CONSTRAINTS ON STRUCTURAL BORROWING

IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTACT SITUATION

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For Diana

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ABSTRACT

CONSTRAINTS ON STRUCTURAL BORROWING IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTACT SITUATION

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Gillian Sankoff, advisor

Many principles of structural borrowing have been proposed, all under qualitative theories. Some argue that linguistic conditions must be met for borrowing to occur ('universals'); others argue that aspects of the socio-demographic situation are more relevant than linguistic considerations (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988). This dissertation evaluates the roles of both linguistic and social factors in structural borrowing from a quantitative, variationist perspective via a diachronic and ethnographic examination of the language contact situation on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, where the Iberian creole, Papiamentu, is in contact with Spanish, Dutch, and English. Data are from texts (n=171) and sociolinguistic interviews (n=129). The progressive, the passive construction, and focus fronting are examined. In addition, variationist methods were applied in a novel way to the system of verbal morphology. The degree to which borrowed morphemes are integrated into Papiamentu was noted at several samplings over a 100-year time span. Census reports provide social and demographic information for each sampling point. In this way, the relationship of social and demographic changes to contact-induced changes in a linguistic subsystem was evaluated. Some 'universals' of structural borrowing are shown to have merit, such as 'structural compatibility'. Only one non-linguistic factor was significant, and implicates indirectly that the longer speakers are bilingual, the more likely they are to borrow verbal morphology. However, observed changes in, for example, 'amount and degree of bilingualism' were not correlated with increased integration of foreign forms. Well-integrated foreign forms may become sensitive to social factors, and behave like any other sociolinguistic variable, except that factors specific to the language contact situation operate as well. This study is one of the first to use quantitative methods to evaluate principles of structural borrowing. The findings contribute to our understanding of the long-term consequences of language contact.

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PREFACE

This project attempts to subject the field of contact linguistics to the rigorous quantitative analysis of variationist sociolinguistics. As I describe in Chapter 1, I believe that multivariate analysis offers the best solution to the debate regarding the factors governing structural borrowing, and I hope that this work will be the first of many such studies.

As I began interpreting the results, I was amazed at how unremarkable they were. The sociolinguistic variables under study here are borrowed forms, incorporated into a creole language, in communities where speakers are fluent in four languages, yet the variables behave just like sociolinguistic variables comprised of native forms in the speech of monolingual speakers of non-creole languages. More simply, the contact situation does not appear to require an explanatory theory which is any different from existing sociolinguistic theories used in monolingual communities. Many more cases will have to be studied before we can state this as a certainty, of course, but this finding is puts us one step closer to a unified theory of Language Variation and Change.

1 Introduction

1.1 Description of the problem

Bilinguals often transfer linguistic features from one language to another.[1] That is, speakers may use elements of their dominant language when speaking their second (or third or fourth) language. Further, this transfer is systematic. Insofar as a community of bilinguals shares the same first language (L1) and the same second language (L2), such a community is expected to show more or less homogenous behavior with respect to transferred features since they are directly dependent upon the structure of their L1. This is known as 'substrate influence.' When these transferred elements become part of the linguistic repertoire of the second language, particularly if they are adopted by monolingual speakers (who have no other grammar from which to transfer), we can say that they have been borrowed.

Constraints governing what can and cannot be transferred or borrowed have been much discussed in qualitative terms; both linguistic and social factors have been proposed. To date, no linguistic constraints have been found to be exceptionless, leading some to propose that social factors can override linguistic constraints on transferability/borrowability, if any even exist.

Mainly in research on monolingual communities, sociolinguists have shown, through multivariate analysis, that linguistic and social constraints typically interact in constraining variation. A constraint model predicts under what conditions a variable is more or less likely to occur. For example, it may be both a speaker's membership in a particular social class and the phonological environment of a segment that the speaker utters which jointly determine

[1] A thorough discussion of the literature with appropriate references is provided in Chapter 2. What follows in Chapter 1 is meant to be a succinct outline of this project.

whether the segment is likely to surface as one variant or another. Under this theory, a constraint does *not* have to be exceptionless to be active, and categorical constraints cannot be analyzed with the multivariate statistical alogrithm.

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the roles of linguistic and social factors in structural borrowing from a quantitative, variationist perspective via examination of language contact on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. The creole, Papiamentu, is in contact with Spanish (its lexifier), Dutch (the official language) and English (of economic importance).

Structural borrowing is a process, not an instant event, so this study is necessarily diachronic. Grammars and written documents provide evidence of older forms of the creole. Modern texts and sociolinguistic interviews provide evidence of current usage. Together, these documents and recordings show the linguistic structure of Papiamentu, including real time change in the grammar, and can be used to investigate linguistic constraints on structural borrowing. Ethnography, census data, and historical information provide insight into the social and demographic factors which may condition borrowing.

This project focuses on structures that Papiamentu has borrowed from the other languages. Specifically, I consider an inflectional morpheme (progressive *-ndo*), the passive construction, and a discourse-pragmatically-motivated word order variation (focus fronting).

The resulting constraint models show what specific linguistic *and* social factors are at work in constraining or permitting structural borrowing, and allow us to speculate about the general nature of this type of borrowing from a perspective informed by quantitative work.

Below, I briefly describe why I selected this particular language contact situation and these particular elements for study, and then I outline the remainder of the project. Detailed

descriptions of language contact literature, the sociohistorical circumstances of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles, and the structure of Papiamentu are provided in later chapters.

1.2 Why this contact situation?

To determine if linguistic features or structure affect the kinds of borrowed elements it will accept, it would be useful to examine a language in contact with more than one other language. Papiamentu is in contact with three other languages: most L1 Papiamentu speakers also speak Dutch, Spanish, and English.

To determine if social conditions affect contact-induced language change, we must examine language contact under various social circumstances. At the same time, we want to eliminate confounding factors as much as possible, such as language shift, decreolization, and other, more extreme consequences of language contact. The contact situation of Papiamentu with other languages can be considered stable since Papiamentu did not and is not in a state of shift toward any of the other languages, nor is there any evidence of a post-creole continuum.[2] However, the fact that Papiamentu is spoken on three separate islands provides a perfect venue for observing contact between one set of languages under different social circumstances (the three islands) simultaneously. The contact situation is a bit different on each island. For example, on Aruba, English is everywhere and Spanish is frequently used, while on Curaçao, Dutch is frequently used, but English is less widespread.

This is not to say, however, that the social circumstances of contact have not changed over the years. Two big changes have been 1) the introduction of English into the contact situation (approximately 1920) and 2) the secession of Aruba from the Netherlands

[2] The decreolization model is inappropriate for Papiamentu since it is in contact with multiple languages. There are some contact-induced changes from Spanish, but others from Dutch and English. The result is not a continuum of lects from creole to lexifier.

Antilles (but not the Kingdom of the Netherlands) in 1986. Thus, in addition to examining the role of more or less stable social factors like prestige, we can also investigate whether or not major sociohistorical events precipitate contact-induced change.

1.3 Why these elements?

I specifically examine a bound morpheme (*-ndo*), the passive construction (formed with *ser*, *wordu* or *keda*), and focus fronting). These elements were selected because their behavior as contact-induced changes is not well-understood. However, they come from different languages in the contact situation, show varying degrees of integration at first blush, and are potentially sensitive to social factors, so we can expect the resulting constraint models to show a range of influencing factors.

1.4 Outline of the project

In Chapter 2 I review the language contact literature. I describe the methods used in this project in Chapter 3, and the linguistic variables under investigation in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I trace the political and social histories of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, describe my ethnographic observations, and discuss social factors to be tested. Results of morphological variables and morphological systemic borrowing are presented in Chapter 6; results for the discourse variable are presented in Chapter 7. Finally, in Chapter 8, I discuss the implications of the results for theories of structural borrowing and contact-induced change.

2 On accounting for contact-induced language change

In Chapter 1, I defined 'transfer' as the use of elements from a bilingual's dominant language (A) in her/his second language (B), and 'borrowing' as the adoption of transferred elements from A by speakers dominant or monolingual in B. In this chapter, I review the literature regarding borrowing, but the reader should keep in mind that borrowing often begins with transfer in the speech of bilinguals, and may refer to elements showing a range of linguistic behavior.

2.1 Internal linguistic factors

2.1.1 The search for universals

Many claims about the nature of structural borrowing have been advanced through the years; most attempt to show what is universally possible or not possible and are presented in a qualitative framework. I present many of the claims reviewed in Harris and Campbell (1995, see also Campbell 1993). Constraints are tested in a quantitative model and are rejected only if quantitatively shown not to be significant. This kind of data from this and future studies of contact situations will give us an idea of the kind of linguistic factors typically at work in these situations.

2.1.1.1 General claims about borrowability

The first claims are general claims about borrowability.

- structural compatibility requirement (Meillet 1921, Jakobson 1938, Weinreich 1953, Vachek 1972, Ebert 1978, Allen 1980, Aitchison 1981, Bickerton 1981)

- fit with innovation possibilities of the borrowing language (Vogt 1954, cited in Campbell 1993; Coseriu 1978)

These claims are meant to predict whether or not structural borrowing between two languages in contact is possible based on the degree of similarity of structure.

- reduction of allomorphy claim or structural simplification claim (Vogt 1948, Weinreich 1953, Coteanu 1957, Heath 1978, Maher 1985)

These claims assert that borrowings move language in the direction of increased simplicity.

As a group, these claims are hard to assess because of ambiguous definitions of terms like 'structural compatibility', and because they are too general to be easily quantified. In this study, I identify specific, quantifiable, internal factors based on the above principles.

2.1.1.2 Claims about the borrowability of specific types of elements

Another type of claim refers to the borrowability of specific types of elements.

- principle of local functional value (Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1950, Heath 1978)

This claim predicts that discourse functional elements are unlikely to be borrowed since understanding them depends upon the understanding of a greater morphosyntactic context.

- claims of borrowability based on rankings of grammatical categories (Whitney 1881, Vocaldo 1938, Deroy 1956, Coteanu 1957)

Under this frequently mentioned claim, nouns and content words are borrowed more easily than verbs and function words; inflectional morphemes are thought to be among the most

resistant to borrowing. None of the scales proposed to date mentions discourse-pragmatically motivated word order variation.

This investigation will focus on the borrowing of discourse-functional elements because they are attested yet rarely studied, particularly as contact-induced changes, and on inflectional morphemes, which are considered among the most difficult elements to borrow.

2.1.1.3 Potential motivations for borrowing

A third type of claim refers to possible motivations for borrowing. These 'universals' refer properly to functional motivations for borrowing rather than internal linguistic constraints on this process.

- grammatical gaps tend to get filled through borrowing (Hale 1971, Vachek 1972, Karttunen 1976, Heath 1978, Mithun 1980, Campbell & Mithun 1981, Hill & Hill 1981, Campbell 1987; for counterargument see Brody 1987: 508)

This claim holds that borrowing occurs because one language has a function represented by a specific form that the other does not. Speakers of the language in need borrow the form accompanied by its function to fill the gap.

- borrowing as replacement, as "morphological renewal" (Weinreich 1953, Sommerfelt 1960, Heath 1978, Lightfoot 1981, Thomason & Kaufman 1988)

Instead of borrowing to fill a gap, this borrowing replaces an existing form, serving much the same function as the one it replaces. Heath (1978) argues that this is a variety of the 'structural compatibility' principle since the borrowing replaces the native form in an existing grammatical category rather than creating a new one.

One problem with functional motivation is identifying an occurrence. That is, the above claim assumes that if one language does not have a particular function morphologically encoded, for example, then it does not have that function. This is perhaps true in some cases but certainly not always. If speakers of a language have an ungrammaticalized way of expressing something, and then borrow structure to express the same thing in a different (grammaticalized) way, should we consider this borrowing functionally motivated? Should we consider it morphological renewal?

Another problem is that, since the negative cases are not reported—e.g., cases where a structural gap exists but borrowing did not occur as per Labov's Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972)—we have no way of knowing if these are strong general tendencies, or things that happen once in a while, or rare phenomena.

In this investigation, I consider both cases quantitatively. That is, I examine both cases where a gap exists and is filled by a borrowing and cases where a gap exists and remains unfilled. Potential functional motivations are included in a multivariate analysis with other factors to determine whether or not, and to what extent, they affect the borrowing process. In several instances in the past, a particular phenomenon described qualitatively appeared to be functionally motivated, but quantitative analysis proved that such an analysis was simply incorrect. I provide an example in the next section.

2.1.1.3.1 Previous failures of the Functional Hypothesis

To illustrate this point, I will summarize some of the evidence against the Functional Hypothesis. In Spanish and Portuguese, the phonological deletion of *-s* may also involve the deletion of the morphological information it carries. The Functional Hypothesis argues that

this information must be maintained via other means. Hochberg (1986a, cited in Cameron 1993), for example, has argued that *–s* deletion creates ambiguity between the second and third person singular verb forms, and that speakers compensate for the ambiguity by increased expression of subject pronouns. She goes so far as to suggest that *–s* deletion is one reason that some Spanish dialects are moving toward an almost obligatory use of personal and demonstrative pronouns. She supports her position by pointing out that Puerto Rican Spanish speakers delete *–s* and use a high rate of subject pronouns, while Madrid Spanish speakers do not delete *–s* and use a lower rate of subject pronouns.

Cameron (1993) shows that speakers in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and Madrid, Spain, have approximately the same rate of subject pronoun expression when the weight of other factors is considered. As Cameron points out, VARBRUL weights can help flesh out the rate of *–s* deletion from other influencing factors.

Some researchers have considered the functional load of *–s* deletion in noun phrases. For regular plurals, ambiguity is possible between feminine singular and plural nouns when *-s* is deleted (Poplack 1980, cited in Labov 1994). A functional analysis of Spanish noun phrases would require that some part of the noun phrase be overtly marked for plural in order to avoid ambiguity. However, Poplack showed that deletion of an element in a noun phrase was *favored* when a previous element had been deleted. This finding directly contradicts a functional interpretation of *–s* deletion, predicting instead a tendency toward "all or nothing" marking, where a noun phrase either has all its elements marked for plural or none of its elements marked for plural.

Scherre and Naro (1991, 1992) find a similar effect on plurals in Portuguese. That is, plural marking on a subject favors plural marking on the following verb and deletion of the

plural marker on the subject favored the deletion of the plural marker on the following verb. Again, this directly contradicts a functional explanation, which would predict that at least either the subject or verb is plural marked.

Yet more evidence from Portuguese is found in Guy (1981, also cited in Guy 1996). Coda *–s* can be inflectional (the normal plural marker) or noninflectional (lexical, as in *menos* 'less'). While a functional explanation predicts that the noninflectional (i.e. non-information-carrying) *–s* should be more frequently deleted, Guy found the opposite: *-s* is more likely to be deleted if it is a morphological marker.

A phonological process like *–s* deletion in Spanish and Portuguese can produce morphological ambiguity. Although some have suggested that this ambiguity must be compensated for in some direct way, for example, in the overt expression of subject pronouns, quantitative data show that disambiguation is not occurring. Studies suggest that *–s* deletion is correlated with *more -s* deletion (in noun phrases) and at least *the same* rate of pronoun expression (when the Spanish verb is ambiguous). Though perhaps logical on some level, there is no quantitative evidence to support the idea that *–s* deletion leads to any sort of functional compensation.

The proposed functional motivations of borrowing stem from a qualitative framework. This study will determine whether or not they hold up to quantitative analysis.

2.1.2 Linguistic factors and multilingual contact

Let us return to consideration of linguistic factors as constraints on structural borrowing. In addition to the universal claims that have been proposed, there have been several studies of specific multilingual contact situations which may be illustrative. Here I

review Sprachbunds, or areas where for hundreds of years speakers have been bi- or multilingual in distantly-related or genetically unrelated languages. Over time, the languages are said to converge so that they become structurally similar to each other and structurally distinct from surrounding languages and genetically related languages (Hock 1986).

This characterization of Sprachbunds is not without opponents. King (2000), for example, points out that claims of 'syntactic borrowing' in these cases are difficult to prove: historical linguistic methods typically do not include quantitative analysis, and the potential role of internal change in Sprachbunds has not been seriously considered. To take a specific case, King criticizes Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) study of convergence in Kupwar (India) because, in addition to the aforementioned points, the corpus from which the conclusions are drawn is minimal (only 10,000 words or about 60-90 minutes of speech), and the authors usually provide only one example for each of the sixteen structural borrowings that they propose. King's criticism is partially based on the fact that convergence, or increasing similarity between surface word orders, is considered by many to equal "syntactic borrowing", and King does not believe that the borrowing of syntactic structure *per se* is possible. She argues that lexical items are borrowed with structural features which are incorporated into the grammar of the target language, which may then cause internal syntactic change, but that syntactic framework alone is never borrowed.

While King's criticisms are apt and although I have additional ones of my own (presented below), I do not believe that the Sprachbund data should be dismissed out of hand. Here, we will consider the most basic characterizations of the linguistic structures of these languages in contact without assuming that these descriptions entail syntactic or other structural borrowing. I assume that the reported changes may be borrowed or internal or

both, and I take “convergence”, as we will see, to simply mean that the surface forms of the languages in contact become more alike, with no specific implications for the internal syntactic structure of each language. My goal in presenting this data is to identify some similarities between the contact situations, and use these observations to suggest linguistic factors which may be at work in contact-induced change. These factors can then be investigated scientifically, with ample evidence and utilizing quantitative methods.

The Balkan Sprachbund is composed of Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Rumanian, Albanian, and Modern Greek languages, all of which have come to share several features (Hock 1986). According to Lindstedt (2000), it is difficult to pinpoint a single source for many of the shared features. He proposes that instead, multilingual speakers “favored features that made it easier to identify structures across languages” (231). In other words, speakers aim to make the surface word order of all of their languages similar. Lindstedt introduces the term "mutual reinforcement of change" to describe this phenomenon.

The South Asian Sprachbund is composed of Burushaski (unknown origin) and languages from the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman families. Hock (1986) notes that, while there is limited evidence regarding the early stages of convergence of this Sprachbund, there is more evidence available for later changes, and these later changes represent “mutual convergence” (501). In other words, the languages in contact (at least in the later period) do not differ significantly in their relative prestige, so there is no clear movement away from one language and toward another. Instead, all the languages come to look more like each other.

In the town of Kupwar (India), Urdu (Indo-Aryan), Kannada (Dravidian), Marathi (Indo-Aryan), and Telugu (Dravidian) have been in contact for over 300 years. During this time, a striking convergence has developed, according to Gumperz and Wilson (1971). There have been changes in the way grammatical categories are marked, notably gender, and the resulting surface word orders of the various languages are almost identical (Gumperz and Wilson 1971, Hock 1986). Gumperz and Wilson (1971) characterize convergence in this case as a "trend towards word for word translatable codes" (165).

Example (1), below, shows a difference in Standard Hindi-Urdu and Kupwar Urdu. Standard Hindi-Urdu is SOV, and while postpositions allow some changes in positioning of subjects and objects, it is strongly verb-final (Kachru 1990). In Kupwar, however, we find this case of SVO order in the matrix clause, where Kupwar Urdu has apparently converged to the word order of Kupwar Marathi and Kupwar Kannada.

(1) *'Convergence' of Kupwar Urdu to Kupwar Marathi and Kannada*

Standard Hindi-Urdu	wo	[bhæs	c?rane-ke	liye]	g?y-a	th-a
Kupwar Urdu	o	g?e	t-a	[bhæs	carn-e-ko]	
Kupwar Marathi	tew	gel	hot-a	[mhæs	car-ay-la]	
Kupwar Kannada	au	hog	ida	[y'mmi	mes	ka]
	he	go	Past-Agr	[buffalo	graze-Obl-to]	

"He went to graze the buffalo."

Standard Hindi-Urdu has a possible, albeit rarely used, word order in which the verb is not in final position. (It is found in 'poetic or extremely affective style' (Kachru 1990: 484-5)). An alternate analysis of this example might be to say that under these contact conditions, an existing but infrequently used word order of Urdu became more frequent after speakers connected it with an existing word order in Marathi and Kannada. There is no more evidence to support this analysis of Kupwar than Gumperz and Wilson's analysis because there simply isn't enough data either way, but the explanation I suggest here has been employed in other instances of language contact about which much more is known (e.g. Silva-Corvalán 1993, *2.1.3*), and it has the advantage of being much simpler—rather than entailing borrowing of tree structure, it merely entails an increase in use of an existing structure at the expense of another. It is possible that neither analysis is correct. Standard varieties of Kannada and Marathi are also SOV (George Cardona, p.c.), but Gumperz and Wilson provide no explanation of how or why the Kupwar varieties of these languages come to have SVO word order in (1).

Mougeon and Beniak (1991) examine a similar case of convergence in a French-English bilingual community (not a Sprachbund). They, too, find that minority language speakers favor an acceptable structure in that language which has a counterpart in the majority language, to the detriment of other structures in the minority language. Their analysis is one of multiple causation: the change is internal insofar as the "new" form was available internally all along, but the change is accelerated by factors external to the minority language, namely the contact situation or specifically the existence of a parallel structure in the majority language.

One final case is that of Tucanoa (East Tucanoan) and Tariana (Arawak), in contact in Amazonia. Aikhenvald (2002) reports that long term contact has led to 'an almost full intertranslatability' (240) between the languages in contact.

From these cases we see that one result[3] of long-term language contact seems to be that the surface word orders of the languages in contact become more alike, a phenomenon which has been called mutual reinforcement of change (Lindstedt 2000), word for word translatable codes (Gumperz and Wilson 1971), covert interference (Mougeon and Beniak 1991), and isomorphism, among other things. King (2000) is right to contest the idea that the falling together of surface word order entails or proves borrowing of tree structure, and I emphasize that parallel surface word orders do not entail identical tree structure. However, we see again and again that bilinguals find and use common surface word orders in each of their languages. In fact, quantitative evidence suggests that the contact situation does, in fact, influence the increased frequency of structures which are parallel to structures in the other languages in contact at the expense of non-parallel structures (e.g. Mougeon and Beniak 1991, Silva-Corvalán 1993). Further, parallel surface word orders have been identified as a precursor to discourse-pragmatic borrowing (e.g. Prince 1988, discussed in *2.3.2*). In light of the frequency of this finding in contact situations, and its potential significance in explaining (at least) discourse-pragmatic borrowing, it is important to examine factors which may lead to this result.

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[3] Sidnell and Walker (2004) present a counterexample—the tense and aspect systems of Creole and non-standard English found on the tiny island of Bequia (7 square miles, part of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Caribbean) show no evidence of convergence despite long-term contact. See also Poplack (1997) and Rickford (1985) for other examples of non-convergence. Schwegler and Morton (2003) describe a parallel situation with respect to Palenquero Creole and Palenquero Spanish in Colombia: no evidence of convergence or divergence. See also Poplack (1997) and Rickford (1985) for other examples of non-convergence.

The Papiamentu contact situation cannot be considered a Sprachbund, but it is a 300 year-old multilingual contact situation. While it is beyond the scope of the current investigation to evaluate any trends toward isomorphism across the languages in the contact situation, I will consider the extent to which surface word orders[4] come to resemble each other with respect to the variables under consideration.

2.1.3 Quantitative analysis of specific internal factors

Van Hout and Muysken (1994) use multivariate analysis to examine the role of specific internal factors in structural borrowing in a constraint model. The data were taken from a set of Bolivian Quechua folktales and their Spanish translations; the authors were looking for the effects of Spanish on Quechua. Some aspects of internal structure were found to promote borrowing and others to hinder it. Paradigmatic coherence (tightness of organization of subcategory eg. pronoun system) and inflection (uninflected elements and elements which do not have to be morphologically adapted to the recipient language more easily borrowed) were the strongest internal factors. Frequency (more frequent → more easily borrowed) had a weaker effect and peripherality (peripheral role in sentence grammar → less easily borrowed) an unexpected one.

This effort looks promising. The particular constraints employed are more specific than the universals/tendencies of borrowing reviewed in *2.1*, as are required by a constraint model. While Van Hout and Muysken did not set out to evaluate the above universals, an

[4] Similarities in surface word order are *not* necessarily indicative of similar syntactic structures. In particular, similar word orders in short phrases may become different when additional modifiers such as adverbs are added (Pollock 1989). At the same time, it appears that these differences in tree structure may not be relevant to bilinguals, at least with respect to the transfer of discourse-pragmatic factors based on surface string matching (see Prince 1988).

extension of their analysis could relate the significant factors to the proposed universals. For example, that 'tight paradigmatic coherence' prohibits borrowing explains both why lexical items are so much more easily borrowed than functional elements, and also why some structural elements (e.g. conjunctions) are more easily borrowed than others (pronouns). Unfortunately, the authors did not include external (social) factors in their model.

Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1994) presents a different kind of internal effect on language contact. In Spanish-English bilinguals in Los Angeles, she argues that contact accelerates an existing internally-motivated semantic change in Spanish (the lesser-used language). This argument is convincing since the semantic change in question is found in varieties of Spanish *not* in contact with English. English seems to be a catalyst for the change, however—in the contact variety of Spanish, the change progresses much more quickly than in the non-contact variety.

In a similar study, Silva-Corvalán (1993) argues that, in order for a grammar to be "permeable to foreign influence," the two languages in contact must share superficially parallel surface structures. This amounts to a form of the 'structural compatibility' claim as a necessary condition for structural borrowing insofar as surface word order is indicative of structure and insofar as favoring one existing word order over another can be considered borrowing. The idea is reminiscent of Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) characterization of language contact as leading to "word for word translatable codes" (165), among others. Specifically, from a set of several possible structures, the bilinguals favor one whose surface word order is the same as a structure from their other language. Silva-Corvalán emphasizes that the "new" structure existed in the grammar all along, so is not "borrowed". However,

contact served to catalyze its rise in frequency, so we might still properly call it 'contact-induced change' (see also Mougeon and Beniak 1991).

2.2 Social factors

Social factors are, under many accounts, the reason that radical changes in grammar which violate the so-called borrowing universals or general tendencies occur (for example, see Harris and Campbell 1995, Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Understanding the role of external factors in relation to internal factors is a crucial step in understanding contact-induced change. In this section, I discuss some social factors which may play a role in contact situations; in *2.3*, I discuss the interaction of linguistic and social factors.

2.2.1 General social factors: Linguistic outcomes of specific social circumstances

Some general social factors which may be expected to influence borrowing in any contact situation have been suggested, such as the length of time speakers have been bilingual, the amount and degree of bilingualism, the relative socio-economic power of the groups, restrictions on domains of use of each language, factors relating to cultural/linguistic identity, and cultural pressure (Silva-Corvalán 1993, Mougeon and Beniak 1996, Nagy 1997, Thomason 2001). These are rarely studied quantitatively (but cf. Silva-Corvalán 1993, Mougeon and Beniak 1996, and Nagy 1997). This study is intended to remedy this void.

2.2.2 Community-specific factors: The importance of ethnography

In monolingual communities, general factors such as gender and social class have been shown to significantly condition linguistic variation in many communities. Upon closer

inspection, factors specific to local communities or community-specific manifestations of general factors are also important in understanding linguistic variation (e.g. 'up-island' orientation in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963) and 'jocks' and 'burnouts' as manifestations of middle and working social classes in a Mid-Western high school (Eckert 2000)). As in monolingual communities, bilingual communities are almost certainly sensitive to more than just formulaic social factors like amount and degree of bilingualism. A micro-level community perspective can make significant contributions to understanding a particular situation (Rickford 1987). What factors are important in a specific community cannot be predicted—only thorough ethnography can bring them to light. I use ethnographic methods here to form a deeper understanding of the social circumstances of the language contact situation in the Netherlands Antilles.

2.2.3 Quantitative analysis of social factors

Silva-Corvalán (1994, 1995) presents a variationist-sociolinguistic view of contact-induced language change in which social factors play an important role, though not an exclusive one. She argues that speakers' sociolinguistic history determines linguistic outcome, but that the structures of the languages in contact determine what linguistic elements can be borrowed and how they will spread.

The most extreme position regarding the role of social factors in structural borrowing is that social factors like intensity of contact and speaker attitudes can explain *all* structural borrowing. In other words, given appropriate social circumstances, *any* kind of contact-induced change can take place, even changes that violate 'general tendencies' of borrowing or changes that go against the existing structure of languages in contact.

Unfortunately, the main proponents of this theory (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001) are historical linguists who do not use a quantitative framework, so the extent of the influence of these social factors is as yet unproven (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988). "Sociolinguists," or those who look for the influence of social factors on linguistic behavior, do not dismiss the possibility that linguistic structure may simultaneously affect linguistic behavior. In fact, they expect linguistic factors to play a role.

While the social factors proposed by Thomason and Kaufman may seem plausible, we cannot be certain that they are indeed significant since they 1) do not give quantitative evidence suggesting correlation between social factors and borrowing and 2) do not give quantitative evidence against correlation between linguistic factors and borrowing.

Compare Thomason and Kaufman's social explanation to Labov's (1963) argument for social conditioning of a linguistic variable in Martha's Vineyard. His argument was compelling not because he merely suggested a plausible social explanation for why some islanders used a different vowel than others, but because he showed a statistical difference in vowel quality between two ideologically opposed groups. Also recall the failure of functional explanations for *–s* deletion and subject expression in Spanish (*2.1.1.3.1*): Functionalists proposed that the morphological information deleted in a phonological process must be compensated for through increased expression of overt subjects. The explanation is logical and seems plausible, but quantitative analysis clearly shows that no such compensation occurs. Thus, it is not the mere suggestion of plausible social explanations for linguistic behavior, but rather the quantitative correlation of language behavior with linguistic and social factors that we need to advance our understanding of the conditioning social factors for any kind of language change, including contact-induced change.

Multivariate analysis is used here to show correlation between social factors and linguistic behavior. This method has the added benefit of being able to show, in one model, if/how social and linguistic factors interact to constrain structural borrowing. If both linguistic and social factors are quantified, we can determine if, indeed, *only* social factors are at work, and we can assess the proposed general linguistic principles of borrowing in relation to social factors.

In Thomason and Kaufman's renowned table, 'Linguistic Results of Language Contact' (1988: 50; adapted below as Table 1), found in a section entitled '*Predicting* extent and kinds of interference' (1988: 46, emphasis mine), the social situation (e.g. 'casual contact' and 'intensive contact') is clearly intended to be an indicator of what type of borrowing is possible (lexical, structural). The authors created the schema by first identifying a certain type and amount of lexical or structural borrowing, then describing the sociohistorical circumstances of the contact situation. They later note that "Promising sociohistorical generalizations that might help to distinguish cases of moderate structural borrowing from those of heavy structural borrowing are hard to establish" (1988: 94).

Table 1. Borrowing Scale (adapted from Thomason and Kaufman 1988; see also Thomason 2001)

Social Conditions	*Amount Bilingualism*	*# of Bilinguals*	*Structural Borrowing*
Casual contact	Need not be fluent in source	Few bilinguals	Lexical only (no structure)
Slightly more intense contact	Reasonably fluent	Probably a minority	Function words and slight structural borrowing
More intense contact	Fluent (?)	More bilinguals	Basic and non-basic vocabulary, moderate structural borrowing
Intense contact	Fluent	Extensive bilingualism	Heavy lexical and structural borrowing

To evaluate the framework, several contact situations fitting their various levels of social contact should be examined to determine what kinds of borrowing are found (or not, following the Principle of Accountability (Labov 1972)). Alternatively, situations which are similar but for one or two of the social factors that Thomason and Kaufman say are determinative (e.g. 'time and amount of bilingualism') could be examined to see if these factors do, in fact, lead to different amounts and/or types of borrowings. Unfortunately, though this schema is widely cited in the literature, most researchers find a certain type of borrowing and use the framework to draw a conclusion about the social situation. To give just one example, Hauge (2002) argues that the borrowing of pragmatic markers and focus particles indicate that language contact in the Balkans was 'intense'. Quantitative analysis is needed to give weight to the framework.

2.3 The interaction of linguistic and social factors

Sankoff (2002) thoroughly reviews literature on the interaction of linguistic and social factors in all types of borrowing. Here, I will review studies pertaining specifically to morphological and discourse-functional borrowing.

2.3.1 Morphology

Bound morphemes, particularly inflections, are among the least likely to be borrowed in contact situations (Whitney 1881, cited in Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Van Hout and Muysken 1994). One example of a borrowed clitic is found in Dede (1999), who describes an ablative postposition in the Xining dialect of Chinese which he attributes to the influence of Mongour (Mongolian).

When researchers talk of 'bound morphemes' being borrowed, they seem to refer to productive use of a morpheme from one language in another language, which does seem to be a relatively rare situation, particularly with respect to bound inflectional morphemes. Dijkhoff (1993) reports on the more or less productive use of some borrowed derivational affixes in Papiamentu. I can find no diachronic discussion of bound morphological borrowing, though, so I propose the following based on my previous diachronic work with the integration of Spanish gerundive and progressive *–ndo* in Papiamentu (Sanchez 2002) and on Dijkhoff's (1993) synchronic work with derivational affixes.

Speakers do not seem to take a bound, functional morpheme from one language and use it in another as a bound, functional morpheme, at least not as a first step. Rather, morphological borrowing is a diachronic process that proceeds along several steps, or degrees of integration into the recipient grammar. In the first two steps, lexical items are borrowed. These items are morphologically complex in the source language, but remain unanalyzed in the recipient language. (Since the difference between steps 1 and 2 lie only in the frequency of use of the foreign lexical item, I provide examples only once in step 2.) When a morpheme moves from step 2 to step 3, we can say that it has been 'borrowed', for this is when speakers of the recipient language begin to use it productively, first with words of the same etymological source (step 3), then with words of other etymologies (step 4). A borrowed inflectional morpheme which is used as an inflectional morpheme in all strata of vocabulary (i.e. completely integrated or step 4) may be the rarest type of morphological borrowing.

1. **nonce-borrowings** (Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988) **of some [root + affix] which is unanalyzed in the recipient language**
2. **unanalyzed [root + inflection] in borrowed lexical items which are used more than once and/or by more than one speaker** (e.g. Pap.[5] *akumulashon* 'accumulation', from Sp. *accumulación* 'accumulation'; Pap. *siendo* 'even though' from Sp. *siendo* 'being, although' (conjugated form of *ser* 'to be')
3. **borrowed affix applied productively in the recipient language to words of the same etymology as the affix** (e.g. Pap. *–ndo* (denoting progressive action) from Sp. *–ndo* (progressive) as in Pap. *papia* 'speak, talk' (borrowed from Po. or Sp. *papear* 'to chatter') ? Pap. *papiando* 'speaking, talking')
4. **borrowed affix applied productively even to words of a different etymology as the affix** (e.g. Pap. *–mentu* 'the act of' from Sp. *–miento* (denoting result of action) as in Pap. *kapa* 'cut' (borrowed from Du. *kappen* 'to cut') ? Pap. *kapmentu* 'cutting' and Pap. *kèch* 'catch' (from English *catch)* ? Pap. *kètchmentu* 'catching')

By looking at a language contact situation diachronically, one can see morphemes moving along this path of integration by taking repeated synchronic analyses of a language contact situation. Over time, perhaps a few morphemes will become productive out of the many which were borrowed as unanalyzed parts of lexical borrowings. To take an example from Papiamentu, I found (Sanchez 2002) that the Spanish gerundive and progressive *–ndo* was used productively in Papiamentu as early as 1803, but only with the gerundive function,

[5] Abbreviations: Papiamentu (Pap.), Spanish (Sp.), Portuguese (Po.), Dutch (Du.), English (En.).

and only in words of Iberian origin (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, Gallego, Asturian, Leonese, etc.). The affix was extended to the progressive function after the start of the 20th century (1900-1920). Only since the 1990s has it been attested in a limited way with Dutch origin words (e.g. *stofia* 'dust', *zuai* 'swing', *fèrf* 'paint' (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994)) but this is a development which has not yet extended itself to the written language as of 1999 (Sanchez 2000, 2002).

Certain factors may make inflectional borrowing easier. For example, the existence of same-source vocabulary in the recipient language may facilitate an affix's incorporation into the recipient grammar. Extended contact between the source and recipient languages may also be important. Among the cases that Weinreich (1953) reviews (admittedly limited to European languages), transfer of bound, inflectional morphemes took place only between "highly congruent systems", however, Southworth (1990) reports two later cases (from Emeneau 1962, 1965) that suggest that structural congruence cannot be a necessary factor in inflectional borrowing.

Because inflectional morphemes have a function (i.e. they express grammatical properties such as case, gender, tense, mood, aspect), examining which inflectional morphemes are borrowed and which are not can directly address the claim of a functional motivation for borrowing—speakers may borrow a morpheme so that they can use it to express the grammatical property it indicates in the source language.[6]

There are several ways that 'functionally-motivated' borrowing might take place. First, if one language has a grammatical property represented by a bound morpheme, and

[6] Speakers may or may not have an accurate interpretation of the grammatical category that an L2 morpheme expresses (cf. the plethora of literature on interference and interlanguage). When speakers use an inflectional morpheme from their L2 in their L1, they use it based on their interpretation of the grammatical category in the source language, which may differ from native speakers' use.

another language lacks that property, and if speakers borrow the inflectional morpheme as an inflectional morpheme representing its original property in the source language, then we can say that speakers of the recipient language borrowed the morpheme in order to express the property it represents. In other terms, this has been called borrowing in order to 'fill a grammatical gap' (see *2.1.1.3).*

If both languages in a contact situation have equivalent, morphologically-encoded, grammatical categories, and speakers of one language borrow an inflectional morpheme that represents an existing category, then we might say that speakers borrowed the morpheme for 'morphological renewal' (see *2.1.1.3*).

The existence of an alternate way of expressing a property complicates this distinction. For example, a language without a morphologically encoded progressive may express an action in progress through the use of an imperfective aspect marker and/or adverbs. Some properties are more easily expressed by alternate means than others. If a language does not have grammatical gender, for example, then there is no expression of such a thing (independent of biological gender). Case distinctions can be expressed without morphology (usually through word order or the use of prepositional phrases). Tense and aspect can usually be expressed with adverbs; mood, for example the subjunctive, if not expressed morphologically, may not be expressed directly (though might be expressed indirectly through periphrasis).

When there is alternate means of expression in one language of an element that is morphologically encoded in another, and speakers of the recipient language borrow the morpheme with its function of expression of a grammatical category, we might describe this as renewal rather than filling a gap; or we might want to think of it as grammaticalization via

a borrowed form rather than a native form (cf. Bybee et al. 1994). Either way, it is not difficult to argue here that the motivation for borrowing is *not* simply functional since the language already has a way of expressing that function.

2.3.2 Word order variation and discourse-pragmatic function

The topic of this section is not the borrowing of general word order patterns, but the borrowing of discourse-pragmatic function associated with word order variations. Several such cases are reported in the literature; Prince (1988) presents two. One case involves the transfer of focus. In Standard English, only salient elements can undergo focus movement (that is, elements "in hearer's consciousness at the time of discourse" (Prince 1988:514)); in Yiddish, fronted elements need not be salient, merely inferable. English focus movement and Yiddish fronting are equated as processes by Yiddish speakers, and Yiddish speakers begin to front inferable NPs in English just as they would in Yiddish. Here, language contact effectively enlarges the domain of the existing focus construction in English. The Yiddish speakers do not notice that for L1 English speakers, the English process is more restricted than the Yiddish one (Prince 2002).

This is both a case of transfer, and later borrowing, since Yinglish Yiddish Movement is a characteristic of "Yiddish-dominant bilinguals and those of their progeny that constitute this dialect group" (Prince 1988:516). The bilingual L1 Yiddish speakers transfer Yiddish Movement to English. When their children acquire their parents' version of the process, so-called Yinglish Yiddish Movement becomes a borrowing[7]. What is borrowed is not the syntax of fronting, or even the focus construction itself, since English already had

[7] This borrowing will likely be characteristic of a minority speech community unless and until social factors permit it to spread to other speech communities.

both before contact. Here the borrowing is simply the extension of the application of focus movement from salient NPs to given or inferable NPs, which is attached to an existing word order variant with a particular discourse function in English for this particular (minority) speech community. We could also view this change as a convergence of constraints, or an extension of the applicable environment of a discourse process in one language based on the applicable environment of an analogous process in another.

In the same article, Prince (1988) shows that a syntactic model for Yiddish *dos*-initial sentences already existed, and that only the focus-presupposition function was borrowed through contact with Slavic. In other words, there was no syntactic borrowing involved, only borrowing of discourse function after speakers equated the surface word orders. In addition, the new discourse function in Yiddish is subject to the conditions of Yiddish syntax. So, while both subjects and objects can be focused in Slavic, only subjects can be focused in Yiddish because of the V2 syntax (Prince 2002).

The results of language contact presented so far suggest that the effects of language contact on discourse properties are vastly understudied. Consider first that the cases of discourse borrowing presented by Prince (1988) both occurred after bilinguals equated surface strings of words, or "superficially parallel structures" (Silva-Corvalán 1993: 20), in their two languages. Now recall that bilinguals have a tendency to move their languages in the direction of "word for word translatable codes" (Gumperz and Wilson 1971: 165). We might as well say that bilinguals are known to alter the structure(s) of their languages in a certain way, the result of which (matching surface strings of words) is a prerequisite for the transfer and borrowing of discourse function. Matching surface strings does not entail discourse borrowing, but discourse borrowing may occur when surface strings match, and

few cases of matching surface strings have been formally investigated for accompanying discourse borrowing. For example, studies of the Sprachbunds presented in *2.1.2* make no mention of discourse properties. Thus, it is impossible to say how frequently discourse borrowing occurs, how it typically occurs, or to make any generalization about the process.

There is a corresponding gap in the language contact literature regarding the many proposed scales of borrowability—discourse-functional elements are notably absent from all formulations of such scales. Literally all other areas of language have been ranked on at least one scale. Not all researchers agree as to the exact placement of the various elements of language on the various scales[8], of course, but this is less troubling than the fact that discourse properties have never even been considered.

One of the few mentions of discourse function in the literature came in the form of a language universal: recall that one proposed universal of borrowing is the 'principle of local functional value' (Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1956, Heath 1978) which holds that discourse functional elements are not likely to be borrowed since understanding them depends on the understanding of a greater morphosyntactic context. If borrowing begins as transfer[9], then this so-called universal is a moot point. By definition, speakers understand the greater morphosyntactic context of their L1, which is precisely why they might transfer a discourse function from their L1 to their L2. Haugen (1956), in explaining why 'structural features' are

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[8] As in many other cases (Labov's General Principles of Vowel Shifting (Labov 1994), Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993)), any scale of borrowability is most reasonably viewed as showing strong general tendencies of languages in contact rather than inviolable laws or constraints. A handful of exceptions does not change the fact that so many other cases behave according to the principles (Labov 1994, Sankoff 2002).

[9] And with respect to discourse, it does. There are certainly examples of widespread lexical borrowing in which a small number of bilingual speakers seek out lexical items from their L2 for prestige purposes, which are then spread throughout the monolingual community. This is currently happening in Japan, where English words are borrowed; it also happened in a Norwegian community in the United States during what Haugen (1956) calls a "pre-bilingual period" (216). However, it seems less likely that borrowed discourse properties could spread via prestige or change from above without first appearing as a genuine transfer feature since something like "fronting" is not salient in the way a lexical item is (particularly one with a concrete meaning).

less likely to be borrowed than lexical items, states, "…the more habitual and subconscious a feature of language is, the harder it will be to change" (224). The same idea applies to discourse functional elements and transfer: focusing a noun phrase for emphasis or post-posing a subject because it is new to the discourse must certainly be considered "habitual" and "subconscious" (though it can also be consciously manipulated in a limited sort of way), and so we should not generally expect such processes to be transferred. Not all transferred elements are eventually borrowed, of course, but if some discourse functional elements are transferred, then some can be borrowed.

As with inflectional morphemes, the borrowing of discourse-pragmatic features seems to be more complex than simply copying form-function as one complete unit from one language to another. The reported cases consist of a discourse function from one language which is associated with an existing word order variant in another. To my knowledge, there is no case in the literature where both form (specifically a word order variant) and (discourse) function were borrowed together during long-term language contact[10], nor is there a case where the form is borrowed (for example, a fronting movement) without the function. However, the overall lack of research into this area means that we should not discount the possibility that one or both of these could occur.

We will need to say what aspects of one language were transmitted to the other, not only in terms of the actual word order and discourse function, but also in terms of the specific ways each is instantiated in the recipient language (i.e. parameters and constraints of

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[10] There are cases of other kinds of borrowings accompanied by function. Some examples are: English *back* borrowed into Prince Edward Island French and associated with French *re-* (King 2000); Spanish *-ndo* borrowed into Papiamentu with gerundive function (but not with progressive function) (Sanchez 2002); Spanish *ya* 'already' borrowed into Bastimentos Creole English with its pragmatic function as a direction to stop because the point of completion has been reached (Snow 2001).

discourse function). In addition, pragmatically-motivated word order variations have 'function'—here discourse function—so they can be used to assess a functional motivation for borrowing.

The existence of pragmatically motivated word order variation in pidgins and creoles is widespread, though on the whole these languages have fewer formal devices to emphasize constituents syntactically than do languages with more diachronic depth (Byrne, Caskey, and Winford 1993). Some of the known processes are compiled[11] in Table 2 (at the end of this chapter). The most common process used by creoles is focus (i.e. fronting an element in order to focus it in the discourse) and a related process known as predicate clefting (i.e. fronting a copy of a verb or predicate adjective for focus or emphasis) (Byrne, Caskey, and Winford 1993). Some creoles have an obligatory focus marker which precedes the focused element (e.g. *ta* in Papiamentu), others have an optional marker preceding (e.g. *na* in Kriyol, *se* in Seselwa), and some have no marker (e.g. Hawaiian Creole English). Focus is not accompanied by comma intonation, in contrast to topicalization. Here are examples of focus (2) and clefting (3) from Papiamentu (Kouwenberg and Muysken (1994:210):

(2) *Focus*

ta	*e*	*buki*	*m'a*	*dunabu.*
FOC	the	book	1sg-PERF	give-2sg

I gave you the BOOK

(3) *Predicate Clefting*

ta	*duna*	*m'a*	*dunabu*	*e*	*buki.*
FOC	give	1sg-PAST	give-2sg		the book

I GAVE you the book.

[11] This is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but one that provides an idea of the existing types of processes and their distribution across creoles and pidgins.

Creoles which have a focus marker have the same marker for both focus and predicate clefting, assuming the language utilizes both processes. The grammatical differences between focus and predicate clefting are that 1) predicate clefting involves copying of the fronted constituent (verb or adjective[12]) while focus does not, 2) in predicate clefting the fronted constituent is a head only while in focus it could be an entire constituent, and 3) there is no resumptive pronoun in predicate clefting though there may be an obligatory or optional one with NP focus (Byrne, Caskey, and Winford 1993)

Holm (2000) in particular notes similarities among discourse-pragmatic strategies of Atlantic creoles. Most have both focus and predicate clefting (in fact I believe that predicate clefting is unknown outside of Atlantic creoels), with an obligatory or optional marker following the focused element. The marker is often similar or identical to the copula or relative marker. In Papiamentu, for example, the copula and focus marker differ only in tone (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994).

If such similarities do exist among a group of creoles with different lexifier languages (English, Spanish, French, and Dutch are lexifiers of Atlantic creoles), then there are three possible sources: a shared substrate language, all (or several) of the lexifiers share these strategies (i.e. superstrate source), or the source is internal (i.e. bioprogram or universal or a native feature of a particular language). Many researchers have pointed to Yoruba as a possible substratum source for Atlantic creoles. It has both focus and predicate clefting with a copula-like marker, and sociohistorical evidence makes it a possible candidate (Holm 2000, Veenstra and den Besten 1994). One would be hard-pressed to find a superstrate source here since no European language has a construction like predicate-clefting. In fact, predicate

[12] In Papiamentu, clefted adjectives are not copied, perhaps due to Dutch or Spanish influence (Holm 2000).

clefting is unusual enough to make it an unlikely universal or internal development[13] common to all and only Atlantic creoles.

We can see in Table 2 that creoles use processes other than fronting and predicate clefting for discourse-pragmatic purposes, including other fronting movements, topicalization, left and right dislocation, subject-verb inversion. Fronting refers to fronting for purposes other than focus. In (4), from Papiamentu, the fronted element is background information or a previously established topic (Kouwenberg and Muysken 1994:212)[14].

(4)	*Fronting*	*un*	*dia*	*mi*	*tabata*	*kana*	*na*	*Punda.*
		one	day	I	IMP-PAST	walk	in	Punda.

One day I was walking in Punda [downtown Willemstad]

Byrne, Caskey, and Winford (1993) report that topicalization is accompanied by "comma intonation", or a prosodic break between the topic and remainder of sentence. Topicalization is not reported in Papiamentu in the literature, but I found several examples like (5) in interviews, where the fronted element is given or inferable (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7). I would not necessarily characterize the prosody as "comma intonation"—but perhaps "prosodic break" is appropriate. In Papiamentu, this kind of example occurred frequently after I asked which languages the person spoke, then asked to whom the person spoke one of the languages. Typically, speakers would answer with rising intonation on the topic (in (5), *ingles*), then a slight break, then falling intonation on the next part (in (5), *mi ta papia*). The rest of the sentence has normal intonation. Frequently,

[13] Predicate clefting makes sense as an internal development only if it developed before the Atlantic creoles became so geographically widespread.

