeni en koɔɔ kyenkyenle

A testicle-lobe swells with pus)

Kamaandare gbolo-gbolo daare gbo

Empty huge corn cobs stick together

Ka bini wa yire gorgor ka pare la.

[As feces come out in a rush, the anus laughs]

N ma biiri pa die kye ka dendore kye be

[My mother's children fill a room but there is no door]

Mɔ̀kangyiri-ngmane pa ni bie kye vuore kye be

[Pawpaw fruit full of seeds but there is no entrance]

Farata kye sɔ̀fea ka goɔng la be

[Broadly and keenly takes survey and then it is sleep]

Nasaalaa sokoɔraa

[Whiteman's road that has been cleared by hoe]

Paanyaa bangollo

[The cricket's bungalow]

Nyeraa pante

[The ant's party]

Pee zu kyuuro

[Roof-top scutter]

Zie maa yeraa

[Evening comes for a Muslim]

Ngmentɔ̀nzee aloopelee

[Hot-red sun's aeroplane]

Abuo moɔng ba wa zirii

[Which one is not falsehood]

Kyenkyeng kulee kulee

[Kyengkyeng kulee kulee]

Baa gaa tokparaa zie

[The dog goes to harvest baobab leaves]

Kyuupelaa puri larate

[Bright moon burst out brightly]

Nompee saalaare pie

[White people ten food plates]

Digi parapara faa naakyeene wo

[Chase hotly after robs the shepherd of his kid bag]

Saalong pelaa faa nugunno saabo

[White okra robs the short fingered's saabo]

Nobil peelee tu taa gaa toore pere

[White chickens follow each other towards the mortar]

Pɔlbil veele tu taa gaa dapare

[Handsome youngmen follow each other to heaven]

Gbangbalaa poɔ naabing kpagla

[The plain place cow dung, hard]

Nen yeni ba dɔgra gandaa

[One person does not give birth to a hero]

Ka n bang ka n ma mɔna n kong benne

[If I knew my mother was stirring the pot I would not parasite]

Ka n bang ka kata be la bogging n kong tung nye

[If I knew there was a cobra in a hole I would not put my hand inside]

Ambangnaa pare ba gyere ba sɔnne

[The bottom of 'ambangnaa' plant does not cross their carriers]

Sene bie dɔge bare kye kong tung

[This child out of marriage give birth to but does not send]

Penne-naa zeng kakalaa nyaang

[The chief of rest sits on the 'kakalaa' tree's chest]

Kũũ nyɔge naakyeene nung

[Death seizes the shepherd's hand]

Waala kyeraa wɔng sɛmpɛlɛngɛ

[The ackee-apple of the Waala bears broken pot pieces]

Kũũ waana bang ba soora

[Death comes they do not question]

Kogo zu dabil baale anii

[Mahogany top eight slim twigs]

Senlenleng seledenleng (repeatable)

[Senlenleng seledenleng]

Ye sore baa kɔɔlong nye

[Count a dog's hair and see]

Baa kɔɔlong kɔŋ bang sore

[A dog's hair is uncountable]

Bi soɔba ma nyere ye

[A wizard's mother sees things]

Sobri puo galɛnguuli kpong (repeatable)

[A big millipede in the middle of the road]

Kũũ tuuri a bi veele zaa baare

[Death has selected all the good children]

Bintim bintimmu (repeatable)

[Bintim bintimmu]

koɔŋ kpong tee pɔlaa

[Big water ripples]

Damaara tuo goora/hiine

[Carry wet wood and stoop]

Kɔŋ kyi fere bing ɔɔra

[Famine millet hide it and chew]

Pɔntere ngmantummu

[The toads dyer's polypore]

Biiree kpɛ noora

[Enter sand and burrow]

N kpeng kpengkpeng kpemmo (repeatable)

[N kpeng kpengkpeng kpemmo]

N piiliŋ n mǎǎŋvaare ne pee

[I find my okra leaves with a basket]

N piili n gbaŋgbalaa kuri

[I find my plain place tortoise]

N piili n dampuori kɔŋga/zɔŋga

[I find a blindman or a leper in my backyard]

N ɔɔ na sermaanong kono

[I eat my pepper and cry]

Zenge kang zenge (repeatable)

[Zenge kang zenge]

Saa ngme duo

[Rain beats pig]

Kɔɔ gaaɛ ɔɔ yele

[If you reach, do not tell]

Zaamee doɔ

[Yesterday's locust tree fruit]

Ũ hũũ ũ, Ũ hũũ ũ (repeatable)

[Ũ hũũ ũ, Ũ hũũ ũ]

A kpɔge nyunggulung a de su

[And picks big and ??? and puts it in the mouth]

A kpɔge nyungguluj a za bare

[And picks big, heavy and round and throws it away]

N nang de yeli na, fɔ ba wong

[When I said it, did you not hear?]

A leng gulonsumm a de tuo

[And ties it big and round and puts it on the head]

Ba nang mɔŋ ba ba kɔre

[Since they stirred/cooked they have not served]

Ba nang gaa na ba ba wa

[Since they left they have not returned]

Seleŋ le leŋ seleŋ le leŋ (repeatable)

[Seleŋ le leŋ seleŋ le leŋ]

Nyaane ma gaa tokparaa zie

[The wise woman goes in search of baobao leaves]

Nyagne dɔɔ yare dɔzɔŋ ne woɔ

[Impatient man wears a kid bag of locust bean flour]

HOW MEMORIES OF THE PAST INFLUENCE OUR PRESENT: A STORY FROM SURINAME

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Abstract

Mama Yana is the name of a water goddess in Suriname. Stories abound throughout the Afro-Caribbean of meeting her and her sisters on the banks of a river where they bathe in the sun, and quickly jump back into the water when someone approaches. Some of the events in the story related in this article actually took place in the life of one of the authors, Wilhelm Teebaum. One of the main points in re-telling this story is to show how identities emerge through a melding of internal and external forces of Indigenous, African and European origin over time in Suriname and the rest of the region.

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Key terms: Suriname, memory; Sranan Tongo; Winti, magical realism, Mama Yana

Introduction

Until the early seventies, practicing the Winti religion was officially forbidden in Suriname, although not strictly prosecuted. Wikipedia defines Winti as ‘an Afro-Surinamese traditional religion that originated in Suriname’ (Winti, 2024, para. 1). It is a syncretization of the different African religious beliefs and practices brought in by people of various ethnic origins (including Akan, Fon and Kongo) during the Dutch Slave trade. The religion has no written sources nor a central authority. The term is also used for all supernatural beings or spirits (Wintis) created by Anana, the creator of the universe. It is unlikely that non-Creole speakers would take part in this religion. There has been some fusion between the Afro-Surinamese Winti religion and the spiritual world of the Indigenous communities of Suriname.

Mama Yana is the name of a water goddess of Indigenous origin. Stories abound of meeting her and her sisters on the banks of a river where they bathe in the sun, and quickly jump back into the water when someone approaches. Some of the events in this story actually took place in the life of one of the authors of this article, Wilhelm

Teebaum. He was born in Nickerie, had to take remedial math classes, cut his heel jumping over a ditch, and had an aunt who bandaged his heel. There was also a family acquaintance who warned him about looking at the moon and scolded him when he found her bundle of *wisi*. For the rest, his story is a kind of magical realism and is written with humour and insight into the ways in which language, history, experience and literature can help define the culture of a society.

Although this story is not a transposition of a particular piece of literature from one language to another, it serves nevertheless as a stepping stone which the author uses to communicate with his audience the narrative elements that point to Sranan features embedded in his story. Memories of a past in a geographical location and a history of living in the Caribbean are woven into this story that give the reader snippets of the author's sense of what he has experienced and where he came from. Perhaps his main point is to show how his identities emerged through a melding of internal and external forces over time. This author's work provides a glimpse into the magical realm and enables the reader to understand some of the background of Sranan, one of the English lexifier creoles spoken in Suriname.

Mama Yana

I sat in the small room in the back of the house and was sweating. These dratted problems! Why could I never solve them? My life seemed to be largely governed by the fact that I couldn't do math. There was always an error in each problem. Usually several. That hadn't always been the case, but it had been that way for the past few months. And when I came home with a bad grade for arithmetic on my report card, that was it for my mother. She had spoken to Uncle Jan behind my back. He was the director of my secondary school where I attended the first class. He spontaneously agreed to help: "Send him over and we'll get right on it."

And that's where I sat now, every afternoon for the time being. Uncle Jan had placed a booklet with the deceptive title *Exercise Problems for Mental Arithmetic* on the table in front of me. *Mental arithmetic!* It made me sigh. Each chapter had five problems. I had to do all five and when I finished the chapter, he checked the calculations. If everything went right, I had the rest of the afternoon off. I was at chapter four and things weren't going much better than at the beginning, and it still took quite a long time to put everything down on paper. And to make things worse, he usually found a few mistakes, so I was stuck there almost all afternoon. His two sons, my buddy Han and his twin brother Ger were forbidden to disturb me, and because their father was very strict, they heeded his wish. But I could hear their voices every now and then. They had finished their homework a long time ago and were enjoying themselves. And I sat there, abandoned by the whole world, all alone while I worked on these stupid problems. That was so unfair! Suddenly there were tears in my eyes. I had just lowered my head to the table when a voice said: "Why are you crying?"

With a jerk I lifted my head, sat upright and looked around. It wasn't Uncle Jan's voice, who also never would have asked why I was crying, and certainly not lovingly. Neither was it Aunt Jannie's voice, who could have asked me this.

"I am here at the window," said the voice. "I didn't want to scare you, so I stayed outside."

I couldn't believe my eyes. Standing in front of the window in the garden was a woman with long, dark hair and coal black eyes. She was of medium height and slim. Her brown skin made me think she was Javanese, but she didn't speak with their accent. She didn't look unfriendly, but she had a very serious expression. This woman looked vaguely familiar, but I didn't know her name. I thought I'd seen her a few times recently. Maybe she had a stall at the market. But why did this woman come to Uncle Jan's garden? And why didn't his two dogs bark at her? What did she want from me?

"I don't want anything from you," she reassured me, as if she had read my thoughts. "I'm here to help you."

"To help me? With what? How do you know me? Who are you?"

"Those are a lot of questions all at once!" The woman smiled briefly and continued: "I am Mamayana."

"Mamayana?"

This name was completely unknown to me.

"Yes, Mamayana," she confirmed.

"Do you live in Nickerie? I think I've seen you before."

"No, I don't live in Nickerie." She smiled again. "I don't live anywhere, but I'm everywhere. Especially where I'm needed."

"Especially where you are needed?"

"Yes, where people, or even animals, need help."

"You're here to help me because you think I need help?"

"That's the way it is. When you cried, I thought you could use my assistance. Don't you think that with a little help you'll feel better again?"

"Uh, yes. Sure!" I was surprised and delighted. "Can you do arithmetic? My problem is that I haven't been able to do calculations for some time now. At least not well. I used to be able to do so, but for some time now, I make too many mistakes, that's why I sit here. And because it's taking so long before I'm done, I feel miserable."

"Yes, I noticed that."

"But if you solve these problems for me ..." I looked at Mamayana and continued uncertainly: "You can do arithmetic, can't you?"

She shook her head with a smile. "No, I can't do arithmetic. I've never learned that. I never went to school either."

"With what do you want to help me then?" I asked, disappointed that she couldn't provide any help with my arithmetic problems.

Mamayana smiled again and said: "I can't say anything about that now because you wouldn't understand."

My disappointment grew.

"But you said you wanted to help me," I exclaimed reproachfully, "and now you don't want to tell me anything!"

"Your problem isn't with arithmetic or with school."

"So what *is* my problem?"

"We'll talk about that next time. Now, try to solve your tasks as best as possible."

Before I could say anything, she was gone. I got up, quickly went to the window and looked left and right, but she was nowhere to be seen.

The next day, which was Saturday, I went to the market with my mother as usual and carted two shopping bags around, while she carried the third.

Suddenly the woman named Mamayana stood a few meters in front of me. I went up to her and said: "Hello Mrs. Mamayana." She looked at me briefly, turned around, completely ignoring me and disappeared into the crowd.

"Who was that?" my mother wanted to know.

"Oh, someone who sells sandwiches and soft drinks in the schoolyard," I lied.

"She wasn't particularly friendly," my mother wondered, and I followed her to the car. Once I had stowed the bags, I got in and sat in the passenger seat. In my clumsiness, I slammed the door shut, trapping the fingers of my right hand. The metal cut two fingers and it bled profusely and hurt terribly. At home, my mother disinfected the hand and applied a large bandage.

The following Monday I was back in my arithmetic jail and worked on the problems of chapter five. I wasn't very focused. Both fingers hurt and my mind kept wandering. I was just wondering whether it had really been Mrs. Mamayana and whether she actually had a stall at the market when I heard her voice.

"Hello, I am here."

I looked up. She was sitting in Uncle Jan's chair, even though I had not heard her come in.

"What's wrong with your hand?" she wanted to know.

"When we drove away from the market on Saturday, I caught my fingers in the door of the car."

"Oh, were you at the market?"

"Yes, I helped my mother with the shopping. I always do that on Saturdays. But you were there too, weren't you? I saw you and ..."

"Oh, no," she replied firmly, "I wasn't at the market at all. You are mistaken."

She looked at me sternly and continued: "But it's more serious with you than I thought. We can't wait any longer."

"More serious? Can't wait? What are you talking about? About the accident with my hand?"

“That wasn’t an accident! You’re in danger, and that’s why I’m here.”

I looked at her with an incredulous look in my eyes and said: “No, I must have closed the door while my right hand was still outside.”

Mamayana didn’t respond, but asked: “Didn’t you notice that weird things have been happening to you lately? Accidents, for example?”

I thought deeply and replied: “Yes, two months ago I wanted to jump over a ditch next to our house. I had never failed doing that before, but this time I landed with one foot in the mud of the ditch. There was a broken bottle there and I got a deep cut on my heel.”

“What did you do then?”

An old friend of my mother’s, Aunt Hilda from Paramaribo, was just staying three weeks with us. She is a nurse and she first washed and disinfected the wound. And then wrapped it up with a big bandage.”

“Hmm. Tell me, is Aunt Hilda a *bakra*¹?”

“No, she’s Creole.”

“How did the wound heal?” Mamayana wanted to know. “Oh, quite good. I couldn’t put on my right shoe for a good week and I hobbled. But after that everything was fine again.”

“Were there any other incidents?”

“No, I don’t remember anything else.”

Mamayana looked intently into my eyes.

“Wasn’t there something wrong with your glasses before the accident with your foot? One lens suddenly broke very quickly, didn’t it?”

“That’s correct. But how do you know that?”

“That doesn’t matter!” she replied shortly, “It’s about you remembering certain incidents. Tell me how it happened.”

“I first went to the eye doctor and then to the optician, who both come once a year from Paramaribo to Nickerie. Two weeks later my glasses arrived with the *Perica*². When I got home from school that day, I put them on straight away, but I still had to get used to them. Everything looked different. The distance to the objects around me was different. While playing with my sister, I threw her empty nail polish bottle into the air, but when I wanted to catch it, I missed it and it landed on one of the lenses which broke into pieces. Luckily I didn’t get any glass splinters in my eye.”

Mamayana looked very concerned, then closed her eyes and thought deeply. After a while she opened her eyes again and said: “There must have been something before. Maybe nothing dramatic. Can you remember anything? I couldn’t see anything. It must have been something very powerful.”

¹ European (all translations are by the authors, unless specified otherwise)

² The boat transport between Nickerie and Paramaribo

“Something very powerful?” I repeated, and the whole situation became more and more creepy.

“No no. You will not have experienced it as such. Did you meet a stranger shortly before the accident with your glasses?”

“No. I know almost everyone in Nickerie.”

“Are you sure? Think about it! There must have been someone.”

“Oh well. There was Johanna, but she wasn’t really a stranger. She also lived in our house for a while.”

“Who is this Johanna? Where did she come from?”

“Johanna was the housemaid, who worked at my mother’s house in Paramaribo, when she was a child. She lived with us for a month to help out.”

“Tell me about her,” Mamayana asked me.

“What should I tell you then?”

“Anything you can think of.”

“Ok,” I sighed, “She was old-fashioned and wore an *anyisa*³ every day.”

“Apart from the *anyisa*, what else did you notice about her?”

“She was superstitious.”

I laughed at the memory.

“One evening I was sitting on the balcony with my father’s old binoculars and I looked at the full moon. She sat down next to me, grabbed my arm and said very seriously: ‘*Yu no mus du a san’ dati! A k’falek sote, mi boi. Yu mek’ den takruiyeye kis’ yu*’⁴”

“So, how did you react?”

“I found it very peculiar because my father and I often watched the full moon and there was never any mention of evil spirits. And they also never showed up. But I didn’t say anything, and as long as she was there, I didn’t watch the moon again.”

“That was very smart of you,” Mamayana said, nodding in confirmation. “Then it couldn’t have been her.”

“But there was something else,” I said hesitantly, not sure if I should mention this.

“Something else? With Johanna? Please tell. It could be important.”

“She once scolded me.”

“Scolded? Why?”

I hesitated again, because I had done something that was not right.

“Tell me,” Mamayana prompted me, and I told her.

“She slept in a small room behind mine. I had noticed that she wasn’t using the bed there, but spread out a *papaya*⁵ on the floor to sleep upon. I wanted to take a closer look at the thing. The *papaya* was nothing special, but on the shelf, on the wall, there was something strange.”

³ headscarf

⁴ Please don’t do that! That is very dangerous, my boy. You make evil spirits go after you!

⁵ Thin woven reed sleeping mat

I stopped and looked at Mamayana.

“And what was it?”

“It was a package crumpled up in newspaper with a rubber band around it.

I stopped talking because I was ashamed of my curiosity, but Mamayana really wanted to know what I did then.

“I unfolded the paper and was amazed at what I saw.”

“So, what was it?” Mamayana asked impatiently.

“A cigar butt, or something similar, a tuft of curly black hair, a small leaf from a plant I didn’t know, and other things I couldn’t identify.”

I was silent again and Mamayana asked excitedly and anxiously: “Did you touch any of them with your fingers?”

“No, because just at that moment, Johanna came into the room and saw what I was doing. She grabbed the package out of my hand, folded it carefully again and pushed me out of her room, scolding me: ‘*Noiti yu sa doro mi sribikamra agen, noso mi go fon yu!*’⁶ She was so angry that I was glad she went back to Paramaribo with the next *Perica*.”

“This is bad, very bad,” said Mamayana, more to herself than to me, “But we’ll take care of it.”

She looked at me and continued: “You have messed up her *wisi*⁷, her magic. And now you are exposed to its danger.”

“You mean that Johanna wants revenge on me?”

“No, I don’t think so. Not Johanna. It is the power within the *wisi* itself that is responsible for this. Now that I know what happened, I can help you break that power. For that, I need a tuft of your hair.”

Before I knew what happened, she grabbed the small scissors from the storage box on the table and cut off a small curl of my hair.

“Tomorrow afternoon at two we’ll meet at the *Bakadam*⁸, then we’ll cleanse you. Bring two leaves with you from a tree you love.”

“Who will cleanse me?” I asked curiously and a little suspiciously.

“I’m taking you to a good friend of mine who has a lot of experience.”

“But that’s not okay. I have to report here shortly after two to get my arithmetic problems.”

“You’re not so stupid as to risk your life for a few ridiculous problems, right?!”

She waved goodbye with her hand that held the hair tuft and said ironically, before she suddenly disappeared: “Start working now, otherwise you’ll get in trouble with Uncle Jan.”

⁶ Don’t you ever enter my sleeping room again, or I’ll beat you!

⁷ magical object

⁸ street in Nickerie

The next afternoon, just before two, I rode over the bridge by the *Bakadam* and parked my bike. An *aka*⁹ that was sitting high in the tree fluttered away with a loud screech. Mamayana was already there, watching the bird go and nodded as if she agreed with what it had uttered. She turned to me and asked sternly: “Do you have the leaves?”

I showed her the two leaves I had picked from the star apple tree. She nodded happily and we set off toward the jungle. At a place where a narrow path between the trees led off from the road, she stopped and said: “Go down there. After fifty meters there is a place with *pembadoti*.”

Surprised I asked her in Sranan: *Pembadoti? San na dati?*¹⁰

She explained that *pembadoti* was white earth, also known as pipe clay and added: “We need a good lump. But don’t use any tools, you should only dig with your fingers.”

I didn’t show my astonishment, and with trembling knees I went to the place mentioned and returned with two hands full of *pemba*. Despite my injured right hand, it hadn’t been that difficult to scrape together a fair lump of white earth. It had rained during the night and although there were no puddles on the road, the earth between the trees in the forest was quite moist. Mamayana nodded happily and we continued on our way.

Although I had made many forays around Nickerie with my buddy Han, I had never been here before and I wondered where she would take me. Finally, we came to a hut hidden in the shade of tall trees. We sat down on a shaky bench and I put the two leaves and the *pemba* lump on an equally wobbly table. We waited. Mamayana didn’t say a word and I followed her example. At some point my eyes became heavy and I slowly dozed off. Suddenly I woke up with a start. Mamayana had grabbed my uninjured hand. There was a black man standing in front of me. He was naked except for a grotesque wooden mask and a loincloth. He danced with movements that I could barely follow. The *pemba* I had put on the table was spread out in stripes across his body and I thought it made him look a bit like a zebra. Suddenly he stopped the dance and stared at me motionless.

Mamayana stood up, pulled me up with her and whispered: “Lie on your back on the table.”

With some effort I climbed onto the rickety thing and laid down. On the one hand I was excited about what would happen next, on the other hand I worried whether the table would hold my weight. The zebra man had lit a pipe and walked to the table.

Mamayana, who had previously picked up the leaves from the table, now took off my glasses and placed a leaf on each eye. I could still see the man standing next to me, blowing smoke at first over my feet, then over my legs, over my knees and all over my body. Meanwhile he mumbled words that I didn’t understand. Of course he didn’t speak

⁹ a bird of prey

¹⁰ What is that?

Dutch, but it wasn't *Sranan*¹¹ either. Suddenly my eyes became heavy again and it was difficult to get my bearings, everything around me became foggy and I got scared.

"Don't be afraid," a voice said to me and a hand took mine.

Reassured, I opened my eyes and looked astonished into the distance, where a landscape stretched out to the horizon. We were standing on a mountain. Mamayana stood next to me and held my hand tightly.

"You're almost there, my boy," she said, pointing to the steep slope directly in front of me.

I leaned forward a little and saw that right in front of my feet, the earth went down vertically. I felt a cold, rising current of air on my face and I wanted to jerk away from the edge, but she wrapped her arms around me and held me firmly.

"Do not give up! You've already gone so far with me. You have to pass this final test, otherwise everything will have been in vain," she said and looked at me piercingly, "*Fu sanede yu frede? Yu no fertrow mi more?*"¹² This is your final step to break the *wisi*. You have to jump down there. Just let yourself fall into the depths."

I looked at Mamayana with eyes wide open in panic. My knees were shaking and in a trembling voice I said: "I... I... I should jump down there?"

"Yes! This is what you have to do. You have to decide now. I know you're scared, but I'm with you. I'll hold your hand and jump with you."

She grabbed my arm, stood next to me on the edge of the abyss and counted: "Three ...two ...one: Now!"

I closed both eyes, almost peed my pants in fear and jumped with her into the depths.

A black darkness surrounded me, and only when Mamayana shook my hand could I see the world again. I was laying again – or still? – on the table and asked in a daze: "Mrs. Mamayana, did we really jump?"

She just looked at me with a mysterious smile and said nothing. I sat up and looked around. The masked man was no longer in sight and I wondered if he was in the hut. Mamayana helped me from the table and without saying anything she motioned for us to commence our way back. We set off in silence. When we were about halfway, she suddenly stopped and looked between the trees, high into the sky. I followed her gaze and far, far away I saw a small, black flying object.

"What is that?" I dared to ask.

"That is *Opete*¹³," she replied. She saw from my face that I didn't understand, smiled briefly and explained: "That is the God of the skies. He accompanied us down when we jumped."

She looked at me and continued: "Everything is fine with you now. We have freed you, the spell has been broken."

¹¹ main language of Suriname

¹² Why are you suddenly afraid? Don't you trust me anymore?

¹³ God of the airspace, that manifests itself as a vulture

We reached *Bakadam* and suddenly she was gone. When I started to get on my bike, I noticed that my right hand no longer hurt. I pulled the bandage away and to my amazement the wound was gone.

When I met with Uncle Jan the next afternoon, he asked with disapproval: “Where were you yesterday? You should have been here!”

“I had a headache and I went to bed. And then I fell asleep.”

I could see on Uncle Jan’s face that he didn’t believe a word of it, but he didn’t probe any further, gave me the new tasks and disappeared for his nap. One and a half hour later, he sat down next to me and checked my calculations, which I completed this time much quicker than before.

“Tell me, what’s going on with you?” he asked suspiciously. “Had you already solved them before?”

I shook my head.

“Did Han or Ger help you with this?”

I shook my head again.

“Then, let’s check this out!”

He picked up another book with math problems and opened it about half way through and said: “Please! Do this one while I’m sitting next to you.”

I started and ten minutes later I was finished.

He picked up the paper, checked my calculations and said in amazement: “That’s right. Also, in the other problems everything is correct. Not even a careless mistake!”

He looked at me and nodded, satisfied. “That I was able to teach you this so quickly, is a miracle! You don’t have to come anymore. And your mother will be happy too!”

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DEFYING DENIAL IN THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

DIFERENSIA KATEGORIAL I FUNSHONAL DI *HOPÍ* I *MASHA/MASHÁ* DEN PAPIAMENTU: UN KUADRO TEÓRIKO

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Abstract

It is noteworthy that native speakers of Papiamentu generally make little distinction in their use of the two words *hopi* (many, much, lots) and *masha/mashá* (very). These words have almost become interchangeable and are often treated as synonyms. As the latter is a high-frequency adverb and the former is an a high-frequency adjective, it is important to investigate their simultaneous existence in the language. This article, grounded in theory and the history of the language, explains that 'many' and 'very' have been used for most of the past centuries as two distinct words that cannot be interchanged indiscriminately, as each belongs to a different grammatical category and has therefore functioned differently within the syntax of Papiamentu.

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Key terms: speech, syntax, adverb, adjective, determiner, many, much, very

Resúmen

Ta notabel ku ablante nativo di papiamentu, gradualmente, ta pèrdiendo noshon di uso apropiá di e dos palabranan *hopi* i *masha/mashá*. E palabranan akí kasi a bira interkambiabel, i *hopi* biaha ta hasi uso di nan komo si fuera ta trata di sinónimo. Komo athetivo i atverbio di frekuensia haltu i uso esensial, ta masha importante pa investigá nan eksistensia simultáneo den e lenguahe. Den e artíkulo akí, ku tin un base teóriko, ta eksponé ku ‘*hopi*’ i ‘*masha/mashá*’ ta dos palabra distinto ku no por usá indiskriminadamente, komo ku kada un ta pertenesé na kategoria gramatikal diferente, i konsekuente-mente, kada un ta funshoná na un manera diferente denter di sintáksis di papiamentu.

Palabra klave: papiamentu, sintáksis, atverbio, athetivo, determinante, *hopi*, *masha*, *mashá*

1 Introdukshon

Ta un echo ku awendia papiadó di papiamentu, gradualmente, a bini ta pèrdè noshon di uso apropiá di e palabranan *hopi* i *masha/mashá*. Kasi no ta hasi distinshon mas entre uso di *hopi* i uso di *masha/mashá*. Ta manera *hopi* i *masha/mashá* a bira sinónimo di otro; pues, kaminda ta usa esun, ta usa e otro tambe. I kualke papiadó di papiamentu lo hustifiká su uso indiskriminá ku ‘Ata nos ta komprondé otro, pakiko mi tin di hasi distinshon?’ Esei por ta e kaso, pero e simpel echo ku tur dos forma ta presente ainda den e idioma, i ku un uso *masha* frekuente, ta indikashon ku tin diferensia kategoriaal i/òf semántiko. Si nan tur dos tabatin e mes nifikashon i e mes funshon sintáktiko den e idioma, e ora ei un di nan lo a dispersé *masha* tempu. Pero, mirando ku esei no ta e kaso, i mirando ku tur dos ta usá ku un frekuensia *masha* haltu, lo mester sali for di e punto di bista ku nan tin un uso i un funshon distinto den papiamentu.

Den e kuadro teórikiko ku lo keda eksponé den e artíkulo akí, nos lo mira ku *hopi* i *masha/mashá* ta dos palabra ku no por usa indiskriminadamente, i ku kada un ta pertenesé na kategoria gramatikal diferente, i ku konsekuwentemente, kada un ta funshoná sintáktikamente na un manera diferente den papiamentu. Pues, lo pone atenshon na e diferensia kategoriaal i funshonal di e palabranan akí den papiamentu den e artíkulo akí.

2 Kategoria gramatikal di *hopi*

Gramátika tradishonal ta kategorisá *hopi* komo *athetivo indefiní*, komo *atverbio* i komo *pronòmber indefiní*. Awendia ta kategorisá *hopi* komo (1) *predeterminante* (Pdet), (2) *determinante kuantifikadó (indefiní)* (Det), (3) *atverbio* (Atv) i komo (4) *pronòmber (indefiní)* (Pron). Esaki ta nifiká ku *hopi*, komo *predeterminante*, ta determiná determinante (Det), komo *determinante*, e ta determiná sustantivo (S), pronòmber (Pron) i sintagma nominal (SN), komo *atverbio*, e ta modifiká verbo (V), i komo *pronòmber*, e ta sustituí sustantivo (S) den frase.

2.1 Uso di *hopi* komo (1) *predeterminante* (Pdet)

Ta deskribí *predeterminante* komo un signo lingwístiko ku ta aparesé dilanti di un determinante pa duna informashon adishonal di e sustantivo ku ta fungi komo núkleo den e sintagma nominal (SN). E supkategoria (funshonal) di *predeterminante* ta e úniko klase di determinante aktualisadó ku por aparesé dilanti di otro determinante den e struktura di un sintagma nominal den papiamentu. Algun ehèmpel di determinante usá komo *predeterminante*: *e, un, mas, hopi, tur, henter, basta*.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

1 -*Hopi mas* hende a disidí di keda den nan kas e dianan akí.

Komo Pdet., *hopi* ta modifiká *mas*, ku ta un determinante den e sintagma nominal (SN): *hopi mas* hende.

Ta konsiderá ku *predeterminante* komo supkategoria (funshonal), sintáktikamente, ta e klase di palabra ku ta okupá e posishon di *spesifikadó* den un *sintagma determinante* (SD) ku generalmente tin e artíkulo definí òf indefiní komo núkleo sintáktiko. Por ehèmpel, den e dos siguiente SN-nan ‘*tur e muchanan*’ i ‘*henter un dia*’, tantu e palabra *tur* komo e palabra *henter* ta predeterminante spesifikadó di e SN-nan *e muchanan* i *un dia*.

Pues, komo (1) *predeterminante*, *hopi* ta determiná otro determinante, spesifikando *kantidat* di e determinante òf enfatisando su *intensidat*.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo di *hopi* komo predeterminante:

-*hopi mas sèn*

-*hopi mas atenshon*

-*hopi otro hende*

2.2 Uso di *hopi* komo (2) determinante (Det)

Ta deskribí *determinante* komo un signo lingwístiko ku tin e funshon di *konkretisá* i *identifiká* (spesifiká) e sustantivo dilanti di kua e ta aparesé den un sintagma nominal (SN). E kategoria di determinante ta inklui e supkategorianan di *determinante aktualisadó*, *determinante kuantifikadó*, *determinante interogativo* i *determinante sklamativo*. Den e kuadro akibou, por mira tambe ku ta supkategorisá e 4 supkategorianan prinsipal akí. Ta distinguí ocho supkategoria di determinante: *artíkulo*, *demonstrativo*, *posesivo*, *indefiní*, *distributivo*, *numeral*, *interogativo* i *sklamativo*.

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Kuadro 1 supkategorisashon di determinante (Det)

	determinante	supkategoria	
1	-aktualisadó	-artíkulo	e, un
		-demonstrativo	e ... aki, e ... ei, e ... aya
		-posesivo	mi, bo, su, nos, boso, nan
2	-kuantifikadó	-indefiní	hopi, tantu, tiki, hopi, basta
		-distributivo	ámbos, kada
		-numeral	dos, dies, kuarenta, dosshen
3	-interogativo		ki, kua, kuantu
4	-sklamativo		ata, esta

E determinante *hopi* ta kai den e supkategoria di determinante kuantifikadó. Pues, *hopi* tin un funshon kuantifikadó den frase; esta, e ta *determiná* òf *spesifiká kantidat* di e sustantivo na kua e ta referí na un manera ineksakto. Pa tal motibu, e ta pertenesé tambe na e supkategoria di *determinante indefiní*.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

2 -Mario a bende *hopi produkto* di serámika na marshe awe.

3 -Nos a bende *hopi buki* di e famoso eskritor ayera.

4 -E hóbennan tin *hopi interes* pa e asunto akí.

5 -Bo a gasta *hopi awa* pa laba e outo chikí ei.

Den e frasenan akiriba, *hopi* komo determinante kuantifikadó indefiní ta spesifiká *kantidat* di e sustantivonan *produkto* i *buki*, na un manera ineksakto, i *intensidat* di e sustantivo *interes* i *volúmen* di e sustantivo *awa*. Pues, komo determinante, *hopi* ta indiká *kantidat*, *intensidat* òf *volúmen* indefiní di e sustantivo ku e ta determiná.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo mas:

-*hopi* hende, *hopi* shimaruku (kantidat di sustantivo konkreto/kontabel)

-*hopi* amor, *hopi* atenshon (intensidat di sustantivo apstrakto/inkontabel)

-*hopi* awa, *hopi* santu (volúmen di sustantivo konkreto/inkontabel)

2.2.1 Uso di *hopi* dilanti di sustantivo konkreto

Ta usa *hopi* dilanti di *sustantivo konkreto* pa indiká *kantidat*, esta, pa determiná *kantidat indefiní* di algu konkreto. Den e kaso akí, *hopi* semper ta aparese dilanti di un *sustantivo konkreto*, esta, *algu tangibel*, *visibel*, *ku por konta*, *midi òf pisa*. Pero ta usa *hopi* tambe pa ekspresá *volúmen* di algu konkreto. Den e kaso akí tambe, *hopi* ta aparese dilanti di un *sustantivo konkreto*, pero ku ta inkontabel.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

<i>hopi dilanti di sustantivo konkreto i kontabel pa indiká kantidat</i>		
hopi buki	hopi vruminga	hopi pashènt
hopi hende	hopi pida	hopi kuki
hopi palu	hopi mango	hopi paña
hopi outo	hopi bandera	hopi sapatu
hopi palabra	hopi mucha	hopi simia
<i>hopi dilanti di sustantivo konkreto i inkontabel pa indiká volúmen</i>		
hopi kuminda	hopi awa	hopi greis
hopi zeta	hopi peper	hopi shushi
hopi sleim	hopi bientu	hopi salu
hopi huma	hopi santu	hopi sòpi
hopi lodo	hopi aros	hopi alkohòl
hopi kabei	hopi hariña	hopi krema

2.2.2 Uso di *hopi* dilanti di sustantivo apstrakto

Ta usa *hopi* tambe dilanti di *sustantivo apstrakto* (*invisibel/inkontabel/inmidibel*), palabra ku ta referí na un konsepto apstrakto (*algu ku no por persibí ku nos sentidonan*). Pues, den e kaso akí, ta trata di un konsepto di kua no por *determiná su volúmen* mediante e determinante *hopi*.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

<i>hopi dilanti di sustantivo apstrakto pa indiká intensidat</i>		
hopi kariño	hopi inhustisia	hopi smak
hopi pasenshi	hopi miedu	hopi karisma
hopi tempu	hopi odio	hopi gana
hopi doló	hopi elogio	hopi ekspektativa
hopi kalor	hopi amor	hopi duele
hopi friu	hopi dedikashon	hopi atenshon
hopi deseo	hopi energia	hopi koutela
hopi esfuerso	hopi bondat	hopi diskushon
hopi rabia	hopi deskonfiansa	hopi inisiativa

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2.3 Uso di *hopi* komo (3) atverbio (Atv)

Ta deskribí *atverbio* komo un signo lingwístiko òf ekspreshon ku generalmente ta modifiká *verbo*, *athetivo*, *otro atverbio*, *determinante*, *klóusula*, *sintagma preposishonal* i *frase*. usá komo atverbio, sintáktikamente, *hopi* ta modifiká *verbo*, di kua e ta ekspresá *intensidat* òf *durashon* di e akshon verbal. Den e kaso ei, *hopi* ta aparesé semper tras di verbo intransitivo, preposishonal, refleksivo, etc.¹ (Mira **nota 1**) ku e ta modifiká. Ta usa *hopi* tambe komo atverbio dilanti di otro atverbio.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

Den e siguiente ehèmpelnan, *hopi* ta modifiká verbo intransitivo, indikando volúmen, intensidat òf durashon di e akshon verbal:

¹ Verbo preposishonal. Si por pone un atverbio (*hopi*, *masha*, *demasiado*, *muchu*, etc.) entre un verbo i su preposishon fiho, e ora ei ta trata di un verbo preposishonal. E atverbio ta modifiká, den e kaso akí, e verbo preposishonal. Ehèmpel: (1)-Mi a *papia* *hopi ku* Martha awe. Otro ehèmpel: (2)-Mi a *papia* e asunto *ku* Martha. Den e promé ehèmpel, ta trata di un verbo preposishonal, *papia ku*. Den e di dos ehèmpel, no ta trata di un verbo preposishonal, pasobra por a hinka un sustantivo entre *papia* i *ku*, ku ta fungi komo opheto direkto den e kaso akí. Pues, den e frase akí, *papia ... ku* no ta un verbo preposishonal. En todo kaso, e no ta un verbo preposishonal primario, sino sekundario, pasobra entre *papia* i *ku* a insertá un opheto ku no ta un opheto preposishonal sino un opheto direkto. Ta konsiderá ku un verbo ta verbo preposishonal, si entre e verbo i e preposishon fiho, por hinka solamente un atverbio òf un sintagma atverbial (SATv). Ata aki algun ehèmpel di verbo preposishonal den papiamentu: abuzá di, opta pa, konsistí di, *papia* riba, despedí di. Aki ta bini dilanti ademas ku un verbo preposishonal, generalmente, tin un nifikashon diferente for di e verbo léksiko. Ehèmpel: *drumi* (riba kama òf ta na soño) – *drumi ku* (tene relashon seksual ku).

