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1 Introduction

Contact-induced linguistic change has been investigated from linguistic and social perspectives, but rarely are both perspectives rigorously considered in the same study. A variationist framework is uniquely suited to just such a combined approach. The methods include ethnography to elucidate the social meaning of variation, the Principle of Accountability to ensure that linguistic parameters of variables are systematically investigated (which requires examination of both occurrences and non-occurrences), and quantitative methods to objectively and simultaneously evaluate the potentially relevant linguistic and social factors identified by ethnography and accountability. This leads to an understanding of the relationship between the two types of factors. In other words, the variationist approach shows how linguistic and social factors work together to condition variation and demonstrates the relative strength of each factor's contribution. Applying this approach, which is typically applied to monolingual communities, to a multilingual community has the added benefit of allowing us to build a theory of language change which incorporates both internal and contact-induced change, thus uniting the fields of (monolingual) sociolinguistics and language contact.

First I examine the passive constructions in Papiamentu (Iberian creole), which is in contact with Dutch, Spanish, and English on the Dutch Caribbean islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. There are three possible passivizing verbs in Papiamentu: *wordu* (1), from Dutch passivizer *worde* 'become'; *ser* (2), from Spanish passivizer *ser* 'to be'; and *keda* (3), from Spanish *quedar* 'to stay or remain', which is used in the American Spanish construction *quedar* + PAST PART. 'become X'. Although all three passivizers are derived from foreign lexical items, I show that the passive construction itself probably was not borrowed.[1] Of the three foreign origin passivizers, only *wordu*

[1]The passive construction was not borrowed during the time period evidenced by texts (roughly after 1800). It may have appeared during creolization (1650–1750). If it was borrowed, it had to have been between the end of creolization and 1800.

was borrowed by L1 Papiamentu speakers specifically for use in the passive, after first appearing as a transfer feature in the speech of a subgroup of the Papiamentu speech community, L1 Dutch speakers. I will further show that the *ser* and *keda* passive constructions, with Spanish-origin passivizers, are calques on Spanish and Dutch expressions, respectively. Thus, the emergence of all three passivizers can be attributed to language contact, albeit via different processes, though the existence of the passive construction itself in Papiamentu cannot be attributed to contact, or at least not the post-1800 contact evidenced in texts. Further, I show that the integration of all three passivizing verbs proceeds as a change from above the level of social consciousness in monolingual communities (Labov 1972).

(1) *E pòtrèt aki a* **wordu** *saká* **dor** **di** *e mucha hòmber*
    the picture here PERF PASS take-PART through of the child male
    'This picture was taken by the boy.'   (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1994:211)
(2) *E kas a* **ser** *trahá* **pa** *e karpinté.*
    the house PERF PASS work-PART by the carpenter.
    'The house was made by the carpenter.'   (Munteanu 1996:345)
(3) *Grasias na intermediashon oportuno, aunke   un poko lat di Stichting,*
    thanks to mediation   opportune, although a little late of Stichting
    Monumentenzorg e edifisio por a   keda salvaguardá Pa posteridat.
    Monumentenzorz the building can PERF PASS save-PART   for posterity
    'Thanks to the opportune, though a little late, mediation of Stichting Monumentenzorg [Foundation for the care of monuments], the building was able to be saved for posterity.'   (Howe 1994:35)

Linguistic data are taken from 171 written texts (dating 1776–2000, from Aruba and Curaçao), and 129 sociolinguistic interviews (all three islands) collected in 2003. Speakers in the interviews range from 18 to 82 years of age. Census data detail demographic changes for the same period, and ethnography provides a picture of the current social situation. In what follows, I describe the contact situation and the passive constructions, give quantitative results, and trace the real time change.