[14] Kouwenberg and Murray do not mention the possibility that these types of adverbs are base-generated in this position, and this is the only example that they give.

speakers extrapolated their answers to all the languages that they reported to speak, putting the language as topic in each case.

(5) *Topicalization*

Ingles	*mi*	*ta*	*papia*	*mayoria*	*di*	*biaha*	*ɑu*
English	I	IMP	speak	majority	of	time	with

amigonan	*americano*	*ɑu*	*mi*	*tin.*
friend-PL	American	REL	I	have

English I speak the majority of times with American friends that I have. (Sp. 14)[15]

Veenstra and den Besten (1994) argue that left dislocation[16] is not movement, though it is used for focus in some creoles. The fronted element is base-generated at the left, and can only occur in root clauses. [Focus movement, on the other hand, is found in both root and subordinate clauses.] Left dislocation is used for topic in some pidgin Englishes (Faraclas 1996, Huber 1999). Nigerian PE also uses right dislocation for topic.

Subject-verb inversion is rather unusual in creoles, but not in European languages. It is used in Spanish, for example, in order to introduce new discourse entities (Ocampo 1990). According to Kouwenberg and Muysken (1994:210), S-V inversion is possible in Papiamentu when there is a preposed locative or temporal phrase, such that both of the following examples are grammatical (subjects are underlined; verbs are bolded); Howe (1994) simply claims that this process is used stylistically.

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[15] Sources of examples indicated in this form are from interviews. In this case, the example is from the interview with speaker #14. See Appendix B for pseudonyms and social characteristics of each speaker.
[16] Examples are not given for processes not found in Papiamentu.

(6) *Canonical S-V*

Riba	*e*	*isla*	*aki*	*un*	*mion*	*hende*	***ta***	***biba***.
on	the	island	here	a	million	people	IMP	live.

On this island a million people live.

(Kouwenberg and Muysken 1994:210)

(7) *Inverted S-V*

Riba	*e*	*isla*	*aki*	***ta***	***biba***	*un*	*mion*	*hende*.
on	the	island	here	IMP	live	a	million	people.

On this island live a million people.

(Kouwenberg and Muysken 1994:210)

The syntax of these word order variations has been well-studied. Bickerton (1993), for example, shows that focused elements are always coindexed with a null element in an A-position, in contrast to topicalized elements (also fronted), which are coindexed with some overt pronominal form (see also Veenstra and den Besten 1994). He notes that few creoles have topicalization mechanisms.[17] This kind of definition is certainly accurate syntactically, but does little to explain why, in any given language, some elements undergo the processes in question, and others do not. Bickerton rejects pragmatic accounts of focus and topic on the grounds that they are "slippery." In reality, though, the pragmatic account of such processes may provide the most accurate representation of the facts. For example, Sankoff and Brown (1976) argue convincingly for a discourse-based analysis of relativization in Tok Pisin after a purely syntactic explanation failed to account for the observed facts.

It is unclear how the borrowing of pragmatically motivated word order variations might take place. In the cases presented by Prince, the languages in contact shared a word order variation, and contact led to the transmission of the discourse function associated with the variation in one of the languages. Creoles generally have fewer word order variation

[17] Papiamentu has optional resumptive pronouns accompanying its focus movement. It is unclear if Bickerton would classify this as topicalization based on the syntactic facts.

strategies than other types of languages. If the languages in contact do not share a word order variation, can one be transferred? And if so, is it transferred with or without its associated discourse function (assuming it has one)? As with inflectional morphemes, there are almost certainly a variety of ways in which languages can influence each other, such that we cannot say simply that borrowing occurred or did not. We will need to say, instead, what aspects of one language were transmitted to the other, not only in terms of the actual word order and discourse function, but also in terms of the specific ways each is instantiated in the recipient language (i.e. parameters and constraints of discourse function, etc).

2.3.3 Borrowing in real time

I will limit examination of structural borrowing to morphemic and word order variant borrowings as presented above. However, I must determine if the cases I consider are actually borrowings of pure structure or internal changes precipitated by other kinds of borrowings (e.g. lexical cf. King 2000) or accelerated by contact (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1993). Real time analysis makes this possible assuming that borrowing first occurred within the time span of the available texts.

To evaluate the impact of borrowing, I consider the language from the point of view of its speakers and speech communities. In other words, while L_0 (language L at time 0) may differ radically from L_1, this alone does not prove that borrowing can result in radical change if the time between 0 and 1 is arbitrarily chosen (50 or 100 or 500 years, or before vs. after all borrowing takes place). Instead of comparing two widely separated and arbitrarily chosen stages of a language, I examine each generation of the language system, measured by generations of speakers, so that we can see the progression of borrowing and internal

change. From this perspective, a series of small changes, one or two per generation, may produce a grammar which, after several generations, looks like a radically different structure from what we started with at time 0. However, and importantly, from the perspective of the members of the speech community who incorporate elements from one language to the other, changes are happening in a step-by-step fashion, and each step is *not* a radical change.

Once instituted, Kroch (1989) has shown that a change progresses at a constant rate until its completion. Santorini (1992, 1993) shows that there is variation between two (phrase) structures until the change from one to the other is completed, such that the frequency of use of the dd structure decreases steadily and in inverse proportion to the increase in the rate of use of the new structure. Thus, measuring the frequency of linguistic forms at regular points in time can show both that a change is occurring, indicated by a steady change in frequency over time, and the direction in which the change is going even if a change is at present incomplete. If there is an interruption at some stage of an observed change, we can look for a precipitating event—i.e. some major change in the linguistic or social environment which arrests a change in progress. I predict that major changes in word order and typology only happen over several generations as a result of several small changes, if at all.

Table 2. Pragmatically motivated word order variation in pidgins, creoles, and semi-creoles.

Process	*Found in*	*Constituents Involved*	*Function (if known)*	*Canonical Word Order*	*Related Phenomena*
Focus	**Atlantic/Caribbean creoles**[i]	NP, etc.	focus in discourse; new information[xiii]	SVO	Preceded by focus marker; no recopying of constituent (as with predicate clefting of verb or adjective); similar process also found in Yoruba; no comma intonation; movement to left
	Belize CE[vi]		given or new[xii]	SVO	very frequent in spoken discourse (no statistics available); markers-acrolectal *da/a*; mesolectal *i gat*; acrolectal *you have/is*
	Berbice Dutch[xvi]		foregrounding	SVO	optional highlighter is *da* (copular form preceding element) or focus particle *sa/so* (which follows focused element)
	Haitian CF[ix]				marker is *se*; no root/non-root asymmetry[xiii]
	Krio (CE)[xiii]				marker is *na*
	Miskito Coast CE[i]	post-verbal		SVO	
	Saramaccan CE[v]	NP	emphasis; topicalization—old info[xiii]	SVO	no marker[v]; optionally marked by *de*[xi]; *we* is the focus marker; *de* is a deictic element, not a focus particle; this process is topicalization not fronting bc of lack of marker, no root/non-root asymmetry[xiii]
	Papiamentu CS[ii]	NP, PP, adverbials	emphasis	SVO	focused element preceded by *ta*, never *tabata*; resumptive pronoun with NP comp of preposition; some speakers consider resumptive pronoun optional[iii]; marker may not be obligatory[xv]
	Other creoles Crioulo (Cape Verde CP)[x]				marker is *ki*
	Fa d'Ambu CP[xiv]			SVO	no marker; topicalization
	Kriyol (Guinea-Bissau CP)[ix]				optional marker is *i*
	Ghanaian PE	constituent or sentence	noncontradictory or contradictory emphasis	SVO	*ì bì* (affirmative) or *ì no bì* (negative); optional resumptive pronoun; optional complementizer *we*; *se* follows focus marker and precedes focused sentential element
	Nigerian PE[xvii]	constituent or sentence	noncontradictory or contradictory emphasis	SVO	**clefting:** *na* (affirmative), (*i*) *no bì* (negative); marker precedes focused element; focused sentence optionally preceded by *se* (noun clause introducer); if present, *se* follows *na/ ì no bì*
		constituent or sentence	noncontradictory or contradictory emphasis	SVO	**pseudo-clefting:** focused element first, then focus marker, then generic pronomial noun (e.g. *ting* 'thing' or *ples* 'place') replaces focused element (*Nyam nà di tìng*—Yams are the thing…)
	Hawaiian CE[x]				no marker; resumptive pronoun sensitive to gender, number

Process	*Found in*	*Constituents Involved*	*Function (if known)*	*Canonical Word Order*	*Related Phenomena*
	SABE[iv, xviii]	NP	new info	SVO	least commonly used process; like Am. dialects analyzed by Prince
	Seselwa CF[x]				optional marker *se*
Predicate clefting	**Atlantic/Caribbean creoles[i]**	verb or adjective	emphasis on verb		Preceded by focus marker or "highlighter"; copy of verb is fronted; process found in Yoruba and other W. African languages; Yoruba highlighter *ni* follows focused element instead of preceding it
	Caribbean English Creole[v]				*a*
	Gullah CE[vii]				*da*
	Haitian CF[i]				*se*; marker is optional[v]
	Jamaican CE[i]			SVO	*iz* = mesolectal; *a* = basilectal; *das* also used
	Miskito Coast CE			SVO	*iz*, *das*
	Negerhollands CD[i]				*da*; optional marker[vii]
	Palenquero CS[vii]				marker follows predicate (in second position, like in Yoruba) rather than precedes them (initial position like other creoles)
	Papiamentu CS[i, iii]		emphasis, progr. aspect of verb	SVO	*ta*; doesn't recopy fronted adjective (Dutch or Spanish influence?)[i]; *ta* optional[iii]
	Saramaccan CE[v, xiii]			SVO	no highlighter before fronted verbs
	Sranan CE[vii, xiii]			SVO	*na*
	Other areas: Afrikaans CD[i]				no highlighter before fronted verbs
	Angolar CP[i]				no highlighter before fronted verbs
	Fa d'Ambu CP[xiv]			SVO	possible construction, more research is needed; no highlighter
	Ghanaian PE[xix]	verb		SVO	*ì bì* is marker; copy is fronted
	Nigerian PE[xvi]			SVO	*na* (affirmative), (*ì*) *no bì* (negative);
	non-standard Brazilian P[i]			SVO	no highlighter before fronted verbs
	French-based Indian Creoles[vii] (Mauritian, Seselwa, Creole of Rodrigues)				at one time these creoles had something like this type of process, but it no longer exists
Fronting	South African Black English (SABE)[iv, xviii]	NP	contrast; given	SVO	contrast, list, given, reintroducing given info; handful of salient/new/*because* cases; no examples of Yiddish Movement
	Louisiana CF[xx]	VP	verb emphasis		
	Mauritian CF[xx]	VP	verb emphasis		
	Papiamentu CS[xv]	NP, PP	background info; established topic	SVO	fronted without focus and without *ta* marking; distinguished from focus by intonation (since some focused elements not marked by *ta*)[xv]

Process	*Found in*	*Constituents Involved*	*Function (if known)*	*Canonical Word Order*	*Related Phenomena*
Topic[v]	Saramaccan CE[xiii]	not V	old info	SVO	no marker (see Focus entry)
	Tok Pisin[viii]			SVO	
Left Dislocation	Berbice Dutch[xvi]		focus	SVO	
	Fa d'Ambu CP[xiv]		focus	SVO	
	Ghanaian PE[xix]		puts topic first	SVO	optionally preceded by *f•* 'as for', resumptive pronoun; comma intonation; common process
	Krio[xxii]		focus	SVO	*na* marks focused element; resumptive pronoun present
	Nigerian PE[xvii]		puts topic first	SVO	used w/ comma intonation; not available when topic-switching
	SABE[iv, xviii]	NP,usu. subj.	old information	SVO	resumptive pronoun with complex NP; most commonly used process; different pragmatics than American dialects described by Prince
Right Dislocation	Nigerian PE[xvii]		topic		some "apparent" cases involve repetition of some sentential elements
S-V Inversion	Papiamentu[ii]		stylistic	SVO	used stylistically[ii]; used when there is a preposed locative or temporal phrase[xv]
Tags	Belize CE[xxi]		*e; man; fo-tru*	SVO	3 types: *e*-'isn't it?'; *man*- vocative (emphasis/solidarity); *fo-tru*-rhetorical
	Miskito Coast CE[i]	V	*duonit*	SVO	

Sources:

i Holm (2000)
ii Howe (1994)
iii Kouwenberg and Murray (1994)
iv Mesthrie and Dunne (1990)
v Byrne, Caskey, and Winford (1993)
vi Escure (1997)
vii Seuren (1993)
viii Sankoff (1993)
ix Kihm (1993)
x Bickerton (1993)
xi Byrne and Caskey (1993)
xii Escure (1993)
xiii Veenstra and den Besten (1994)
xiv Post (1994)
xv Kouwenberg and Muysken (1994)
xvi Kouwenberg (1994)
xvii Faraclas (1996)
xviii Mesthrie (1997)
xix Huber (1999)
xx Neumann-Holzschuh (1987)
xxi Greene (1999)
xxii Givón (1990)

3 Methodology

The most insightful sociolinguistic studies of monolingual speech communities have carried out quantitative analyses of spoken data that are grounded in ethnographic observation (e.g. Labov 1963, Mendoza-Denton 1997, Patrick 1999, Eckert 2000, Cukor-Avila 2003). To analyze language change over time, real or apparent time data are used. In studying Papiamentu, some adaptation of these methods was required in order to evaluate the linguistic and social factors constraining contact-induced structural borrowing. I used texts for real time depth, sociolinguistic interviews for apparent time spoken data, census data to quantify social and demographic factors which have been suggested to influence language contact, and ethnographic observations. Below, I discuss how each of these, as well as quantitative analysis, were used in this project.

The Papiamentu-speaking speech community includes the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, and other places where the language in spoken (e.g. the Netherlands and English-speaking Dutch Antilles), but each island forms its own local speech community, just as there is a larger English-speaking speech community to which the smaller, local Philadelphia speech community belongs, along the lines discussed in Labov (1980). Here, I examine speakers and texts from each of the three islands.

3.1 Ethnography

Ethnographic observations were used to determine what specific social factors might be relevant to the language behavior of members of the speech community. In addition to traditional observations such as who speaks to whom, where, and when, this multilingual situation requires that I also indicate in what language people speak in different contexts,

their competence in each language, and other facts about the use of all the languages in the contact situation.

Ethnography of multilingual situations carries with it challenges not present in other ethnographic contexts. Early in my fieldwork, I realized that I had not been indicating in my fieldnotes in what language some interactions had occurred, and that I could not reliably recall this information, even if I had been a participant in the interaction. As long as I understood the message, the code that the message was delivered in escaped me. I trained myself to make note of the codes as well as the messages.

I observed language use in a variety of public and private places in order to obtain a range of linguistic behavior. Tourist hangouts are well-populated, but provide clues to only one part of life in the islands—contact with outsiders. As a temporary island resident, I had access to areas frequented more often by locals than tourists (supermarkets, buses, post offices, banks, libraries, and shops and stores than do not cater to tourists).

I also established and maintained close contacts with island residents. At first I lived alone in Aruba, but then I moved in with a family. In Curaçao, I lived in an apartment adjacent to an Antillean family home. In Bonaire, I boarded with a single professional woman. In each case, these were more than just living arrangements. The Antilleans 'adopted' me and looked out for my well-being. They very generously answered my many questions about their language and their islands, introduced me to people who could help me in some way, allowed me to tag along during mundane errands, and even invited me to private family gatherings large and small (family dinners, a confirmation party, a surprise birthday party, a house warming, etc.).

The degree to which an outsider can blend in may affect her observations. That is, an outsider who stands out may attract so much attention that she finds observing others almost impossible, while one who blends in may be able to observe typical behaviors which are less affected by the observer. For this reason, I put a lot of thought into self-presentation. I have light skin, dark hair, green eyes, and I am five feet tall. I am not of African descent, but not all Antilleans are, either[18]. As in any field setting, I tried to match my attire to the social setting, both in degree of formality and in terms of social class appropriateness. I usually wore jeans or pants, but wore business attire for interviews conducted in offices and shorts for interviews conducted on the beach[19]. I tried not to dress like a vacationing American.[20] My goal was to appear as much like an Antillean as possible in the aspects of my appearance within my control (thus excepting skin, hair, and eyes).

The major social groups on these islands are European Dutch, Americans (primarily tourists), Antilleans (Papiamentu speakers of Dutch citizenship),[21] and Latin American immigrants.[22] People in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao use outer appearance (skin, hair, and eye color; dress; car; etc.) to make a guess at ethnicity, usually in order to decide what language to speak to a person. Most of the time they guess correctly (in other words, the language they speak is the L1 or preferred language of the interlocutor), but when the person

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[18] Some are completely or mostly of Western European descent. Their families may have first emigrated during the colonial period, or later. Others are of Middle-Eastern, Eastern European, Asian, or Latin American descent. They may be Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or other religion.

[19] In Aruba, I conducted 12 interviews on the beach during a time when many Arubians were camping there. Campsites blocked the constant trade winds. Otherwise, I was not able to interview on the beach as the winds interfered with sound.

[20] Any Antillean will tell you that Americans wear T-shirts, shorts, sneakers, and baseball hats.

[21] In other contexts, 'Antilleans' could refer to English-speaking natives of St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba. In this dissertation, I use 'Antillean' to mean a Papiamentu-speaking Dutch citizen of Aruba, Bonaire, or Curaçao.

[22] A more detailed description of social groups and discussion of relationships between social groups can be found in Chapter 5.

responds in a different language, Antilleans usually[23] switch to the interlocutor's preferred language. Thus, I can tell something about how people view me from the language they first speak to me.

In addition to noting what language people used when approaching me, I also asked in interviews what impressions people had of me. Did they think I was American? Dutch? Something else? This information is important as social characteristics of addressee are known to affect speech.

In my case, everyone seems to have had a different idea about who I was. Arubans picked me out as American right away. On the street in Aruba, though, Latin American immigrants (but never Arubans) spoke to me in Spanish and were surprised to learn I am American.

People of Curaçao were less consistent in identifying my preferred language. On Curaçao, whites are usually Dutch or Belgian, with some American cruise-ship passengers visiting for the day. Some Curaçao residents said that if they saw me from the back they might think I was Dutch, but from the front, maybe American. One said I could be Belgian because of my hair color. No one spoke to me in Spanish as they did in Aruba. Some people spoke to me in Dutch, but I responded in Papiamentu. If my interlocutor was a

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[23] An Antillean might refuse to speak the interlocutor's preferred language on ideological grounds, or because his/her proficiency in the language is inadequate. For example, a Surinamese person working on Curaçao will likely communicate in Dutch, Arab immigrants may communicate in English, and Latin Americans in Spanish. Papiamentu speakers believe that all island residents (as opposed to tourists) should learn Papiamentu. I have seen them respond in Papiamentu to immigrants regardless of what language the immigrant speaks first. Sometimes, mutual passive bilingualism prevails, each person speaks his/her preferred language, and communication is possible. Other times, if a person is not understood in Papiamentu, the Papiamentu speaker may cease communication.

Interestingly, this ideological insistence on Papiamentu is most often seen in public. In private, a Latin American immigrant working as a live-in maid may find that her employers speak to her in Spanish, ask her to use Spanish with their children so that they can learn it well, and do not press her to learn Papiamentu the way they might with strangers. If she requests that they speak Papiamentu with her so that she can learn it, they might not consistently follow through with the request. This works to the employers' advantage—as long as the immigrant is not fluent in Papiamentu, she cannot find a job working in a store or restaurant.

native Papiamentu speaker, the conversation continued in the creole. If my interlocutor was Dutch, the conversation, *if* it continued, was tense. The Dutch that I met for the most part do not believe that Papiamentu is a 'real' language. Some Dutch have made efforts to learn Papiamentu, and if I was talking to one of these, then we continued in creole. On the other hand, most Dutch living and working on the island (temporarily or permanently) have not made the effort to learn more than a few words in Papiamentu. If I encountered one of these people, things were difficult. My Dutch is not good enough for me to converse easily, so I rarely used it. If I spoke Papiamentu, then the Dutch interlocutor invariably looked at me with disdain and seemed to think that I was Antillean, and thus should have better Dutch. I always left these conversations feeling inadequate. Ironically, if I had simply switched to English, communication would have been successful, but I never did this because it would have identified me as an American. Any subsequent observations would have related to Dutch-American interaction rather than Dutch-Antillean interaction.

Finally, Bonaire was different again. In stores, people greeted me in Dutch or English, but when I used Papiamentu, they did, too. One man, who kept greeting me in English, said (later, when I asked) that he thought I was an Antillean who had lived away for a while and then came back home. Before most interviews, I explained to people that I was American, but in my last one, this information had not been mentioned in the beginning[24]. After the interview, the man asked if I was from Bonaire or one of the other Papiamentu-speaking islands—after a 30 minute interview he still thought I was an Antillean native speaker of Papiamentu. The Antillean woman I stayed with on Bonaire introduced me as

[24] I assumed that the person who introduced us had mentioned this, or at least that my 'Americanness' or 'foreignness' was obvious.

"her American," but she always did so in Papiamentu. People followed her lead and always spoke to me in Papiamentu.

People saw in me what they wanted to see in me, and clearly, it was different for everyone. Aspects of others may have been more responsible for their impressions of me than anything about my appearance—people had different ideas about me even on the same day when I was wearing the same clothes. Sometimes they thought I was Antillean, and sometimes not, but in the multiethnic societies of each island, I think that this variability of image allowed me to observe and experience a wide range of linguistic behaviors.

Ethnographic data are presented in Chapter 5.

3.2 Census Data

In addition to observations, I gained detailed demographic information regarding each island from censuses and historical works, including how many people were present, what language(s) they spoke, where they were born, and where they worked. I obtained statistics on race, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and social class of islanders from colonial times to the most recent census in 2000. I use this information to quantify Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) 'social factors', and to develop methods for classifying speakers according to social class and place of residence (urban or rural). Below, I describe how the census data was used or interpreted in coding. In Chapter 5, I present specific census statistics.

3.2.1 Quantification of Thomason and Kaufman's 'social factors'

Census data allow me to quantify factors that Thomason and Kaufman (1988) suggest influence linguistic outcomes of language contact. Census data also allows real-time consideration of these factors. For example, I can compare the rate of use of a particular linguistic form in texts in a given decade to the percentage of the population who speak Spanish as an L1 (the expected source of the borrowing) in that decade.

Census reports present information in different ways over the years, so some interpretation of language statistics was required. Recent censuses from Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles report on 'language most spoken at home' (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001a, 2002a). Most earlier reports do not discuss language directly, but we can infer something about language from other data. For example, data on immigration and country of origin are useful. To show how comparable L1 estimates derived from different sources are, I present calculations based on 'language most spoken' and 'country of birth' for Aruba in 2000[25] in Table 3. The 'nation of birth' numbers are close to the 'language most spoken' data, especially for Papiamentu and Dutch. They are less close for Spanish and English. (Sources of the differences are discussed below.) Though 'nation of birth' estimates may not be as accurate as we'd like, they paint the only available picture of what the contact situation looked like in times past.

[25] Both types of information are available for this year and place.

Table 3. Comparison of 'language most spoken' and 'country of birth' as indicators of L1/dominant language

Statistic	Papia-mentu	Dutch	Spanish	English	Other language	Language unknown	Total Population
language most spoken	69.42%	6.12%	13.16%	8.10%	2.32%	0.88%	90,505 (86,408)[26]
nation of birth	69.66%	5.62%	16.51%	2.87%	2.93%	2.42%	90,505 (89,990)[27]

'Language most spoken in the household' asks residents to report the language most frequently used at home. In most cases, this identifies the L1 of residents, but not always. Consider first, when two spouses have different L1s and only one language can be reported as 'most spoken', one spouse's L1 will not be indicated in favor of the language s/he uses most often at home, which is an L2 or L3 or perhaps L4. Second, some Arubians were born elsewhere and emigrated at a young age. I interviewed one such woman, Alejandra Linden[28] (speaker 31). Alejandra was born in the Dominican Republic, emigrated at the age of 2 with her parents, and later married an Arubian. Her L1 is Spanish but she now speaks mostly Papiamentu. 'Language most spoken' is thus a good indicator of L1, but a better indicator of language most frequently used, regardless of L1.

The second line of the table is an estimate of L1 derived from data concerning the nation of birth[29] of residents of Aruba. There is certain to be some error associated with this figure. I arrived at these numbers by assuming that the L1 of everyone born on Aruba,

[26] The total population of Aruba in 2000 was 90,505. The percentages calculated here assume a total population of 86,408 because children under 3 and mentally handicapped persons who cannot speak are excluded.
[27] The percentage calculated here is based on 89,990, or the number of residents who indicated their nation of birth.
[28] All names used here are pseudonyms.
[29] Not all instances of 'nation of birth' or 'nationality' could be used to estimate L1. Because Antilleans have Dutch nationality (citizenship), European Dutch are sometimes counted with Antillean Dutch. I was careful to use only counts where Antilleans were separated from Europeans.

Bonaire, and Curaçao is Papiamentu, the L1 of everyone born on Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, Saba, Jamaica, the U.S., and England is English, the L1 of everyone born in Surinam or the Netherlands is Dutch, and the L1 of everyone born in Colombia, Venezuela, and Central America is Spanish. Of course, birth in a country does not mean that L1 is the most commonly spoken language in that country. In particular, we know that some people born in the Papiamentu-speaking islands do not speak Papiamentu natively, about 40% of residents of the non-Papiamentu-speaking Antilles do not have English as their first language (in 2001, Central Bureau of Statistics 2002a), and I made the personal acquaintance of Hindi-speaking Surinamese. Unfortunately, in the years when 'nation of birth' is used to estimate L1, data on the number of speakers of various languages in these countries or the actual languages spoken by immigrants is not available.

Another source of error is associated with the specificity of census data—many times, a specific country is not indicated for immigrants, and in these cases, no L1 can be predicted by the method I used. This usually happens when there are only a handful of immigrants from a particular country or continent, and the census reports say, for example, 'other South American country' or 'African country'. These cases plus cases where immigrants did not indicate a country of birth are the reason percents do not add up to 100.

Thus, 'nation of birth' data provide a reasonable, though not error-free, estimate of L1 in the absence of other information. Unlike 'language most spoken' data, however, the 'nation of birth' statistics are much less reliable as estimates of language frequently spoken. As we saw above, people not born on Aruba may now use Papiamentu more than any other language, but most census reports give only nation of birth without reference to year of

immigration[30]. In addition, intermarriage may lead to people frequently using a language which is not their L1, but again, the census reports do not give the kind of data needed to hone the L1 estimates into 'language most spoken' estimates.

Where available, I use data specifically about language. Otherwise, I use information such as 'nation of birth' to estimate the proportions of L1 speakers of Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish, and English.

3.2.2 Social class

Social class refers to social divisions of a community based on actual or perceived differences in income, occupation, education, or other factors. Chambers (1995) points out that a major class division in industrialized societies such as the United States exists between the middle class and the working class, or between so-called white- and blue-collar workers. The former is composed of professionals and managers; the latter is composed of manual laborers. Such a division shows that members of this society see occupation as a major class divider (Chambers 1995), though it is by no means the only determining factor. Sociolinguists (among others) have found that a fine-grained social class division (upper middle class, middle middle class, lower middle class, etc.) provides a more accurate way of defining social groups in "complicated industrial societies" (Chambers 1995:37).

Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao are not complicated industrial societies, however. Curaçao may be the closest and has a longer history of class differences, but these differences are only just emerging on Aruba and Bonaire. For this reason, and because the

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[30] Year of immigration would help estimate language most spoken, though would by no means be determinative in that regard. A person who emigrated 40 years ago, for example, might now use Papiamentu most often, or might not. With the information, I might be able to make an educated guess, but without it, I simply cannot predict to what extent immigrants have adopted Papiamentu.

focus of this study is linguistic borrowing, I preferred to focus more on age differences to give apparent time data and less on getting a fine-grained social division in the sample. I opted for a two level class division—upper/middle (UM) and working/lower (WL).

Census data regarding economic conditions on the three islands show that conditions are different on each, so I developed separate social class criteria for each island. To assign social class to Arubians, I started with consideration of the modern appliances, facilities, and electronics a person owned. If a person did not have electricity or water in their home, they were assigned to the WL group. A person who answered yes to two points in the WL group in Table 4 was classified with the WL speakers. A person who answered yes to two points in the UM group was grouped with the UM speakers. A person who does not have two points on either scale (say, has a phone at home, has a TV, has a car, but does not have cable, a cell phone, or a computer) fell in the middle. Additional factors were considered in assigning social class—size of home, income, education, occupation. Decisions were made on a case by case basis.

Table 4. Criteria for social class in Aruba

Upper/ Middle Class (UM)	Working/ Lower Class (WL)
has computer at home	has no phone in home
has internet access at home	has no TV
has more than one air-conditioner in home	has no car
has cable or satellite TV in home	has no electricity or water
has phone in home AND has cell phone	

In Curaçao, a person with a computer, internet, AC, and/or cable was assigned to the UM group, as was a person with a house phone and a cell phone. A person with no car, washer, TV, electricity, and/or water, was assigned to the WL group. Neighborhoods on this island are more homogenous in terms of class than is the case on Aruba and Bonaire, so

consideration of neighborhood, value of home, income, education, and occupation were also considered in making classifications.

In Bonaire, a person with a home phone, cable, AC, VCR, computer, and/or internet was assigned to the UM group. A person with no TV or car was assigned to the WL group, as was a person with neither a phone in the house nor a cell phone. Home value, income, education, and occupation were also considered.

3.2.3 Urban or rural residence

I used census reports of population density to determine which areas should be classified as 'rural'. 'Geozones' used in the census all have names and correspond to the way that islanders refer to location (decidedly unlike the way U.S. census tracts are delineated).

The population of Aruba is concentrated in two urban areas—Oranjestad, the capital, in the northwest portion of the island, and San Nicolas, the refinery town, at the southeast end (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001a). The areas of Aruba traditionally considered 'rural' lie roughly between the two cities and stretch to the northeast border of the island. The north coast is uninhabited due to rough terrain, and there is a large, protected, national park area in the southeast, north of San Nicolas and the refinery. Today, the rural areas are turning suburban so that urban sprawl abuts the uninhabitable areas and park land. I selected 5 geozones (out of 55 total and 48 populated) which were populated but had the lowest population density. These areas are Alto Vista (Noord); Ayo (Paradera); and Cashero, Urataca, and Balashi/Barcadera (Santa Cruz). The Noord, Paradera, and Santa Cruz regions are traditionally considered to be 'rural' by Arubians, but the recent population explosion makes many geozones in these areas almost as populous as Oranjestad. Rather

than considering all of Paradera, Noord, and Santa Cruz rural, I count only the sparsely populated geozones as rural.

Curaçao is much bigger than Aruba, and has a crowded city and distinct rural area (Central Bureau of Statistics 2002a). The geozones I consider rural for this study are: Westpunt, Lagun, Flip, Tera Pretu, Lelienborg, Soto, Penneboek, Wacao, Barber, St. Willibrodus, Meiberg, Hato, Ronde Klip, Spaanse Water, and Oostpunt. These are 15 of 65 geozones of Curaçao. I picked geozones which lie outside of Willemstad and its and suburbs. There was no information on population density in 2001 (Central Bureau of Statistics 2002a), but there was a table listing absolute population per geozone. I compared this information with a 1992 map showing population density (Central Bureau voor di Statistiek 1994) , and I identified areas outside of the city which are sparsely populated in relation to the urban area. This includes a small territory east of the city, and a larger area west of the city.

The population of Bonaire is quite small (less than 15,000), though its total area is larger than Aruba (Central Bureau of Statistics 2002a). Because of limited resources, I decided not to investigate an urban-rural distinction on this island. Residents talk about differences (largely lexical) in the speech of residents of Playa (Kralendijk, the capitol) and Rincón, the town on the other side of the island, and this may be something worth investigating in the future. I concentrated on residents of the Kralendijk area, including adjacent neighborhoods which go by different names, and did not seek out any Rincón speakers, though I did interview one Rincón woman who works in Playa.

3.3 Analysis of texts

Haugen (1956:227) is clear about how borrowing should be studied. "…[B]orrowing is a historical process and therefore to be identified only by historical methods. This means a comparison between earlier and later states of a given language, to detect possible innovations." A diachronic study is needed to form an accurate picture of contact-induced language change in Papiamentu.

The apparent time construct, or the idea that diachronic change is reflected in the linguistic differences of each generation (Labov 1963), is often used in variationist studies as a way to learn about diachronic change since it allows researchers to draw conclusions in a relatively short amount of time (i.e. after examining a synchronic sample). It is an alternative to using textual evidence, which might suppress variation, or to interviewing a group of people (or cohorts) periodically over time, which is time-consuming and expensive.

The construct of apparent time is not a perfect indicator of real time change, however. Trudgill (1992) finds that, when apparent time results are compared to real time data from the same dialect, the apparent time data are reliable for many variables, but real time data appear to be more informative. More recently, Labov (2001) concludes that in most studies to date, changes in apparent time include both real time changes and age-grading. In addition, Bailey et al. point out that, "*unless there is evidence to the contrary*, differences among generations of similar adults mirror actual diachronic developments in a language" (Bailey, Wikle, Tillery, and Sand 1991: 241; emphasis added). This phrase "evidence to the contrary" implies that results obtained from apparent time data must be compared to other available evidence for the language or dialect in question in order to flesh out real time change from age-grading.

Since there are no diachronic studies of Papiamentu to date, and no synchronic sociolinguistic studies of this language, I must use real time data in order to have an independent means of evaluating apparent time data provided by interviews (discussed in *3.4*). Synchronic grammars of Papiamentu written over a period of 200 years or so, provide some evidence of real time change, but more is needed (e.g. Teza 1863, Evertz 1898, Hoyer 1918, Lenz 1928, Van De Veen Zeppenfeldt 1928, Goilo 1953, Wattman 1953, Wood 1970, Birmingham 1971, Maurer 1986, Howe 1994, Munteanu 1996, Dijkhoff 2000).

Written texts are therefore essential to the diachronic aspect of this project. They provide the only indications of the way Papiamentu was in the past. Further, the morphological and discourse variables investigated here will show variation in written texts inasmuch as the texts provide the appropriate context for variation.

Texts from a range of time periods were selected, primarily according to availability. I obtained titles of various works from internet searches and published bibliographies.[31] The earliest texts are non-circulating, and some cannot even be examined in person as the paper is falling apart.

The earliest available texts in Papiamentu are a personal letter from 1775 and a court testimony from 1776 which relates to the content of the letter (republished in Salomon 1982). Both were written on Curaçao. The earliest text from Aruba is an 1803 letter (republished in Maduro 1991). There are several 19th century religious texts which were translated from European languages. The only 19th century Papiamentu probably written by L1 Papiamentu speakers comes from some Curaçao newspaper articles (1871-1899) and a folktale.

[31] For example, Lenz (1928) lists published works in Papiamentu.

The translated texts are used here since there are few other documents available from the 19th century. While these texts may not be representative of the Papiamentu of L1 speakers[32], there are some things about the texts which make them desirable sources of data. First, the purpose of translating the Bible and other religious texts into Papiamentu was to make the Bible, or more broadly, Christianity, accessible to Papiamentu speakers. For this reason, we can expect the translations to be reasonably grammatical, even if not completely natural. Second, and perhaps more important, religious leaders were prestigious community members and L2 speakers of Papiamentu. As L2 speakers they would almost certainly have transferred elements from their L1 into their Papiamentu[33] (see also Daal 1994); because of their "prestige", L1 Papiamentu speakers may have copied some of these transferred elements in change from above fashion (Labov 1966). The latest translated document I use is a 1934 catechism. Even though more original Papiamentu texts are available after the start of the 20th century, I decided to include some early 20th century translations for comparison with earlier translations and also with contemporaneous original creole texts.

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[32] The translations were made by European missionaries (Dutch and Spanish) who also lived in the islands and preached in Papiamentu.

[33] This is plainly seen in Niewindt's 1852 catechism. The Papiamentu text is written on one page with Dutch on the facing page (all later catechisms contain only Papiamentu). There is only token of passive voice in the Papiamentu version. That particular token uses *worde* as the passivizer, and a quick glance across the page confirms that *worde* is used in the Dutch version as well. This token is preserved in the 1882 catechism, which appears to be an edited version of the 1852 publication (editor/translator unknown). In later catechisms, one published by Father Miguel Gregorio Vuylsteke in 1925 and another by Father Pedro Inocencio Verriet in 1934, this particular sentence was reworked into the active voice. It is unclear if Vuylsteke and Verriet started with Niewindt's work or made their own translations.

Niewindt's first catechism was published in 1826, only a year after he arrived in Curaçao. Daal (1994) notes Dutch semantic interference in the official title of the work. I could not obtain the earlier version, but I can report several minor differences between the 1852 and 1882 versions. For example, the earlier one uses a Dutch-like possessive (e.g. *Dioos su mandamiëntonan* 'God POSS commandment-PL', p 1) while the later one uses a more Spanish-like possessive (e.g. *mandamientoenan di Dios* 'commandment-PL of God', p. 3). Both types of possessive are currently acceptable in Papiamentu. The earlier catechism marks plurals more often than the later one. (Papiamentu plural-marking is not obligatory as it is in Dutch, Spanish, and English.) Orthography changed at each reprinting as well, proceeding from very Dutch-like in 1852, to very Spanish-like in 1934.

A complete list of texts is provided in Appendix A. Also listed are year of publication, island, genre, author, source (if republished), and L1 of author (if known). I tried to include approximately equal amounts of text from each island, genre, and time period, but the distribution was subject to availability. The genres represented are letter, dialogue (e.g. court testimony), newspaper article, folktale, other fiction, non-fictional prose, poem, play, television transcript, song, and religious document. I separate translated religious documents from other kinds of prose so that they can be compared with original creole texts.

The number of texts listed from a particular genre is not indicative of the amount of text. For example, newspaper articles tend to be much shorter than other works, such that 30 newspaper articles produces approximately the same amount of text as a long folktale or one book of the Bible. The number of *–ndo* tokens used per text was limited to 100, starting from the beginning of each text, thus preventing any one text from dominating the analysis. Tokens of other variables were much less frequent and there was no need to limit them. The distribution of texts by island and time period is given in Table 5.

Table 5. Number of texts according to time period and island.

Time Period	Number of Texts		
	Aruba	*Curaçao*	*Total*
1. 1775-1837	1	4	5
2. 1844-1862	1	4	5
3. 1863-1899	0	29	29
4. 1900-1912	2	2	4
5. 1913-1943	3	24	27
6. 1944-1960	10	8	18
7. 1961-1980	2	13	15
8. 1981-1992	5	27	32
9. 1993-2001	30	6	36
TOTAL	54	117	**171**

3.4 Interviews and analysis of interviews

I stayed in Aruba for 2 ½ months, Curaçao for 2 months, and Bonaire for 1 month. I spent the first month on Aruba and Curaçao and the first two weeks on Bonaire observing. Then, after learning something about the community, I began interviewing. Random sampling was not possible as I did not have an enumeration of the population according to the social categories deemed appropriate. Instead, I tried to fill cells in a stratified grid. Subjects were selected opportunistically. Initially, I approached people "cold" for interviews and pursued subjects suggested by contacts on each island. These initial interviews led to further contacts, and by constantly following up on contacts or starting new contacts, I obtained my sample.

In each interview, I gathered necessary personal information, and then used conversational modules (Labov 1984) adapted for each island. Topics covered include language(s) spoken, dialect differences in Papiamentu, and aspects of family, work, island life, religion, politics, and other topics determined by the interests of interviewees. Specific module adaptations for each island can be found in Appendix C.

I conducted all interviews myself. In other creole speech communities, fieldworkers who were 'outsiders' have reported difficulty in getting people to speak to them in the creole. Papiamentu speakers, on the other hand, are proud of their language and most were perfectly happy to speak to me in the creole, though for some a bit of adjustment was required.[34] Some people commented on how strange it was to speak Papiamentu to an American or a non-resident, but this did not prevent us from using the creole. In fact, some

[34] A handful of interviewees codeswitched to Spanish or English. There are probably multiple reasons for this, but it never happened because of a speaker's negative attitude toward Papiamentu. Sometimes it was because the interviewee was more comfortable in Spanish or English. One interviewee was proficient in 8 languages and worked as a translator. He answered many questions in Papiamentu but would always change to English. He said that he 'always speaks the language of the other person.'

were relieved that they could relax and speak their language instead of always having to speak the language of the foreigner. And people were supportive of my efforts to learn. Many took it upon themselves to correct me—it was important to them that I speak correctly if I was going to use their language.

My status as an outsider may have led some to use a more formal variety of the language than they would have with a native speaker, but in at least one case, I was mistaken for a native speaker, so it is hard to comment on the extent to which people modified their speech for me. On average they were careful and used fewer phonological reductions than they may have otherwise, but some speakers did not appear to modify very much. In addition, as I mentioned in *3.1*, different people had different impressions of me, so it is unlikely that all interviewees accommodated me in the same way. Since I stated that I was studying Papiamentu, some people told me they would try to stay in Papiamentu, try to use good Papiamentu, try not to use too much Dutch, or try not to mix languages. In each of these cases I noted that the interviewee did at least once in the interview whatever s/he vowed to avoid.

Of the languages in contact, I have the least knowledge of and experience in Dutch. I know that if I cannot think of a Papiamentu word, I am likely to draw on my knowledge of Spanish or English to continue communication. To balance this tendency, I made a concerted effort to learn and use Dutch and Dutch-derived words in Papiamentu.

Tables 6-8 show the desired social stratification of interviews for each island and the actual number of interviews obtained. I made every effort to fill all cells, but if a person was willing to be interviewed, they were interviewed, whether or not they could help fill in additional cells. As a result, some cells are larger than others. I was unable to locate subjects

to fill every cell. The second to last line of each table represents target number of interviews; the bottom line (bolded numbers) represents actual number of interviews obtained.

Aruba speakers were from the area in and around Oranjestad, the capital. In addition to the 45 interviews in Table 6, I interviewed seven residents of San Nicolas, the primarily English-speaking refinery town (all men; one WL, age 35; six UM, ages 48, 51, 53, 57, 65, 68), for a total of 52 interviews from Aruba. Five people in the 50+ groups were over 70: two urban women, two rural woman, and one rural man. Interviews with one 70+ rural working class woman and a 30-50 urban working class woman were unusable due to poor sound. Their speaker numbers are indicated in Table 6 with strikethrough font.

Table 6. Stratification of Aruba Interviews Interview Goal: 40 Completed: 52*

Location	Class	Age Gp.	Sex	Goal	Completed	Speaker #
Urban	**Upper/ middle**	**< 30**	**F**	2	4	13, 14, 33, 34
			M	2	3	28, 29, 49
		30-50	**F**	1	3	11, 17, 20
			M	1	3	12, 16, 21
		50-70	**F**	1	3	2, 4, 41
			M	1	2	42, 46
		70+	**F**	0	2	1, 31
			M	0	0	--
	Working/ lower	**< 30**	**F**	2	3	8, 18, 51
			M	2	2	6, 23
		30-50	**F**	2	2	5, 26
			M	2	2	19, 22
		50-70	**F**	2	2	7, 25
			M	2	0	--
		70+	**F**	0	0	--
			M	0	0	--
Rural	**Upper/ middle**	**< 30**	**F**	1	0	--
			M	1	2	10, 50
		30-50	**F**	2	3	9, 39, 40
			M	2	0	--
		50-70	**F**	2	1	27
			M	2	1	24
		70+	**F**	0	0	--

Location	Class	Age Gp.	Sex	Goal	Completed	Speaker #
			M	0	0	--
	Working/	**< 30**	**F**	1	1	32
	lower		**M**	1	0	--
		30-50	**F**	2	2	~~34,~~ 38
			M	2	0	--
		50-70	**F**	2	1	33
			M	2	0	--
		70+	**F**	0	2	~~3,~~ 48
			M	0	1	45
San	**Upper/**	**< 30**	**M**	0	0	--
Nicolas	**Middle**	**30-50**	**M**	0	2	35, 47
		50-70	**M**	0	4	30, 57, 37, 52
		70+	**M**	0	0	---
	Working/	**30-50**	**M**	0	1	15

Fifty-three interviews were conducted in Curaçao (Table 7). Six in the 50+ groups were over 70: two urban women, one urban man, one rural female, and two rural men. The interview with one of the urban women over 70 (WL) was unusable due to poor sound.

Table 7. Stratification of Curaçao Interviews Interview Goal: 40 Completed: 53

Location	Class	Age Gp.	Sex	Goal	Completed	Spkr #
Urban	**Upper/**	**< 30**	**F**	2	3	67, 84, 87
	middle		**M**	2	3	61, 71, 86
		30-50	**F**	3	4	56, 60, 64, 79
			M	3	5	58, 68, 69, 80, 91
		50-70	**F**	3	4	57, 63, 81, 89
			M	3	5	66, 70, 82, 83, 90
		70+	**F**	0	1	55
			M	0	1	85
	Working/	**< 30**	**F**	2	1	73
	lower		**M**	2	1	92
		30-50	**F**	2	2	54, 72
			M	2	2	53, 65
		50-70	**F**	2	1	88
			M	2	1	59,
		70+	**F**	~~0~~	~~2~~	~~62,~~ 93
			M	0	0	--
Rural	**Upper/**	**< 30**	**F**	1	0	--
	middle		**M**	1	1	101
		30-50	**F**	2	0	--

Location	Class	Age Gp.	Sex	Goal	Completed	Speaker #
			M	2	2	95, 96
		50-70	**F**	2	1	99
			M	2	1	104
		70+	**F**	0	1	78
			M	0	0	--
	Working / lower	**< 30**	**F**	1	1	76
			M	1	1	103
		30-50	**F**	2	2	77, 105
			M	2	1	97
		50-70	**F**	2	2	75, 100
			M	2	2	94, 102
		70+	**F**	0	1	74
			M	0	1	98

I interviewed 27 residents of Bonaire (Table 8). Population is concentrated in two areas—Kralendijk, the capitol, and Rincón, the other town. Bonaire interviewees all lived or worked in the Kralendijk area; I made no efforts to interview residents of Rincón. Three in the 50+ groups were over 70: two men and a woman.

Table 8. Stratification of Bonaire Interviews Interview Goal: 20 Completed: 27

Class	Age Gp.	Sex	Goal	Completed	Spkr #
Upper / middle	**< 30**	**F**	2	3	123, 125, 131
		M	2	1	109
	30-50	**F**	1	2	111, 118
		M	1	5	112, 113, 114, 117, 121
	50-70	**F**	1	2	115, 127
		M	1	0	--
	70+	**F**	0	0	--
		M	0	1	116
Working / lower	**< 30**	**F**	2	2	124, 130
		M	2	2	129, 132
	30-50	**F**	2	3	107, 108, 122
		M	2	2	119, 128
	50-70	**F**	2	1	120
		M	2	2	106, 126
	70+	**F**	0	0	--
		M	0	1	110

Most interviews were transcribed[35] and coded, then the coding was double-checked. As Tables 6-8 show, some cells in the social stratification have as many as five speakers, though the goal was two. The following speakers were omitted: Aruba—20, 21, 34, 40, 41, 49, 59; Aruba, San Nicolas—15, 30, 35, 36, 37, 47, 52; Curaçao—64, 69, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93; Bonaire—121, 122, and 123. Initially, all speech was coded unless the sound was unintelligible. (This occasionally happened due to wind or other background noise.) After coding a few interviews, it was clear that the interview context provided more than enough verb tokens for the *–ndo* analysis, and I began to take the first 75 tokens per interview only. The token numbers for Aruba and Curaçao are very high because all tokens were taken from many of the interviews, but only a small subset were coded for Vendlerian semantics and aspectual interpretation. The other variables studied here are much less frequent, so for those, all tokens were counted.

3.5 Quantitative analysis

Because of the variety of issues to be investigated, multiple constraint models are made. First, a constraint model for each linguistic variable is constructed (*-ndo*, passive, focus). Every instance of passive and focus in interviews and texts were coded; *-ndo* tokens were limited to 100 per text or speaker. The models for individual variables include linguistic and social factors potentially governing the use of the variable. These models are designed to show the effect of social and demographic circumstances on the use of specific linguistic forms, and whether or not the borrowed form increases in frequency or becomes more integrated into the grammar over time.

[35] Transcriptions are accurate at the word level; no effort was made to indicate phonetic or phonological details.