6 -E kachónan di bisiña a *grita hopi* ayera nochi. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo intransitivo *grita*, indikando *durashon i/òf intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

7 -Nos a *diskutí hopi* ayera nochi. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo intransitivo *diskutí*, indikando *durashon i/òf intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

8 -Na chikí, e tabata *kome hopi*. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo intransitivo *kome*, indikando *volúmen* di e akshon verbal.)

9 -E baridó di kaya ta *kana hopi* den solo kayente. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo intransitivo *kana*, indikando *durashon i/òf intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

10 -Bo ta *huma hopi*. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo intransitivo *huma*, indikando *intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

Den e siguiente ehèmpelnan, *hopi* ta modifiká verbo refleksivo i verbo preposishonal:

11 -Mi a *pensa hopi riba* e suseso di dos siman pasá. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo preposishonal *pensa riba*, indikando *durashon/intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

12 -E ta *papia hopi di* su mayornan i di su rumannan. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo preposishonal *papia di*, indikando *intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

13 -E muchanan a *traha hopi riba* nan proyekto di skol den wikènt. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo preposishonal *traha riba*, indikando *intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

14 -Despues di mei ora, el a kuminsá *fèrfelá su mes hopi*. (*hopi* ta modifiká e verbo refleksivo *fèrfelá su mes*, indikando *intensidat* di e akshon verbal.)

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Den e siguiente ehèmpel, *hopi* ta modifiká un otro atverbio:

15 -Tur mi rumannan ta *hopi mas* gordo ku mi. (*hopi* ta modifiká otro atverbio: *mas*)

Den e frasenan akiriba, *hopi*, komo atverbio, ta modifiká e verbonan *grita*, *traha riba*, *diskutí*, *kome*, *kana*, *huma*, *pensa riba*, *papia di*, *fèrfelá su mes*, i e atverbio *mas*.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo mas:

-*gosa hopi di*, *biba hopi*, *warda hopi riba*, *yora hopi*, *papia hopi di*, *diskutí hopi riba*.
Pues, ta usa *hopi* komo atverbio *kuantifikadó* den frase pa indiká *kantidat indefiní*, *intensidat òf durashon indefiní* di un akshon, proseso, aktividat, situashon.

2.3.1 Uso di *hopi* dilanti di atverbio di tempu

Den e kaso akí, ta papia di un *frase elíptiko*, esta, un frase for di kua a omití un òf mas palabra, òf un grupo di palabra, ku no ta realmente nesesario pa por komprondé òf duna e frase sentido. Es desir, ta suprimí parti di e struktura di un frase, pasobra por komprondé loke e frase ke bisa sin ku ta nesesario usa sierto palabra. Generalmente, ta apliká elípsis pa evitá repetishon innesesario di palabra i pa hasi komunikashon mas ekspresivo i mas fluido.

Den e frasenan di ehèmpel akibou, por ehèmpel, a omití e palabra *tempu* (òf kualke otro sustantivo ku ta indiká tempu), ku ta un sustantivo apstrakto. Ta p’esei *hopi*, siendo un determinante, sa aparesé dilanti di un atverbio di tempu den un konstrukshon elíptiko.

Ata aki algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

16 -*Hopi despues*, nos a topa atrobe na un fiesta di kasamentu. (frase elíptiko)

17 -E kos ei a sosodé *hopi promé* ku el a bai biba afó. (frase elíptiko)

Den e dos ehèmpelnan akiriba, e determinante *hopi* ta asumí e funshon di *atverbio* dilanti di otro atverbio: *despues* i *promé*. Por bisa, pues, ku, lagando e palabra *tempu* afó den e frasenan akí, *hopi despues* i *hopi promé* ta asumí e funshon sintáktiko di sintagma atverbial (SATv) den e frasenan. Por a omití tambe kualke otro palabra ku ta indiká tempu na lugá di e palabra *tempu*, Por a omití, por ehèmpel: *dékada*, *aña*, *luna*, *siman*, *dia*, *ora*, etc. den e kaso akí.

Pues, e forma no elíptiko di e dos frasenan akiriba lo por tabata:

18 -*Hopi tempu/dia despues*, nos a topa otro atrobe na un fiesta di kasamentu.

19 -E kos ei a sosodé *hopi tempu/luna promé* ku el a bai biba afó.

2.4 Uso di *hopi* komo (4) pronòmber (Pron)

Ta deskribí *pronòmber* komo un signo lingwístiko ku, den frase, ta sustituí un sustantivo (òf un sintagma nominal (SN)) ku a menshoná kaba (pronòmber anafórik) òf ku ta bai menshoná (pronòmber katafórik), pero ta usa pronòmber tambe pa referí simplemente na e personanan ku ta partisipá den un konteksto komunikativo (pronòmber fórik).

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Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

20 -Propietario di e kompania a papia na televishon ayera tardi. El a splika e problema ku a surgi. (‘El’ ta pronòmber personal ku funshon anafórik.)

21 -Abo tin vários pèn karu; ami tin solamente esun akí. (‘Esun’ ta pronòmber determinativo ku funshon anafórik.)

22 -Ta ken a yama bo awor ei? Ta mi dosente a yama mi. (‘Ken’ ta pronòmber interogativo ku funshon katafórik.)

23 -Ami ta papia, miéntras abo ta hasi anotashon. (‘Ami’ i ‘abo’ ta pronòmber personal ku funshon fórik.)

Komo pronòmber (indefíní), *hopi* semper ta remplasá sustantivo (S) den frase.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

24 -Su tanta a bai ku *hopi* di e merkansianan ku a muha.

25 -El a bende *hopi* di su produktonan na mitar di preis.

26 -Nos tin *hopi* wardá den ket tras di kas.

27 -Mi a pone *hopi* bèk den mi pikòp den garashi.

28 -El a tira *hopi* di nan afó den transkurso di tempu.

29 -*Hopi* di loke el a konta mi no ta kuadra ku realidat.

I, siendo pronòmber (indefiní), por pluralisá *hopi* tambe ku e sufiho -nan.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

30 -E kaso ei tabata djis un di e *hopinan* kontra kua tur dia Anselmo tabata lucha.

31 -Un presidente a yega di bisa: Si un sosiedat liber no por yuda e *hopinan* ku ta pover, e no por salba e pokonan ku ta riku tampoko.”

Den e siguiente kuadro, a skematisá loke a keda tresé dilanti den sekshon 1 i 2

Kuadro 2 Resúmen di e kategorianan gramatikal i e funshonnan sintáktiko di *hopi*

Hopi				
<i>kategoria gramatikal</i>	<i>funshon sintáktiko</i>	<i>kategoria gramatikal</i>	<i>funshon semántiko</i>	<i>ehèmpel</i>
1 determinante	determiná >	(SN) -sustantivo konkreto i apstrakto; -kontabel i inkontabel	-kantidat -volúmen -intensidat	-hopi mesa -hopi bestia -hopi serbes -hopi zeta -hopi tempu -hopi interes -hopi fasilidat
2 atverbio	modifiká >	(SV) verbo intransitivo, preposishonal, refleksivo	-kantidat -intensidat -durashon	-yora hopi -splika hopi -papia hopi riba un asunto. -preokupá bo mes hopi
3 pronòmber (indefiní)	sustituí -suheto -opheto	(SN)	--	-Hopi a keda atras. -Nos a bai ku hopi. -Nan a kumpra hopi. (elípsis)
supkategoria funshonal	funshon sintáktiko	kategoria gramatikal	funshon semántiko	ehèmpel di uzo
4 predeterminante	determiná >	(Det) determinante	-kantidat -volúmen -intensidat	-hopi mas hende -hopi mas aros -hopi mas guia -hopi otro kos -Tin hopi otro/ mas hende enbolbí.

3 Kategoría gramatikal di *masha/mashá*

Gramátika tradishonal ta kategorisá *masha/mashá* solamente komo *atverbio*, pues, *masha* i *mashá* ta pertenesé na e kategoría gramatikal di *atverbio* (Atv). Esaki ta nifiká ku, komo *atverbio*, *masha/mashá* ta modifiká *verbo*, *athetivo*, *otro atverbio*, *determinante*, *sintagma preposishonal*. Komo *atverbio*, *masha/mashá* ta aparesé dilanti di òf tras di e palabra ku e ta modifiká. Dikshonario bilingwe na papiamentu tambe ta kategorisá *masha/mashá* solamente komo *atverbio*.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

32 -El a bisti un shimis *masha bunita* awe. (atv. dilanti di *athetivo* (A))

33 -Su tata a traha un kas *masha grandi* den e barío nobo. (atv. dilanti di *athetivo* (A))

34 -E yuchi a *yora mashá* ayera nochi. (atv. tras di *verbo* (V))

35 -Áwaseru a *kai mashá* ayera den dia. (atv. tras di *verbo* (V))

36 -E mucha ei ta kore *masha duru*. (atv. dilanti di *otro atverbio* (Atv))

37 -E muchanan a kome *masha nada* di nan kuminda. (atv dilanti di *otro atverbio* (Atv))

38 -Nan a kumpra *masha hopi* buki di preñchi. (atv. dilanti di *determinante* (Det))

39 -*Masha tantu* hende a asistí na e evento ayera. (atv. dilanti di *determinante* (Det))

40 -E fiesta a kai *mashá na nos agrado*. (atv. dilanti di *sintagma preposishonal* (SP))

41 -E alumnonan no tabata *mashá na altura* di loke a pasa. (atv. dilanti di *sintagma preposishonal* (SP))

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Si *masha/mashá* aparesé dilanti di un sustantivo (generalmente di tempu: *aña*, *dia*, *ora*, *ratu*, *tempu*, etc) òf dilanti di un pronòmber indefiní (*hopi*, *tantu*, *poko*, *tiki*), ta pasobra esakinan ta asumí, respektivamente, un funshon atverbial òf un funshon nominal den un frase ku por konsiderá elíptiko; por ehèmpel, a laga, respektivamente, un determinante dilanti di un sustantivo i un sustantivo tras di un determinante kai den frase 42, 43 i 44.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

42 -*Masha dia*, mi no a mira bo. (A laga *hopi* afó komo determinante kuantifikativo, i e sintagma *masha dia* ta asumí un funshon atverbial den e frase.)

42a -*Masha hopi dia*, mi no a mira bo.

43 -Mi a bende *masha hopi* awe mainta. (A laga e sustantivo ku lo a aparesé tras di *hopi* afó, i e sintagma *masha hopi* ta asumí e funshon di opheto direkto den e frase.)

43a -Mi a bende *masha hopi bolo* awe mainta.

44 -El a trese *masha poko* pa nos awe mainta. (A laga e sustantivo ku lo a aparesé tras di *poko* kai, i e sintagma *masha poko* ta asumí e funshon di opheto direkto den e frase.)

44a -El a trese *masha poko merkansia* pa nos awe mainta.

3.1 Uso di *masha/mashá* komo atverbio (Atv)

Komo atverbio, *masha* ta aparesé tras di e palabranan ku e ta modifiká, ku normalmente ta un verbo intransitivo òf un verbo preposishonal. E por aparesé tambe dilanti di athetivo, dilanti di un determinante di sustantivo (*hopi, tantu, poko, tiki*) òf dilanti di otro atverbio (*hopi, tantu, poko, tiki, nada*). Den e kasonan akí, *masha/mashá* ta indiká intensidat relashoná ku un akshon, suseso òf eksperensia.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 45 -Nan a <i>traha mashá</i> den kunuku e dlanan akí. | (atv. tras di verbo) |
| 46 -E tabata <i>kome mashá</i> na chikí. | (atv. tras di verbo) |
| 47 -E ta papia <i>masha tantu</i> di su mayornan. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv) |
| 48 -Mi ta landa <i>masha poko</i> durante mi dlanan di fakansi. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv) |
| 49 -Hende ku ta huma <i>masha hopi</i> por haña kanser. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv) |
| 50 -Di e merkansianan, nan a bende <i>masha nada</i> ayera. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv) |
| 51 -Nan a duna nos <i>masha tiki</i> di e ganashi hasí aña pasá. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv) |

Den e frasenan akiriba, *mashá*, komo atverbio, ta modifiká e verbonan *traha* i *kome* i e atverbionan *tantu, poko, hopi, nada* i *tiki*. Den e siguiente frasenan, *masha* (komo atverbio) ta modifiká e atverbionan *duru* i *lihé*, i den su formá redupliká, e ta modifiká e otro atverbio *masha*.

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Ata akí, pues, algun ehèmpel di *masha* komo atverbio modifikadó di otro atverbio:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 52 -Mi ruman ta <i>kore outo masha duru</i> | (atv. dilanti di otro atv: <i>duru</i>) |
| 53 -E ta <i>kore outo masha masha duru</i> . | (atv. redupliká dilanti di otro atv. <i>masha</i>) |
| 54 -Tur kos a <i>kana masha lihé</i> awe mainta. | (atv. dilanti di otro atv: <i>lihé</i>) |
| 55 -Tur kos a <i>kana masha masha lihé</i> awe mainta. | (atv. redupliká dilanti di otro atv: <i>masha</i>) |

Den e siguiente kuadro, a skematisá loke a keda tresé dilanti den sekshon 3 i 3.1.

Kuadro 3 Resúmen di e kategorianan gramatikal i e funshonnan sintáktiko di masha/mashá

masha, mashá					
	<i>kategoria gramatikal</i>	<i>funshon sintáktiko</i>	<i>kategoria gramatikal</i>	<i>funshon semántiko</i>	<i>ehèmpel</i>
1	atverbio	modifiká >	determinante (den SN)	-grado	-masha <i>hopi</i> kas -masha <i>tantu</i> kas
2	- "	modifiká >	athetivo (den SA)	-grado	Su tas tabata masha <i>pisá</i> .
3	- "	modifiká >	atverbio (den SA)	-grado -intensidat	-Mi a lanta masha <i>lat</i> awe. -E kos ei ta masha <i>masha</i> peligroso.
4	-	modifiká >	verbo (den SV)	-intensidat -grado	-grita <i>mashá</i> -yora <i>mashá</i>
5	-	modifiká >	verbo (den SV) Sintagma preposishonal (SP)	-durashon -intensidat	-tarda <i>mashá</i> -kai mashá na agrado di

Basá riba loke a keda tresé dilanti, *masha/mashá* ta un atverbio ku ta ekspresá *grado*, *intensidat* òf *durashon* di *determinante*, *athetivo*, *atverbio*, *verbo* i *sintagma preposishonal*.

Masha i *mashá* no por aparesé den e posishon di predeterminante òf determinante, pasobra nan no por asumí e funshon sintáktiko di predeterminante òf determinante.

Ora *mashá* ta aparesé tras di un verbo, ta usa semper e forma tónico, kaminda e énfasis di intensidat ta kai riba e último sílaba.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo mas: (*masha/mashá*)

1. Determinante: -masha tantu pòtlot, masha hopi tayó, masha tiki sèn, masha poko alkohòl,
2. Athetivo: -masha pika, masha bunita, masha animá, masha friu, masha stèrki, masha sabí, masha intensivo
3. Atverbio: -masha serka, masha tempran, masha bon, masha poko poko, masha dushi, masha lat, masha leu, masha lihé, masha duru,
4. Verbo intransitivo: -yora mashá, gusta mashá, grita mashá, dura mashá, keña mashá, morde mashá, tarda mashá, eksitá mashá, gosa mashá, papia mashá, diskutí mashá, warda mashá, rabia mashá, drumi mashá
5. Sintagma preposishonal: -E selebrashon tabata *mashá* na agrado di esnan presente.

3.2 Uso di *masha* dilanti di athetivo (A) i atverbio (Atv)

Ta usa *masha* pa indiká *grado* òf *intensidat* di loke e palabra modifiká ta ekspresá, por ehèmpel, *grado* òf *intensidat* di un karakterístika òf *kualidat* di un hende, un opheto òf un fenómeno. Esaki ta nifiká ku *masha* ta aparesé semper dilanti di un *athetivo* òf dilanti di un otro *atverbio*, reforsando asina e *grado/intensidat* di un karakterístika òf *propiedat* di algu. *Masha* ta un *atverbio* kuantifikadó, esta, di *kantidat* òf *grado* di e *kualidat* òf *akshon* ku e ta modifiká, ya sea di un *athetivo*, otro *atverbio*, i tin biaha, di un *verbo*.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

<i>masha</i> dilanti di athetivo i atverbio pa indiká grado òf intensidat		
masha difisil	masha importante	masha lat
masha fásil	masha kouteloso	masha gentil
masha entusiasamá	masha kontentu	masha bon
masha satisfecho	masha orguyoso	masha serka
masha nèrvioso	masha negativo	masha abou
masha stimá	masha bunita	masha duru
masha interesante	masha grandi	masha malu
masha suave	masha egoista	masha krepchi
masha balioso	masha loko	masha largu
masha amoroso	masha inteligente	masha tempran
masha preokupá	masha pika	masha koriente
masha skur	masha animá	masha stèrki
masha bondadoso	masha kariñoso	masha kòrtiku
masha generoso	masha lòs	masha komun
<i>masha</i> redupliká dilanti di determinante, athetivo i atverbio		
masha masha hopi	masha masha diferente	masha masha hundu
masha masha tiki	masha masha duru	masha masha gordo
masha masha poko	masha masha plat	masha masha haltu
masha masha tantu	masha masha lihé	masha masha leu
masha masha karu	masha masha moli	masha masha intensivo
masha masha nada	masha masha largu	masha masha chikí

Manera a bini dilanti kaba, *masha* ta aparesé normalmente dilanti di *athetivo* (A), dilanti di *atverbio* (Atv) òf dilanti di *determinante* (Det) (*tradishonalmente, dilanti di athetivo determinativo i kualifikativo*). Esaki ta nifiká ku *masha* por aparesé tambe dilanti di *hopi* (*tantu, poko, tiki*), pasobra awendia ta kategorisá *hopi* komo *determinante* (i tradishonalmente komo *athetivo determinativo*). *Hopi* sí no ta aparesé nunca dilanti di *masha*, pasobra *masha* no por asumí e funshon di un *athetivo determinativo*. I den kaso di *reduplikashon*, ta konsiderá ku ta e mesun kategoria di palabra ta keda ripití pa reforsá òf fortifiká *grado* òf *intensidat* di e karakterístika òf *kualidat* ekspresá. Sin embargo, mirando ku vários palabra (homónimo) den papiamentu ta kai tantu den e kategoria di

athetivo komo den esun di atverbio, ta distingui nan kategoria (sintáktiko) solamente pa medio di e funshon ku nan ta desempeña den frase.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo: (na banda, a indiká kategoria di *hopi* i *masha usá* den e frasenan)

56 -Nos a kumpra *masha hopi fruta* na barku di fruta den Punda. (atv. i det.)

57 -Tin *masha masha hopi hende* enbolbí den e skandal polítiko na e pais ei. (atv. redup. i det.)

58 -Su tata a kumpra un boto *masha masha bunita* mes na Merka. (atv. redup i ath.)

59 -Kondishon di wer no ta *masha diferente* na e islanan ABC e dianan akí. (atv. i ath.) (Uso di *diferente* komo athetivo kalifikativo ku funshon atributivo.)

60 -Nos a *hari masha hopi* ayera nochi i pasa *masha dushi*. (atv. i atv. + atv i atv)

61 -Ora bo tin *hopi kentura*, kome eis, e ta *bah'é masha lihé*. (det. + atv i atv)

62 -Ami no tin mas ninichi; mi ruman sí tin *masha hopi* ainda. (atv. i pron. indef.)

63 -Awe e maestro di historia a *rabia masha hopi ku* su alumnonan. (atv. i atv.)

For di e ehèmpelnan akiriba, por saka algun informashon *masha* balioso relashoná ku uso di *hopi* i *masha*. Por ehèmpel, den e frasenan akí, a usa *hopi*, komo Det., dilanti di sustantivo: *fruta* (56), *hende* (57), *kentura* (61), komo Atv. tras di e verbo intransitivo *hari* (60) i e verbo preposishonal *rabia ku* ((63), i komo Pron. indefiní tras di e verbo *tin* (62).

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A usa *masha* dilanti di e Det. *hopi* (56), i den su forma redupliká, dilanti di e Det. *hopi* (57). A usa *masha*, den su forma redupliká, dilanti di e A (athetivo) *bunita* (58), i den su forma simpel, dilanti di e A (athetivo) *diferente* (59). A usa *masha*, dilanti di e Atv (atverbionan) *hopi* (60), *dushi* (60), *lihé* (61) i *hopi* (63). I a usa *masha* dilanti di e Pron. (pronòmber) *hopi* (62), den un konstrukshon elíptiko.

Konklushon: Ta usa *masha* pa modifiká *hopi* (ora *hopi* ta determinante, atverbio òf pronòmber indefiní), pero no por usa *hopi* pa modifiká *masha*, pasobra *masha* ta un atverbio; i *hopi*, komo determinante, no por determiná un atverbio. Komo atverbio, *hopi* ta modifiká tantu verbo intransitivo (60), transitivo (61) komo verbo preposishonal (63).

Manera a bini dilanti kaba, *hopi* ta aparesé solamente dilanti di un sustantivo (S). Si *hopi* aparesé dilanti di otro kategoria di palabra, mayoria di biaha, ta trata di un kaso di *elipsis* (62), pero e punto akí lo keda tratá mas abou.

3.3 Uso di *masha* dilanti di sustantivo di tempu

Ta usa *masha* komo atverbio di *grado* òf *intensidat* tambe dilanti di un grupo spesial di sustantivo, esta, esunnan ku ta indiká tempu den frase. Pues, komo eksepsion, ta kombiná *masha*, solamente ku sustantivo ku ta indiká tempu den papiamentu. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan: *masha dia*, *masha ora*, *masha aña*, *masha siman*, *masha siglo*, *masha dékada*, *masha luna*, *masha tempu*, *masha ratu*, *masha ten*, etc.

Manera por mira den e ehèmpelnan akí, tur e palabranan ku *masha* ta modifiká ta sustantivo; esta, tur ta núkleo di un *sintagma nominal* (SN) ku, den e kaso akí, semper ta asumí e funshon sintáktiko di un *sintagma atverbial* den frase. E sustantivonan (S) akí ta atkirí e funshon sintáktiko di un atverbio, pasobra normalmente ta usa atverbio pa modifiká verbo, athetivo, otro atverbio, etc.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo den frase:

64 -*Masha tempu*, bo no a pasa kumindá bo wela stimá.

65 -*Masha ora*, mi ta sintá ta warda riba bo den mi outo akifó.

66 -Marvis a bai laga nos *masha ratu* kaba.

67 -Bo mama mester a kambia su brel di bista *masha dia*.

68 -*Masha siglo*, Mario no a presentá na su boka di trabou.

Pero si e palabranan ku ta ekspresá tempu no ta usá ku e funshon atverbial den frase, e ora ei ta usa e determinante *hopi* nan dilanti i no *masha*. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan:

69 -Maritza, bo tin *hopi dia* sin pasa akibanda.

70 -Nan tin *hopi siglo* kaba ta biba na Suesia.

71 -Bo a tuma *hopi tempu* pa kaba e trabou.

Awor, mirando ku e kategoria natural (morfológiko) di tur e palabranan ku ta indiká tempu akí ta sustantivo, por amplia e sintagma nominalnan (SN) akí (64 - 68) ku e determinante kuantifikadó *hopi*. Konsekuentemente, por konsiderá tur e konstrukshonnan akí elíptiko.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

72 -*Masha hopi tempu*, bo no a pasa kumindá bo wela stimá.

73 -*Masha hopi ora*, mi ta sintá ta warda riba bo den mi outo akifó.

74 -Marvis a bai laga nos *masha hopi ratu* kaba.

75 -Bo mama mester a kambia su brel di bista *masha hopi dia*.

76 -*Masha hopi siglo*, Mario no a presentá na su boka di trabou.

Algun ehèmpel mas:

masha hopi aña, masha hopi siman, masha hopi dékada, masha hopi luna, etc.

3.4 Konstrukshon elíptiko ku *hopi* i *masha/mashá*

Tin por lo ménos, dos posibel splikashon/interpretashon pa e uso desviante di *masha* menshoná den e sekshon anterior (3.3): (1) Sea ta trata, den e kasonan akí, di un formulashon elíptiko, kaminda a laga e determinante *hopi* afó, òf (2) papiadó di papiamentu ta asumí ku e palabranan *ora, tempu, ratu, dia, aña, luna, siman, dékada, siglo, ten*, etc, tambe ta kai den e kategoria gramatikal di *atverbio*, méskos ku, por

ehèmpel, e atverbionan *tempran* i *lat* i ku, konsekuwentemente, por modifiká nan ku e atverbio di grado i intensidat *masha*.²

Segun e promé interpretashon, e ehèmpelnan akiriba lo tin e siguiente formulashonnan *no elíptiko*:

77 -*Masha hopi tempu*, bo no a pasa kumindá bo wela stimá. (64)

78 -*Masha hopi ora*, mi ta sintá ta warda riba bo den mi outo akifó. (65)

79 -Marvis a bai laga nos *masha hopi ratu* kaba. (66)

80 -Bo mama mester a kambia su brel di bista *masha hopi dia*. (67)

81 -*Masha hopi siglo*, Mario no a presentá na boka di su trabou. (68)

I, segun e di dos interpretashon, e ehèmpelnan akiriba tin un formulashon análogo na e funshon sintáktiko di, por ehèmpel, *tempran* i *lat*, ku ta dos atverbio ku tambe ta ekspresá tempu den papiamentu. Pues, por asumí ku e sustantivonan ku ta ekspresá tempu den papiamentu (manera esunnan menshoná akiriba) ta keda mirá i usá sintáktikamente tambe komo *atverbio di tempu*. Pues, nan por asumí e funshon sintáktiko di atverbio den frase, i p'esei ta usa nan atverbialmente den frase.

Ehèmpel di uso di *tempran* i *lat*:

82 -Den wíkènt, mi no sa lanta *masha tempran*.

83 -El a presentá *masha lat* na e evento.

Algun ehèmpel mas di frase elíptiko, den kua ta usa *mashá*. Den e kasonan akí, a omití e athetivo *bon*.

84 -Awe sí, su kurpa no ta *mashá* (bon).

85 -Awe sí, mi mama no a lanta *mashá* (bon).

Ta usa e atverbio *mashá* i e determinante *hopi* tambe komo *atributo* den konstrukshon elíptiko. Esaki ta nifiká ku por usa atverbio (Atv) i determinante (Det) tambe den klóusula atributivo, ademas di sustantivo (S), athetivo (A), pronòmber (Pron), verbo infinitivo (V) i sintagma preposishonal (SP).³

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

86 -E di ku seisshen florin no ta *hopi* (sèn, plaka). (Det. *hopi*)

² Tur e palabranan akí, ku ta ekspresá tempu, ta pertenesé normalmente na e kategoria natural (morfológiko) di sustantivo. Pues, den otro formulashon òf konstrukshon sintáktiko den papiamentu, ta kombiná nan semper ku *hopi*. Ehèmpel ilustrativo: (a) Mario tin *masha hopi tempu* sin pasa serka nos. (b) Nan a duna e prizonero *masha hopi* aña di kastigu. (c) Mi no a haña *masha hopi* dia pa kaba e proyekto.

³ Segun e teoria lingwístiko di Noam Chomsky, e frasenan di ehèmpel 76, 77 i 78 ta aparesé den nan forma *no elíptiko* komo struktura profundo den e kompetensia lingwístiko di papiadó di papiamentu. I nan ta aparesé den nan forma *elíptiko* komo struktura superfisial den e kompetensia ekspresivo di un papiadó di papiamentu.

- 87 -E di ku seishshen florin no ta *masha hopi* (sèn, plaka). (Det. *hopi*)
 88 -E di ku seishshen florin no ta *mashá* (hopi sèn, plaka). (Atv. *mashá*)

4 *Masha atóniko i mashá tóniko*

Ta konsiderá ku ta usa *masha* i *mashá* komo variante di otro. Pues, ta trata den e kaso akí di dos forma di e mesun palabra: unu ku i unu sin aksènt skèrpi. Esei ta nifiká tambe ku no tin diferensia di kategoria ni di nifikashon entre nan dos, sino solamente di pronunsiashon i di distribushon. Generalmente, ta usa nan indistintamente tur kaminda den frase, ku eksepsyon di e *lugá di atverbio* tras di verbo den e *parti verbal (SV)* di un klóusula, kaminda semper ta usa e variante tóniko.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

(suheto) (parti verbal)

89 -E *muchanan* / a bringa *masha* na skol ayera. (*uso inkorekto: *Mester usa e forma tóniko den e frase.*)

90 -E *muchanan* / a bringa *mashá* na skol ayera. (uso korekto)

Manera nos a mira kaba, ta posibel ku den kaso di e ehèmpel (90) akiriba, ta trata di un frase *elíptiko*. Pues, a laga *hopi afó*. E frase *no elíptiko* lo tabata: -E *muchanan a bringa masha hopi na skol ayera*. Lagando *hopi afó*, ta keda ku -E *muchanan a bringa mashá na skol ayera*. (Den e kaso akí, lo por usa e atverbio *tantu* tambe tras di *masha*.)

Ata aki dos ehèmpel mas:

- 91 -E hòmbèr a spanta *mashá* ora el a mira e buldòk. (frase elíptiko)
 92 -E hòmbèr a spanta *masha hopi* ora el a mira e buldòk. (frase no elíptiko)
 93 -Loke el a hasi a *duel* nos *mashá*. (frase elíptiko)
 94 -Loke el a hasi a *duel* nos *masha hopi*. (frase no elíptiko)

Enrique Muller (2007) ta trese dilanti den su buki *Algun fenómeno den desaroyo di papiamentu* ku den e kasonan akiriba, tin, ademas, un *diferensia semántiko* i no di un *formulashon elíptiko*. Na página 21, el a duna e siguiente splikashon di e siguiente frasenan di ehèmpel:

- 95 -E kachó a *grita hopi* den anochi.
 96 -E kachó a *grita mashá* den anochi.

Komo splikashon di e diferensia semántiko akí, Enrique ta bisa ku *grita hopi* ta ekspresá *durashon den tempu* den e kaso akí; esta, ku e kachó a keda grita pa basta ratu. I pa loke ta trata e di dos frase, e ta argumentá ku *grita mashá* ta indiká tantu *durashon di tempu* komo *grado di intensidat* di gritamentu di e kachó. Sin embargo, manera nos a mira ariba kaba, por aserká e ehèmpelnan akí tambe komo un simpel kaso di *elípsis*, pues, komo un fenómeno sintáktiko.

5 Algun uso spesial di *hopi i masha/mashá*

Manera a keda tresé dilanti, den papiamentu, tin palabra ku ta usá tantu ku *hopi* komo ku *masha*. Esei ta relashoná ku e echo ku e palabranan akí ta kai den mas ku un kategoria gramatikal òf ku e echo ku nan ta asumí un funshon kategorial diferente den frase.

Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

97 -Riba petishon di *hopi amante* di outo klásiko i outo spesial, lo ripití e show di outo di mart último, ku tabata un éksito rotundo.

98 -*Hopi amante* di deporte tabata pendiente di resultado di e wega di futbòl entre e dos paisnan.

99 -Ni ami ni mi kasá no ta *masha amante* di frieldat.

100 -Mi yu tampoko no ta *masha amante* di ko'i suku, pero e ta gusta dushi di tamarein sí.

Den e promé dos ehèmpelnan (97, 98), a usa *hopi* komo determinante dilanti di *amante*, ku normalmente ta un *sustantivo* (*kategoria natural/morfológiko*). Den e otro dos ehèmpelnan (99, 100) ku ta sigui, a usa *masha* dilanti di *amante*, pasobra den e frasenan akí, *amante* ta asumí e funshon sintáktiko di un *athetivo* den un klóusula atributivo, indikando asina un kualidat i no un referente konkreto/spesífiko.

Algun ehèmpel mas:

101 -Den e klas akí, tin *hopi málamucha*. (uso nominal di *málamucha* komo opheto direkto den SV)

102 -Su yunan ta *masha málamucha*. (uso athetival di *málamucha* komo atributo den frase kopulativo (SA))

Den e promé frase, *málamucha* ta pertenesé na e kategoria gramatikal di sustantivo, i den e di dos frase, e ta pertenesé na e kategoria gramatikal di athetivo, Pa tal motibu, ta topa frase manera:

103 -Awendia tin *hopi mucha málamucha* na skol.

104 -Ántes tabatin *masha masha hopi mucha málamucha*.

105 -Na e lugánan ku ántes tabata mondi, bo ta topa *hopi bibá* awendia.

E palabra *bibá* ta un partisipio ku sintáktikamente ta funshoná komo un sustantivo i ku, entre otro, ta nifiká *bibienda/kas*, p'esei *hopi* por aparese su dilanti.

106 -Su kuñá ta *masha mal hende*. (uso athetival di *mal hende*: atributo den frase kopulativo)

107 -Tin *hopi mal hende* ta biba na e pais ei. (uso nominal di *mal hende*: opheto direkto den frase)

Den e último dos ehèmpelnan akí, por interpretá *mal hende* tambe komo un palabra komponé.

Den e siguiente dos ehèmpelnan, nos tin e mesun fenómeno, pero lo kontrario. Aki ta pone *masha* dilanti di un sustantivo (108), ku sintáktikamente ta asumí e funshon di un athetivo, i ta pone *hopi* dilanti di un athetivo (109), ku sintáktikamente ta asumí e funshon di un sustantivo.

108 -Awendia tin un papiá na moda ku ami mes no ta *masha fanátiko* di dje. (uso di *fanátiko* komo athetivo, kategoria natural/morfológiko)

109 -Kantante famá, manera Marc Anthony i Cheo Feliciano, a yega di interpretá e kansionnan di Ilan Chester, ku, rònt mundu, tin *masha hopi fanátiko*. (uso di *fanátiko* komo sustantivo, kategoria sintáktiko/funshonal)

Algun ehèmpel mas di palabra dilanti di kua ta usa tantu *hopi* komo *masha*, pasobra sintáktikamente nan por asumí funshon di un kategoria ku no ta nan kategoria natural/morfológiko.

110 -Awe ta *masha kalor*. (Ta usa *kalor* komo athetivo den e frase)

111 -Ta hasi *hopi kalor* akiden awe. (Ta usa *kalor* komo sustantivo den e frase)

112 -Na Hulanda, tin *hopi malkontentu* ta reina relashoná ku e medidanan nobo. (Ta usa *malkontentu* komo sustantivo den e frase)

113 -E trahadónan di e refinaria ta *masha malkontentu* ku e situashon. (Ta usa *malkontentu* komo athetivo den e frase)

114 -E mucha ta *loko di kontentu* ku su kos di hunga. (Ta usa *kontentu* komo sustantivo)

115 -E mayornan a bira *masha kontentu* ora nan a tende ku nan yu a slag. (Ta usa *kontentu* komo athetivo den e frase)

116 -E ta pretendé di ta *masha kos*, pero e no sa *hopi kos*. (Ta usa *kos* ku funshon di athetivo den e promé parti di e frase i komo sustantivo kontabel den e di dos parti di e frase.)