2 Language Contact

Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao lie just a few miles off the coast of Venezuela. They are owned by the Netherlands, but have always maintained close ties to the Latin American mainland. Papiamentu is the most common L1 on the islands. Dutch is the official language, but is spoken as a first language by only a small, prestigious few. Caribbean English is spoken natively by immigrants who come to work in the refinery, as housekeepers, or in other me-

nial jobs. Spanish is spoken natively by Latin American immigrants who come for similar menial jobs, including those in construction. "Real" Antilleans (i.e. those whose families have lived on the islands for at least a couple of generations) generally speak all four of these languages,[2] but at the same time demand that immigrants learn Papiamentu. They will even terminate a communicative encounter with a non-Papiamentu-speaking immigrant by refusing to accommodate linguistically to the immigrant, even if it means that the islander has to go to another store to make a purchase or is otherwise inconvenienced. There is a strong belief that anyone who wants to live and make money in the islands should speak Papiamentu out of respect, since this is what is expected of Papiamentu speakers who live and work in Europe (Dutch), Latin America (Spanish), or the U.S. (English, or Spanish in Miami). The result of this attitude is that L1 English- and Spanish-speaking immigrants learn Papiamentu (albeit to varying degrees), but typically do not attain command of all four of the community's languages, though children of immigrants born in the Antilles usually do. L1 Dutch-speaking immigrants (or residents, since many European Dutch ultimately return to the Netherlands) on the other hand, face a different situation. Islanders think that the European Dutch look down on them, so rather than demanding Papiamentu from Europeans, they will instead try to impress the Europeans with their Dutch skills. Dutch speakers from Suriname are pressured to learn Papiamentu, but their command of the "official" language often allows them an out that English- and Spanish-speaking immigrants do not have.

3 The Passive Constructions

In the creole literature, Papiamentu's passive construction is frequently mentioned since it is unusual to see a "European-like" passive in a creole, but other than these mentions, and some very basic facts about the construction in Papiamentu grammars, there has been little work done on it, with the exception of Eckkrammer's (2004) corpus study. The known facts are these (Dijkhoff 2000): a passive may be formed with any TMA marker, one of three passivizing verbs (*ser, wordu,* or *keda*), and the past participle of a verb. The agent is optionally expressed via the prepositions *door di* (from Dutch *door* 'by means of')[3] or *pa* (from Spanish *para* 'for'). In (1) and (2), the passivizing verb and agent-marking presposition happen to agree in etymology, but this is not obligatory (see, e.g., (17)).[4]

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[2]Antilleans speak a form of English ranging from standard to Caribbean English.

[3]Papiamentu *di* 'of' is from Spanish *de* 'of'.

[4]The agent phrase is optional, and I did not find enough of them for a statistical

Of the three passivizers, *wordu* is the only one limited to use in the passive construction. *Ser* is used only infrequently in Papiamentu outside of the passive construction, but it nevertheless appears in frozen expressions borrowed from Spanish such as *ser humano* 'human being'. *Keda* is frequently used as a verb meaning 'stay, remain' independent of the passive use. However, *keda* as a passivizer can only occur with the perfective TMA marker, *a* (Dijkhoff 2000), which is the only constraint on any of the passive constructions cited in Papiamentu grammars, textbooks, or linguistic literature.

The literature is completely silent on the fact that some passive constructions occur without a passivizing verb (Kouwenberg p.c.). I think that the construction was unnoticed by linguists for a long time since there was no overt marker (i.e. no passivizer). Additionally, Papiamentu has a passive-like impersonal construction (Dijkhoff 2000). From the Proclamation freeing slaves (1863), we can see an example of a bare passive and an impersonal ((4) and (5) respectively) (Kouwenberg, p.c.). Note the position of the patient (underlined) with respect to the verb in the two constructions. In the bare passive, it moves to subject position whereas in the impersonal, it remains *in situ* in object position (Dijkhoff 2000).

(4) ...*sklabitoed lo   ta   pa seemper kitaar   foor di Curaçao...*
     ...slavery   FUT COP for always   remove from of Curaçao
     '...slavery will forever be removed from Curaçao...'
(5) *Na dia 30 di September di anja pasa,   a   poeblika e   ley...*
     In day 30 of September of year pass-PART PERF publish the law
     'On the 30th of September of last year, a law was published...' (OR,
        'there was published a law...'   (1863 Proclamashon)

The bare passive and impersonal construction serve legitimate grammatical functions in Papiamentu, but are not the "European-like" passive mentioned in the literature. Neither construction has a passivizing verb; they are differentiated by the movement of the patient to subject position in the bare passive, but not the impersonal. Our question here is how did Papiamentu acquire the "European-like" passive (in (1)-(3)) and these three different passivizing verbs from two different languages?