Whereas the constraints on the occurrence of particular variables can be treated according to well-established sociolinguistic methods, the 'universals' of borrowing presented in Chapter 2 must be evaluated in a different way. These claims refer to changes in the grammar as a whole and must be considered from the perspective of the whole grammar. Specifically, to evaluate a claim like "grammatical gaps tend to be filled through borrowing," Labov's Principle of Accountability[36] (Labov 1972) requires that we compare, to take a morphological example, all morphemes that could be borrowed from all of the languages in the contact situation to the set of morphemes that are actually borrowed. Further, to test Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) prediction that the integration of bound morphemes should happen under 'intense contact', I compared the rate of integration of foreign morphemes at each time period when census data relating to the intensity of contact was available. To accomplish this, I made a constraint model for the entire system of verbal morphology.[37] Here, I do not code for every instance of every morpheme in Papiamentu. Instead, I list all verbal morphemes from Dutch, Spanish, and English (the set of all possible borrowings).[38] Every morpheme in this set is coded once according to its degree of integration into Papiamentu (productive or not productive), based on use in texts and interviews. So, for the set of all texts from time period a, I ask is *-ing* productive in Papiamentu? Is *–ndo* productive? This process is repeated for each time period where census data are available. All factors are analyzed with the VARBRUL statistical program.

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[36] This principle states that a researcher should report both occurrences of a particular form, and places where the form could have occurred but did not.

[37] I opted to use the verbal morphological system only since I had already coded for progressive and passive tokens. This method could be used for other closely circumscribed subsystems of the grammar to evaluate structural borrowing, but is not a reasonable way to consider, for example, lexical borrowing, since the list of all possible borrowings would approach infinity.

[38] See Table 11 in Chapter 4 and *4.1.3.*

4 The linguistic variables

In this chapter, I describe relevant aspects of Papiamentu morphology, syntax, and pragmatics, and then present the dependent linguistic variables under consideration. For each variable, I discuss and motivate linguistic factors to be investigated, describe how coding decisions were made, describe how equivalents of the Papiamentu forms and functions behave in the other languages in the contact situation, where relevant, and indicate when variation has been attributed to social factors in the literature.[39] Finally, for each sub-system (morphology and discourse), I discuss factors designed to evaluate the general and functional claims about structural borrowing and potential effects of multilingualism as presented in Chapter 2.

4.1 Morphology

Papiamentu is an isolating language, though some borrowed forms are arguably inflections (e.g. the plural marker *–nan*; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994). Further, some borrowed derivational affixes exhibit varying degrees of integration into the morphology (Dijkhoff 1993). 'Integration'[40] for Papiamentu[41] directly relates to etymological

[39] For the most part, cases where social factors are said to be responsible for variation are speculative and/or dismissive. That is, researchers have primarily looked for categorical linguistic conditioning and when it could not be found, or when otherwise unexplainable variation existed, researchers concluded that 'social factors' must be at work. With the exception of Andersen (1974), no direct attempt to identify specific social factors or quantify their influence has been made. Detailed discussion of the social factors to be considered here is provided in Chapter 5.

[40] Here, I am referring to morphological integration. Though phonological integration also occurs, it is not explicitly examined here. See Andersen (1974) for thorough coverage of this topic.

[41] Other languages have phonological and/or morphological processes sensitive to etymological divisions in the lexicon, e.g. Japanese (Yamato, Sino-Japanese, Mimetic, Foreign) and English (Germanic/Anglo-Saxon and Latinate/Greek) (Ito and Mester 1995). The existence of such processes is attributed to diachronic contact, but, as Ito and Mester (1995) indicate, "such classifications require explicit synchronic recognition if, and as far as, they continue to play a role in the [synchronic] grammar (818; see also Chomsky and Halle 1968: 174, 373, among others).

stratifications in the vocabulary: we find words of Iberian[42] (Spanish, Portuguese, etc) and non-Iberian (primarily Dutch but also French, English, and other) origin. The Iberian stratum is clearly different from the non-Iberian, but it is not clear if all non-Iberian words comprise one stratum or separate strata for morphological purposes.

Morphemes can be productive within one stratum, or, at a more integrated level, they can be productive across strata (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994). An example of a morpheme with limited integration is *–dó* 'person who' from Spanish *–dor*, which is found only with Spanish or Iberian roots (Dijkhoff 1993), (e.g. *trahadó* 'worker' from *traha* 'work' < Sp. *trabaja* 'work'). A more integrated morpheme is *–mentu* 'the act of' from Spanish *-miento*, which is found with Spanish, Dutch, and English words (Dijkhoff 1993) (e.g. *papiamentu* 'speaking'; *zuaimentu* 'swinging', from *zuai* 'swing' < Du. *zuai* 'swing').

In some cases, roots of one etymology can resemble roots of the other phonologically, and may be reanalyzed by speakers as being part of a stratum that does not reflect its true etymology. For example, the Iberian origin verb *dal* 'hit' (from Spanish *dar)* ends in a consonant rather than an Iberian theme vowel, making it look like a Dutch verb. I do not consider a morpheme to be productive in a stratum if it is found only with exceptional cases from that stratum. To extend the previous example, a morpheme is not productive in the Iberian stratum if the only Iberian words it is found with are Dutch-like words such as *dal*. In such cases, I assume that speakers reanalyzed the word some time after it was first introduced into Papiamentu, and thus the affix in question can still be said to apply only to the Dutch stratum.

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[42] After phonological integration, it is difficult to identify the exact source (eg Spanish vs. Portuguese vs. other Romance dialect) of many Latinate words, even for an etymologist (Maduro 1953).

Papiamentu verbs are not inflected for person or number. Verb tense, mood, and aspect are almost always indicated by a preverbal marker. There are two known exceptions: the progressive participle (which will be investigated here) and the Dutch pattern of the passive participle. Also discussed is the passive construction, which is indicated by borrowed morphemes from both Spanish and Dutch. These are the morphological variables to be investigated; each is described in detail below.

4.1.1 -ndo

The Spanish[43] gerundive/progressive morpheme *–ndo* is added to verbs and, in modern Papiamentu, it is used with both the gerundive (8, 9) and progressive (10) functions. Gerunds occur in absolutive clauses without a preverbal marker or in relative clauses which usually modify the subject (Dijkhoff 2000). Progressive cases occur in main, subordinate, and relative clauses and are preceded by preverbal TMA markers *ta* (imperfective) or *tabata* (past-imperfective).[44] Rarely, progressive *–ndo* is found with an auxiliary in addition to *ta/tabata* (11). When the *–ndo*-marked verb is part of an absolutive clause, on the other hand,

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[43] Though Brazilian Portuguese also uses the *–ndo* morpheme, Portuguese is not thought to exert an influence on its use in Papiamentu. By the time people started using *–ndo* in Papiamentu (first attestation in 1803), there were few L1 Portuguese speakers left on the islands. While Portuguese remains a possible donor language for this affix, it was removed from the contact situation early enough that it did not exert influence over time in the way Spanish and English have regarding this particular affix. Since this investigation is based on real time data, and since there are no surviving documents from the Portuguese era, there will be no further consideration of the role of Portuguese in this contact situation. I do this not because Portuguese had no influence (clearly it did early on), but because without data from the early period, it is impossible to assess the extent of this influence under the methods used here.

Similarly, the role of African substrate cannot be assessed. As with Portuguese, African language(s) ceased active influence on Papiamentu before the earliest available (written) linguistic evidence. There was almost certainly some substrate influence in the early days of the creole, but as with Portuguese, that influence cannot be assessed under the methods used here. See Martinus (1996) for an account of the influence of Guene, a proposed African substrate.

[44] *Ta* is both the imperfective marker (under Andersen's analysis) and the copula; *tabata* is both the past imperfective marker and the past copula (Andersen 1990). In examples I gloss *ta* and *tabata* as TMA markers, but as the TMA markers and copula forms are homophonous, they could also be justifiably glossed as copulas.

there are no restrictions on the TMA marker of the main clause. In (12), we have the perfective marker, *a*, which cannot precede an imperfective action. Note also that the absolutive clauses can appear sentence (clause) initially as in (8) or sentence finally as in (12).

(8) *Nanzi a haña su baka pintá i* ***kantando*** *na bos altu el a bolbe kas*
Nanzi PER receive his cow painted and **sing-GER** in voice high he PER return home
'Nanzi received his spotted cow and, **singing** in a high voice, returned home.'
(6:50-51) [45]

(9) *E carpinte,* ***sabiendo*** *cu e no po haci e trabou, a purba toch.*
The carpenter, **know-GER** that he no be able do the work PERF try in spite of
'The carpenter, knowing that he couldn't do the work, tried anyway.'
(Dijkhoff 2000:27)

(10) *Nos* ***ta yegando*** *fin di aña, kual ta un temporada konosi kaminda ta toka*
we IMP arrive-GER end of year, which COP a season known which IMP play

hopi musika di tambu.
much music of drum.

'We **are approaching** the end of the year, which is a season known for playing lots of drums.' (92:1)

(11) *… e yiu* <u>*tabata bai*</u> ***kresiendo*** *te el a yega na edad di dyes dos aña…*
…the son IMP-P go **grow-GER** until he PER arrive at age of ten two year…
'…the son was growing until he reached the age of 12…' (Lenz 1928)

(12) *Enfin Yan* <u>*a skirbi*</u> *den "boletin de comercio"* ***solistando*** *trabou.*
Then Yan PERF wrote in "bulletin of commercial" **ask-GER** work.
'Then Yan wrote in the "commercial bulletin" looking for work.'
(22:22)

[45] Sources of examples indicated in this form are from texts. In this case, the example is from Text 6, Lines 50-51. See Appendix A for list of texts.

The *–ndo* affix was first reported in Papiamentu with the gerundive function only (Evertz 1898, Hoyer 1918, Lenz 1928), and texts dating 1803-1916 show only this function (Sanchez 2002). The first documented progressive cases are found in the early part of the 20th century (Sanchez 2000, 2002, in review) and progressive *–ndo* is first mentioned in 20th century grammars (Goilo 1953, Wattman 1953). The affix was found with Iberian verbs exclusively until recently. Kouwenberg and Murray (1994:21) cite occurrences of *–ndo* with a handful of Dutch origin verbs (ex. *zuai* 'swing' → *zuayendo* 'swinging'). In addition, there appears to be some social and/or stylistic differentiation in the use of *–ndo*: text samples from the 1990s indicate that *–ndo* is more frequently used on Aruba than on other islands, and more frequently in newspaper articles than in other genres (Sanchez 2000, 2002).

Several linguistic factors may contribute to variation found in the use or non-use of progressive *–ndo*. Factors investigated are 1) etymology of stem verb, 2) semantics of the predicate according to Vendler's (1967) scale state-activity-accomplishment-achievement, 3) verb aspect in context (in progress, habitual, iterative, other).

4.1.1.1 Etymology

First we consider etymology. For many years, it appeared that *–ndo* was only added to words of Iberian origin. Kouwenberg and Murray's (1994) report that the affix is found in spoken Papiamentu with some Dutch origin verbs suggests that the affix is achieving greater integration into the grammar. At the same time, no such examples were found in the written language through 1999 (Sanchez 2000), so it would appear that this is a relatively new change which had not yet extended itself to the written language. Verb etymology was investigated to see if the use of *–ndo* with Dutch verbs is growing.

Etymology is a linguistic factor under investigation for several variables, and I make every attempt to accurately classify the relevant words. First, I use Maduro's (1953) classifications since he conducted careful etymological research. If he could not determine the source of a word, or if he did not consider a word which I encounter, I consider the following to assign origin:

1) How well is the word integrated phonologically? Does it retain any phonological features which may indicate its source? For example, a Latinate word pronounced as in English may have entered Papiamentu via English rather than via Spanish or Portuguese, so I would classify it as 'non-Iberian'. For example, I coded *transfer* as being Germanic because its Papiamentu pronunciation was closer to English than Spanish.
2) What form does the phonologically integrated word take? Most Iberian verbs end in -a, -i, or –e; most non-Iberian verbs end in a consonant. Further, verbs whose phonology is like a verb of a different type are often treated by speakers as being of the other type (the past participle of the Iberian verb *dal* 'hit', from Spanish *dar* 'to give, hit', is formed in the Dutch rather than the Iberian pattern). I classify a verb as Iberian if it ends in a theme vowel and non-Iberian if it does not.
3) What are speakers' judgments? I ask native speakers which language they think the word came from and why.

These criteria are not foolproof means of pinpointing etymology.[46] Words in written texts may not exhibit phonological features identifying their source, and native speakers can be wrong in their intuitions. However, what is relevant here is how speakers treat the word, so I consider these factors, and where I find reasonable agreement, I assign etymology. Words not included in Maduro (1953) and which do not show sufficient agreement under the other considerations are excluded from etymological coding. Appendix D indicates (among other things) etymology and how it was determined.

4.1.1.2. Semantics and Aspect

The next two linguistic variables involve the semantic and aspectual interpretations of those verbs (and predicates) marked by *–ndo* and those not marked by it. I investigate these factors in order to determine the parameters on the Papiamentu progressive. That is, we know that among languages with a morphological progressive, the morpheme has different restrictions, such that a verb or situation which may take a progressive marker in one language cannot take it in a second, and must take it in a third. While we can be reasonably sure that *–ndo* was borrowed from Spanish (see footnote 43), we cannot assume

[46] One serious problem here is that both Dutch and English have substantial Latinate lexical borrowings. In many cases, we can state with confidence that a Papiamentu word is of Latin origin, but we are not always able to trace its path to Papiamentu. Some Latin words entered (predictably) via Spanish or Portuguese, others, via French (Martinus 1999). Others entered a bit more unexpectedly via Latin/Spanish/French/Portuguese, then Dutch or English (see Martinus (1999) for an interesting discussion of the derivation of *mèrdia* 'mid-day' from L. *meridiem* as used in colonial (1695-1713) Dutch documents). It is for this reason that I hesitate to make etymological assignments. When assigning a word to a stratum of the lexicon, which is more important for speakers—the 'true' etymology of a word, or the language from which a word was incorporated into Papiamentu? And for how long does 'source' (at the time of borrowing, when 'source' differs from 'etymology') stay with a word, particularly when interested multilingual speakers would be able to find a cognate in more than one of their languages? My intention in coding for etymology is to see if the use of other borrowings is sensitive to it, so my concern here is for how lexical items are treated synchronically rather than diachronically. For the many cases where a lexical item's path from Latin to Papiamentu cannot be reliably traced, I rely on speakers' judgments because this tells me if speakers treat a word as Iberian or Germanic, which is the relevant category for the present work. I caution readers that these judgments do not constitute an accurate historical accounting of etymology.

that it has the same parameters of use as in Spanish. The progressive morpheme may have been influenced by the English progressive morpheme, for example, so comparisons of linguistic conditioning of all the languages in the contact situation should be made, although in this particular case, Dutch has no analogous progressive morphology so will not be discussed further in this section (Kooij 1990).

Here, I coded for the semantic and aspectual interpretation of expressions both with and without *-ndo* in order to determine what linguistic difference, if any, exists between them. To facilitate comparison with Spanish and English progressives as reported in the literature, I used two different ways of coding for semantics and aspect: Vendler's (1967) classification of predicates and aspect in context.

Results for Papiamentu were then compared to the use of progressive morphemes in Spanish and English. In Spanish, achievement verbs such as *saludar* 'greet' and *dar* 'take' can be marked by *–ndo* to denote developing activity, while in their simple forms they 'imply habitual or future events' (King and Suñer 1980: 230). In contrast, the English progressive morpheme *-ing* can be used to indicate iterative, habitual, or stative actions (King and Suñer 1980), and adding progressive *–ing* to an otherwise punctual verb gives it an iterative interpretation (Brinton 1988: 41) rather than a progressive one, as in Spanish. Adding *–ing* to English statives gives them a dynamic interpretation (as in (13) below), or indicates a new state (as in (17)), or a temporary state. Finally, English *–ing*-marked habituals are interpreted as temporary habits (as in (19)) or hyperbole (as in (20), where the speaker's intention is to show that Arubians use many English words in their Papiamentu) (Brinton 1988: 40-1).

4.1.1.2.1 Vendler's semantics of the predicate

First, I considered the semantics of the predicate according to Vendler's (1967) scale. The scale is based on a classification of predicates based on the features punctual, telic, and dynamic (Table 9). The logical possible combinations of these result in four predicate categories: state (13), activity (14), accomplishment (15), and achievement (16). A state is mere existence without a goal or change; an activity is some action with duration but no goal; an accomplishment is an action that lasts for some time, proceeding toward and ending at some goal; and an achievement is an action that starts and ends momentarily. Under this system, the entire predicate must be taken into consideration, not just the verb.[47] The verb in the expression *ta kanando rond* 'walking around' would not normally be considered stative, but in (13), it is clear from the discourse context that the speaker uses 'walking around' to mean "existing." In (14), *papiando* 'speaking' is a good example of an activity. In (15), this person was very ill for a time, so that *muriendo* 'dying' is meant to indicate a slow process. In (16), the speaker indicates that Arubians insert English words into their Papiamentu. Examples (13-16) are taken from Aruba interviews.

Table 9. Vendlerian paradigm of predicate semantics

	punctual	telic	dynamic
state	-	-	-
activity	-	-	+
accomplishment	-	+	+
achievement	+	+	+

[47] Consider the difference between 'pushing a cart' and 'pushing a cart across the floor'. The prepositional phrase indicates a goal, thus differentiating between 'activity' and 'accomplishment'.

(13) *Bo no kier pa tin un persona* ***ta kan-ando rond*** *ku adishon di droga...*
you no want for have a person IMP walk-GER around with addiction of drugs...
'You don't want to have a person walking around with drug addiction...' (Sp14)[48]

(14) *Ami mes* ***tabata papiando*** *hulandes pero mi mamanan tabata papia papiamento ku mi.*
I self IMP-P speak-GER Dutch but my mama-PL IMP-P speak papiamento with me
'*I* used to speak Dutch, but my parents used to speak Papiamento with me.' (Sp6)

(15) *Ora k'e* ***tata mur-iendo****, nos a yora ...*
when COMP.3p IMP-P die-GER we PERF cry
'When he was dying, we cried...' (lit. 'Time that he was dying...') (Sp 48)

(16) *Nos* ***ta pon-iendo*** *hopi mas palabra...vooral na Aruba nos ta papia mas ingles.*
we IMP put-GER very more word especially in Aruba we IMP speak more English
'We're putting a lot of words...especially in Aruba we speak more English.' (Sp4)

4.1.1.2.2 Aspect in context

Next, I considered the aspectual interpretation of verb aspect in context. Tokens were coded as having one of the following aspectual interpretations (Table 10): stative (17), progressive (18), repeated action (19), or other imperfective (20). In example (17), the *–ndo* marking indicates a new state. The speaker, a woman in her 50s, was asked if she lives with her mother. She replied that she does, because her mother had had a stroke several years ago, and otherwise would be lonely. The new state is her mother's loneliness. Example (18) was uttered in response to the question, "How many years of school have you finished?" The speaker wants to know if he should include this year. Example (19) is a response to, "Are you employed?" In (20), the speaker is discussing how police handle themselves in

[48] Sources of examples indicated in this form are from interviews. In this case, the example is from the interview with speaker #14. See Appendix B for social characteristics of each speaker.

general. The –*ndo*-marked verb can be considered 'in progress' at the time indicated by the adverbial phrase *den sierto momento* 'at certain times'.

Table 10. Aspectual interpretation of verb forms

aspect	*description*
stative	state of existence
progressive	action is durative and in progress at time of speaking
repeated	habitual, iterative, or occasional action
imperfective	action is durative but not in progress at time of speaking

(17) *Awor si, pasobra e* ***ta kedando*** *muchu su so.*
now yes because 3p IMP keep-GER a.lot POSS alone
'Now, yes, because she's staying by herself a lot.' (Sp4)

(18) *E ana aki mi* ***ta kabando****?*
DEF year here I IMP finish-ger
'This year that I'm finishing (right now)?' (Sp6)

(19) *Mi* ***ta ba-iendo*** *skol.*
I IMP go-GER school
'I'm going to school (as opposed to having a job).' (Sp6)

(20) *Mi ta hana polis den sierto momento* ***ta has-iendo*** *nan best, pero...*
I IMP find police in certain moment IMP do-GER their best but
'I find that the police at times are doing their best, but...' (Sp14)

4.1.2 Passive

Unusual among creoles, Papiamentu has a periphrastic passive construction which has been documented for well over a century (Van Name 1869-70, cited in Holm 2000). It is composed of a TMA marker, one of three verbs (*ser*, *keda* or *wordu* (*wordo* in Aruba)), and the verb participle (Andersen 1974, Eckkrammer 2004, Munteanu 1996). *Ser* is from Spanish

ser 'to be'; *keda* is from Spanish *quedar* 'to keep'[49]; *wordu* is from Dutch *worden*[50] 'to become' (Munteanu 1996). In Papiamentu, *ser* and *wordu* are only used in the passive, while *keda* has other verbal and aspectual uses. Howe (1994) claims that *ser* is the more traditional form, but that *wordu* is being used more and more frequently. *Keda* is the newest form, used more by the younger generations. Munteanu (1996:344) argues that *keda* is an interference feature from Spanish.

The passive agent is optionally realized in a prepositional phrase, introduced by either *dor di* (from Dutch *door* 'by'—used in all dialects of Papiamentu) or *pa* (from Spanish *para* 'for, by'—'somewhat archaic' and Curaçaoan (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994:37)). Examples of each type of passive are given in (21-23). Note that in (21) and (22), the agent is indicated by the preposition of the same etymology as the passive marker. It is not clear whether or not the prepositions are interchangeable following each passive verb or if etymology must be respected.

(21) *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)

(22) *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)

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[49] Though Eckkrammer (2004) argues that the *keda* passive is an internal development.
[50] Because of /n/ deletion in Dutch, this word is pronounced /word↔/.

(23) *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*** *salvaguarda 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)

In Dutch, Spanish, and English, passives are formed by a conjugated verb indicating passivity, plus a past participle. This verb is *worden* 'become' in Dutch, and the copula in Spanish (*ser*) and English.

All passive tokens were coded for etymology of verb, realization or not of agent, form of agent indicator (*pa* or *dor di*), and etymology of agent.

4.1.3 Systemic morphological borrowing

The goal of the systemic model is to determine if any demographic or linguistic factors condition morphological borrowing. Recall from the discussion in *3.5* that this model takes a wider perspective than the models for individual variables in order to evaluate universals of borrowing which refer to the grammar as a whole.

The model is constructed as follows. First, all elements from the relevant system of each language in contact is listed (here, all morphemes (bound and free), periphrastic forms, and verb categories used in the verb system; Table 11). The dependent variable is the degree of integration into Papiamentu; Papiamentu equivalents are listed in Table 11 for comparison only. Each morpheme in Table 11[51] was coded as to whether it was a) not

[51] Excluding Papiamentu morphemes, which are listed for reference only.

found in Papiamentu or found in nonce borrowings or established loan words but with no evidence of productive use, or b) used productively in one or more strata of the lexicon. Every instance of every morpheme in texts and interviews is not coded. Rather, each morpheme is coded once for degree of integration for each time period for which census data is available (i.e. 1911, 1943, 1948 (Aruba only), 1960, 1981, 1991, 2000) under the assumption that a morpheme may show increased integration over time, perhaps as a result of changing demographics or as a way to fill a grammatical gap, etc. In the following sections, I describe the linguistic factor groups and factors; social and demographic factors are discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 11. Affixes considered in systemic morphological borrowing

	English	*CEC*	*Dutch*	*Spanish*	*Papiamentu*	
					2000	*1844*
CATEGORY	3sg, not 3sg		1sg, 2/3sg, pl	1sg, 1pl, 2sg, 3sg, 3pl		
INFINITIVE	to + V	a + V	-en	-ar, -er, -ir		
COPULA A	be is, am, are, was were	be, da	ben, bent, is, zijn, was, waren	ser, soy, eres, es, somos, son, era, eras, era,éramos, eran		ta, tabata
COPULA B				estar, estoy, estás, está estamos, están, estaba, estabas, estabámos, estaban		
GERUND	V-ing		V-ende	V-ando, V-iendo	V-ando, V-iendo	
PAST PARTICIPLE	V + -ed		ge- + V +d/t/ en			Stress change, he-+ V

	English	*CEC*	*Dutch*	*Spanish*	*Papiamentu*	
					2000	*1844*
PROGRESSIVE	COP + GER	de, di, a	COP + aan 't + INF	COP (ESTAR) + GER	COP+ GER *C-1900* *A-1943*	COP + V (same as imp.)
HABITUAL		juuzto, doz				
PASSIVE	COP + PP		word, wordt, worden + PP	COP (SER) + PP	wordu + PP *A-1862* *C-1871* ser + PP *C-1954* *A-1960*	TMA + PP
PRESENT	V + -s		V + -t, -en	o, as, a, amos, an, es, e, emos, en, imos		ta + V
PRETERIT	V + -ed	bin, ben, min, en, wen	V + -te, ten	é, aste, ó, amos, aron, í, iste, io, imos, ieron		a + V
IMPERFECTIVE		e, a		aba, ía, ábamos, ában, íamos, ían		ta + V, tabata + V
FUTURE	will	IMP + go, o, wi, wã	zal, zult, zullen	aré, arás, ará, aremos, arán eré, éras, erá, eremos, erán, iré, irás, irá, iremos, irán		lo + V
PERFECT(IVE)	have, has, had + PP	don, kaba	heb, hebt, hebben, had, hadden + PP	he, has, ha, hamos, han + PP		a + V
CONDITIONAL	would		zou/ zouden + PP	aría, arías, aríamos, arían, ería, erías, eríamos, erían, iría, irías, iríamos, irían		lo tabata + V
SUBJUNCTIVE				e, es, emos, en, a, as, amos, an, ara, aras, aramos, aran, iera, ieras, ieramos, ieran		

4.1.3.1 General claims about borrowability

Several borrowing 'universals' were presented in *2.1.1*, including general claims about borrowability and potential motivations for borrowing. They are tested in the systemic morphological model. The general claims investigated here are structural compatibility and reduction of allomorphy/structural simplification.[52] As mentioned in Chapter 2, these statements as proposed under qualitative theories are too general to reliably evaluate quantitatively, so I created more specific factor groups designed to shed light on these general claims about borrowability.

The first two linguistic factor groups, word order and the marking of grammatical categories, test the structural compatibility claim. I code for whether or not Papiamentu and the source language have the same word order surrounding the morpheme (word + word-affix + word; compared by part of speech), and whether or not Papiamentu and the source language mark grammatical categories in the same way (e.g. Spanish verbal morphology marks 1p, 2p, and 3p singular and plural; Papiamentu marks none of these).

The next two factor groups, regarding allomorphy and the introduction of new distinctions, are intended to test the reduction of allomorphy/structural simplification claim. I code for whether borrowing of a morpheme would result in a reduction in allomorphy, same amount of allomorphy, or increased allomorphy, and whether borrowing of a morpheme would result in the introduction of an additional grammatical category or an additional distinction within a grammatical category.

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[52] A third 'general claim' was presented in *2.1.1.1*: 'fit with the innovation possibilities of the borrowing language.' In the absence of reliable, objective, atheoretical means of determining if a given linguistic form fits with the innovation possibilities of Papiamentu, the claim cannot be evaluated here.

4.1.3.2 Motivations for borrowing

Two motivations for borrowing were presented in *2.1.1.3*: 1) grammatical gaps are filled through borrowing and 2) borrowing as morphological renewal. As mentioned in Chapter 2, one problem with evaluating these claims is identifying an occurrence. Each claim is considered here with a range of possible values in Papiamentu.

A grammatical gap occurs when one language expresses a grammatical category or distinction but another does not. The word 'expresses' is problematic because it is unclear if it should necessarily mean 'morphologically encoded'. Here, I take a wider view of 'expression', and code morphemes as a) expressing a category or distinction that Papiamentu does not express specifically and explicitly, b) expressing a category or distinction morphologically that Papiamentu does express but in an alternate way (i.e. with adverbs), or c) expresses a category or distinction morphologically that Papiamentu also expresses morphologically (variably or always).

In order for a borrowed morpheme to result in 'morphological renewal', it should replace a native form. In other words, it should not introduce distinctions or nuances that the native form does not have, and it should be of the same type as the native form (i.e. a bound form should replace a bound form; a prefix should replace a prefix, etc.). To test for the latter condition, I code for these factors: foreign morpheme a) has no Papiamentu counterpart, b) is synonymous with a native form of a different type, or c) is synonymous with a native form of the same type. The former condition (no new distinctions) can be evaluated using factor groups already proposed—'category marking' and 'complexity' (testing 'grammatical gap') indicate whether borrowed forms would result in differences in the marking of grammatical categories or distinctions within the categories.

4.1.3.3 Effects of multilingual contact

It has been suggested that cognitive considerations play a role in contact situations—isomorphism across languages may reduce the cognitive burden of functional competence in multiple languages. Further, I hypothesize that the pressure on one language to change is increased if more than one other language in the contact situation already share features. For example, if a language is in contact with two other languages, and these two languages share certain characteristics, is it more likely that the shared features will eventually be borrowed than other features found in only one of the languages?

To test these ideas, I code morphemes according to whether one, two, or three languages in the contact situation have a form marking a particular function. For the present purposes, two languages are said to have a form marking the same function if and only if the languages are structurally compatible with each other (not necessarily with Papiamentu) with respect to the morphemes in question as determined by the criteria mentioned above. That is, if the two languages share similar surface word order patterns surrounding the morpheme and mark grammatical categories in the same way then they are structurally compatible.

4.1.4 Summary of morphological models and factors to be tested

To summarize, two morphemic variables were tested in 3 constraint models: the variables *–ndo* and passive each has its own constraint model, and there is an additional model representing the system of verbal morphology. Tables 12 and 13 show which factor groups and factors were tested in the individual variables. Table 14 shows which factor groups were used to evaluate general claims about borrowability. Table 15 shows factor groups and factors tested in the systemic model.

Table 12. Linguistic factor groups tested in specific cases of morphological borrowing (factor groups tested for each variable are shaded)

Morpheme	*Etymology*	*Vendler's semantics*	*Aspect in context*
-ndo progressive			
passive			

Table 13. Factors included in linguistic factor groups for morphological variables

Factor group	*List of Factors*	*Notes*
Etymology	Iberian Germanic unknown	
Vendler's semantics of predicate	state process accomplishment achievement	
Aspect in context	state action in progress iterative action habitual action imperfective action other	 imperfective but not in progress

Table 14. Factor groups used to evaluate general claims about borrowability in the systemic morphological model (groups used to evaluate claims are shaded)

Borrowability Claim	*Word order similarity*	*Category marking*	*Allomorphy*	*Complexity*	*Fill gap*	*Renewal*	*Shared features*
structural compatibility							
structural simplification							
fill gap							
morphological renewal							
convergence							

Table 15. Factors tested in systemic morphological borrowing factor groups

Group	*List of Factors*	*Notes*
Borrowing	not used in Pap. nonce or unproductive productive	 unanalyzed in loan words with same etymology or any etymology
Word order similarity	yes no	word + word-affix + word
Affix type similarity	yes no	e.g. prefix or suffix
Category marking	both mark category in same way (or don't mark category) both mark category but with different distinctions one doesn't mark category, one does	
Allomorphy	reduction same amount increase	
Complexity	new category new distinction no new nuance	introduction of affix would result in such a change
Fill gap	no expression of category or distinction expression w/o morpheme expression with morpheme	Pap. does not express category/ distinction but source lg. does expressed but has no grammatical marker expressed with a morpheme (variably or always)
Renewal	foreign form has no native counterpart foreign form is synonymous with some native form of different type foreign form is synonymous with native form of same type	
Shared features	agrees with 0 languages 1 language 2 languages 3 languages	each morpheme is coded according to its agreement with other languages (same word order, morpheme type, category-marking)

4.2 Discourse-pragmatic properties

Papiamentu is an SVO language. The word order in (24) is basic, and holds whether the objects are full noun phrases or pronouns (Kouwenberg and Muysken (1994:209). In addition, direct and indirect objects cannot be moved to preverbal position as in Spanish.

(24) Subj. TMA Verb IO DO Prepositional Phrase

Papiamentu has some fronting and inversion processes which produce alternate word orders. Any kind of constituent can be sentence-initial due to fronting and clefting. The fronted constituent may be new/emphasized (with marker present) or old/backgrounded (with marker absent). The process to be investigated in an individual constraint model is focus fronting. A systemic model will also be created to test general, functional, and multilingual influence claims.

4.2.1 Focus

An element (NP, PP, etc) can be focused by moving it to initial position. It is preceded by a focus marker *ta*, and leaves a trace, sometimes filled by a resumptive pronoun, in its canonical position. There is never an overt complementizer following the focused element. The example in (25) shows a focused prepositional phrase (Howe 1994:rg37)

(25) *Canonical* *nos gobièrnu ta na Ulanda*

Focused *ta na Ulanda nos gobièrnu ta [t]*
FOC PREP Holland 1p government COP [t]

'Our government is in **Holland.'**

In English, simply fronting a constituent is insufficient as a means of focus; English exploits stress for this purpose (Finegan 1990). Dutch makes use of the sentence-initial position for topic rather than focus (Kooij 1990). Similarly, in Spanish, new information tends to appear sentence-finally while topics are sentence-initial (Green 1990).

I code for type of constituent fronted, thematic role of fronted constituent, information status of fronted constituent (given, evoked, new, inferrable) (Prince 1981b), and whether or not the fronted constituent is held in contrast to some other element in the discourse.

4.2.2 Summary of discourse model and factors to be tested

To summarize 4.2, one discourse-pragmatic variable was tested in a constraint model. Table 16 shows factor groups and factors tested in focus fronting.

Table 16. Factors included in linguistic factor groups for focus fronting

Factor group	*Code*	*List of Factors*
Type of constituent fronted	n	noun phrase
	p	prepositional phrase
	a	adverbial, adjective
Thematic role	s	subject
	d	direct object
	i	indirect object
	g	goal
	p	peripheral
	e	equative (i.e. with copula)
Information status	g	given
	w	new
	e	evoked
	i	inferrable
Contrast	y	yes
	n	no

5 History, demography, and social structure of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles

> Nevertheless, everyone going into the social problems of present-day Curaçao society has to know the 'old' situation in order to be able to estimate the importance of the historical factors influencing present problems. (Hoetink 1958: 168)

Many Caribbean societies, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles among them, are multi-ethnic societies formed as a result of imperialism in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries (Römer 1998). The societies of Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire (also known as the ABC Islands), have been shaped by tremendously complex forces, and, as Hoetink (1958) points out in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, one cannot begin to understand the present without a thorough understanding of the past. In this vein, I trace the history of the three islands, paying particular attention to the linguistic situations, changing social groups, and the events that precipitated social change. I incorporate available ethnographies as well as my own ethnographic observations. The discussion begins with a general overview of all three islands, then proceeds to Curaçao, which was the center of colonial population and commerce, then to Aruba and Bonaire as the histories of the islands diverge. At the end of the chapter, I summarize issues pertinent to language contact on the islands, and factors to be tested in the constraint models. These include demographic and social factors, as well as major historical events which may be associated with linguistic change.

5.1 The ABC Islands

The ABC Islands lie in the southern Caribbean Ocean just a few miles off the northern coast of the Paraguana Peninsula of Venezuela. From west to east they are Aruba

(70 square miles), Curaçao (170 square miles), and Bonaire (100 square miles). They are part of the Caribbean group known as the Lesser Antilles, and, excepting Aruba, are also known as the Leeward Islands of the Netherlands Antilles[53] (N.A.). Aruba was part of the N.A. from its formation in 1954 until 1986, when it became independent of this group. It remains under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands.

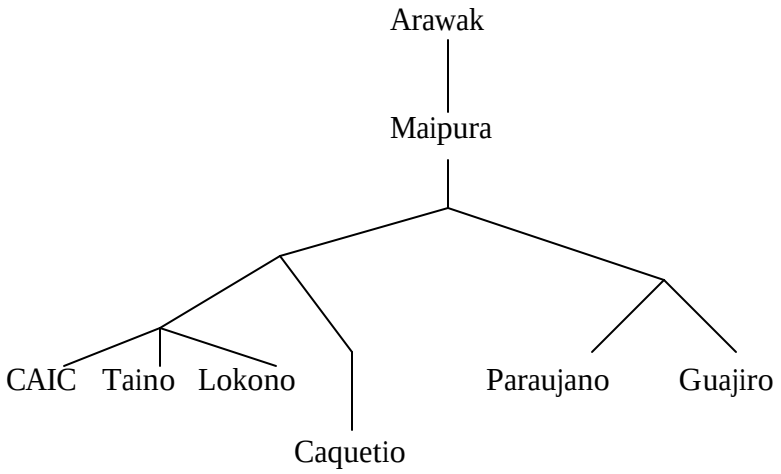
The climate of the ABCs is hot and dry, with an average temperature of about 81º F and an average annual rainfall of about 20 inches per island. The constant trade winds blowing northeast to southwest provide some relief from the heat. Their proximity to the mainland, Caribbean location, and climate have all affected the historical development of the islands (Goslinga 1979).

Indians from the South American mainland were the earliest inhabitants of these islands (Haviser 1991, 2001). Archaeological evidence suggests that there were multiple migrations. There were small (pre-ceramic) hunter-fisher-gatherer communities beginning about 2500 B.C., followed by larger, more organized (ceramic) agricultural communities beginning about 900 A.D. Pottery from the agricultural Indians of Aruba matches Dabajuroid pottery found at Dabajuro on the mainland (near Coro, Venezuela) (Versteeg 1991). We may never know the identity of the earlier Indians, but the later Indian inhabitants were Caquetios of the Arawak family (Figure 1), though we cannot be sure that they spoke only the Caquetio language (Haviser 1991). Some tribes only married outside of their tribe or 'language group', producing bilingual households and multilingual communities (Sorenson 1973, cited in Haviser 1991). If early inhabitants were indeed multilingual, then

[53] Windward Islands are St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba, located 500 miles northeast of Curaçao.

they could be responsible for introducing words into Papiamentu from Caquetio or any of their other languages.

Figure 1. The Arawak language family (adapted from Olivier 1989:169 in Haviser 1991)



Upon closer inspection of reports of the Arawak element in Papiamentu, it becomes clear that none should be accepted at face value. A few words of Indian origin survive in Papiamentu. They have been identified as Caquetio, Taino, and Guajiro, all of the Arawak group, but little is known of their history. Many words which the Spanish reported to be 'native Caquetio' were actually Taino words introduced to the ABCs by the Spaniards themselves, who learned them from Indians of other Caribbean Islands claimed for Spain (notably Puerto Rico). Guajiro words may have been introduced by Guajiro Indians who migrated to the ABCs long after contact with Europeans began rather than in pre-Colombian days (Haviser 1991). Finally, many words that Gatschet (1885: 303) lists as "aboriginal Indian terms" are, in fact, Dutch (e.g. *palu di dreif* 'grape tree' from Du. *druif* 'grape'). It is clear that some Indian words are present in Papiamentu, but demographic and historical reports on the Indians are not detailed or reliable enough to explain the linguistic

source of the words, and the linguistic evidence is not reliable as a means of supporting hypotheses regarding the pre-Colombian residents of the ABCs.

The first Europeans, Spaniards led by Alonso de Ojeda, came to the area in 1499 (Rogozinski 2000). They landed on Curaçao and possibly Bonaire, claiming them for Spain, but there is no indication that the Spaniards actually knew about Aruba until a few years later. Proclamations issued in 1501 declared part of modern-day Venezuela and the adjacent islands (including the ABCs) to be colonies of Spain and under the governership of Ojeda. There were no changes in life on the islands as a result of their new Spanish status at first—no colonization, no settlers. But by 1515, virtually the entire Indian population (about 2000 people from the three islands) was forcibly transported by the Spanish to Hispaniola (Santo Domingo) to serve as plantation slaves (Hartog 1961a, 1988). Some of these Indians (10% or fewer—reports vary) were later returned to Curaçao to appease the *cacique* (Indian chief) on the mainland (Hartog 1961a), but for the most part, it appears that later mentions of Indians on these islands refer to Indians newly arrived from the mainland after this first slave exportation (Versteeg 1991).

A few Spaniards settled the islands beginning around 1527. They used them for raising livestock since there was no gold and no realistic way to grow sugar or other crops in the desert-like climate. Spaniards forced the Indians to work for them during this time. When the Dutch arrived 100 years later, the Indians reportedly spoke Spanish (Fouse 2002), and had all been baptized as Roman Catholic (Goslinga 1979).

When the Dutch captured the ABCs in 1634, they took about 75 of the Indians as slaves on Curaçao (Goslinga 1979), let a few others live on Bonaire and Aruba, raising livestock for them (Martinus 1996), and transported the remaining Spaniards and Indians to

Venezuela (Anderson and Dynes 1975, Goslinga 1979). The Dutch often preferred to use Spanish, Portuguese, or creole Portuguese with conquered peoples, reserving Dutch for use amongst themselves. Thus, the language of the ABCs probably continued to be Spanish despite the change in political status (Hartog 1961a; Holm 1989, 2000; Hoyer 1933).

The histories of the three islands diverge after the arrival of the Dutch in the 1600s, so each will be traced separately below. First, I briefly discuss the origins of Papiamentu.

One major issue in dispute is whether Papiamentu is a Spanish creole or a relexified Portuguese creole.[54] Though some (Maduro 1966; see also Ferrol (1982), Martinus (1999), and Fouse (2002) for discussion of the theory), have suggested that the origins of Papiamentu lie in Spanish-Caquetio contact, this is unlikely considering the demographic evidence. Even if these two groups had a lingua franca (and we may never know for sure), neither Papiamentu nor a precursor to Papiamentu could be that lingua franca as both the Indians and Spaniards who would have spoken it were sent away when the Dutch claimed the islands, and thus could not have influenced the later language situation.

Most scholars agree that Africans played a key role the formation of Papiamentu by contributing a Portuguese pidgin or creole base which was later relexified, and that Papiamentu did not emerge until after the arrival of Africans in the second half of the seventeenth century (e.g. Lenz 1928; Fouse 2002; Martinus 1996, 1999). There is also widespread agreement that Portuguese-speaking Sephardic Jews played a major role in the development of Papiamentu—they formed more than half of the white population in the 18th century and had close contact with slaves as administrators of slave camps (Gomes

[54] I do not consider a decisive answer to the question of the origin of Papiamentu to be necessary to this thesis since the focus here is on later contact-induced changes. I would like to point out, though, that the available sociohistorical information makes any theory of purely Spanish origin implausible.

Casseres 1990). German de Granda (1974) further argues that Papiamentu was influenced by other languages of the Jews,[55] Castilian Spanish and Ladino, though he does not go so far as to claim that Papiamentu comes from only Spanish.

Papiamentu most likely emerged on Curaçao, stabilized around 1700, then spread to Bonaire and Aruba by the end of the century (Maurer 1986, Munteanu 1996).

5.2 Curaçao

5.2.1 History

The Dutch brought the first slaves from West Africa in 1648. Curaçao was used primarily as a rest area and auction block for slaves. After their long, hard, ocean voyage from Africa, slaves were allowed to recuperate in Curaçao, usually for up to a month, before being sold to plantations in North or South America or other places in the Caribbean via Spanish buyers. The Dutch set a strict limit on how long slaves could remain on Curaçao because they were worried about the expense of feeding them and the danger (to themselves) of an uprising. For these reasons, they also made a conscious effort to keep the number of slaves present on the island at any given time as low as possible.[56] Only those Africans who were too old or sick or mentally ill to be sold for a good profit elsewhere were sold to slave owners in Curaçao, where they did mostly domestic work (Goslinga 1985). During the period from 1648 to 1778, about 60,000 slaves passed through Curaçao (West-Durán 2003). Most of this traffic occurred between 1660 and 1713, then slave imports

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[55] The Jews also spoke Dutch and Hebrew; a few spoke French as well. Some served as translators (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970).

[56] Despite their efforts, slave uprisings occurred in 1750 and again in 1795. The second was instigated by a multilingual slave named Tula. Born in France, educated with his young, rich master, and well-traveled, Tula brought outside, revolutionary ideas to the slaves of Curaçao (de Palm 1995).

dropped off so that between 1743 and 1753 not more than 600 new slaves arrived in Curaçao, and the last ship came in 1778 (Hoetink 1972).

Sephardic Jews relocated from Brazil beginning in 1659, and after 1660, they played a major role in the administration of slave camps. They often traded with Spanish Americans from the mainland (Aizpurua 1993; Hartog 1961b; Holm 1989, 2000; Hoyer 1933). By 1715, Jews controlled almost all trade and navigation on Curaçao (Anderson and Dynes 1975).

Curaçao had no large plantations. Most slave owners owned less than 5 slaves; there was only one plantation with over 150 slaves (Hoetink 1972, West-Durán 2003). Those slaves who remained on Curaçao were in closer contact with their masters than was customary on other Caribbean islands. As a result of this, whites (Dutch, who continued to speak Dutch at home, and Jews, who spoke a Portuguese dialect) learned the emerging creole and used it while speaking to slaves, and by at least as early as the beginning of the 19th century amongst themselves, too (Hoetink 1972, Martinus 1996).

The number of Africans and free people of African descent on the island grew by natural increase due to good nutrition and more favorable working conditions than were found in other slave economies (Hoetink 1958, West-Durán 2003). By the 1680s, the African population equaled the white population. By 1789 (Table 18), whites and free people of African descent comprised a third of the population, and slaves two-thirds, though many of the 12,000 reported were not permanent residents but 'in-transport' (Goslinga 1979). By 1816, free people of African descent represented a third of the total population, with slaves just under half. By 1833, there were more free people of African descent than

slaves. Slaves 'in transport' are not reported in the 19th century data (Goslinga 1979)[57]. At abolition in 1863, slaves were only a third of the total population; most people of African descent had already been freed (Hartog 1968, West-Durán 2003).

Table 18. Early Population of Curaçao[58]

Status	**1789**	**1817**	**1833**
Whites	3964	2780	2602
Free people of African descent	2776	4549	6531
Slaves	12804	6765	5894
Total	19544	14094	15027

The reign of the Dutch was interrupted briefly during the 19th century by two periods of British control: 1800-1803 and 1807-1816. In the first period, the former Dutch governor co-ruled with the newly appointed British one, causing much confusion and bickering. Soon the Dutch retook the islands, only to lose them again to a surprise attack in 1807. This time, a sole British governor was appointed, but he requested that the Dutch Council remain intact. This also led to conflict as the British and Dutch legal systems were quite different. At first, records of the Council of Policy were kept in English with Dutch translations, but after 1808, translations were no longer provided. Dutch Councilors wrote to each other in Dutch; government translators rendered these messages in English for the British members of the government. Despite an 1808 decree that all court documents be in English, Dutch was never officially abolished during British reign (de Gaay Fortman 1982, Hartog 1968).

English spread rapidly during the second period of British rule, but only within Willemstad, the capital, which was walled at the time. So, only free whites and others living in the city would have learned it; slaves and free people of African descent lived in

57 This was for tax reasons—by underreporting slaves, whites could reduce their tax liability.
58 Sources: *Koloniaal Verslag van 1902, Encyclopædia* 1916, Hartog 1968: 222.

settlements outside of the city or on plantations (also outside the city). Language was apparently the only thing British that took hold—no other cultural or political relics of this reign remain, and at that time French-Caribbean ideas were more popular with both blacks and whites than anything British (Hartog 1968).

Printed material during the 18th century came from New York, other locations abroad, or was copied by hand. Curaçao's first printing press was established in 1812 by Scotsman William Lee, who relocated from Caracas. He began printing the *Curaçao Gazette and Commercial Advertiser* in the same year, in English and Dutch. In 1816, it evolved into the *Curaçaose Courant*, published in Dutch (de Gaay Fortman 1982, Hartog 1968, Terlingen 1963). Until the beginning of the 20th century, this functioned as both newspaper and semi-official gazette, then, as other newspapers came onto the scene, such as *Amigoe di Curaçao* (published in Dutch), its content was restricted to official publications. Through the 19th and 20th centuries, various Spanish publications circulated in the Antilles as well (Terlingen 1963). For example, *Noticioso*, a Spanish newspaper, was first published in 1870. *Civilisadó*, a Papiamentu newspaper, was first published in 1871, but existed only through 1875. In 1889, the Catholic Church began to print *La Union*, a weekly paper written in Papiamentu. In the first issue (March 19, 1889: 4, "Carta di Cobi"), a columnist writes:

> *Sin duda ta muchoe bon pa nos koe nos tin "Amigoe di Curaçao," koe sin duda ta mejor courant koe nos tin, ma pa papia bérde, é no ta tantoe pa nos, koe pa hende un poco mas instrui den linga holandes etc. Puebel catolico di Curaçao i principalmente trahadornan por ta contento awor, pasobra ta den nan mes linga, den un forma no haltoe, ma masjar klaar, koe "La Union," asina alomenos nos ta spera, lo papia coe nan.*
>
> Without a doubt it is very good for us that we have *Amigoe di Curaçao*, which is without a doubt the best newspaper that we have, but to speak the truth, it [*Amigoe*] is not so much for us, but for people with a bit more instruction in Dutch. The Catholics of Curaçao and especially 'workers' can be happy now because it is in their own language, in a form not high, but very clear, that *La Union*, in this way, at least we hope, will talk with them. [translation mine]

In the 19th century, all Curaçaoans spoke Papiamentu, but with distinct dialects. The Dutch had a Dutch accent, and the Jews spoke with an accent closer to that of Spanish. The third dialect was that of the 'common people' (Gatschet 1885), which presumably refers to people of African descent, both free and slave.