117 -Nan ta kere ku nan ta *masha kos*, pasobra nan tin *hopi kos*. (Ta usa *kos* ku funshon di athetivo den e promé parti di e frase, i den e dos parti di e frase, komo sustantivo kontabel.)

E siguiente dos ehèmpelnan ta demostrá ku, generalmente, ta *hopi*, i no *masha*, ta pone komo atverbio tras di verbo di akshon.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo:

118 -Mi a *papia asina hopi/tantu* awe ku mi stèm a bira hers. (Na lugá di *hopi*, por pone *tantu* òf *poko* tambe den e frase akí.)

119 -Teknologia lo a *avansá asina hopi/tantu* e tempu ei ku e sientífikonan lo por asta resusitá hende for di morto.

Pues, den e dos ehèmpelnan akí, por bisa *asina hopi /asina tantu*, pero no por pone *asina mashá* òf simplemente *mashá* tras di e verbonan di akshon.

5.1 Uso di *masha* den ekspreshon metafórikò

Ta usa solamente *masha* dilanti di sustantivo ku tin un *sentido metafórikò*. Esei ta nifiká ku sintáktikamente e sustantivonan akí ta asumí e funshon di athetivo; nan no ta referí na e referente spesífiko di e sustantivo, pero na un kualidat humano òf di un opheto.

Algun ehèmpel ilustrativo:

120 -E gai ei sa ta *masha bestia*.

121 -E kièr sa ku e ta *masha hòmber*.

122 -Bo kièr sa ku bo ta *masha kos*.

123 -E hòmber ei ta *masha kachó*.

124 -E ta sintié *masha gai*.

125 -E ta *masha buriku*.

126 -E kièr sa ku e ta *masha muhé*.

127 -E tin *masha idea*.

128 -Bo ta *masha solo birá*.

Sentido metafórikò:

(E gai ei ta masha bobo i brutu manera un bestia.)

(E kièr sa ku e ta masha balente/machu/tòf.)

(Bo kièr sa ku bo ta masha importante.)

(E hòmber ei ta komportá manera kachó.)

(E ta sintié masha tòf, masha wapu.)

(E ta superbobo.)

(E ta kere ku e tin brio i balentia di un hende muhé.)

(E ta kere ku e ta masha importante.)

(E ta masha kaprichoso.)

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Den e ekspreshonnan akí, *bestia*, *hòmber*, *kos*, *kachó*, *gai*, *buriku*, *muhé*, *idea* i *solo* no tin un referente konkreto i spesífiko, pero nan ta referí na un aktitut, kualidat, karakterístika (generalmente animalesko) di un persona, ku por ta su hombresa, bobedat, immoralidat, balentia, kapricho, etc. Pues, tur e sustantivonan akí ta asumí e funshon sintáktiko di un athetivo den e frasenan akí. Den kaso di e ekspreshon ku *bestia*, asta por pone otro atverbio su dilanti: -Hende *asina* bestia sí, mi no a yega di mira nunca den mi bida.

6. Uso di *hopi danki*, *hopi pabien* i *hopi bon*

Awor, kon nos por hinka *hopi pabien*, *hopi danki* i *hopi bon*, den e kuadro teóriko ku a bini dilanti den e artíkulo akí? E ekspreshonnan akí ta masha usá den papiamentu. Wèl, mirá den lus di e splikashon duná akiriba, por konkluí ku *hopi pabien* i *hopi danki* ta korekto, pasobra nan ta un kombinashon di *hopi* (Det) i un *sustantivo apstrakto*. Tur dos ekspreshon ta indiká *volúmen indefiní* òf *intensidat* di e konsepto *danki* i di e konsepto *pabien*. Sin embargo, parse ku tantu *masha pabien* komo *masha danki* ta e ekspreshonnan ku, generalmente, papiadó di papiamentu ta usa awendia.

Pa loke ta trata e ekspreshon *hopi bon*, mester bisa ku, segun e kuadro teóriko tresé dilanti den e artíkulo akí, e ekspreshon ta *masha bon*, mirando ku dilanti di un *athetivo* ta pone e atverbio *masha* pa ekspresá *grado/intensidat* di e karakterístika òf kualidat na kua ta referí, i no e determinante *hopi*. Pero, atrobe, ta tende *hopi bon* tambe tur kaminda awendia.

7. Resúmen i konklushon

Den e artíkulo akí, a bini dilanti ku no por motivá e uso diskriminá di *hopi* i *masha/á* ku awendia ta mira den papiamentu. Tantu *hopi* komo *masha/mashá* ta pertenesé na kategoria diferente, i tur dos ta asumí funshon sintáktiko diferente a base di nan kategorianan natural. Gramátika tradishonal ya a duna kuenta di esei, i e aserkamentunan gramatikal moderno ta indiká esei na un manera *hopi* mas kla ainda.

A keda demostrá ku *hopi* ta pertenesé na e kategoria di determinante (Det), di atverbio (Atv) i di pronòmber (Pron), i ku sintáktikamente, e por asumí e funshon di predeterminante (Pdet). Ku e funshon di determinante, *hopi* ta determiná sustantivo (S) konkreto, apstrakto, kontabel i inkontabel; ku e funshon di predeterminante, e ta determiná determinante (Det); ku e funshon di atverbio, e ta modifiká verbo (intransitivo, refleksivo i preposishonal), i komo pronòmber, e ta supstituí sustantivo ku ta asumí e funshon di suheto i opheto den frase.

Semántikamente, *hopi*, komo determinante, ta indiká kantidat, intensidat òf volúmen di e sustantivo (òf SN) determiná. I ku e funshon di predeterminante i komo atverbio, e ta indiká kantidat, intensidat, volúmen i durashon di e elemento determiná òf modifiká.

Ehèmpel ilustrativo di uso sintáktiko di *hopi*:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 129 -Henter nan famia ta biba ku <i>hopi plaser</i> einan. | (Det. > sus. apstrakto) |
| 130 -Dòkter a saminá <i>hopi pashènt</i> awe mainta. | (Det. > sus. kontabel) |
| 131 -Mi ruman ta <i>hopi mas negoshante</i> ku mi. | (Pdet. > sus. apstrakto) |
| 132 - <i>Hopi otro hende</i> no a yega di tende mes di e asuntu ei. | (Pdet. > sus. konkreto) |
| 133 -Segun mi, bo por hasi e kos ei <i>hopi mas</i> mihó ku nos. ⁴ | (Atv. > atv. <i>mas</i>) |
| 134 -E yu resien nasí a <i>yora hopi</i> ayera nochi. | (Atv. > ver. intrans.) |
| 135 -Nos a kumpra <i>hopi</i> di e obranan di e famoso pintor. | (Pron. > sus. kontabel) |
| 136 -E empresanan a bende <i>hopi</i> di e kombustibel semiprosesá. | (Pron. > sus. inkontabel) |

I relashoná ku uso di *masha/mashá*, a bini dilanti ku tur dos forma (atóniko i tóniko) ta pertenesé solamente na e kategoria gramatikal di atverbio (Atv), i ku den frase, e forman ta fungi komo modifikadó di determinante (Det), athetivo (A), atverbio (Atv i verbo (V). *Masha/mashá* no ta asumí nunca e funshon di un otro kategoria den frase. *Masha* tin komo funshon semántiko, indiká grado di intensidat i durashon di e kualidat,

⁴ Komo atverbio, *hopi* no ta aparesé nunca direktamente dilanti di un athetivo. E ta aparesé semper dilanti di un otro atverbio ku generalmente ta e atverbio *mas*.

propiedad, kantidat, volúmen ekspresá. Mira e siguiente ehèmpelnan ilustrativo di uso sintáktiko di *masha/mashá*:

"masha/mashá" ta modifiká:

- 137 -A sobra *masha poko* hariña blanku. (Det. > *poko*)
138 -*Masha hopi* siglo pasá, tabata biba un reina masha bunita na Egipto. (Det.>*hopi*)
139 -Semper Mario i su ruman tabata kana bai skol *masha kontentu*. (A > *konentu*)
140 -*Masha preokupá*, Sherry a skirbi e karta pa su abogado. (A > *preokupá*)
141 -E dos artistanan ta atmirá otro *masha tantu/hopi* mes. (Atv> *tantu/hopi*)
142 -E matanan di kayena a krese *masha lihé*. (Atv > *lihé*)
143 -E trahadónan ei ta traha *masha poko poko*. (Atv redupliká)
144 -Awa a *kai mashá* ayera den dia. (V > ver. intrans)
145 -E beibi resien nasí a *yora mashá* henter anochi. (V > ver. intrans)

Banda di e uzonan regular akí, nos a mira tambe ku tin algun uso spesial di *hopi* i *masha*, generalmente, den frase elíptiko. Den kaso di *masha/mashá*, a bini dilanti ku tantu e forma tónico komo e forma atónico ta pertenesé na e mesun kategoria gramatikal: atverbio (Atv.), i ku e úniko diferensia entre e dos forman akí ta relashoná ku nan pronunsiashon i distribushon den frase. Semántikamente, nan ta indiká grado di intensidat i durashon den tempu di un akshon verbal òf karakteristiká di un elemento modifiká.

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Ehèmpel:

- 146 -Su mayornan a bira di malu i rabiá *mashá* ku e yu.
147 -Mi yu ta sali *masha* bon mes ku Shala, yu di nos bisiña.

A bini dilanti tambe ku ta usa *masha* (forma atónico) dilanti di sustantivo di tempu ku den frase ta asumí un funshon atverbial. Ehèmpel: -*Masha dia*, e no a pasa serka nos. I nos a mira tambe ku tin algun uso spesial di tantu *hopi* komo *masha/mashá*. Por ehèmpel ta kombiná algun palabra (sustantivo) tantu ku *hopi* komo ku *masha*, ku un diferensia semántiko i di funshon kategorial: *málamucha*, *amante*, *bibá*, *fanátiko*, *kalor*, *kontentu*, etc. (Mira ehèmpel na sekshon 5.)

Tambe a bini dilanti ku normalmente ta usa *masha* dilanti di sustantivo ku tin un sentido metafórico, i ku sintáktikamente ta funshoná komo un ahetivo.

Ehèmpel: -

- 148 -El a bira *masha makaku* for di dia ku el a bini bèk for di Hulanda. (Bisá di un hende kende su kabes a shusha.)

I a tira lus riba algun ekspreshon ku no ta sigui e reglanan ku a bini dilanti den e kuadro teóriko eksponé den e artíkulo akí. Ta referí den e kaso akí, spesialmente, na e ekspreshonnan: *masha danki*, *masha pabien* i *hopi bon*.

Manera a keda bisá den e introdukshon, meta di e artíkulo akí ta pa deskribí e kuadro teóriko di uso di *hopi* i *masha/mashá* den papiamentu, i di e manera akí kontribuí na konsientisashon di papiadó di papiamentu pa ku un uso sistemátiko i mas konsistente di e palabranan: *hopi* i *masha/mashá*.

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IMPACTO DEL QUICHUA EN EL ESPAÑOL ECUATORIANO: ¿CUÁN CONSCIENTES SON LOS HABLANTES DE SU USO COTIDIANO?

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Resumen

El presente estudio examina la influencia del quichua en tres variantes dialectales del español ecuatoriano: costeño, andino y oriental o amazónico. Analiza la conciencia de los hablantes acerca del uso de quichuismos en su vocabulario cotidiano y la percepción de los hablantes sobre la presencia del quichua en sus actos de habla. La investigación emplea una metodología mixta, combinando enfoques cuantitativos y cualitativos. Emplea encuestas y entrevistas a hablantes nativos de cada variante para recopilar datos sobre el uso de estos préstamos lingüísticos y las actitudes de los hablantes hacia los quichuismos. Sus objetivos son determinar la presencia de quichuismos en cada variante, el grado de conciencia de los hablantes sobre su uso y la percepción de los ecuatorianos respecto a la presencia del quichua en su vida cotidiana. La investigación se justifica en la importancia de comprender cómo el contacto entre el español y el quichua ha enriquecido el sistema lingüístico de los ecuatorianos, y se espera que contribuya al fortalecimiento de la identidad cultural ecuatoriana y a la revalorización del quichua como lengua originaria.

Términos clave: quichua, español ecuatoriano, quichuismos, conciencia lingüística, contacto entre lenguas

Abstract

This study examines the influence of Quichua on three dialectal varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish: coastal, Andean and eastern or Amazonian. It analyzes speakers' awareness of the use of Quichuisms in their everyday vocabulary and speakers' perception of the presence of Quichua in their speech acts. The research project employs a mixed methodology, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. It includes surveys and interviews with native speakers of each variety to collect data on the use of these linguistic borrowings and speakers' attitudes toward Quichua words. Its objectives are to

determine the presence of Quichuisms in each variety, speakers' degree of awareness concerning their use, and Ecuadorians' perception regarding the presence of Quichua in their daily lives. The research is justified by the importance of understanding how contact between Spanish and Quichua has enriched the linguistic system of Ecuadorians and is expected to contribute to the strengthening of Ecuadorian cultural identity and the revaluation of Quichua as a native language.

Key terms: Quichua, Ecuadorian Spanish, Quichuisms, linguistic awareness, language contact

Introducción

El contacto de lenguas

El contacto de lenguas es un fenómeno que toma lugar cuando hablantes de diferentes lenguas interactúan entre sí de forma prolongada, de modo tal que se llevan influencias de una lengua a otra introduciendo así cambios lingüísticos. Este hecho sucede de manera orgánica y cotidiana y se da desde la antigüedad, de hecho, juega un rol fundamental en la evolución de las lenguas. Puede darse por diferentes razones, tales como las conquistas, la migración, la proximidad geográfica, el comercio, entre otros (véase Myers-Scotton, 1993). Los préstamos lingüísticos constituyen un fenómeno asociado de manera directa y observable al contacto entre lenguas. Weinreich (1953) pone su mirada en cómo las estructuras lingüísticas y los vocabularios se ven afectados, puntualizando que los préstamos lingüísticos son, usualmente, el primer signo de una interacción lingüística.

Un caso interesante por mencionar, producto del contacto prolongado entre las lenguas quichua y español en el Ecuador, es la “media lengua.” Tenida como una lengua mixta, la media lengua ecuatoriana combina el léxico del español con la gramática del quichua. Este fenómeno ha sido estudiado desde hace varias décadas por autores como Muysken (1997), el cual indica que es probable que esta lengua se haya originado cuando quichuahablantes migraron hacia áreas urbanas donde se hablaba español y adquirieron cierta fluidez en este idioma, luego retornaron a sus comunidades empleando una variedad relexificada de su lengua indígena. Esencialmente, desde el punto de vista lingüístico, lo que sucedió fue los quichuahablantes reemplazaron la mayoría de las raíces léxicas de su lengua por formas españolas, pero manteniendo las estructuras gramaticales y fonológicas del quichua. Según nos indica Muysken, esta variedad es hablada aproximadamente por unas doscientas personas en lugares como Salcedo, en la provincia del Cotopaxi, aunque también se conoce de grupos hablantes en la provincia de Imbabura e, incluso, más al sur, en Loja, centrándose en la Región Andina del Ecuador. Si bien es cierto que este caso no es el enfoque particular de la presente investigación, no cabe

duda de que esta media lengua ecuatoriana es un fenómeno lingüístico fascinante que evidencia la historia del contacto lingüístico en el Ecuador.

Adicionalmente, el contacto prolongado y el bilingüismo pueden tener mayores alcances a lo largo de la vida de los hablantes. Al respecto, Hyltenstam y Obler (1986) investigan los efectos del bilingüismo desde la adquisición de la lengua en la etapa de la niñez hasta la pérdida lingüística en la vejez, mostrando que el contacto lingüístico influye no solo a largo plazo, sino que en todas las etapas de la vida. Como vemos, estos estudios enmarcan este fenómeno ampliamente e ilustran la complejidad del contacto de lenguas. A su vez, nos demuestran la profunda capacidad transformativa que tienen estos procesos sobre las lenguas que se hallan en contacto, lo cual evidencia la dinámica social y cultural de los hablantes.

La lengua quichua en el Ecuador

El imperio Inca fue el más amplio y exitoso en la era precolombina de América del Sur (Meyers, 1998). Su dominio se extendió desde el Ecuador hasta Chile y, junto con su expansión territorial, los incas transmitieron su lengua a los diferentes pueblos colonizados, logrando convertir el quichua en el idioma de casi todo el oeste de Sudamérica. En el Ecuador, particularmente, su dominio se extendió a todos los rincones, y Quito se convirtió en una sede importante del reinado. Estudios sobre este tema relatan que el quichua era la lengua más generalizada de este país (Ortíz Arellano, 2001, p. 13) para la época en la que los incas ejercían su gobierno. Esta exitosa expansión de esta lengua ancestral se dio gracias a las políticas lingüísticas que desde aquel entonces este reino manejaba. Este particular lo evidencia Cieza de León, quien describe que:

los Indios de la Comarca de Quito y todos los de este reino, en más de mil y doscientas lenguas hablaban la lengua general de los ingas, que es la que usaban en el Cuzco. Y hablábase esta lengua generalmente porque los señores ingas lo mandaban y era la ley en todo el reino, y castigaban a los padres si la dejaban de mostrar a sus hijos en la niñez. (2005, p. 117, obra original publicada en 1553)

No obstante, esta ardua promulgación de imperio y lengua, los incas no lograron desplazar las lenguas sustrato ya existentes en Ecuador, al menos no en estas primeras instancias. Más adelante en el mismo pasaje, el autor indica que: “Mas no embargante que hablaban la lengua del Cuzco (como digo) todos se tenían sus lenguas, las que usaron sus antepasados” (Cieza de León, 2005, p. 117), particular que demuestra la realidad y riqueza lingüística de este país, lo cual desde ese entonces generó un espacio propicio para el contacto entre lenguas. Cabe destacar que, en estas instancias, el quichua en el Ecuador constituía una segunda lengua (L2) y solo era lengua materna (L1) para la casta política y la realeza que era enviada desde Cuzco al país a sentar las bases del imperio. Luego, con la llegada de los conquistadores españoles, llegó la imposición de una nueva lengua que poco a poco fue ganando terreno. Como es natural, el plano lingüístico de la región se diversifica aún más, continuaron los contactos lingüísticos sumando ahora una

lengua europea. Como resultado, la variedad del quichua hablado en el Ecuador se distancia de la hablada en el Cuzco y adquiere particularidades diferenciadoras de las otras variedades habladas en la región andina de Sudamérica (Carbajal Solís, 2004, p. 10).

Dentro de sus generalidades más importantes, podemos resaltar que el quichua hablado en Ecuador hoy en día tiene un alfabeto compuesto de 3 vocales /a/, /i/ y /u/, con escasa o nula presencia de las vocales /e/ y /o/. Su sistema consonántico posee 21 consonantes dentro de las cuales se encuentran /sh/, /zh/, /ts/, y carece de /f/, /v/, /d/ y /x/ (Kowii Maldonado, 2013, pp. 285-290). Sin embargo, la estandarización de este alfabeto ha sufrido varios cambios a lo largo de los años. Grimm (1896) hizo un esfuerzo en este sentido al realizar una obra con la que detalla la gramática de lo que él llama el dialecto de la República del Ecuador (p. 20). Lo seguirán en ese esfuerzo Guzmán (1920) y Catta (1994). Tal es la importancia de este aspecto que dedicaremos una sección a este tema a la luz de estas y varias obras adicionales. Estos u otros autores de manera generalizada definen el quichua como una lengua aglutinante y sufijante, es decir, sus palabras se conforman de una raíz y se añaden sufijos que dotan a las palabras de diferentes características y las transforma en posesivos, reflexivos, progresivos, etc. Itier (2021) lo ejemplifica de la siguiente manera: “(1) La palabra ‘hatari’ (*levantarse*) se forma de la raíz o verbo infinitivo ‘hata’ (*levantar*) añadiendo el sufijo ‘ri’ que lo dota de una cualidad reflexiva” (p. 664). En el presente, la variedad del quichua ecuatoriano ha sido reclasificada; pertenece a la familia de las lenguas quechuas, pero ha sido catalogada como *quechua II*, lo cual alude al quichua norteño o quiteño (Carbajal Solís, 2004, p. 17), esto por el distanciamiento dado a través de los años, producto de los múltiples contactos lingüísticos con lenguas sustrato y con el español.

Continuando con el impacto de la época imperialista, como era de esperarse, tal y como sucedió en todas las otras colonias conquistadas por los españoles, la lengua europea se impuso por sobre las ancestrales. Tal fue el impacto a largo plazo del castellano sobre tierras incas y su lengua, que ya para inicios del siglo XX, el quichua fue reducido a “*yangashami*, ” 'el idioma sin valor', tal como lo indica Catta (1994, p. 1). En la actualidad, la misma constitución del Ecuador, declara la importancia y defiende la riqueza y diversidad cultural, étnica y lingüística de este país, tal como se expresa en el artículo primero de la misma. No obstante, el español es su lengua oficial y el quichua fue desplazado y reducido a una lengua de intercambio intercultural (Art. 1-2, Constitución de la República del Ecuador, 2008). Desafortunadamente y en detrimento de esta lengua ancestral, es poco lo que los gobiernos de paso han definido en materia de políticas lingüísticas y, a pesar de que ha habido movimientos indígenas que reclaman la igualdad de lengua, es poco lo que se ha logrado.

El escritor y poeta ecuatoriano de origen quichua, Wankar Ariruma Kowii Maldonado, relata, en su tesis doctoral (2013), los diferentes procesos de política lingüística a favor de su lengua materna, el kichwa o quichua. Una de sus aseveraciones es que el Estado-Nación ecuatoriano, nació incompleto, ya que dejó de lado otras lenguas y culturas

coexistentes en el territorio nacional y solo tomó en cuenta el español y los grupos sociales de mayor poder (pp. 259-260). Como consecuencia, al declarar la lengua española como la única oficial, la dotaron de privilegios sociales, económicos, legalidad y otros beneficios que socavaron las otras lenguas ecuatorianas. Kowii Maldonado nos relata que, en los años 80, con la conformación de la CONAIE (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador), se empezaron varias propuestas para la reivindicación de los pueblos indígenas y sus lenguas, entre las cuales se encuentra el quichua como lengua materna de la población indígena más importante del país. También se realizaron varias propuestas de un alfabeto unificado para promover la enseñanza de esta lengua, pero los diferentes pueblos estuvieron en desacuerdo por varios motivos, entre los cuales se destaca la consideración de esta estandarización como poco favorecedora para los diferentes dialectos (2013, pp. 280-289) a pesar del gran poder simbólico actual que tiene el quichua en el Ecuador (Haboud, 2005, pp. 3-6).

Como bien se aprecia luego de este breve recuento, independientemente de lo que dicte la carta magna de este país, la realidad lingüística de los ecuatorianos no tiene límites tan cerrados en el uso de las lenguas y menos, borra el contacto y sus efectos entre estas. Por el contrario, evidencia la riqueza, la diversidad e impacto lingüístico de las lenguas ancestrales en el español, particularmente los del quichua. Esto aún a pesar de que el estatus actual del quichua lo reduce solo a lengua de intercambio cultural y no le provee el carácter de lengua oficial del país a la par del español.

La presente investigación

Esta complejidad histórica e idiomática en el Ecuador es lo que motiva la presente investigación, la cual centra su mirada en la influencia del quichua en las diferentes variedades del español ecuatoriano, abarcando las variantes costeña, andina y amazónica. Actualmente existen estudios que han fijado su mirada en la influencia del quichua en el Ecuador, como es el caso de Palacios Alcaine (2005); sin embargo, esta autora se enfoca únicamente en la variedad de español andino. En contraposición, este estudio expande sus límites y explora el resto de las variedades dialectales del Ecuador continental. Leontieva (2016) da sustento a esta decisión de incluir las variedades costeña y oriental o amazónica en su estudio, puesto que demuestra que la influencia del quichua está presente más allá de los límites geográficos y lingüísticos de las regiones andinas del país.

En cuanto al fenómeno lingüístico bajo análisis, este se define como el uso de los quichuismos en el vocabulario cotidiano de los hablantes. Entiéndase por quichuismo, una palabra, expresión o construcción gramatical de origen quichua que ha sido incorporada en otra lengua (Real Academia Española, 2022), en este caso particular, al español ecuatoriano. Estos préstamos léxicos, o quichuismos, son nuestro punto de enfoque en este estudio, y son claros ejemplos de cómo las lenguas pueden enriquecerse mutuamente a través del contacto entre hablantes, sobre todo si tenemos en cuenta que gran parte de la

población mundial, de una u otra manera, está en contacto con más de una lengua (Haboud, 1998, p. 63). En el caso del Ecuador, el quichua ha influenciado notablemente en la lengua hablada; un claro y destacado ejemplo de estos quichuismos en el español ecuatoriano es la palabra “ñaño” o “ñaña,” que en los diccionarios kichwa-castellano de Santos Dea (2006, pp. 74) y de Santacruz (2009, pp. 104) se traduce como “hermano” o “hermana”, respectivamente. Este vocablo quichua es ampliamente utilizado en todo el país y evidencia la influencia de la lengua inca en la variante dialectal de los ecuatorianos. Este y muchos otros quichuismos también son mostrados por Estrella Santos en un corpus léxico realizado en 2007 (pp. 753-792).

Ser conscientes de esta realidad e impacto del pueblo quichua sobre el resto de los ecuatorianos y su lengua puede ser claro para unos, pero difuso o, incluso, imperceptible para otros. Por lo tanto, saber que son el grupo indígena más importante, no genera la conciencia de algún tipo de impacto sobre las vidas y los patrones de habla del resto de los ecuatorianos, ya que ven este grupo étnico como uno cerrado y alejado de sus realidades. Esto se magnifica mientras más se aleja geográficamente el pueblo quichua de los otros pueblos ecuatorianos. Así, pudiéramos entender que las regiones costeras y amazónicas tienen un menor impacto y conciencia de los quichuismos que usan a diario, a diferencia de las regiones andinas en las que debe estar más normalizado y claro dicho uso.

Este planteamiento conduce a los objetivos principales de esta investigación, que son: (1) determinar la influencia léxica del quichua en el español ecuatoriano en las variantes de la costa, la sierra y el oriente, (2) determinar el grado de conciencia de los hablantes sobre el uso de estos préstamos lingüísticos en su vocabulario cotidiano, y (3) conocer la percepción de los ecuatorianos respecto de la presencia del quichua en su cotidianidad. Para lograr estos objetivos, se empleó una metodología mixta que combinó enfoques cuantitativos y cualitativos. Se realizaron encuestas y entrevistas a hablantes nativos de cada una de las variantes mencionadas del español ecuatoriano para recopilar datos sobre el uso de quichuismos presentes en cada variante y su percepción acerca del uso. Para ello, se formularon las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

1. ¿Estas tres variedades lingüísticas presentan quichuismos en su vocabulario cotidiano?
 - 1a. ¿Cuáles son los quichuismos más comunes en el español ecuatoriano en las tres variantes dialectales en cuestión?
2. ¿En qué medida son conscientes los hablantes ecuatorianos del uso de préstamos lingüísticos del quichua en su vocabulario cotidiano?
 - 2a. ¿Existe alguna variedad dialectal más consciente que otra?
3. ¿Cuál es la actitud de los ecuatorianos frente a los quichuismos empleados en el Ecuador?
 - 3a. ¿Qué factores extralingüísticos influyen en la percepción de los ecuatorianos con respecto a los quichuismos?

3b. ¿Existe alguna variedad dialectal con mejor percepción de este fenómeno lingüístico?

Dado el enfoque de esta investigación y los objetivos planteados, las hipótesis o predicciones eran las siguientes:

1. Existe una influencia significativa del quichua en las variantes costeña, andina y amazónica del español ecuatoriano, evidenciada en la presencia de quichuismos en el léxico de estas variantes. La variante andina del español ecuatoriano mostrará una mayor presencia de quichuismos en comparación con las variantes costeña y oriental o amazónica, debido a la mayor concentración de hablantes de quichua en la sierra. La variante del español oriental o amazónico mostrará una presencia mayor de quichuismos en relación con la variedad costeña por tener una presencia significativa de nacionalidades indígenas que mantienen contacto más cercano con el quichua. La variante del español costeño mostrará una presencia menor en relación con las otras dos regiones por tener una presencia mínima de quichuas y por su lejanía geográfica con las regiones andinas.
2. El grado de conciencia de los hablantes sobre el uso de quichuismos variará según la región y el nivel de contacto que tengan con el quichua. La variedad dialectal de la sierra será la más consciente del uso de quichuismos dado el contacto continuo y mayor presencia de quichua hablantes, seguida por el oriente por contar con una significativa presencia de poblaciones indígenas quichua hablantes y, en último lugar, la costa por ser la región más alejada de estas poblaciones y con el menor contacto.
3. La percepción de los hablantes sobre los quichuismos podría estar influenciada por factores sociolingüísticos como el nivel educativo, nivel socioeconómico, la edad y el grado de contacto con hablantes de quichua. Se espera que quienes tengan un menor nivel educativo y socioeconómico, una edad mayor y más contacto con los hablantes del quichua tendrán más conocimiento de quichuismos y mejor percepción sobre esta lengua.

Estas hipótesis servirán como guía para el diseño del estudio y el análisis de los datos recopilados. A lo largo de la investigación, se buscará confirmar o refutar estas predicciones mediante el análisis de los resultados y la interpretación de las tendencias observadas.

Este análisis busca identificar las posibles correlaciones entre las características demográficas de los hablantes y sus prácticas y percepciones lingüísticas en relación con los quichuismos. La conciencia de los hablantes se medirá a través de cuestionarios y entrevistas o cuestionarios en los que se evalúe su capacidad para identificar y diferenciar los quichuismos en su léxico. Al analizar la relación entre estas variables, se busca entender cómo la presencia de préstamos lingüísticos del quichua en el español ecuatoriano afecta la conciencia de los hablantes sobre el uso de estas palabras y expresiones en su

habla cotidiana. Este trabajo investigativo busca arrojar luz sobre la influencia del quichua en el español ecuatoriano, así como fomentar la conciencia lingüística de los hablantes respecto a los quichuismos en su vocabulario cotidiano, contribuyendo al fortalecimiento de la identidad cultural ecuatoriana y la revalorización del quichua como lengua originaria.

Metodología

Muestra

Las muestras del estudio son representativas para cada una de las tres regiones dialectales, a saber, costeña, andina y oriental o amazónica. Previo a la participación de los voluntarios, se solicitó su aprobación mediante una hoja de consentimiento informado electrónica, en donde se aclaró, entre otras cosas, que las tres instancias de participación eran confidenciales y que su único dato requerido era el número de celular, el cual se solicitó para enviarle por ese medio los cuestionarios y el enlace a la entrevista. A cada participante se le asignó un número con el que se identificaron sus instancias de participación. El protocolo de la investigación fue revisado y autorizado por el Comité Institucional para la Protección de los Seres Humanos en la Investigación de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras (número de autorización 2324-140).

Los participantes del estudio eran hablantes nativos del español ecuatoriano de las tres variedades lingüísticas bajo estudio; también se permitió participaciones de residentes cuya permanencia en el Ecuador era de al menos diez años; y todos eran mayores de 18 años. Estos representaron una variedad de edades, estratos sociales y niveles educativos para proporcionar una visión diversa y amplia del uso de los quichuismos en estas regiones.

Como mecanismo de reclutamiento y selección de los participantes, se empleó un muestreo de conveniencia, lo que sugiere que los participantes fueron reclutados en función de su disponibilidad y su disposición a participar. Sin embargo, se realizaron esfuerzos para garantizar que la muestra fuera representativa de la población más amplia de hablantes del español ecuatoriano en términos de variables demográficas y lingüísticas. La muestra final consistió en ocho participantes de la región andina o sierra, siete participantes de la región amazónica u oriental y siete participantes de la región costeña. Esto totaliza 22 participantes, sin embargo, se aclara que, para las entrevistas, la participación fue algo menor, se logró entrevistar a 19 personas en total, de los cuales siete pertenecen a la región costa, siete, a la región sierra y cinco, a la región oriental o amazónica. Para mejor visualización de la muestra con la que se trabajó, se presentan en la tabla 1 los datos demográficos más significativos para el estudio, clasificados por regiones.

Datos demográficos		Región del país					
		Costa	%	Sierra	%	Oriente	%
		7 participantes		8 participantes		7 participantes	
Grupo Etario	De 18 a 24 años	1	14,29%	1	12,50%	1	14,29%
	De 25 a 34 años	2	28,57%	2	25,00%	1	14,29%
	De 35 a 44 años	1	14,29%	1	12,50%	5	71,43%
	De 45 a 54 años	3	42,86%	2	25,00%	0	0,00%
	De 55 a 64 años	0	0,00%	2	25,00%	0	0,00%
Género	Femenino	3	42,86%	4	50,00%	6	85,71%
	Masculino	4	57,14%	4	50,00%	1	14,29%
Raza	Mestizo/a	5	71,43%	7	87,50%	6	85,71%
	Montubio/a	2	28,57%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
	Indígena	0	0,00%	1	12,50%	1	14,29%
Nivel Educativo	Secundaria	0	0,00%	1	12,50%	5	71,43%
	Universitario	4	57,14%	5	62,50%	2	28,57%
	Postgrado, Maestría	3	42,86%	2	25,00%	0	0,00%
Nivel Socioeconómico/ Ingresos	de \$43 a \$132	0	0,00%	2	25,00%	0	0,00%
	de \$133 a \$319	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
	de \$320 a \$711	0	0,00%	2	25,00%	3	42,86%
	de \$720 a \$1954	4	57,14%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
	de \$1955 en adelante	1	14,29%	1	12,50%	0	0,00%
	Soy estudiante, trabajador/a del hogar no remunerado/a, desempleado/a	2	28,57%	1	12,50%	3	42,86%
Ocupación	Empleado/a Sector Público	1	14,29%	0	0,00%	1	14,29%
	Empleado/a Sector Privado	2	28,57%	4	50,00%	1	14,29%
	Independiente o cuenta propia	2	28,57%	2	25,00%	1	14,29%
	Retirado/a	0	0,00%	1	12,50%	1	14,29%
	Estudiante	1	14,29%	0	0,00%	1	14,29%
	Desempleado/a	0	0,00%	1	12,50%	2	28,57%
	Trabajador/a del hogar no remunerado/a	1	14,29%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Lengua Materna	Español	7	100,00%	7	87,50%	6	85,71%
	Quichua	0	0,00%	1	12,50%	1	14,29%
Dominio de otras lenguas	Inglés	4	57,14%	6	75,00%	1	14,29%
	Italiano	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	2	28,57%
	Solo lengua materna, español	3	42,86%	2	25,00%	4	57,14%

Tabla 1 Características demográficas de la muestra por región.

Como observamos, los grupos etarios se encuentran en un amplio rango que va desde los 18 años de edad, momento en que se alcanza la mayoría de edad legal en el Ecuador, hasta los 64 años, con una distribución por región bastante homogénea salvo para el caso del oriente, donde la muestra es menor y el rango de edades solo va desde los 18 hasta los 44 años de edad. En cuanto al género, en costa y sierra hubo participantes masculinos y femeninos, mientras que para el oriente la participación masculina fue mayoritaria. Los datos relativos a la raza de los participantes demostraron que un 90.47% de la muestra total es de origen mestizo; sin embargo, se debe aclarar que dos de los participantes

de la costa indicaron ser montubios, lo cual no los separa de este grupo, ya que el montubio es un mestizo pero que vive en el campo.

En cuanto al nivel educativo, la región costa denotó niveles mayores de educación, ya que los participantes se concentraron entre universitario y postgrado o maestría. En la sierra, dos participantes llegaron hasta el nivel secundario, la mayoría, es decir, cinco participantes llegaron hasta la universidad y solo dos, a postgrado o maestría. En cuanto al oriente, cuatro de los participantes llegaron a nivel secundario y solo uno de ellos, a universidad, lo cual demuestra la población con nivel menor de escolaridad. Los rangos socioeconómicos y los relativos a la ocupación mostraron de manera general que los participantes de la costa se encuentran en mejor posición económica con relación a los de la sierra y el oriente. Cabe mencionar, que en el oriente se encontraron más personas sin remuneración, ya sea por estudios, por desempleo o por ser trabajador del hogar no remunerado.

En cuanto a la lengua materna, un participante de la sierra y uno del oriente tienen como lengua nativa el quichua, el uno con su variante otavaleña y el otro amazónica, respectivamente. El resto de los 19 participantes, que representan el 90.47%, son de habla española como L1. El conocimiento o dominio de otras lenguas son de particular interés, ya que quienes demostraron mayor dominio de las lenguas fueron las dos personas cuya L1 es el quichua, ambos tienen alto dominio del español, ya que no tuvieron problemas para completar los cuestionarios y en las entrevistas su dominio del español fue como el de una L1. Adicionalmente, ambos hablan inglés y uno de ellos también sabe italiano y latín.