4. Data

4.1 Texts

The first attestation and first productive use of each passivizing verb are

analysis. I do not discuss the agent phrases further here.

given in Table 1. To be considered productive, the passivizing verb had to be used with at least three different verbs within a given time period. *Wordu* was productive on both islands by 1871, followed by *keda* in 1933 (on Curaçao), and then *ser*, which became productive on Curaçao by the 50s and Aruba by the 60s. Based on the textual data, Howe's assertion that *ser* is older (Howe 1994) seems dubious.

	First Attestation		Productive Use	
	Aruba	*Curaçao*	*Aruba*	*Curaçao*
wordu	1862	1852	1871	1871
keda	1954	1933	1960	1933
ser	1954	1933	1960	1954

Table 1: Earliest attestations and first productive uses of passive constructions in Aruba and Curaçao texts

Though there is significantly more volume of text available from Curaçao (almost double), I found about equal total numbers of passives from the two islands, and the distribution is completely different (Table 2). *Ser* is the most frequent form on Aruba (at almost 75%), whereas *wordu* is the most frequent on Curaçao (but with only about 56%). *Keda* is least frequent on both islands. Examples of each type of passive appear in (6)-(8).

	ser		*wordu*		*keda*		Total
Aruba	127	74.2%	32	18.7%	12	7.02%	171
Curaçao	54	31.4%	97	56.4%	21	12.2%	172
Total	181	52.8%	129	37.6%	33	9.6%	343

Table 2: Overall distribution of passive tokens in texts, Aruba and Curaçao

(6) *E   naseemeentoe di Hesoe Kriestoe ta   worde célébraar pa noos*
    the birth   of Jesus Christ   IMP PASS celebrate by our
    dia di fiesta   di Kriestoe (Kersmis) 25 December
    day of celebration of Christ   Christmas 25 December
    'The birth of Jesus Christ is celebrated by our feast day of Christ (Christmas)
    25 December.'   (Muller and Newman 1862:16)

(7) *...el a   hay'é   na peligro di ser   maltratá   pa pueblo.*
      he PERF find-himself   in danger of PASS mistreat-PART by village
    '...he found himself in danger of being mistreated by the people.'
                                    (Hoyer 1933:24)

(8) *E   decreto a   duna pa resultado cu   pronto nos costa a   queda*
    the decree PERF give for result   COMP now   our coast PERF PASS
    infestá   di piratanan...
    Infest-PART by pirate-PL   (Hoyer 1933:5)
    'The decree [1520, of Carlos V, ordering all Indians to be taken as slaves]
    gave the result that almost immediately our coast was infested by pirates...'

GoldVarb 2000 (Robinson, Lawrence, and Tagliamonte 2001) runs were made for each of the three passivizing verbs as rule applications with the other two forms as non-applications. Aruba (Table 3) and Curaçao (Tables 4-6) data were analyzed separately.[5] In Table 3, we see that the *ser* passive in Aruba is favored in years with increased numbers of L1 Spanish and English speakers on the island (1980s and 1990s), and in fiction. The *wordu* passive, on the other hand, is favored during periods where there were very few L1 Spanish speakers on the island (1911-1943 and 1960-1980). There were not enough tokens of the *keda* passive in Aruba texts for a statistical analysis.