The handful of schools in operation before the 20th century were not particularly successful in teaching children to speak and read Dutch as most students did not possess a knowledge of the language when they started school, and there were few opportunities to make use of the language outside of school (Emmanuel 1957). Missionaries arrived in 1824 to convert slaves to Catholicism, and established schools shortly thereafter (Fouse 2002). Slaves and free people of African descent who were lucky enough to receive an education went to these schools sponsored by the Catholic church. Some used Spanish as a language of instruction because the priests believed it was more useful than Dutch given the greater Spanish-speaking population of the nearby mainland; others taught in Papiamentu (Smeulders 1987). The Jewish elementary school was considered the best on the island, but only four of the 30 students were taught Dutch from 1796 to 1816 (Hartog 1968). Jews favored Papiamentu and Portuguese up to about the middle of the 19th century, then Papiamentu and Spanish (Gomes Casseres 1990).[59] Protestant schools alone successfully operated in Dutch. The difference between the Protestant schools and others, in this regard, was in the students—they were descendents of Dutch colonists and Dutch speakers before entering school, so Dutch was a natural choice for their language of instruction, and students were successful learning in this language (Fouse 2002).

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[59] As evidenced by the language in which sermons were delivered in synagogue—Portuguese until 1868, then Spanish. Certain prayers and chants were in Hebrew. Jews were reportedly proficient in Dutch as well, but did not use it among themselves.

Descendents of Dutch colonists were few in number compared to the other groups, and their Dutch was substandard according to European norms. Reports by European Dutch indicate that white males, who spoke to Dutch Europeans regarding business and government affairs, had an acceptable command of the language, while their wives, who had little contact with 'proper' Dutch and extensive contact with Papiamentu, spoke Dutch heavily influenced by Papiamentu. Their children learned Papiamentu from their African nannies (*yayas*) and the non-standard Dutch of their mothers (Fouse 2002).

The government in Europe was infuriated by the colonial masses' lack of proficiency in Dutch. There were repeated reports of European Dutch who could not communicate with islanders; one even called Dutch 'a foreign language' in the colonies. Soon after the abolition of slavery in 1863, the government decided that *only* Dutch could be spoken in the public schools. This policy had the opposite effect from what was intended. Because the students did not know any Dutch when they started school, they could not learn anything when they got there. Texts, if they existed, were written in Dutch for native speakers of Dutch. Teachers were either from Europe or Surinam and spoke only in Dutch, or they were Antilleans who did not have a good command of Dutch, but were forced to teach in that language anyway. Many students dropped out after only a few years, and proficiency in Dutch actually declined after the 'Dutch only' policy was instituted. In 1906, the government gave tacit permission for the use of Papiamentu in schools in order to facilitate the learning of Dutch, but in 1907 began subsidizing public and religious schools which agreed to use Dutch as a language of instruction (Fouse 2002).

In 1918, Royal Dutch Shell opened an oil refinery in Curaçao with Dutch as the operating language. The opening of the refinery heightened the need for workers with at

least a basic education and highlighted the fact that most islanders did not possess this. In addition, managers who immigrated from the Netherlands wanted their children educated in the European Dutch way, with the same exams and standards. In 1920, the Dutch government began financing all formal primary education in the ABCs, and certified teachers from Europe began arriving to teach in the primary schools. In 1935, the government again demanded that 'only Dutch' be used in the classroom (Fouse 2002). Improvements came about slowly, however. According to people I interviewed, by 1935-40, Papiamentu was still being used in rural schools, and rural teachers were not fluent in Dutch. Nonetheless, Dutch proficiency spread among Antilleans, and the period from 1920 up to 1945 is known as the Dutch cultural period (Hartog 1973).

After Europe took over financing the schools, there were stories of Antilleans going to university in the Netherlands. However, there were also high rates of drop-outs, large numbers of students having to repeat grades, and other signs that the system was failing for many students. The success stories were exceptions rather than the rule. Around this time, students began to be punished for speaking Papiamentu in school (Fouse 2002).

World War II was a turning point for the ABCs. During the war, contact with Europe was severed, but the islands successfully supported themselves nonetheless. The Antilles supplied much of the needed oil and gas to the Allied Forces. This gave the colonies the confidence they needed to push for self-government. In 1954, the Netherlands Antilles were created. The islands Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, and Saba could now govern themselves regarding domestic issues; Europe continued to take care of defense and international policies. Because of the increased nationalism of the era from 1945 until at least the 1970s, the time was known as the cultural period dominated by

Papiamentu (Hartog 1973). It is characterized by increased cultural expression in Papiamentu, particularly in poetry, literature, and theater.

Curaçao's refinery was operated by Royal Dutch Shell until 1985. In that year, the company sold the refinery to the island government for the symbolic price of one guilder (about 55 cents). From that time, a Venezuelan company began to lease the refinery. It was renamed 'Isla', and the operating language changed from Dutch to English. Practically speaking, Antillean employees may speak Papiamentu to each other, or use the language in emails, but all official documents are written in English, and Antilleans may have to speak English to non-Antillean employees (Dennis Rosario, p.c.).

5.2.2 Social Groups

Curaçao was multi-ethnic as early as the seventeenth century (Römer 1998). At that time, the social groups on the island were northern Europeans (Protestants, primarily Dutch but also Westfalians, Danes, and French Hugenots (Hoetink 1958, 1971)), Sephardic Jews, and West African slaves. A mixed race group began to emerge by the end of the seventeenth century (Römer 1998).

Among the Protestants, there were 'higher' and 'lower' members. 'Lower' Protestants were artisans and small merchants. 'Higher' Protestants served as civil servants and government officials. Many had plantations on the western part of the island (Goslinga 1990). A plantation on Curaçao consisted of a large house (*landhuis)* and a piece of land for cultivating sorghum and raising goats (Hoetink 1958). The arid climate of the ABCs did not permit large cotton or sugar plantations as were found in other parts of the Caribbean; on

these islands, owning a 'plantation' was a symbol of wealth, but did not imply hundreds of slaves and large-scale agricultural production (Hoetink 1958, 1971)

Both groups of Protestants accepted members from outside the island. Officers and government employees sent from Holland joined the higher group; sailors and soldiers married lower Protestant women and joined the lower group. Male lower Protestants married South American women at times, adding some Latin traits to this group. Though the higher group tried to maintain purely Dutch customs and culture, they were surrounded by the Latin Jews and 'half-Latin' lower Protestants, and as a result began to take on some Latin customs themselves (Goslinga 1990; Hoetink 1958, 1971). Note that the 'higher' Protestants of Curaçao, though the elite of the island, were not members of European aristocratic families; most were descendents of soldiers, sailors, or farmers (Goslinga 1985).

Sephardic Jews came from Holland and from Recife, Brazil, a former Dutch colony which was lost to the Portuguese. Most became prosperous merchants. Jews joined the white Protestants in the ruling class, but the two groups did not mix socially. There was no intermarriage in colonial times, and they even lived on different sides of St. Anna's Bay in Willemstad (Hoetink 1958, 1971). In the middle of the 18th century, Jews comprised a half to three quarters of all whites on Curaçao, or 2,000-3,000 in total (Goslinga 1985), though their presence in proportion to other whites has decreased substantially since that time.

Not all Jews were prosperous. Marranos (ethnic Jews who converted to Catholicism to avoid the Inquisition) were forced out of the Iberian peninsula during the 18th century, and some made their way to Curaçao, where they converted (back) to Judaism. They were often poor and required public assistance (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970, Huisman 1986). In 1736, the colonies asked Amsterdam not to issue passports to anymore poor Jewish

families (Gomes Casseres 1990). Officials in Europe did not listen, and poor Marranos continued to arrive throughout the century. Most worked very hard in trying to succeed economically, and were aided by the Jewish congregation (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970).

The third group were African slaves. There was a social hierarchy among slaves, with plantation slaves at the bottom, then artisan slaves, then house slaves (Hoetink 1958, 1971). Another distinction within the slave group was made according to the port in Africa from which individual slaves came. Most came from the Guinea coast (Goslinga 1985, Parkvall 2000). Hoetink (1958) mentions that Loango and Mina slaves were looked down upon; others came from Fida, Calabar, Congo, or Angola (Goslinga 1979, 1985). More specific details regarding the origin of Curaçao's slaves are not known. Parkvall (2000) made these estimates based on records from all Dutch slave ships, but the records do not indicate which slaves went to Curaçao and which went to Surinam or other places. Even if we assume that slaves from the various African ports spoke the language commonly spoken in the port from which they departed and were then distributed evenly and proportionately among Dutch destinations (and we cannot be sure if this happened), we still cannot be sure of the origins of those who actually remained on Curaçao—remember, only a small fraction of those imported were sold to Curaçao owners. Thus, it is difficult to say with confidence which African languages Curaçao's slaves spoke.[60]

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[60] Clearly, this makes consideration of early substrate influence on Papiamentu difficult. Parkvall (2000) gives the most reasonable analysis of the available demographic data. Martinus (1996) analyzes the influence of Guene from earlier recordings, but I can find no independent reference to this language. Other references to 'substrate influence' are unreliable—many of them claim that a given grammatical feature of Papiamentu is evidence of substrate influence from some African language simply because the two languages share a typological similarity or syntactic construction. Such claims are irresponsible if no attempt is made to corroborate the linguistic analysis with independent demographic evidence showing that speakers of the African language (or proposed substrate) were indeed in contact with Papiamentu speakers at a period in history consistent with the linguistic evidence.

The fourth social group in early colonial Curaçao consisted of free people of African descent, known then as 'free people of color' (*de vrije lieden van de couleur*), though they did not develop a distinct ethnic identity until the eighteenth century (Hoetink 1971). The fact that in 1749 a militia was created entirely of free people of African descent is evidence that this group was eventually considered separate from African slaves and whites (Römer 1998). They were not permitted to police whites, however (Hoetink 1972).

A relatively large number of Africans were freed on Curaçao before slavery was officially abolished. Perhaps in some cases this was for humanitarian reasons, but by and large, manumission was a money-saving strategy for whites during hard times—by freeing slaves, they no longer had to provide them with food, clothing, and shelter.

This 'free people of African descent' group was not racially homogenous. It consisted of freed African slaves and the offspring of whites (Protestants and Jews) and Africans.[61] The group was further subdivided according to economic status and appearance (skin color, hair type, etc.), where lighter-skinned people were often economically better off while the darker skinned remained destitute (Hoetink 1958). As early as the early 18th century, for example, some members of the 'free people of African descent' group attained a significant amount of economic prosperity. These were primarily the extramarital offspring of Jewish merchants and African or mixed race women (Hoetink 1958). Their fathers protected them and aided them in their business ventures, contributing to their success. They were considered 'nearly white' and often called 'mestees' (Hoetink 1958: 167). Darker skinned free people were much less fortunate—when they were set free, they lost the food, clothing, and shelter that had previously been provided by their masters, and they had no

[61] Indians were also absorbed into this group.

sponsors or advocates or mentors to help and encourage them in the free society as the Jews of color did (Hoetink 1972). Hoetink (1958) argues that their need for economic and social attachments lead poor free blacks to form gangs.

Ethnic lines blurred in the 19th and 20th centuries. Where there had been both 'higher' and 'lower' Protestants and a 'lighter coloured people' (Römer 1998: 160), the latter group was gradually absorbed into the 'white' group. Many of the 'coloreds' even converted from Catholicism to Protestantism for status reasons. Römer (1998) argues that this merging of groups was visible by the beginning of the 20th century, but proceeded more rapidly after the Shell refinery was established in 1915, facilitated by Papiamentu, the language that all groups held in common.

When the refinery opened, 87% of the population was non-white, and most islanders of African descent lived in poverty (West-Durán 2003). Several scholars have noted the cultural changes that followed the opening of the Shell refinery (e.g. Römer 1998). Before the refinery, the white/light-colored Protestant group considered themselves to be different from the Catholic blacks, and were the elite group on the island. The whites aligned themselves with Dutch language and European culture. After the refinery opened, European Dutch whites came to the island to hold managerial positions. Though the Curaçao white group did not consider themselves to be different from the European whites, the European whites felt that the Curaçao whites were different from them (Anderson and Dynes 1975, Römer 1998). At the same time, there was also an influx of Afro-Caribbean manual laborers from Surinam and the British Caribbean, primarily Protestant. The language and religious differences created a clear boundary between the new immigrants and Curaçaoan Afro-Caribbean people. The addition of European whites and Caribbean blacks

to Curaçao society caused the core Curaçao population to draw together, bound by common language and cultural traditions. The creole culture became the national culture. An additional result of the refinery opening was the potential for social mobility, which further reinforced the new creole national culture by producing a white and colored middle class that embraced it (Römer 1998).

This situation persisted for a short time, and then the children of Afro-Caribbean immigrants began to assimilate to the language and culture of Curaçao. Many of their parents left the island when they retired or lost their refinery jobs to automation (Goslinga 1979), but the children stayed. By the 1970s, the political parties had stopped treating them as a distinct social group. Most of the Europeans who came to Curaçao between 1920 and 1950, on the other hand, did not assimilate or did so only a little. They often returned to Europe for retirement and their children went to Europe for university (Goslinga 1979).

A more lasting result of the opening of the refinery is that the old elite group, the white/light Protestants of Curaçao, lost its status to the new European professionals. The change in social status led to the Curaçaoan whites aligning themselves more with creole language and culture than they had in the past, and to increased intermarriage between the old elite and 'lighter coloreds'. Römer (1998) points out that some members of this group still 'stress their whiteness' (163) when it suits them,[62] though this attitude is not condoned in the greater community.

World War II also brought about social change in Curaçao. Before the war but after the opening of the refinery, there was segregation of white and black Protestants—black Methodists, Anglicans, and Moravian Brothers were not welcome in the Dutch Reform Fort

[62] I never directly observed this.

Church—though it is difficult to say if this was for religious or racial reasons. At this time, religious arguments were used to justify racial discrimination. After the war, European religious leaders arrived in Curaçao, bringing with them more liberal thinking and first-hand experience of the negative consequences of racial and religious discrimination. They successfully brought unity to the various Protestant churches on the island, and by the 1960s, some Dutch Reform congregations were led by non-white ministers (Römer 1998).

The Sephardic Jews, like the old white Protestant elite, are no longer a distinct social group. Karner (1969) argues that, around the turn of the twentieth century, Jews went through a process of secularization which eventually led to them blending with the white and 'colored' middle class which emerged after the refinery was established. The process began with the generation born 1880-1910—they began to break the tradition of naming children after paternal grandparents. Then the generations born 1910-1925 and 1925-1940 began to marry non-Jews. Why this change? Karner (1969) points to economic and social changes (brought about by the opening of the refinery) and public education. The refinery created new opportunities for social mobility in all areas of society. Thus, while the Jews previously held almost all positions in commercial enterprises on Curaçao, economic change associated with the refinery opened the Jews' commercial positions to others in the new middle class. In addition, the island's first high school, a public one, opened in 1941, bringing together Afro-Caribbean Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. (Previously, Catholics went to Catholic schools while Protestants and Jews attended public schools.) This was the beginning of the dissolution of social barriers between Jews and the others. After high school, more and more young people went to the Netherlands or the United States for higher education, where they were exposed to liberal social and religious ideas. Young Jews stopped thinking

of themselves as different from other young Curaçaoans, which led to intermarriage. Curaçaoan Jews (as they are now often called) are assimilated to the creole national culture, including language, music, dance, cuisine, and local customs (Karner 1969, Römer 1998), though they continue to attend services at the synagogue in Punda (Benjamin 2002).

The opening of the refinery brought other groups to Curaçao, including Ashkenazi Jews and Lebanese Christians. Römer (1998) argues that their arrival is too recent to have influenced the developments discussed so far, but that they have certainly undergone secularization as the other groups have. I would also add that, in the case of the Lebanese, their lack of influence may also be due to their small numbers, and small numbers may also have led to earlier intermarriage with locals. There were not enough eligible marriage partners for all group members, thus preventing these groups from maintaining a separate ethnic identity.[63] Ashkenazi Jews maintained a separate identity for a while, but of late there has been some intermarriage between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews (Benjamin 2002).

One of the biggest social changes brought about by the opening of the refinery, albeit a delayed one, was an improvement in the lives of Curaçao's lower class. This came at a huge cost after a labor dispute turned riot. Despite the various economic changes begun or catalyzed by the establishment of the Shell refinery, the black lower class (descendants of slaves), remained at the bottom of the social hierarchy. They saw some improvements after the refinery opened, including electricity, running water, and better education and medical care (Römer 1998), but still their economic situation was bleak.

The workers' union got into a dispute over wages with Royal Dutch Shell, and, on May 30, 1969, began marching through Willemstad in protest. They were met by the police

[63] Several of my Curaçao interviewees were children of a Lebanese parent and an Antillean parent.

in town, there was confusion, and Wilson "Papá" Godett, a popular leader, was shot. Chaos erupted. The crowd began vandalizing and burning buildings, particularly those belonging to foreigners (i.e. the Dutch). In the following days, many Dutch left the island in fear, the government fell, and new elections were held. The workers' union successfully negotiated better wages for its workers (Giacalone 1990).

Realistically, this was a racial issue, as all of the low paid workers were of African descent, the descendents of slaves, and all managerial positions were held by the European Dutch and perhaps a few of the lighter-skinned Curaçaoans. *Trinti di mei* 'the 30th of May' is known on Curaçao as a turning point for the lower classes, the beginning of better times, but it was also a time of fear and sadness, remembered as a painful time for all. Anyone old enough to remember the day has a story to tell about it, and younger Curaçaoans can repeat the stories of their parents and grandparents. People who were in Willemstad at the time tell of hiding at home for days. People who were in the *kunuku* (rural areas) recall hearing on the radio that Willemstad was on fire and waited in fear for the violence to spread to their part of the island (fortunately, it did not). Curaçaoans who were in Holland at the time heard about the riot but did not believe that it happened—'not on *my* island,' they said. 'People on my island would not do that.' But they did.

When the crowd got going, they reportedly assaulted any white person they found. Several people that I interviewed were light-skinned and attending school in Punda (the center of Willemstad and the area targeted by the riotous crowd) when the violence broke out. Teachers and other adults had to smuggle them out of the city on the floors of cars, covered with blankets. The light-skinned did not dare venture out for days afterwards.

Accounts of 30 May that I collected show that this protest was as much about Curaçao as it was about race. One woman told a story of her friend, who was a light-skinned native of Curaçao. The friend was in her car trying to get out of the city and avoid the violence. The mob spotted her, stopped her, and dragged her out of her car. As they did this, she yelled, "*Coño!*" 'damn'. Hearing this, they let her be, untouched. The mob was intent upon causing damage to foreign whites and their possessions, but this woman's reaction identified her as Antillean, and seemingly for this reason only, she was left alone.

Did the protest of May 30, 1969, have any lasting effect on social structure of the island? Opinions differ. It is true that wages for many improved after the protest, and young people, those too young to remember life clearly before the protest, seem to believe that positive changes resulted. Older people do not believe that lasting changes resulted. Things were better for a little while, they say, but overall, they are about the same as before. Descendants of slaves, they point out, remain at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Curaçao has definite problems with poverty and education, and descendents of slaves bear the brunt of them. Perhaps one noticeable and lasting difference in life after 30 May is that the blacks' resentment of the European Dutch is no longer hidden but overt and freely expressed.

Approximately 85% of residents of Curaçao are of African or Afro-Creole descent (West-Durán 2003). Despite everything that has changed since the days of slavery, Curaçao Afro-creoles carry a heavy burden. History (oral and written) tells them that they are descendents of what may be called the weakest, least intelligent, and/or most obviously mentally ill slaves, as these are the Africans who stayed on the island.[64] On one hand,

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[64] These reports refer to slaves imported directly from Africa, but some slaves reached Curaçao by other means. Tula, for example, arrived with his master; both were born in France. There must have been others like Tula, but historical accounts mention slaves only as property or in reference to economic activities.

islanders do their best to improve their economic situation; on the other, there are feelings of frustration and futility—with their heritage, many descendents of slaves feel that they are doomed from the start. This legacy is not something that everyone thinks about everyday, but it exists nonetheless, lurking under the surface, behind any discussion of the past, and shadowing any discussion of their collective future.[65]

Nowadays, the 'white/elite' class is occupied completely by European Dutch. Members of this group, for the most part, do not speak Papiamentu because they believe it is not a 'real' language.[66] Their phenotype/somatic image is that of blond hair, blue eyes, and tall in height. They still view the white/light Curaçao middle class with contempt, a fact which I personally witnessed. The European elite of Curaçao believed me to be part of the Curaçaoan middle class because, though I am light-skinned, I am not blond or tall, and because they heard me speak Papiamentu. The new Antillean middle class treats this kind of Dutch person (non-assimilating, non-Papiamentu-speaking) with contempt, though not directly; people of African descent openly resent European Dutch (*makamba*[67]).

Historians almost never describe the personal history of individual slaves.

[65] It is certainly not the case that all of Curaçao's slaves were somehow inferior humans, and even if they were, it is not the case that all of their descendants would have necessarily been so as well. The sentiment is reminiscent of the way Australians talk about their past as a penal colony. In Curaçao, everyone is aware of the history—stories are passed to each new generation—but they remain just stories for young people. After many years of being poor, trying to get ahead, moving to the Netherlands to find work, moving back, and not seeing any payoff for all the efforts, some middle-age and older Curaçaoans reflect on the similarities of history and the present with a cynical eye. They already feel that their efforts are futile, and putting them in historical context makes them feel even more so.

[66] Exceptions are Dutch married to L1 Papiamentu speakers and a handful of long-time residents. For example, I interviewed one Dutch woman who moved to Curaçao about 40 years ago. She says that in the rural parts of Curaçao, where she lived, most people could not communicate in Dutch, so she had to learn Papiamentu. Whites born on Curaçao into families which recently immigrated from Europe *might* pick up Papiamentu 'in the street'. I spoke to one such woman in her 20s. She uses Papiamentu only to make things easier for herself in everyday dealings. Upon hearing about my dissertation topic, many Dutch suggested that I study something else because 'there isn't really anything there [in Papiamentu]'. In other words, they did not see it as worthy of study. This attitude came from Dutch people that I met through Antilleans—they were long time friends or acquaintances of Curaçao natives, and some of them had at least conversational Papiamentu.

[67] *Makamba* is derived from a Kimbundu word meaning 'friends' (Martinus 1999), and it is said that this is how Africans greeted the first white men that they saw. History tells us that the white men treated the Africans as

There are cultural clashes between Europeans and Antilleans. European Dutch attitudes and behaviors seen as are rude and inappropriate to Antilleans. In public interactions (i.e. usually service situations and especially if the Dutch person complains), Antilleans choose not to respond as a strategy to make the Dutch to calm down or act in a different way. The Dutch in turn view the Antilleans as lazy, unwilling to help, and even ignorant (incapable of understanding Dutch, the official language). At the same time, the Dutch completely fail to see their own role in this since, from their perspective, they are behaving in a manner which is appropriate and acceptable in Europe.

I observed this scenario several times. In one case, two Dutch women were in a sandwich shop ordering lunch. I was immediately behind them in line. The Antillean workers were making two orders at once. Each put some ingredients on the sandwiches and passed them to the next worker; two workers made the sandwiches and one was working the register. Since the two women were together, workers made their order and mine at the same time. The first problem was that the Dutch women did not notice the work method (two orders at once, passed to each worker in turn), and they complained to each other each time a worker put something on my sandwich while theirs were not yet complete. The second problem was that they were indecisive, asking about many different products, complaining because certain items were out of stock, and otherwise acting as if they were the only people in the world even though there was a long line of customers waiting behind them. The Antillean workers deliberately ignored or pretended not to hear their many complaints. This lack of response infuriated the women. Their interpretation was that the Antilleans did not understand (i.e. either ignorance or a language difficulty) and commented

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anything but 'friends'. Today, the term is used in reference to European Dutch (tourists and recently arrived island residents). For some it is a simple descriptor; for others, it is derogatory.

to me about it first in Dutch, then in English. It was clear to me based on the Antilleans' facial expressions and comments in Papiamentu that they understood what the Dutch women said and wanted, but were simply unresponsive to their 'difficultness'. The message was, 'You're behaving inappropriately. I'll ignore you until you change your tune.' The Dutch women got more and more frustrated each time they got no response, and complained more and louder at each instance, while the Antilleans continued to ignore the complaints, hoping to make them stop. All three sandwiches were finished at the same time (my one and their two), and the Dutch women were in front of me in line, but the woman at the register rang my purchase up first. The Dutch women were thoroughly outraged at this point, and could not understand why they were being treated so poorly. The misunderstandings had spiraled into a cross-cultural mess.

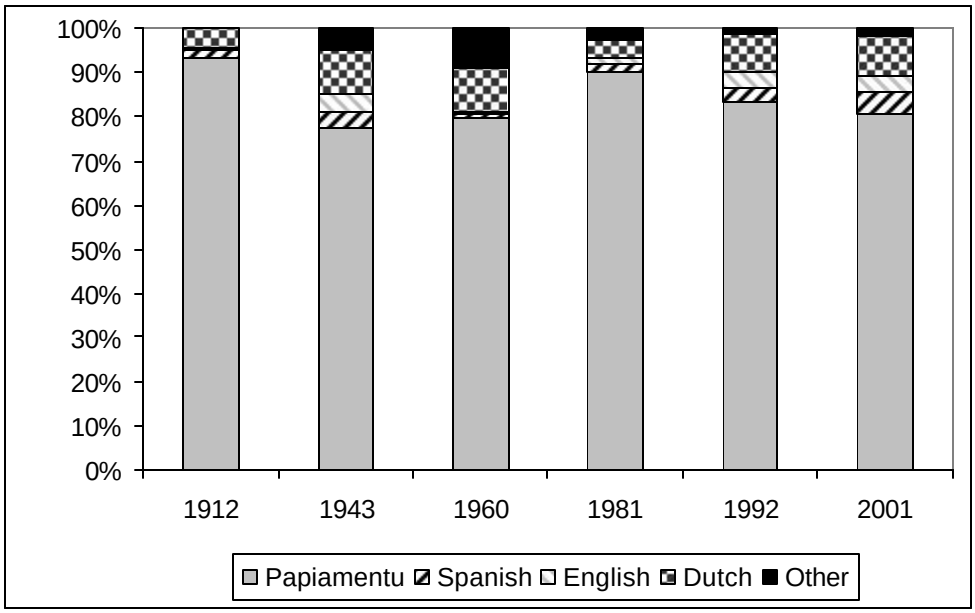
European Dutch in Europe are known for being liberal and accepting of differences, but this is not their reputation in the Antilles. On the contrary, Curaçao is characterized by tension between European Dutch and locals, between Dutch speakers and Papiamentu speakers, and between whites and non-whites, primarily because of the collective racist attitudes of the Dutch.[68] Language can be used to unite, as in the way Papiamentu unites classes and races, and to divide, as in the way European Dutch speakers discriminate against Antillean Dutch speakers and Papiamentu speakers.

Figure 2 shows changes in the language contact situation on Curaçao in the 20th century. Figure 3 shows changes in Curaçao's total population during the same time period. From Figure 2, we can see that Papiamentu has always been widely spoken, with Dutch

[68] I do not mean to imply that the Dutch of Curaçao are individually all racists. Here, I mean that as a group, European Dutch on Curaçao have the reputation for being racist, and many of the current social problems are the product of racist ideology beginning in the colonial era. The anti-Papiamentu attitude that is adopted by many in the group only serves to exacerbate racial tensions.

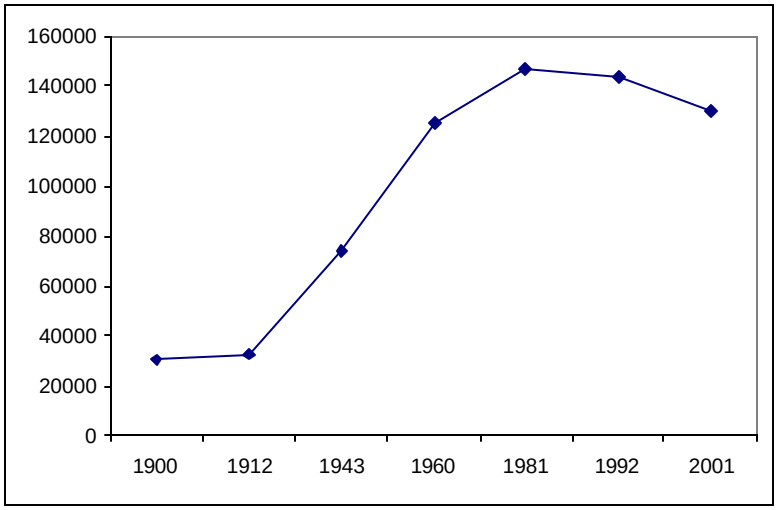
being the next most common L1. In recent years, the proportion of Spanish speakers has increased slightly. From Figure 3, we can see that Curaçao's population increased after the opening of the refinery due to the immigration of new workers, and that the major population increase came between 1945 and 1960, and peaked around 1980. From the 1980s, a sagging economy led to a large out-migration of Antilleans to the Netherlands.

Figure 2. Proportion of Curaçao population by 'language most spoken at home'[69]



[69] Sources for Figures 2 and 3: Central Bureau of Statistics 1993a, 2002a; Central Bureau voor de Statistiek 1983; Goslinga 1990; Hartog 1961c; Hiss 1943. Data for 1911-1960 are estimates of 'language most spoken at home' based on census reports of 'nation of birth'; data for 1981-2001 are based on census reports of 'language most spoken at home.' 'Other' languages include Haitian Creole French, Portuguese, and Chinese, as well as 'language not known or not reported.'

Figure 3. Total 20th century population of Curaçao



5.3 Aruba

5.3.1 History

Aruba historically has had closer ties with the mainland than Curaçao and Bonaire have had, and closer ties with the mainland than with her sister islands (Green 1974). Not only is Aruba physically closer to the mainland than other islands, but strong ocean currents between Aruba and Curaçao make sea travel difficult (Hoyer 1945). In pre-Colombian times, Indians traveled from the mainland to Aruba or from the mainland to Curaçao or Bonaire, but rarely between Aruba and Curaçao or Aruba and Bonaire. Indians continued to travel back and forth from the mainland to Aruba throughout the colonial period (Hartog 1961).

Spaniards at first only visited Aruba from time to time, then they started a small settlement near Savaneta, and later another one further inland at Seroe Plat. The Dutch took possession of Aruba in 1636, and at that time reported that a few Spaniards and some Indians were present (about 73 in total, including a resident Franciscan priest) (Green 1974,

Hartog 1988). The Dutch forced them to leave, and soon put Aruba to use for the breeding of cattle, horses, and goats in support of its colony at Curaçao (Hartog 1988). They later permitted Indians from west of Maracaibo to settle on Aruba and assist with the animals (Green 1974). Administration of Aruba fell to the Dutch West India Company (WIC).

An official of the WIC (a Commander) was stationed on Aruba to oversee the operation, along with a few *ruiters* 'riders' or helpers (they assisted in the capture of animals when it was required), but no other whites were permitted to settle on the island. Indians were put in charge of the husbandry, and Africans were not brought to Aruba in the early days. Because the Indians of Aruba were "free" during this time under Dutch rule, and because the waters near the island contained more fish than those near the mainland, Indians from the coast of Venezuela began to repopulate Aruba (Hartog 1988).

The first white colonist was permitted to settle on Aruba in 1754. He was Moses Levy Maduro, a Sephardic Jew from Curaçao (Green 1974). Some government officials and employees of the WIC also resided on the island at this time. Settlement licenses were issued from 1768-1772, and then again after 1780 (Green 1974:14). Whites did not come in appreciable numbers until the 1780s. When they did come, they were generally merchants from Curaçao, and they brought with them their personal slaves. Persons of African descent were not reported on Aruba until after 1758; their numbers increased as settlers and aloe and cochineal "plantations" increased (Green 1974), but the African population remained tiny in comparison to other Caribbean islands (Hartog 1988).

As on Curaçao, there were few plantations, and certainly none of the scale seen in other parts of the Caribbean. There were generally a small number of slaves per slave-owning household. Indians, Africans, and mestizos were slaves; two-thirds of the free

population in 1816 were Indian or mestizo (West-Durán 2003). Green (1974) argues that these factors and others (including the relatively low economic status of the island, economic distress, and the closeness in status of the 'free' poor and slaves) led to a feeling of one-group persecution (us against the world) rather than one of masters persecuting slaves.

Papiamentu emerged around 1700 on Curaçao. The first Commander arrived in Aruba around 1640 with his *ruiters* and would not have spoken Papiamentu (Hartog 1988). We can be certain that Maduro and the colonists and slaves that soon followed him *did* know Papiamentu since they came from Curaçao well after the time when the language was known to exist. They settled at what is now the capital, Oranjestad (Hartog 1988).

Remarkably, Indian languages were in use on Aruba until about 1800. In 1882, explorer Alphonse L. Pinart was able to record some phrases from this language from 'natives far advanced in age' (Gatschet 1885).

The Dutch restricted the Catholicism established by Spaniards but did not banish it altogether. A priest was allowed to make yearly visits. One source reports the establishment of a Catholic mission in 1704; another reports that a priest was 'smuggled' in to perform some ceremonies in 1727 (Green 1974). The first religious building was built in the early 1750s, though the next priest in residence did not arrive until 1819. Clergy from Venezuela and Curaçao (of various orders) visited Aruba. By 1870, the Dominican order dominated (Green 1974).

Aruba had a Protestant population in addition to its Catholic population (in 1816, 211 White Protestants out of a total of 290 Protestants). The first minister visited in 1823; the first residential minister was appointed in 1858 (Green 1974).

Aruba's first school was started by the visiting Protestant minister; the language of instruction was Dutch. It had only 31 students in 1824. The Catholics started a school in 1826 with Spanish as the language of instruction. Dutch Catholic priests arrived in 1851 but retained Spanish as the language of instruction in the schools as they thought it was more practical. In 1857, Franciscan nuns of Roosendaal took charge of the school. In 1861, Protestants were first allowed to attend the Catholic school (Green 1974).

Early statistical reports on the population of Aruba report numbers of 'whites', 'coloreds', and 'blacks', as well as the numbers of 'free' people and 'slaves'. The 'colored' category is problematic—it probably refers to Indians as well as those of mixed race. Though it was illegal for Indians to be kept as slaves, they were nonetheless; referring to them as 'colored slaves' may have been a way of paying lip service to the law while still providing an accurate census (Green 1974). Hartog (1960) reports that Whites, Indians, and Blacks intermarried during the 1830s, some for a short time and others for life. Indians in such pairs learned to speak the language of Whites, which was Papiamentu. The children of such unions may also have been referred to as 'colored', thus making the exact meaning of early statistics unclear (Green 1974). Population statistics for 19th century Aruba are given in Table 19.

Table 19. Population of early Aruba[70]

	1806	**1816**	**1833**	**1862**
whites	1352	211	465	2802[71]
free 'coloreds'	--	1185	1888	
slaves	194	336	393	456
Total	1546	1732	2746	3258

[70] Sources of Table 21: *Encyclopædie* 1916, Green 1974, Hartog 1961a.
[71] Reported as 'free'; includes whites and 'coloreds'.

There were several economic ventures in progress in the 19th century and early 20th century: aloe production, phosphate mining, gold mining, hat-making (from imported straw), and a dairy cooperative. For reasons both internal and external to Aruba, all were failing when the Lago refinery opened in Aruba in 1928, bringing economic salvation. Lago, affiliated with Standard Oil, and the smaller Eagle, a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell which opened soon after Lago and closed in the 1950s, brought jobs and immigrants to fill them. There were laborer jobs, management and engineer positions, and opportunities outside the companies themselves selling goods and services to workers and to the company. Lago was permitted to establish itself on Aruba under the condition that it not ask the Dutch government for anything. The company had to provide its own medical care, schools, housing, etc. (Green 1974).

The refineries were a boon for the island. Because of them, better living conditions and modernization came to the island or came faster than they otherwise would have. Before Lago, there was practically nothing in the San Nicolas area; not even sources of water or food. Travel was primarily on foot or by donkey; roads were unpaved. Lago brought automobiles, paved roads, schools, and the first hospital (Green 1974).

Lago drew increasing numbers of employees through the end of the 1940s. Then automation began, and workers were gradually laid off. Some who had immigrated returned to their home countries; others stayed. In 1985, Lago closed. In the 1990s the refinery reopened under new management, and is still in operation, though it employs far fewer now than in its prime. Today, San Nicolas looks like a ghost town unless there is a shift change or lunch break in progress. The architecture of many buildings is 1950s American, a dated

reminder of better times. Now most are run-down and neglected, with few new additions or improvements made in the years since the glory days of oil production.

Aruba seceded from the N.A. in 1986. Through the refinery and tourism, Aruba had become the wealthiest of the six Dutch Antillean islands. Much of the N.A. revenue came from Aruba, but was used on the poorer islands. Arubians wanted to keep their resources on their island, and pushed for secession. Initially, the idea was for Aruba to become completely independent by 1996, but the closing of the refinery and slow down in tourism negatively affected the economy, and as the proposed date of independence approached, all talk of it ceased. Arubians did not feel economically prepared for such a step. Currently, the island is an independent entity under the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In the latter part of the 20th century, oil production slowed, but the economy stayed afloat through tourism. Currently tourism is the mainstay of Aruba's economy, but this is problematic because it is a fickle industry. Aruba suffers, for example, after terrorist attacks and scares that cause Americans to curb travel. The economy of Curaçao is also flagging, but may be a bit more stable due to its diversification. In addition to oil and tourism, off-shore banking is a major source of revenue in Curaçao, whereas Aruba depends almost entirely on tourism.

5.3.2 Social Groups

During colonial times, the *ruiters* of the Commander were unranked military men. Many of them "mixed with" (Hartog 1988: 65) Indian women, forming some of the oldest Aruban families. On the whole, Aruba's population consisted of more Indians and fewer slaves than that of Curaçao. Small numbers of Jews settled there as well, but their numbers

were so small that they were unable to maintain a separate community as the Curaçao Jews did. Many Jews converted to Christianity (primarily Catholicism) (Hartog 1988).

Aruba is marked by continuous influence from the Spanish mainland that is not found on Curaçao or Bonaire. From the introduction of Christianity to the island during the period of Spanish control until 1849, all priests and missionaries to Aruba were Spanish or Venezuelan. Another point of contact with the mainland was economic: before oil, Arubians who could not find a job on Aruba took seasonal positions on Venezuela plantations (Hartog 1988). From 1822, Venezuelans took refuge in Aruba while their country was fighting for its independence. Refugees were usually well-off enough to rent housing on the island, but at one point (1848) they came in such great numbers that there were not enough rooms and houses to accommodate everyone (Hartog 1961, 1988). Venezuelans spread their spirit of freedom and independence, and some married Arubians, creating even closer ties between the peoples (Hartog 1988). At the opening of the 20th century, it was more common for Arubians to speak Spanish than Dutch (Green 1974: 9).

Today, Arubians tend to be lighter-skinned on average than natives of Curaçao or Bonaire, but social class, to the extent that it exists, seems less dependent on color than on Curaçao. Whereas dark-skinned Curaçaoans look African, dark-skinned Arubians do not clearly appear to be African; some Indian traits are still evident.

It was at least a generation or two after the refinery opened when some people started to get ahead financially. Those who could adapt to the multilingual society and who had a head for business (and the capital to get started) seemed to do best. Most Arubians

over 30 remember when everyone was poor,[72] and many resist the idea that there are social differences among Arubians, despite evidence to the contrary in census data. Green (1974) reports that, during her fieldwork, there was an "absence of strict or rigid social, ethnic, or class barriers or focuses" (62). I witnessed a widespread belief that all Arubians are middle class, and that only 'illegals' live in poverty. *Diario*, a popular Aruban newspaper, recently ran an article with photos depicting an Arubian woman living in pitiful conditions with her grandchildren. The house had no electricity or running water. The children's mother abandoned them, and the grandmother could not support them on her fixed income. The theme of the article was that *real Arubians* were this poor, as opposed to immigrants.

As the socioeconomic differences are only just emerging, and as the lower class consists primarily of recent immigrants, it is possible that social class is too new to be associated with linguistic differences. I test for class differences, but I doubt that any linguistic differences can be statistically correlated with class since social class is not salient.

Green (1974), too, notes that discussion of social class with Arubians was difficult. Those who provided useful comments indicated that elite family connections, general behavior, and family standards are important markers of social status for Arubians. Sheer wealth plays a marginal role. A person who is suddenly wealthy by winning the lottery or engaging in some illegal activity is not immediately considered elite, though someone affiliated with an elite family who is also engaged in illegal activity may still be considered elite by virtue of the family ties (Green 1974: 82). In a post hoc reanalysis of speakers' social status, I incorporate the notion of family name into a 'social prestige' factor group to see if observed linguistic differences can be correlated with this more salient social grouping.

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[72] Though there were a handful of wealthy, elite Arubians (Green 1974).

Figure 4 shows relative changes in the language contact situation during the 20th century; figures for total population are given in Figure 5. Together, the figures show that despite the heavy immigration of English and Spanish speakers, Papiamentu remains the language most spoken on the island. In absolute numbers, Papiamentu speakers have increased from about 9300 in 1911 to some 63,300 in 2000. Clearly, immigration has affected the proportion of Papiamentu speakers more on Aruba than Curaçao because Aruba is a smaller island with a smaller total population, so the numbers of immigrants overwhelmed little Aruba, while not much affecting larger Curaçao. It is perhaps for this reason that Arubians feel so strongly about immigrants learning Papiamentu—if Arubians do not insist on it, immigrants might tip the balance of language in the island society towards one of the European languages. So far, this does not appear to be happening—the balance shifted away from Papiamentu with the first wave of immigration, but it recovered.

In 1911, before the oil refinery opened, over 97% of residents used Papiamentu most often (Pietersz 1985). Further, at this time, there was *not* widespread bilingualism in Dutch and English. Schools operated in Dutch, for the most part, but most students left after only a couple of years because they did not know Dutch before entering school, and could not learn enough Dutch in the early years to make the endeavor worthwhile. Teachers were usually Antilleans who did not have a good grasp of Dutch, but texts, if they existed, were written for native speakers of Dutch. Some religious schools operated in Spanish in the 19th century, and many Arubians spoke this language to some degree at the opening of the 20th century; other religious schools operated in Papiamentu (Catholic) or Dutch (Protestant) (Fouse 2002: 142-3. Hartog 1961: 296). English was practically non-existent on the island at this time.

Figure 4. Proportion of Aruban population by 'language most spoken at home.'[73]

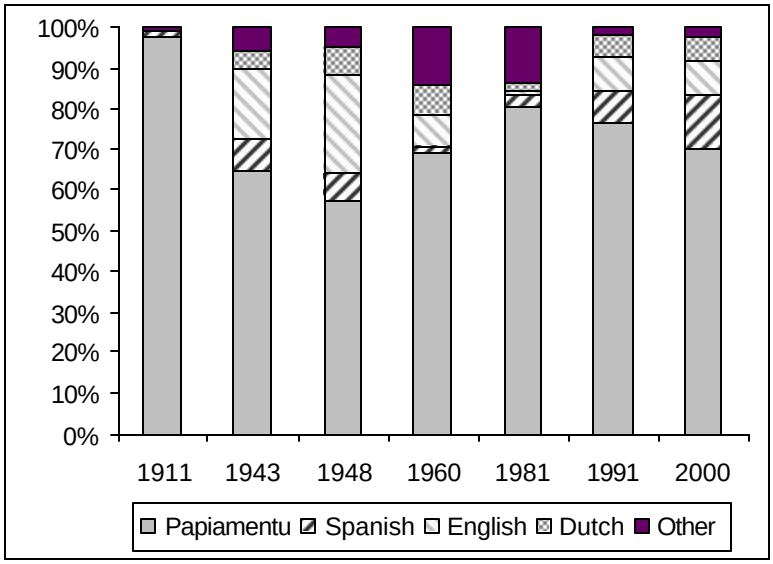
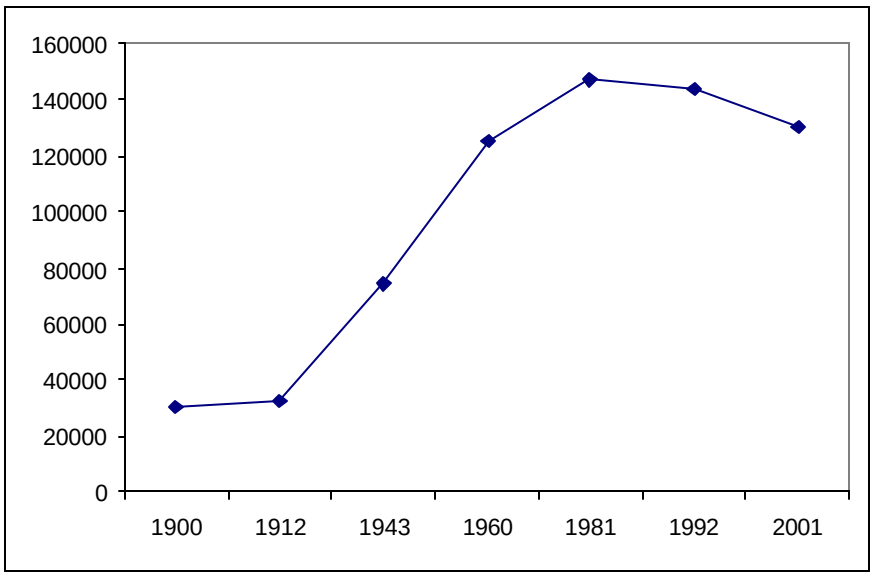


Figure 5. Total 20th century population of Aruba



[73] Sources for Figures 4 and 5: Alofs and Merkies (2001), Central Bureau of Statistics (1992, 2001a), Hartog (1961a), Hawley (1960), Hiss (1943), and Pietersz (1985). Data for 1911-1960 are estimates of 'language most spoken at home' based on census reports of 'nation of birth'; data for 1981-2000 are based on census reports of 'language most spoken at home.' See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the validity of 'nation of birth' data as estimates for L1. 'Other' languages include French, Portuguese, and Chinese, as well as 'language not known or not reported.'

The Lago Refinery, which operated in English, opened in 1927, providing work for Arubians, other Antilleans, and large numbers of foreign workers. Lago sponsored English and other training classes for workers. Educational changes were instituted, including the use of European teachers, texts, and standards. Students were now learning Dutch, and math and other subjects through Dutch. In addition, English, Spanish, French, and German classes were introduced (Fouse 2002:144). Islanders born in 1930 or later probably encountered the newer educational system.[74] Thus, though numbers of L1 Dutch speakers on Aruba have remained steady and small throughout the 20th century, competency in Dutch has increased due to efforts by the government to improve the educational system and their insistence on education in Dutch.

In 1948, when the refinery was at its peak in terms of production and number of employees, only about 57% of residents used Papiamentu most often; L1 English speakers comprised about a quarter of the population. Later in the century, as foreign workers were laid off from the refinery and left the island, the proportion of L1 Papiamentu speakers increased again, hovering between about 70 and 80% in the latter half of the century. As on Curaçao, while laid-off foreign workers may have left the island, often their children did not. They had been born and raised on Aruba, learned Papiamentu from other children, and felt more Arubian than anything else. They often chose to stay in Aruba rather than return to a place they had never known (Green 1974: 107-9).

There were two waves of Spanish immigration in the 20th century—one early on as workers were drawn to the refinery, though their numbers were few compared to English speakers, and another in the latter half of the century to fill construction and cleaning jobs

[74] Educational changes were first instituted in Oranjestad, and only later spread to rural areas.

created by the hotel boom. This wave is still in progress, though construction has dropped off sharply, leaving many unable to find work.

Economic changes in the 20th century led to two big (and related) social changes: First, there was heavy immigration of non-Papiamentu speakers. Second, a society evolved where four languages are commonly used—Papiamentu, Spanish, English, and Dutch. Immigrant families in Aruba have a tradition of integrating via Papiamentu (Alofs and Merkies 2001, Green 1974). Though there are small enclaves of monolingual immigrants, their children learn the creole quickly, as do some of the immigrants.[75] Multilingualism is an adaptive strategy which allowed Arubians to keep their language. Dutch and English had official and legitimate uses in education and business; Spanish has always been regarded as useful in conducting business with Aruba's South American neighbors. Papiamentu, on the other hand, had no official status for much of the 20th century, was not recognized as a 'real' language, and was completely unknown to the vast majority of immigrants. Arubians could have succumbed to pressure to use Papiamentu less in favor of the European languages. Instead, they learned the European languages, but insisted on using Papiamentu at home and with immigrants, thus ensuring the continuity of the language. In the latter part of the 20th century it has gained in status; the language is taught in schools, may be used in the early grades to facilitate the learning of Dutch, and competence in it may be shown to support citizenship applications on Aruba.