Materiales y procedimiento

En cuanto a los materiales y el procedimiento, para esta investigación se implementó una serie de instrumentos de recolección de datos para recabar la información tanto cuantitativa como cualitativa. Dado que los datos no pudieron recopilarse de forma presencial, se usaron herramientas virtuales para facilitar su obtención.

El consentimiento informado, el cuestionario de perfil demográfico y el cuestionario de conocimiento y uso lingüístico, se elaboraron utilizando la herramienta *Google Forms*. Esta herramienta provee algunos beneficios en su implementación puesto que permite llegar a los participantes de manera remota, cómoda y rápida. Otro aspecto favorable al recabar información con esta herramienta es que nos proporciona visualizaciones inmediatas de los datos estadísticos, organiza lo obtenido y provee diferentes gráficas de lo recopilado. La compleción de cada uno de los dos cuestionarios tardó aproximadamente 15 minutos. Por otra parte, como aspecto desfavorable, estos procesos virtuales evitan formar un nexo entre el investigador y los participantes; por lo tanto, al realizar la entrevista fue necesario un esfuerzo mayor y dedicado al inicio para romper el hielo y ganar familiaridad para llevar a cabo una entrevista fluida, abierta y cómoda. A propósito de esta entrevista, la misma se llevó a cabo empleando la herramienta WhatsApp,

solo se grabó el audio (se omitió el uso de video para proteger la imagen del participante) y tomó aproximadamente media hora. A continuación, en las siguientes subsecciones se provee información más detallada de cada herramienta.

Cuestionario de perfil demográfico y lingüístico

Esta herramienta fue creada para la obtención de datos primarios e importantes sobre la población meta del estudio. Se compuso de 34 preguntas abiertas, cerradas y de selección simple que abarcaron diferentes aspectos de la identidad de los participantes, incluyendo su edad, su género, sus repertorios lingüísticos, culturales y étnicos, su nivel educativo, su nivel socioeconómico, su lugar de residencia, entre otros (Labov, 2006; Blas Arroyo, 2005).

Cuestionario de conocimiento y uso lingüístico

En cuanto a la herramienta de evaluación del conocimiento y uso lingüístico, la prueba presentó 16 preguntas cerradas y de selección múltiple y se dividió en varias secciones, cada una de las cuales con un propósito específico en términos de la recopilación de datos.

- a. Identificación de palabras de origen español y quichua: Al solicitar a los participantes que marquen las palabras de origen de la lengua enfocada en cierta pregunta, se midió cuán familiarizados estaban los participantes con el origen de las palabras en ambas lenguas. Esta sección proporcionaba información valiosa sobre el grado de conocimiento y uso de términos de ambas lenguas en la vida cotidiana de los participantes.
- b. Identificación de imágenes: A través de la identificación de imágenes, el cuestionario midió el grado de familiaridad de los participantes con objetos, animales y alimentos típicos del Ecuador que pueden ser nombrados con palabras en ambas lenguas. Esta sección evaluó si los participantes usaban las palabras quichuas asociadas a las imágenes o las correspondientes a otra lengua.
- c. Reconocimiento de expresiones de origen quichua en oraciones: Esta sección midió la capacidad de los participantes para identificar el uso de palabras y expresiones de origen quichua dentro del contexto de las oraciones. Esto proporcionaba una medida de la fluidez con la que los participantes podían reconocer y entender el uso del quichua en el habla cotidiana.
- d. Evaluación del entendimiento de oraciones: Al pedir a los participantes que identifiquen si entienden o no estas oraciones, se midió su nivel de familiaridad con ciertas expresiones o modismos ecuatorianos provenientes del quichua. Esto permitió observar cuán incorporada estaba esta lengua ancestral en su uso cotidiano del lenguaje.
- e. Identificación del significado de palabras: Por último, al pedir a los participantes que indiquen el significado de ciertas palabras en español o quichua, esta sección del cuestionario evaluaba su nivel de comprensión y conocimiento de vocabulario específico en quichua y su correlación con el español.

Entrevista

La entrevista en esta investigación es un instrumento importante cuyo objetivo era obtener una perspectiva en profundidad de los participantes sobre el uso del quichua en su vida diaria y su percepción de la influencia de esta lengua en el español ecuatoriano. En este sentido, las preguntas de esta entrevista, fueron diseñadas para explorar tanto el conocimiento factual de los participantes sobre la lengua quichua como sus opiniones y actitudes hacia el español y las lenguas ancestrales del Ecuador, con especial énfasis en el quichua y su impacto en los actos de habla cotidianos de los ecuatorianos. Esto ayudó a revelar no sólo la prevalencia del uso de quichuismos en el español cotidiano, sino también cómo se valora y se percibe este uso. Para ello se presentaron 30 preguntas específicas y directas para conocer la información más básica de la lengua oficial del país y si el participante hablaba o entendía el quichua. Contenía preguntas abiertas que buscaban la opinión y la reflexión sobre el uso y la importancia del quichua en la sociedad ecuatoriana y los contactos entre los participantes y personas quichua hablantes. Las preguntas se enfocan en una variedad de temas que se pueden categorizar en seis subtemas principales, cada uno de ellos con un propósito específico:

- a. Conocimiento general sobre la lengua quichua y su uso: Esta categoría de preguntas se centró en la recopilación de información básica sobre el conocimiento y la familiaridad de los participantes con la lengua quichua. Estas eran esenciales para establecer una línea de base para entender cuánto sabía el participante sobre el quichua y en qué medida lo utilizaba en sus actos de habla. Además, permitían entender el grado de exposición y adopción de las palabras quichuas en su comunidad y entorno social. Claros ejemplos de estas preguntas son: (1) ¿podría decirme cuál es la lengua oficial del Ecuador?, (2) ¿sabe qué es el quichua?, (3) ¿habla o entiende quichua?, etc.
- b. Valoración y percepción sobre la lengua quichua: Las preguntas en esta categoría trataban de sondear las actitudes personales y emocionales de los participantes hacia el quichua. Esto proporcionaba una visión importante sobre el valor que las personas atribuían al quichua y su percepción sobre aspectos como su belleza y atractivo en comparación con el español. Asimismo, ayudaron a entender si los participantes apreciaban la posibilidad de combinar ambas lenguas en su comunicación diaria, es decir, mostraba sus posturas frente al uso de los quichuismos.
- c. Lengua quichua y la identidad cultural: Tomando de ejemplo la pregunta (26) ¿Cree que el uso de palabras quichuas en el español ecuatoriano puede ser considerado un símbolo de identidad cultural del Ecuador?, podemos darnos cuenta de que esta categoría se centró en explorar la relación entre el quichua y la identidad cultural de los participantes. La lengua puede verse influenciada por la cultura; por ello se buscaba revelar si las personas veían el quichua como parte integral de la identidad cultural de los ecuatorianos o solo de un grupo reducido de la sociedad. Otro aspecto importante era que dentro de esta categoría de preguntas

se exploró si consideraban que el quichua y el español debían ser lenguas co-oficiales, lo cual implicaría un reconocimiento igualitario de grandes magnitudes para ambas lenguas en el marco legal y social del país. Si bien es cierto que este marco de bilingüismo está alejado de la realidad, esta pregunta en particular sondeaba cuán apreciada es la lengua quichua en el Ecuador, aspecto que se considera importante en este estudio.

- d. El quichua en el sistema educativo: Las preguntas en esta categoría buscaban comprender las opiniones de los participantes sobre la inclusión de la enseñanza formal de esta lengua en el sistema educativo actual. Esto proporcionaba información relevante sobre la disposición de los participantes a apoyar la enseñanza del quichua en las escuelas, su percepción sobre el impacto de esta medida y su opinión sobre cómo debería esto ser implementado. También proporcionaba datos sobre sus propias experiencias con la enseñanza del quichua durante sus vidas estudiantiles (i.e., si el quichua se enseñaba o no en las escuelas, si los programas educativos se enfocaban en el español solamente o en ambas lenguas). Por ello, el haber recibido este tipo de experiencias, pudiera elevar la apreciación de las personas hacia el quichua y su uso y pudiera favorecer la idea de regresar el quichua a las aulas de clase de las escuelas.
- e. El quichua y la proyección internacional: Esta categoría se enfocaba en cómo los participantes veían la proyección internacional del Ecuador en un escenario donde se promueve un mayor uso del quichua. Auscultar sobre la perspectiva de los entrevistados sobre este tema podía proporcionar información valiosa sobre cómo los participantes percibían un énfasis en el bilingüismo, español-quichua, y cómo estos ven la proyección del Ecuador en el plano internacional bajo ese posible escenario.
- f. Contacto entre las lenguas: Esta sección buscaba obtener datos de este importante aspecto extralingüístico para darnos a conocer si existían interacciones entre grupos étnicos en las diferentes regiones y qué tipo de interacción se mantenía. Esto nos podía arrojar luz sobre una posible relación entre estos contactos y el rango de conocimiento de quichuismos.

En esencia, esta entrevista contemplaba preguntas personales que permitían al entrevistado compartir sus propias experiencias y opiniones, lo que aportaba componente actitudinal requerido para contestar una de las preguntas de investigación.

Resultados

A partir de los instrumentos mencionados, se recopilamos datos que se analizan y comparaban con el fin de entender la influencia del quichua en las diferentes variedades del español ecuatoriano y cómo se percibía esta influencia entre los hablantes nativos de español en el país. A continuación, se muestran los datos iniciales referentes al conocimiento de los participantes.

Perfil lingüístico inicial de los participantes			
Dato extraído	Región		
	Costa	Sierra	Oriente
	7 particip.	8 particip.	7 particip.
Grado de conciencia inicial de la influencia del quichua en el español ecuatoriano	3P	6P	2P
	42.85%	75.00%	28.57%
Conocimiento inicial de palabras de origen indígena	4P	6P	4P
	15	17	10
Conocimiento inicial de la procedencia quichua de las palabras indígenas mencionadas	3P	4P	3P
	42.85%	50%	42.85%

Tabla 2 Perfil lingüístico inicial de los participantes (n=22)

La tabla 2 nos indica que la región sierra es la región con mayor conocimiento y uso de quichuismos. Con un 75%, la sierra sobrepasa ampliamente a la costa, que demostró un 42.85% y al oriente, que solo mostró un 20.57% de conocimiento inicial sobre palabras quichuas. Los participantes de la sierra mencionaron un promedio de 17 palabras indígenas, seguido de la costa con 15 y el oriente solo 10 palabras. De esos participantes,

Componente actitudinal inicial			
Dato extraído	Región		
	Costa	Sierra	Oriente
	7 particip.	8 particip.	7 particip.
Grado de aceptación inicial de uso de palabras quichuas	2P	3P	2P
	28.57%	37%	28.57%
Postura favorable sobre la necesidad del estudio del quichua en el Ecuador	7P	5P	7P
	100%	62.50%	100%
Escala de importancia personal del quichua	escala del 1 al 5		
	4.29	3.37	4.43
Importancia del quichua frente a las otras lenguas indígenas del Ecuador	7P	5P	7P
	100%	62.50%	100%

Tabla 3 Actitudes iniciales de los participantes (n=22)

los de la sierra identificaron correctamente la procedencia de las palabras mencionadas, el 50% dijo que eran quichuas mientras que en la costa y el oriente solo el 42% logró identificar apropiadamente la procedencia de las palabras.

En cuanto a la conciencia y la percepción mostrada del quichua al inicio de la investigación, los datos se presentan de la siguiente manera.

Observamos en la tabla 3 que la región sierra demuestra un grado mayor de aceptación de uso de quichuismos con un 37%, mientras que las regiones costa y oriente indican que solo usan quichuismos en un 28.57%. En cuanto a la postura sobre la necesidad del estudio del quichua en el Ecuador y la importancia de este frente a otras lenguas originarias del país, las regiones costa y oriente mantienen una valoración positiva del 100%, contrario a la sierra cuya postura desciende a un 62.50%. En términos de la importancia personal del tema, las escalas individuales de los participantes, en promedio, se mantuvieron en 4.43 para el oriente, 4.29 para la costa y 3.37 para la sierra.

Las tablas 4 y 5 representan los datos extraídos de dos preguntas de selección múltiple de reconocimiento de palabras. En el primer caso, los participantes debían escoger de una lista de 27 palabras, aquellas que reconocían en uso general en el Ecuador. Para la tabla 5, se les pidió a los participantes que, de la lista de 22 palabras dadas, reconocieran las de origen quichua. Cabe mencionar que, en ambos casos, todas las palabras dadas fueron de origen quichua.

Palabras en uso reconocidas		
Región	Media (/27)	Porcentual
Costa	21.57	79.89%
Sierra	19.75	73.54%
Oriente	19.89	73.15%

Tabla 4 Palabras usadas en Ecuador

Palabras quichuas reconocidas		
Región	Media (/22)	Porcentual
Costa	14.71	66.88%
Sierra	11.13	50.57%
Oriente	8.71	39.61%

Tabla 5 Palabras quichuas reconocidas

Notamos, a partir de la tabla 4 sobre el reconocimiento de palabras usadas en el Ecuador, que la región costa encabeza el conocimiento de quichuismos con un 79.89%, la sierra muestra un 73.54% y el oriente, un 73.15% de reconocimiento. Se llevó a cabo una prueba de chi-cuadrado para examinar la relación entre la región y el reconocimiento de palabras quichua como parte del uso cotidiano y no generó resultados estadísticamente significativos, $\chi^2 (2, N = 594) = 3.0, p = 22304$. De estos resultados se logró obtener los quichuismos mejor integrados al español ecuatoriano: ñaño, papa, cóndor, morocho, reconocidas por todos los participantes, y ñeque, poncho y choclo, reconocidas por 21 de los 22 participantes. El comportamiento observado en la tabla 5, que evidencia el reconocimiento de términos explícitamente quichuas, refleja que la costa nuevamente está por encima con un 66.88%, seguido de la sierra con un 50.57% y el oriente con tan solo un 39.61%. En este caso, la prueba de chi-cuadrado que examinó la relación entre la

región y el reconocimiento de palabras quichuas arrojó diferencias estadísticamente significativas, $X^2(2, N = 484) = 23.3, p < .00001$. Para esta prueba las palabras más reconocidas fueron aquellas cuya pronunciación y escritura se aleja más del español, como kushki, guagua, shunsho, chachay, runa y tatai.

Para la siguiente categoría, los participantes hicieron la misma tarea dos veces. Para ello se emplearon dos listados de ocho palabras cada uno. Los participantes mostraron su conocimiento asociando las palabras a los conceptos, todos provenientes que quichua.

Asociación de palabras quichuas y conceptos		
Región	Media (/16)	Porcentual
Costa	7.43	92.86%
Sierra	6	75.00%
Oriente	6.38	79.69%

Tabla 6 Asociación de palabras quichuas y conceptos.

En el caso de las pruebas de asociación, notamos nuevamente que la costa muestra la tasa más alta de asociación correcta entre conceptos y palabras quichuas con un 92.86%, indicando un alto nivel de familiaridad con estas palabras. El oriente se sitúa entre ambas regiones con un 79.69%, aunque más cercano al conocimiento mostrado por la sierra de un 75%, ambos significativamente más alejados de la costa. Las pruebas de chi-cuadrado realizadas para examinar la relación entre la región y la asociación de palabras.

Asociación de conceptos visuales y palabras quichuas		
Región	Media (/10)	Porcentual
Costa	9.71	97.14%
Sierra	8.5	85.00%
Oriente	9.14	91.43%

Tabla 7 Asociación de conceptos visuales y palabras quichuas.

quichuas y conceptos confirman que, en efecto, existen diferencias estadísticamente significativas, $X^2(2, N = 352) = 13.3, p = .001284$. Las palabras quichuas mejor asociadas fueron: ñaño, guagua, poncho, chuchaki, ñeque, inti, pacha, minga y kushki.

La tabla 7 muestra el desempeño de los participantes en un ejercicio de asociación entre imágenes visuales y palabras quichuas. Se les proveyó un grupo de 10 imágenes, cada una tenía tres opciones de respuesta.

En el segundo caso de asociación, esta vez por imágenes, la costa nuevamente logró un porcentaje mayor de reconocimiento con un 97.14%, mostrando una alta capacidad para

asociar correctamente imágenes con sus correspondientes palabras quichuas. El oriente muestra un desempeño no muy alejado del 91.43%, mientras que la sierra difiere con un 85%, indicando una menor precisión en la asociación de imágenes y palabras. La prueba de chi-cuadrado que examina la relación entre la región y la asociación de imágenes y palabras confirma que, la sierra difiere significativamente de las otras dos regiones, $\chi^2(2, N = 220) = 6.69, p = .035185$. Para esta prueba las imágenes mejor asociadas fueron: chirimoya, humita, carpa y choclo, siendo reconocidas por la totalidad de la muestra. La tabla 8 recoge los datos sobre el reconocimiento de palabras quichuas empleadas en contexto. Los participantes escogieron oraciones donde identificaron palabras o expresiones de origen quichua.

Reconocimiento de palabras quichuas empleadas en contexto		
Región	Media (/20)	Porcentual
Costa	12	60.00%
Sierra	10.88	54.38%
Oriente	9.43	47.14%

Tabla 8 Reconocimiento de palabras quichuas empleadas en contexto.

Según la tabla 8, para el ejercicio de reconocer palabras quichuas en contexto, la costa reconoce un 60%, seguido de la sierra con un 54.38% y el oriente con un 47.14%, siendo las palabras más reconocidas inti, taita, guagua y llucho. Las palabras menos reconocidas son papa y cóndor, lo que indica que para casi todos los participantes estas palabras provienen del español. Aunque los porcentajes presentan una diferencia escalonada entre las tres regiones, la prueba de chi-cuadrado que examina la relación entre la región y el reconocimiento de palabras quichua en contexto no demuestra diferencias estadísticamente significativas, $\chi^2(2, N = 440) = 4.68, p = .096191$.

Finalmente, la tabla 9 concilia los datos relacionados a la comprensión de oraciones con palabras quichuas empleadas en contexto. Aquí los participantes escogieron de una lista de 20 oraciones, aquellas que ellos podían entender.

Comprensión de oraciones con palabras quichuas en contexto		
Región	Media (/20)	Porcentual
Costa	18	90.00%
Sierra	19.13	95.63%
Oriente	13.57	67.86%

Tabla 9 Comprensión de oraciones con palabras quichuas empleadas en contexto.

Según la tabla 9, en el ejercicio de entendimiento de palabras quichuas en contexto, la sierra refleja un conocimiento superior del 95.63%, seguido de cerca por la costa con un 90% y alejada de estas dos regiones, encontramos al oriente con un 67.86% de comprensión. Para esta prueba las palabras mejor comprendidas fueron: cancha, guagua, cóndor y poncho. La prueba de chi-cuadrado que examina la relación entre la región y la comprensión de palabras quichuas en contexto evidencia una diferencia estadísticamente significativa, $\chi^2 (2, N = 440) = 49.2, p < 0.00001$. La sierra y la costa exceden significativamente del oriente en lo que concierne su comprensión de palabras quichuas en contexto.

Discusión

Discusión de los datos cuantitativos de los cuestionarios

Los datos iniciales extraídos de la tabla 2, sugieren que la región sierra tiene una mayor conciencia y conocimiento de quichuismos, lo cual es consistente con lo que se esperaba debido a su proximidad geográfica y contacto continuo con las poblaciones quichua hablantes. Sin embargo, la costa muestra una integración y conocimientos significativos, desafiando la idea de que tendría el menor conocimiento debido a la menor presencia de estas poblaciones, lo cual pudiera sugerir una exposición al quichua más significativa y relevante de lo que se pensaba. Por otra parte, la región oriental presenta el menor grado de conciencia, lo cual puede reflejar una menor exposición directa o una menor integración cultural de los quichuismos en la región. Estos niveles de conciencia y conocimiento iniciales pueden estar influenciados no solo por la proximidad geográfica, sino también por la exposición cultural y educativa, así como por factores económicos y de migración. Existe una clara variabilidad en la conciencia y el conocimiento de quichuismos entre las regiones, lo que subraya la necesidad de considerar múltiples factores al analizar la integración de préstamos lingüísticos en el español ecuatoriano.

Analizando los datos posteriores extraídos y estableciendo una comparación con los iniciales de la tabla 4, notamos que empieza a haber diferencias, ya que es la costa quien lidera el reconocimiento de palabras quichuas usadas en el Ecuador (79.89%) mientras que la sierra y el oriente muestran niveles muy similares de reconocimiento (73.54% y 73.15%, respectivamente). La prueba de chi-cuadrado muestra que no hay diferencias estadísticamente significativas en el reconocimiento de quichuismos entre las regiones; esto implica que, aunque hay ligeras diferencias porcentuales, estas no son lo suficientemente grandes como para ser consideradas significativas desde el punto de vista estadístico. No obstante, esta falta de significancia estadística sugiere que los quichuismos están bien integrados en el léxico cotidiano en todas las regiones estudiadas.

Para la siguiente prueba representada en la tabla 5, la costa continúa liderando los resultados de reconocimiento de palabras, esta vez abiertamente quichuas, seguida por la sierra y con los resultados más bajos el oriente. Estos resultados en la costa apuntan con gran probabilidad, a factores educativos y culturales ya que, junto a la sierra, son quienes

reflejan los niveles más altos de educación. Esta misma relación la podemos establecer en el oriente, ya que es el grupo con menor nivel educativo dentro de la población y a su vez el que menor reconocimiento muestra. Interesantemente, la prueba de chi-cuadrado en este caso sí nos arroja diferencias estadísticamente significativas, lo que refuerza la idea de variabilidad regional, esta vez más notable, en la conciencia y el reconocimiento de palabras quichuas y quichuismos, sugiriendo que los hablantes pueden usar palabras quichuas sin necesariamente ser conscientes de su origen. Por otro lado, es evidente que las palabras que mantienen características distintivas del quichua pueden ser más fácilmente identificadas como de origen quichua, incluso para hablantes que no usan la lengua o no usan estos términos cotidianamente.

En ambos casos de patrones de reconocimiento, es decir, en el reconocimiento de palabras en uso y el de palabras quichuas, podemos conciliar la idea de que existe, sin lugar a duda, la influencia de otros factores adicionales tales como la educación, la exposición cultural y las dinámicas migratorias, las cuales pueden estar causando la variabilidad del reconocimiento de las palabras entre regiones, en cuyo caso, hablamos de una combinación compleja de factores socioculturales y económicos.

En lo que a los resultados de asociación se refiere, estos son los mejores resultados (i.e., puntuaciones más altas) de todas las pruebas realizadas por los participantes. Estos datos apuntan, por un lado, a una alta capacidad de reconocimiento de palabras y conceptos, así como de imágenes y palabras, pero con variabilidad entre las regiones, las cuales son estadísticamente significativas, tal y como lo reflejan las pruebas de chi-cuadrado par ambas instancias. Es decir, la conciencia de los hablantes, si bien es alta, no es uniforme. Esto evidencia una buena integración y reconocimiento de estos términos en el léxico cotidiano. También nos muestra que, la costa sigue siendo la región más consciente de estos quichuismos ya que en ambos ejercicios de asociación proporciona resultados más robustos y consistentes, insinuando una sólida integración de quichuismos en el léxico cotidiano y una alta familiaridad cultural con estos términos en la región. Sorpresivamente, el oriente obtiene mejores resultados en estas pruebas que en las anteriores, indicando una conciencia intermedia en lo que a asociación por conceptos y visuales se refiere. Esto podría reflejar una mayor exposición visual a los términos quichuas y una integración moderada de estos quichuismos en particular en esta región. En lo que a la sierra respecta, su menor desempeño en estas pruebas evidencia que, aunque hay un buen nivel de entendimiento, su conocimiento de quichuismos y la integración visual de estos quichuismos es menos robusta en esta región.

Respecto a las tablas 8 y 9, evidentemente en estas pruebas las tres regiones muestran capacidad para identificar y comprender quichuismos en contexto, lo que confirma su presencia en el vocabulario de uso cotidiano. Hay una variabilidad notable en la conciencia de los hablantes sobre los usos de quichuismos en contexto, según la que el oriente muestra menor capacidad de comprensión y reconocimiento, lo que podría reflejar diferencias en la exposición y el uso cotidiano del quichua. Basado en estos valores

en cuanto a la comprensión, la sierra parece ser la más consciente de usos en contexto, seguida por la costa; este conocimiento podría estar influenciado por factores como la educación, ya que el oriente es la región con menor nivel de escolaridad dentro de la muestra.

Discusión de los datos cualitativos de las entrevistas

Inicialmente, los participantes atribuyeron importancia al quichua frente a otras lenguas indígenas, en un 100% para costa y oriente, y para sierra solo en un 62.5%. Esos porcentajes fueron idénticos en cuanto a la necesidad de estudio del quichua en el Ecuador. Esas dos preguntas se hicieron nuevamente en las entrevistas y las respuestas se mantuvieron con porcentajes iguales, en el caso de costa y oriente estuvo a favor el 100% y para la sierra, solo el 71.43%, con lo que notamos que la sierra difiere en cuanto a su percepción del quichua: la imagen de esta lengua en esta región no goza de tanta aceptación como en la costa y el oriente y dicha percepción fue estable. Otras preguntas demostraron que la actitud de los participantes de la sierra fue consistentemente negativa en comparación con las otras dos regiones. Una vez más, el 100% de la muestra en costa y oriente dijo que se debería incluir el quichua en el sistema educativo a manera de materia desde los niveles más bajos de la educación para que este conocimiento perdure en los ecuatorianos, y que los resultados de hacer esto serían ‘positivos’ en la sociedad, mientras que para la sierra el porcentaje de respuestas positivas se mantuvo en el 71.43% y dijeron que hacer esto sería irrelevante, innecesario e incluso que traería resultados negativos. En cuanto al uso de quichuismos en el Ecuador, al fomento en su uso, las opiniones fueron constante e igualitariamente a favor en costa y oriente, donde el 100% dio respuestas positivas, frente a la sierra, donde un 71.43% se mantuvo en que no era relevante ni necesario.

Adicionalmente, los participantes pudieron dar su opinión frente a cómo se escucha el quichua, si les resulta una lengua armoniosa o bonita y lo compararon con el español. Casi el 100% de los participantes en todas las regiones dijo que el español les parecía una lengua bonita. Frente al quichua las respuestas fueron diferentes; en la costa solo el 57.14% dijo que el quichua era una lengua bonita, en la sierra solo el 42% se mostró a favor de la lengua y en el oriente el 80% indicó que era bonita, siendo esta última la región que tiene en mayor estima esta lengua. Las personas en contra, en la sierra, usaron adjetivos como “grotesco” y “feo,” en la costa dijeron “poco bonita” o “rara.” Notamos que, aunque los porcentajes entre estas dos regiones no se alejan mucho, las palabras para calificar el quichua hablan tanto más que los porcentajes, denotando que, en la sierra, la percepción del quichua es la peor de las tres regiones. Por otro lado, al calificar las lenguas en paralelo, en la costa el 85% dijo que el español era más bonito que el quichua, en la sierra, el 71.43% y en el oriente, el 60%. Cabe mencionar que, aunque estos porcentajes en la sierra y el oriente pudieran parecer contradictorios frente a los resultados anteriores, en estas dos regiones hay más personas que dijeron que el quichua

es más bonito que el español, porque hay un quichua hablante en cada una de las muestras y esas dos personas sesgaron los resultados un tanto más a favor del quichua. La razón por la cual los participantes dijeron que el español les parecía una lengua más bonita fue “porque es la lengua que hablo” y, en paralelo, la respuesta de los dos quichua hablantes fue la misma.

Otro aspecto que dejó en claro el componente actitudinal frente al quichua fue la suposición de ser un país bilingüe y tener al español a la par del quichua como lenguas oficiales del Ecuador. El 100% de los costeños se mostró a favor de la idea, en el oriente aquellos a favor fueron el 80%, ya que un participante no quiso opinar al respecto. Algunos de estos participantes dijeron que hacer esto era lo correcto y que la imagen del Ecuador como país a nivel mundial mejoraría porque, entre otras cosas, se mostraría una verdadera inclusión y el respeto a la principal lengua originaria. Mientras tanto, en la sierra, solo el 57.71% dijo estar a favor de esto. Los contrarios a la idea manifestaron que “no era correcto,” “no se debe” y un participante indicó que se debería hacer un censo para conocer cuán relevante es esta población en realidad y que, si son mayoría en el país, podría hacerse, mientras tanto, “no es viable.”

Confirmación de las hipótesis

En resumen, en lo que concierne la primera hipótesis de esta investigación, estos resultados demuestran claramente que existe una influencia significativa del quichua en las tres variedades dialectales del Ecuador, con presencia de varios quichuismos comunes ya mencionados. Empero, no se confirma que la región sierra sea la que muestra mayor presencia de quichuismos, seguida por el oriente y con menor presencia en la costa. Los hallazgos demuestran que la costa es la que más quichuismos conoce y usa, seguida por la sierra y siendo el oriente la que menos uso y conocimiento mostró.

En cuanto a la segunda hipótesis, se confirma que el grado de conciencia de los hablantes sí varía por región, una vez más siendo la costa la más consciente, seguida de la sierra y luego del oriente. Por lo tanto, no se confirma con los datos que sea la variedad sierra la más consciente del uso debido al contacto continuo y mayor presencia de quichua hablantes ya que, el nivel de contacto no se confirma como un gran indicador para acrecentar uso y conocimiento de quichuismos. Sin embargo, sí podemos decir que el contacto en la costa fue significativamente más alto de lo esperado por razones de migración por comercio y trabajos ya que, en su mayoría, los quichua hablantes son artesanos o agricultores y sus labores los llevan a migrar a las áreas más densamente pobladas y con mayor nivel adquisitivo para vender sus productos. Por tal razón, no se confirma la hipótesis de que la sierra por el contacto sería la región con mayor nivel de conocimiento y uso de quichuismos, tampoco se confirma que el oriente se situaría en segundo lugar ni que la costa estaría en último lugar por ser la de menor contacto con quichua hablantes ya que, si bien es cierto que la población no cohabita con quichua hablantes de manera muy cercana como en la sierra y en el oriente, la costa demostró el más alto

conocimiento y uso de quichuismos gracias al contacto prolongado en diferentes áreas de comercio.

En cuanto a los datos cualitativos y la tercera hipótesis, el componente actitudinal recopilado evidencia que la actitud de los ecuatorianos frente a los quichuismos varía entre las regiones y que, las variedades con mejor apreciación del quichua son la costa y el oriente. Respecto de los factores extralingüísticos que pudieran estar influyendo en la percepción de los hablantes con respecto a los quichuismos, no se halló evidencia suficiente de que aspectos como el nivel socioeconómico, el nivel educativo o la edad, afectaran puesto que, si bien la costa y la sierra mostraron un alto nivel educativo y socioeconómico, las opiniones son contrarias, siendo muy positivas en la costa y significativamente negativas en la sierra, y en el oriente donde se registraron los niveles educativos y socioeconómicos más bajos, las opiniones fueron muy favorables pero no superaron las de la costa. Tampoco se halló evidencia con respecto a la edad de los participantes como un aspecto de mayor relevancia para la percepción de los hablantes.

Conclusiones

Esta investigación se propuso explorar la influencia y conciencia del uso de quichuismos en las tres regiones dialectales del Ecuador continental: costa, sierra y oriente. Los resultados obtenidos desafían algunas de las suposiciones iniciales, proporcionando una comprensión más amplia de la dinámica lingüística y cultural de los ecuatorianos; adicionalmente, proporcionan nuevas y diversas oportunidades de estudio para ampliar esta investigación o iniciar estudios desde nuevas perspectivas.

Contrariamente a lo anticipado, los hallazgos demuestran que los participantes de la costa poseen el mayor conocimiento y uso de quichuismos, superando incluso a la sierra, que tradicionalmente se considera el epicentro del quichua en el Ecuador. Esto sugiere que factores extralingüísticos como la migración interna y el comercio pueden haber intensificado el contacto con el quichua en la costa, incrementando así la exposición a esta lengua y el uso de quichuismos. En cuanto al oriente, aunque se esperaba que ocupara un lugar intermedio en términos de familiaridad con quichuismos debido a la presencia significativa de comunidades indígenas, los resultados indican que es la región con el menor reconocimiento y comprensión de estos. Sin embargo, debemos destacar como debilidad de este estudio la muestra. Al momento de realizar esta investigación, el Ecuador se encontraba atravesando una crisis energética que dificultó conseguir participantes ya que los recortes energéticos resultaron en acceso limitado al internet y señal pobre. Adicionalmente, la muestra no fue la misma en todas las regiones, siendo la población del oriente la más difícil de acceder y, por lo tanto, la muestra fue menor que en las otras dos regiones.

Respecto a la conciencia del origen de las palabras usadas en el habla cotidiana, los datos revelaron que, si bien el uso de quichuismos es alto, la conciencia de su origen es variable, siendo más alta en la costa que en las otras regiones. Este hallazgo refuta la hipótesis

que preveía que la sierra sería la región con mayor conciencia debido a un contacto continuo y directo con hablantes del quichua. Desde el punto de vista cualitativo, las actitudes hacia el quichua varían significativamente entre las regiones, con la costa y el oriente mostrando una mayor apreciación por esta lengua en comparación con la sierra, donde las actitudes tienden a ser evidentemente menos favorables. Este aspecto resalta cómo los factores culturales y las actitudes personales pueden influir en la percepción y valoración de una lengua indígena dentro del contexto plurilingüístico y multicultural del Ecuador.

En conclusión, mientras que el quichua siga coexistiendo con el español y sea parte de este interesante panorama lingüístico ecuatoriano, los patrones de uso y la conciencia de su presencia no se distribuirán uniformemente a través de las regiones. Basado en los hallazgos, tampoco estarán únicamente condicionadas por la proximidad geográfica a las zonas de quichua hablantes. Los resultados de este estudio enfatizan la complejidad del paisaje lingüístico en el Ecuador y subrayan la necesidad de políticas lingüísticas y educativas que reconozcan y fomenten esta diversidad dentro del país, también abren la puerta para nuevas y más diversas propuestas de investigación dentro de este campo tan desestimado en el Ecuador. Por lo tanto, a pesar de no haber confirmado en su totalidad las hipótesis de la investigación, no cabe duda de que este ha sido un aporte significativo dentro del campo de la lingüística en el Ecuador.

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COMPETENT IN LEESBEVORDERING EN LITERATUUREDUCATIE: LEZEN EN LEESBEVORDERING STIMULEREN IN DE BEROEPSPRAKTIJK BIJ STUDENTEN AAN DE LERARENOPLEIDING FUNDEREND ONDERWIJS (LOFO)

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Abstract

This article includes a literature review on the competencies that future teachers in the teacher training program for primary education (Funderend Onderwijs [Foundation Based Education], LOFO or Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs [Teacher Training for Foundation Based Education]) must possess to be able to effectively teach motivational reading instruction to young children (from 4 to 12 years old). Furthermore, the current state of reading promotion within the LOFO is evaluated through both an exploration of practices and an analysis of local educational documents. Choices for reading promotion activities in the curriculum are justified based on the results of literature research and an understanding of current classroom practice. The central focus is on how the exchange of knowledge and experience within the triangle of student, teacher training program, and professional field can be strengthened and how future teachers can develop into competent reading promoters.

Key terms: reading instruction, reading promotion, curriculum analysis, practical exploration

Samenvatting

Dit artikel beschrijft een literatuuronderzoek naar de competenties waarover toekomstige leerkrachten aan de lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO) moeten beschikken om effectief motiverend leesonderwijs te kunnen geven aan jonge kinderen (4 tot 12 jaar). Bovendien is de huidige stand van leesbevordering binnen het LOFO-programma geëvalueerd door een praktijkverkenning en analyse van lokale onderwijsdo-

cumenten. Keuzes voor leesbevorderingsactiviteiten in het curriculum worden verantwoord op basis van de uitkomsten van literatuuronderzoek en verkenning van de huidige stand van zaken in de praktijk. Centraal staat hoe de uitwisseling van kennis en ervaring binnen de driehoek student, opleiding en werkveld versterkt kan worden en aankomende leerkrachten kunnen uitgroeien tot competente leesbevorderaars.

Kernwoorden: leesonderwijs, leesbevordering, curriculumanalyse, praktijkverkenning

Inleiding

In dit artikel wordt verslag gedaan van een onderzoek naar de huidige stand van leesbevordering binnen het curriculum van de Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO) aan de Algemene Faculteit van de University of Curaçao (UoC). De Algemene Faculteit (AF) is één van de vijf faculteiten van de University of Curaçao (UoC). De AF biedt onder andere opleidingen aan op het gebied van educatieve beroepen waaronder de Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs.