	Factor Group	*Factor*	*Weight*
ser	*% Spanish &*	Span 2-8%, Eng 9-15% (1981, 1991)	0.527
	English spkrs	Span 0.1-1.5%, Eng 2-8% (1960)	0.228
	Genre	fiction	0.691
		article	0.470
	log likelihood=-69.873	input=0.615	
wordu	*% Spanish speakers*	0.1-1.5% (1911-1943, 1960-1980)	0.999
		2-8%, (1943-1960,1980-2000)	0.220
	log likelihood=-45.736	input=0.215	

Table 3: GoldVarb results for Aruba texts, *ser* and *wordu* passives

Factor Group	*Factor*	*Weight*
% Dutch speakers &	Du 9-15, Eng 2-8% (1943, 1992, 2000)	0.956
% English speakers	Du 9-15%, Eng 0.1 -1.5% (1960)	0.704
	Du 2-8%, Eng 0.1-1.5% (1981)	0.635
	Du 2-8%, Eng <0.1% (1913)	0.193
Language context	Portuguese	0.919
	Papiamentu	0.280
Genre	letter	0.901
	non-fiction	0.505
	fiction	0.336
	article	0.318
log likelihood=-49.041	input = 0.297	

Table 4: GoldVarb results for Curaçao texts, *ser* passive

In contrast, Table 4 shows that the *ser* passive in Curaçao is favored in years

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[5]Given the difference in raw distributions, it is possible, if not likely, that there are different systems at work on the different islands. In such a case, it is appropriate to run the suspected different systems separately rather than together but with 'island' as a factor group (Paolillo 2002)

when there were increased L1 Dutch and English speakers on the island (1943 and later). It is also favored in letters and non-fiction (as opposed to fiction on Aruba), and in Portuguese language contexts. 'Language context' refers to the L1 of the author of a Papiamentu text, or the language from which a Papiamentu text was translated (where one or the other could be determined).

Factor Group	Factor	Weight
% English speakers	<0.1%	0.969
	0.1-1.5%	0.150
	2-8%	0.001
Time Period	1950-1959	0.969
	1960-1969	0.902
	1980-1989	0.884
	1990-1999	0.208
	1930-1939	0.096
	1970-1979	0.011
Genre	fiction	0.995
	article	0.839
	non-fiction	0.295
log likelihood=-51.685	input = 0.730	

Table 5: GoldVarb results for Curaçao texts, *wordu* passive

Though the crossed factor group '% Dutch speakers and % English speakers' is significant, the significance of Portuguese language context suggests that it is the time period marked off by factors in the crossed group that is a favoring factor for the *ser* passive rather than the actual numbers of Dutch and English speakers. Most of Curaçao's Portuguese speakers were Sephardic Jews.[6] The *wordu* passive on Curaçao (Table 5) is most strongly favored when there are no L1 English speakers on the island (before 1943), in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s, and in both fiction and newspaper articles. Finally, the *keda* passive (Table 6) is favored in certain of the years with increased numbers of L1 Spanish speakers living on the island (1930s, 1980s, and 1990s), as well as in letters and newspaper articles, in Papiamentu language contexts, and in sentences where the agent is not expressed.

Factor Group	Factor	Weight
Date and % Spanish speakers	1930-1939, 2-8%	0.902
	1990-1999, 2-8%	0.772
	1980-1989, 2-8%	0.632
	1960-1969, 0.1-1.5%	0.051

[6]However, there were also some immigrants from Portugal.

Genre	letter	0.956
	article	0.536
	non-fiction	0.404
Agent	not realized	0.566
	realized	0.189
Language context	Papiamentu	0.599
	Portuguese	0.262
log likelihood=-36.039	input=0.101	

Table 6: GoldVarb results for Curaçao texts, *keda* passive

4.2 Speech

Wordu is virtually the only passivizer used in speech (Table 7). *Ser* and *keda* were each used only once in interviews, and both by Bonaire speakers ((9) and (11), respectively). The *ser* example was from a woman quoting a Bible verse. Though I have been unable to obtain this particular translation (1996), in the absence of other *ser* passives in her speech, I conclude that she is quoting, rather than that the *ser* passive is a regular part of her speech. In (10), the same speaker uses a *wordu* passive in a similar, but non-quoted, context. The *keda* passive in (11) is from a prolific Bonairean biographer and journalist whose speech may be influenced by his writing.