A minority of Aruba residents are not L1 speakers of Papiamentu. Many residents of San Nicolas are Caribbean English speakers who immigrated, or whose parents

[75] The notable exception to the integration norm is the Americans. When working in the refinery, they lived apart from the islanders, and only came into contact with them at work. American women were sent back to the U.S. to give birth, ensuring American citizenship for their children. Workers left the island when their contracts were up or upon retirement. They never tried to 'belong' to Aruban society.

immigrated, to work in Aruba's oil refinery. They often speak English at home and learn Papiamentu in the street. There are some European Dutch living and working on the island, but because there is not a large community of them, they cannot exist completely in Dutch, as is the situation in Curaçao. They make efforts to communicate with locals in Papiamentu and continue using Dutch at home. Recent Latin American immigrants tend to live in or around Oranjestad. Some are proficient Papiamentu speakers, others are passively bilingual (they understand the language but respond in Spanish), and still others refuse to learn the creole and focus on Dutch or English, which they consider more practical in the world economy. Though most Arubians can speak Spanish, some refuse to speak it to immigrants on the grounds that those who hope to make their home and living in Aruba should learn the language of Aruba, which is Papiamentu. This attitude comes after a century of heavy immigration and integration. It is difficult to find Arubians who do not have a parent, grandparent, or other relative from Latin America, other parts of the Caribbean, or Europe, and the very islanders who demand integration through language themselves have immigrants in their families.

A much-discussed topic in Aruba is, 'Who is Arubian?' Legally, the Citizenship Law of 1910 gave anyone born on Aruba Dutch citizenship. However, the tide of immigrants became so great that Arubians feared becoming the minority on their own island, and the Law of 1949 decreed that children born on Aruba of non-Aruban parents (i.e. non-Dutch) would no longer receive Dutch citizenship by birth (Green 1974).

'Authenticity' is a big issue, though there is little agreement regarding what constitutes an authentic Arubian. Arubians rarely invoked the legal definition when the above question was posed. The first answer was generally, 'Indians.' Indians are the true

natives of the island, they say, but no full-blooded Indians exist anymore. From here, Arubians tried to construct a definition of 'Arubian' which is as exclusive as possible, but only one Arubian constructed a definition which did not include himself. A member of an 'old' family of the island claims that only those who descend from 'old' families, or the original Dutch colonists, are Arubians. Most others believe that if parents were born on Aruba, their children are Arubian. Some add grandparents to this definition; some permit one parent or grandparent to be born elsewhere (e.g. Venezuela), provided all speak Papiamentu. But for San Nicolas residents, proficiency in Papiamentu may be less important than birthplace. The only man whose definition of 'Arubian' excluded himself was from San Nicolas, born on Aruba of a mother from Bonaire and a father from Curaçao. Since neither of his parents are Arubian, he does not believe that he is Arubian either.

5.4 Bonaire

5.4.1 History

Early on, Europeans considered Bonaire as useless as her sister islands. Indians living on the island raised livestock for the Spanish, though the Spanish were not permitted to live among the Indians. Later, the Dutch used Bonaire for growing corn, aloe, and sorghum, mining salt, harvesting the native brazilwood found there, and also as a penal colony for soldiers of all races during the eighteenth century (Goslinga 1985, Klomp 1986). Prisoners worked the salt mines with slaves (Hartog 1988). In addition, refugees from French Caribbean territories settled on Bonaire after the revolution in Haiti (Klomp 1986).

In 1806 and 1816, the total population was 945 and 1135 respectively, with about 38% of these numbers slaves (Table 20). Whites comprised 12% of the total population,

with mestizos and free blacks at about 50%. There are discrepancies in how Indians were classified in these census reports, but they certainly existed (Goslinga 1990, West-Durán 2003). There are reports of Guajiro Indians immigrating from the mainland to Bonaire in 1823 (Nooyen 1979: 154, cited in Haviser 1991). The island was not open for general settlement until into the nineteenth century—a brief period from 1823-1824 and permanently in 1868 (Klomp 1986, West-Durán 2003). However, some of Bonaire's residents were private individuals before such were officially permitted. They were slaves who bought their freedom, government officials whose terms had ended, Indians, and some others who were there illegally (Klomp 1986).

Table 20. Early population of Bonaire[76]

	1806	**1816**	**1828**	**1833**	**1860**
white	72	137	90	112	2163 ('free')
Indians	284	?	?	?	
free Africans	225	568	839	1069	
slaves	364	430	547	567	568
total	945	1135	1476	1748	3031

Most of Bonaire's slaves worked in the salt pans on the southern tip of the island, but lived in the village of Rincón on the northern part of the island, where they were supervised by an overseer. During the work week they stayed in tiny huts near the salt pans. Each weekend, they made the 7 hour walk to their homes in the village (Goslinga 1990). In 1828, government slaves (but not privately owned ones) were granted the right to church weddings, and the right to marry free people (Klomp 1986). Though there is little other information available regarding the lives of slaves, we might infer from this that they were

[76] Sources: *Encyclopædia* 1916, Hartog 1957, Goslinga 1990. Note: 'free Africans' 1816-1833 probably includes Indians since statistics for Indians are not reported separately after 1806.

permitted to have some sort of a personal family life. Much later in 1850, many slaves were relocated to Tera Corá, a village closer to the salt pans. After emancipation in 1863, freed slaves mostly remained in Rincón and Tera Corá (Klomp 1986).

Indians were put in charge of livestock for the West India Company. Free people of African descent apparently eked out a living via subsistence farming and keeping their own livestock. They were allowed to use small plots of land to cultivate food, but they were not permitted to own the land. It is commonly said that slaves, who were fed, clothed, and housed by the government or private owners, were better off than their free counterparts (Klomp 1986). The 'free' Indians and Africans were not completely free, however—they could be requisitioned to work in salt pans or wherever else deemed necessary by the Company, provided they were fed properly (Goslinga 1990).

During the Dutch colonial rule, Bonaire was a possession of the Dutch West India Company, and all commerce there (consisting of primarily the salt trade) was under the control of the Company. The island was leased to a private citizen briefly during the period of British rule, but the lease was terminated when the Dutch regained the island. Upon the abolition of slavery, Bonaire slaves found they had no choice but to continue their work in the salt pans—there was no other way to earn a living in the dry climate—only now they received a small wage for their efforts (Goslinga 1990).

In 1868, the government attempted to parcel and sell the island, thinking that this would be profitable. Only three buyers took 5 parcels; the rest went unsold. Buyers were from the Curaçao white elite (Klomp 1986). Some Jews purchased land at first, but sold it to members of the Bonairean white elite (former Bonaire government officials) after losing a lot of money (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970). Most land owners (*shon*) relocated to

Bonaire but maintained close ties with Curaçao. They usually kept a house in the city (Kralendijk, the capitol) and one in the *kunuku* on their plot of land (Klomp 1986).

Parceling the land proved disastrous for the island as it produced a system where former slaves and their descendents were locked into a life of wage-earning and poverty (Hartog 1957). The new owners forbade locals from freely grazing their livestock. This had been widely practiced, though not officially permitted, under government ownership, and it meant that many could no longer engage in subsistence husbandry (Klomp 1986). Further, the new owners harvested divi-divi and brazilwood trees with reckless abandon and no regard for future growth. The forests were practically decimated (Goslinga 1990).

Subsistence farming continued, however, with many freed slaves taking up the practice upon manumission. People took up small plots of land in the *kunuku*, in places which had not been sold by the government. If a family could continuously work the land for several years, the government allowed them to purchase it for a small price. In this way, many descendents of slaves were able to become, nominally speaking, land owners. However, the climate of Bonaire makes agriculture a dicey endeavor; one can never depend on having enough rain for a proper harvest. Thus, ownership of a bit of *kunuku* did not ensure a family's survival, and this is why so many were forced to work for low wages in addition to their own subsistence farming (Klomp 1986).

Virtually everything used in daily life—flour, sugar, coffee, clothing, shoes—had to be imported, and the rich land owners controlled imports and sold these items to their workers in company stores at outrageous mark-ups. Many workers never received wages because they were forced to obtain goods from the company store on credit, which they then had to work off. Many families fell deeply into debt. Land owners were criticized for

perpetuating poverty by allowing their workers to get into so much debt, but the land owners claimed they had to offer credit since so many were too poor to afford groceries otherwise. This system of forced trade persisted into the 1930s, though the government argues that it ended by 1904 (Klomp 1986). It is not clear how poor Bonaireans climbed out of their debt, but it is worthwhile to note that many young men relocated to Curaçao and Aruba to take jobs in the refineries around the time that forced trade was ending.

Despite these indications of a sagging economy, Bonaire was more important than Aruba until the beginning of the 20th century because of its salt. However, the opening of the refinery on Aruba brought that island into the industrial age, while Bonaire remained much as it was. Many of Bonaire's men went to Curaçao and Aruba to find work in the refineries, or worked on sea-faring vessels, or found work in Surinam or Venezuela, which added to Bonaire's economic problems—salt production dropped further because so many workers left, and no other industries made a significant contribution to the island's economy (Goslinga 1990, Klomp 1986). In most cases, women and children remained on Bonaire, taking care of the home and depending on checks and goods sent by their husbands from elsewhere (Klomp 1986).

Figure 6 shows the proportion of Bonaire population by language most spoken during the 20th century, and Figure 7 shows the total population during the same time. Unlike in Curaçao and Aruba, Bonaire remained essentially monolingual until the 1990s. Currently, there are appreciable numbers of Dutch and Spanish speakers in addition to the Papiamentu-speaking majority. In Figure 7, we notice that the population of Bonaire decreased during the high period of the Curaçao and Aruba refineries because Bonairians left the island to work in them. The population increases again after 1960 when the refineries

began laying off workers, and many Bonairians came back home. There has been some immigration by European Dutch and Latin Americans in recent decades, adding to the population (Central Bureau of Statistics 2002a, Goslinga 1990).

Figure 6. Proportion of Bonaire population by 'language most spoken at home'

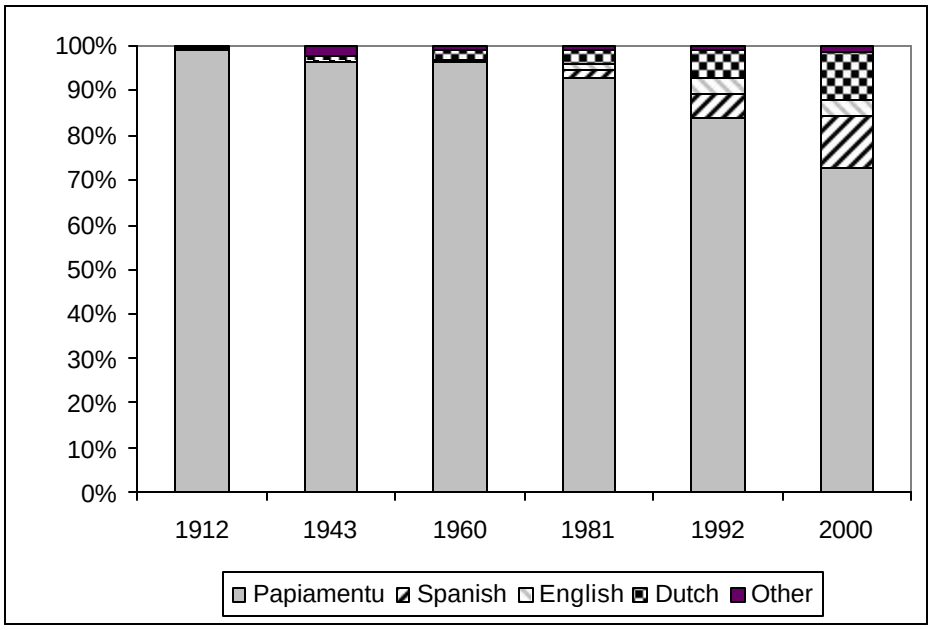
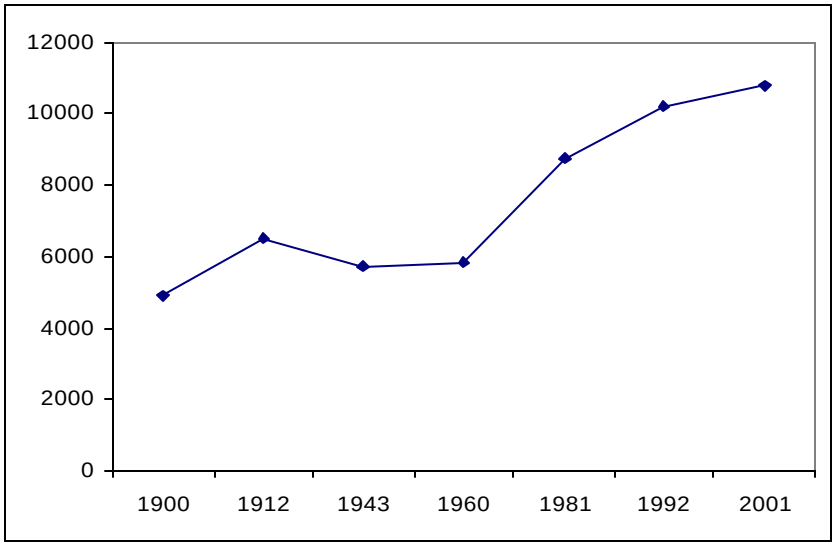


Figure 7. Total 20th century population of Bonaire



The salt industry still operates on Bonaire, but is no longer an economic mainstay. The oil industry finally reached Bonaire in 1975, with the opening of a small, American-owned, oil storage and transport facility (BOPEC). Some islanders are employed by the government directly, or in a government-run clothing factory or hotel. Many others are unemployed and depend on government assistance (Klomp 1986). Klomp (1986) argues that BOPEC and the modernization of the airport in the 1970s marked the real beginning of Bonaire's economic development. Bonaire has not progressed at the same rate as its sister islands in this regard, however, and today Bonaire retains its rural character but for Kralendijk, which has a small-town feel (the main street is a block long and contains government buildings and most of the island's shops and restaurants).

Tourism picked up after WWII, and is a welcome help to islanders, but does not exist on the scale that it does in Aruba or even Curaçao, and is by no means an economic panacea. Bonaire receives far fewer visitors (62,776 stayover visitors; 3,174 daytrippers in 1997, compared to 225,000 stayover visitors and 216,684 cruise ship passengers to Curaçao and 649,893 stayover visitors and 250,000 cruise ship passengers to Aruba in the same year) (Cameron 2000). Those who visit Bonaire are mostly scuba divers (44% of total, 1997), with some windsurfers and birdwatchers (Cameron 2000). In many respects, the amount of tourism on Bonaire has been closely regulated by the island government. The number and size of hotels is strictly limited (building regulations prohibit any building over 5 stories). There are a few restaurants on the island, a movie theater, one bar has live music once a week, and there is an occasional show at one of the hotels, but compared with activities and nightlife available on Aruba, Curaçao, cruise ships, and other Caribbean islands, Bonaire does not offer much. The tourism industry specifically targets divers, and to a lesser extent,

those interested in watersports and birdwatching, and is not interested in attracting tourists who are only interested in nightlife. This works out well for Bonaire because divers and birdwatchers tend to be nature lovers, and nature lovers tend to be more respectful of Bonaire's *naturaleza* 'nature' than the kind of people attracted to casinos and nightlife. The benefit to islanders is that they get some income from tourists, but their island can remain peaceful and rural.

5.4.2 Social Groups

As a rule, scholars have written about social groups of Curaçao, and to a lesser extent Aruba, but Bonaire has been largely ignored. The only anthropological study that I found is Klomp's (1986) account of machine politics on Bonaire. Though its focus is not social groups *per se*, some relevant observations are presented, which I discuss below.

After emancipation and before oil, the social groups of Bonaire were the *shon*, or wealthy land owners, and everyone else. Included in the *shon* class were the lieutenant governor, the doctor, the school principal, the priests, and the parson.[77] They formed the elite class on the island. The lower class consisted of descendents of slaves and the people of African descent who were free at the time of emancipation. Slowly, a third group formed between these two on the social ladder. It consisted of descendents of lesser government officials and soldiers who settled on Bonaire permanently; educated, illegitimate children of the elite; former members of the elite who married below their class (and thus fell from 'elite' status); and a handful of poor families who managed to achieve some financial success.

[77] Bonaire never had an appreciable Jewish population as Curaçao did (Klomp 1986).

They were usually brown-skinned, Catholic, and held clerk or middle management positions (Klomp 1986).

One effect of changes on Curaçao and Aruba in the early 20th century was that many of Bonaire's elite families left the island for Curaçao and, in some cases, Aruba, lured (they say) not by increased economic opportunities but by the superior educational facilities found there. Almost all of them sold their land to members of Bonaire's middle class. The middle class became the new elite, though the society was less 'caste-like' after this change (Klomp 1986:28).

In today's society, the noticeable social groups are European Dutch, native Antilleans, and Latinos.[78] European Dutch who live on the island are wealthy by Bonaire standards. Some moved to the island to pursue a love of scuba diving and/or tranquility. These tend to be business owners, catering to scuba divers and tourists (e.g. owning and running car rental companies, souvenir shops, etc.). Some are wealthy even by Western standards, and keep a second home on the island which they occasionally visit. All members of this group bring with them European culture, which is often at odds with island culture. Klomp (1986) reports that those who work for Radio Netherlands World Broadcast (RNWB) and some educators are temporary residents, while other educators, particularly those affiliated with religious orders, are permanent residents of the island and are more involved in daily island affairs, though cannot necessarily be said to have more intimate

[78] In addition to these, Klomp (1986) notes the presence of Americans, many of whom work for Trans World Radio, a Christian broadcast network, or BOPEC, the oil company. Some are wealthy and own a second home on Bonaire. On the whole, they tend to be temporary residents who do not learn Papiamentu and who have few contacts with locals. There are apparently no tensions between Americans and Antilleans, but no close relationships either. Americans tend to segregate themselves from the rest of the islanders. Since I encountered maybe one or two Americans during my time on Bonaire, since Bonaireans rarely, if ever, mention them, and since they have only recently established a presence on the island, I do not discuss this group further here.

social contacts with natives than the other Dutch. Educators in the public schools are increasingly Antillean, however, with fewer visiting Europeans.

Native Antilleans are by far the largest group. They are descendents of Indians, African slaves, and Dutch colonists. Haviser (1991) discusses further subdivisions among the group in terms of 'Indianness', color, and birthplace. As Klomp (1986) points out, the relationship among these traits is complex and opaque. For example, one may say that residents of Rincón and Tera Corá are known for being descended from African slaves, residents of Noord' i Saliña are traditionally thought of as Indian, and residents of Playa (Kralendijk) are generally descendents of whites or lighter skinned peoples. However, since most members of the white elite left Bonaire in the early 20th century, the island can no longer be said to have such a class,[79] and generally speaking, physical traits of Indians, Africans, and whites are remarkably well-mixed among Bonaireans, making racial or ethnic distinctions complex (Klomp 1986). For example, a person may have an Indian face but black skin, or African hair with blue eyes.

With few clear distinctions between racial and ethnic groups, can it be said that such distinctions are nonetheless important in Bonaire society? Klomp (1986) notes that 'whiteness' (i.e. light skin color) is not a marker of 'elite' status anymore as families with light skin are found at all socioeconomic levels. Further, black people may be found in high-paying as well as low-paying jobs. However, there is discrimination against 'blackness' in the sense that dark-skinned people are not members of the most elite social circles and dark-skinned marriage partners are not accepted by all Bonairean families (Klomp 1986). This is corroborated by my observations. One older man (age 83) that I interviewed told of being

[79] Most whites on Bonaire are European Dutch who do not participate in the creole Antillean society.

in love as a young man. The young woman's parents would not allow them to get married because he was dark skinned and she and her family were light skinned. In his own defense, he points out that though he is black and has African hair, his eyes are blue. They eventually did get married, but her parents only permitted this after she got pregnant. Skin color and other racial or ethnic markers faded in importance after World War II, as young people began to self-identify as Bonaireans first (Haviser 1991), but it is not clear if they are now completely unimportant. I suspect that they remain relevant to some.

One interesting tradition on Bonaire is that of having a *kunuku* 'country' house and a house in town. A couple that I interviewed (in their 70s) explained the custom: during the week, a family stayed in the *kunuku* house, and on the weekends, they stayed in the house in town. Children either walked to school from the *kunuku* house everyday, or, if it was too far, they might be sent to live with relatives in town for the duration of their schooling. Being in the village or in town is important on the weekends since that is when mass is held, and the churches are in town. Otherwise, daily life was 'easier' in the *kunuku*—there were wells, kerosene lamps, and wood stoves. Also, the houses were built to permit cross-ventilation, and were much more comfortable than houses in 'town'. This way of life also makes sense when put into historical context—it is the continuation of the slave custom of living near the salt pans during the week and going to the village on the weekends. A middle-aged woman that I interviewed says that her family still owns its *kunuku* house, and it is just as it was many years ago. It still has no electricity and no running water, yet the well and gas lamps make it just as livable as a modern home. The family still uses the house regularly.

The final group are Latin American immigrants. There are far fewer of them on Bonaire than on Aruba and Curacao, even proportionally speaking, but their numbers have

increased in the last decade. Two young women that I interviewed immigrated with their parents when they were around the age of 10, just 10 years ago. They were put in the regular classes with Dutch as a language of instruction, though the only language they spoke at that time was Spanish. Now, both are proficient in Dutch, English, and Papiamentu, but today immigrant children can attend a special class to help them adjust to Dutch and Papiamentu.

Klomp (1986) argues that while economic differences do exist between Bonaireans, higher paid individuals have little in common other than their incomes. Many are not natives of the island and do not participate in the greater Papiamentu-speaking community.[80] Native Bonaireans in this group came from the 'lower' social group of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and more likely than not, their close relatives are still members of that group. Klomp (1986) toys with other methods of social classification, but finds that no existing anthropological classification rubric satisfactorily describes Bonairean society. For example, he briefly considers the idea that Bonaire is a kind of suburb of Curaçao and Aruba, but dismisses the idea on the grounds that the "anonymity and lack of engagement of suburbia are not encountered on Bonaire" (Klomp 1986: 65). Even in 2003, Bonaire has a small-town feel: everybody knows everybody else, and their cars, and no one can go anywhere or do anything secretly.

Arubians often say that Bonaire today is the way Aruba was 50 years ago. In 50 years will Bonaire look like Aruba does today? I believe this is doubtful because of Bonaire's careful and deliberate restraint in cultivating tourism. All Arubians characterize the Aruba of their childhood as *mas trankil* 'more peaceful' than the Aruba of today, and many lament that their island has gotten so busy. However, when discussing Bonaire, they say that one cannot

[80] My characterization of Klomp's observations.

stand to spend more than a weekend there, otherwise one might die of boredom.[81] Though Aruba has modernized and though Arubians may miss the tranquility of a less modernized Aruba, they seem to accept the hustle and bustle as an essential part of economic development, as part of bettering themselves and the island. Bonairians, on the other hand, seem deeply committed to maintaining their island more or less as it is now.

Environmentalism and conservation are hot topics on Bonaire, but European Dutch who live on the island and Bonaireans believe in these causes for different reasons, and as a result may clash over certain issues. Dutch are conservationists for the sake of conserving, and they are likely to support, for example, the ban on conch fishing in the waters off Bonaire since overfishing may damage the conch population. Bonaireans wish to conserve their culture and their island. Eating conch is a part of that culture, so many are not happy with the ban on conch fishing as it means that only imported conch (read, 'expensive') is currently available for consumption. Another hot issue of late is kitesurfing. Since Bonaireans are concerned with culture and conditions of their island, they support a complete ban of this sport because it can damage the salt marshes and coral reefs, and is by no means a part of their traditional way of life. Dutch, on the other hand, are likely to engage in this sport, and believe that there are places on the island where it can be safely practiced without damaging nature.

I did not observe tension between European Dutch and Antilleans on Bonaire as I did on Curaçao. However, newspaper reports and comments from interviewees suggest that such tension exists. One incident written up in the newspaper was a conflict over beach

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[81] Many Arubians and Curaçaoans were shocked to hear that I planned to spend a month on Bonaire. They insisted that a week would be plenty long enough to complete 20 interviews and begged me to change my plans.

space. All Bonaire beaches are public, but European Dutch who own beach houses assume or believe that the beach in front of their house belongs to them. In this case, two women from Bonaire went to the beach to swim, a Dutch man tried to make them leave, and one of the women refused. There were several sore points. The women had been swimming at this particular location since they were children. They knew that the Dutch man had no legal right to make them leave. But perhaps the stickiest point was the way he treated them. He did not politely ask them to leave—though he was in the wrong, the encounter may perhaps have remained civil had he taken this approach. Instead, he clapped his hands and said something very rude in Dutch, similar to the way one might try to oust stray dogs from one's yard. The women and the Antillean community were angry at the disrespect showed to them on their own island by these 'outsiders'.

Another point of tension between the European Dutch and Bonaireans is topless bathing, an issue periodically brought up in newspaper editorials and local conversations. European Dutch believe it is perfectly natural and freely engage in it; Bonaireans are against it and do not do it, though some believe that the Dutch should not do it either and others do not seem to care one way or the other how Dutch women dress for the beach. One middle-aged man I interviewed stated that the Dutch are 'changing our culture'. When I asked him to elaborate, he mentioned topless bathing specifically—it is not the custom on Bonaire, he said. It is not proper for people to walk around naked (or half-naked), and he resented the fact that the Dutch were allowed to do it.

I did not witness much topless bathing on Aruba—maybe only once—but there, most beach-goers are American. The practice is common on Curaçao beaches popular with the Dutch, but only the Dutch do it. On these islands more accustomed to foreigners, I did

not witness Antilleans discussing the issue, and it did not appear as a topic of newspaper editorials. On the beaches, Antilleans of Aruba and Curaçao simply went about their day and ignored any topless bathers. Bonaireans who encounter topless bathers on their beaches, however, might ask the offender to cover up.

A related issue that I noticed on all three islands but that was not (much) talked about among locals was dress. Vacationers go almost anywhere dressed as if they are going to the beach. It is not uncommon to see them in the supermarket or downtown shops in, say, nothing but a bikini and a gauzy skirt. Locals, on the other hand, are more conservative and only wear beachwear to the beach.

In discussions of Curaçao and Aruba, I mentioned tensions between Antilleans and Latin American immigrants. On Bonaire, I did not witness this. There are far fewer such immigrants, so perhaps they are seen as less threatening on Bonaire.

5.5 Papiamentu and Language Contact in the ABCs

Today, most residents of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao use four languages for communicative purposes. Papiamentu is the most common home language (for 80% of residents of Curaçao and 70% of residents of Aruba and Bonaire (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001a, 2002a)), and is widely used in public forums such as religious services, festivals, political speeches, daily newspapers, and television; Dutch is the official language, and is used as a language of instruction in schools, in government offices, and in official government communication (especially written); Spanish and English are commonly used with tourists and in commerce, they are the languages of popular music and television programming, and all children learn them in school. The four language situation is so

normal that when asked what language(s) they speak, islanders typically responded with, "*Tur kuater*" 'all four.'

Recent census data on multilingualism is available for Aruba (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001a). Most homes use Papiamentu exclusively. In homes where Papiamentu is spoken with another language, that language is most often Spanish, then English, then Dutch. In homes where English is the language most spoken, Papiamentu is the most frequent second language of the home. These are mostly Caribbean English speakers from the San Nicolas area. In homes where Dutch is the language most spoken, both Papiamentu and English are spoken as second languages in the home with some frequency; only a handful of people use Spanish as a second language to Dutch. Where Spanish is most spoken, Papiamentu is second most spoken, with a few English and even fewer Dutch speakers.

These data match my observations of households in Curaçao and Bonaire. Though most people are multilingual, Papiamentu is by far the language most commonly used, and is often the only language used, in the home. Some members of the former white elite class (i.e. white or light-skinned Curaçaoans), use Dutch in the home to help their children do better in school. These are often teachers. In some cases, both parents use some Dutch with children, in others, one parent uses only Dutch and one uses only Papiamentu. The teachers I spoke with started this practice before their children started school. In another case, a man from Surinam married a woman from Curaçao. They used Papiamentu in the home exclusively until the children were in elementary school and were not doing well in Dutch. The father decided to begin using Dutch exclusively. In this family, the children are grown, but still speak Dutch with their father and Papiamentu with their mother, even at, for

example, family dinners where they are having one conversation with both parents simultaneously. In another case, I witnessed an aunt chastise her teenage nieces in Dutch after they stayed out late with some boys. This family always spoke in Papiamentu otherwise.

Though history tells us that speakers of Papiamentu, Dutch, and Spanish were present on the ABCs from colonial times, and English speakers were present at least from the beginning of the 19th century, the society was not always multilingual. That is, it is not the case that all residents could speak all of the languages. For example, the discussion of education above indicated that only descendents of European Dutch colonists had reasonable command of Dutch before the 20th century, and Antillean Dutch was still inferior by European Dutch standards. During a bird-watching expedition in the late 19th century, Robinson (1895) reports that he made himself understood in Curaçao in Spanish as "nearly all of the natives speak a little of that language" (20). In addition, Green (1974:8) writes, "In the past most of the less well educated native Arubans were mainly confined to Papiamentu and Spanish. Now they may understand and use all four main languages with varying efficiency."

Green's (1974) study of Aruba reports that four languages were in use in Aruba, and that, practically speaking, younger people could use all four, middle-aged people could use at least two, and only the oldest residents were monolingual. This matches my observations. I found that speakers age 55 or younger were proficient in four languages, those 55-70 might be proficient in two or three languages, and only those over 80 might be monolingual or have limited proficiency in language(s) other than Papiamentu. My 55-70 year olds correspond to Green's young and middle-aged speakers. Everyone born into the

multilingual society commands four languages, but this includes older speakers in my study than Green's because of the passing of time. As speakers aged, they maintained their proficiency in all four languages. Monolingual Papiamentu speakers are becoming quite rare.

Between the time of multiple languages spoken but little bilingualism and the time of widespread multilingualism, there were two related socioeconomic changes in the islands. The refineries opened on Curaçao and Aruba, and the Dutch government made concerted efforts to improve the quality of education on the islands. I argue that the refineries created the need for multilingualism on the islands, and the improved public educational opportunities made multilingualism possible for all citizens. Faced with pressure from three European (or 'real' languages, according to some), the casual observer might expect the creole Papiamentu to decline in use. However, I argue that it was the acceptance of multilingualism in European languages that has allowed Papiamentu to maintain its status. Now, the creole serves as a national symbol, uniting people of different races and nationalities who speak it.

There is a history of immigration and integration in the Antilles, and Papiamentu has long played a role in this (Green 1974). Unlike in other immigrant situations, the multilingual societies on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao do not require that immigrants give up their native language in favor of Papiamentu. The idea is simply for them to acquire proficiency in Papiamentu; maintaining or losing the native language is at the discretion of the immigrant. In practice, it appears to be easier for Dutch, Spanish, and English speakers to maintain their L1 since these languages have a place in society. Chinese and Arabic speakers, for example, have less of a speech community and no reinforcement of their languages in the larger society. However, the additive nature of learning Papiamentu

perhaps makes it more palatable to immigrants since they are not under pressure to suppress their L1 and the identity that goes with it.

Natives generally resent immigrants who do not make efforts to learn and use the creole, but this is seen more readily with Latin Americans than with Dutch. Islanders often feel that recently arrived European Dutch look down on them and believe that they cannot speak Dutch well. As a result, many islanders, consciously or unconsciously, use Dutch with them in order to 'show off' or prove themselves. Latin American immigrants are typically poor, uneducated, and work in the most stigmatized jobs. Islanders do not feel a need to prove their abilities in Spanish to these low-status immigrants. Thus, even though many islanders are quite proficient in Spanish, they can refuse to use Spanish with immigrants without losing face. So while Antilleans have the same resentment of non-Papiamentu-speaking European Dutch immigrants as they do to non-Papiamentu-speaking Latin American immigrants, it is the Dutch who have economic and social power over islanders, and the Dutch language wins out in these situations. Ironically, the European Dutch who want to learn Papiamentu report this as a problem—they have a hard time learning the language because no one will speak it to them.

Despite many similarities, the histories and census data presented above indicate that there are important differences between the islands. First, Aruba has had proportionately more contact with European languages than the other islands. Spanish was important there in the 19th century and English established a lasting presence there during the 20th century. Curaçao has had more contact with Dutch both historically and during the 20th century than the other islands. Also, class differences are more pronounced there, whereas on Aruba and Bonaire, almost all islanders were poor until recently, and socioeconomic differences among

the non-elite groups are only just beginning to emerge. Finally, Bonaire is characterized by less contact with other languages than her sister islands.

5.6 Summary of factors to be considered

5.6.1 Major historical events to be considered

Below (Table 21) are listed major historical events in the ABCs. These are not included in the constraint model because it is not reasonable to do so—if one of these events did influence language, when would such an effect be evident? One year after the event? Ten years? How can this be represented in the coding and how can an effect be recognized in the statistics? Because I could not resolve these issues, I did not include these as factors or factor groups in constraint models, but I include them here as a reminder of their existence. Later, when linguistic variables are examined over time, any noted changes in usage will be considered in light of these major events. If some change begins soon after a major historical event (say, somewhere between one and ten years), I then consider whether or not the event could reasonably be involved in the linguistic change. There is no way to prove a cause and effect relationship, but if I believe one exists, I present the evidence for such an explanation and evidence against alternate explanations.

Table 21. Historical events

Relevant to:	Year	Event
All 3 islands	1863	abolition of slavery
All 3 islands	1906	Dutch as much as possible in schools
Curaçao	1915	Refinery opens
Aruba	1928	Refinery opens
All 3 islands	1935	Dutch only in schools
All 3 islands	1945	WWII
All 3 islands	1954	Netherlands Antilles achieves autonomy
Curaçao	1969	Race/labor uprising
Bonaire	1975	Oil storage facility opens
Aruba	1985	Refinery closes
Curaçao	1985	Shell Refinery (Dutch) ? Isla (Venezuelan co.; English spoken)
Aruba	1986	Aruba secedes from Netherlands Antilles

5.6.2 Social factors

Many social factors are considered in this study (Table 22) because the aim is to see what social factors may influence contact-induced change, and many have been proposed in the various theoretical discussions presented in Chapter 2. As in any sociolinguistic study, I examine age (in generational groups), sex, social class, geography (island and urban/rural residence), and linguistic context (narrative (casual style) or formal speech). Through ethnography, I determined that linguistic prestige and social prestige may also be relevant. Linguistic prestige is based on the idea that some people are 'good' speakers of Papiamentu, and others are not. Social prestige is similar to social class in that it encodes social differences, but includes the notion of family history—is a speaker from an 'old' family, or a recently-immigrated family? 'Old' families are considered more prestigious.

In addition to these factors, I also examine factors potentially relevant in language contact situations: language context, level of bilingualism, use of language, years of formal education in each language, subjective reaction to each language, and subjective reaction to

speakers of each language. These language contact social factors attempt to account for the role of individual differences in ability, usage, attitude, and opinion.

Language context refers to the language in which the speaker typically talks about a given topic. For example, if the speaker typically speaks Dutch at work, I code any reference to her/his work as 'Dutch', but if s/he typically speaks Papiamentu at work, I code references to work as 'Papiamentu.' No one topic gets the same language coding for all speakers because the coding depends on how each speaker uses each language in daily life.

Speakers report on their level of fluency in each of their languages. The coding is based on communicative competence[82]—fluent, communicative, conversational but has some trouble, few words to nothing. I confirmed the self-reports with observations. Speakers also report on the amount that they use each of their languages (e.g. all day every day, couple of times a week, only with tourists, etc.). I code for years of formal education in each language. This is important because some speakers, particularly older ones, have absolutely no schooling in, say, Spanish, yet are at least conversational if not fluent in it.

Some people confess to 'liking' one language more than others, while others see languages as means to different ends (e.g. Dutch for school, English for TV, etc.). I code for subjective reaction to language with the idea that a person who likes one language more than others may be more likely to borrow from that language (or resist borrowing into it).

Some people have particularly positive or negative feelings about speakers of a certain language. I code for these emotional reactions because a speaker who hates Dutch people might also choose not to speak Dutch or in a Dutch-like way, and a person who is married to a Spanish speaker and loves speaking Spanish may be more likely to speak in a

[82] This is a loose classification of fluency. I am more concerned with speakers' communicative competence than native-like ability, and this is reflected in the coding.

Spanish-like way. Further, it was clear from ethnographic observations that Antilleans might like a language but not people who speak it, and vice versa, so subjective reactions to languages and to speakers of the languages are coded separately.

Table 22. Social and contextual factors

Factor gp	**Factor**	**Notes**
Age	<30 31-50 51-70 70+	
Sex	female male	
Class	upper/middle working/lower	
Island	Aruba Bonaire Curaçao	
Residence	urban rural	
Formality	narrative other	
Linguistic Prestige	high low neutral	teacher, maven, good speaker, high government official claims to be poor speaker, uses majority of /-s/ deletion
Social Prestige	high low neutral	UM, community leader, other enviable social position rural, house cleaners, grocery workers, lotto ticket sellers everyone else
Language Context	Papiamentu Dutch English Spanish mix unknown other	
Level of Bilingualism (each 4 lgs. separately)	fluent conversational gets by nothing	 e.g. 'I can defend myself' may have some trouble communicating (or person lists what s/he can do in this lg.)
Factor group	**Factor**	**Notes**
Use of	practically all day, every day	

Language (for each 4 separately)	almost every day at least one conversation (w/ parent, client, etc) uses it regularly with at least one person (1-3 xs per week uses irregularly (up to 1x per week but with tourists) passive understanding but responds in another lg. such that person doesn't actually have to speak the foreign language don't use ever
Formal Education in Foreign Lg.	high school or university language of instruction 4+ years 1-3 years less than a year no schooling in the language
Subjective Reaction to Language (each 4)	favorite, loves it some emotional attachment (e.g. one parent uses this lg.) uses it but has no strong emotions toward it avoids using it; prefers others but doesn't hate this one hates it, least favorite
Subjective Reaction to Speakers of a Language (each 4)	PP speaker is active part of this language's speech community has some friends who speak this language happens not to have friends who speak this language actively dislikes speakers of this language and avoids them

5.6.3 Demographic factors

It has been argued that factors such as 'amount and degree of bilingualism' and 'length of time speakers have been bilingual' affect contact-induced change. In an effort to quantify such factors in this contact situation, I use census reports to indicate the percentage of the population with a particular L1[83] or most frequently used language on each island over time. This should provide an idea of the relative amount of influence of each language—for example, we might expect a lot of Spanish influence on Papiamentu if there are a large number of L1 Spanish speakers, and not much influence if there are only few.

[83] There are no statistics indicating bi-or multilingualism over a sampling of time periods.

The following demographic factor groups (Table 23) are used to see if speakers' behavior with respect to variables potentially influenced by contact is more influenced by the social conditions when they learned Papiamentu (i.e. when they were young) or current social conditions. First, I consider the percentage of L1 speakers of Papiamentu, Spanish, Dutch, and English when each speaker was between the ages of 0 and 10 years old. (Each language forms its own factor group.) This set of factor groups gives an indication of the language contact situation when each speaker was learning Papiamentu. For most, this was in childhood, but for the handful of immigrants in the sample, this occurred in adolescence or adulthood at the time of immigration. All speakers in this data set were born in 1985 or earlier, and immigrants in the sample have lived in the ABCs for at least 10 years.

Next, I consider the percentage of L1 speakers of Papiamentu, Spanish, Dutch, and English now, in the total population. Again, each language forms its own factor group. This data is taken from the 'Language most spoken in the household' sections of the 2000 Census for Aruba and the 2001 Census for the Netherlands Antilles (Bonaire and Curaçao).

Finally, I consider the percentage of L1 speakers of Papiamentu, Spanish, Dutch, and English in each speaker's age group now for Aruba only (data not available for Curaçao and Bonaire). This data was reported in the 2000 Census report on 'Language most spoken in the household' (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001a). Age groups used are <30, 31-50, 51-70, 70+. These data are slightly different from the percentage of L1 speakers of each language in the total population. Since it is available for Aruba, I include this data in the model to see if it will make a better statistical model than the data for the general population.

Table 23. Demographic factors

Factor group		Factors	Notes
% L1 PP Spkrs when <10	1	0.1%- 1.5%	each of the 12 factor groups
% L1 Du Spkrs when <10	2	2-8%	has these 9 factors
% L1 Sp Spkrs when <10	3	9-15%	
% L1 Eng Spkrs when <10	4	16-20%	
% L1 PP Spkrs now	5	20-25%	
% L1 Du Spkrs now	6	56-69%	
% L1 Sp Spkrs now	7	69-77%	
% L1 Eng Spkrs now	8	77-89%	
% L1 PP Spkrs in age gp now	9	89-100%	(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Du Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Sp Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Eng Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)

6 Morphological borrowing

Morphological borrowing is first investigated at the level of the verbal paradigm. In addition, two individual morphological variables were selected for in-depth study: progressive *–ndo* and the passive construction (marked by *ser/wordu/keda*). Results of the best-fit constraint models for all three analyses are presented and interpreted here.

6.1 Systemic morphological borrowing

We will begin with a discussion of systemic morphological borrowing. As described in 4.1.3, the purpose of this analysis is to assess, via the Principle of Accountability, the validity of many of the constraints on structural borrowing which have been proposed in the literature. By examining textual data at discrete points in time corresponding to time periods for which census data are available, we should be able to see if and how social changes are related to the incorporation of foreign elements into Papiamentu.

6.1.1 Coding and Observations

Each of the 191 English, Caribbean English Creole (CEC), Dutch, and Spanish morphemes, periphrastic forms, and verb categories in Table 24 (originally presented as Table 11 in Chapter 4, repeated here for convenience) were coded once for each year of 20th century census data (1912, 1943, 1960, 1981, 1991, 2000) plus three 19th century time periods (1775-1837, 1844-1863, and 1863-1899), for a total of 1701 tokens from 9 time periods. These are the set of possible borrowings.[84] In the far right column, I give morphemes and

[84] The languages in this group do not mark categories and distinctions in the same way. When a language does not mark something, or has a 'zero' marking, there is an empty space in the table.

periphrastic forms[85] used in Papiamentu in 1837 at the end of the first time period. Many of these forms can be traced to a foreign source, and most were probably incorporated during creolization in the 17th and 18th centuries. To the left of that, I list borrowed forms used productively in Papiamentu in 2000 with the first year of productive use as indicated by texts. All forms in the 1837 column continue to be used in 2000, and none of the forms in the 2000 column were in productive use in 1837. Papiamentu morphemes were not coded and are given here for comparison only.

Table 24. Verbal morphemes of the languages in the contact situation.

		English	*CEC*	*Dutch*	*Spanish*	*Papiamentu*	
						2000	*1837*
CATEGORY		3SG, not 3SG		1SG, 2/3SG, 2/3 PL	1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 3SG, 3PL		
INFINITIVE		to + V	a + V	-en	-ar, -er, -ir		
COPULA	COPULA A	be, is, am, are, was were	be, da	ben, bent, is, zijn, was, waren	ser, soy, eres, es, somos, son, era, eras, era, éramos, eran		ta, tabata
	COPULA B				estar, estoy, estás, está estamos, están, estaba, estabas, estabámos, estaban		
GERUND		V-ing		V-ende	V-ando, V-iendo	V-ando, V-iendo *A/C-1860s*	
PAST PARTICIPLE		V + -ed		ge- + V +d/t/en; GE + V + SUFFIX	V-ado, V-ido		STRESS CHANGE, he-+ V
IMPERFECT	PROGRESSIVE	COP + GER	de, di, a	COP + aan 't + INF	COP (ESTAR) + GER	COP+ GER *C-1916* *A-1943*	COP + V (same as imperf.)
	HABITUAL		juuzto, doz				
PASSIVE		COP + PP		word, wordt, worden + PP; WORDE + PP	COP (SER) + PP	wordu + PP *A-1862* *C-1871* ser + PP *C-1954* *A-1960*	TMA + PP

[85] Papiamentu has no other verb category markings.

		English	*CEC*	*Dutch*	*Spanish*	*Papiamentu*	
						2000	*1844*
PRESENT		V + -s		V + -t, -en	o, as, a, amos, an, es, e, emos, en, imos		ta + V
PAST TENSE	PRETERIT	V + -ed	bin, ben, min, en, wen	V + -te, ten	é, aste, ó, amos, aron, í, iste, io, imos, ieron		a + V
	IMPERFECTIVE		e, a		aba, ía, ábamos, ában, íamos, ían		ta + V, tabata + V
FUTURE		will	IMP + go, o, wi, wã; IMP + GO	zal, zult, zullen	aré, arás, ará, aremos, arán eré, éras, erá, eremos, erán, iré, irás, irá, iremos, irán		lo + V
PERFECT(IVE)		have, has, had + PP; HAVE + PP	don, kaba	heb, hebt, hebben, had, hadden + PP; HEB + PP	he, has, ha, hamos, han + PP; HABER + PP		a + V
CONDITIONAL		would		zou/ zouden + PP; ZOU + PP	aría, arías, aríamos, arían, ería, erías, eríamos, erían, iría, irías, iríamos, irían		lo tabata + V
SUBJUNCTIVE					e, es, emos, en, a, as, amos, an, ara, aras, aramos, aran, iera, ieras, ieramos, ieran		

Counting each morpheme or periphrastic form once, there are 191 possible borrowings here: 21 from English, 22 from CEC, 38 from Dutch, and 110 from Spanish. To illustrate: English has two possible person/number categories, one infinitive form, six commonly used copula forms, and one morpheme marking each of the following: gerund, past participle, present tense, past tense, future tense, and the conditional (that makes 15). English has two periphrastic forms involving the copula, gerund, and past participle: the progressive (COPULA + GERUND) and the passive (COPULA + PAST PARTICIPLE). Papiamentu speakers could borrow any of the morphemes involved in any of the component parts of the

periphrastic forms, or they could calque the periphrasis, or they could do both. The component parts[86] of the periphrases (e.g. forms of the copula) were counted earlier, so here we simply count each periphrastic form[87] once (now we have 17 possible borrowings, and we can count the borrowing of a morpheme separately from a calque of a construction). The final category for English is the perfect. This is formed with a form of the verb 'have' and a past participle. English commonly uses 'have', 'has', and 'had'. I count each form of 'have' once, since Papiamentu speakers could borrow one of them to use in this construction, and I count the combination [HAVE] + PAST PARTICIPLE once, since Papiamentu speakers might also calque this periphrasis (for a total of 21 possible borrowings from English). Forms from the other languages were considered in this way as well. Spanish has the most possible borrowings because it marks more person, number, and tense/mood/aspect categories than the other languages, and it has three verb 'themes' (-ar, -er, and –ir), which may each have their own set of inflectional markings. It is purely coincidental that English and CEC have approximately the same number of markings: CEC marks fewer categories overall (note that CEC has many empty cells where Standard English does not), but has greater variation in the number of possible forms for the categories that it does mark.

The dependent variable is whether or not a form is used productively in Papiamentu at some point in time. To be considered 'productive', a borrowed element had to occur several times in one text or one or more times per text in several texts during a given time period. Additionally for bound morphemes, the form under consideration had to be found with more than one verb; otherwise it is impossible to tell if speakers borrowed a morphologically complex lexical item which they analyzed as one chunk, or if they possessed

[86] Indicated in lowercase letters.
[87] Indicated with SMALL CAPS.

the ability to combine the borrowed bound morpheme with a native form. For example, the 1844 Gospel of Matthew (text #27) contains 80 examples of gerundive *–ndo*, but they all occur with the same verb, *bisa* 'say'. I do not consider this a productive use. The 1865 Gospel of Mark (text # 87) also contains many examples of *bisando* 'saying', but since there are, in addition, examples of *–ndo* with *grita* 'yell', *kamna* 'walk', *laga* 'let', *papia* 'speak', and *predika* 'preach', the borrowed form is considered 'productive'.

For each of nine time periods, I code the 191 forms in Table 24 as borrowed (used productively) or not (not used, or no evidence of productivity) for a total of 1719 tokens). The first period, 1775-1837, is included as a baseline; it shows simply that all of the forms under investigation here were incorporated sometime *after* this time period. The data (for Aruba and Curaçao separately, 1719 tokens for each island) were then analyzed with the GoldVarb 2001 statistical program (Robinson, Lawrence, and Tagliamonte 2001). The linguistic factor groups considered were those presented in Tables 14 and 15 (4.1.4), repeated here for convenience as Tables 25 and 26. Demographic information relating to the number of L1 speakers of each of the languages in the contact situation at each time period was also considered, and is shown in Table 27. Table 28 shows how the 'weights' in Table 27 were assigned. No social factor groups were considered as the data came primarily from texts and social information was not available for most authors.