In 2019 is in opdracht van Stichting Lezen een onderzoek uitgevoerd naar leesbevordering en jeugdliteratuur op Nederlandse hbo-opleidingen voor leraar basisonderwijs, de zogenaamde Pabo's (Pabo = Pedagogische Academie voor het Basisonderwijs). Uit dit onderzoek blijkt dat volgens de helft van de pabodocenten de studenten 'enigszins competent' zijn in het bevorderen van lezen wanneer zij afgestudeerd zijn. Er is met andere woorden nog ruimte voor verbetering (Oberon & MK Onderzoek en advies, 2020).

Naar aanleiding van dit onderzoek is onder de vakdocenten van het educatiegebied Taal, Geletterdheid en Communicatie (TGC) van de LOFO de vraag gerezen of de leesbevorderingsactiviteiten binnen het huidige curriculum van de LOFO wel voldoende bijdragen aan het vergroten van de literaire competenties en leesmotivatie bij toekomstige leerkrachten. Daar komt bij dat de vakdocenten-TGC al enige jaren constateren dat een groeiende groep studenten niet graag leest en erg opziet tegen het lezen van het verplichte aantal kinder- en jeugdboeken. Leerkrachten die enthousiaste lezers zijn, zijn echter meer geneigd tot interactie over boeken, dragen hun enthousiasme over op hun leerlingen wat de opbrengst van hun leesonderwijs aanzienlijk vergroot (Smits & Van Koeven, 2013).

Daarnaast is tijdens verschillende werkbesprekingen met het lokale werkveld de wens naar voren gekomen leesbevorderingsactiviteiten waar mogelijk te koppelen aan het werkplekleren. Directe aanleiding hiervoor is de versterkte samenwerking tussen de opleiding en het werkveld door het partnerschap Kibrahacha. Dit is een samenwerkingsverband dat samen opleiden stimuleert, met de University of Aruba (UA), het Instituto Pedagógico Arubano (IPA) en het lokale werkveld op Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao (Algemene Faculteit, 2023).

Het doel van dit onderzoek was aanbevelingen te formuleren voor meer integratie van bestaande leesbevorderingsactiviteiten in het werkplekleren in leerjaar 1 met een uitbreiding van deze initiatieven naar de hoofdfase (jaar 2 en 3) van de LOFO ten einde de kloof te dichten tussen gewenste en bestaande leesbevorderingsactiviteiten.

Het onderzoek bestond uit twee delen. Middels een literatuuronderzoek is onderzocht over welke competenties toekomstige leerkrachten moeten beschikken om effectief motiverend leesonderwijs te kunnen geven aan jonge kinderen (4-12 jaar). Vervolgens is de huidige stand van leesbevordering binnen het LOFO-programma geëvalueerd door een praktijkverkenning en analyse van lokale onderwijsdocumenten.

Keuzes voor leesbevorderingsactiviteiten in het curriculum kunnen verantwoord worden op basis van de uitkomsten van een literatuuronderzoek en een verkenning van de huidige stand van zaken in de praktijk.

Centraal staat hoe de uitwisseling van kennis en ervaring binnen de zogenaamde Gouden driehoek student, opleiding en werkveld (met de schoolopleiders als vertegenwoordigers van het werkveld) versterkt kan worden en aankomende leerkrachten kunnen uitgroeien tot competente leesbevorderaars.

Methodologie

Om de huidige stand van leesbevordering op de LOFO in kaart te brengen, is gebruikgemaakt van *mixed methode onderzoek*.

Aan de hand van relevante vakliteratuur is in kaart gebracht wat reeds bekend is over motiverend leesonderwijs, leesbevordering en de rol die de eigen leesmotivatie van aankomend leerkrachten speelt. Tevens zijn relevante onderwijsbeleidsdocumenten bestudeerd om de lokale onderwijscontext en de huidige stand van zaken rond leesbevordering aan de LOFO helder te krijgen. Daarnaast is gebruikgemaakt van *surveyonderzoek* onder twee typen informanten: de studenten en de schoolopleiders van de opleidingscholen op Curaçao vallend onder het samenwerkingsverband Kibrahacha.

Middels een vragenlijst met zowel open als gesloten vragen (kwantitatief en kwalitatief onderzoek) is getracht te achterhalen hoe het gesteld is met de leesmotivatie onder de studenten en of er verschillen zijn tussen subgroepen op basis van leeftijd en leerjaar. Om inzichtelijk te maken wat in de praktijk terug te zien is van de huidige leesbevorderingsactiviteiten binnen de opleiding zijn de schoolopleiders bevraagd middels een gestructureerde vragenlijst met open vragen (kwalitatief onderzoek).

Door analyse van de gegevens uit het deskresearch en het surveyonderzoek zijn de gewenste en de feitelijke situatie met elkaar vergeleken en eventuele verschillen geanalyseerd ten einde aanbevelingen te doen voor verankering en borging van bestaande leesbevorderingsactiviteiten en voor de wijze waarop leesbevorderingsactiviteiten uitgebreid kunnen worden in leerjaar 1 en 2.

Om louter praktische redenen is het surveyonderzoek alleen uitgevoerd onder studenten en schoolopleiders op Curaçao, hetgeen de generaliseerbaarheid van de uitkomsten van het onderzoek beperkt.

Voor het surveyonderzoek onder de studenten is de populatie afgebakend (selecte steekproef) door deze te beperken tot de laatste vier cohorten van de dagopleiding LOFO op Curaçao: cohort 2019, cohort 2020, cohort 2021 en cohort 2022. In totaal zijn 61 studenten aangeschreven. Deelname aan het onderzoek is op vrijwillige basis en anoniem. Van de 61 studenten, hebben 34 studenten de vragenlijst ingevuld wat een respons oplevert van 56%.

Cohort	Leerjaar 1	Leerjaar 2	Leerjaar 3	Leerjaar 4
2019			7	9
2020		6	10	
2021	1	10		
2022	18			
Respons	10 (53%)	10 (63 %)	11 (65%)	3 (33 %)

Figuur 1 verdeling studentenaantal over de leerjaren per cohort

Voor het onderzoek onder de schoolopleiders, zijn de schoolopleiders van alle 7 aan Kibrahacha deelnemende opleidingsscholen schriftelijk (e-mail) benaderd om een vragenlijst in te vullen op vrijwillige basis, waarbij de resultaten uit de vragenlijst anoniem verwerkt worden. Gekozen is voor de schoolopleiders omdat de schoolopleider als contactpersoon en begeleider binnen de school het gehele overzicht heeft op de (studieloopbaan)ontwikkeling van de studenten tijdens hun werkplekuren en bovendien het opleidingscurriculum de school binnenbrengt en goed afstemt met het instituut (Algemene Faculteit, 2023).

Binnen de opleidingsscholen zijn de drie grootste schoolbesturen van Curaçao vertegenwoordigd, die een representatieve mix van Papiamentstalige, Nederlandstalige en tweetalige scholen voor het funderend onderwijs representeren: de Dienst Openbare Scholen (DOS), de Vereniging voor Protestants Christelijk Onderwijs (VPCO) en de Stichting Rooms Katholiek Centraal Schoolbestuur (RKCS).

Van de 7 opleidingsscholen, hebben 5 schoolopleiders de vragenlijst ingevuld. Onder de deelnemers zijn 3 Nederlandstalige scholen voor funderend onderwijs met het Papiaments als schoolvak en 2 tweetalige scholen voor funderend onderwijs (Nederlands en Engels/ Nederlands en Papiaments). Een van de Nederlandstalige scholen biedt in het kader van vroeg vreemdetalenonderwijs (VVTO) al vanaf groep 1 ook het Engels aan als vak.

Voor het surveyonderzoek onder de studenten is gebruikgemaakt van een bestaand instrument: de leesmotivatie en leesinteresselijst van Wigfield e.a. (2006 in Förre & Van de Mortel, 2013). Voor deze vragenlijst is gekozen omdat alle vier factoren die volgens

Smits en Van Koeven (2013) samengaan met leerkrachtactiviteiten die de leesmotivatie van leerlingen stimuleren in deze vragenlijst aan bod komen, zoals persoonlijke intrinsieke motivatie, sociale interactie, vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid en boekenaanbod.

Deze vragenlijst is oorspronkelijk bedoeld voor leerlingen in het basisonderwijs en daarom is de formulering van de vragen aangepast aan de huidige doelgroep. Daarnaast zijn er vragen toegevoegd met het oog op de taalsituatie binnen de Caribische context, over het totaal aantal gelezen kinderboeken dit jaar (gesloten vraag), een persoonlijke boeken top 3 (open vraag) en suggesties voor verbetering van het huidige programma voor kinder- en jeugdliteratuur (open vraag). Ten slotte zijn vier gesloten vragen toegevoegd over de achtergronden van de studenten zoals leerjaar, sekse, leeftijd en moedertaal ten einde eventuele verschillen in subgroepen zichtbaar te kunnen maken.

Voor het surveyonderzoek onder de schoolopleiders zijn vier open vragen geformuleerd. Twee vragen gaan over specifieke leesbevorderingsactiviteiten binnen de opleiding, zoals het opdoen van kennis van en leeservaring met kinder- en jeugdboeken, en interactief voorlezen. Een derde vraag betreft de transfer van in leerjaar 1 aangeleerde competenties naar jaar 2 en 3 aangezien de leesbevorderingsactiviteiten zich in het huidige programma beperken tot leerjaar 1. De vierde vraag is gericht op mogelijkheden tot samenwerking met het werkveld om het huidige programma te verbeteren en/of uit te breiden.

Lokale meertalige onderwijscontext

De LOFO leidt kwalitatief hoogopgeleide Caribische leraren op voor het funderend onderwijs (Curaçao) en het primair onderwijs (Bonaire).¹

LOFO Curaçao	LOFO Bonaire
Voltijd dagopleiding	Voltijd Blended avondopleiding
71 studenten	19 studenten
4 vaste staf; 29 gastdocenten	0 vaste staf; 26 gastdocenten
7 opleidingsscholen fo	4 opleidingsscholen po

Figuur 2 Peildatum: juni 2023 (Algemene Faculteit, 2023)

Partnerschap Kibrahacha

Het werkplekleren binnen de LOFO is sinds 2020-21 georganiseerd in het Partnerschap Kibrahacha (zie hierboven). Het leren op de werkplek van studenten en (startende) leraren wordt structureel ingebed in de organisatie van de scholen voor funderend/primair onderwijs, en ook in het curriculum van lerarenopleidingen op respectievelijk de UoC, de UA en het IPA. Opleidingsscholen zijn nauw betrokken bij het werkplekleren van de

¹ Bonaire wordt hier volledigheidshalve genoemd, maar het onderzoek is alleen uitgevoerd onder studenten en schoolopleiders op Curaçao.

studenten en een significant deel van de begeleiding vindt op de scholen plaats. De door het partnerschap Kibrahacha versterkte samenwerking tussen de opleiding en het werkveld, zorgt voor een betere afstemming tussen theorie en praktijk. Door versterking van de driehoek tussen de student, de opleiding en het werkveld is een continu proces van uitwisseling van kennis en ervaring gaande (Algemene Faculteit, 2023).

Meertalige context

Een specifieke uitdaging vormt de meertalige context in het onderwijs op Curaçao. Deze vindt zijn oorsprong in de koloniale geschiedenis van het eiland. Demografische gegevens over de taalsituatie op Curaçao laten zien dat de meest gesproken talen in de gemeenschap het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels zijn (Algemene Faculteit, 2017; Algemene Faculteit 2023).

Meest gesproken taal/talen thuis			
	eerste taal	tweede taal	derde taal
Papiamentu	78.0%	9.9%	2.0%
Spaans	8.4%	5.9%	3.7%
Nederlands	7.9%	11.6%	6.9%
Engels	3.8%	10.8%	7.5%
overig	2.0%	1.1%	0.5%
totaal	100%	39.4%	20.5%

Figuur 3 Talen gesproken in Curaçao, Resultaten Census 2023 (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek Curaçao, n.d.)

Om deze meertaligheid een basis te verlenen, is voor het Nederlands, Papiaments en Engels - de drie bij wet erkende officiële talen in 2007 – op Curaçao in wet- en regelgeving vastgelegd welke rol elk van de drie talen heeft, uitgedrukt in verplicht of keuzevak en in minimumlestabellen voor het Funderend Onderwijs (FO), het Voortgezet Onderwijs (VO) en het Secundair Beroeps Onderwijs (SBO) (De Vries & Menckeberg, 2009). Het Engels en het Spaans zijn bovendien belangrijke vreemde talen door de strategische ligging van Curaçao in het Caribisch gebied, door handelscontacten en de bevolkings-samenstelling (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014). Alle vier de eerdergenoemde talen maken daarom deel uit van het educatiegebied Taal, Geletterdheid en Communicatie (TGC) in het Funderend Onderwijs (FO).

Instructietaal in het Funderend Onderwijs

Het Papiaments eist als moedertaal van het grootste deel van de bevolking zijn natuurlijke plaats in het onderwijs op, maar het Nederlands, dat voor het overgrote deel van de bevolking een vreemde taal is, is nog steeds belangrijk voor verdere studiemogelijkheden en voor het latere beroepsleven. Op Curaçao zijn er Papiamentstalige, Nederlandstalige en tweetalige scholen voor het funderend onderwijs (Algemene Faculteit, 2017; Algemene Faculteit 2023).

Instructietaal LOFO

De instructietalen binnen de LOFO zijn het Nederlands en Papiaments. De meertalige lokale onderwijscontext stelt bijzondere eisen aan de beheersing van beide talen voor aankomend leerkrachten in het Funderend Onderwijs (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014). De LOFO hanteert daarom een meersporenbeleid waarbij de studenten zowel het Nederlands als het Papiamentu als instructietaal leren gebruiken. Op deze wijze worden de studenten voorbereid op de gevarieerde onderwijsstaalsituatie op Curaçao (Algemene Faculteit 2017; Algemene Faculteit, 2023).

Het curriculum van de LOFO

Eindkwalificaties

De eindkwalificaties van de LOFO vloeien voort uit een vernieuwd beroepsbeeld en sluiten aan bij de internationale eisen in het beroepenveld en de lokale context. De LOFO heeft de drie Nederlandse landelijke bekwaamheidseisen voor leraren (2017) op basis van de eigen unieke Caribische context vertaald en aangevuld met een vierde eindkwalificatie ‘Persoonlijke en professionele ontwikkeling’. Deze eindkwalificaties sluiten aan bij de internationale standaarden voor hoger onderwijs, waaronder de Nederlandse landelijke bekwaamheidseisen (2017) voor leraren en de Landelijke kennisbases (2018-19) voor de pabo. Hiermee is ook de koppeling met Dublin en NLQF gewaarborgd (Algemene Faculteit, 2023).

Lokale leerinhouden kinder- en jeugdliteratuur

Voor zowel het Papiaments als het Nederlands is in kern- en tussendoelen vastgelegd wat alle scholen *minimaal* moeten hebben aangeboden aan het einde van het Funderend Onderwijs (FO). Een schoolbestuur is verder vrij te bepalen in welke van de twee talen leerlingen worden gealfabetiseerd en welke instructietaal gekozen wordt. Opgemerkt dient te worden dat ook het Engels op een aantal scholen als instructietaal zijn intrede heeft gedaan. Afhankelijk van de gemaakte keuze moet het minimumaanbod voor cyclus 1 voor hetzij Papiaments hetzij Nederlands worden aangevuld. Een minimumaanbod dat *niet* gekoppeld is aan een bepaald beheersingsniveau, maar er wel op gericht is dat de leerlingen na het doorlopen van het FO, een basis hebben die hen in staat stelt deel te

nemen aan vervolgonderwijs in een van beide talen (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

De gereviseerde kern- en tussendoelen van het Ministerie van Onderwijs Cultuur Wetenschap en Sport (OCWS) vormen de basis voor het funderend onderwijs (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

Het document kern- en tussendoelen TGC omvat drie subdocumenten: Papiaments (16 kerndoelen), Nederlands (14 kerndoelen) en Engels/Spaans (5 kerndoelen). De kerndoelen voor Papiaments en Nederlands zijn binnen het educatiegebied TGC verdeeld over vier domeinen: *Mondelinge taalvaardigheid*, *Leesvaardigheid*, *Schrijfvaardigheid* en *Taalbeschouwing en woordenschat*. Jeugdliteratuur komt terug in kerndoel 7: ‘De leerlingen leren informatie te verwerven en te verwerken uit verhalende, informatieve, instructieve en betogende teksten’. Leerlingen moeten leren informatie te begrijpen en te verwerken uit verschillende bronnen (jeugdromans, woordenboeken, kranten, tijdschriften, schoolboeken, internet). De leesteknik, woordenschat en kennis van de taal en de wereld spelen hier een belangrijke rol.

Cyclus 1	Cyclus 2
Verhalende teksten kunnen onderscheiden van informatieve en instructieve teksten.	Verhalende teksten kunnen onderscheiden van informatieve, instructieve en betogende teksten.
Op basis van het leesdoel de juiste leesmanier hanteren: globaal, selectief of intensief lezen.	Op basis van het leesdoel de juiste leesmanier hanteren: globaal, selectief, intensief of kritisch lezen.
Het onderwerp aanwijzen en/of al dan niet in het Nederlands weergeven.	Het thema of de moraal aanwijzen en/of al dan niet in het Nederlands weergeven.
De hoofdfiguren, tijd en ruimte aangeven.	Ook de bijfiguren kunnen aangeven
De belangrijkste gebeurtenissen navertellen, al dan niet in het Nederlands.	In eigen woorden de verhaallijn (structuur) weergeven, al dan niet in het Nederlands.
Relatie fictie-werkelijkheid: het onderwerp, de gebeurtenissen en de verhaalfiguren verbinden met voorkennis, eigen ervaring en werkelijkheid.	Relatie fictie-werkelijkheid: een persoonlijk gemotiveerde reactie op de tekst geven, al dan niet in het Nederlands.
Handelen naar aanleiding van het gelezene, zoals dramatiseren, tekenen of schrijven.	

Figuur 4 Leerinhouden verhalende teksten (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014)

Bij verhalende teksten is naast begrip ook het genieten van verhalen en gedichten, en plezier hebben in het lezen van verschillende soorten teksten een belangrijke doelstelling (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

In figuur 4 worden de leerinhouden voor verhalende teksten in het Funderend Onderwijs op Curaçao globaal beschreven (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

Huidige leerinhouden kinder- en jeugdliteratuur LOFO

In bijlage 1 (figuur 6) worden schematisch de leerhouden weergegeven voor kinder- en jeugdliteratuur binnen het huidige programma van de LOFO. Ook wordt aangegeven hoe deze leerinhouden samenhangen met de kennisbasis-pabo en de eerdergenoemde lokale leerlijnen.

Kanttekeningen bij het (leren) lezen in twee talen

Op Curaçao hebben de meeste leerlingen het Papiaments als moedertaal. Dit is ook de meest gebruikte omgangstaal. Het Nederlands is voor het merendeel van de leerlingen een vreemde taal waarmee zij in hun dagelijks leven buiten de les niet of nauwelijks in aanraking komen en die zij zich vooral via school eigen moeten maken. Toch wordt meer dan de helft van de leerlingen eerst gealfabetiseerd in het Nederlands en pas een jaar later in het Papiaments. Daarnaast krijgt een groot deel van de leerlingen ook les in deze voor hen vreemde taal op scholen waar het Nederlands de instructietaal is (Taalunie, z.d.).

Bij de uitwerking van de kerndoelen in tussendoelen is in zoverre rekening hiermee gehouden dat een aantal inhouden die horen bij kerndoel 7 voor Papiaments vroeger geplaatst zijn dan voor Nederlands. Daarnaast zijn de inhouden uitgewerkt per 2 leerjaren, wat ruimte laat aan de leerkracht om bepaalde inhouden bij Papiaments bijvoorbeeld eerder en bij Nederlands wat later aan te bieden, afhankelijk van de taalsituatie op school. Uitgangspunt is dat de meeste kinderen die het FO binnenkomen, reeds een cognitieve ontwikkeling in hun moedertaal hebben doorgemaakt en allerlei concepten in en door middel van hun eerste taal al hebben verworven waar de kerndoelen voor Papiaments op voort kunnen bouwen en waar ook gebruikgemaakt van kan worden bij het leren van een nieuwe taal, waaronder het Nederlands (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

Voor veel leerlingen betekent (leren) lezen in het Nederlands echter dat zij moeten lezen in een voor hen vreemde taal *die zij mondeling nog aan het verwerven zijn*. Het verbinden van de informatie uit een tekst met de eigen kennis is lastiger wanneer de woordenschat en kennis van de taal nog beperkt zijn wat maakt dat het (leren) lezen in het Nederlands om extra ondersteuning vraagt met betrekking tot woordenschat, zinsbouw en woordvorming. Nederlandstalige boeken vaak uit Nederland, zijn meestal geschreven

vanuit de Nederlandse context waar leerlingen in het Caribisch gebied niet bekend mee zijn (Taalunie, z.d.).

Vreemdetaaldidactiek

Het (leren) lezen in een vreemde taal en het lesgeven in een vreemde taal vragen om een andere didactiek dan het (leren) lezen in de moedertaal en dat bewustzijn groeit ook op Curaçao. Belangrijk uitgangspunt van vreemdetaaldidactiek is dat bij het leren van een vreemde taal, vaardigheden niet gelijk opgaan, maar dat het via deze benadering wel mogelijk is op hetzelfde niveau uit te komen als moedertaalgebruikers. Dit betekent dat een leerling per vaardigheid in een andere fase van het leerproces kan zitten: hij kan bijvoorbeeld het Nederlands al wel goed verstaan, maar nog moeite hebben met het lezen. Het Europees referentiekader (ERK) voor vreemde taal is een ‘meetlat’ die hier richtlijnen voor geeft per vaardigheid en op zes niveaus van A1 voor de beginnende gebruiker tot C2 voor de vaardige gebruiker (near-native). Ander uitgangspunt is ‘functioneel taalgebruik’, taal als communicatie. Grammatica en spelling zijn van belang maar vooral ‘ondersteunend’. Het ERK werkt daarbij met zogenaamde ‘can-do statements’ die aangeven wat de gebruiker al wel kan (Taalunie, z.d.).

Inzet moedertaal bij literatuuronderwijs

Het vreemdetaalonderwijs leert bovendien dat blootstelling aan de doeltaal weliswaar belangrijk is, maar dat het wenselijk kan zijn afhankelijk van de onderwijsleersituatie om de moedertaal strategisch in te zetten. Het gebruik van de doeltaal bij het aanbieden van complexere inhoud is van invloed op het leren van de leerling (Roussel et al., 2021 in Wils, 2022). Zo blijkt het een voordeel te zijn om (complexere) inhoud zowel in de moedertaal als in de doeltaal aan te bieden, bijvoorbeeld door in een eerste fase de leerstof te behandelen in de moedertaal zodat concepten duidelijk worden en tijdens een herhalingsmoment over te schakelen op de doeltaal wat in een en dezelfde les plaats zou kunnen vinden. De moedertaal wordt dan als het ware ingezet als ‘scaffold’ (ondersteuning) voor het overbrengen van complexere materie (Wils, 2022).

Wanneer leerlingen binnen een meertalige onderwijscontext gebruik mogen maken van hun moedertaal - in dit geval het Papiaments - wordt de in hun moedertaal opgebouwde voorkennis actiever ingezet wat hen beter in staat stelt hierop voort te bouwen en zich cognitief en emotioneel verder te ontwikkelen. Het vergroot ook de betrokkenheid bij het onderwijs en het eigen welbevinden. Het gelijktijdig en flexibel gebruikmaken van meerdere talen naast elkaar met als doel dat leerlingen hun volledige talenrepertoire inzetten om tot leren te komen, wordt ‘translanguaging’ genoemd. Wanneer een leerkracht echter bewust actievere werkvormen inzet om andere talen dan de instructietaal of de doeltaal te benutten, wordt gesproken over functioneel meertalig leren (De Graaf, Delarue, & De Coninck, 2019; Cummins in Butler & Hakuta, 2006).

Recent veldonderzoek van de Radboud Universiteit en de University of Curaçao naar de leesontwikkeling onder 589 kinderen op basisscholen op Aruba (4 scholen); Bonaire (3 scholen) en Curaçao (4 scholen) bevestigt het belang van de moedertaal in het leesonderwijs (Verhoeven, Segers, & Severing, 2023). Ook is onderzocht wat de attitude van de leerlingen is tegenover het lezen in het Nederlands en het Papiaments en of ouders het lezen stimuleren door bijvoorbeeld voor te lezen in een van beide talen. Over het algemeen staan de leerlingen positiever tegenover het Papiaments dan het Nederlands als taal om te spreken en als instructietaal. Wat (voor)lezen betreft, is geen voorkeur geconstateerd (Van der Elst-Koeiman, 2023).

De huidige kern- en tussendoelen voor Taal Geletterdheid en Communicatie bieden voldoende ruimte voor een bredere inzet van de moedertaal in het literatuuronderwijs. Bij kerndoel 7 gaat het primair om begrip en mogen de leerlingen gebruikmaken van het Papiaments wanneer zij bijvoorbeeld de verhaallijn mondeling dan wel schriftelijk moeten weergeven. Het accent ligt primair op het lezen van tekst (receptief) (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Wetenschap, Cultuur & Sport, 2014).

Competent in leesbevordering en literatuuronderwijs in het FO

Om te kunnen werken met jeugdboeken moet een (aankomend) leerkracht beschikken over kennis van de beoogde leerinhouden, de verschillende genres en functies van jeugdboeken, en de wijze waarop jeugdboeken beoordeeld kunnen worden. Daarnaast is het van belang te weten *hoe* die kennis te gebruiken bij het werken met jeugdboeken (vaardigheden) (Taalunie, 2021; Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Pedagogisch bemiddelaar

Kinderen adviseren over boeken ligt echter minder voor de hand dan meestal wordt gedacht aangezien er grote verschillen zijn in de manier waarop een literair werk door volwassenen of kinderen wordt ontvangen: de *receptie*. De discrepantie tussen de boeken die volwassenen aanprijzen en de waardering van kinderen voor die boeken is te overbruggen op voorwaarde dat een kind voldoende aanmoediging en hulp krijgt. De leerkracht als ‘pedagogische’ bemiddelaar speelt hier een belangrijke rol. Vooral bij de start van het ‘leren lezen’ moet de leerkracht ondersteuning bieden om te voorkomen dat de jonge lezer ontmoedigd wordt. Als ‘deskundige’ moet de leerkracht de taalvaardigheid, de leessnelheid, het leesbegrip en het psychologisch ontwikkelingsniveau van een kind kunnen inschatten zodanig dat hij de jonge lezer het (voor)leesboek aan kan bieden dat bij hem past (Ghesquière, 2009, pp. 137 - 138). In grote lijnen doorloopt de jonge lezer een ontwikkeling van emotioneel reageren naar interpretatie en evaluatie (Ghesquière, 2009, pp. 130-134).

Daarnaast is het van belang de belevingswereld en leefwereld van het kind te kennen. Beide zijn van invloed op de interesse van het kind (Kerpel, 2014). Onder de leefwereld worden de etnische, sociale en culturele achtergronden van de kinderen verstaan. Dit

speelt vooral een rol als schoolcultuur en thuiscultuur erg verschillen. Een leerkracht die hier kennis van heeft, kan afstemmen met ouders/ opvoeders wat de relatie met de ouders ten goede komt. En dat heeft weer een positief effect op de ontwikkeling van het kind. Kinderen brengen bovendien nog altijd de meeste tijd thuis door, dus is het alleen al daarom van belang ook de ouders bij de leesbevordering te betrekken (Kerpel, 2014; Kennisrotonde, 2018; Leraar24, 2020).

Cultuurspecifieke achtergronden (Severing R., 2009) waar leerkrachten op Curaçao rekening mee moeten houden, zijn onder andere:

- Culturele diversiteit en meertaligheid
- Kloof tussen school- en thuiscultuur
- Grote sociaaleconomische verschillen
- Laag zelfbeeld, schaamte en angst (afkomst, familie, uiterlijk, schoolprestaties)
- Gezinssamenstelling

Binnen een meertalige context kan de aanwezigheid in de klas van boeken in verschillende talen, ouders en kinderen in hun gevoel van eigenwaarde ondersteunen: ook hun taal en cultuur tellen mee (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

De eigen leesmotivatie blijkt echter doorslaggevend voor de aandacht die leerkrachten besteden aan het motiveren van hun leerlingen voor lezen. Leerkrachten met een lage intrinsieke motivatie om te lezen worden daarom beschouwd als een risicofactor (Stichting lezen, 2020). Naast kennis en vaardigheden speelt dus ook de leesattitude van de leerkracht zelf een belangrijke rol: *‘Lezers worden gemaakt door lezers’* (Aidan Chambers in Stichting lezen, 2020). Voor (aanstaande) leerkrachten die geen actieve lezers zijn, ligt de uitdaging erin om hen aan te moedigen tot lezen, hen te motiveren tot het lezen van kinderboeken en om hun kennis op het vlak van motiverende leesdidactiek te vergroten (Smits & Van Koeven, 2013).

Leesbevordering kent zowel voorwaardelijke als intrinsieke aspecten. Onder voorwaardelijke aspecten vallen bijvoorbeeld een schoolbibliotheek en roostertijd. Onder intrinsieke aspecten valt het pedagogisch/didactisch handelen gericht op het bevorderen van de leesmotivatie van leerlingen die dat het meest nodig hebben. Succesvolle leesbevordering bestaat bovendien niet alleen uit op zichzelf staande leesbevorderingsactiviteiten zoals vrij lezen, voorlezen en boekpromotie, maar is verankerd in het hele schoolcurriculum. De leerkracht speelt hierin een centrale rol (Van Gelderen & Van Eck, 2018). Binnen de Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO) is aandacht voor boeken, lezen en voorlezen, het ontwikkelen van een leescultuur daarom van grote betekenis.

Leerkrachten kunnen leerlingen motiveren voor lezen door aandacht te besteden aan factoren als persoonlijke intrinsieke motivatie, sociale interactie, vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid en boekenaanbod. In onderstaand schema, figuur 3 staat een overzicht van leerkrachtactiviteiten die volgens Smits en Van Koeven (2013) samengaan met deze vier factoren.

Factoren	Leerkrachtgedrag
<i>Persoonlijke intrinsieke motivatie</i>	Leerlingen zelf boeken laten kiezen. Leerlingen ondersteunen bij de boekkeuze en de ontwikkeling van een eigen 'leessmaak'. Model staan als betrokken lezer.
<i>Vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid</i>	Positieve, concrete feedback geven op de leesvorderingen. Actief aansturen op succeservaringen en persoonlijke betrokkenheid. Ervoor zorgen dat leerlingen succes aan hun eigen inspanningen toeschrijven.
<i>Sociale interactie</i>	Dagelijks met leerlingen gesprekken voeren over lezen en de inhoud van boeken. Gesprekken over de inhoud van boeken begeleiden. Motiverende interactieve schrijfopdrachten koppelen aan het lezen van boeken.
<i>Boekenaanbod</i>	Zorgen dat leerlingen toegang hebben tot voldoende interessante, goed geschreven boeken. De inhoud van veel kinderboeken kennen. Dagelijks aan boekpromotie doen. Regelmatig (interactief) voorlezen Boeken aantrekkelijk in de klas uitstallen.

Figuur 5 Motiverende factoren en leerkrachtgedrag (Smits & Van Koeven, 2013)

Lerarenopleidingen zouden hierop in moeten spelen, maar volgens Chorus (2007 in Smits en Van Koeven, 2013) en Smits en Van Koeven (2013) wordt er te weinig gedaan aan het ontwikkelen van een leescultuur binnen de opleidingen waardoor zij te weinig invloed uitoefenen op de leesmotivatie van aanstaande leerkrachten. Een recent onderzoeksrapport van de Taalunie (2021) over effectief leesonderwijs in de lerarenopleiding bevestigt dit beeld vooralsnog. Er is binnen lerarenopleidingen wel sprake van een groeiend urgentiebesef rond het belang van lezen, maar door een overladen curriculum, zakt dit urgentiebesef weg tussen andere te halen doelstellingen. Ook wordt vastgesteld dat de laatste jaren het plezier in lezen bij de gemiddelde instromende student lijkt te dalen en dat onderlinge niveauverschillen in leesvaardigheid toenemen (Taalunie, 2021).

De leesmotivatie van studenten vergroten binnen de lerarenopleiding

Het begint bij de lerarenopleiders zelf: die moeten het belang en de waarde van (voor)lezen kunnen overbrengen op hun studenten. Voor het vergroten van de leesmotivatie en de literaire competentie van studenten kunnen dezelfde drie factoren richtinggevend zijn als voor hun toekomstige leerlingen: autonomie, competentie en sociale verbondenheid

(Stichting Lezen, 2020). Hierbij kan gebruikgemaakt worden van de zogenaamde dubbele-bodemdidactiek: studenten zoveel mogelijk laten ervaren wat hun leerlingen ook dagelijks meemaken. De lerarenopleider vertelt studenten hoe ze als leerkracht moeten handelen, maar doet het tegelijkertijd zelf voor en is dus voortdurend zelf het voorbeeld (Algemene Faculteit, 2016). Boeiend kunnen voorlezen, voordragen en vertellen en het voeren van lees-, boek- en literaire gesprekken zijn basisvaardigheden waarover een aankomend leerkracht dient te beschikken. Door studenten de ruimte te geven om zelf boeken te kiezen, al dan niet uit een lijst, wordt tegemoetgekomen aan de factor autonomie. Door met studenten stap voor stap te werken aan vaardigheden als (voor)lezen en voordragen, wordt hun competentie vergroot. Samen (creatieve) verwerkingsopdrachten maken en regelmatig gesprekken voeren over leesvoorkeuren en leeservaringen stimuleert de sociale verbondenheid. Een aankomend leerkracht moet bovendien kinderen en/of hun ouders kunnen helpen een passend boek te kiezen. Om te beschikken over voldoende kennis van het actuele boekenaanbod, is het daarom van belang dat aankomend leerkrachten zelf veel lezen/ gelezen hebben tijdens hun opleiding (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Competentie in leesbevordering vergroten binnen de opleiding

Een geïntegreerd taal- leesbeleid kan een krachtig middel zijn om werk te maken van effectief leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding. Deelvaardigheden als lezen, spreken en schrijven worden in samenhang verworven. Een effectieve leesdidactiek betekent dat er binnen de opleiding aandacht is voor deze samenhang door in haar onderwijs deelvaardigheden betekenisvol te integreren en bijvoorbeeld het lezen van rijke, authentieke teksten te koppelen aan zaakvakken en/of creatief schrijven. Binnen taal-leesbeleid zou daarom niet alleen aandacht moeten zijn voor de heterogene samenstelling van de studenteninstroom, maar ook voor transfer naar andere vakken dan taalvakken binnen het educatiegebied Taal, Geletterdheid en Communicatie, Nederlands en/of Papiaments. Gezamenlijk kunnen bij betekenisvolle thema's rijke teksten en kinderboeken geselecteerd worden en verwerkt tot een reeks lessen die als voorbeeld kunnen dienen voor vakoverstijgend leesonderwijs zodat studenten ervaren hoe je veelzijdige, creatieve boekverwerkingsactiviteiten kunt ontwerpen en inzetten bij het opdoen van kennis van de wereld (dubbele bodem didactiek) (Taalunie, 2021; Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Voor effectief leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding is naast samenwerking met andere vakken ook samenwerking met de opleidingsscholen van belang. Via die partnerschappen kunnen opleidingen hun visie over effectieve didactiek delen met de scholen en het werkveld actief betrekken bij het vormgeven van effectief leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding middels gerichte praktijkopdrachten tijdens het werkplekleren (Taalunie, 2021). Te moeilijke teksten moeten lezen, zonder adequate ondersteuning of voorbereiding heeft een zeer negatieve invloed op de leesmotivatie. Daarom moet de leesontwikkeling van de individuele student, met zijn eigen kennis, competenties, voorkeur en motivatie

het uitgangspunt vormen voor het leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Formatieve evaluatie waarbij de nadruk ligt op het geven van feedback en tips voor verbetering heeft een positieve invloed op de leesvaardigheid en leesbegrip omdat deze ook het vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid kan vergroten (competentie). Voor formatieve evaluatie van de leesontwikkeling wordt door lerarenopleidingen meestal gebruikgemaakt van leesautobiografieën, leesdossiers en/of portfolio's. Het is echter van belang dat ook inhouden als de didactiek van begrijpend lezen een duidelijke plek krijgen (Taalunie, 2021).