	Total			Hours of speech	# passives per hour
	wordu	ser	keda		
Aruba	30			33.2	0.904 per hour
Bonaire	31	1	1	16.5	2 per hour
Curaçao	37			30.3	1.22 per hour
Total	98	1	1	80	1.25

Table 7: Passive constructions in spoken data

(9) *Paso   den bijbel ta   bisa no juzga pa bo   no ser   juzgá* (#127)
   because in   Bible IMP say   no judge for you no PASS judge-PART
   'Because in the Bible it says, "Don't judge (others) so that you won't be judged." '

(10) *Bo tin   ku   respeta hende pa bo   wordu respetá.* (#127)
    you have COMP respect people for you PASS   respect-PASS
    'You have to respect people so you'll be respected.'

(11) *UNESCO a   pone komo un di ponencia-nan di nan ta ku   ta keda*
    UNESCO PERF put   as   one of presentations of they COP COMP IMP keep
    miho a   keda probá   sientifikamente ku   ta miyo un mucha
    better PERF PASS prove-PART scientifically   COMP COP better a child
    ta   hasi den su   mesun idioma. (#113)
    IMP do   in 3sg POSS same   language

'UNESCO put it as one of their presentations that it's better; it was proven scientifically that it's better for a child to do (learn) in his/her own language.'

In addition to showing slightly more variety in passive use, there are by far proportionately more passives overall used by Bonaire speakers than by speakers on other islands. I argue that this is due to the "hypercorrect pattern of the second highest status group" (Labov 1972). We also see this hypercorrect pattern in Bonaire speakers with progressive *-ndo* (Sanchez 2005a, 2006a). Aruba and Curaçao have separate linguistic and social norms, and their own ideas about prestige and standardness. Differences between the speech of these two islands are due to the fact that Aruba and Curaçao have different systems and comprise separate speech communities (Sanchez 2006b, 2006c). In many ways, Bonaire is thought of as second to Curaçao, with one author suggesting that the relation between the islands is that of city-suburban area (Klomp 1986). When other Antilleans talk about Bonaire, it is usually in a fond but slightly denigrating way: Bonaire is a nice, quiet place to spend the weekend, they might say, but you'll be bored if you stay any longer than that.[7]

As is clear from Table 7, with all but two tokens from the spoken data being *wordu* passives, there was not enough variation to perform a Goldvarb analysis. However, examples (12) to (19) provide a picture of the modern use of the *wordu* passive in speech. Agents are expressed sometimes (17-19) but not always. The passivizer can be used with verbs of Dutch, English, or Spanish origin. Past participles may be formed by the Dutch (13-14) or Iberian (15-19) pattern. In (12), English *transfer*, is not overtly converted to a past participle.

(12) *Anto bo ta wordu transfer kada biaha na kada isla* (#118)
     then you IMP PASS transfer each trip on each island
     'Then you get transferred each trip on each island.'
(13) *bo ta wordu gestraf.* (#127)
     you IMP PASS PART-punish
     'You get punished.'
(14) *No ku   e mester wordu di check-in   na e   momentu ey* (#131)
     no COMP he must PASS PART-check-in in the moment that
     'Not that he needed to be checked in at that moment.'
(15) *E mester wordo poní   na silent of pagá.   Mi sa   ku tin*
     he must PASS put-PAR on silent or turn off-PART I know COMP have

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[7]People from Aruba and Curaçao told me that there are few restaurants, little shopping, just one bar with live music, etc. One woman assured me that all Bonaire-ans go to bed by 7 p.m. for lack of anything else to do. Indeed I stayed on Bonaire for a month and found no one went to bed at 7 p.m.

*skol   ku   ta   exigi   no mach di **wordu poní**   na nan mesa.* (#9)
school COMP IMP require no must   PASS   put-PART on their table
'It (cell phone) must be put on silent or turned off (in school). I know that
there are schools that require that they not be put on their (students') desks.'

(16) *Hulandes tabata   un lengua   ku   semper a   **wordu papiá***
Dutch   IMP PAST a   language COMP always PERF PASS   speak-PART
ora   kosnan oficial, na skol. (#63)
when things   official in school
'Dutch was a language that was always spoken during official things in
school.'

(17) *Nos tin   hopi palabra den e   papiamentu antyano ku   ta*
1pl   have many work   in the speaking   Antillean COMP IMP
***wordu uzá**   p' e   bieunan* (#29)
PASS   used by the old-PL
'We have many words in Antillean speaking that are used by the old people.'