Table 25. Factor groups used to evaluate general claims about borrowability in the systemic morphological model (groups used to evaluate claims are shaded)

Borrowability Claim	*Word order similarity*	*Category marking*	*Allomorphy*	*Complexity*	*Fill gap*	*Renewal*	*Shared features*
structural compatibility							
structural simplification							
fill gap							
morphological renewal							
convergence							

Table 26. Factors tested in systemic morphological borrowing factor groups

Group	*List of Factors*	*Notes*
Borrowing	not used in Pap. nonce or unproductive productive	 unanalyzed in loan words with same etymology or any etymology
Word order similarity	yes no	word + word-affix + word
Affix type similarity	yes no	e.g. prefix or suffix
Category marking	both mark category in same way (or don't mark category) both mark category but with different distinctions one doesn't mark category, one does	
Allomorphy	reduction same amount increase	
Complexity	new category new distinction no new nuance	introduction of affix would result in such a change
Fill gap	no expression of category or distinction expression w/o morpheme expression with morpheme	Pap. does not express category/ distinction but source lg. does expressed but has no grammatical marker expressed with a morpheme (variably or always)
Renewal	foreign form has no native counterpart foreign form is synonymous with some native form of different type foreign form is synonymous with native form of same type	
Shared features	agrees with 0 languages 1 language 2 languages 3 languages	each morpheme is coded according to its agreement with other languages (same word order, morpheme type, category-marking)

Table 27. Weights assigned for proportions of native speaking populations of each of the four major languages spoken on Aruba and Curaçao

Time Period	Census Year	Aruba P[88]	D	S	E[89]	Curaçao P	D	S	E
1	(1844) [90]	-[91]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1863	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1900	[92]				-	-	-	-
4	1911/ 1912	9	1	1	1	9	2	2	0
5	1943	6	2	2	4	8	3	3	2
6	1960	7	2	1	2	8	3	1	1
7	1981	8	2	2	3	9	2	2	1
8	1991/1992	8	2	2	3	9	3	2	2
9	2000/ 2001	7	2	3	2	8	3	2	2

Table 28. Weights assigned according to percentage of population

Weight	% Population
1	0.1%- 1.5%
2	2-8%
3	9-15%
4	16-20%
5	20-25%
6	56-69%
7	69-77%
8	77-89%
9	89-100%

Data come from 171 written texts[93], 54 from Aruba and 117 from Curaçao, spanning over 200 years (Table 29). Textual data is supplemented with sociolinguistic interviews recorded in 2003 (50 from Aruba, 52 from Curaçao). Speakers ranged in age from 18-82. Assuming no major changes in an individual's grammar after age 20, interviews provide evidence for the years 1941-2003. The analysis here largely reflects forms as used in the texts; interviews were only used to confirm the findings in texts and to fill in information for those

[88] P= Papiamentu, D= Dutch, S=Spanish, E= English.
[89] The census does not distinguish between English and Caribbean English Creole with respect to this statistic. These numbers represent speakers of both varieties.
[90] No census taken in this year. Texts dating 1775-1837 were used for this time period.
[91] Texts but no social data are available from the years marked with '-'.
[92] No texts available for this time period on Aruba.
[93] Genres include letters, fiction, newspaper articles, poetry, plays, and songs.

time periods where a sufficient number of texts were unavailable. For example, Aruba texts dating 1913-1943 contained no examples of the periphrastic progressive, but the oldest speakers interviewed, who would have been in their 20s by 1943, did in fact use the form. I coded this form as being productive as of 1943 on the basis of the apparent time data.[94]

Table 29. Number of texts according to time period and island.

Time Period	Number of Texts		
	Aruba	*Curaçao*	*Total*
1. 1775-1837	1	4	5
2. 1844-1862	1	4	5
3. 1863-1899	0	29	29
4. 1900-1912	2	2	4
5. 1913-1943	3	24	27
6. 1944-1960	10	8	18
7. 1961-1980	2	13	15
8. 1981-1992	5	27	32
9. 1993-2001	30	6	36
TOTAL	54	117	**171**[95]

Because the GoldVarb program assesses variation via an algorithm containing a fraction, any factor for which there are zero tokens or one token only must be eliminated. In other words, if all tokens of a particular factor are rule applications, or if none of the tokens for a factor are applications, then GoldVarb cannot assess the relative strength of the factor with respect to other factors. In evaluation of a single linguistic variable, such an occurrence would indicate that all instantiations of that variable have a particular value, and in most cases, researchers would conclude that the factor in question is not particularly

[94] It is possible that this form was not productive in 1943, and that the oldest speakers acquired it well into their adulthood, but since this kind of change is rare in adults (Labov 1994, Sundgren 2002) the coding that I use represents the more likely explanation for this data.

[95] Three texts (#15, 79, and 80) are undated or the dates are uncertain. They are included in the list of texts in Appendix A, but were not included in this part of the analysis.

interesting to the analysis. I will argue, however, that factors showing no variation *are* interesting in the case of the morphological system constraint model.

Gerundive *–ando* and *-iendo*, the periphrastic progressive COPULA + GERUND, the passivizing verbs *wordu* and *ser*, and the passive constructions WORDU + PAST PARTICIPLE and COPULA (SER) + PAST PARTICIPLE were borrowed (Table 30). The constructions COPULA + GERUND and COPULA + PAST PARTICIPLE exist in both English and Spanish with progressive and passive functions respectively. When Papiamentu speakers use one of these constructions productively, I counted it as a borrowing from both English and Spanish.[96] This makes a total of nine borrowed items (two bound morphemes, two free morphemes, one construction from one language in the contact situation, and two constructions each common to two languages in the contact situation). *–Ndo* is first attested in Aruba in 1803, and Curaçao in 1844, but the first evidence of productive use on both islands is in the 1860s. This form was used in the periphrastic progressive productively as early as 1916 (Curaçao) and 1943[97] (Aruba), and is attested in 19th century Curaçao. *Wordu* and the *wordu* passive are productive by 1862 (Aruba) and 1871 (Curaçao), and first attested in Curaçao in 1852. *Ser* and the *ser* passive are attested in texts from Curaçao in 1943, and from Aruba in 1960. The *ser* passive is the only form rarely attested in the interview data—I find only one example in speech (speaker #127, Jessica Cicilia[98], age 61, middle class, Bonaire). The other borrowed forms are solidly part of spoken Papiamentu.

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[96] I indicated that two or more languages in the contact situation shared a construction in a separate factor group, 'multilingual influence', with the idea that constructions common to two or more languages may be more likely to be borrowed than those found in only one, as per 'convergence'.

[97] The earliest evidence of productive use in Aruba texts is actually 1960, and there are no texts available from 1943-1960 Aruba. However, the oldest Aruba speakers used the form productively in interviews, and they would have been about age 20 in 1943, so I considered progressive *–ndo* to be productive in Aruba by 1943. It may have been productive even earlier, but I have no data from speakers older than age 82.

[98] All names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

Table 30. Earliest attestations and first productive uses of borrowed items on Aruba and Curaçao

			Earliest Attestation		Productive Use	
Borrowed Item	Source(s)	Function	Aruba	Curaçao	Aruba	Curaçao
–ando, -iendo	Spanish	gerund	1803	1844	1862	1865
COPULA + GERUND	Spanish/ English	progressive	1943	1893	1943	1916
wordu	Dutch	passive	1862	1852	1862	1871
WORDU + PP	Dutch	passive	1862	1852	1862	1871
ser	Spanish	passive	1960	1933	1960	1954
COPULA (SER) + PP	Spanish/ English	passive	1960	1933	1960	1954

I will begin with some observations about the borrowed forms, and then discuss the statistical analysis. On the first step-up/step-down analysis in GoldVarb, several factors and factor groups were eliminated on the grounds that they showed insufficient variation for evaluation by the program. These were eliminated because no borrowed forms had the characteristics of these factors. The factors excluded are: fill gap-no expression of a category or distinction, morphological renewal-different type, type of borrowing-verb category, time period-1 (1775-1837), and source language-Caribbean English Creole. In addition, the entire binary factor groups 'word order similarity' and 'affix type similarity' were eliminated because if one of the factors has no variation and that factor is eliminated, the group is left with only one other factor, and all factor groups must have at least two factors in order to be evaluated by GoldVarb.

Since the purpose of this model is to determine constraints on morphological borrowing, and since a factor with no rule-applications indicates that some constraint on rule-application is never violated, I will discuss the eliminated factors, which I argue

represent strong constraints on morphological borrowing.[99] Five of the eliminated factors are relevant to constraints proposed in the literature. First, is 'fill gap': there are no borrowings when the recipient language (Papiamentu) does not express a grammatical category or distinction within a category that the source language (Dutch, Spanish, or English) expresses. In other words, there are no cases of borrowings that fill a grammatical gap in this data. Next is a factor relevant to 'morphological renewal': there are no borrowings when the source and recipient language use different types of morphemes to mark the same thing (e.g. a prefix and a suffix). There are no cases where an abstract verb category (i.e. person or number marking) was borrowed. Finally, there were no borrowings if the source and recipient languages did not have similar word orders, or similar affix types. These results shed light on several constraints proposed in the literature, supporting some and casting doubt upon others. For example, it appears that borrowings can only happen under the condition of 'structural compatibility', where compatibility is defined by word order similarity and affix type similarity. Borrowing as 'morphological renewal' appears to be possible, but the borrowing of abstract elements such as person or number markings does not, and 'borrowing to fill a grammatical gap' must be removed from the list of universal tendencies since this never occurred here, despite the presence of several gaps.

Two other non-linguistic factors were excluded: time period 1 (1775-1837) and Caribbean English Creole. Data from Period 1 was included to show the 'beginning state' or $time_0$ (a time before borrowing took place), so this period should not have any borrowed forms. The lack of borrowings from Caribbean English Creole suggests that prestige may be a relevant factor. I could not find a way to code for prestige because Dutch, Spanish, and

[99] This is not to say that these constraints are 'inviolable', only that they are not violated in this contact situation.

(Standard) English have both high *and* low prestige simultaneously. For example, many Antilleans have a family member who married a Venezuelan, so they maintain close family ties with Spanish speakers and the Latin American mainland. On the other hand, recent Venezuelan (and Colombian) immigrants, who tend to be poor and without much education, are looked down upon. Similarly, European Dutch is prestigious, but Surinamese Dutch is not. American English is prestigious, as are wealthy American tourists. However, today many American tourists come from the working or middle classes, and visit the island to enjoy its natural beauty and beaches rather than to shop for duty-free jewelry and other expensive (yet easily-packed) items. This kind of tourist does not contribute to the island economies like wealthy American tourists once did, and so are not held in the same esteem. Caribbean English Creole (or 'village talk') is the only language variety in the contact situation which is consistently viewed negatively. Even speakers of this variety recognize that it is stigmatized, though they still refer to it fondly. That Papiamentu speakers do not borrow from CEC suggests that speakers do not borrow from a language that is uniformly perceived negatively. However, the borrowings from Spanish, Dutch, and English suggest that borrowing is possible if a language has any sort of prestige, even if it is not uniformly or always considered prestigious.

Table 31 shows borrowings per island for each of 8 time periods (excluding the earliest, which had no borrowings). A form is counted as 'borrowed' when it is found in productive use, and is counted as 'borrowed' for every subsequent time period.[100] The total number of borrowed items (9) is the same for both islands, though some were integrated later on Aruba than on Curaçao.

[100] It is conceivable that a borrowed form may fall out of use, but since all of the lexical items or constructions considered here continue to be used productively through the present, they were all counted this way.

Table 31. Borrowings per time period per island

Time Period	*Aruba*	*Curaçao*	*Borrowed Items*
2. 1844-1862	0/191[101]	0/191	
3. 1863-1899	4	4	*-ando, -iendo, wordu*, WORDU + PP
4. 1900-1912	4	4	
5. 1913-1943	6	9	Both: COP + GER (Sp.), COP + GER (Eng.) Curaçao: *ser*, COP + PP (Sp.), COP + PP (Eng.)
6. 1944-1960	9	9	Aruba only: *ser*, COPULA + PP (Sp.), COPULA + PP (Engl.)
7. 1961-1980	9	9	
8. 1981-1992	9	9	
9. 1993-2001	9	9	

6.1.2 Statistical analysis

Constraint models were constructed for Aruba and Curaçao separately. We begin with Curaçao. Table 32 gives significant constraints. Two purely linguistic factor groups were significant: renewal and complexity (two of the three groups used to evaluate morphological renewal[102]). A form which is synonymous with some form of the same type in Papiamentu is likely to be borrowed, as is a form which does not introduce additional grammatical categories or additional distinctions within a category. The third significant group, and the strongest set of constraints, is a crossproduct of a linguistic and a social category: allomorphy and a measure of L1 English speakers on Curaçao. These two factor groups had to be combined because there was interaction between them. Borrowings that result in the same amount of allomorphy are favored, while those resulting in increased allomorphy are disfavored, and of borrowings that result in the same amount of allomorphy, those which occurred when there were more English speakers on the island (weights of 1 or

[101] There are 191 possible borrowings for each time period on each island. Here, none of the borrowed forms had become productive yet.
[102] Category marking is the third; it is not significant.

2) are more strongly favored than those which were borrowed when there were no English speakers on the island. Looking back at Table 27, we see that Curaçao had '0' English speakers in 1911, and a value of '1' or '2' for 1943 and every census year after that. This significant result is thus more likely to refer to time (before vs. after 1943) rather than anything to do with English speakers.

Table 32: GoldVarb 2001 results for Curaçao

Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Allomorphy and L1 English speakers	Same and 1,2	0.996
	Same and 0	0.857
	Increased and 1, 2	0.449
	Increased and 0	0.375
Renewal	Synonymous, same type	0.683
	No recipient counterpart	0.212
Complexity	No new nuance	0.634
	Addl category or distinction	0.370
Log likelihood = -128.119	Input=0.032	

The model for Aruba is more complex (Table 33). Renewal and complexity are significant here, too. 'Fill gap' is also significant. Recall that one of the factors in this group, the one that says that a borrowing fills a grammatical gap, was excluded. What is significant here is really something more like 'grammaticalization via a foreign morpheme'—the borrowing of a morpheme that expresses something which Papiamentu expresses periphrastically. The weakest set of constraints deals with L1 English speakers, and here, as with Curaçao, is more likely related to time than actual demographics. Table 27 shows a value of '1' in 1911, '4' in 1943, then '2' or '3' for every census year after that (regarding proportion of L1 English speakers on Aruba). If these numbers referred to English speakers,

we would have to say that borrowing is favored with 2-15% English speakers, but disfavored with more or fewer English speakers. If they instead refer to time, we can say that borrowing is more likely to occur after longer periods of contact, which is a more reasonable claim, and which adds weight to the idea proposed by Thomason (2001), among others, that the length of time that speakers are bilingual may affect structural borrowing. The final significant group combines two interacting linguistic factors: allomorphy and shared features. Borrowings resulting in the same amount of allomorphy are favored, but a borrowing resulting in increased allomorphy is favored if, at the same time, three languages in the contact situation share the more complex form. This last stipulation is evidence for structural 'convergence' of multiple languages in a contact situation as is reported for Sprachbunds.[103]

Table 33. GoldVarb results for Aruba

Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Renewal	Synonymous, same type	0.772
	No recipient counterpart	0.109
Allomorphy and	Same amount and 2 languages	0.989
Shared Features	Same amount and 1 language	0.960
	Increased and 3 languages	0.573
	Increased and 1 language	0.390
Fill gap	Expression w/o morpheme	0.823
	Expression with morpheme	0.401
Complexity	No new nuance	0.649
	Addl category or distinction	0.357
L1 English speakers	2 or 3 (weights)	0.569
	4	0.430
	1	0.303
Log likelihood = -127.885	Input 0.024	

[103] I do not consider this contact situation to be a Sprachbund, however.

6.1.3 Conclusions and Implications

Table 34 summarizes the findings for systematic morphological borrowing and their relationship to the linguistic constraints proposed in the literature and reviewed in Chapter 2. Factor groups marked with 'X' were never violated, those with '2' were significant for both Aruba and Curaçao, those with '1' were significant for only one island, and those with '0' were not significant. Bolded constraints received very strong support; italicized factors have some significant components but do not operate as proposed.

Table 34. Proposed linguistic factors and significance of factor groups

Linguistic Factors ? **Proposed Constraints ?**	Word Order	Affix Type	Complexity	Renewal	Allomorphy	Shared Features	Fill gap	Category Marking
structural compatibility	X	X						0
morphological renewal			2	2				0
convergence	X	X				1		0
structural simplification			2		2			
fill gap							1	

Structural compatibility, morphological renewal, and convergence operate here. More specifically, borrowings are possible if word order and affix type similarity exist, and a borrowing can replace some native form of the same type provided that it does not introduce complexity. Borrowings generally do not lead to increased allomorphy, but a borrowing which increases complexity may occur if doing so makes one language agree with the other three. Grammatical gaps do not trigger borrowing. If the recipient language has no way of expressing something that the source language expresses, that element will not be borrowed. 'Structural simplification' is a misnomer: borrowings do not make the recipient

language structure simpler, but as noted for other constraints, there is a tendency to avoid increasing complexity. Clearly, some of the proposed linguistic universals have merit, some others are relevant but do not operate exactly as proposed, and at least one (fill gap) is completely wrong.

Importantly for the understanding of language contact, there is no strong evidence that social factors play a role in determining which morphemes are eventually borrowed and which are not, apart from the very existence of the contact situation. The only significant social factor appears to be length of existence of bilingualism, but this finding is indirect, and more work should be done before it can be said with certainty that this factor plays a role. I say that it is indirect because the census data on which it is based do not address bilingualism directly. We know that before the refineries opened people spoke Papiamentu as a first language, and traveler reports indicate that a fair number of people were communicative in Spanish as well (e.g. Robinson 1895). We know that in 2003, most residents under the age of 70 had some degree of competency in Dutch, English, and Spanish in addition to Papiamentu. But we don't know for certain when the transition from mostly Papiamentu to four languages took place. We can only measure the length of time that English (and Dutch and Spanish) speakers have lived on the islands, and the relative number of L1 speakers of these languages. There remains the possibility that some other social factor that I could not quantify (such as prestige) is involved, but we can be certain that linguistic factors are always involved, and if this data is typical, the linguistic factors will be stronger predictors of what eventually gets borrowed than social factors.

6.2 –Ndo *Progressiv*

The first morphological variable selected for in-depth study is progressive *–ndo*. In earlier work (Sanchez 2002), I argue that gerundive *–ndo* was borrowed first, and only later was extended to the progressive function. The influence of the English periphrastic progressive is what ultimately made this form commonly used in Papiamentu. Here, I analyze additional texts as well as spoken data, and find further support for this claim.

6.2.1 Textual Analysis of –ndo

As stated in *6.1.1,* the earliest attestation of progressive *–ndo* is from a Curaçao text dated 1893. This example (26) is from *Ultimo Evangelio* 'last gospel,' a prayer in a religious text entitled *Pidi i lo boso haña* 'Ask and you will receive'. The first text where this form is used productively (i.e. several times and with more than one verb) is the 1916 translation of the Gospel of Mark ((27) and (28)). These early examples may shed light onto how the progressive marking developed in Papiamentu. The copula (*ta, tabata*) and imperfective markers (*ta, tabata*) are homophonous but for tone. In texts, tone is not indicated orthographically, so these surface forms are completely ambiguous. In (27) and (28), I glossed these as being forms of the copula, but there is really no way to tell if this is the correct interpretation. My interpretation of (27) and (28) includes a sense of locativity (Jesus was <u>there</u> working with the disciples; John was <u>there</u> in the desert baptizing), and for this reason I glossed these with the copula, which can be associated with a locative sense. It appears that the first uses of the gerund with the copula were locatives, like (27) and (28). Grammaticalization of the periphrastic progressive led to a loss of the locative sense, and I gloss the *ta* of later examples as the imperfective marker. The distinction between the use of

copula *ta* or imperfective *ta* in this construction is probably a moot point, however. Speakers do not sense a big difference between the two, and no one ever corrected my pronunciation on this point (though I received many other corrections, particularly about tone).

(26)	*Haci*	*koe*	*mi*	*recorda,*	*ora*	*mi*	*ta*	*corda*	*riba*
	make	COMP	1sg	remember	when	1sg	IMP	remember	about

nan	*morto*	*koe*	***ta***	***acercando,***	*huicio*	*koe*	*ta*
3pl-POSS	death	COMP	COP	approach-GER	judgment	COMP	IMP

sigie	*eternidad*	*koe*	*lo*	*caba*	*coe*	*e*	*poco*	*dianan*	*di*
follow	eternity	COMP	FUT	end	COMP	the	few	day-PL	of

mi	*destierro*	*den*	*es*	*mundoe-*	*aki.*	
my	exile	in	the	world	here	(p. 48)

"[Lord] Make me remember, when I remember their [my deceased siblings'] deaths which **are approaching**, judgment which follows, and eternity which will end with the few days of my exile in this world.

(27)	*Y*	*nan*	*a*	*sali,*	*predicando*	*e*	*Evangelio*	*na*	*tur*	*parti*	*y*
	and	they	PERF	leave	preach-GER	the	gospel	in	all	part	and

e	*Señor*	***tawata***	***trahando***	*huntu*	*cu*	*nan*	*y*
the	Savior	COP-PAST	work-GER	together	with	them	and

confirmando	*e*	*Palabra*	*pa*	*medio*	*dje*	*milagronan,*	qu	a
confirm-GER	the	Word	by	way	of-the	miracle-PL	which	PERF

sigui	*mes*	*ora.*	*Amen.*	
continue	same	hour	Amen.	Mark 16:20

"And they left, preaching the Gospel in all parts of the world, and the Savior (Jesus) **was** [there] **working** together with them and confirming the Word through miracles, which continued at the same time. Amen."

(28) *Juan* ***tawata*** ***bautizando*** *den* *desierto* *y* *predicando* e
John COP-PAST baptize-GER in desert and preach-GER the

bautismo *di* *arepintimentu* *pa* *pordon* *di* *pica*
baptism of repentance for pardon of sin Mark 1:4

"John was [there] baptizing in the desert and preaching the baptism of repentance for pardoning sin."

Linguistic factors are presented in Table 35: verb etymology, predicate semantics, and aspectual interpretation of the verb in context. The demographic factors presented in Table 27 (above) were also considered. As in the textual analysis above, no other social factors were considered. Additional non-linguistic factor groups considered were genre, date (time period)[104], and language context. Language context refers to the first language of the author (if known), or the language from which a translated text was translated (if known). Factors in this group were Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish, English, Portuguese (i.e. in the speech of Sephardic Jews), and unknown.

Table 35. Linguistic factors considered for progressive *-ndo*

Factor group	*List of Factors*	*Notes*
Etymology	Iberian Germanic unknown	Appendix D lists etymologies
Vendler's semantics of predicate	state process accomplishment achievement	
Aspect in context	state action in progress repeated action imperfective action	 habitual, iterative, or occasional imperfective but not in progress

[104] Texts were divided roughly by decade, though earlier time periods were larger since texts were fewer in number. Appendix E provides a thorough breakdown of textual data by time period.

Examination of this variable must include all main verbs marked with *–ndo*, and all main verbs which could be marked with *–ndo* but which are not. Table 36 shows the overall distribution of forms for Aruba and Curaçao texts. As indicated in Table 29 (above), only 54 of the 171 texts come from Aruba, so it is not surprising that Aruba has a much smaller number of total tokens overall. However, Aruba texts have a higher percentage of *–ndo*-marked verbs than Curaçao texts. Below the table are an example of a progressive without *-ndo* (29) and a progressive with *–ndo* (30). Both examples are extracted from narratives in an interview with Loreta Dijkhoff (#1) an 82 year old Aruban woman.[105]

In (29), Loreta begins to tell me about a time that she went to the hospital. Her back was bothering her, and she prays for healing. She quotes herself, then explains that her lungs were not working properly at the time that she uttered the prayer. Here, *n tata traha bon* 'not working well' is thus a past progressive, but it is not marked with *-ndo*. In (30), she tells me how she came to marry Mario. She sets up the situation (lots of men wanted to marry her, but her stepfather would not give his permission). Next she quotes what she said 60 years ago. Here *ta birando bieuw* 'getting old' was in progress at that time.

Table 36. Progressive *–ndo* applications in texts

	with-*ndo*	without *-ndo*	Total	% apps
Aruba texts	67	1018	1085	6.18%
Curaçao texts	166	3499	3665	4.53%
Total	233	4517	4750	4.91%

[105] All names of speakers and people referred to by speakers in the examples given are pseudonyms. Ages and islands are real, but some other relevant personal details may be altered or omitted. Whereas in other communities, indicating that a person owns or works in a particular kind of store allows them to remain anonymous, doing so on these small islands would make anonymity impossible. Even on Curaçao there is a sense that everybody knows everybody else. I err on the side of caution with disclosing personal information from people interviewed here.

(29)	*Un*	*biaha*	*m'*	*a*	*bai*	*hospital.*	*...*	*Mi*	*di*	*'hesus*	*pone*	*bo*
	one	time	1p sg	PERF	go	hospital		1p sg	say	Jesus	put	2p sg

man	*ariba*	*mi*	*lomba*	*ku*	*ta*	*molestiá*	*mi.'*	*...*
hand	on	1p sg POSS	back	COMP	IMP	bother	1p sg	

mi	*pulmon*	*n*	***ta ta***	***traha***	*bon.*	
1p sg POSS	lung	NEG	IMP-PAST	function	well	*(Sp. 1)*

"One day I went to the hospital. I said, 'Jesus, put your hand on my back that's bothering me.' My lung wasn't working well."

(30)	*Y*	*asina*	*ta*	*ku*	*ma*	*despues*	*m'*	*a*	*bin*	*m'*	*a*
	and	so	COP	COMP	but	later	1p sg	PERF	come	1p sg	PERF

kasa	*ku*	*[Mario.]*	*Pero*	*ta'*	*tin*	*hopi*	*mucha*	*homber*
marry	with	Mario	but	IMP-PAST	have	many	child	boy

ta ta	*puntra*	*pa*	*kasamentu*	*pero*	*e*	*padraso*	*n*	*ta ta*	*ke*
IMP-PAST	ask	for	marriage	but	the	stepfather	NEG	IMP-PAST	want

paso	*mi*	*tin*	*ku*	*yud'*	*e.*	*Anto*	*ora*	*ku*	*m'*
because	1p sg	have	COMP	help	3p sg	Then	time	COMP	1p sg

a	*bira*	*binti*	*tres*	*añ̃a*	*mi*	*dí*	*'ah-ah.*	*....*	*Mi*	***ta***
PERF	become	twenty	three	year	1p sg	say	'ah-ah		1p sg	IMP

birando	*bieuw,*	*mi*	*n*	*ta*	*hañ̃a*	*niun*	*hende*	*kasa*
become-GER	old	1p sg	NEG	IMP	get	not one	person	marry

ku	*mi'*	*ku*	*kone.*	*Eyorey*	*m'*	a	*konta*	*ku*
with	me	and	thing-those	the-time-then	1p sg	PERF	tell	with

[Mario.]	E	*dí*	*ku*	*mi*	*'si'*	*(Sp. 1)*
Mario.	he	say	to	me	'yes'.	

"And that's how it was, I came and I married Mario. But there were lots of boys asking to marry me but my stepfather didn't want me to get married because I had to help him. Then when I turned 23, I said, 'Ah-ah. I'm getting old, I'm not going to find anybody to marry me' and things like that. Then I talked with Mario. He said to me, 'Yes.'"

We will first consider the results for Aruba texts. Table 37 gives the significant factors as determined by the GoldVarb program. Aspectual interpretation is significant: progressive actions strongly favor *–ndo*-marking. Vendlerian semantics is also significant: actions which are accomplishments and activities (in other words, durative and dynamic actions) favor *–ndo* marking. Finally, texts from the 1990s favor *–ndo* marking.

Table 37. GoldVarb results for Aruba texts

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Aspect	Progressive	0.936
	Repeated action (habitual, iterative)	0.076
Semantics	Accomplishment	0.807
	Activity	0.562
	Achievement	0.283
Time period	1990s	0.619
	1960s	0.411
Log likelihood = -77.298	Input = 0.126	

Curaçao results are presented in Table 38. Aspectual interpretation is significant, with progressive actions strongly favoring *–ndo*-marking. However, repeated actions also favor *–ndo*-marking in the Curaçao texts. Semantics was not selected as significant for Curaçao texts, nor was any particular time period. Time is indirectly indicated as significant, though, because '% English speakers' is significant. Texts from years with 0.1%-8% English speakers favor *–ndo*-marking, and since every time period after 1912 has this percentage of English speakers, we can say that texts written after 1912 favor *–ndo*-marking. In addition, certain genres favor the use of the progressive morpheme: poetry, newspaper articles, other non-fiction, and written genres close to speech including play dialogue and a transcript of a TV talk show. Finally, texts written by Papiamentu speakers and Portuguese speakers (i.e. Sephardic Jews) favor the use of *–ndo*, while texts written by L1 Dutch speakers disfavor it.

Table 38. GoldVarb results for Curaçao texts

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Aspect	Progressive	0.983
	Repeated action (habitual, iterative)	0.612
	Imperfective, not in progress	0.345
	Stative	0.243
Genre	Poem	0.765
	Article	0.756
	Non-fiction	0.722
	Play, dialogue, TV transcript	0.720
	Religious	0.291
	Fiction	0.213
	Song	0.094
% English spkrs	2-8%	0.758
	0.1-1.5%	0.735
	0%	0.356
Lg context	Portuguese	0.573
	Papiamentu	0.569
	Dutch	0.261
Log likelihood = -116.727	Input = 0.003	

I hesitate to draw strong conclusions based on the texts alone when spoken data is also available, but texts suggest at least how the interviews should be analyzed. Specifically, since the linguistic factors for texts on the two islands were different, Aruba and Curaçao speakers may have different grammars with respect to this variable. This result motivated my decision to analyze spoken data from each island separately.

6.2.2 Analysis of –ndo *in spoken data*

The linguistic factors considered for spoken data are the same as those considered in the textual analysis. Demographic factors relating to the percentage of L1 speakers of each of the four languages were considered for two time periods per speaker: the year of interview (2003), and when the speaker was less than 10 years old (indicating the linguistic situation when the speaker was learning Papiamentu) (Table 39, originally presented as Table 23,

copied here for convenience). Additionally, a third demographic situation is considered for Aruba (the only island for which this data is available): the percentage of L1 speakers of each of the four languages in the year of interview in the speakers' age group. The social and contextual factors considered in this analysis are given in Table 40 (originally presented in Table 22, copied here for convenience). Since the textual data suggest that Aruba and Curaçao each have different conditioning factors with respect to progressive *–ndo*, speakers from Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao were run separately. Otherwise, the statistical analysis for spoken data was conducted in exactly the same manner as the analysis of textual data.

Table 39. Demographic factors

Factor group		**Factors**	**Notes**
% L1 PP Spkrs when <10	1	0.1%- 1.5%	each of the 12 factor groups
% L1 Du Spkrs when <10	2	2-8%	has these 9 factors
% L1 Sp Spkrs when <10	3	9-15%	
% L1 Eng Spkrs when <10	4	16-20%	
% L1 PP Spkrs now	5	20-25%	
% L1 Du Spkrs now	6	56-69%	
% L1 Sp Spkrs now	7	69-77%	
% L1 Eng Spkrs now	8	77-89%	
% L1 PP Spkrs in age gp now	9	89-100%	(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Du Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Sp Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)
% L1 Eng Spkrs in age gp now			(available for Aruba only)

Table 40. Social and contextual factors

Factor gp	**Factor**	**Notes**
Age	<30	
	31-50	
	51-70	
	70+	
Sex	female	
	male	
Class	upper/middle	
	working/lower	
Residence	urban	
	rural	

Factor gp	Factor	Notes
Formality	narrative other (formal)	
Linguistic Prestige	high low neutral	teacher, maven, good speaker, high government official claims to be poor speaker, uses majority of /-s/ deletion
Social Prestige	high low neutral	UM, community leader, other enviable social position rural, house cleaners, grocery workers, lotto ticket sellers everyone else
Language Context	Papiamentu Dutch English Spanish Portuguese unknown	
Level of Bilingualism (each 4 lgs. separately)	fluent conversational gets by nothing	 e.g. 'I can defend myself' may have some trouble communicating (or person lists what s/he can do in this lg.)
Use of Language (for each 4 separately)	practically all day, every day almost every day at least one conversation (w/ parent, client, etc) uses it regularly with at least one person (1-3 xs per week uses irregularly (up to 1x per week but with tourists) passive understanding but responds in another lg. such that person doesn't actually have to speak the foreign language don't use ever	
Formal Education in Foreign Lg.	high school or university language of instruction 4+ years 1-3 years less than a year no schooling in the language	
Subjective Reaction to Language (each 4)	favorite, loves it some emotional attachment (e.g. one parent uses this lg.) uses it but has no strong emotions toward it avoids using it; prefers others but doesn't hate this one hates it, least favorite	
Subjective Reaction to Speakers of a Language (each 4)	PP speaker is active part of this language's speech community has some friends who speak this language happens not to have friends who speak this language actively dislikes speakers of this language and avoids them	

The overall distribution of interview tokens by island is given in Table 41, with tokens from texts included for comparison. Note here that the overall percentage of verbs marked with *–ndo* is lower in speech (2.07-3.13%, average 2.20%) than in texts (4.53-6.18%, average 4.91%), and also that Bonaire speakers (3.13%) use *–ndo* at a higher rate than speakers on the other two islands (2.07-2.21%).

Table 41. Progressive *–ndo* applications in interviews and texts

	with-*ndo*	without -*ndo*	Total	% apps
Aruba	205	9075	9280	2.21%
Bonaire	40	1239	1279	3.13%
Curaçao	184	8716	8900	2.07%
Aruba texts	67	1018	1085	6.18%
Curaçao texts	166	3499	3665	4.53%
speech total	429	19030	19459	2.25%
text toal	233	4517	4750	4.91%

When working with texts only, I analyzed the borrowing of *–ndo* in Papiamentu as being motivated by prestige. Several aspects of the spoken data confirm this analysis. To begin with, the higher frequency of *–ndo* in written Papiamentu suggests that it is associated with formal language (such as writing). In addition, most examples from the interviews came from formal speech rather than narratives, though this factor was not significant for any of the islands. Since I am not Antillean, most of the speech that I obtained in the interviews was formal. This works well for eliciting prestige borrowings. The trade off, however, is that I may not have collected enough casual speech (which I narrowly defined here as narrative style only) to make a fair statistical analysis of the occurrence of variables in formal vs. casual speech.

6.2.2.1 Aruba

At various times during the coding process, I ran statistical analyses on portions of this data. At earlier presentations with partial spoken data from Aruba, and usually including at least one or two San Nicolas speakers, I found that *–ndo* use on Aruba appeared to be related to English use in several ways. Speakers under 70 years of age were significantly more likely to use the morpheme than those over 70. This corresponds to speakers who learned Papiamentu when there were significant numbers of English speakers on the island vs. those who learned the creole before the English invasion. Additionally, medium users of English use *–ndo* the most, with those using it daily or rarely using it less. Finally, level of bilingualism in Spanish was significant. Those with no Spanish abilities use the most *–ndo*, followed by those with conversational to near-native abilities. Those who struggle with Spanish seem to avoid using the form.

Later runs showed some different results. The results for all Oranjestad and rural Aruba speakers, but excluding San Nicolas speakers, are presented in Table 42. Recall that San Nicolas houses Aruba's giant oil refinery, and is also the home of many of the island's English speakers, both American and Caribbean Creole. The influence of English in that part of the island is clear: it is the only place on the island where you will find islanders speaking English in the street, for example, and the architecture of the town center is very 1950s America. Here, though, I focus on Oranjestad and rural speakers, who should be less influenced by English. As Table 42 indicates, the influence of English is not as strong on the rest of Aruba, but is does indeed exist.

Table 42. GoldVarb results for progressive *–ndo,* Aruba interviews

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Formal education—Dutch	no schooling in Dutch	0.974
	4+ years but no high school	0.592
	high school or university language of instruction	0.548
	1-3 years	0.025
Age group and Semantics	18-50, accomplishment	0.975
	51-90, accomplishment	0.888
	18-50, activity	0.855
	51-90, activity	0.622
	all ages, stative	0.389
	all ages, achievement	0.246
Social Prestige and Reaction to Language—English	- prestige, no emotion or hates English	0.662
	neutral prestige, no emotion to English	0.469
	+ prestige, favorite language English	0.468
	neutral prestige, likes English a lot	0.413
	neutral or – prestige, loves English	0.206
Syntactic Position	relative clause	0.864
	main verb	0.486
Social Class	middle class	0.604
	working class	0.306
Log likelihood = -812.342	Input = 0.026	

Recall that for Aruba texts, aspectual interpretation, semantics, and time period were significant. The aspectual interpretation factor group had to be excluded from the analysis of interview data for technical reasons (floating zero during step-up/ step-down)[106]. In Table 42, we see that semantics is again significant, though this time in a factor group crossed[107] with age of speaker—all speakers favor *–ndo* in activities and accomplishments, but speakers under 50 favor the form more than speakers over 50. The speaker age group significance is probably related to the real time difference found in texts. Though several time periods had to be excluded from that analysis for insufficient data, the two remaining time periods, the 1960s and 1990s, were significantly different, with *–ndo* favored in the

[106] I tried recoding these factor groups in various ways to fix the problem, but to no avail. There were no knockouts or singletons, so I am not entirely sure what caused the error.
[107] This was done because of interaction between these two factor groups.

1990s. Speakers who turned 20 years old in the 1960s would be between 54 and 63 when the interviews were conducted in 2003. If the grammars of 20 year olds in the 1960s did not change much in their lifetimes, at least with respect to this variable, then we should expect that speakers who matured during the 1960s will use less *–ndo* speakers than those who matured in the 1990s, and this is indeed what we find. This kind of age distribution from apparent and real time data indicates a generational change (Labov 1994). In other words, individual speakers remain stable, but there is a change at the community level.

Other aspects of the Aruba data support the idea that *-ndo* is a prestige borrowing and show its linguistic distribution. It is favored in relative clauses, and is associated with middle class speech and level of education. In addition, Aruban Antilleans with negative social prestige who do not particularly like English favor the form. This sort of hypercorrection may be a way of gaining symbolic capital (Eckert 2002; Labov 1966, 1972), and differentiating themselves from the class below them, comprised of laboring immigrants.

The strongest factor group is troubling, however. Why do those with no education in Dutch so strongly favor the use of *–ndo*? I checked the speaker coding for Arubans and found that there was only one woman with no education in Dutch: Diana de la Cruz (#5), age 42, a native Spanish speaker born and raised in the Dominican Republic, and the only non-native Papiamentu speaker included for Aruba.[108] I included her because she has lived on Aruba for more than 10 years, learned Papiamentu, married (and divorced) an Aruban, and obtained Dutch citizenship. She is part of the community.

[108] Paula Torres (#34) is also a Spanish speaker, but her interview was not coded because of sound problems. Alejandra Linden (#31) was born in the Dominican Republic and moved with her parents to Aruba at the age of 2. Spanish is her first language, but she learned Papiamentu before the age of 5 and is otherwise indistinguishable from other L1 Papiamentu speakers.

Nonetheless, the statistics suggest that she is using *–ndo* in her Papiamentu differently from the other speakers, so I excluded her data and ran the analysis again (Table 43). These results still confirm the real time data from texts, but make much more sense sociolinguistically speaking, and tell us more about how this variable functions in speech. This model fits the data better, too: the log likelihood dropped from -812.342 to -781.690.

Table 43. Results for progressive *–ndo*, Aruba interviews, L1 Papiamentu speakers only

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weights**
Reaction to Language—English	avoids use of English	0.830
	no emotions	0.510
	likes English	0.400
	loves English	0.281
Age	31-50	0.727
	18-30	0.558
	51-70	0.476
	71+	0.198
Social class and Social prestige	+ social prestige, middle class	0.751
	neutral prestige, middle class	0.529
	- prestige, working class	0.364
	neutral prestige, working class	0.231
Semantics	accomplishment	0.929
	activity	0.706
	stative	0.366
	achievement	0.219
Formal education in Dutch	four or more years; no high school	0.581
	high school or university lg of instruction	0.524
	1-3 years of school	0.101
Syntactic Position	relative clause	0.885
	main verb	0.484
Reaction to speakers—Spanish	avoids Spanish speakers	0.680
	loves Spanish speakers (spouse, close relative)	0.615
	has Spanish-speaking friends	0.512
	happens not to be part of speech community	0.418
% Papiamentu speakers when speaker was <30	77-88%, 89-100%	0.600
	56-69%	0.410
	70-78%	0.363
log likelihood= -781.690	Input 0.037	

Here we see that *–ndo* is favored by those with no particular fondness for English; speakers 50 and under; middle class speakers, with socially prestigious speakers favoring it more than those with neutral prestige; those with at least an elementary school education; those (usually socially prestigious) Papiamentu speakers who avoid Spanish speakers, followed by those (perhaps middle class speakers, but not always) who are part of a Spanish speech community; and finally, speakers born when there were 77-100% Papiamentu speakers living on the island (mostly those born in the 1980s and 1990s, but the oldest speakers are also included here). Linguistically, we still find *–ndo* favored with accomplishments and activities, and in relative clauses.

One startling observation is the overwhelming presence and strength of social factors in this constraint model. Though social factors were not strongly involved in conditioning borrowing at the systemic level, in other words, in determining which Spanish or Dutch or English form was borrowed in the first place, it is clear that the borrowed form is socially evaluated, and that aspects of speakers' social lives contribute to the conditioning of such a variable. In particular, a speaker's feelings toward one particular language and toward speakers of some language, and whether or not a speaker associates with a speech community of some language, determines how s/he uses a sociolinguistic variable in another language, the L1. The variable is also stratified by social class and prestige.

6.2.2.2 Curaçao

Preliminary analyses of Curaçao data, like preliminary analyses of Aruba data, showed an English influence, even though Curaçao's refinery operated in Dutch until the mid-1980s, and tourism draws mostly Dutch and other European visitors rather than

Americans. Those who are part of an English speaking speech community or have English-speaking friends appeared to use *–ndo* more. As with Aruba data, the analysis of all speakers is more nuanced.

Aspectual interpretation, genre, percent L1 English speakers on the island, and language context of the author or publication were significant for Curaçao texts. As for Aruba, the aspectual interpretation group was excluded from the analysis of spoken data because of a technical error (floating zero). Genre and language context have no correlates in the spoken data. As Table 44 shows, some factors related to English use are significant for the interview data as well.

Table 44. GoldVarb results for progressive *–ndo*, Curaçao interviews

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Use of Language—Spanish	don't use ever	0.979
	practically all day, every day	0.769
	uses regularly (1-3 times per week)	0.594
	almost every day but in short encounters with tourists	0.484
	uses irregularly (up to once per week)	0.286
Level of Bilingualism—Spanish and Formal Education—Spanish	near-native fluency; Spanish as lg of instruction at university and/or high school	0.544
	conversationally fluent; 2 or more years of Spanish in school	0.507
	does not speak Spanish; no formal education in Spanish	0.017
Semantics	activity	0.762
	accomplishment	0.674
	achievement	0.411
	state	0.262
Reaction to Language—English	no emotions	0.579
	favorite, loves English	0.427
	likes English	0.197
% English speakers when speaker was <30 years old	0.1%- 1.5%	0.621
	none	0.500
	2-8%	0.401
Log likelihood = -823.116	Input = 0.025	

In Aruba, *-ndo* was sensitive to social factors relating to English and Spanish, social class and prestige, education, and linguistic factors. In Curaçao, this variable is also sensitive to factors relating to English and Spanish, but nothing relating to social status of the speaker is significant. The use of *–ndo* is favored by those who never use Spanish, followed by those who use it regularly; by fluent speakers and those who have had at least some formal education in the language; by those with no particular fondness for English; and finally by those born with few (but not zero) English speakers living on the island. Also, the linguistic conditioning is a bit different for Curaçao: accomplishments and activities both favor *–ndo*, as in the Aruba data, but activities are stronger for Curaçao speakers.

Again we have a constraint model with social factors stronger than linguistic ones. There are two major differences between the Aruba data and the Curaçao data, though: the Curaçao data shows no evidence of significant change in use of this variable (though as we will see in *6.3* there is a slight upward trend in use over the 20th century), and there is no social stratification on Curaçao. It appears that *–ndo* remains below the level of consciousness for Curaçao speakers. The strongest constraints on the use of this variable for Curaçao are related to Spanish: those who can speak Spanish but rarely use it strongly favor *–ndo*, followed by regular users. Irregular users, and those who use it almost daily but only in short encounters with tourists disfavor the use of the variable. These speakers tend to be uncomfortable with Spanish. They recognize *–ndo* as a Spanish form and as such avoid using it.

6.2.2.3 Bonaire

After coding over 20,000 verbs from Aruba and Curaçao spoken and written data, it was not necessary to continue to take every main verb token. Most *–ndo* tokens are found in formal speech (though not significantly so), and the vast majority of interview speech falls into this category. For Bonaire speakers, I began to code a sample of each interview—the first 50-75 tokens of each interview, for up to three speakers per cell in the social stratification table.[109] Results of the statistical analysis are presented in Table 45.

Table 45. GoldVarb results for progressive *–ndo*, Bonaire interviews

Factor Group	**Factor**	**Weight**
Aspectual interpretation	progressive	0.980
	habitual	0.461
	imperfective (not in progress)	0.324
Age group	18-30	0.691
	51-70	0.561
	31-50	0.431
	71+	0.123
Sex	male	0.635
	female	0.377
Log likelihood = -96.915	Input = 0.021	

The strongest factor group conditioning *–ndo* use on Bonaire is aspectual interpretation—progressive items overwhelmingly favor *–ndo.*[110] Speakers 18-30 and 51-70 and males favor this form. Though this age distribution seems strange and though women frequently (but not always) lead in the use of prestigious variables (Labov 2001), these results make sense given the socioeconomic circumstances of Bonaire. Since the time that slavery

[109] Appendix F gives a breakdown of tokens.
[110] This is also true for Aruba and Curaçao speakers. The only difference is that this factor group was not excluded due to mathematical error for Bonaire data.

was abolished, and particularly since the opening of oil refineries on Aruba and Curaçao, the men of Bonaire have a tradition of leaving the island for work[111]. In the early 20th century, many were employed on cargo ships. When the refineries opened on Curaçao and then Aruba, many took jobs there[112]. This 'going away to work' tradition explains the results for both sex and age. With respect to sex, men favor *-ndo* because they were the ones who tended to leave Bonaire[113]. By leaving, they made off-island social contacts with first speakers of other languages (as they worked on cargo ships), and later Papiamentu speakers on Aruba and Curaçao (as they worked in the refineries). The communities of Aruba and Curaçao became more multilingual during the 20th century, and the Papiamentu spoken there came to reflect this language contact more and more, but this increase in contact with outsiders came much later on Bonaire. As Figure 6 (p. 131, Chapter 5) shows, the island of Bonaire was home to significantly fewer non-native Papiamentu speakers than Aruba and Curaçao for most of the 20th century. The men of Bonaire, though, through contact with the larger Papiamentu-speaking community, were introduced to and adopted *-ndo* as a prestige form, and brought it back to Bonaire.[114]

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[111] In Figure 7 (p. 131, Chapter 5), we can actually see the overall population of Bonaire decrease from 1912-1960. These were the years when employment in Aruba's and Curaçao's refineries peaked, and many men from Bonaire moved there for work. Some took their families, but most went away to work alone, sent money home periodically, and visited their families on Bonaire when they could. After 1960, as the refineries moved to automatization, many were laid off, and Boneirianos returned to their island. In addition, a modest oil storage facility opened on Bonaire in the mid-1970s—not large enough to draw large numbers of immigrants from other islands, but large enough to offer the people of Bonaire steady employment someplace other than the salt pans.

[112] Refinery jobs were preferred because the work was much closer to home (Bonaire), and because men were not at sea for months at a time. Workers could visit their families much more frequently.

[113] This situation is changing. Men today do not leave for work as frequently as before, and if they do, they take their families with them. However, young men and women often leave the island to further their education on Aruba or Curaçao or in the Netherlands.

[114] Bonaire men did not *acquire* the form as adults. Rather, it existed in their grammars from childhood, and contact with a community where it was considered prestigious led them to use the form more often than they did as children in an attempt to project a social prestige which, as natives of the island considered to be rural and backward, they did not feel.