De algemene kennis van studenten kan tenslotte vergroot worden door hen te verleiden nieuwe keuzes te maken en hun horizon te verbreden. Door studenten niet alleen boeken te laten lezen in functie van hun toekomstige leerlingen, maar ook op hun eigen niveau. De inrichting van en zorg voor een adequate bibliotheek mag daarom niet ontbreken in het taal-leesbeleid van de opleiding (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Resultaten

Wat betreft de *persoonlijke intrinsieke motivatie* van de huidige LOFO-studenten, blijkt uit het surveyonderzoek dat zij niet echt lezen voor hun plezier, maar dat zij ook niet alleen maar lezen als het moet voor de opleiding. Toch heeft de overgrote meerderheid van de bevroegde studenten het afgelopen jaar minder dan 15 boeken gelezen. Studenten in leerjaar 1 en 2 zijn beduidend minder gemotiveerd om voor hun plezier te lezen dan in leerjaar 3 en 4. Ook leeftijd speelt een rol: oudere studenten (> 25 jaar) lezen vaker voor hun plezier. De motivatie om te lezen, is in alle leerjaren en voor alle leeftijden groter als door een boek de nieuwsgierigheid wordt geprikkeld en/of er iets te leren valt. Daarnaast blijkt het verbeteren van de eigen (voor)leesvaardigheid een belangrijke motor om te lezen.

Leesplezier is weliswaar het fundament, maar het blijft van belang ook eisen te stellen aan de kennis van studenten over jeugdliteratuur door het lezen van een verplicht aantal kinder- en jeugdboeken, dat voldoende actueel en divers is. De schoolopleiders benadrukken in het surveyonderzoek evenwel dat hier geen sprake moet zijn van een verplichte leeslijst, maar eerder van “een mooie menukaart” met kinder- en jeugdboeken in verschillende talen waaruit gekozen kan worden en die stimuleert om meer “smaken te ontdekken”. Voorwaarde is dan wel dat deze titels beschikbaar zijn voor de studenten, via de bibliotheek of het opleidingsinstituut of digitaal.

Of studenten in de loop van hun studie naast de verplichte praktijkopdrachten ook op eigen initiatief leesbevorderingsactiviteiten ontplooiën, hangt volgens de schoolopleiders nauw samen met het *vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid*. Uit het surveyonderzoek onder de studenten blijkt dat de moeilijkheidsgraad van een boek inderdaad een drempel vormt, maar dat deze naarmate de studie vordert gestaag lager wordt. Technisch lezen, leesbegrip en leesmotivatie kunnen dan ook niet losgezien worden van elkaar.

Om een lezer verder te brengen in zijn leesontwikkeling is intrinsieke gemotiveerdheid om te lezen voorwaardelijk, maar is het ook van belang aan te sluiten op zijn vaardigheden (competentie) (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Formatieve evaluatie waarbij de nadruk ligt op het geven van feedback en tips voor verbetering heeft een positieve invloed op de leesvaardigheid en op leesbegrip omdat deze - mits goed uitgevoerd - het vertrouwen in de eigen leesvaardigheid kan vergroten (competentie) (Taalunie, 2021). Het belang van formatieve feedback wordt in het surveyonderzoek ook door de schoolopleiders onderstreept. Vaak wordt binnen lerarenopleidingen gewerkt met leesautobiografieën, leesdossiers en/of portfolio's. Het is echter van belang dat deze zich niet alleen richten op activiteiten die de leesmotivatie van studenten stimuleren. Inhouden als de didactiek van begrijpend lezen moeten hierin ook een duidelijke plek krijgen (Taalunie, 2021). Schoolopleiders bevestigen dit, maar benadrukken dat de uitvoering in de praktijk en de feedback die de student daarop ontvangt wel zwaarder moeten wegen dan de (schriftelijke) verslaglegging daarvan. Expliciete aandacht voor en de eigen ervaring met formatieve toetsing binnen de opleiding, vergroten het inzicht van studenten in de wijze waarop formatieve feedback ingezet kan worden om de progressie in lezen en leesontwikkeling van leerlingen in kaart te brengen (dubbele bodem didactiek) (Taalunie, 2021; Algemene Faculteit, 2016).

Uit het surveyonderzoek blijkt dat studenten positief zijn over de inhoud van de lessen kinder- en jeugdliteratuur en over de twee praktijkopdrachten in leerjaar 1 waarbij voorgelezen moet worden op de praktijkschool. Zij zijn wel kritisch over de boekverslagen en stellen andere - met name mondelinge - interactieve werkvormen voor gericht op onderlinge uitwisseling van kennis en ervaring: zij pleiten dus voor meer *sociale interactie*. Ook de schoolopleiders geven verschillende voorbeelden van interactieve (mondelinge)verwerkingsopdrachten ter vervanging van het traditionele boekverslag/ de boekpresentatie.

Daarnaast wijzen de schoolopleiders op het belang van 'rijke teksten' en de mogelijkheid het lezen van boeken te koppelen aan (creatief) schrijven en aan andere vakken dan taalvaardigheid. Deelvaardigheden als lezen, spreken en schrijven worden in samenhang verworven. Een effectieve leesdidactiek heeft aandacht voor deze samenhang door deelvaardigheden betekenisvol te integreren en bijvoorbeeld het lezen van rijke, authentieke teksten te koppelen aan zaakvakken en/of creatief schrijven. Voor effectief leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding betekent dit dat er niet alleen aandacht zou moeten zijn voor de heterogene samenstelling van de studenteninstroom, maar ook voor transfer naar andere vakken dan taalvakken als Taal, Geletterdheid en Communicatie, Nederlands en/of Papiaments. Bij betekenisvolle thema's kunnen rijke teksten en kinderboeken geselecteerd worden en verwerkt tot een reeks lessen die als voorbeeld kunnen dienen voor vakoverstijgend leesonderwijs zodat studenten ervaren hoe je veelzijdige, creatieve boekverwerkingsactiviteiten kunt ontwerpen en inzetten bij het opdoen van kennis van de wereld (dubbele bodem didactiek). Aankomende leerkrachten ervaren dan zelf hoe

leesonderwijs effectief versterkt kan worden met aanvullende leesactiviteiten wat hen zal helpen het belang van kennisontwikkeling in te zien (Taalunie, 2021; Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Naast samenwerking met andere vakken is ook samenwerking met de opleidingsscholen van belang. Een onder veel lerarenopleidingen gedeelde zorg is namelijk of studenten op hun opleidingsschool wel voldoende mogelijkheden krijgen om te oefenen met de effectieve leesdidactiek aangezien kant en klare leesmethodes op scholen het leesonderwijs vooralsnog lijken te domineren. Niet zelden wordt studenten tijdens het werkplekleren gevraagd de methode te volgen (Taalunie, 2021). In het huidige curriculum voeren de studenten van leerjaar 1 slechts twee aan de praktijk gekoppelde leesbevorderingsactiviteiten uit waarbij zij (interactief) voorlezen. In hoeverre studenten in leerjaar 2 en 3 uit zichzelf - zonder gerichte opdracht vanuit de opleiding - nog andere op leesbevordering gerichte activiteiten ontplooiën (transfer van opgedane kennis en ervaring in leerjaar 1 naar de hoofdfase), hangt volgens de schoolopleiders nu nog sterk af van het belang dat de werkplekbegeleider en de student zelf hieraan hechten. Met name het interactief voorlezen mag een grotere plek binnen het curriculum van de opleiding innemen met meer aan de praktijk gekoppelde opdrachten, niet alleen op taalvaardigheid gericht, maar ook op andere educatiegebieden.

Partnerschappen met opleidingsscholen, zoals het samenwerkingsverband Kibrahacha spelen hier een belangrijke rol. Via die partnerschappen kunnen opleidingen hun visie over effectieve didactiek delen met de scholen en het werkveld actief betrekken bij het vormgeven van effectief leesonderwijs binnen de opleiding middels gerichte praktijkopdrachten tijdens het werkplekleren (Taalunie, 2021). Nu beperken de leesbevorderingsactiviteiten van studenten zich meestal tot het (interactief) voorlezen tijdens de les of het helpen bij het niveaulezen. Alleen met concrete op de praktijkgerichte opdrachten vanuit de opleiding kan meer gestuurd worden op het ontplooiën van ook andere op leesbevordering gerichte activiteiten tijdens het werkplekleren.

Wat *boekenaanbod* betreft, zijn studenten over de hele linie niet erg overtuigd van hun competentie om aan goede kinder- en jeugdboeken te komen en adviezen te geven over leuke kinder- en jeugdboeken. Ze gaan bovendien niet graag naar de bibliotheek. De schoolopleiders bevestigen dat studenten over onvoldoende kennis en vaardigheden beschikken om leerlingen te kunnen adviseren en dat zij niet goed de weg weten in de bibliotheek. Het ontbreekt de aankomend leerkrachten vaak aan praktische kennis als de indeling op AVI, genre en leeftijd in de (school)bibliotheek.

Studenten vinden het belangrijk om goed (interactief) voor te kunnen lezen, maar tegelijkertijd lijken zij dit niet zo graag te doen. Voorlezen en met anderen over boeken praten, scoren wel hoger naarmate de studie vordert. Dit zou ermee te maken kunnen hebben dat studenten in de loop van hun studie leesvaardiger worden. Zoals eerder vermeld wordt de eigen leesvaardigheid ook door de schoolopleiders genoemd als drempel bij het voorlezen. Interesse in het onderwerp werkt drempelverlagend om een boek

(voor) te lezen wat ervoor pleit om bij de praktijkopdrachten rekening te houden met de leesvoorkeur van de studenten. Populair zijn romantische liefdesverhalen, krimi's/ detectives/ boeken met een mysterie en avonturenverhalen. Een beeld dat bevestigd wordt door de titels die de studenten opvoeren in hun boeken top 3. Opvallend is het grote aantal titels dat valt binnen de categorie realiteitsverhalen.

Daarnaast geven studenten aan meer keuzevrijheid te willen bij het samenstellen van hun leeslijst en wijzen zij op de beperkte beschikbaarheid van recente titels en titels die bekroond zijn. De schoolopleiders sluiten zich hierbij aan, maar geven tevens aan dat gezocht moet worden naar evenwicht. Het stimuleren van het eigen leesplezier en het uitbreiden van de kennis van studenten over kinder- en jeugdliteratuur zijn belangrijk, maar ook het vergroten van hun algemene kennis door hen te verleiden nieuwe keuzes te maken en hun horizon te verbreden. Dit kan door studenten niet alleen boeken te laten lezen in functie van hun toekomstige leerlingen, maar ook op hun eigen niveau. Een adequate bibliotheek binnen de opleiding kan studenten hierin ondersteunen en stimuleren door in te zetten op een divers aanbod aan boeken op verschillende niveaus en een aantrekkelijke plek te bieden om te lezen. Ook samenwerking met openbare bibliotheek en andere culturele instellingen mag hier niet ontbreken (Stichting Lezen, 2020).

Conclusie en aanbevelingen

De leesbevorderingsactiviteiten binnen het huidige curriculum van de LOFO dragen weliswaar bij aan het vergroten van de literaire competenties en leesmotivatie bij toekomstige leerkrachten, maar er is ruimte voor verbetering. Voor de verankering en borging van bestaande leesbevorderingsactiviteiten en voor de wijze waarop leesbevorderingsactiviteiten uitgebreid kunnen worden in leerjaar 1 en 2, zijn op basis van de onderzoeksresultaten de onderstaande aanbevelingen gedaan.

In leerjaar 1 maken studenten diverse instaptoetsen om hun beginsituatie voor taal- en rekenvaardigheid in kaart te brengen. Voor een betere aansluiting van de (voor)leesactiviteiten op het leesontwikkelingsniveau van de studenten kan hen bij aanvang van de studie gevraagd worden om voor het vak TGC1.1.1 Taal en literatuur een leesautobiografie in te vullen naar model van de methode *Kadans* (Severing, Rutgers, & Echteld, 2006).

De leesbevorderingsactiviteiten uitbreiden naar de hoofdfase (TGC in jaar 2 en eventueel 3) en het verplichte aantal te lezen boeken verhogen naar 20 (i.p.v. de huidige 12 boeken). Hierdoor ontstaat er meer ruimte voor een zorgvuldige opbouw van de (voor)leesactiviteiten in de praktijk en kan er beter rekening gehouden worden met het individuele leesontwikkelingsniveau van studenten. Om de progressie van studenten in kaart te brengen, kan formatieve feedback ingezet worden. Met name het interactief voorlezen zou een grotere plek binnen het curriculum van de opleiding moeten innemen met meer aan de praktijk gekoppelde opdrachten, niet alleen op taalvaardigheid gericht, maar ook op andere educatiegebieden.

Meer sociale interactie: in samenwerking met de schoolopleiders (werkveld) meer interactieve (mondelinge) verwerkingsopdrachten ontwerpen ter vervanging van het traditionele boekverslag/ de boekpresentatie.

Binnen het LOFO-team de mogelijkheden onderzoeken of bij reeds bestaande projecten of betekenisvolle thema's, rijke teksten en kinderboeken geselecteerd kunnen worden en verwerkt tot een reeks lessen die als voorbeeld kunnen dienen voor vakoverstijgend leesonderwijs.

Een begeleid bezoek aan de Openbare Bibliotheek in leerjaar 1 en een praktijkopdracht die studenten helpt om hun weg te vinden in de (school)bibliotheek en/of de digitale ruimte bij de voorbereiding van (voor)leesactiviteiten.

In overleg met de schoolopleiders binnen het Partnerschap 'Kibrahacha' een aantrekkelijke 'menukaart' samenstellen met op het eiland (Curaçao en Bonaire) beschikbare titels van kwalitatieve kinder- en jeugdboeken in verschillende talen en op verschillende niveaus. Te beginnen met een divers en actueel aanbod van (Caribische) titels in het Papiaments en het Nederlands. Later aan te vullen met andere talen.

Budget beschikbaar stellen om het boekenaanbod op het opleidingsinstituut (onderwijs-werkplaats/ bibliotheek) waar nodig te actualiseren (recente titels) en het uitlenen van boeken aan studenten mogelijk te maken (bemensing een dagdeel per week).

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Bijlage

Module	Inhouden Kinder- en jeugdliteratuur	Kennisbasis pabo	Lokale leerlijn
TGC1.1.1 Taal en literatuur 1	Oriëntatie op kinderliteratuur: Indelingen in de literatuur Fictie en non-fictie; fictionele teksten Functies van jeugdliteratuur Literaire genres: het sprookje, de fabel, de parabél, de mythe, de legende en de sage Ontwikkelingslijnen kinderliteratuur Beoordelingscriteria jeugdliteratuur Voorlees- en verteltechnieken Praktijk: Voorlezen aan medestudenten en leerlingen Feedback geven en ontvangen Reflecteren op voorleesactiviteiten. Leesportfolio: 10 korte verhalen, 5 Papiamentstalig en 5 Nederlandstalig	7.1.1 Literaire smaak 7.1.2 Leesplezier 7.1.4 Literaire genres 7.1.5 Niveaubepaling teksten 7.2.2 Begeleiden tekstkeuze 7.2.3 Voorlees- en verteltechnieken 7.2.5 Stimuleert tot voorstelling van opgeroepen wereld en afgewogen oordeel over boeken 7.3.1 Functies jeugdliteratuur 7.4.4 Jeugdliteratuur en T2-leerders 7.4.5 Interculturele jeugdliteratuur 7.4.7 Jeugdliteratuur en mondelinge taalvaardigheid	Kerndoel 7, c en g
TGC1.2 Taal en literatuur 2	Oriëntatie op kinderliteratuur: Keuze en beoordeling van prentenboeken Analyse van vorm, taal, inhoud en thema prentenboek Interactief voorlezen: het voorleespatroon Indelingen verhalende literatuur Ontwikkelingslijnen/ leerstoflijnen Boekpromotie Praktijk: Een interactieve voorleesactiviteit in fasen voorbereiden; De leerlingen motiveren voor en voorbereiden op een luisteractiviteit;	7.1.1 Literaire smaak 7.1.5 Niveaubepaling teksten 7.2.2 Begeleiden tekstkeuze 7.2.12 Criteria leerstofordening jeugdliteratuur 7.2.13 Leerlijnen jeugdliteratuur 7.2.3 voorlees- en verteltechnieken	Kerndoel 7, c en g

	Tijdens de luistertaak het begrip van de leerlingen sturen door o.a. interactief voorlezen en het gebruik van aanschouwingsmateriaal; Na de luistertaak het begrip bij de leerlingen controleren door adequate vraagstelling en verschillende type verwerkingsopdrachten. Leesportfolio: Twee Papiamentstalige en twee Nederlandstalige kinderboeken voor cyclus 1 en 2 in het FO analyseren op inhoud en tekstkenmerken en de boeken beoordelen (boekverslagen).	7.3.6 Literaire prijzen 7.4.5 Interculturele jeugdliteratuur 7.4.7 Jeugdliteratuur en mondelinge taalvaardigheid	
TGC1.3 Lezen en schrijven 1	Leesportfolio: Twee Papiamentstalige en twee Nederlandstalige kinderboeken voor cyclus 2 in het FO analyseren op inhoud en tekstkenmerken en de boeken beoordelen (boekverslagen). Feedback geven en ontvangen op de boekverslagen. Bespreken <i>bekroning/ nominatie</i> van 1 boek.	7.1.1 Literaire smaak 7.1.2 Leesplezier 7.1.4 Literaire genres 7.1.5 Niveaubepaling teksten 7.2.2 Begeleiden tekstkeuze	Kerdoel 7, c en g
TGC1.4 Lezen en schrijven 2	Leesportfolio: Twee recente Papiamentstalige en twee recente Nederlandstalige kinderboeken voor cyclus 2 in het FO analyseren op inhoud en tekstkenmerken en de boeken beoordelen (creatieve verwerkingsopdrachten). <i>Recent</i> = maximaal 10 jaar oud	7.1.1 Literaire smaak 7.1.2 Leesplezier 7.1.4 Literaire genres 7.1.5 Niveaubepaling teksten 7.2.2 Begeleiden tekstkeuze	Kerdoel 7, c en g

Figuur 6 Leerinhouden kinder- en jeugdliteratuur LOFO

IMPLEMENTING THINKING ROUTINES AND 21ST CENTURY SKILLS IN UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION YEAR CLASSROOMS

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Abstract

The purpose of the study upon which this article is based was to examine how new approaches to teaching based on a combination of thinking routines and the six key competencies that underpin 21st-century skills influence the way that students experience learning, as well as to determine what students think about such approaches in their classes.

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Key terms: Papiamentu, Aruba, 21st century skills, thinking routines, university education

Introduction and research questions

During my five years as a lecturer at the University of Aruba, at the beginning of my lectures there has always been one main question that the students ask: “Do we need to know this for the exam?” If the answer is no, I hear a loud sigh and their attention is lost. If the answer is yes, they start taking notes or simply take a photo of the explanation on the screen. The students also ask if I might send them the presentation via email and, if possible, to mark which section is necessary for the exam. The emphasis clearly is to obtain a passing mark and continue to the next semester.

This situation inspired me to take on another approach to my lectures in Papiamentu Language Skills (PLS) for the students in the Academic Foundation Year (AFY) at the University of Aruba. It intrigues me as to what is realistically happening from the moment that I explain a concept to the moment of evaluation. How do I know what the students are thinking? Are they truly learning something? If so, what are they learning? Is it contributing to the formation of the students’ character, their citizenship, their creativity, their communication skills, and their ability to collaborate? To be able to answer

such questions, I needed to change my methods of teaching from traditional modes of instruction to methods that incorporate thinking routines in order to provide evidence as to whether or not the students are learning and acquiring the “6 C’s” that is, the six key global competencies that underpin 21st century skills: character, citizenship, collaboration, communication, creativity, and critical thinking. Students desperately need these competencies in order to attain success in their future studies as well as to achieve their career goals. The purpose of the study upon which this article is based was to examine how new approaches to teaching based on a combination of thinking routines and the six key competencies that underpin 21st-century skills influence the way that students experience learning, as well as to determine what students think about such approaches in their classes.

Accordingly, I set out to answer the following research questions:

1. How does an approach that integrates thinking routines influence the way students learn?
2. How can we successfully combine thinking routines with the six key global competencies that underpin 21st century skills?
3. What do students think about approaches that include thinking routines and the six key global competencies that underpin 21st century skills in their classes?

Methodology

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For the purposes of this study, the following three thinking routines were chosen: 1) *See-think-wonder*, 2) *Circle of viewpoints*, and 3) *I used to think, now I think*. The See-Think-Wonder routine is designed for introducing and exploring ideas. It is used to describe interpreting and wondering. The Circle of Viewpoints routine is designed for digging deeper into ideas. It is used for adopting one’s own perspective and identifying the range of possible perspectives concerning an issue or a problem. The I used to think, Now I think routine is designed for synthesizing and organizing ideas. It is used to help students reflect on how their thinking has shifted and changed over time. In my Papiamentu language classes, I began to systematically include these three routines in lessons focused on the 6 key competencies that underpin 21st-century skills: character, citizenship, collaboration, communication, creativity, and critical thinking. Thereafter, I developed and administered instruments to assess the impact that this was having on my students’ learning, as well as to assess their levels of satisfaction with this new approach.

The participants selected for the study were the 24 students who chose Papiamentu Language Skills as an elective among the 113 students in the 2022-2023 Academic Foundation Year cohort at the University of Aruba. Of the 24 participants, 14 were female and 10 were male. Within this group, 4 had high school diplomas with honors, 16 had regular high school diplomas, and 4 had vocational school diplomas. Papiamentu Language Skills is the only elective in which students can use Papiamentu, which in the great majority of cases is the language that they use most in daily life. This study was

conducted with the informed consent of the participants and in consultation with my Head of Department and the Rector of The University of Aruba, both of whom were very enthusiastic about the research.

The study commenced by explaining to the students that I would be adopting new approaches to teaching in some of my classes in order to carry out a research project. They were not advised, however, about the details of the new approaches nor about which class sessions in particular would be involved in the study. They were given the option not to be included in the investigation, and those who opted in gave their consent to participate and to be recorded and photographed. Three thinking routines were chosen to be implemented during three target class sessions. During these sessions, I recorded their reactions, deliberations and presentations, writing down what I observed and taking photographs during their execution of all tasks. At the end of the module, they received a Google Form to fill out regarding their assessment of the new approaches adopted in the target sessions.

The students that enter AFY, enter with a fluency of Papiamentu at a Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR) A2/B1 level, due to not having the opportunity to learn Papiamentu at an academic level during their years in Dutch-only elementary and high school. One of our goals is to elevate their fluency of the language to level B2/C1. The lectures on Papiamentu Language Skills consist of 12 lessons of two hours, over twelve weeks, which cover general Papiamentu, grammar, spelling, writing skills, speaking skills, debating skills, an analysis of the correct use of the language in general, an analysis of the language used in media, etc.

The interactive lectures are designed using a constructivist approach, which entails activating prior knowledge as an introduction, allowing the students to explain what they know and use that knowledge to continue building upon it. The basic idea of constructivism is that knowledge must be constructed by the learner, rather than being supplied by the teacher. The construction of knowledge is a dynamic process that requires the active engagement of the learners who will be responsible for their learning, while the teacher only creates an effective learning environment. During the twelve weeks, the students design and carry out three research studies and present their findings to the other students. The students themselves choose from a menu including an essay, a presentation, or a traditional exam for their midterm evaluation. The students who took part in the present investigation had all opted for a presentation for their midterm assessment.

The data for the study were collected during three target sessions, each of which involved one of the thinking routines:

Session 1: The See-Think-Wonder Routine

The session that involved the See-Think-Wonder routine centred around a recent controversy in Aruba over the manner in which a fashion designer chose to dress a State Secretary from the Netherlands in charge of relations with Aruba on her

first official visit to the island, which was deemed by some Arubans to be inappropriate. In this session, students viewed a photo taken of the State Secretary during her visit and were asked to reflect on how her manner of dress might be interpreted.

Session 2: The Circle of Viewpoints Routine

The session that involved the Circle of Viewpoints routine centred around another recent controversy in Aruba, this time regarding a theatrical performance in the primary schools that was aimed at decreasing prejudice and hostility toward the LGBTQI+ population on the island. In this session, students viewed a promotional poster for the theatrical performance in question and were asked to enumerate all of the different possible viewpoints that could be adopted in relation to the material presented.

Session 3: The I used to Think, Now I Think Routine

The session that involved the I used to think, Now I think routine centred around the decades long debate over the use of Papiamentu as language of instruction in the schools as well as in other official contexts on Aruba, but with a special focus on its relation to immigration to the island. In this session, students read excerpts of an article on the impact of immigration on the language situation in Aruba, and then were asked to design and carry out a short survey to elicit Arubans' attitudes in relation to the issue.

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Apart from participants' demographic data, the data collected fell into two categories:

- 1) Data collected during the target class sessions, including observations, recordings, and photos
- 2) Data collected via Google Forms at the end of the study regarding students' assessments of the new approaches used in the target sessions

Findings

Data collected during the target class sessions

Session 1: See-think-wonder

The students were shown a picture of the Secretary of State for the Dutch government in her unconventional attire during her visit to Aruba. The group was asked: What do you see? The first reaction was: This is a Carnival costume. Other reactions were: 1) It is a dress that is a bit more conventional than a carnival costume; 2) A female with a dress comparable to that found in the movie "Frozen"; 3) A person that is about to attend a party; and 4) An unknown person.

In reply to the question: Who is this woman? None of the students were able to answer. The group then received the explanation that she was the State Secretary of the Netherlands for Aruba visiting Aruba on an introductory tour. After this explanation, more than half of the students changed their opinions. Remarks were made such as 1) The outfit is not adequate; and 2) The outfit does not match her position. In reply to the question:

Why does this outfit not fit her position? The reactions were: 1) A politician should know how to dress; and 2) A person who has a position within the Kingdom must be dressed better. In reply to the question: What do you mean by dressed better? The answers were: 1) In a suit, black, clothes that are more dignified; and 2) According to protocol.

The group was then asked: What do you think is going on? The group was unable to answer this question in the first instance. It was then explained that she was in Aruba to gain more knowledge and understanding of government functions and to visit various organizations. After the explanation, students suggested: 1) She thinks that Aruba is warm, therefore she dresses a lot lighter; 2) She thinks that if she dresses like that, she is less formal; 3) She thinks that if she dresses like that she identifies more with the Aruban public; and 4) She thinks that she is free to dress as she wishes in Aruba.

Here is where a discussion emerged around the question: How should one dress for a government function or in other formal venues? Remarkably, three students commented: No one ever taught us how to think. Others stated that some people make the rules and everybody else just follows. In reply to the question: What are you wondering? After some hesitation students responded: 1) She is European, they have other ways of thinking and dressing; and 2) She wants to dress for the tropical weather, dressing lightly.

The group was then asked: How would you dress and why? This caused the group to divide itself into two opposing camps. One subgroup said yes, it is good for every individual to be able to dress as they please. It is their right to be able to express themselves. They felt that in this century the rules need to be more current and up to date, that every individual has their own sense of style, and that this woman demonstrates that she has her own personality and identity woven into her fashion choices. The other subgroup indicated that they would not have dressed in that manner, due to it not fitting in with their position. They said that government officials must serve as an example of how to behave and dress within a functioning society, and that it is good to have rules and regulations on how to dress. They felt that rules on how to dress are beneficial, due to everyone being aware of what they are expected to wear for each function and position. In addition, the group was asked to give their reaction to the approach and contents of the session. The students indicated that they never received such a lesson, neither at a secondary level, nor at the University of Aruba. Various students indicated that they weren't aware that they could think more deeply on such a topic and formulate their own opinions.

Session 2: Circle of viewpoints

The session started with showing the group a promotional poster for the theatrical performance in the primary schools that was aimed at decreasing prejudice and hostility toward the LGBTQI+ population on the island. The students were asked if they recognized and were aware of what the issue was that was being addressed in the play. Since the great majority were not aware, the contents and topics of the play were explained to

them. Together as a group, we identified what the acronym LGBTQ+ stands for. The students began to share their lines of thinking, their own experiences, and their own viewpoints related to the topic.

The group was then divided into subgroups of three, and each subgroup was given paper and markers and asked to list from which points of view this topic could be approached. Remarkably, the first subgroup began by trying to define what is a female and what is a male, asking: Is it only something philosophical? They started to discuss the identification of specific genderings with specific colors: blue for masculinity, and pink for femininity, etc. The second subgroup had a discussion about why homosexuals in Aruba face discrimination. The third subgroup was involved in a heated debate where one male student indicated that he did not discriminate, but he would not accept anyone talking to his (future) child about homosexuality. The fourth subgroup talked about the relationship between discrimination and the cultures of Aruba. In the fifth subgroup, which included a student who identifies himself as gay, the majority of the members were listening to him recounting his experiences. In the sixth subgroup, there was a discussion about religion. At the end of the session, the subgroups went up to the white board and noted their points of view, which included the following regarding the value of the theatrical performance in question. The performance could:

1. Give heterosexual children and parents more perspective on the topic.
2. Make homosexual children and parents feel more accepted in the community.
3. Promote more unity within the Aruban community through understanding.
4. Bring awareness to the children/ community of Aruba.
5. Break taboos and barriers through artistic expression.
6. Bring consciousness to children about a community not priorly exposed to.
7. Teach the children about the consequences of their actions.
8. Promote the right to be able to express oneself.
9. Help children to avoid suicidal thoughts.
10. Help in the difficult process of repairing trauma.

The collective conclusion of the entire group was that most of the controversy around the performance in the social media involved personal attacks, false comparisons, circular reasoning and other fallacies. Two male students insisted that perhaps this play nonetheless should not have been performed for children, because parents are those that need to guide their children in such matters.

The students agreed that there are many more questions to be answered before forming a definitive opinion about this topic. Among these questions, are:

1. When does someone truly find out which gender they identify with?
2. Why does LGBTQ+ exist as a group nowadays, but in the past not?
3. Is homosexuality something you are born with or influenced by?
4. Truly, who determines children's sexuality, their parents or their peers?
5. Why does religion have so much influence on Aruba?

6. During high school students never paid much attention to their peers who identified as part of the LGBTQ+ community. Why is this an issue nowadays?

The students indicated that it was unusual that they discuss topics that are so taboo within the Aruban community in a classroom setting. For the students it was also important to be able to debate in a group setting in Papiamentu, because usually they debate in English, the primarily language spoken at the University of Aruba and had debated mostly in Dutch in secondary school. They said that prior to this session they thought that there were only two possible points of view; good vs. bad. They also expressed that they had learned that they had to take into account others' points of view. They were surprised to see how they themselves changing their own points of view.

Session 3: I used to think, now I think

After familiarizing themselves with research on the language situation in Aruba in relation to immigration, the students divided themselves into five subgroups and formulated questions related to the issue that they themselves used as the basis for a Google Form survey. The total number of survey responses that the students received was 186. Based on the information received and their analysis of the data, the students came to the following conclusions about how the results that they obtained from the surveys had changed their thinking concerning the language situation in Aruba in relation to immigration, in order to make statements about "How we used to think vs. How we now think".

Subgroup 1: We were of the opinion that the Aruban community could be more flexible with immigrants that are more recent in Aruba. Now we think that Arubans are a lot more racist than we had imagined because they think that Papiamentu should be obligatory for everyone and that the immigrants' languages have no importance.

Subgroup 2: We thought that racism was something normal and common, but now we think that it is a lot more common than we had thought. Because a large majority of the public expressed very low opinions about immigrants without a valid reason.

Subgroup 3: We thought that Arubans discriminated against immigrants without doing it consciously, but now we think that not all Arubans discriminate. A lot of those that discriminate are of the older generations compared to the younger generations.

Subgroup 4: We thought that discrimination happened in the past in Aruba, but that it didn't exist anymore. Now we think that it is a lot worse than in the past. The public looks at someone's level of education, and where they come from and then forms an opinion about them.

Subgroup 5: We thought that Arubans were more complacent with our Latin American immigrants, and now we think the contrary. Because we found the answers to be quite negative in regard to Latin American immigrants. Not from other countries, only Latin America

Thereafter the entire group came to a collective consensus. We used to think that Arubans don't discriminate, now we think that they discriminate way more, and this is not acceptable. The group was then asked: And now what? Here are some of the answers:

1. The public needs to be made aware that everyone is equal.
2. The government must offer free Papiamentu courses for all immigrants, so they don't feel left out.
3. The University of Aruba must educate the press/ media on how to make sure that news coverage does not shed a negative light on immigrants.
4. The government must offer more information on the value that immigrants have for Aruba, and for the economy.
5. The community must stop distinguishing between Arubans, Latin Americans, Dutch people, and Americans.
6. The government needs to work with official and non-official organizations to end discrimination.

Data collected via Google Forms of students' assessments of the new approaches used in the target sessions

To answer the third research question: What do students think about approaches that include thinking routines and the six key global competencies that underpin 21st century skills in their classes? the students were asked after each session how they experienced the way the class was offered and at the end of the block they were given a Google Form to fill out regarding the aforementioned question.

Students' comments during the evaluation sessions

During these sessions, the students were recorded. The most common comments expressed in the sessions are listed in Table 1.

Answer	Frequency
1. This way of learning is very new and unusual for me.	54
2. In other classes nobody was interested in what we thought. We just had to answer what we learned by heart on a test.	48
3. I didn't get it at first, but later on, I could see this was heading somewhere.	22
4. I wish we could do this in every class.	61
5. Good that we did this	63
6. I love this style of teaching instead of just learning some learning by heart	69
7. Thinking is more difficult than I thought	31

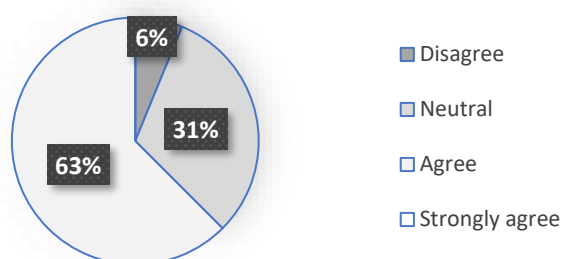
Table 1 Comments expressed during evaluation sessions

Students' responses on the Google Form evaluating the new approach

Of the 24 students who participated in the study, 20 filled out the Google Form designed to elicit how they think about approaches that include thinking routines and the six key global competencies that underpin 21st century skills in their classes. The results are as follows.