(18) *Anto mi ta   kere   ku   tur hende ta   **wordu tumá** door di*
then 1sg IMP believe COMP all people IMP PASS take   by
nan   Dios. (#127)
3pl-POSS God.
'Then I think that everybody will be taken (to heaven etc.) by their God.'

(19) *E   tenshon ta   **wordu kriá**   tin biaha door di e   makamba mes.* (#95)
the tension IMP PASS foster exist time by   the Dutch   same
'The (racial) tension is fostered sometimes by the Dutch themselves.'

5 Analysis

Before evidence of the productive use of passivizing verbs in Papiamentu,
we find examples of both a passive-like impersonal construction, and a pas-
sive construction with no passivizing verb. The two constructions are differ-
entiated by word order: the recipient of the action moves to subject position
in the passive, but not the impersonal. I will not flesh out a historical rela-
tionship between the two constructions. Relevant here that Papiamentu had a
passive construction of the form TMA MARKER + PAST PARTICIPLE + (PREPO-
SITION + AGENT) at the time that Dutch priests were on the island.

I hypothesize that *wordu* was first used in the Papiamentu passive con-
struction by L1 Dutch speakers speaking (or writing) Papiamentu. Since the
surface word orders of the two languages are analogous with respect to these
two constructions in main clauses (20)[8], this would have happened via un-
conscious, L1 to L2 transfer. At least some evidence for this comes from the

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[8]The basic Papiamentu sentence contains a TMA marker and a verb, but serial
verb constructions are also found (20), providing a template onto which the passiviz-
ing verb can be calqued.

earliest textual example (21), found in one of Niewindt's (a Dutch priest) earliest catechisms when it appears he was still learning Papiamentu. Though the Dutch translation of this particular catechism has many *worde* passives, only this one made it to the Papiamentu version. Niewindt may have considered it aberrant,[9] because he removed it from versions immediately after this one, but it was not long after that that the *wordu* passive began to surface productively in a variety of texts from a variety of authors. It looks like transfer from L1 Dutch speakers introduced the form, but for it to have caught on, it had to have been picked up by L1 Papiamentu speakers, probably as a prestige form. Statistics support both aspects of this analysis. First, the form is favored on both islands during the earliest time periods and when there were few L1 Spanish or English speakers present. The only outside influence early on was from European Dutch colonists—largely priests and religious workers, but also slave owners, then land owners and managers. This passive appears to have caught on more strongly among Curaçao speakers, because it is also favored here in fiction and news articles in the latter part of the 20th century (notably during a period of revitalization of Papiamentu (Fouse 2002)).

(20) Pap.   TMA MARKER + VERB   + VERB (serial verb construction)
                 TMA MARKER + PASSIVIZING VERB + PAST PARTICIPLE
                             ↑   ↑
      Du.   PASSIVIZING VERB + PAST PARTICIPLE

(21) *Pr. Kieko ta   Matrimonio ó   kasamentoe?*
      Q. what COP matrimony or marriage
      R. Oen Sakramentoe, koe   ta   instituwier   pa nos Senjoor Hesoe
      A. a   sacrament . which COP institute-PART by our lord   Jesus
          Kriestoe, den kwaal homber i   moeheer ta worde oenier....
          Christ   in which man   and woman COP pass unite-PART
      Vr. Vat is het Huwelijk ?
      A. Een Sacrament door onzen Jesus Christus ingesteld, in hetwelk een man
          en eene vrow vereenigd worden....
      Q. What is matrimony?
      A. A sacrament, which is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, in which a
          man and a woman are united...