In the results with respect to age, we can see the influence of off-island workers earlier in the 20th century, as well as evidence of a real time linguistic change and evidence of social change reflected in language. The 51-70 age group favors *–ndo* use because many speakers who were interviewed in this group had worked elsewhere and came back to Bonaire to retire[115]. It is those who worked elsewhere, and at the same time were in contact with a wider, and multilingual, Papiamentu speaking community, who lead in the change toward increased *-ndo* usage. This real time change is clear from the data for the 18-30 group, who favor the prestige form even more than their elders. But what about the seemingly anomalous behavior of the 31-50 group? If there is a real time change in progress, why don't these speakers favor *–ndo* when speakers immediately younger and older than them do? This, too, is explainable with reference to social change. I was only able to interview people in this age group living on the island now. Those natives of Bonaire in the 31-50 year old group who are *not* living on the island are precisely those who might be expected to show greater use of a prestige variable—they tend to be college students and people who moved away for an education and who stayed away because of job opportunities elsewhere. The 31-50 year olds on Bonaire now disfavor the form overall because most of those 31-50 year olds from Bonaire who favor *–ndo* are off working elsewhere[116]. Whereas in the past only men left, today both men and women leave. As more women leave the island to further their own educations and seek employment opportunities, this male-dominated variable may not stay male-dominated.

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[115] Some of these men entered the Bonaire work force after 'retirement'. For example, I interviewed a man who had worked as a professional in a government job on Aruba, retired, moved back to Bonaire, and was working in an office when I interviewed him.

[116] Some speakers that I interviewed in this age group had spent time elsewhere and returned. Their behavior is discussed below.

To check this claim, I separated Bonaire speakers into two groups: those who spent time off-island (working or studying) and those who have never worked or lived elsewhere (Table 46).[117] In the data of 'on-island' speakers, we can see the increase in use of *–ndo* in the younger speakers, indicating a real time change. In the data from 'off-island' speakers, we see the highest rate of use of *–ndo* in speech of speakers from any island. When these speakers were 'off-island', they adopted an increased rate of *–ndo* use in a pattern reminiscent of the hypercorrect pattern of the second highest status group (Labov 1966, 1972), and brought this with them when they returned to Bonaire. This, in turn, fed the real time change. Since this on-island/off-island distinction only became obvious after the statistical analysis was complete, it was not included in Varbrul runs, but I will investigate the statistical significance of this as a factor group in future work.

Table 46. Usage of *–ndo* by off-island and on-island Bonaire speakers

	Spent time off-island				*Remained on island*			
	-ndo	plain	Total	% apps	*-ndo*	plain	Total	% apps
18-30	--	--	--	--	13	358	371	3.50%
31-50	11	180	191	5.76%	4	273	277	1.44%
51-70	6	96	102	5.88%	5	208	213	2.35%
71+	--	--	--	--	1	124	125	0.81%
Total	17	276	293	5.80%	23	963	986	2.33%
Total Bonaire	40	1239	1279	3.13%	40	1239	1279	3.13%

[117] The data in Table 46 represent two exceptions to this. Living off-island only affects Bonaire speakers' language if they are in contact with a speech community that uses *–ndo* with some frequency. This would include Aruba, Curaçao, and cities in the Netherlands with significant numbers of Papiamentu speakers from Aruba and Curaçao. Ruthmila Goedgedrag (#125, age 23) was interviewed only about a week after she returned from university in the Netherlands. Unlike most Antilleans, who attend universities in large cities, she went to university in a remote area of the Netherlands, where there are very few Antilleans. I grouped her with the 'on island' speakers since she did not have the requisite contact with Antilleans from Aruba or Curaçao. (She used 1 token of *–ndo* out of 104 verbs coded, and 1 more immediately after I stopped recording). For years she spoke Dutch almost exclusively, Dutch (and not any form of Papiamentu) was prestigious, and contact with Dutch does not favor *–ndo* use at all since there is no analogous form in Dutch. The other exceptional speaker was Alfredo Mercera (#110, age 83). He is the only speaker represented in the 71+ group. Alfredo spent many years working on a cargo ship, and had contact primarily with Surinamese sailors. He spoke Sranan Tongo and Dutch on the ship, and had little contact with Aruba or Curaçao speakers modeling *-ndo* prestige.

6.2.3 Summary

In 1918, Hoyer described the *–ndo* affix as a "recent borrowing" used only with Iberian verbs and occurring in absolutive phrases. Through the 1980s authors have repeated that *–ndo* was "recently borrowed", but add the progressive function to the repertoire of the affix. None has noted that only the absolutive use is mentioned in the early descriptions, and not the *-ndo* used with *ta* or *tabata* to express progressive aspect, though this is not entirely surprising since all of the relevant works are synchronic descriptions rather than diachronic studies (Birmingham 1971, Goilo 1953, Howe 1994, Maurer 1986, Munteanu 1996, Wattman 1953). Here I have shown that gerundive *–ndo* was attested in texts as early as the beginning of the 19th century in Aruba, and was productive on Aruba and Curaçao by the end of the 19th century. The periphrastic progressive construction was attested in texts as early as 1893, and used productively by the middle of the 20th century (earlier on Curaçao). Both forms are used by speakers of all ages, but are less common in the 71+ age group.

Interview results indicate that this variable behaves very much like any other sociolinguistic variable considered prestigious: it is sensitive to both linguistic and social factors, it is used more commonly in formal speech situations, and Bonaire speakers who have had extensive contact with Aruba and Curaçao show evidence of a hypercorrect pattern of the second highest status group (Labov 1966, 1972). Both real and apparent time evidence show that *–ndo* is a change in progress, and this pattern, too, is identical to change in progress in monolingual communities (Bailey et al. 1991). The language contact situation also seems to provide opportunities for social factors to condition linguistic variation in ways not found in monolingual communities. While most monolingual communities have stronger linguistic than social constraints on linguistic variation, (Dennis Preston, p.c.), here

we find that social factors relating to speakers' abilities in and attitudes toward the languages in the contact situation, i.e. factors unique to multilingual communities, offer the strongest constraints on variation.

The prevalence of social factors in the constraint models does not mitigate the role of linguistic factors. Almost all actions 'in progress' are marked with *–ndo* (31, 32, 33). In addition, habitual activities are favored *–ndo* in the Curaçao texts (33, 34, 35). With respect to semantics, durative and dynamic actions favor *–ndo*, i.e. accomplishments (31, 32) which have a clear goal or endpoint, and activities (33, 35) which do not. Not all instances of *–ndo* follow these patterns, however. A stative verb may be marked by *–ndo* if it is a new (36) or temporary state, or if a non-stative verb is used to indicate a state of existence (37, 38). An achievement repeated iteratively may also be marked with *–ndo* (39). Sanchez (2005) compares these exceptional cases to Spanish and English ones, showing that Papiamentu *-ndo* patterns more like English *–ing* than Spanish *–ndo*, except for four Aruba speakers (L1 Papiamentu) who have achieved near native fluency in Spanish or who have particularly close family ties to Spanish speakers.

(31) *E ana aki mi* ***ta kabando****?*
DEF year here I IMP finish-ger
'This year that I'm finishing right now?' Gregorio Mateo, age 18 (#6)

(32) *Ora k'e* ***tata mur-iendo****, nos a yora ...*
when COMP.3p IMP-P die-GER we PERF cry
'When he was dying, we cried...' (lit. 'Time that he was dying...')
Silvia Thiel, age 75 (#38)

(33) *Mi ta hana polis den sierto momento* ***ta has-iendo*** *nan best, pero...*
I IMP find police in certain moment IMP do-GER their best but
'I find that the police at times are doing their best, but...'
Marcolina Willems, 30 (#14)

(34) *Mi* ***ta baiendo*** *skol.*
I IMP go-GER school
'I'm going to school (as opposed to having a job).' Gregorio Mateo, age 18 (#6)

(35) *Ami mes* ***tabata papiando*** *hulandes pero mi mamanan*
I self IMP-PAST speak-GER Dutch but my mama-PL
'I myself was speaking Dutch (used to speak Dutch) but my parents

tabata papia papiamento ku mi.
IMP-PAST speak-GER with me Gregorio Mateo, age 18 (#6)
used to speak (habitually) Papiamento with me.'

(36) *Awor si, pasobra e* ***ta kedando*** *muchu su so.*
now yes because 3p sg IMP keep-GER a lot POSS alone
'Now, yes, because she's staying a lot alone/lonely.' Raquel Carolina, 52 (#4)

(37) *Bo no kier pa tin un persona* ***ta canando rond*** *ku adishon di droga....*
2p sg no want for have a person IMP walk-GER around with addiction of drugs...
'You don't want to have a person walking around with drug addiction...'
Marcolina Willems, 30 (#14)

(38) *Nan ta calcula ku tin un dies pa dies sinku mil*
3p pl IMP calculate REL have a ten to fifteen thousand
'They estimate that there are 10 to 15 thousand

ilegal ***ta canando rond*** *na aruba. ku ta hopi.*
illegals IMP walk-GER around in Aruba. REL IMP a lot.
illegals walking around in Aruba. Which is a lot.'
Marcolina Willems, 30 (#14)

(39) *Nos* ***ta poniendo*** *hopi mas palabra...vooral na Aruba nos ta papia mas ingles.*
we IMP put-GER very more word...especially in Aruba we IMP speak more Eng
'We're putting a lot of words...especially in Aruba we speak more English.'
Raquel Carolina, 52 (#4)

Etymology was excluded from every analysis because no Germanic verbs in this data set take progressive *–ndo*[118]. Some authors have noted *–ndo* with a couple of Dutch

[118] In texts, three Germanic verbs took gerundive *–ndo*: *leza* 'read', *trapa* 'step on', and *weta* 'see'. In speech, *lesa* and *respekta* 'respect' took gerundive *–ndo.* Note that all four end in 'a', making them fit nicely into the phonological pattern of Iberian verbs.

verbs (e.g. *zuai* 'swing') (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994). Verbs ending in vowels phonologically resemble Iberian verbs. I found no such examples in interviews or texts, but I did overhear one. At a family gathering in Aruba, I was playing dominoes with Melissa, age 10, and two of her uncles. It was Melissa's turn, and she was taking a long time to play a domino. One of the uncles told her to hurry up. She said,

(40) Mi ta wakiendo.
1sg IMP watch-GER
'I'm looking.' Melissa, age 10

I recorded this example as soon as I could because I had not encountered one like it before. I also thought it was interesting that the uncles found this utterance unremarkable. They did not comment on her usage of *wakiendo,* only the fact that she was taking too long to play. I took this as evidence that this form was at least marginally acceptable to them. Later on Curaçao, I had an amazingly perfect opportunity to test this hypothesis. I was playing a dominoes-like game with Lena El-Nagib, age 37 (#54) and her two sons. It was my turn and I was taking a long time. Someone told me to hurry up, and I said, *Mi ta wakiendo!* They all laughed, and Lena corrected me, *Mi ta mirando.* I tried to insist that *wakiendo* sounded fine, but not even the boys (ages 12 and 10) supported me.

As with the linguistic constraints eliminated from the analysis in systemic morphological borrowing, it is significant that verb etymology is excluded from every *–ndo* analysis. This variable has not yet reached a level of integration that allows it to be added to Germanic verbs that look like Germanic verbs.

Table 47 gives the distribution of verbs of various etymologies. Because I largely relied on Maduro's (1953) classifications, many verbs in this data set are of 'unknown'

etymology. Most 'unknown' verbs, however, appear to be Iberian. All verbs that occurred in texts or interviews here are listed in Appendix D with their etymologies, and I invite the reader to draw her own conclusions. According to Table 47, only about 3-4% of verb tokens used in interviews are Germanic. Compare this to Table 48, which shows the etymologies of all verb types from interviews and texts—about 13% of all verb types used here were Germanic, and only 20% were clearly Iberian using the same criteria as was used for Table 47. Thus, a small number of Iberian verb types are used frequently in speech.

Table 47. Proportions of etymologies of verb tokens in interviews

	Tokens with -ndo			**All Verb Tokens**			**% Etymology of Tokens**		
	Germanic	*Iberian*	*Unknown*	*Germanic*	*Iberian*	*Unknown*	*Germanic*	*Iberian*	*Unknown*
Aruba	0	170	35	382	7810	1088	4.15%	84.16%	11.72%
Bonaire	0	33	7	36	931	151	3.22%	83.27%	13.51%
Curaçao	0	154	30	291	7430	1179	3.27%	83.48%	13.25%
Total	0	257	72	709	16171	2418	3.67%	83.8%	12.53%

Table 48. Proportion of etymologies of verb types from all data

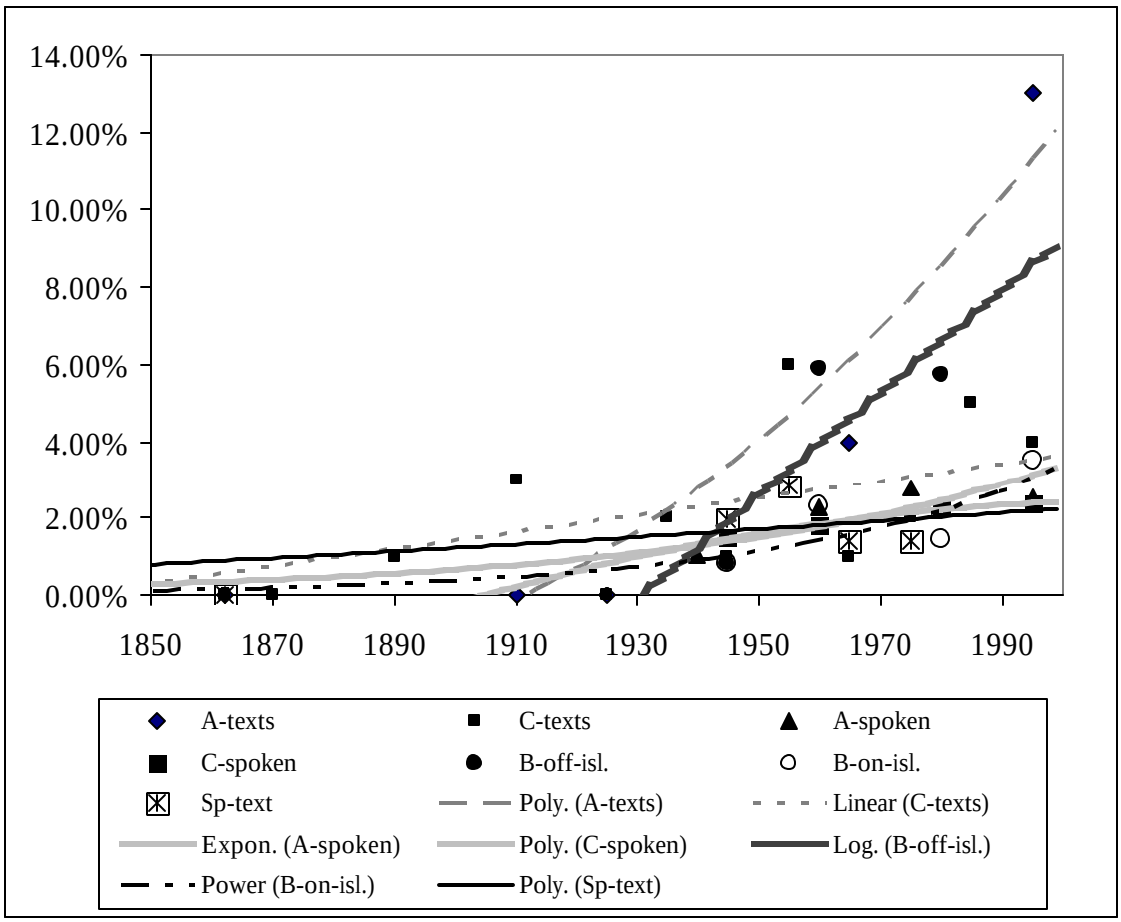
	Total	**Etymology of Types**			**% Etymology of Types**		
		Germanic	*Iberian*	*Unknown*	*Germanic*	*Iberian*	*Unknown*
Verb Types[119]	1041	138	216	687	13.3%	20.7%	65.9%

A regression analysis of the overall rate of use of *–ndo* marked verbs is presented in Figure 8. Data are from Aruba texts, Curaçao texts, Aruba interviews, Curaçao interviews, Bonaire interviews (off-island and on-island speakers separated), and Venezuelan Spanish texts (for comparison, taken from Sanchez 2002). Spanish texts show very little change over time (the lowest like in 2000), while Aruba texts show a sharp increase in progressive *–ndo*

[119] The complete list of verbs with etymologies is available in Appendix D.

soon after large numbers of English speakers flooded the island (highest line in 2000). Bonaire 'off island' speakers mimic this increase (second highest line in 2000). The rest of the lines bundle together—(from top to bottom in 2000) Curaçao texts, Aruba speech, Bonaire 'on-island' speech, Curaçao speech. Since all of the lines are above the Spanish one, and since the trajectories of Aruba texts and Bonaire 'off-island' speakers in particular are quite different from that of Spanish, there must be something else influencing the prestige use of this form—I argue that it is English, whose pressure was particularly strong on Aruba.

Figure 8. Regression Analysis of Progressive –Ndo, 1850-2000



Many of the social factors that Thomason and Kaufman (1988) rely on to explain contact-induced change were not very important here. If they were significant, they were among the weakest constraints conditioning this variable. For example, over time, progressive *–ndo* is only weakly sensitive to factors indicating 'amount and degree of bilingualism' at the community level (evaluated indirectly here via the demographic factors in Table 39 (page 176 above). The demographic factors selected as significant for Aruba and Curaçao were the weakest constraints in the model, and none were significant for Bonaire. Use of progressive *–ndo* increased after the introduction of English into the contact situation, but the drop in the number of L1 English speakers later in the 20th century was not accompanied by a decrease in the usage of this form. This finding indirectly supports 'length of time that speakers are bilingual' since the longer the contact situation persists the more borrowings there are, but does not support 'amount and degree of bilingualism'. Once a contact-induced change is started, removal of a substantial number of speakers of one of the languages in the contact situation responsible for starting a change does not erase or reverse the direction of the change.[120]

One set of social factors specific to language contact situations very strongly conditioned variation. Factors related to the abilities in and attitudes toward each of the languages in the contact environment determine how speakers use this variable.

[120] I tried to assess this statistically by playing with the numbers of speakers of the various languages. For example, if there were 5% Spanish speakers in 1970 and 1980, and only 1% in 1990, I coded 1990 as if the number of Spanish speakers had not dropped. This is a way of representing the fact that once an influence is introduced, it can't be 'taken back'. These factor groups were not selected as significant, and the runs presented earlier in this chapter reflect the actual numbers of speakers.

6.3 The passive construction

The second morphological variable selected for study is the passive construction, which consists of a TMA marker, a passivizing verb, and a past participle. There are three possible passivizing verbs in Papiamentu: *ser*, *wordu*, and *keda*. In earlier texts, the passivizing verb is usually written as *worde*, as it is in Dutch. This word was phonologically integrated into Papiamentu as *wordu* (*wordo* in Aruba), and in later texts the orthography matches the pronunciation. It is not clear if the form written as *worde* was pronounced exactly as in Dutch or phonologically integrated in the initial phase of its borrowing into Papiamentu.

For textual data, each of the three passivizing verbs was run in GoldVarb as a rule application, in comparison to the other two as non-applications. For spoken data, there was one *ser* passive, one *keda* passive, and all the rest were *wordu* passives. There is not enough variation in this data for GoldVarb to be used (it requires more than one token of each dependent variable), so multivariate statistical results are not presented. However, observations about the data are made, and some tentative conclusions can be drawn.

6.3.1 Textual analysis of the passive construction

6.3.1.1 Earliest attestations of passive constructions

The diachronic aspect of Papiamentu's passive construction has received scant attention in the literature. In fact, all aspects of Papiamentu's passive are underresearched (but cf. Eckkrammer 2004). Howe (1994) argues that the *ser* passive is the most traditional form, and most researchers agree that *keda* is a newer form on the rise. My data paint a completely different picture (Table 49): *wordu* passives are the first attested (1852 in Curaçao, 1862 in Aruba), while *ser* and *keda* passives first appear in texts around the same

time, over 80 years after *wordu* passives (1933 in Curaçao, 1954 in Aruba). A fourth type of passive exists as well, one which may be the oldest of all: TMA marker + PAST PARTICIPLE (Kouwenberg, p.c.). Silvia Kouwenberg (p.c.) pointed out several examples of this kind of passive to me from the 1863 Proclamasjon (freeing slaves). I did not examine these auxiliariless passives in this project, but in the future I will compare their use to that of the *ser/wordu/keda* passives. Here, I simply hypothesize that passives without a passivizing verb existed in Papiamentu before passivizing verbs were borrowed, and in fact served as a framework onto which the foreign passivizing verbs were later borrowed.

Table 49. Earliest attestations and first productive uses of passive constructions in Aruba and Curaçao texts

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

The *wordu* passives were almost certainly first used in Papiamentu as an interference feature in the speech of L1 Dutch speakers, and then caught on with native Papiamentu speakers as a prestige borrowing. We can see this clearly from the first attestation of a *wordu* passive (41), from Martinus Joannes Niewindt's 1852 catechism. Niewindt was a Dutch priest. He arrived on Curaçao in 1824, and remained on the island until his death in 1860. He published his first catechism in 1826 (no copies remain), and a second one in 1837 (recently republished—contains no tokens of the *wordu* passive). As of 1843, Niewindt had his own printing facilities in Barber, on the west end of the island where many slaves lived. There, he edited and produced many religious documents for the slaves of Curaçao

(Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma 2001). The 1852 catechism has Papiamentu text on the left hand page, and a Dutch translation on the facing page. Example (41) is given as a response to the question, "*Kieko ta Matrimonio ó Kasamentoe*? 'What is matrimony or marriage?'" (Niewindt 1852:77). The agent, presumably God, is not overtly expressed. Example (41) also illustrates the passive construction without a passivizing verb (both passives are bolded). Here, the agent is overtly expressed, marked by the preposition *pa*. The Dutch translation from the catechism is given in addition to the English translation. Note that the Papiamentu *worde* passive is a *worde* passive in Dutch, too, and the Papiamentu plain passive is not a real passive in Dutch but rather a relative clause modifying 'a sacrament'. Literally translated, the first clause of (41) in Dutch is, 'A Sacrament instituted by our Savior Jesus Christ.' The *worde* passive in the Papiamentu version of (41) is the only one in this catechism, though there are many other *worde* passives in the Dutch translation. It would appear that this one passivizing verb slipped past Niewindt into the Papiamentu version (who presumably translated the document). If this happened in his writing, we can be reasonably sure that it happened in his speech as well.

(41)	*Oen*	*sakramentoe*	*koe*	***ta***	***instituwier***	***pa***	*nos*	*senjoor*	*hesoe*	*kristoe,*
	one	sacrament	which	COP	institute	by	our	Savior	Jesus	Christ

den	*kwaal*	*homber*	*i*	*moeheer*	***ta***	***worde***	***oenier,***	*i*	*ta*	*risibie*
in	which	man	and	woman	COP	PASS	unite	and	IMP	receive

gracia	*pa*	*bieba*	*na*	*paas*	*i*	*oenion*	*i*	*pa*	*kria*	*nan*
blessing	for	live	in	peace	and	union	and	for	raise	3p-PL

jioenan	*pa*	*gloria*	*di*	*Dioos.*
child-PL	for	glory	of	God.

"Vr. Wat is het Huwelijk? A. Een Sacrament door onzen Heer Jesus Christus **ingesteld**, in hetwelk een man en eene vrouw **vereenigd worden**, en genade ontvangen, om in vrede en eendragt te leven, en hunne kinderen tot Gods eer op te brengen." (Niewindt 1852:78, 80)

"A Sacrament that **is instituted** by our Savior Jesus Christ in which man and woman **are united**, and receive a blessing to live in peace and union and to raise their children for the glory of God." (Niewindt 1852: 77, 79)

Examples (42) and (43) are two of several from an 1862 catechism, published on Curaçao but written by Arubans for the use of Aruban Protestants. The question is *"Kiko e religion ta nifika?"* 'What does "religion" mean?', and the (long) response begins with 'Religion is the honoring of God, with all our souls, with all our hearts, and with all our forces. God, who created the world, and all that is in it, the God who is master of the heavens and the earth, cannot live in a big house (temple) that people make.' Next comes (42), which has an overt agent marked by *di*. *Door di* is reported in the literature as a possible agentive marker, but not *di* alone. However, I found several examples with *di* as an agentive marker (including (45) below), but not enough to analyze statistically.[121] Example (43) is taken from later in the catechism, in a section describing when and where Jesus entered the world, and how his birth is celebrated.

(42)	*i*	*Eel*	*no*	*poor*	***worde***	***sierbie***	***di***	*heende*	*nan*	*tampoko,*	*meeskoos,*	
	and	He	no	able	PASS	serve	by	people	PL	either	same thing	
koe	*Eel*	*meesteer*	*alguoen*	*koos,*	*pasoba*	*Eel*	*mees*	*a*	*doena*	*e*	*bida*	
COMP	He	need	some	thing	because	He	self	PERF	give	the	life	

[121] There were not enough agents realized marked by any preposition to analyze statistically. One question I had at the start of this project was whether or not the preposition marking the agent has to be of the same etymology as the passivizing verb. I found enough examples to say that this is probably not the case, but not enough to statistically analyze to determine what, if anything, is different about *pa* and *(door) di* as agentive markers.

di	*heende*	*nan,*	*i*	*e*	*alma*	*i*	*toer*	*oter*	*koos*	*pa*	*nan*	*toer.*
of	people	PL	and	the	soul	and	all	other	thing	for	3p PL	all

"…and He cannot be served by people either, just like he doesn't need anything, because He Himself gave life to people, and the soul and all other things for them all." (Muller and Neuman 1862: 1)

(43)	*E*	*naseemeentoe*	*di*	*Hesoe*	*Kriestoe*	***ta***	***worde***	***célébraar***	*pa*	*noos*	*dia*
	the	birth	of	Jesus	Christ	IMP	PASS	celebrate	by	our	day

di	*fieesta*	*di*	*Kriestoe*	*(Kersmis)*	*25*	*December*
of	celebration	of	Christ	Christmas	25	December

"The birth of Jesus Christ is celebrated by our day of celebration of Christ (Christmas) 25 December." (Muller and Neuman 1862:16)

The earliest *ser* (44) and *keda* (45), (46) passives are found in Hoyer's 1933 history of Curaçao. Example (44) has an overtly expressed agent marked by *pa*; example (45) has an agent marked by *di*; (46) has no overtly marked agent. The origins of these forms are not so clear, and will be discussed in more detail after quantitative evidence and spoken data are presented. I will argue that the *ser* passive was probably introduced by L1 Spanish speakers as a calque on the *wordu* passives, and, following Munteanu (1996) but contrary to Eckkrammer (2004), that the *keda* passive is an interference feature from Spanish.

(44)	*…diferente*	*vez*	*el*	*a*	*hay'é*	*na*	*peligro*	*di*	***ser***
	different	time	he	PERF	find-himself	in	danger	of	be

maltratá	*pa*	*pueblo.*
mistreated	by	village

"...different times he (fiscal leader of the colony) found himself in danger of being mistreated by the people." (Hoyer 1933:24).

(45)	*E*	*decreto*	*a*	*duna*	*pa*	*resultado*	*cu*	*pronto*	*nos*
	the	decree	PERF	give	for	result	COMP	now	1pPL

costa	***a***	***queda***	***infestá***	***di***	*piratanan,*	*cu*	*tabata*	*entregá*	*nan*
coast	PERF	PASS	infest	by	pirate-PL	COMP	IMP-PAST	deliver	3pPL

na	*crimen*	*di*	*mas*	*horrible.*
in	crime	of	more	horrible

'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, who delivered them (Indians) into the most horrible crime.' (Hoyer 1933: 5).

(46)	*Cu*	*e*	*publicacion*	*tur*	*desunion*	*entre*	*partidonan*	***a***	***queda***
	with	the	publication	all	disunity	between	side-PL	PERF	PASS

termina,	*i*	***a***	***queda***	***existi***	*solamente*	*snoga*	*di*	*Punda,*
end	and	PERF	PASS	exist	only	synagogue	of	Punda

'Mikve Israel'.
Mikve Israel

'With the publication]1750, by the Prince of Orange Willem Carel Hendrik Friso, resolution ordering all Jews established on Curaçao to reconcile and unite, exhorting the Parnassims and Haham to not make distinctions between members of the community] all disunion between participants **was terminated**, and **there existed** only the synagogue of Punda, "Mikve Israel."' (Hoyer 1933: 20)

6.3.1.2 Statistical analysis of texts

The linguistic factor groups and factors tested are presented in Table 50. The factor groups are etymology of the verb, agent, preposition used to mark agent, and etymology of agent. The demographic factors presented in Table 27 (above) were also considered. Additional non-linguistic factor groups considered were genre, date (time period), and language context.

Table 50. Linguistic factors tested for the passive construction

Factor group	*List of Factors*
Etymology of verb, agent	Iberian Germanic unknown
Agent	realized not realized
Preposition (if agent expressed)	pa door di

The overall distribution of passive tokens for both islands is given in Table 51. Though there are almost twice as many Curaçao texts as Aruba texts, the total number of passive tokens is about even (171 for Aruba; 172 for Curacao). The passive construction is thus more frequently used in Aruba texts[122]. On both islands, *keda* is the least frequently used passivizing verb. However, the use of the other two verbs differs dramatically for Aruba and Curaçao. *Ser* is the most frequently used verb on Aruba (74.2% of passives), while *wordu* is the most frequently used on Curaçao (56.4%).

Table 51. Overall distribution of passive tokens in texts from Aruba and Curaçao

	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

As indicated above, GoldVarb runs were made for each of the three passivizing verbs as a rule application with the other two as non-applications, and the Aruba data was run separately from the Curaçao data. These results are presented in Tables 52 (Aruba) and

[122] While it is true that texts vary greatly in length, and so should not be compared on a one to one basis, there is significantly more text from Curaçao considered here. The various translated religious documents are particularly long in comparison to other text types, such as newspaper articles, and are, for the most part, written by and/or for residents of Curaçao.

54 (Curaçao). I will first discuss the constraint model for each island, and then I will compare the way each passivizing verb is used on the two islands.

Table 52. GoldVarb results for Aruba texts, passive construction

Application	Factor Group	Factor	Weights
ser	*% Spanish speakers and*	Span 2 and Eng 3 (1981, 1991)	0.527
	% English speakers	Span 1 and Eng 2 (1960)	0.228
	Genre	fiction	0.691
		article	0.470
	log likelihood=-69.873	input=0.615	
wordu	*Time period*	1990-1999	0.817
		1960-1969	0.000
	% 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	
keda	*Verb etymology*	Germanic	0.948
		Iberian	0.483
	Genre	fiction	0.765
		article	0.456
	% Spanish speakers	0.1-1.5%, 1911-1943, 1960-1980	0.546
		2-8%, 1943-1960,1980-2000	0.492
	log likelihood = -31.075	input = 0.063	

At the start of this investigation, no conditioning factors governing the choice of passivizing verb were immediately evident, and the literature did not suggest any. After quantitative analysis, I'm not sure that they are any more evident. The *ser* passives are by far the most frequently used in Aruba (74.2%). They are more commonly found in fiction, and favored in the 1980s and 1990s, as the populations of L1 English and Spanish speakers increased. The *wordu* passives are favored in the 1990s and with fewer L1 Spanish speakers on the island. Finally, Germanic verbs strongly favor the *keda* passive. The *keda* passive is more common in fiction, and also with fewer L1 Spanish speakers on the island.

The only solid trend here appears to be that the *ser* passive is replacing the *wordu* and *keda* passives as the proportion of L1 Spanish speakers increases on Aruba. Other results are more tenuous. The *ser* and *keda* passives are favored in fiction and disfavored in newspaper articles according to these quantitative results, but they are perceived as being quite frequent in newspapers (even overly so, according to some prescriptivists and linguistically observant lay people of Curaçao). Verb etymology was included in the analysis primarily for consideration with *ser* vs. *wordu*: since one is of Iberian origin and one is of Germanic origin, it was thought that perhaps these forms might be favored with verbs of the same etymology. However, this factor group was only significant for *keda* passives. I am particularly suspect of this finding since there were only 12 *keda* passives in the Aruba data set, and only one of these was with a Germanic verb. Further, the so-called Germanic verb in question is *respeta* 'respect'. Maduro (1953) cites its source as Germanic, but regardless of its original source, it is pronounced in Papiamentu like Spanish *respeta* 'respect', and I doubt that speakers would consider it Germanic.

The last point about the Aruba data is that there is interaction between the two factor groups selected as significant for the *wordu* passives (Table 53). The weight of Spanish speakers in the 1960s was 1, and it was 2 in the 1990s. When these two factor groups are combined, however, no factor groups are selected as significant, so I left them in the constraint model above.

Table 53. Interaction between % Spanish speakers and date; wordu passives in Aruba texts

	1960s	*1990s*	*Total*
1	2 / 11	0 / 0	2 / 11
2	0 / 0	18 / 49	18 / 49
Total	2 / 11	18 / 49	20/ 60

The constraint model for Curaçao is given in Table 54. The *wordu* passives are more frequent in Curaçao (56.4%), but not overwhelmingly so like the *ser* passive on Aruba. Curaçao *wordu* passives are favored in texts written when there were no English speakers on the island (i.e. 1912 and before), and also in the second half of the 20th century, but decreasingly so. They are favored in both fiction and newspaper articles, but not other kinds of non-fiction. The *ser* passives, on the other hand, are favored after 1913, in the writings of Portuguese-speaking Sephardic Jews, and in letters and non-fiction. They are disfavored in fiction and newspaper articles. Finally, the *keda* passives are favored when there are more Spanish speakers on the island (the 1930s, 1980s, and 1990s), in letters and news articles but not other non-fiction, and in texts written by L1 Papiamentu speakers. The *keda* passives are significantly more likely to have agents not realized.

Table 54. GoldVarb results for Curaçao texts, passive construction

Application	**Factor Group**	**Factor**	**Weights**
ser	*% Dutch speakers*	Dutch 3, English 2 (1943, 1992, 2000)	0.956
	% English speakers	Dutch 3, English 1 (1960)	0.704
		Dutch 2, English 1 (1981)	0.635
		Dutch 2, English 0 (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	

Application	***Factor Group***	***Factor***	***Weights***
wordu	*% English speakers*	0	0.969
		1	0.150
		2	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	
keda	*Date and % Spanish speakers*	1930-1939, 2	0.902
		1990-1999, 2	0.772
		1980-1989, 2	0.632
		1960-1969, 1	0.051
	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	

Comparing across islands, we see that *ser* passives are favored in recent years, while *wordu* passives were favored more in the past for Curaçao (results for Aruba texts are inconclusive given the interaction in factor groups). *Keda* passives are favored after contact with Spanish speakers. With respect to genre, Aruba passives (*ser* and *keda*) are favored in fiction, while Curaçao *ser* and *keda* passives are favored in letters, articles, and non-fiction. Curaçao's *wordu* passives are favored in fiction.

6.3.2 Analysis of the passive construction in spoken data

Table 54 shows the passives found in spoken data. Bonaire speakers used Germanic verbs (47, 48, 49, 50). One of these is *respeta*, which is arguably Iberian. Two of the other three Germanic verbs are of English origin, relating to airplane travel. Other verbs used in passive constructions were Iberian (51, 52) or of unknown origin. Thus, verb etymology is probably not a significant conditioning factor. Agents are rarely realized in speech—only one example per island (53, 54, 55). With only one *ser* passive (56) and one *keda* passive (57), GoldVarb could not be run. Some generalizations can be made about how passives are used, but these were not tested statistically and do not hold for all examples. The example in (55) mitigates blame for racial tensions (a very sticky subject). The examples in (48, 49, 51, 56) all refer to rules of some kind. The rule is expressed via a passive.

Table 55. Passive constructions in spoken data

	Total			*Verb Etymology of WORDU*			*Etymology of*		*Agents realized*		
	wordu	*ser*	*keda*	*Ger*	*Iber*	*Unk*	SER	KEDA	*wordu*	*ser*	*keda*
Aruba	30			0	24	6			1		
Bonaire	31	1	1	4	27	0	?	I	1		
Curaçao	37			0	18	19			1		
Total	98	1	1	4	69	25			4	0	0

(47) *Anto* *bo* *ta* ***wordu*** ***transfer*** *kada* *biaha* *na* *kada* *isla*
then 2sg IMP PASS transfer each trip on each island

'Then you get transferred each trip on each island.' (#118)

(48) *bo* *ta* ***wordu*** ***gestraf.***
2sg IMP PASS PP-punish

'You get punished.' (#127)

(49) *Bo* *tin* *ku* *respeta* *hende* *pa* *bo* ***wordu*** ***respetá.***
2sg have COMP respect people for 2sg PASS respect

'You have to respect people so you'll be respected.' (#127)

(50) *No* *ku* *e* *mester* ***wordu*** ***di check-in*** *na* *e*
NEG COMP 3sg must PASS PP-check-in in the

momentu *ey*
moment that

'Not that he needed to be checked in at that moment.' (#131)

(51) *E* *mester* *wordo* *poní* *na* *silent* *of* *pagá.* *Mi* *sa* *ku* *tin*
3sg must PASS put on silent or off 1sp know COMP have

skol *ku* *ta* *exigi* *no* *mach* *di* ***wordu*** ***poní*** *na* *nan*
school COMP IMP require no must PASS put on 3pl-POSS

mesa.
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. (#9)

(52) *Hulandes* *tabata* *un* *lengua* *ku* *semper* *a* ***wordu***
Dutch IMP-PAST a language COMP always PERF PASS

papiá *ora* *kosnan* *oficial,* *na* *skol.*
spoken when thing-PL official in school

'Dutch was a language that was always spoken during official things in school. (#63)

(53) *Nos* *tin* *hopi* *palabra* *den* *e* *papiamentu* *antyano* *ku*
1pl have many work in the speaking Antillean COMP

ta ***wordu*** ***uzá*** *p'* *e* *bieunan*
IMP PASS used by the old-PL

'We have a lot of words in the Antillean speaking that are used by the old people. (#29)

(54)	*Anto*	*mi*	*ta*	*kere*	*ku*	*tur*	*hende*	*ta*	***wordu***	***tumá***
	then	1sg	IMP	believe	COMP	all	people	IMP	PASS	take

door di	*nan*	*Dios.*
by	3pl-POSS	God.

'Then I think that everybody will be taken (to heaven or whereever) by their God. (#127)

(55)	*E*	*tenshon*	*ta*	***wordu***	***kriá***	*tin*	*biaha*	*door di*	*e*	*makamba*
	the	tension	IMP	PASS	foster	exist	time	by	the	Dutch

mes.
same

'The (racial) tension is fostered sometimes by the Dutch themselves.' (#95)

(56)	*Paso*	*den*	*bijbel*	*ta*	*bisa*	*no*	*juzga*	*pa*	*bo*	***no***
	because	in	Bible	IMP	say	NEG	judge	for	2sg	NEG

ser	***juzgá***
PASS	judged

Because in the Bible it says, "Don't judge (others) so that you won't be judged."' (#127)

(57)	*UNESCO*	*a*	*pone*	*komo*	*un*	*di*	*ponencia-nan*	*di*	*nan*	*ta*
	UNESCO	PERF	put	as	one	of	presentation-PL	of	3pl	COP

ku	*ta*	*keda*	*miho*	***a***	***keda***	***probá***	*sientifikamente*	*ku*
COMP	IMP	keep	better	PERF	PASS	proven	scientifically	COMP

ta	*miyo*	*un*	*mucha*	*ta*	*hasi*	*den*	*su*	*mesun*	*idioma*.
COP	better	a	child	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.' (#113)

6.3.3 Summary

The most likely explanation for the rise of the *wordu* passives is that they are the result of an interference feature from Dutch which was later picked up by L1 Papiamentu speakers as a prestige borrowing as described in 6.3.1.1.

The source of the *ser* passive is more mysterious. Although a conjugated form of *ser* is used in conjunction with the past participle in Spanish in the formation of passive constructions, the unconjugated *ser* rarely appears in that position, particularly in spoken Spanish, so the Papiamentu *ser* passive is unlikely to be the simple result of interference from Spanish later adopted by L1 Papiamentu speakers. One possible source is bilingual (L1 Papiamentu) speakers themselves—they could have simply decided to adopt Spanish *ser* for this purpose. In support of that proposal, Eckkrammer (2004) indicates that Spanish *ser* is used (albeit rarely) in Papiamentu in phrases such as *ser humano* 'being human', meaning that *ser* exists in Papiamentu independent of this passive construction. Next, Eckkrammer suggests that Papiamentu speakers extended the form from its use in noun phrases to the passive construction.

I argue that a more plausible source is bilingual (L1 Spanish) speakers. Some L1 Papiamentu speakers indicated to me in interviews that they did not like to read the daily newspaper *Diario* for linguistic reasons—Latinos from nearby Venezuela and Colombia wrote some of the articles and the Papiamentu speakers felt that they were too 'Spanishy'. I was not able to confirm this finding independently, but if it is true, I could imagine L1 Spanish speakers becoming fluent in Papiamentu quite easily, but not feeling comfortable with the Dutch-derived *wordu* passive, deciding to substitute something from Spanish, and settling on *ser*. The reason that I don't think that L1 Papiamentu speakers were involved is

because L1 Papiamentu speakers are educated in Dutch, and as such, they would know that *wordu* means 'become' in Dutch and so is not semantically equivalent to Spanish *ser*, even though these are the most common passivizers in the respective languages. L1 Spanish speakers, on the other hand, often do not have a strong grasp of Dutch, and may not realize that *wordu* and *ser* are not, in fact, equivalent. If Spanish speakers simply associate *wordu* with 'passivizing verb', and want to replace *wordu* with something from Spanish, the Spanish passivizing verb *ser* would be the logical choice. This position is supported by quantitative evidence showing that *ser* passives are favored in Aruba texts (*6.3.1.2*) when more L1 Spanish speakers are present there, and by Morton's (2005) analysis of the many mutual influences of a Spanish-based creole and Spanish in a long-standing diglossic community.

Unlike *wordu* and *ser*, *keda* is used in Papiamentu as a verb meaning 'keep' or 'stay' independent of its role as a passivizing verb. This verb was derived from Spanish *quedar* 'stay' or 'remain'. It is not part of the passive construction in Spanish, and perhaps for this reason Eckkrammer (2004) argues that the *keda* passive in Papiamentu is a creole-internal development which occurred in response to a prescriptive insistence that the passive voice (with *wordu*) be avoided. My data (especially the interviews) do not support this hypothesis however: why wouldn't an internal development be more common in speech, rather than less? Eckkrammer's data are written only, so this situation would not have been evident to her.

The best evidence for the origin of the *keda* passive comes from Spanish: *quedar* as an auxiliary verb used with the past participle in Spanish is used to mean 'to be or become' (Ramondino 2002). Munteanu (1996) argues that Papiamentu's *keda* passive is an interference feature from Spanish, which makes perfect sense in light of the way that *quedar*

is used in Spanish. Since this construction is very circumscribed and lexically specific, I did not investigate it as part of the morphological system, but I'd like to expand that analysis to include such cases. The parallels are obvious: this is another case where a Spanish form is calqued onto a Papiamentu form, though I suspect that, unlike the *ser* passive introduced by L1 Spanish speakers, the *keda* passive was initiated by L1 Papiamentu speakers. *queda* ['become'] + PAST PARTICIPLE; *wordu* ['become'] PAST PARTICIPLE In this respect, I agree with Eckkrammer (the *keda* passive was initiated by L1 Papiamentu speakers), but I argue that it is a contact-induced change, not an internal development.

Despite all evidence to the contrary, I resist the idea that these three passivizing verbs are completely interchangeable. In future research I will consider animacy of the logical subject and agent, TMA markers on the passivizing verb, and number of syllables in the past participle as potential conditioning linguistic factors.

6.4 Summary of Morphological Borrowing

Here we saw that in the 'big picture' of morphological borrowing, it is linguistic factors which primarily determine what morphemes (if any) get borrowed. Some of the proposed linguistic constraints were never violated in this data set, and so could not be analyzed by the statistical program. I argue that, rather than being irrelevant, they indicate very strong constraints on structural borrowing. While it may be possible for them to be violated in some contact situation, they were never violated here. Quantifiable components of other proposed linguistic constraints were selected as significant in a multivariate statistical analysis. The inviolable and statistically significant factors support these proposed linguistic constraints on borrowing: structural compatibility, morphological renewal, and

convergence. Structural simplification was not significant—in other words, borrowings do not result in simpler structures than those existing before the borrowing. However, borrowings that introduce increased complexity are avoided, unless the three other languages in the contact situation share the same feature. In this case, the borrowing technically introduces a complexity to one of the languages, but since the result is making four languages agree in structure, speakers do not seem to perceive this as a complexity, or else they consider it an acceptable complexity. Having all four languages agree may be cognitively simpler than having one remain different, even if here 'different' means 'simpler' within the grammar of one language alone. Finally, borrowing to fill a gap never occurred in this data set.

Contrary to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) proposal, most social and demographic factors were not selected as significant at the systemic level. Only percentage of L1 English speakers was significant, and this factor group alone was only significant for Aruba. For Curaçao, this factor group was only significant when combined with a linguistic factor group.

Though social factors do not seem to be strongly involved in determining which morphemes are borrowed vs. which ones are not (or are only weakly involved), we have seen that borrowed forms, once integrated into the grammar, can become sensitive to social factors. The progressive and *wordu* passive in Papiamentu are prestige borrowings, and pattern like other changes from above, even down to exhibiting the hypercorrect pattern of the second highest status group (Labov 1966, 1972; Winford 1978). The *ser* and *keda* passives were calqued onto the *wordu* passive by L1 Spanish and L1 Papiamentu speakers

respectively. There is not enough data to evaluate the social factors constraining the use of the various passive constructions.

There is a tremendous amount of data on progressive *–ndo*, however. It is integrated into the social situation of each island in its own way. It is socially stratified on Aruba (by class and prestige, it is not stratified on Curaçao, and it is stratified by 'on-island' vs. 'off-island' status for Bonaire. One difference between this data and that of monolingual societies is that social factors dealing with abilities in and attitudes toward the languages in the contact situation are significant and are often stronger constraints than linguistic factors. From this perspective, some of Thomason and Kaufman's ideas are supported. However, factors related to 'amount and degree of bilingualism' are only weakly relevant.

7 Borrowing of discourse function

Unlike the forms discussed in Chapter 6, the Papiamentu focus construction was part of the language already at the time when the first data is available. It is thought to have been part of the language since creolization. The focus (no pun intended) of this chapter is to determine if there has been any change in the way that the focus construction is used, and whether or not such a change can be linked to language contact.

7.1 Focus

A constituent is focused in Papiamentu by being moved to the front and preceded by *ta*. Any type of constituent can be focused, including verbs, but verb focusing works a bit differently. The focusing of verbs is known as 'predicate clefting', and will not be considered further here, though in future work I plan to incorporate an analysis of predicate clefting into the one I present here.

None of the languages in contact with Papiamentu has a similar construction used for focus, but each of the languages can focus entities. Dutch and Spanish tend to put topics first (old information), and new and/or focused entities last in the sentence (Green 1990, Kooij 1990). English uses stress for focus (Finegan 1990). In addition to fronting and the use of a focus marker, the focused constituent is also stressed in Papiamentu,[123] and apparently has been for a very long time, so this facet of Papiamentu focus fronting does not appear to have been influenced by English. This leaves the information status of fronted constituents to be considered if we are to discern any evidence of contact-induced change.

[123] In some earlier texts, the focused constituent is written in all caps to indicate that it receives a stressed pronunciation.

The literature on the Papiamentu focus construction (and on focus in creoles generally) emphasizes that the purpose of focus is to 'emphasize' the fronted constituent, but I can find no more detailed analysis. Is there any limit to the kinds of things that can be focused? To my knowledge, no one has considered this. What I present here is thus a first effort at a general account some of the discourse-pragmatic properties of Papiamentu. The dependent variable here was the information status of the focused element: given, evoked/inferable[124], new. I also considered the type of constituent focused, its thematic role, and whether or not the focused constituent was held in contrast with some other entity specified in or inferable from the discourse (Table 56). The social and demographic factors considered are the same as those considered for morphological borrowing (Tables 39 and 40, pages 176-177).

Table 56. Linguistic factors considered in analysis of focus constructions

Factor group	*Code*	*List of Factors*
Information status	g	given
	w	new
	e	evoked, inferable
Type of constituent fronted	n	noun phrase
	p	prepositional phrase
	a	adverbial, adjective
Thematic role	s	subject
	d	direct object
	i	indirect object
	g	goal
	p	peripheral
	e	equative (i.e. with copula)
Contrast	y	yes
	n	no

[124] Most constituents in this group were evoked, both in speech and texts. There were very few new constituents focused in texts, and only 3 new tokens from one speaker in speech. I grouped the inferrables with evoked entities because inferrables appeared to be permissible (like evoked entities).