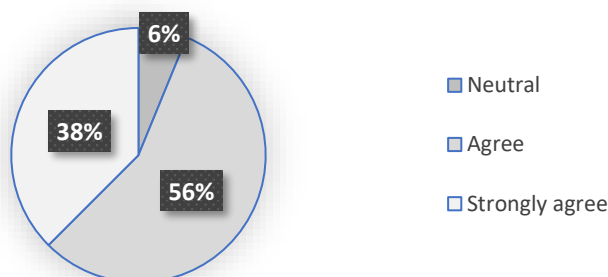
First, the students were presented with Proposition 1: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped develop my ability to critique the way that I and others form opinions. Some 69% of the students agreed with this proposition while some 6% disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped develop my ability to critique the way that I and others form opinions



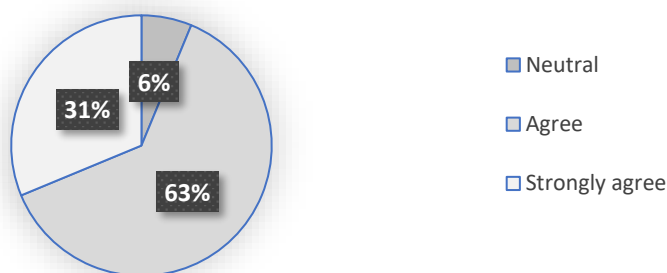
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 2: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped develop my ability to understand ethical issues related to my community. Some 94% of the students agreed with this proposition while none disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped develop my ability to understand ethical issues related to my community



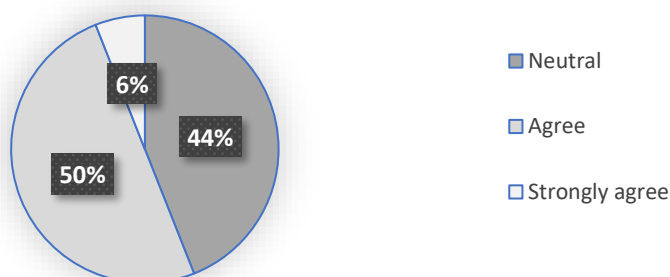
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 3: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes required me to use creativity to come up with ideas, strategies and solutions. Some 94% of the students agreed with this proposition while none disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Carrying out the tasks in the target classes required me to use creativity to come up with ideas, strategies and solutions



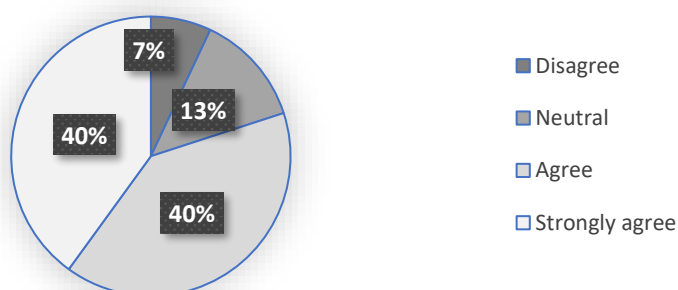
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 4: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me with character building. Some 56% of the students agreed with this proposition while none disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me with character building



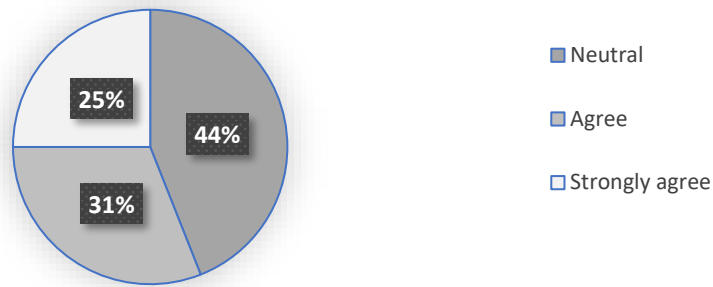
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 5: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me see things in another way. Some 80% of the students agreed with this proposition while some 7% disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me see things in another way



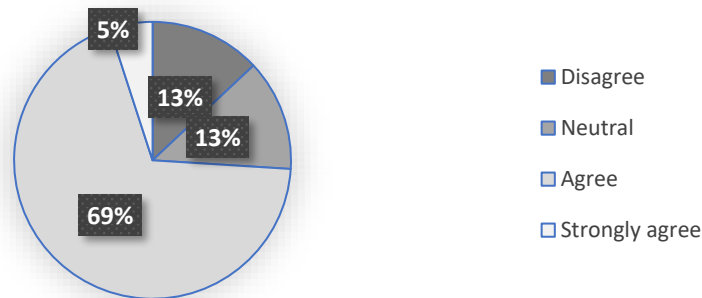
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 6: Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me work in collaboration with diverse people in groups. Some 56% of the students agreed with this proposition while none disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6 Carrying out the tasks in the target classes helped me work in collaboration with diverse people in groups



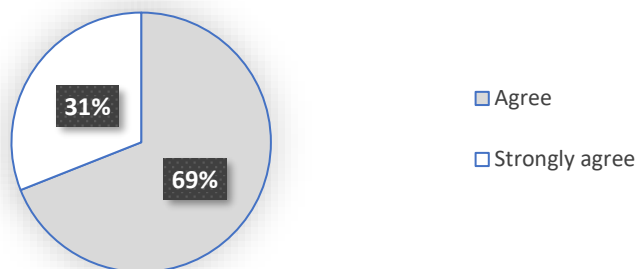
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 7: The approach to learning Papiamento in the target classes was new to me. Some 74% of the students agreed with this proposition while some 13% disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7 The approach to learning Papiamento in the target classes was new to me



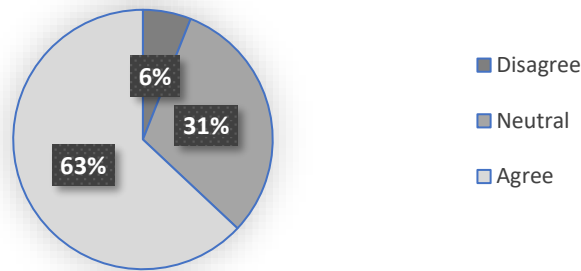
Next, the students were presented with Proposition 8: The approach to learning in the target classes helped me gain more knowledge. 100% of the students agreed with this proposition, as illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8 The approach to learning in the target classes helped me gain more knowledge



Finally, the students were presented with Proposition 9: The approach in the target classes gave me more control over my learning. Some 63% of the students agreed with this proposition while some 6% disagreed, as illustrated in Figure 9.

Figure 9 The approach in the target classes gave me more control over my learning



Then, the students were then asked Question 10: Which thinking routine do you think must be applied above all others in classes at the University of Aruba and why? Circle of Viewpoints received 50% of the expressed preferences, I used to think, Now I think received some 42% of the expressed preferences, and See-Think-Wonder received some 8% of the expressed preferences, as indicated in Table 2.

Routine	N	Reasons for preferring this routine over the others
1. See-Think-Wonder	1	1.I liked that I had to think deeper than I thought. For the wondering part, I couldn't come up with an answer and that was challenging.
2. Circle of View-points	6	1.Because it taught us to think critically and to consider multiple perspectives. This is very useful and beneficial for everyone in higher education. 2. Because everybody has different viewpoints and opinions 3. Because it was used to learn in a visual manner, use of audio and independently that we ourselves had to come up with arguments. 4. It's a good way to teach others to look at different perspectives and put themselves in others' shoes 5. Because it challenges the student to think of many different possibilities or viewpoints. By discussing this with other students they are able to see more viewpoints. I think this is due to everyone having different experiences. 6.This method allows students to discuss topics usually seen as taboo or rarely talked about without feeling judged.
3. I used to Think, Now I Think	5	1.Because you would get to learn something from multiple sides rather than just one way. 2.Because then you can see every perspective and not just what you think or see. 3.It's more helpful to acknowledge and see other viewpoints and then make an opinion on something. 4.Because it provides a good way to learn something through an investigation 5.Because like it says "I used to think" if people don't investigate themselves they would all follow the judgment of others instead of making their own conclusion

Table 2 Comments offered by students regarding their preference for one thinking routine over the others

Next, the students were asked Question 11: How could the target class sessions be improved in order to help you develop and achieve more and acquire more knowledge? Overall, the students thought that the target class sessions were good and there was little that needed improvement, as indicated in Table 3.

How do you think the target class sessions could be improved?
It's fine the way it is now
The course was quite short so I think we would've been able to learn more if it were longer.
We could be put in groups with random people instead of letting us pick our team members. This would force us to work with people we aren't familiar with
Honestly, I don't know what can be improved, I think it's already good enough.
No idea. It's good enough.
We should get a bit more time to do more with these routines.
Continue to use every one of these methods possible.
Provide more assignments with these routines for us to do
More of these self-thinking classes
Every class up until now was knowledgeable, but maybe occasionally do more grammar checks too just so the students cannot forget small mistakes in grammar
For me it would help to receive more work so I can develop and achieve more

Table 3 A sample of opinions about how the target class sessions could be improved

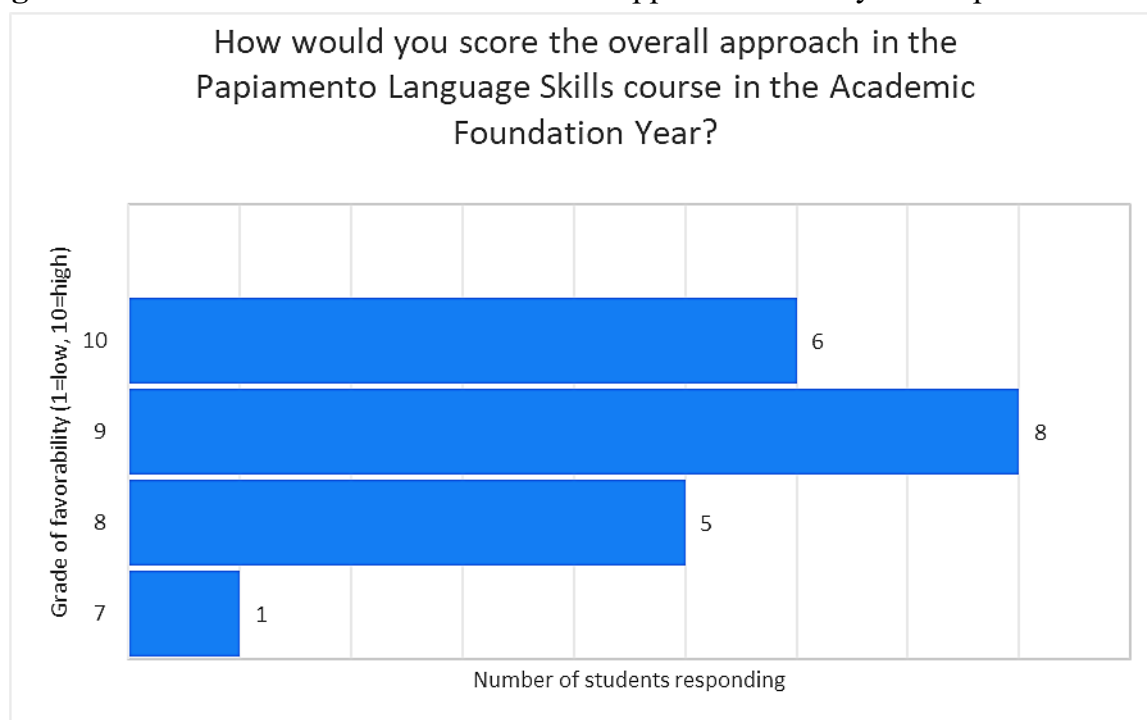
Next, the students were asked Question 12: Is there anything you would like to share about your experience in the target class sessions? Their comments appear in Table 4.

Do you have anything else you want to share?
Nothing
It made the learning process a bit more engaging and enjoyable.
I found it very interesting as it's a more hands-on approach where the student is more directly involved in the search for answers and knowledge.
I really liked the assignments that we got from the course.
It was very engaging compared to many other lectures of Papiamento.
I found the approach very good, it was interesting and fun and I learned a lot this course.
No, so far, every class has been achievable and is helping me with the Papiamento
I found it very enjoyable to attend classes and was pushed to feel more comfortable presenting seeing as how the course had more than 1 project where I had to present.
I did like the materials that were being taught because it was not the usual like high school, for example being taught verbs and nouns.
Pretty creative and entertaining
I am surprised that the unconventional approach taught me so much. I did not expect to learn so much by seeing and searching for posts online. Openly talking about taboo topics was also very nice, where the students were also discussing their views and viewpoints of other people. All this made Papiamento language skills easily the best course in academic foundation year at the UA
It's way different to what I got from high school and it's way better than just an old book

Table 4 A sample of opinions about anything else the students wanted to share

Lastly, the students were asked to evaluate the new learning approach that they had experienced in the target class sessions on a scale of 1 (least favorable) to 10 (most favorable). As shown in the bar graph in Figure 10, of the 20 students who responded, none rated their experience with the new approach in the target class sessions lower than 7 out of 10, with 30% rating it 10 out of 10, 40% rating it 9 out of 10, 25% rating it 8 out of 10, and 5% rating it 7 out of 10.

Figure 10 Students' overall evaluation of the approach that they had experienced in



the target class sessions on a scale of 1 (least favorable) to 10 (most favorable).

Conclusions, limitations and recommendations

During the 25 years that I have been teaching in special education, high school, and now at the University, I have always wondered why all of my students don't use all of their potential. I felt that something wasn't right, but I couldn't put my finger on it. I was convinced that a big part of the problem was the language of instruction, Dutch, which is not the language of the vast majority of the students. While that may be true, during these last two years, I have come to the conclusion that in general, the students are evolving, but education is not. This led me to conduct the research reported on in this article.

Overall, the students were positive regarding their experiences with the new approach and cognizant of its advantages over more traditional teaching styles. In the beginning, the students in the target class sessions hesitated because this new style of teaching was taking them out of their comfort zones. The application of thinking routines stimulated the critical thinking, creativity and active participation of the students, especially while discussing taboo topics that otherwise wouldn't be mentioned in the classroom setting.

In the end, a majority of the students indicated that they felt that they had learned more than they would have learned using the traditional approaches to formal education. During the lectures the students were very inclined to give comments and to explain their thinking. It may be that they felt comfortable because the class was being taught in Papiamentu, the language that they use most outside of the classroom, and thus they could express themselves freely. What really made an impression on me was the fact that that several students indicated that nobody had ever taught them to think before.

The study was extremely limited in terms of scope, sample size and number of hours of exposure to the new approach. A follow-up study is recommended involving more students and more target class sessions. The repertoire of thinking routines should be expanded to include more than just the See-Think-Wonder, Circle of Viewpoints, I used to think, Now I think routines. As was the case in the present investigation, such studies should be designed and carried out within an action research framework.

If the integration of only three thinking routines made such a positive impact on the students who participated in this investigation, imagine how big the impact could be if these thinking routines were to be utilized not just in all the elective classes at the University of Aruba, but also throughout the whole education system on the island. This is one of the many ways in which the University of Aruba could serve as an example to all others in the field of education on the island.

DEFYING DENIAL IN THE STUDY OF SOCIETY AND HISTORY

THE COMMUNITY OF DUTCH MERCHANTS IN RIOHACHA, LA GUAJIRA: POWER RELATIONS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A NAVIGATION DIARY

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Abstract

This article discusses the power relations of the Dutch merchant community in Riohacha, analyzed from an ethnographic perspective based on a navigator's diary of Dutch navy lieutenant Henry Brakel (1852). We inquire into Brakel's account of power relations among traders, public officials, and indigenous groups, examining their influence on the Brazilwood trade monopoly in Riohacha. It is concluded that, from an ethnographic perspective based on Brakel's diary, Dutch traders operated in a context where political and economic power was intertwined with the cultural and social dynamics of La Guajira.

Key terms: Communities of foreign traders; Caribbean; power dynamics

Introduction

Jacques Élisée Reclus, a renowned French geographer, landed on the Caribbean coast of New Granada (Colombia) in 1855 with the firm intention of establishing a European colony in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. His journey began in Aspinwall (now Colón, Panama), from where he proceeded to Cartagena and Santa Marta. During his voyage, Reclus provided brief descriptions of the port of Riohacha, addressing its state of development, geographic characteristics, and above all, its commercial importance. In his diary, he wrote on July 20, 1855:

The commerce of Riohacha consisted mainly of 'Brazilwood and Nicaraguan wood, which the Indians and farmers from the interior provinces transport on mules. They also trade divi-divi beans, hides, and in recent years, coffee and tobacco. (Reclus 1861, p. 124)

According to Reclus, “many wealthy Jewish merchants from the Dutch island of Curaçao, with the sharp nose distinguishing the Dutch,” had “recognized the importance

of Riohacha,” establishing “branches” (commercial firms) in this city for the trade of “*Coulteria tinctoria*” [divi-divi]. The beans - Reclus stated - were used “in England for tanning leather.” Reclus pointed out that the province of Riohacha was “in the hands” of Dutch merchants who were “the shipowners” of the city with around “twenty brigantines and schooners: that is, roughly two-thirds, of all the merchant marine of New Granada.” (Reclus, 1861, p. 124).

Regarding ship movement, Reclus noted that “over the past ten years, the total exchanges have been increasing,” as the annual ship traffic had risen “to over thirty thousand tons.” About the Port of Riohacha, he said it was actually just a “roadstead where larger ships” anchored “one or two miles off the coast” (p.124). In his view, this circumstance was “inconvenient, combined with the insignificance of the tides” which only rose “barely fifty centimeters,” preventing steamships from frequently visiting the waters of Riohacha. According to Reclus, when one of these ships did visit those waters, “the news spread immediately to all the towns in the region and hundreds of curious people constantly strolled on the wharf to catch a glimpse of “the strange vessel” (Reclus 1861, p. 124).

Reclus was one of the first European travelers to understand and appreciate the ethnic diversity that participated in the mercantile life of Riohacha. He noted that in Riohacha, there were and came together

... with the bonds of active commerce many societies completely different in their origin and habits: men of mixed blood, who form the majority of the population, the nomadic Wayuu, the industrious and timid Arawaks, and some scattered groups of Europeans, representing the modern element of progress. (Reclus 1861, p. 137).

Regarding trade flows, Reclus pointed out that in Riohacha, ships from New York arrived with “corn and flour,” coffee, fruits, and Brazilwood from the Sierra Negra towns; also “bananas and cocoa” from the small port of Dibulla, located fifteen leagues to the west. From La Guajira, the Wayuu brought to Riohacha 'livestock, divi-divi beans, and countless fish, turtles, and shellfish. (Reclus 1861, p.137).

However, five years before Reclus, the Dutch naval officer Henri Vaynes van Brakel had landed at Riohacha, and by then the Dutch Antilleans of Curaçao already had an excellent knowledge of the Atlantic trade in precious woods in La Guajira (Colombian Peninsula, extreme northern South America). One of these individuals was a mulatto merchant from the Dutch island of Curacao named Nicolás Danies. After settling on the peninsula in early 1831, he joined the Pinedo brothers in Riohacha (Capital of La Guajira) in the timber business (Brazilwood, cod, Divi-divi, mulberry, among others) and resided in this port city where he had eleven children. In Riohacha, Danies learned firsthand about the maritime trade of forest products (Carrillo Ferreira, 2022, p.158). He fully grasped the importance of Riohacha for any oceanic voyage involving the transport of precious woods: in 1849, he outfitted the English brig *Georgiano* of Bristol with 210

tons of Brazilwood¹ and a crew of 14 individuals bound for the port of Liverpool. With the profits from Atlantic traffic, Danies made a fortune in Riohacha through his trading enterprise. Nicolás had helped develop the resources of this port, significantly increasing its commercial importance, tax revenues, and merchant marine; in addition to spending large sums of money on public improvements for the city.

In the transition of the 19th century, these transatlantic connections of Dutch settlers with people from the North Atlantic primarily occurred in the context of the maritime trade in dye woods. The Dutch navigator Henry Vaynes van Brakel (1804-1884) will describe these global contacts in the mid-1800s among merchants, officials, indigenous peoples and travelers. He also documented in his diary the export boom in Riohacha, indigenous assaults on the city, local mercantile customs, and the social networks of power between Dutch merchants and the republican political elite. Van Brakel's account of a voyage from Curaçao to Riohacha aboard the brigantine Ternate (published two years later in 1852) is one of the few narratives that chronicles the global connections that gave meaning to Caribbean port life in the age of sailing (Carillo Ferreira, 2022).

In this article, I aim to demonstrate the significance of van Brakel's 1852 text in relation to how it reveals power networks and relationships (material, affective, and symbolic) that connected merchants, officials, indigenous people, creoles, foreigners and others in Riohacha. In historical anthropology, it has been suggested that these kinds of personal connections correspond to parallel institutions in complex societies. (Wolf, 1980, pp. 19-38) where social ties (friendship, business connections, clientele, kinship) are used by individuals as effective mechanisms for accessing economic resources. An individual's power, from this perspective, is based on their capacity to mobilize resources based on their network of relationships through exchange, accommodation, mediation, or resistance.

Bordered by Venezuela to the east, the city of Santa Marta to the west, the Caribbean Sea to the north, and the plains of the Upar Valley to the south, Riohacha is currently the capital of the Department of La Guajira in the Republic of Colombia and was founded in 1544 at the mouth of the Ranchería River, on the shores of the Caribbean Sea. Throughout the colonial period, Riohacha existed and prospered primarily as the gateway to the Kingdom of New Granada, northeast of Santa Marta, connecting it with the rest of the world via the Caribbean Sea. By 1777, as part of the reform of the Spanish maritime system, King Charles III granted more commercial freedom to Riohacha from

¹Brazilwood (also known in other parts of the Caribbean as Campechewood, Nicaraguawood, and Inkwood) is a tree whose resin serves as a vegetable dye. Scientifically it is known as *Caesalpinia echinata* and is distributed from northern and central Mexico to Colombia and Venezuela, passing through Central America and the Caribbean. The substance (*Haematoxylum brasiletto*) was obtained from the bark of the Brazilwood to dye cotton fabrics. Before the last third of the 19th century and the rise of the synthetic dye industry, the majority of dyes used to dye textiles were of plant or animal origin.

Spanish trade monopolies. With the expulsion of the Spanish Crown during the second decade of the 1800s, the Free Navigation and Trade treaties signed by Colombia with the powers of the time further opened up Riohacha to world trade.

Dutch traders from Curaçao in La Guajira

In Colombian historiography there is little regarding the establishment of foreign merchant colonies, apart from the mention of the presence of merchants from Curaçao and Jamaica along the Colombian north coast in relation to the rampant smuggling that took place in the area during the 18th century. Since the 1930s, there has been a trend among researchers of the Guajira peninsula to echo the interpretation and stereotyped language found in Spanish colonial sources. The issue does not lie in their use colonial archives per se; rather, it lies in their failure to critically reflect on the prejudices and stereotypes towards the region and its peoples contained within such documents. While researchers have sought to reconsider colonial dynamics, they have not integrated this task with an exploration of the construction of categories and the modes of legitimization of knowledge about the Guajira during the colonial and republican periods.

The documentary sources most used by Colombian historians and anthropologists have predominantly come from the papers of the National Archive of Colombia. However, many of these authors overlook the fact that despite the richness and importance of the National Archive of Colombia, it reflects the viewpoint of centralized powers (the Spanish Crown and later the centralized Colombian State) that had interests in the conquest and colonization of the indigenous frontiers of Guajira during the 18th and early 19th centuries. In this sense, the National Archive in Bogotá is a colonial archive, and what we know from it about Guajira's frontier society is related to the perspective of the Spanish colonizers and later of the republican officials of the Colombian State. In mainstream Colombian border historiography, the topic of La Guajira's border status has been described from an essentialist perspective of interethnic conflict and smuggling. Regarding interethnic relations, most studies have tended to portray La Guajira as a place where indigenous communities and colonial or republican society were primarily and essentially linked through conflict-ridden and violent relationships due to smuggling.

Research focusing on Caribbean traders as a subject is lacking; most of these works include them within categories such as that of smugglers. However, a review of the primary sources used by researchers suggests that the label of smuggler was not a self-identifier used by the local creole or foreign trader groups in La Guajira. Instead, this designation was often imposed by colonial officials during times of tension between frontier settlers (indigenous, creoles, and foreign residents) and centralized powers (Spanish colonial state, Colombian national state) due to trade with Curaçao and Jamaica. Throughout much of the colonial and Republican documentation on La Guajira, the term *contrabandista* [dealer in contraband] (all translations are by the author

unless specified otherwise) was used pejoratively to refer to free-traveling merchants from Curaçao and Jamaica who opposed Spanish commercial monopolies and who freely exchanged goods and manufactured items in cooperation with the Wayuu indigenous people during the 18th and 19th centuries. On the other hand, local and foreign archives about Riohacha have helped us to reinterpret the frontier history of the region by documenting the voices of the merchants themselves and their indigenous and creole allies.

Clearly, certain criteria and perspectives have been imposed on the study of the territory. Firstly, much of the research has been based on numerous conflicts throughout the 18th century between indigenous groups and Spanish officials, using a global analytical approach that views the Guajira territory as a zone of contention between England, the Netherlands, and Spain for maritime trade. Secondly, interpretations of smuggling have been solely based on the Spanish colonial perspective and the rigid classifications used by Spanish and republican officials to define frontier communities, including traders. In this sense, much of the researchers' interpretations have been ethnocentric and nationalist, as they have viewed Guajira's border history from a perspective that both overlooks the anthropological proposition that cultures, ethnicities, and meanings of human actions and objects are dynamic, as well as falling into the colonial epistemic trap of thinking of ethnic and social groups —indigenous and non-indigenous— as monolithic blocs, when in reality they are populations that do not necessarily share the same identities, collective memories or lifeways.

I argue that in border areas such as La Guajira, the significance of smuggling and trade are positional. The activity of smuggling takes on different meanings depending on whether it is viewed from the perspective of the political center (Spanish Crown, centralized states of Colombia or Venezuela) or from that of local border communities. For the latter, it may be seen more as a traditional exchange of goods in the border zone as part of mercantile custom. Conversely, from the viewpoint of border authorities, it may be viewed as fraudulent. In the case of La Guajira, smuggling becomes a problem of constructing identity realities through the imposition of labels and categories onto colonized peoples and their activities, which were used to delineate spaces and groups. Conceptualizing La Guajira as an ungovernable land or smuggling zone has shaped the colonial ways of interpreting and appropriating that space. It is worth noting that Spanish colonial sources on ethnic groups and their daily practices on the Guajira border are produced by others and, generally, filtered through ethnocentric, prejudiced, and erroneous lenses, with the result of invalidating its inhabitants as historical agents and as dynamic populations able to control their own destinies.

Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel (1970) are pioneers in the study of Sephardic Dutch merchants from Curaçao in Riohacha around the 19th century. They note that “the colony of Riohacha was very prosperous between 1840 and 1843, and the number of Dutch subjects, mainly Jews, must have been large enough to justify the

accreditation of a Dutch Vice Consul” (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970, p. 835). The authors provide an important resource for identifying surnames and genealogical data of the Curaçaoan Jewish population that migrated to Riohacha. The periodization that the authors assign to the Sephardic presence in La Guajira begins in the 18th century and ends in the first decade of the 20th century. Their approach in this work is biographical and genealogical, based on family archives.

In the research conducted by Colombian historian Adelaida Sourdis Nájera (2023) significant genealogical data was discovered about some Sephardic Jewish merchants from Curaçao who established themselves in Riohacha from the late 18th century to the mid-19th century. While Sourdis maintains that although the community of Jewish merchants in Riohacha sometimes engaged in smuggling, this was not always the case. For example, Sephardic Jewish traders from Curaçao such as Gabriel Pinedo, David Morales, and Abraham Calvo, traded freely in Riohacha from the 1770s onward because the authorities had contracted them to provide provisions. She explains that numerous licenses were granted on different occasions to Jewish merchants. Klooster (1998) explores the Dutch trade which was centered around Curaçao and St. Eustatius in the 17th and 18th centuries. These two islands differed significantly from most other colonies in the region due to their lack of successful cash crop economies. Instead, the Dutch focused on inter-imperial trade through finance, transport, the supply of enslaved workers, smuggling, allowing them to establish a thriving business empire that gave the Netherlands a unique position in the New World, characterized by unprecedented prosperity. In this process, Curaçao became a strategic base for warfare against Spain and a key hub for trading enslaved Africans, textiles, firearms, and spices. Meanwhile, Curaçao's port facilitated the export of valuable goods like gold, silver, dye woods, cocoa, and tobacco, which were smuggled from the continental Caribbean coasts of New Granada and Venezuela. Klooster explores how the Guajiros participated in this trade from the 17th century onward. The Guajiros engaged in negotiations with English and Dutch merchants to acquire firearms, using them to resist colonization and maintain territorial autonomy. Additionally, they provided natural harbors used by these traders. Crespo-Solana (2009) provides significant insights into the formation of merchant colonies amid Dutch expansion in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. Crespo-Solana's analytical framework is comprehensive, encompassing the Caribbean region and the North Atlantic ports. Regarding the Dutch experience in the region, the author highlights two critical aspects. Firstly, she underscores the internal situation of the Caribbean islands, considering the Antilles as peripheral areas of Spanish commerce where Dutch and English merchants fostered free trade within or outside the law. She describes the mercantile strategies of Dutch private firms in the region which involved providing capital for transportation and financing productive activities. From a social standpoint, the author defines merchant communities as transnational colonies composed of multiple generations of merchants and traders. Crespo-Solana argues that these

colonies organized their networks based on community ties, language, and family bonds (2009, p. 283). Crespo-Solana (2010) presents a comparative analysis of the economic, social, and political patterns of Dutch merchant communities in various European locations. The work encompasses different themes and approaches regarding the role played by Dutch groups in networks, finance, and the formation of transnational identities. Among the reviewed papers are studies on the Dutch communities in Cádiz and Seville. The introduction to this work features an excellent synthesis by Crespo-Solana on the formation of merchant communities in Atlantic port cities.

De Jong (1966) focuses primarily on Dutch prosperity in the Caribbean from 1780 to 1830. His study provides insights into the economic conditions that prompted merchants from Curaçao to migrate to the mainland in the transition from the 18th to the 19th century. According to the author, in 1780, the Dutch Republic faced a decline in prosperity, both in Europe and in its Caribbean colonies, while American merchant sailors gained a significant foothold as the so-called ‘Dutchmen of America.’ De Jong suggests that the Netherlands would experience its darkest times after 1830. Among the studies that contextualize Curaçao’s political relationship with the mainland of Colombia and Venezuela in the early 19th century is Goslinga (1990).

This work covers the period from 1791 to 1942 and provides a detailed framework of events up to 1842. Goslinga describes Curaçao’s relations with the Republic of Colombia in 1841 as delicate due to arms trafficking to the indigenous coast of the La Guajira Peninsula and to the port of Riohacha. Goslinga's work also explains the forms of cooperation among Dutch traders throughout the island and mainland Caribbean. In the literature on frontier traders in La Guajira, two main perspectives emerge. On the one hand, scholars relying on the biased judgments of colonial and republican authorities, tend to portray a monolithic, essentialist, and stereotyped image of the frontier trader in La Guajira which is sometimes disconnected from reality. On the other hand, authors such as Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970), Klooster (1998), Sourdis (2023) and Crespo-Solana (2009, 2010) acknowledge Curaçaoan merchants as one of the most dynamic social groups on La Guajira’s frontiers during the 18th and 19th centuries. For these authors, Curaçaoan traders decisively contributed to the economic life of La Guajira Peninsula during the colonial and republican periods, refining techniques and diversifying commercial activities. In this sense, these authors agree that Curaçaoan merchants were not only free and independent entrepreneur but also key constituencies in the heterogeneous and dynamic economic and cultural reality of Caribbean frontier spaces like La Guajira Peninsula.

Henri van Brakel’s diary

Lieutenant Henri Vaynes van Brakel led several reconnaissance expeditions aboard the brigantine Ternate, navigating the coasts of New Granada, the islands of Jamaica, St.

Eustatius, St. Maarten, and later the coasts of Suriname in the Guianas. Written in 1850 *as a Report of a trip to some places in New Granada and Jamaica*, Brakel's diary concerning the journey of the Ternate along the coasts of the La Guajira Peninsula is part of the second volume of the Jacob Swart Collection, which was published in Amsterdam in 1852 under the title *Expositions and Messages on Maritime Affairs and Navigation*, which is presently housed in the Rare Books Section (LA) of the National Library of the Netherlands, located in The Hague.

This diary by Brakel's voyages was organized under King Willem I (1813-1841) of the Netherlands' mercantile policy, which aimed to send naval expeditions to Colombia with instructions to obtain commercial advantages, manage the admission of consuls, and study the country's political situation. In 1850, Brakel traveled from the island of Curaçao to the so-called "Indian coast" of La Guajira and arrived at the port of Riohacha. One interesting aspect of Henri Brakel's diary is that it was written during a time when the Netherlands was no longer significant in the Atlantic maritime world. From 1810 onward, the Kingdom of the Netherlands experienced a decline in prosperity in both Europe and its Caribbean colonies in favor of the English, French, and Americans (De Jong, 1966, p. 281). The Dutch therefore embarked on the task of strengthening their colony of Curaçao in the Caribbean Sea (Goslinga, 1990). The 19th century had begun poorly for the island; much of its traffic had diverted to the English free ports of Saint Thomas, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. King Willem I aimed to restore Curaçao as one of the main markets in the Caribbean maritime region (De Jong, 1966, p. 283). Despite being declared a free port in 1827, Curaçao would not overcome the commercial crisis of the 19th century, leading to the expatriation of its merchant community to other Caribbean ports (Sourdis, 2023). During this era, the young Republic of Colombia opened up to free trade with the North Atlantic, and its ports of Riohacha and Santa Marta surpassed Cartagena after the colonial trade in the enslaved ceased. However, Barranquilla would dominate the country's maritime traffic from 1872 onward with the establishment of a significant commercial port on one of its beaches at the mouth of the Magdalena River. Beginning in the late 1840s, and particularly in the period from 1850 to 1870, Riohacha experienced a boom in timber exports which led to significant population growth in La Guajira Peninsula, which increased from 16,734 inhabitants in 1843 to almost 53,000 in 1850 (van Brakel, 1852, p.124). With 30,000 inhabitants, indigenous people made up the majority of this population. Growing expansion of Riohacha to the north bank of the Ranchería River provoked severe clashes with the indigenous people of La Guajira: the Wayuu (p.124).

Van Brakel's diary (1852) contains information about the commercial, social and political life of the port of Riohacha in the 19th century, including a meticulous analysis of the port's commerce. The diary presents significant data concerning commercial houses, port activity (imports/exports), transatlantic exchange circuits, trading dynamics among merchants, indigenous peoples, and travelers, as well as about confrontations

between indigenous groups and creoles amidst the commercial boom. One of the Dutch merchants who van Brakel mentions was Nicolás Danies from the island of Curaçao, who was the largest timber trader on the Colombian Caribbean coast (Carillo Ferreira, 2017, p. 112). Likewise, he mentions Isaac Pinedo who had inherited an extensive network of relationships and contacts from his grandfather, the Curaçao merchant Gabriel Pinedo, who had been trading in Riohacha with a license from the Spanish Crown since 1772 (Sourdis, 2023, p. 26). Isaac was the brother of Gabriel and Jacob Pinedo, who can be studied together due to the family and commercial ties that bound them. Additionally, the Curaçao merchant Jacob Rois Méndez is mentioned, who was a partner in the firm Méndez Salas & Co., founded in Riohacha around 1841 and considered to be the first Jewish commercial society in the history of La Guajira and possibly all of Colombia (Carillo Ferreira, 2017, p. 110). The nature of their business was influenced by family connections: Jacob was the brother of Isaac Rois Méndez and the brother-in-law of Moisés Salas, and all three acted as partners in the firm (Sourdis, 2023, p. 125). Another merchant mentioned by van Brakel is Samuel Casseres, known in Riohacha as a factor of the firm “Gomes Casseres & Co” from Curaçao (van Brakel, 1852, p. 112).

In Riohacha, a heterogeneous community of ‘Dutch’ traders formed, the vast majority of whom belonged to the Sephardic Jewish community from Curaçao, which included Dutch subjects and descendants of the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Jews who had migrated from Amsterdam to Curaçao and other islands in the Antilles. Proficiency in the Spanish language was perhaps one of the factors that facilitated the settlement and commercial relations of this Sephardic community with the inhabitants of Riohacha. Another constituency was made up of Catholics of French and Spanish backgrounds. The Pinedo, Alvarez Correa, Casseres, Rois Méndez, and Salas families all descended from Jewish merchant families in the Netherlands. Nicolás Danies was of mixed race and a Catholic. Samuel Casseres and Mordechai Alvares Correa, with authorization from the Curaçao community, acted as rabbis in marriages celebrated in Riohacha (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970, cited in Sourdis, 2023, p. 42). Both Sephardic Jews and Catholics practiced Freemasonry and participated in lodges in the city of Riohacha. The Sephardim even formed commercial alliances with indigenous people and had kinship ties with Wayuu indigenous women. In 1849, the Sephardic Dutch traders from Curaçao successfully established a Hebrew cemetery with authorization from the Riohacha government (Carrillo Ferreira, 2017).

For the Dutch, it was essential to acquaint themselves with the various local leaders (whether Creole or indigenous), their rivalries, territorial boundaries, and to tread carefully so as not to offend any of them. Danies bought wood from the Wayúu Indians to supply his vessels, where he employed more than half of the city’s sailors. As maritime traders, Danies and the Pinedos operated navigation circuits and organized

contracts, equipment, shipments, commissions, sailor and pilot wages, insurance, and port fees. Due to their presence in the early days of the Republic, the merchants from Curaçao were to become leading figures, playing significant roles in Riohacha's 19th century society.

Van Brakel (1852) recounts in his diary that he set sail at eight o'clock in the morning on January 12, 1850, from the port of Willemstad, located in the south of Curaçao, heading towards the northern tip of this island until noon. The circumstances, however, were not very favorable to achieving this objective, because there was little wind and the rains made navigation very irregular. Van Brakel subsequently headed west to the island of Aruba, where he encountered three schooners. At night he headed a few kilometers north of the islets of Monjes, and the next morning he was already within view of La Guajira. The Ternate coasted a distance of a mile, exploring the broad Honda Bay and the smaller, but equally well-situated Portada Bay. With fresh wind, the Ternate sailed around Cabo de Vela.

For van Brakel (1852) the bay between Cabo de la Vela and Riohacha was a continuous roadstead, which offered the best anchorages anywhere, and gave much confidence in the slow rise and reliability of its sandy ground. He then decided to head for Punta Manara, seven miles east of Riohacha, and anchored there near the shore before sunset. Here van Brakel warned that all necessary precautions had to be taken because the entire coast was very shallow, because of the existence of a nearby sandbank called Punto de Pajaro, and because all the points of this bay were so difficult to recognize. Van Brakel determined the ship's position by surveying some of the peninsula's mountains.

Analyzing van Brakel's diary episodes ethnographically

In the initial pages of his diary, van Brakel explains the reason for his journey to Riohacha:

I departed at 8 in the morning on January 12 from the port of Curaçao; I was motivated to do so because in these exchange zones, trade is directly related to a country's political activities. It cannot be considered superfluous to inform our government in The Hague, which has very little knowledge of this area, about the few matters I have been able to uncover. (1852, p. 513)

When van Brakel arrived in Riohacha on January 14, 1850, the city had been completely destroyed by the Guajira indigenous people. Due to ongoing wars, it was gradually being rebuilt, and construction of the "tower near the new church" had begun (p. 518). The population of Riohacha was just over three thousand, but expectations were that this number would soon grow, as the trade being conducted was highly profitable (p. 518).