The next passivizer to appear was *ser*. Spanish speakers in the Antilles are typically uncomfortable with the Dutch language, and with Dutch words

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[9]This passive appears in a subordinate clause. Dutch has a different word order than Papiamentu for this clause type, but Niewindt nevertheless puts *worde* preverbally in Papiamentu. I believe this shows his awareness of Papiamentu grammar.

in Papiamentu, even when they have attained a great deal of competency in the language. I suspect that L1 Spanish speakers learned that *wordu* in Papiamentu is a passivizing verb, but since they don't know Dutch, they didn't know that its lexical meaning is 'become'. Spanish speakers began replacing Dutch passivizing *wordu* with Spanish passivizing *ser*. Now, in Spanish, passivizing *ser* is almost always conjugated, but L1 Spanish speakers of Papiamentu know that *ser* is used in Papiamentu only in its unconjugated forms. Even though *ser* + PAST PARTICIPLE (denoting the passive) represents a departure from their native Spanish grammar, it is not as extreme a departure as *wordu* + PAST PARTICPLE. Speakers in this sub-speech community began to favor this form. In Aruba, where this form is more common, it is statistically correlated with increased numbers of Spanish speakers on the island. On Curaçao, it is correlated with 1943 and later, or times of increased immigration, and Portuguese language context, or Sephardic authors. It is important to note that the Jews spoke both Portuguese *and* Spanish (Sanchez 2005a).

Passivizer *keda* developed later than *ser* and *wordu* (possibly as early as the 1930s) but it became commonly used only in the last two decades. I argue that L1 Papiamentu speakers introduced this form because they are the only subgroup of Papiamentu speakers who also speak Dutch and Spanish, and the *keda* passive was formed from knowledge of all three languages. In Spanish, the expression *quedar* 'to keep' + PAST PARTICIPLE means 'become X', just like the lexical meaning of the Dutch *worde* passive. I argue that the *keda* passive is a calque of the *wordu* passive and the Spanish *quedar* + PAST PARTICIPLE expression, created by Papiamentu speakers with the Papaimentu verb *keda* 'to keep', which is derived from *quedar*. Further, this form caught on in response to a prescriptive directive to avoid "too much" use of the *wordu* passive. Again, the statistics support this analysis. This form is favored in the 80s and 90s in Curaçao in response to rising prescriptivism (there were not enough Aruba tokens to analyze), and importantly, in Papiamentu language contexts.

All three passivizing verbs[10] were adopted after creolization (Papiamentu is thought to have stabilized around 1700, certainly by 1750). A few authors have tried to account for the appearance of the various forms. Howe argues that *ser* is older than *wordu*, but my data clearly contradict that statement. Eckrammer (2004) argues that *keda* is an internal development made in response to a prescriptive admonishment to avoid overuse of *wordu*, while Munteanu (1996) maintains that *keda* is the result of interference from Span-

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[10]These three lexical items were incorporated into the passive constructions after creolization, but *ser* and *keda* may have existed in Papiamentu prior to creolization.

ish. I argue that Eckrammer and Munteanu both are, in a way, correct. Specifically, the recent frequent use of *keda* as a passivizer is related to the emerging prescriptivism described by Eckrammer, and began with native Papiamentu speakers, rather than any of the groups of non-native speakers in the larger Papiamentu speaking community. I argue additionally that multilingualism was a key factor in the emergence of this form (not simply change from above or bilingual interference).

6 Conclusion

Examining borrowing within a variationist sociolinguistic framework allows us to characterize contact-induced change in the same terms as other types of language change. So while the processes responsible for introducing *ser, wordu,* and *keda* to Papiamentu are specific to contact (transfer and calquing), the language change behaves like a monolingual change from above.

Examining borrowing in this way also contributes to the debate over the relative strengths of linguistic constraints and social factors on contact-induced change. While in monolingual communities we typically find linguistic constraints stronger than social ones, contact situations appear to add an additional dimension to the constraint model. Here, and elsewhere (Sanchez 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b), I have found that language contact variables can outweigh linguistic and other social ones. That is, social variables which are specifically related to the language contact situation seem to be the strongest predictors of occurrence of contact-induced linguistic changes.

7 Future Work

The existence of the bare passive and the impersonal construction allowed these passivizers to be borrowed. Future work will investigate more closely the mechanism at work here. Specifically, is there any evidence for syntactic change as a result of the borrowing of the passivizers? Since the passive is fairly uncommon in conversation, formal methods and data elicitation will be necessary to investigate further linguistic and social constraints on the use of the various passive forms.

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