During the anchorage in Riohacha, van Brakel spotted ships in the city's harbor:

We find ourselves (surveying) here in the anchorage, a Dutch kofschip (a type of vessel) from Maracaibo, a French corvette, two English brigs, and a few schooners. And the next day, a second French schooner arrived. This nation 1 is

conducting a significant amount of trade with the River of Hacha, involving 12 to 14 large vessels annually. (1852, p. 518)

The bustling maritime activity and diverse vessels indicate Riohacha's importance as a port during that period. The city's strategic location facilitated trade connections and commerce between different nations.

Upon arriving at Marina Street, the gateway to the city, van Brakel was warmly received by the harbor captain and the secretary of the provincial governor, Mr. Vicente Daza, a lawyer (van Brakel, 1852, p. 518). Without hesitation, van Brakel promptly sought an audience with the governor and discovered him to be a "young and exceedingly courteous magistrate" (p. 518). It was during this encounter that Brakel also had the privilege of meeting the governor of the Cartagena province, General José María Obando. Both these "gentlemen" extended their hospitality because, on that very day (January 14, 1850), the united merchants of Rio Hacha were organizing a festive banquet in honor of the highly esteemed general, an event to which the Ternate State Council was graciously invited to participate.

Hours before dinner, van Brakel embarked on a closer examination of the commerce in Riohacha and the Dutch traders who participated therein. He meticulously recorded in his journal details about these merchants and the maritime routes they employed for trade (1852, p. 518). His entries reveal that in Riohacha, the trade in brazilwood was "the largest and most profitable," and predominantly controlled by the Dutch merchants residing in the city (p. 518). The group of Dutch merchants encountered by van Brakel in January of 1850 in Riohacha consisted of "Mr. Nicolás Danies, Gabriel Pinedo, Isaac Pinedo, Samuel Casseres, Salas, and Méndez" (p. 518). According to their data, these traders "direct the majority of the trading houses in this port." Brakel asserted that the "Danies firm was the city's principal," but interestingly, the annual business volume of Gabriel Pinedo, along with the Rotterdam-based Rijkbevorsel firm, amounts to "100,000 florins, while the others primarily engage in trade with England, France, Russia, and North America" (p. 518). Regarding the merchant Nicolás Danies, van Brakel initially identifies him as "a mulatto from Curaçao" who had earned "almost a million florins on that coast" (p. 518). In his diary, van Brakel recounts that Nicolás Danies spoke to him about a "railroad from the interior of Riohacha, the costs of which amounted to two and a half million dollars, a quarter of which he was going to contribute" (p. 518). Additionally, Danies inquired whether a loan for this money could be negotiated in Amsterdam and expressed his desire to test this there before attempting it in England. Van Brakel advised him to consult the governor of Curaçao regarding this matter. (p. 518).

According to van Brakel's account, Nicolás Danies provided information about the state of imports and exports conducted by Dutch merchants up until January 1850. Danies

mentioned that the majority of foreign goods were “English products, cotton, and some French manufactures.” Additionally, he referred to the “supply of flour coming from North America” (van Brakel, 1852, p. 519). As for the value of exports, Danies informed van Brakel of the following:

Brazilwood (Palo de tinte): Approximately 10,000 tons.

Nicaragua: 10,000 tons.

Small fish (bacalao): 6,000 to 7,000 tons.

Dividivi: 3,000 to 4,000 tons (presumably mostly to England).

Skins: 10,000.

Goat skins: 300 to 400 dozen pieces. (1852, p. 519)

Gabriel Pinedo, the Sephardic merchant from Curaçao, also provided his perspective on the exports from Riohacha: He stated that “exports amounted to approximately 300,000 Spanish dollars [*reales de a ocho*], while imports were 200,000” (p. 519). Interestingly, Dutch goods faced challenges in sales, and gin was virtually absent from the market. Van Brakel adds that “the trade of divi-divi increases significantly every year, especially to England, but we have also seen a shipment destined for Rotterdam” (p. 519). Van Brakel continues:

Trade here and throughout New Granada seems to occur only in cash. At the house of the aforementioned gentleman [Danies], I saw bags of money from *Rijckevorsel* for purchasing dye wood, but it was not immediately available. With the same purpose, the latest French traveler to arrive has brought tons of cash to Mr. Danies. Credit was not granted, and without money, Mr. Pinedo said, it is not possible in this trade (1852, p. 519).

It is interesting to read the detailed description that van Brakel provides regarding the relationships established by Dutch traders with other groups in Riohacha society. This highlights the degree of integration among traders in the Guajira border region.

As for interactions between Guajiro indigenous people, foreign traders, and government officials, we find that these relationships were complex and dynamic, oscillating between exchanges, negotiations, and hostilities. Van Brakel (1852, pp. 519-520) asserts that every morning, he observed “several caravans of indigenous people arriving at the market in Riohacha with divi-divi, exchanging it with traders at prices practically favorable to the Dutch.” Van Brakel noted that the “Ranchería River” served as the border with “free indigenous people and lies just a few hundred steps from the city” (p. 517). For van Brakel (p. 514), it was the freedom of the Wayuu that could link the trade from Curaçao to the natural Guajira ports:

Exploring the vast Bahía Honda and the smaller yet equally well-positioned Bahía de Portete, both bays could one day become significant for Curaçao’s commerce. This is especially true since the province is still inhabited by 50,000 entirely free indigenous people and is situated close to our islands. (1852, p. 514)

During his visit to Riohacha, Lieutenant van Brakel was also able to notice the role of Dutch merchants in the complex interethnic relations between the Guajiro Indians and the society of Riohacha: “General Obando, who was on an inspection tour and who in a short time was going to be the representative of Cartagena in Bogota, has devised a plan to fortify the city with eight forts against the Indians” (p. 514). Van Brakel was struck by the way in which Dutch merchants shrewdly managed their relations to influence the authorities through personal services. For example, “the merchant Gabriel Pinedo informed me that the general expected to go to Santa Marta in two days, but that he had rented his schooner *La Fayette* for a short trip” (p. 521). Indeed, van Brakel proved to be another clever character who adapted quickly to the type of networking that was most convenient to Dutch interests, and in this regard, he pointed out the following:

I intended to make the same voyage, I should like to perform a great service to them with His Majesty's schooner brig the Ternate, a service which may be considered very important: he did not hesitate to give my approbation, offering the General my ship and my cabin. (1852, p. 521)

Similar services, van Brakel added, were also being provided by “the English warships, which always seek to increase their influence in these lands, offering services to the authorities, which had greatly contributed to the friendly relations between both nations” (p. 521). During dinner in Riohacha, “General Obando declared that he was very appreciative of the great service I offered him,” van Brakel recounted, “and that he gladly took advantage of my offer, saying that he would give me the best recommendations for Cartagena, seeking to help me achieve the goal of my mission” (p. 522). Due to this encounter with General Obando, van Brakel stayed in Riohacha for 24 hours longer than planned. In the afternoon of January 16th, General Obando boarded the Ternate with a group of four people, while the other men of his company embarked on the newly arrived ship *La Fayette*, along with a number of musicians. All the merchants of the city accompanied the general on board. The ships in the anchorage raised their flags and fired several cannon shots as they departed from Riohacha (p. 522). Van Brakel (1852, p. 523) recounts the arrival of the Dutch merchants in Santa Marta in the company of General Obando, and the meetings and negotiations with the political and mercantile groups of that port. On January 17, 1850, van Brakel describes how General Obando disembarked amidst cordial expressions of gratitude and a fifteen-gun salute. The merchant ships anchored in the bay of Santa Marta—a British vessel, one from Bremen (Germany), and a brig from Sardinia—hoisted their flags and also fired cannon shots. Upon disembarking, van Brakel promptly sent an officer to Governor Francisco Martínez Troncoso of Santa Marta, “informing him that he would have the honor of presenting himself to him” (p. 523). The following day, the Governor of Santa Marta dispatched a commission aboard the Ternate consisting of his secretary and four of the city's most prominent residents to thank van Brakel on his behalf and on behalf of the entire population, also for the service he had rendered to General Obando.

Immediately, the staff of the Ternate was invited to lunch in honor of General Obando by Mr. Abello, a local merchant and member of Parliament. As in Riohacha, van Brakel notes that those present were mostly politicians and members of Congress:

Apart from the governor of Santa Marta, I encountered the former president of Venezuela, General Soublotte, a highly civilized and captivating individual. Toasts to friendly relations with Holland and the expansion of trade with our nation followed one after another in rapid succession, and the intense excitement of this endeavor was no less than that of Riohacha. (1852, p. 523)

The next day, van Brakel set course for Cartagena, concluding the section of his diary covering Riohacha and Santa Marta.

Final remarks

Van Brakel's accounts (1852) suggest that from the perspective of Dutch traders, Riohacha belonged to the same global network as ports in England (Bristol, Liverpool), France (Bordeaux), Russia (St. Petersburg), and North America (New York, Boston). Thus, traders from Curaçao established themselves in Riohacha. Van Brakel's narrative shows that Dutch traders in Riohacha cultivated friendships and patronage with creole governmental officials, offering personal services like maritime transportation to establish stable cooperation and solidarity with political figures. Additionally, these merchants controlled vital aspects of the economy, notably the Atlantic traffic in brazilwood which was essential for Riohacha's provisioning. They also provided financial backing during conflicts with indigenous groups. This underscores the strategic position of the Dutch trader community in Riohacha society.

Van Brakel's diary indicates that brazilwood trade networks in the Atlantic were not self-regulating markets; they were heavily influenced by political relations. The monopoly held by Curaçaoan traders over forest product exports exemplifies the link between resource access and clientelism. This patronage, understood as a vertical relationship between groups of differing political status, elucidates the connection between Curaçaoan traders and political power, typified by Danies and the Pinedos' interactions with figures like General Obando. These relationships not only granted these merchants access to key economic and commercial resources, such as the monopoly on brazilwood trafficking, but also positioned them as essential actors in the local economy and politics. The diary also highlights the interaction of Dutch traders with other international actors, including foreign officials and representatives from maritime powers such as England and France. This demonstrates that in the 19th century, Riohacha and La Guajira (as its area of influence) experienced strong foreign influence over their trade and frontier culture. This foreign influence introduced new commercial practices, traditions, and lifeways that enriched the local community and contributed to the formation of an Atlantic frontier identity rather than a strictly Colombian one as well as to relatively

limited Colombianization in the commercial activities of Riohacha port and La Guajira peninsula, resulting in the economic isolation of the region from the Colombian nation.

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CARIBBEAN WOMEN PIONEERING CHANGE IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

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Abstract

This article explores how female Caribbean artists are using their music to challenge dominant discourses of patriarchy prevalent in societies like Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and Trinidad and Tobago. By examining the works of musicians such as iLe, Daymé Arocena, Andrea Cruz, Shenseea, Nailah Blackman, and the all-female plena group Plena Combativa, this study highlights how these artists normalize taboo topics such as menstruation, female sexuality, and freedom of the female body. Drawing on interviews and song analysis, the paper demonstrates how these artists construct alternative mental models that empower marginalized and oppressed groups in the Caribbean and beyond. Theoretical frameworks for the study of discursive domination such as those proposed by Van Dijk (2004) are employed to contextualize the artists' resistance to systems of domination. Through their music, these women challenge societal norms, advocate for autonomy, and promote social change.

Key terms: Female Caribbean artists, patriarchy, dominant discourses, music, resistance, empowerment, taboo topics, mental models, societal norms, autonomy, social change

Introduction

Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and Trinidad and Tobago, like many other places in the world, have been negatively impacted by the major systems of domination that underpin colonialism, such as patriarchy, accumulation of wealth, and ethnocentrism. While living in a patriarchal society makes it increasingly difficult for women to make their voices heard, some female musicians in the Caribbean are fighting against patriarchy by shedding light on issues such as domestic violence, female sexuality, taboos regarding menstruation, and freedom of the female body. It is important to mention that there is a wide range of musical genres in the Caribbean, and that liberating messages are not confined

to any specific genre. Music is a powerful tool that “not only mirrors but also patterns interpersonal relations in society” (Duany, 1984, p. 186) which makes it the perfect vehicle for underacknowledged and undervalued voices to be heard. This is why I examine how female Caribbean artists are using their music to defy the dominant discourses of patriarchy.

Systems of domination are maintained through discursive domination. In other words, language is used to control people in order to operationalize ideologies. One way of controlling discourse is by controlling its context and by extension controlling the mental models we have of communicative situations. As Van Dijk (2004) mentions, “understanding a discourse means being able to construct a subjective mental model of the events the discourse refers to. This may also involve our opinions or emotions about such events” (p. 8). By mental models he refers to what we use to understand and remember the world; they control how we think about any given event. This means that by manipulating mental models, we can change how people understand and remember communicative events. There is no way to get rid of mental models since they are part of being human; however, we do need to be vigilant as to regarding whose interests these are serving.

In this article, I look at how five female Caribbean artists and one female plena group are using their music to defy the dominant discourses of patriarchy. These artists are iLe, Daymé Arocena, Andrea Cruz, Shenseea, Nailah Blackman, and Plena Combativa (all-female plena group composed of six individuals). I examined several interviews where the musicians state their goals and the message they want to convey through their work, as well as one or more songs by each artist. All of these songs serve as examples of how they are normalizing taboo topics such as domestic violence, menstruation, female sexuality, and freedom of the female body in order to create mental models that defy patriarchy.

iLe

Grammy winner and Latin pop sensation iLe (also known as PG-13 from the highly successful group Calle 13) released her first solo album, *iLevitable* in May 2016. After much success, she released her second album in May 2019 titled *Almadura*. The title is a combination of the words *alma* [soul] and *armadura* [armor] [all translations in this article are by the author, unless stated otherwise]. In this album, iLe’s songs reflect her views on current social issues in Puerto Rico. In an interview with DJ Miss Ashley on KEXP, iLe expressed that when writing the album “I just wanted to be defiant, I had a lot of anger when I was writing these songs so I didn’t want it to be too poetic, I just wanted it to be direct and defiant to patriarchy itself” (DJ Miss Ashley, 2019, para. 17). Because of this, the album is full of meaningful songs that aim to create mental models where the oppression of women is not accepted.

Notably, the song titled “*Temes*” tackles domestic violence and sexual assault on women. Violence towards women has been a serious and worrisome social problem on the island for a while: “*Puerto Rico está en la 13ra posición con mayor cantidad de femicidios entre 52 jurisdicciones de los Estados Unidos*” [Puerto Rico is in the 13th highest position in terms of the number of femicides among 52 jurisdictions within the United States] (Pagán Jiménez & Narváez, 2019, p. 31). Considering how small the island’s population is in comparison to that of many states, the number is shockingly high.

In the music video for “*Temes*” (2019) iLe can be seen singing directly to the viewer as she is lying on the floor after just being raped. In an interview with Remezcla, she shared that this song “exposes one of patriarchy’s darkest blind spots: *machismo*” (Lopez, 2019, para. 3). In the song lyrics iLe unpacks *machismo* and explains how it is the result of men being afraid to lose their power. At the same time, she poses the question “¿*Por qué me temes?*” [Why do you fear me?]. This serves as an encouragement for all women to reclaim the respect they deserve. Through this process, women can regain their sovereignty and shape reality in their own image and interests. With this song, iLe also raises awareness about violence against women.

Daymé Arocena

In recent years, the Cuban jazz artist Daymé Arocena has been making waves in the music industry. She got her start as the lead singer in an all-female jazz band named Los Primos. Her first solo album, *Nueva Era*, was released in 2015. As an Afro-Cuban female, she was taught from a young age “to avoid making waves and blunt her outgoing personality” (Morales, 2024, para. 12). In Afro-Caribbean communities, there is substantial pressure for females to be reserved, accommodating, and less assertive to fit within the established social norms. This reflects broader issues of marginalization and the imposition of gender norms that pervade society not only in Cuba, but also in the rest of the Caribbean and the world at large. She has used her music to voice her opinions and start conversations about race, colonialism, and female issues. Songs like “*El Ruso*” (Brownswood Recordings, 2015, Mar 30) criticize the Russian language classes that were once required in Cuban schools with lyrics like “*Por eso yo te digo sin disgusto, no me pidas más en ruso*” [That’s why I tell you without displeasure, don’t ask any more in Russian] highlighting how that language does not represent the aspirations Cuban people. In songs like “*Madres*” (Brownswood Recordings, 2015, Jun 9) she uses Lucumi, a variety of Yorùbá spoken in Cuba, to honor this Afro-Caribbean form of expression while she utilizes the lyrics to honor and thank mothers for their important role in society.

Her and her husband’s outspoken voices in Cuba have resulted in some public clashes with the government’s cultural ministers. This led her to make the difficult decision to leave Cuba and relocate to Canada in 2019. However, rather than allowing this difficult

event to hinder her musical career, she has seized the moment to further develop her musical craft. In an interview with The New York Times, she urges women to ask themselves the following question: “when have you seen a love story of a Black woman depicted in Latin America?” (Morales, 2024, para. 16). This question highlights the lack of visibility and representation of Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Latin American women romantic narratives in the media. One of her goals with her music is to better reflect the diversity and challenge existing stereotypes while advocating for women of color. Furthermore, she is very open about her struggles in the music industry for being unapologetically herself, as reported in an interview in *Rolling Stone*:

‘In an indirect way, the music industry had shown me that I wasn’t welcome in that world,’ she said at the time. ‘There isn’t a Black woman like me who enjoys the kind of success usually reserved for Rosalía or Karol G. The image of music genres like salsa or bachata has been painfully distorted throughout the years. You are supposed to clone and fuse yourself in order to conceal your Black or indigenous side. They told me I didn’t fit in that world, but I’m going to prove them wrong.’ (Lopez, 2024, para 8).

Instead of letting these stereotypes and biases dictate her life and music, Daymé Arocena has decided to stand up and fight for the visibility of women like herself who have traditionally been marginalized and belittled. She further shares how she would be preventing herself from achieving success if she listens to what society has told her to be: “through challenging those ideas, today I feel so ready to fight against things that seem well-established and that might feel immovable” (Lopez, 2024, para. 9). In the process of challenging these notions, she has come to realize the importance of collaborating with artists from elsewhere in the Caribbean since “there’s a need for Caribbeans to connect as societies that have come from the same root and developed in different ways” (Morales, 2024, para. 18) to shed light on the real social issues faced by people, and specifically women, in the Caribbean.

Andrea Cruz

Another artist from Puerto Rico who is using her voice to articulate issues that are important to her is Andrea Cruz. This indie and folk artist released her first album *Tejido de Laurel* in 2017. Over the years, she has developed her music as well as the messages she wants to convey to her listeners. In an interview with *Puerto Rico Indie* she shared: “*Ando en una etapa evolutiva y de despertares, tengo mi discurso claro y quiero usar mi espacio para plasmar vivencias que me provoquen y tocar temáticas que ameritan visibilidad*” [I am in an evolutionary and awakening stage, my ideas are clear and I want to use my space to capture provoking experiences and touch on topics that deserve visibility]. (Richner, 2019).

In February of 2019 she released a single titled “*Véngole*” (Cruz, 2019) featuring Gaby Moreno where she sings openly about menstruation. In an interview with *El Metro*, Cruz

described this song as “*poesía a la menstruación porque creo que son términos y son temas que no deben ser controversiales; que no deben ser más tabúes*” [poetry to menstruation because I think these are terms and topics that should not be controversial; that they should not be taboo anymore] (Santana Miranda, 2019, para. 4). In the accompanying music video, Andrea Cruz is shown having period cramps while she gets ready in the morning, thus normalizing this event. Red rose petals are used to symbolize blood during the scene where she is showering. The song lyrics seamlessly match what is happening on screen with lyrics such as “*levanta y mueve las cortinas que mi sangre rueda hasta el algodón*” [lift and remove the curtains so that my blood rolls onto the cotton] (Santana Miranda, 2019, [embedded video] 0:21). This line captures the physical act of managing a menstrual flow by describing how menstrual blood is absorbed by fabric or sanitary products, destigmatizing and embracing it as a natural aspect of womanhood. The song also uses different elements of nature such as the moon and the morning to capture the beauty of menstruation, further implying that menstruation is a natural and normal part of being a woman.

On March 10, 2019 she held an event called *La poesía de nuestra sangre* [The Poetry of Our Blood] in Espacio Pública in Santurce, Puerto Rico, to celebrate the song’s release. The purpose of this event was to spend a day dedicated to learning about the menstrual cycle; how to enjoy it, and how to manage it healthily. This event featured several talks by experts regarding topics such as periods, feminine hygiene products, and giving birth, among others. This demonstrates how Andrea Cruz has used her platform not only to voice her views, but to also empower and educate others.

Shenseea

Shenseea is a Jamaican single mother who has forged her own path in the male dominated music industry. Her first album titled *Alpha* was released on March 11, 2022. Her songs use dancehall, hip-hop, and reggae beats to unabashedly celebrate self-love and body positivity. She has been very open about her struggle in the music industry as a woman of color. In an interview, she shared how difficult it is to break into the Jamaican music scene:

Everybody think that when I blew up, I had to be having, you know, intercourse with somebody in the industry ... over time they saw that I was obviously working and putting my back bone in it and going all out a hundred, females for me, we definitely need to work harder. (HOT 97, 2020, 11:21)

In a single titled “Rebel” (Shenseea, 2020) featuring Zum, released on November 6, 2020, she discusses why it is better to be single if the alternative is being controlled by a male, drawing parallels to the experience of enslavement. She even goes as far as to say, “me no need domination” (HOT 97, 2020) asserting how females should not be controlled, reflecting the desire for autonomy and valuing personal agency more than a romantic partner or relationship. In other words, she is refusing to be subservient or

controlled by a partner, emphasizing her desire for equality and freedom in her romantic relationships.

Not only is she empowering females with her music, but she is also very passionate about the empowerment of youth in Jamaica. She has performed free concerts in schools as a way to get younger people exposed to her music. “The age limit for my show are like 18 and 21, so I made sure to go in the schools to give them a free performance” (HOT 97, 2020, 10:08). Exposing people from a young age to music that celebrates self-love and body positivity is a revolutionary act. Additionally, on May 20, 2022, she shared on her twitter feed (aka X feed) “If you attended college and had to stop because of financial difficulties. I’m sending you back to get that degree! For YengDay, I’m aiding two college drop outs in Jamaica” (Shenseea, 2022). In an interview with Nationwide 90FM she shared,

I know how it feels to, you know, attending college and then, you know, you have to stop because of financial difficulties, so now that I’m in a different position, I can help to change that, so two lucky Shenyengs will receive help from me to go back to school and get that degree. (Mitchell, 2022, [embedded audio] 0:11)

Not only is Shenseea using music to empower others, but she is also using education as a means to do this.

Nailah Blackman

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Soca princess and up-and-coming Trinidadian artist, Nailah Blackman, is not afraid to explore female sexuality, desires, and perspective with her music. Her first album, *The Reel*, was released in 2019. Songs like “O’ Lawd Oye!” (Blackman, N. Official, 2018) explores her sexual desires confidently. She also encourages women to assert their own agency in relationships. Other songs like “Baila Mami” (JulianspromosTV | Soca Music, 2017) encourage females to use dance as a way to embrace their bodies and become confident. Upholding oneself to men’s idea of beauty is dangerous, thus it is important to accept yourself as you are. In an interview, she explained how for a long time she felt as if there were not many songs of the Soca genre that she could identify with:

I wanna listen to soca music that could help me through a breakup or can make me feel better when I am depressed... and I said the only way that soca is gonna get to the point where I want it to be is if I try to do something about it.. that’s why I decided to do something different. (Jamaica Gleaner, 2019, 1:07)

Nailah Blackman has also collaborated with fellow female artist that share her viewpoint like Shenseea with the song “Badishh” released in 2017. This song focuses on enjoying oneself without being worried about men’s opinion or judgement of them. They coined the term “badishh” to mean the joy and happiness they feel for themselves. The line “I cyah check up on no man, to see wha’ gyal he dey with” states the speaker is prioritizing independence and avoiding getting involved in monitoring a man’s every move to know his current involvement with other women. Therefore, it encourages females to liberate

themselves from social expectations that are placed on women to only exist to please men. Beyond her music, she actively participates in female oriented and empowerment concerts in the Caribbean and the United States. This solidifies her role not only as a performer, but as a symbol of empowerment.

Plena Combativa

Solo female artists are not the only ones using their platform to advocate for equality; there are some musical groups doing the same. For example, Plena Combativa is Puerto Rican all-female plena group composed of six members from different age groups, including: Adriana Santoni Rodríguez, Margarita Morales Marrero, Angellie González Jorge, Laura Cintrón Carrión, Lourdes A. Torres Santos, and Laura R. Freytes Rodríguez. According to an article in *Remezcla*, they are “one of the few all-female groups performing the Puerto Rican folk musical tradition on the island” (Reichard, 2019, para. 1).

Plena Combativa released their first album in 2020, which made them the first full group composed of women to produce a record in Puerto Rico (Redacción Todas, 2020, para. 2). The goal of this self-titled album is explained by Santoni in an interview with Reichard from *Remezcla*; “it’s very important to bring women together to tackle all the things that we face on a daily basis” (Reichard, 2019, para. 12). Because of this, all of Plena Combativa’s songs aim to voice the concerns of normal women. Notably the song titled, “*Libre y Peligrosa*” [Free and Dangerous] (Cero Tolerancia, 2018) is a protest against patriarchy and advocates for the freedom of women to have a say over their own bodies. Lyrics like “*yo no salgo de mi casa pa’ llenar tu expectativa*” [I don’t leave my house to fulfill your expectations] and “*no te creas que me quedo con los brazos así cruzados*” [don’t think I will stand idly by] illustrate how these woman refuse to conform to the societal expectations that are imposed on them by men and patriarchy while encouraging women to assert and fight for their autonomy. Furthermore, they remind women of their rights to take a stand and live their lives on their own terms.

For the members of Plena Combativa their songs are a “*herramienta de lucha, protesta y denuncia del sistema patriarcal, el racismo, el capitalismo, la heteronormatividad, el colonialismo y sus violencias hacia las mujeres y las comunidades LGBTIAQP+*” [tool for fighting, protesting and denouncing the patriarchal system, racism, capitalism, heteronormativity, colonialism and its violence against women and LGBTIAQP + communities] (NotiCel, 2020, para. 7). Plena Combativa also aim to “*visibilizar y exigir protagonismo para las mujeres percusionistas, compositoras y cantantes de Plena*” [make visible and demand a leading role for women percussionists, composers and singers of Plena] (Redacción Todas, 2020, para. 10). The fact that this group of women chose this specific musical genre to share their message is particularly significant because plena is usually a male-dominated genre. Plena is “rooted in African song and dance” (Reichard, 2019, para. 4) which means this type of music was often heard in sugar plantation areas

of the island. It originated in the southern coastal city of Ponce around 1920 where the enslaved sang about social issues affecting Puerto Rican society, making it the perfect vehicle to denounce diverse social injustices taking place in modern day Puerto Rico as well.

Conclusion

Instead of accepting the dominant discourses of patriarchy, these Caribbean women musicians have been creating music that defies such discourses and the oppressive norms that they establish and propagate. By using their music to create alternate mental models where important social problems are made visible and unpacked, they are empowering others to look at their realities from a different perspective. It is impossible for one person to know the entire truth, which is why we need to depend on one another and our previous experiences, as well as the experiences of those who came before us, to begin to understand what is really happening in our physically and socially embodied existences. Everyone has the ability to determine what is good and true in the image and interests of themselves and their communities, which is why these female musicians have based their truths on their own lived experiences and have used their voices to share these truths with others.

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LA GAMIFICACIÓN COMO MÉTODO DE REDUCCIÓN DEL ESTRÉS LABORAL EN LOS PAÍSES DEL CARIBE

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Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es realizar un análisis sobre el estrés laboral en el empleo en personas que viven en Latinoamérica y el Caribe, y recomendar una opción para poder reducir el mismo. Se realizó una revisión literaria sobre el estrés laboral y sus consecuencias en los trabajadores de países latinoamericanos y del Caribe. Los resultados son alarmantes, donde hasta el 79% de los trabajadores enfrentan riesgos en el ambiente laboral por estrés. La gamificación es una herramienta útil para reducir el estrés laboral.

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Términos clave: Estrés laboral, gamificación, método de reducción

El estrés laboral ha sido uno de los mayores causantes de enfermedades en las personas trabajadoras y una de las principales razones para el éxodo de los empleados de sus lugares de trabajo. Por tal razón, la empresa debe velar por todo su componente laboral, esto incluye la salud de los trabajadores. Un empleado no estimado es un empleado que no está a gusto en su trabajo y un empleado que no es productivo en su labor. El estrés es una enfermedad que debe ser tomada con seriedad y no a la ligera. En esta investigación se exponen algunos de los síntomas del estrés laboral y sus consecuencias. Se canalizaron varios artículos sobre el tema y cómo la gamificación puede afectar negativamente o positivamente a las personas para contrarrestar el estrés laboral. Los casos revisados pertenecen a países de América, principalmente los que comparten el mar Caribe.

La gamificación es la utilización de los juegos estructurados y diseñados para lograr un objetivo en específico. Los juegos tienen la capacidad de ayudar a las personas de diversas maneras. Graafland, et al. (2012) definen los juegos como las aplicaciones interactivas e informáticas divertidas y atractivas, los cuales tienen un objetivo desafiante (p.

1322). Los juegos incorporan no solamente mecanismos de puntuación sino también habilidades, conocimientos o actitudes útiles en la realidad.

Orgamibidez et al. (2015) dicen que el estrés laboral es un obstáculo para alcanzar las metas establecidas. La Organización Internacional del Trabajo (2012) y La Organización Mundial de la Salud (2020) exponen que los factores que pueden causar el estrés laboral incluyen: volumen excesivo de trabajo, volumen escaso de trabajo, falta de control, falta de participación, trabajo monótono, sistemas inadecuados de evaluación, supervisión inadecuada, malas relaciones entre compañeros y trabajo desagradable. Osorio y Cárdenas (2017) mencionan que el estrés laboral es un fenómeno social causado por una petición no cumplida (p. 1322).

El estrés laboral es un problema más habitual de lo que se pueda pensar. Este problema está creciendo. Según la Organización Mundial de la Salud, el estrés laboral es la respuesta fisiológica y psicológica del cuerpo ante situaciones estresantes en el lugar del trabajo. El estrés laboral causa riesgos para la salud mental, emocional y físico de los trabajadores. Algunos de los problemas mentales que pueden ser causados por el estrés son: ansiedad, depresión, problemas de sueño y agotamiento mental. El estrés laboral puede causar problemas cardíacos, dolores de cabeza, dolores musculares e hipertensión (Mejía, et al, 2019, p. 208). Estos problemas impactan negativamente la calidad de trabajo y crea insatisfacción laboral. Por otra parte, el estrés laboral puede reducir la productividad de los trabajadores, ya que ellos pueden sentirse sobrecargados, y puede conllevar a errores y disminuir la calidad del trabajo realizado.

Quispe et al. (2017) establecen que el estrés laboral es una enfermedad relacionada con el comportamiento pasivo, como la inseguridad; y con el comportamiento activo, como las exigencias de capacidades (p. 21). Juárez (2022, julio 19) comenta que según un informe de Gallup más de la mitad de los trabajadores (53%) en Latinoamérica está trabajando bajo estrés, mientras que para el resto del mundo es de 44%. Las mujeres sufren la peor parte del estrés, con hasta un 60%. Se suma que el 80% de los trabajadores en Latinoamérica no disfrutan de sus labores. Algunas de las razones para esto incluyen: la remuneración económica y situaciones personales, con el 70% de los trabajadores indicando que esta molestia se debe a la persona que los lidera. La autora también expone que la región de Latinoamérica y el Caribe tiene los niveles más alto en agotamiento laboral, estrés y tristeza, siendo las mujeres latinas las más afectadas.

Juárez (2022, julio 28, p. 2-6) expone que la tristeza, la ira y preocupación han impactado a los trabajadores en sus empleos. La autora expone que, según El Foro Económico Mundial, el 56% de los trabajadores se sienten preocupados, el 31% de los mismos sienten ira, y un 33% de los trabajadores señalan dolor físico. Solo el 20% de los trabajadores latinoamericanos y caribeños se sienten comprometidos con su trabajo. Un aproximado del 60% de la fuerza laboral de Latinoamérica y del Caribe siente que no está progresando en su trabajo. Hernández (2022) dice que 83% de los trabajadores en América Latina opina que el estrés, la salud mental y agotamiento son los principales riesgos que

enfrentan en el ambiente laboral y que la pandemia COVID-19 ha sido un catalizador para esto. El 39% de los trabajadores reconoce que la empresa para la cual trabajan tiene como debilidad los programas de bienestar y la atención a la salud emocional (p. 1, 4). Mejía, et al (2019) realizaron un estudio de estrés laboral transversal analítico de un total de 2,608 trabajadores en Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, Panamá, Perú y Venezuela. Venezuela obtuvo una tasa de estrés laboral de 63%, Ecuador una tasa de 54%, Panamá una tasa de 49%, Honduras una tasa de 34%, Perú una tasa de 29% y Colombia una tasa de 26% (p. 207). De estos seis países, tres son países caribeños. Se compararon las tasas de estrés laboral entre hombres y mujeres, obteniendo un resultado de una tasa de 44.8% de estrés entre las mujeres y una tasa de estrés de 37.6% en los hombres. En cuanto al tipo de trabajo, el trabajo administrativo obtuvo una tasa de estrés laboral de 41.7% y los trabajos de tipo operativo obtuvieron una tasa de 40.9% de estrés.

Dávila Vega de Sotelo y Cuadros Santos (2022) realizaron un estudio longitudinal desde el 2009 al 2019 para investigar el estrés laboral. Entre los países de Centroamérica y del Caribe investigados se encontraron Colombia, Costa Rica, México y Venezuela. Los investigadores establecieron tres componentes para el *burnout* ocasionado por el estrés laboral: agotamiento emocional, despersonalización y relaciones personales (p. 23). El impacto del *burnout* en estos países estaba en aumento, según los autores. Los investigadores establecieron que el estrés laboral no era el mismo en todas las profesiones. Las profesiones penitenciarias tenían el nivel más alto de estrés con una tasa de 79%, las profesiones sociales con una tasa de 45.6% y los deportistas con una tasa de 24%. Los investigadores estipularon que las empresas necesitaban un cambio de filosofía organizacional para que pudieran aumentar la calidad laboral.

Hamari et al. (2014) aseguran que participar en juegos y tomar descansos regulares disminuye el estrés laboral (p. 1).

Ortega Lozano (2021) realizó un estudio en Colombia con un juego creado para reducir el estrés. Tomando en cuenta aspectos del entorno como luz, texturas y colores, el juego no se centró en los niveles de dificultad sino en brindar una experiencia libre de estrés. Se utilizó una encuesta basada en el POMS y POMS-2 para evaluar los estados de ánimo de los participantes. Los resultados de la investigación indicaron que los juegos ayudaron a reducir el estrés a las personas que participaron del estudio. Martínez et al. (2019) realizaron una revisión de literatura entre los años 2005 al 2018 que constó de 122 artículos. Encontraron que los juegos eran unos de los métodos más renovadores para generar interés en los trabajadores, reducir el estrés laboral y aumentar la productividad. El mundo laboral es uno muy estresante y puede causar daño a la salud de los empleados. Cada patrono debe velar por su recurso máspreciado, sus empleados, no tan solo por el valor económico que representa cada empleado, sino por la valía de cada uno de los trabajadores como seres humanos que merecen dignidad y respeto. El reducir el estrés significa una mejor calidad de vida para los empleados, para la familia de los empleados y para la empresa misma.

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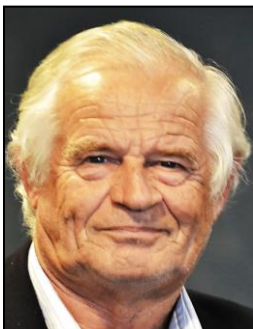
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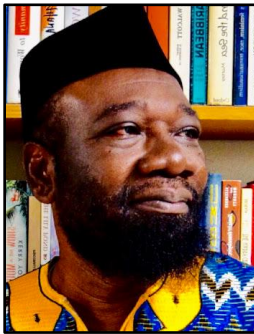
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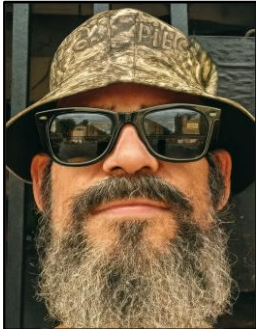
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