7.1.1 Textual analysis of focus fronting

The overall distribution of focused tokens in texts is given in Table 57. Most focused constituents are 'given' or 'evoked/inferable'. Barely 5% of all tokens are 'new'. Examples of each type are given after the table. Example (58) is from an Aruba news article about a conflict between the Aruba Car Dealers Association and Customs over the importation of damaged cars from the U.S. The first part of the sentence describes the damaged cars, and in the second part of the sentence, the focused element is *e autonan aki* 'these cars'. This element is both a noun phrase and the subject of its clause. Example (59) is from a very long story told by Natividad Sillie. The gist of it is that an abandoned girl was adopted by a sea captain. When she came of age, he married her, and they were very happy, until a jealous colleague of the captain made him believe that his young wife had forsaken him. The captain kicked her out. She went to another country, disguised herself as a man, and began to work as a tailor. She was so good that her work came to the attention of the royal family, and she (disguised as a he) married the princess. Her secret was eventually discovered, at which point the princess utters (59). *Muhe* 'woman' is evoked with *omber* 'man.' The focused constituent here is a noun phrase and has an equative theta role (the copula indicates that *es omber ai* 'that man there' and *muhe* 'woman' are one and the same). Finally, (60) is the title of a non-fiction article about *ta* in Papiamentu by Raul Romer. The focused constituent is a wh-word *kua* 'which'.

Table 57. Overall distribution of focused tokens

	Given	*Evoked/ Inferable*	*New*	*TOTAL*
Aruba	29 (60.4%)	16 (33.3%)	3 (6.3%)	48
Curaçao	150 (58.8%)	93 (36.5%)	12 (4.4%)	255
TOTAL	179 (59.1%)	109 (36.0%)	15 (5.0%)	303

(58)	*Te*	*hasta*	*ta*	*bai*	*asina*	*leu*	*di*	*busca*	*autonan*	*cu*
	until	even	IMP	go	so	far	of	look for	auto-PL	COMP

Merca	*a*	*prohibí*	*pa*	*subi*	*caminda*	*bek,*	*despues*	*di*	*ta*
U.S.	PERF	prohibited	for	go up	road	back	after	of	IMP

envolví	*den*	*accidente,*	*ya*	*cu*	*e*	*daño*	*no*	*ta*	*garantizá*
envolved	in	accident	until	COMP	the	damage	NEG	IMP	guaranteed

seguridad	*mas*	*y*	***ta***	***e***	***autonan***	***aki***	*ta*	*wordo*	*drechá*	*y*
security	more	and	FOC	the	auto-PL	here	IMP	PASS	fixed	and

usa	*te*	*hasta*	*den*	*car*	*rental.*
used	until	even	in	car	rental

'They will even go so far as to look for cars which the U.S. has prohibited going back on the road after being envolved in accidents because the damage no longer guarantees security, and **it is these cars** that are fixed and used in car rentals. (text #43)

(59)	*Pues,*	*es*	*omber*	*ai …*	*no*	*ta*	*homber;*	***ta***	***muhe***	*e*	*ta;*
	well	the	man	there	NEG	COP	man	FOC	woman	3sg	COP

'Well, this man here is not a man; he's **a woman**.' (text #22)

(60)	***Ta***	***kua***	*dje*	*'ta'-nan*	*bo*	*ke*	*men?*
	FOC	which	of the	'ta'-PL	2sg	want	mean

'**Which** one of the 'ta's do you mean? (text #21)

Since the dependent variable has three possible values, I did three GoldVarb runs, with each value of the dependent variable (given, evoked/inferable, new) as an application value against the other values as non-applications. Data for Aruba and Curaçao were run together because of the small number of overall tokens. These results are presented in Table 58. For focused elements which are 'given', language context, theta role, and percentage of Spanish speakers are significant factor groups. A Dutch context (i.e. documents translated from Dutch or written in Papiamentu by an L1 Dutch speakers) strongly favors the focusing of a

'given' constituent, as does a small percentage of Spanish speakers on the island. Equative (59), peripherial,[125] and subject (58) theta roles are favored. For focused elements which are 'evoked or inferable', constituent type and language context are the significant factor groups. Wh-words, adverbials, and Papiamentu language contexts are favoring environments. Finally, for focused elements which are 'new' to the discourse, genre, percent Papiamentu speakers, and theta role are the significant factor groups. 'New' focused elements are disfavored in religious texts, fiction, and non-fiction, but favored in all other text types, as well as the television transcript. New subjects and objects are favored over peripheral elements. Also, this construction is most favored when there are the least percentage of Papiamentu speakers on the island.[126]

Table 58. GoldVarb results for textual analysis of focus construction

Dependent Variable	*Factor Groups*	*Factors*	*Weight*
Given	*Language*	Dutch	0.844
	Context	Papiamentu	0.387
Input 0.612	*Theta Role*	Equative	0.578
		Peripheral	0.573
Log likelihood =		Subject	0.509
-181.471		Direct Object	0.223
	% Spanish	0.1-1.5%	0.628
	Speakers	2-8%	0.440
Evoked / Inferable	*Type of Constituent*	wh- word	0.826
		adverbial	0.513
		noun phrase	0.448
Input 0.318		prepositional phrase	0.285
	Language Context	Papiamentu	0.594
Log likelihood =		Dutch	0.198
-38.665			

[125] These are comprised of things like prepositional phrases which are optional, i.e. which, if deleted, would not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

[126] Because data from both Aruba and Curaçao are included, it is not a simple matter to indicate in what years these percentages of Papiamentu speakers were present. Refer to Table 27, page 158.

Dependent Variable	*Factor Groups*	*Factors*	*Weight*
New	*Genre*	Poetry	0.997
		Television	0.974
		Dialogue	0.962
Input 0.022		Letter	0.934
		Article	0.928
Log likelihood =		Religious	0.531
-163.971		Non-fiction	0.451
		Fiction	0.264
	% Papiamentu Spkrs	69-77%	0.872
		89-100%	0.559
		78-88%	0.305
	Theta Role	Direct object	0.597
		Subject	0.554
		Peripheral	0.422

It is interesting that a 'Papiamentu context' favors the focusing of 'evoked or inferable' elements, while a 'Dutch context' favors the focusing of 'given' elements, and fewer Papiamentu speakers on an island favors the focusing of 'new' elements. This suggests that something about the Dutch language or Dutch speakers may be changing the way that this construction is used. Recall that Dutch tends to front old information. From texts, though, there are no other indicators of real time change, such as a difference in the types of focused elements over time. However, there are few tokens per time period, so it is possible that such a difference, if it exists, may not be evident from the textual data. We must consider the spoken data before any strong conclusions can be reached.

7.1.2 Analysis of focus fronting in spoken data

There are fewer overall focus constructions in the interviews than there were in texts. Before going into the statistical findings, I will give some general observations about the use of this construction. First, this construction really became salient for me when I got to

Bonaire (chronologically the third island on which I conducted fieldwork). Impressionistically, it was more frequently used there than it had been on the other islands, and many of the examples that I present below come from Bonaire speakers. Second, it is frequently used in conversation, though perhaps not formal speaking situations like the interviews. I tried to elicit narratives, and was quite successful given the circumstances, but these forms were not common even in narratives. Consider (61) below. It is a reasonably long narrative told by Loreta Dijkhoff (age 82,#1) about a time when she was angry with her husband because he was hiding money from her. He came home drunk (presumably having spent money that should have been hers) and she made him sleep in the chicken coop. (But she was thoughtful—she removed the chickens first, hung a lamp in there for him, and gave him a couple of boxes to sit on.) The entire narrative includes only one focused element. Examples (62), (63), and (64) are similarly the only examples of focused elements in narratives, told by various speakers.

(61)	*Ma*	*keda*	*binti ocho*	*aña*	*kasá.*	...	*E*	*ta*	*bai,*	*cuida*
	1sg-PERF	stay	28	year	married		3sg	IMP	go	care

f'e	*kas,*	*e*	*ta*	*bai*	*kuida*	*wanta*	*ròskam.*	*E*	*ta*	*tin*
for-the	house	3sg	IMP	go	care for	secure	chickens	3sg	IMP	have

dos	*carson,*	*tres*	*camisa,*	*ta ta*	*laba*	*p'e.*	*E*	*ta*	*sush'e*
2	pants	3	shirt	IMP-PAST	wash	for-3sg	3sg	IMP	dirty-3sg

mi	*ta*	*kohe*	*lab'e.*	*....mi*	*tin*	*ku*	*laba*	*pa*	*Mario*	*y*
1sg	IMP	take	wash'3sg	1sg	have	COMP	wash	for	Mario	and

e	*n*	*ta-*	*e*	*n*	*ta*	*haña-*	*paso*	*e*	*ta*	*bisa*	*nan*	*ta*
3sg	NEG	IMP	3sg	NEG	IMP	get	because	3sg	IMP	say	3pl	IMP

pag'e	*mane*	*nan*	*ta ta*	*pag'e*	*masha*	*bon.*	*Anto*	*ora*	*m'a*
pay 3sg	like	3pl	IMP-PAST	pay-3sg	very	well	then	when	1sg-PERF

haña	*sa*	*ku*	*nan*	*ta*	*pag'e*	*ku*	*e*	*ta*	*trese*	*ko'*
get	know	COMP	3pl	IMP	pay-3sg	COMP	3sg	IMP	trese	thing

pa	*mi*	*laba*	*p'e,*	*si*	*tin*	*ku*	*mi*	*n*	*ta ta*	*kome*	*tambe*
for	1sg	wash	for'3sg	yes	have	COMP	1sg	NEG	IMP-PAST	eat	also

n	*ta ta*	*puntra*	*di unda*	*ta ta*	*bin,*	*anto*	*e*	*dia*	*ey*
NEG	IMP-PAST	ask	where	IMP-PAST	com	then	the	day	there

m'a	*bira*	*loko*	*riba*	*dje.*	*Mi*	*ta*	*tin*	*un*	*koki*	*di*
1sg-PERF	become	crazy	on	3sg	1sg	IMP	have	a	cock	of

galina	*ku*	*ta*	*sera*	*na*	*yabi*	*pega.....*	*E*	*dia*	*ey*	*mi*	*sa*
chicken	COMP	IMP	close	in	key	close	the	day	there	1sg	know

k'e	*ta ta*	*bebe*	*esta*	*Mario*	*ta*	*burrachi,*	*m'a*
COMP-3sg	IMP-PAST	drink	that is	Mario	IMP	drunk	1sg-PERF

saka	*tur*	*e*	*galinanan*	*laga*	*nan*	*bai*	*afo.*	*Anto*	*m'a*	*pone*
take out	all	the	chicken-PL	let	3pl	go	out	then	1sg-PERF	put

dos	*pida*	*carton*	*den*	*ey den.*	*...M'a*	*kohe-*	*m'a*	*di ...*	*sali*	*bo*
2	piece	box	in	there	1sg-PERF	take	1sg-PERF	of	leave	2sg

bai	*pasobra*	*prome*	*mi*	*dal*	*bo...*	*E*	*muchanan*	*a*	*kore*	*bai*	*paso*
go	because	before	1sg	hit	2sg	the	child-PL	PERF	run	go	because

nan	*kore*	*bai,*	*'konde....*	*den*	*kura*	*mi*	*di*	*ku'ne,*	*anto*	*mi*	*ta ta*
3pl	run	go	hide	in	garden	1sg	say	with-3sg	then	1sg	IMP-PAST

hasi	*loke*	*mi*	*bisti*	*mi*	*di*	*kune*	*bo*	*ta*	*drenta*	*eyden,*
do	what	1sg	dress	1sg	say	with-3SG	2sf	IMP	enter	there-in

no?	*sinta*	*riba*	*e*	*karton*	*ey.*	*....e*	*di*	*'si*	*mi*	*sa*	*ku*	***ta***
no	sit	on	the	box	there	3sg	say	yes	1sg	know	COMP	IMP

eyden	*ta*	*mi*	*kamber.*	*Ey*	*bo*	*ke*	*m'a*	*bin*	*drumi.'*	*Mi*
there-in	IMP	1sg	room	there	2sg	want	1sg-PERF	come	sleep	1sg

ta	*bai.*	*El*	*a*	*bai*	*drumi*	*luga*	*ey*	*kon*	*su*
IMP	go	3sg	PERF	go	sleep	place	there	with	3sg-POSS

snark-snark.	*...m'a*	*hiba*	*un*	*lampi*	*chikitu,*	*e*	*kore*	*si*	*m'a*
snore-snore	1sg-PERF	bring	a	lamp	small	3sg	run	yes	1sg-PERF

kolge	*den*	*eyden*	*e*	*kai*	*galina,*	*anto*	*m'a*	*ser'e*	*nais.*
hang	in	there-in	the	pen	chicken	then	1sg-PERF	close-3sg	nice

Mainta	*ta*	*gritu*	*gritu*	*p'e*	*sali.*
morning	IMP	yell	yell	for-3sg	get out

I stayed married for 28 years. ... He [Mario, her husband] used to go take care of his [a neighbor's] house, take care of his chickens. He [the neighbor] had two pairs of pants, three shirts, and I used to wash them for him. He dirtied them, I took and washed them. ... I had to wash for Mario and it didn't- it didn't- because he [Mario] said they paid him like, they used to pay him very well. Then when I found out that they paid him for taking things home for *me* to wash for him, yes it was- I didn't eat anything, didn't ask where he had been, then that day I went crazy on him (angry). I had a bunch of chickens that were locked up [by the house]... That day I knew that he was drinking, that Mario was drunk. I took all the chickens out [of the pen] and let them go. Then I put two pieces of boxes in there. ... I took- I- 'Get out of here because- first before I hit you.' ... The kids ran because- they ran away and hid. ... in the garden I said to him [Mario] 'then I was doing what my dress-' I said to him 'you get in here, you hear? Sit on that box there.' .... He said 'Yes, I know that **it's in there** where my room is. You want me to sleep in there.' I left. He went to sleep in there with his snark-snark (snoring). .... I brought a little lamp, lit it, I hung it up in there in the chicken coop, then I locked it up good. In the morning he yelled and yelled to get out. (#1)

(62)	*Meneer*	*mi*	*no*	*ta*	*papia*	*ku*	*bo.*	*Ta*	*kune*	*mi*	*ta*
	mister	1sg	NEG	IMP	speak	with	2sg	FOC	with-3sg	1sg	IMP

papia.
speak

'Sir, I am not talking to you. It's with him, I'm talking. (#38)

(63)	***Ta***	***bo***	***mes***	*nos*	*ta*	*buska.*
	FOC	2sg	same	1pl	IMP	look for

'**You're** the one we're looking for.' (#110)

(64)	**Ta**	**piyo**	nos	ta	birando.
	FOC	worse	3pl	IMP	become-GER

'We're getting **worse**.' (#54)

The data from narratives compared to non-narrative contexts suggests that focus constructions in Papiamentu are not subject to a simple careful-casual speech style distinction (and this factor group was not significant for the interview data). I noticed the construction used more in conversations between two or more speakers where people were trying to negotiate a stance on an issue, or where one speaker made an incorrect statement or asked a question that the other speaker disagreed with. Frequently, if one person says something that the other disagrees with, the second person will respond with a focus construction. This kind of interaction occasionally happened with me in an interview setting. I will describe two such interactions which were recorded. In the first, I interviewed two Aruban women who worked together and wanted to be interviewed together. I asked if they believe in 'destiny'. The first answered yes, and added that she believes that a person's destiny is decided when the person is in their mother's womb. The second one said (65).

(65)	**Ta**	**bo**	**mes**	ta	traha	bo	destino
	FOC	2sg	same	IMP	make	2sg-POSS	destiny

'It's yourself who makes your destiny.' (#27)

The second instance was much more dramatic and involved. I was interviewing Ardis Rijna (age 63, #104), of Curaçao, in a small park. We were sitting at the (only) picnic table there. During the interview, a family visiting the park sat next to us to have some refreshments. There was a mother, a father, and several children. The mother was Antillean and the father was white European Dutch. The family was speaking in Dutch, but it was evident that the woman was listening to our interview in Papiamentu and was curious about what was going on. One of the children had Down's syndrome; he was sitting next to Ardis.

At some point Ardis spoke to the boy in Papiamentu. The mother gently said that he only speaks Dutch, and explained that the family lives in the Netherlands and they only taught Dutch at his school. The family was visiting Curaçao on the childrens' vacation. Ardis spoke to the boy in Dutch a bit, then we continued with the interview and they continued with their drinks, enjoying the afternoon.

The topic of the interview turned to May 30, 1969, the day of a violent race riot in Curaçao. I asked the speaker what he remembered about it. He remembered the date (everyone does), but wanted to confirm what day of the week that was, and asked the woman. In this way, he drew her into our discussion, and very soon they began jointly reconstructing what had happened. It turned out that they agreed on many things that happened that day, but there were some points where they did not agree, and some points that Ardis felt very strongly about, but appeared not to be sure how the woman would react to them.

The riot was a labor dispute, but turned into a race riot. The dispute was between workers and management. Workers (Antilleans) in the refinery and elsewhere earned less than a dollar a day, while management (European Dutch) earned salaries equivalent to what they would have made in Europe, but with the cost of living on Curaçao so low, their lifestyle was quite comfortable indeed. Workers left their jobs and walked through the streets of Willemstad on strike, but something triggered the crowed to violence. Buildings were burned, property damaged, someone was shot. It was not a pretty thing.

People today believe that that day had to come; otherwise the descendents of slaves would have never achieved any rights. However, they disagree about whether the situation in 2003 reflects better living and working conditions for native Antilleans. Some say it could

never be that bad again; others argue that things were better for a while but that they have gotten worse again, and another *trinti di mei* '30th of May' is coming.

Ardis, an Antillean, is sitting next to an Antillean woman who is married to a white man, and talking about a day when the evils that white men had committed against Antilleans were repaid to them, and about the aftermath of that situation. He was in a delicate spot: he wanted to say what he thought, but he didn't want to offend. This was obvious in the way that he prefaced some of his remarks. For example, he began one sentence with *e hulandesnan* 'the Dutch (people)', then said to the woman, *mi no ta bisa 'makambanan'* 'I'm not going to say 'makamba'' (derogatory term for Dutch people), and she immediately thanked him. Ardis was also not sure to what extent the man knew Papiamentu (remember, the family spoke to each other in Dutch), so he translated several of his remarks to Dutch for his benefit. (Then Ardis apologized to me, asked me if I understood the Dutch comments, and (ignoring what I said) made sure he said them in Papiamentu, too).

That the European Dutch oppressors were responsible for the events of May 30, 1969, was not at issue. But Ardis was making the point that things have not changed all that much on Curaçao, and it was not clear how the woman felt about this. Ardis pointed out the imbalance in ownership of major businesses on Curaçao. *Nan* (the 3p plural pronoun) in (66) refers to Dutch people. By putting each business or business type in its own sentence and focusing *nan* each time, he is emphasizing how much Dutch people own, and thus, in contrast, how little Antilleans really have.

(66)	**Ta**	**nan**	tin	Mambo	Beach	**Ta**	**nan**	tin	tur	terrace	**Ta**
	FOC	3pl	have	Mambo	Beach	FOC	3pl	have	all	terrace	FOC

nan	tin	diferente	hotel	**Ta**	**nan**	tin	diferente	kos
3pl	have	different	hotel	FOC	3pl	tin	different	thing

'They're the ones who have Mambo Beach [a popular beach and nightclub]. They're the ones who have all the terraces [nice, outdoor restaurants]. They're the ones who have different hotels. They're the ones who have different things.' (#104)

A particularly common place where focus constructions are found is in response to a question about where a person is from (67), or in an assertion of an aspect of a speaker's identity. They are also used to contrast the focused element with something else specified in the discourse (68), or with all other possibilities (i.e. it's [focused element], and nothing else) (69, 70).

(67)	*No,*	***ta***	***di***	***boneiru***	*mi*	*ta.*
	no	FOC	from	Bonaire	1sg	COP

'No, I'm from Bonaire.' (#120)

(68)	*Nos*	*ta*	*bai*	*skol*	*ku*	*pargata.*	*Ta*	*kerki*	*so*	*nos*	*ta*
	1pl	IMP	go	school	with	pargata	FOC	church	only	1pl	IMP

bai	*ku*	*zapato*
go	with	shoes

'We used to go to school with *pargata* (sandals consisting of a piece of rubber tied to the foot with a string). **It was only church** that we went to with shoes. (#127)

(69)	*Hopi*	*di*	*nan*	*ta*	*e*	*papiamentu*	*so*	*nan*	*por*	*papia.*
	many	of	3pl	IMP	the	papiamentu	only	3pl	be able to	speak

'A lot of them (old people) can only speak Papiamentu.' (#127)

(70) *Bo* *tabata* *sa* *mesora* *esey* *ta* *hende* *di* *Rincon*
2sg IMP-PAST know sametime that FOC person of Rincón

e *ta*
3sg COMP

'You used to know right away that that's somebody from Rincon.' (#127)

Table 59 gives the overall distribution of focus constructions of each type of information status in the interview data. As with texts (which came from Aruba and Curaçao), the spoken data from Aruba and Curaçao show more 'given' entities focused (71), followed by 'evoked or inferables' (61, among others). Bonaire speakers, on the other hand, focused more 'evoked or inferables' than 'given' entities. There were only 3 'new' entities focused, and all three were given by one Aruban woman, age 82. It is not clear that these would be felicitous for other speakers. In example (71), the speaker, Maria Thijzen (age 41, #9), was asked if she knows of a place that has spirits. She said that her house has them, and she knows who they are.

(71) *Mi* *mama* *i* *mi* *tata* *ta* *morto* *dus*
1sg-POSS mother and 1sg-POSS IMP-PAST COP dead thus

mi *ta* *kere* *ta* *nan* *ta* *walk* *around*
1sg-POSS IMP believe FOC 3pl IMP walk around

'My mother and my father are dead so I think it's them that are walking around.' (#9)

Table 59. Overall distribution of focus construction in spoken data

	Given	*Evoked/ Inferable*	*New*	*TOTAL*
Aruba	27 (49.1%)	22 (40.0%)	3 (5.45%)	55
Bonaire	30 (46.88%)	34 (53.23%)	0	64
Curaçao	25 (56.52%)	17 (40.48%)	0	42
TOTAL	82 (51.9%)	73 (46.2%)	3 (1.9%)	158

The 'new' tokens were too few to analyze, so one run was conducted with 'evoked' tokens as the dependent variable. Results of the GoldVarb analysis are given in Table 60. Significant factor groups are the use of Spanish, level of bilingualism in Spanish, constituent type, and residence. Those who do not use Spanish favor this form, as do those who are fluent in Spanish. Prepositional phrases and noun phrases are the constituent types where 'evoked or inferable' entities are most frequently fronted. Rural speakers (Aruba and Curaçao only) also favor evoked or inferable focused entities. (An urban-rural distinction was not investigated on Bonaire).

Table 60. GoldVarb results for analysis of focus construction in speech

Factor Groups	**Factors**	**Weights**
Use of Lg—Spanish	passive understanding, does not speak	0.880
	irregular use	0.626
	frequent, short encounters	0.562
	uses all the time	0.079
	uses regularly with at least one person	0.060
Level of Bilingualism—Spanish	near native	0.835
	conversationally fluent	0.520
	communicative, but has trouble	0.133
Constituent Type	prepositional phrase	0.680
	noun phrase	0.548
	adverbial phrase	0.104
	adjectival phrase	0.094
Residence	rural	0.628
	urban	0.366
Input 0.584	Log likelihood = -83.352	

7.2 Summary

Several aspects of Bonaire speech, including the focus construction, seemed more 'creole' to me as an outsider. Because of the nature of the contact situation on these islands, the decreolization model is not appropriate (in what direction should we say that

decreolization occurs? toward Spanish? Dutch?), but for this aspect of speech alone, perhaps it is of use. When I was on Aruba and Curaçao, the frequency of focus constructions did not prompt to me infer 'decreolization', but the increased frequency of focus constructions that I perceived on Bonaire made me rethink this idea. Maybe speakers of Aruba and Curaçao are using other means of focus rather than this focus construction, which is reminiscent of 'decreolization' in the sense that there is a decrease in frequency of the 'creole' feature of focus. Or maybe speakers just find fewer things that need to be focused. In any case, the sheer difference in frequency and thus in salience suggested to me that something to do with contact was at work.

With texts, we saw that 'Papiamentu' contexts favor the focus of 'evoked or inferable' entities, while 'Dutch' contexts favor the focus of 'given' entities. In interview data, rural speakers favor the focus of 'evoked or inferable' entities, as do all Bonaire speakers, while urban speakers of Aruba and Curaçao favor the focus of 'given' entities. These facts combined suggest that language contact has played a role in changing the way that this construction is used in Papiamentu. The rural speakers of Aruba and Curaçao have less contact with outsiders, and Bonaire speakers have the least contact with outsiders of all islanders, and it is these speakers who favor one type of focus construction, and speakers with more contact favor the other type. Also, speakers who do not regularly use Spanish favor the 'evoked or inferable' focus construction, or the one that is favored by people with less language contact.

Many other indicators of contact-induced change were tested here and not selected as significant. However, the type of factors that I tested is probably responsible. For example, I considered the relative proportions of L1 speakers of each language on each

island as an indicator of intensity of language contact. These results indicate a difference between urban and rural speakers on Aruba and Curaçao, though, so one indicator of intensity of language contact per island will not be significant if the issue is an urban vs. rural one. To make these findings more solid, I would like to have some of the other indicators significant, such as age of speakers. This might be possible with more data so that data from each island can be analyzed separately.

Overall, these findings are suggestive of contact-induced change, but require further investigation.

8 Implications for the study of contact-induced change

8.1 The role of "universals" and linguistic factors in structural borrowing

Overall, we can conclude that some of the 'universals' of borrowing which have been proposed in qualitative frameworks do indeed condition borrowing at the systemic level, and the specific ways that they operate can be fleshed out through quantitative methods. Specifically, I have shown that 'structural compatibility' and a version of 'structural simplification' are at work in the contact situation studied here. A verbal morpheme (bound or inflectional) can be borrowed if the source and recipient languages are isomorphic (i.e. show word order similarity and affix type similarity). I found no evidence that borrowings move a language to increased simplicity, but there was a significant tendency to avoid introducing additional complexity via borrowing.

It is not coincidental that these constraints on borrowing are similar to constraints on transfer discussed in the second language acquisition literature, since several of the morphological borrowings discussed here began as transfer features[249]. Siegel (1999, 2003) points to two major constraints: congruence and perceptual salience. 'Congruence' is a syntactic similarity, and he notes that the similarity may be only superficial. In other words, he is referring to a similarity in the string order of words in two languages, which I have called 'isomorphism', and which Prince (1988) and Silva-Corvalán (1986, 1993) have called 'surface string matching'. Siegel defines 'perceptual salience' as a separate word or a stressed syllable in a multisyllabic word. I did not investigate perceptual salience quantitatively, but it is clear that the borrowed verbal forms here are either separate words or stressed, bound

[249] The *ser* and *keda* passives are exceptions. I argue that they are calques on the *wordu* passive.

morphemes, and many of the forms which were not borrowed are unstressed bound morphemes.

8.2 Linguistic constraints and multilingual contact

The only situation in which a morphological borrowing actually made the recipient language more complex (due to increasing allomorphy) was when doing so made the recipient language isomorphic with all three of the other languages in the contact situation. This is an increase in 'complexity' only from the perspective of a monolingual speaker of the recipient language. 'Convergence' like this serves to lighten the multilingual speaker's cognitive load, and since most speakers in the contact situation studied here are multilingual, I argue that this apparent increase in complexity in Papiamentu is really a simplification in the multilingual grammar which most members of the speech community possess. Further, if it is true that speakers look for similarities across all of their languages, and change one to make it more like the other three, then we can speculate about multilingual language processing. Psycholinguistic research based on controlled laboratory experiments of speakers of two languages indicates that a bilingual individual's linguistic knowledge interacts unavoidably (Hamers and Blanc 2000, Mack 1986). The results here suggest that this is true for multilingual speakers as well: all four linguistic systems interact simultaneously in the multilingual individuals studied here.

8.3 The role of "functional motivation" in borrowing

Two proposed functional motivations for borrowing were investigated. 'Morphological renewal' was significant: a foreign morpheme can replace[250] a native one as long as both are free or of the same type (i.e. both suffixes). However, no grammatical gaps were filled by borrowing here. In fact, this factor was excluded because it was never violated: the recipient language does not borrow a morpheme which expresses something in the source that cannot be conceptualized in the recipient. The factor group 'fill gap' was significant due to a factor encoding 'grammaticalization via a foreign morpheme': if the recipient language expresses something periphrastically that the source language encodes morphologically, the foreign morpheme can be borrowed.

The results with respect to "functional motivations" for borrowing make sense when considered in the context of the significant universals of borrowing discussed in 8.1. 'Morphological renewal' as defined here presupposes 'structural compatibility', which was never violated in this contact situation. 'Fill gap', on the other hand, where the recipient language does not mark a category that is morphologically encoded in the source, presupposes a lack of structural compatibility. In 'grammaticalization via a foreign morpheme', the source and recipient are compatible in the sense that both express some grammatical category or distinction; the periphrasis and source morpheme need not be isomorphic for borrowing to take place.

These motivations for borrowing can also be interpreted in terms of transfer. Andersen's (1983) 'Transfer to Somewhere' principle requires that speakers identify an equivalence point common to both of their languages in order for something to be

[250] I did not investigate whether or not the borrowed form completely replaced the native one, only that a morpheme was borrowed of the same type and serving the same function as a native one. The two forms may continue to co-exist, or the native one may fall out of use.

transferred from one of them to the other. Such an equivalence point can be found for 'morphological renewal' and for 'grammaticalization via a foreign morpheme', but by the very definition of 'grammatical gap', such an equivalence point cannot exist for 'fill gap'.

8.4 The role of linguistic and social factors

Linguistic and social factors were considered at both the level of systemic morphological borrowing, and for the individual variables studied. At the systemic morphological level, primarily linguistic factors were relevant, and were discussed in *8.1*, *8.2*, and *8.3*. Few social factors were significant at the systemic level, and their meaning is inconclusive. So for example, the factor group '% of L1 English speakers' was significant, but since the integration of variables was correlated with the proportion of English speakers in a strange way, what is significant here is more likely something like 'length of time speakers are bilingual', with more years of bilingualism correlated with increased borrowing.

With the specific variables studied over time via texts and apparent time via interviews, there are several patterns to be found with linguistic and social factors. Progressive *-ndo*, for example, behaves for the most part like a sociolinguistic prestige variable, down to the hypercorrect pattern of Bonaire speakers. On Aruba there is social stratification by class and prestige, and an age difference. On Bonaire there is social stratification according to the amount of time speakers spent in contact with speakers from other islands, sex, and an age difference as well. Curaçao, however, does not show social differentiation with respect to this variable. In addition to these factors, Aruba and Curaçao have significant language contact factors, dealing with speakers' abilities in, attitudes toward, and use of the various languages in the contact situation. Linguistic factors were significant

on all three islands. The only difference between progressive *–ndo* and a sociolinguistic variable from a monolingual community is the presence and strength of the language contact factors. These obviously cannot exist for monolingual communities. However, since they are external to Papiamentu, I consider them social factors. In monolingual communities we typically find that linguistic factors are stronger than social ones, but here, these language contact factors are often stronger than the linguistic factor groups in the same constraint models.

Less can be said about the passive constructions since not all of them were found in interviews with enough frequency to analyze. Only one of the linguistic factors was significant in texts, agent realized, but the meaning of this is not clear since in interviews not enough of the passives had agents realized to make it possible to undertake a quantitative study. Other significant factors were year, so there could be a real time change going on, and language contact factors. There does not appear to be social differentiation of this variable, though more data would be helpful.

The focus construction was even less frequently encountered than the passive, and data of a different kind would be helpful in saying more about this construction. In the constraint models for textual and interview data, linguistic and language contact factors were significant, along with only one other social factor—urban vs. rural residence. This is in a sense another language contact factor since the reason that urban speakers do something different from rural speakers is because they are in contact with speakers of other languages more than rural speakers.

As in most sociolinguistic studies, this one found a combination of linguistic and social factors at work in conditioning these variables. However, language contact factors

were often stronger constraints conditioning the use of specific variables than linguistic factors were in this multilingual community, suggesting that bilingual communities cannot be studied in exactly the same ways that monolingual ones can. Variationist methodology can be of use regardless.

8.5 Results in light of Thomason and Kaufman's model

Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) model of contact-induced lexical and structural borrowing addresses the systemic levels of languages in contact, so should be compared to my analysis of borrowing in the Papiamentu morphological system. Since linguistic factors are shown here to condition the borrowing and integration of foreign forms almost exclusively, it would appear that Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale attributing different types of borrowing solely to differences in intensity of contact, rather than differences in linguistic structure, is inaccurate at best. More specifically, Thomason and Kaufman attribute a causal role to 'amount and degree of bilingualism', which here was not selected as significant[251].

Proponents of Thomason and Kaufman may argue that this contact situation is not intense enough to show social factors overriding linguistic ones. However, by their scale, the borrowing of a bound, inflectional morpheme like *–ndo* should only be possible in an intense contact situation. Either this contact situation is abnormal, or there is a problem with the scale, and with no evidence of the former, I argue that the latter is to blame.

Structural (i.e. morphological) borrowing can only happen under specific linguistic and social circumstances. The linguistic circumstances have been highlighted above, and are

[251] Though, as indicated earlier, I could only test 'amount and degree of bilingualism' indirectly since census reports did not provide the relevant information throughout the 20th century.

the strongest constraints. In terms of social circumstances, there must be language contact. Time may also be relevant (the longer contact exists, the more items may be borrowed), though the results here are not conclusive. But no other quantifiable social factors significantly condition borrowing at the systemic level in this 'intense' contact situation.

Many of Thomason and Kaufman's proposals about borrowing fit better with the specific variables that I studied. In particular, the finding that 'language contact' factors (i.e. factors relating to speakers' abilities in, attitudes toward, and use of each of the languages in the contact situation) are stronger than linguistic ones for individual variables meshes with some of their proposals. My findings suggest, however, that nothing will be borrowed that is not first structurally compatible with the recipient language, and this is decidedly against their argument.

8.6 Can structure be borrowed?

There is much controversy in the field surrounding the question of the borrowability of "pure" structure. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) take the extreme position that anything, even syntactic tree structure, may be borrowed. King (2000) stands at the other extreme, arguing that only lexical items may be borrowed, though their integration may have structural consequences for the recipient language. The "structure" that I investigated was morphological rather than syntactic in nature, but is still relevant to this discussion. While I found that abstract grammatical categories cannot be borrowed, the morphological encoding of such a category can be borrowed if and only if that category is independently expressed in the recipient language.

Even this rather conservative characterization will be unacceptable to many simply because I choose to use the word 'borrow' with respect to bound, functional morphemes. The process by which I argue that this happens is 0) use by L2 Papiamentu speakers of some structural feature from the L1 (here, Dutch, English, or Spanish) in Papiamentu; 1) borrowing by L1 Papiamentu speakers of lexical items containing a functional morpheme, though at this point they may not analyze the lexical items as being morphologically complex; 2) identification of the morphological complexity of these borrowed items; 3) association of some L1 meaning or function with the L2 morpheme; and 4) productive use of the L2 morpheme for some L1 meaning or function. The process is the same for free functional morphemes, except that step 2 is irrelevant in that case. Opponents of the idea of structural borrowing might call this same process lexical borrowing plus reanalysis. Since the recipient languages use the borrowed forms in mainly the same ways as the source languages, I call this entire process 'borrowing'.

Here, I argue that the morphological encoding of structure can be borrowed, but not the structure itself. Another way of characterizing the findings here might be to say that an existing structural distinction is grammaticalized (Bybee, Revere, and Pagliuca 1994) by a foreign (borrowed) morpheme.

Another finding was that calquing appears to play a role. Two constructions common to two languages in the contact situation have been adopted by Papiamentu speakers (the progressive construction copula + gerund and the passive construction *wordu* + past participle). The *wordu* passive was introduced via interference from Dutch, but the *ser* and *keda* passives were calqued onto the *wordu* passive by different groups of speakers.

The focus construction existed in Papiamentu from its inception, but appears to have been influenced by contact. After extensive contact with Dutch, a language where old information is typically at the front of sentences, more 'given' entities were focused, whereas those speakers with less contact with Dutch (Bonaire speakers and rural residents of Aruba and Curaçao) continue to focus mostly 'evoked or inferable' entities. So, the focus structure was not borrowed, but a parameter of focus seems to have been transmitted from Dutch to Papiamentu.

8.7 Conclusions and future research

The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of the long-term consequences of language contact (i.e. community-wide bilingualism or multilingualism). It is one of the first to use quantitative methods as a means of evaluating principles of the borrowing of linguistic structure, most of which have been proposed under various qualitative frameworks.

In monolingual communities, there have been many studies of the effects of social factors such as age, gender, and social class on linguistic behavior, and while the instantiation and effect of each factor is unique in every community, the studies together allow us to draw some generalizations about how social groups are related to linguistic behavior. Similarly, this quantitative study alone cannot settle with certainty all of the qualitative arguments and controversies that persist in the field of language contact, but several studies of different contact situations will allow us to generalize about how various linguistic and social factors condition or inhibit the borrowing of linguistic structure. It is hoped that this study will

pave the way for more such work, and lead to a deeper understanding of the long-term effects of community-wide multilingualism.

In addition to applying variationist methods in the usual way to evaluate the behavior of a linguistic variable in real and apparent time, those methods were applied here in a new way to evaluate change in an entire linguistic subsystem over real time. The degree to which borrowed verbal morphemes are integrated into Papiamentu at a given time are compared across several samplings over a 100-year time span. Linguistic data was taken for each time period when census reports provide relevant social and demographic information. In this way, it was possible to evaluate the role that social and demographic changes have in the linguistic subsystems. Such methods could conceivably be applied to other subsystems and larger sections of the grammar as well.

The most important findings are that, at the systemic level, linguistic factors are primarily responsible for determining what will be borrowed and what will not. Once an element is borrowed, it can become integrated into the social fabric of the community. The first way that this is seen is in the language contact factors; only later do borrowed forms become sensitive to the kinds of social factors we traditionally see in monolingual communities (social class, gender, etc.). Thus, with respect to individual variables, contact-induced changes may behave like the sociolinguistic variables of monolingual communities, with the exception that factors having to do with language contact are very strong.

Appendix A--List of Texts

#	Work	Source	Year	Genre	Isl.	Lg. Context
1	Narrative--Haime E. Jones	Kouwenberg & Murray	1994	f	a	1
2	Letter--Abraham to Sara, original	Maurer (1998)	1775	l	c	7
3	Dialogue- Semuel and other, original	Maurer (1998)	1776	d	c	1
4	Article- in Union, original	Maurer (1998)	1880	a	c	/
5	Article- Kurso di ingles i papiamentu na Sentro di Bario Montana; Ultimo Noticio	Maurer (1998)	1992	a	c	1
6	Story- Kompa Nanzi i e baka pinta; IPEP modernized version	Maurer (1998)	1983	f	c	1
7	Poem- Mucha maluku; by Nydia Ecury	Maurer (1998)	1978	p	a	1
8	Story--Compa Nanzi i baca pinta; Lucille Berry-Haseth	Munteanu (1996)	1952	f	c	1
9	Letter--Natividad Sillie to Dr. Rodolfo Lenz	Munteanu (1996)	1921	l	c	1
10	Poem--Atardi; by Joseph Sickman Corsen	Munteanu (1996)	1921	p	c	1
11	Poem-Mi nigrita papyamentu; by Guillermo Rosario	Munteanu (1996)	1971	p	c	1
12	Poem--Versos; by Pierre Lauffer	Munteanu (1996)	1979	p	c	1
13	Poem--Plasa nobo; by Elis Juliana	Munteanu (1996)	1960	p	c	1
14	Poem--Identidat; by Lucille Berry-Haseth	Munteanu (1996)	1990	p	c	1
15	Poem--Sekura; by Nydia Ecury	Munteanu (1996)	1987	p	c	1
16	Story--historia di aparicionnan di fatima i jacinta marto; Frunt	Frunt	1952	f	c	/
17	Article--175 aña di amistat entre Bolivar i Korsou; by Syndey Joubert	Munteanu (1996)	1987	a	c	1
18	Article--Weganan Olimpiko; by Syndey Joubert	Munteanu (1996)	1991	a	c	1
19	Article--STT ta analisa contrato PCS…; from *Extra*, Aruba section	Munteanu (1996)	1995	a	a	1
20	Article--Anuncio publicitario; from *Amigoe*	Munteanu (1996)	1995	a	c	2
21	Non-Fiction Prose--Ta kua dje 'ta'-nan bo ke men?; by Raul Romer	Munteanu (1996)	1974	n	c	1
22	Story--Istoria di mama ku yiu; Natividad Sillie	Lenz	1921	f	c	1
23	Story--Un yiu tira afor; Natividad Sillie	Lenz	1921	f	c	1
24	Fiction--Lealtad; W. M. Hoyer	Lenz	1928	f	c	1
25	Oral Story--Jan i e colebra; by Elis Juliana	Maurer (1986)	1970	f	c	1
26	Story--Cha nansi i e baca pinta; by A. Jesurun	Maurer (1986)	1899	f	c	7
27	Gospel of Matthew	Conradi	1844	r	c	2

28	Story--Makuku ku Turtuga; A. Kleinmoedig-Eustatia	Maurer (1986)	1981	f	c	1
29	Story--Petra su kas; Pierre Lauffer	Maurer (1986)	1968	f	c	1
30	Story--Giambo bieuw a bolbe na wea; Willem E. Kroon	Maurer (1986)	1928	f	c	1
31	Dialogue--E dia di mas historiko; E. A. de Jongh	Maurer (1986)	1969	d	c	1
32	Story--Amor i sakrifisio; Guillermo Rosario	Maurer (1986)	1974	f	c	1
33	Story--Ramona 1; P.A. Mamber	Maurer (1986)	1983	f	c	1
34	Play--Laiza porko sushi; May Henriquez	Maurer (1986)	1954	y	c	1
35	Poem--T'asina ta; Nydia Ecury	Maurer (1986)	1978	p	c	1
36	Poem--Destino; by Nydia Ecury	Maurer (1986)	1978	p	c	1
37	Television--Telepatria	Maurer (1986)	1983	t	c	1
38	Article--Polisiales	Maurer (1986)	1983	a	c	1
39	Song--Suave	web page--More Papiamentu	1998	s	a	1
40	Song--Pega na mi kurason	web page--More Papiamentu	1998	s	b	1
41	Song--ABB	web page--More Papiamentu	1998	s	h	1
42	Song--Bobbo List	web page--More Papiamentu	1998	s	c	1
43	Article--Aruba Car Dealers Assn	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
44	Article--Introduccion oficial di Arthur Andersen na Aruba	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
45	Article--Aruba Female Jaycees a conquista un total nuebe premio internacional	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
46	Article--Ultimo careda pa aña aki di Drag Racing	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
47	Article--Confusion rond di dano di orcan	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
48	Article--Decision final awe riba ken ta keda y	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
49	Article--PDVSA ta pobe bom bao di proyecto	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
50	Article--Nel Oduber ta sinti su menaza persigui Henny y Tico penalmente	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
51	Article--Gobierno a propone pa reuni Dialuna	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
52	Article--Awe AVP lo entrega prueba con Nel Obuder si a instiga y sostene pa pone Aruba plat	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
53	Article--Inspectie y BAD ta inicia segundo fase di programa SAL di manera mas severo	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
54	Article--SETAR ta prepara pa drenta aña 2000	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
55	Article--Quota International di Aruba a entrega 10 mil Florin na FHMDD	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
56	Article--Ladronnan arma cu pata di cabra y schroefdraai gara den dia cla	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
57	Article--Minister Mary Wever-Lacle a reuni cu Presidente di Onderwijs Raad na Hulanda	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
58	Artcle--Lucha contra droga ta pa proteccion di generacionnan cu ta bin	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
59	Article--Gobierno aki a baha desempleo di 42.7% pa 7.4%	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
60	Article--Comunismo a ser bari for di superficie di tera y sindicalistanan extremista na Aruba kier dune	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1

	bida den otro ɑrpa					
61	Article--Estrella ta gana RCA y ta bai final contra Deportivo Nacional den Futbol Division di Honor	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
62	Article--Rockets ta gana su prome partido	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
63	Article--Doñonan equipo pisa den accion na landfill	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
64	Article--Proyecto di Waaigat lo ta operacional segundo cuartal di 2000	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
65	Article--Partidonan di Corsow den coalision central kier pa cartera di finanza keda na Corsow	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
66	Article--No tin asunto tira lot, den reparticion di cartera den Gobierno	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
67	Article--Faminan di victimanan di Diatel ta spera castigo mas halto di Corte pa mediconan	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
68	Article--Confrontacion politico na Boneiru problema serio pa formacion di Gobierno nobo	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
69	Article--Pakico e demanda pa bin cu un zakenkabinet	web page--Bon Dia.com	1999	a	a	1
70	Letter--Natividad Sillie to Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, continued	Lenz	1921	l	c	1
71	Letter--Natividad Sillie to Dr. Rodolfo Lenz, #2	Lenz	1921	l	c	1
72	Song--Kantika di Pleizir (popular)	Lenz	1921	s	c	1
73	Song--Kantika di Pleizir, #2 (popular)	Lenz	1921	s	c	1
74	Poem--Berso di Natividad Sillie, #1	Lenz	1921	p	c	1
75	Poem--Versos de Sillie, #2	Lenz	1921	p	c	1
76	Poem--Ruman di Karidad, by J.S. Corsen	Lenz	1928	p	c	1
77	Poem--Nos Papiamentu, by W.M. Hoyer	Lenz	1928	p	a	1
78	Story--Un caida di atardi trista; translated to Pap. by Goilo	Munteanu (1991)	1953	f	c	3
79	Play--Historia berdadera i milagrosa di Mari di Malpai ku a biba ky dya-bel mas di shete aña (trans. from medieval Dutch drama by Raul Romer)	Munteanu (1991)	?	y	c	2
80	Poem--Enkuentro--Pierre A. Lauffer	Munteanu (1991)	1979	p	c	1
81	Poem--Ser Betris--Frank Martinus	Munteanu (1991)	1968	p	c	1
82	Poem--Un Pober--Goilo	Munteanu (1991)	1974	p	a	1
83	Article--Willemstad Lo Drenta Siglo 21 Bisti Di Gala	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
84	Article--Luis Daal Banko di Papiametnu Un Eror Semantiko Den Titulo Di Katasashi De Monsenor Niewindt	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
85	Article--Secreto di banko, algu serio o un kapa pa algun djodjo?	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
86	Letter--e teksto mas bieu na Papiamentu skirbi na aruba, aña 1803	Maduro (1991)	1803	l	a	1
87	Story--Book of Mark--1865		1865	r	c	/
88	prayer book--pidi i lo boso haja		1892	r	c	/
89	Article--195 aña pasa: e lantament'i katibu di 1795	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
90	Article--grupo di arubianonan ta mustra riba mal maneho di arubahuis	Howe (1994)	1991	a	a	1

91	Article--petroleo: coastal a stop di process ayera marduga e ta den e mesun posicion cu lago prome cu ciere? deal cu Saddam fracasando deba na guerra	Howe (1994)	1991	a	a	1
92	Article--seminario riba "tambu" organisa pa fundashon bismark dia 16 desember na Lelienweg 176	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
93	Article--insinuashon di sitek lo haña rabu largu	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
94	Article--politica premier oduber na cuerpo consular loke tabata falta y loke no a ser bisa	Howe (1994)	1991	a	a	1
95	Article--di akuerdo ku desaroyo: a bira nesesario pa hendenan por hasi kompras djadumingu	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
96	Article--fundashon pa "un miho hende, un miho korso"	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
97	Article--durante ehersisio "high quality" riba e isla e siman aki..marina ulandes lo no hasi daño na naturalesa di Boneiru gobernador mr. jaime saleh lo bishita e ehersisionan	Howe (1994)	1991	a	b	1
98	Article--klein korsou ta un beyesa deskuida	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
99	Article--Naturalesa--Nos landscaping ta un imitacion di Miami, lubidando nos vegetacion tipico	Howe (1994)	1991	a	a	1
100	Article--tutifruti karnaval 1991	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
101	Article--gran konkorsu pa skohe e galiña di mas dushi di korsou	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
102	Article--edifisio di defunto mordy maduro a keda kompletamente restora'	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
103	Article--mayra coffie ta denunsia: tin hende biew ku no a haña bonus di aña pasa	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
104	Article--makambanan fuma ta perde kabes	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
105	Article--banda ku tabata mata kabritu desenmaskara' nan tabata pone stempel falsifika' riba e karni	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
106	Article--e prome komunista di korsou	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
107	Article--interes hapones pa koperashon ku antiyas	Howe (1994)	1991	a	c	1
108	Story--Bible--New Testament (Mark) 1916		1916	r	c	/
109	Article--Civilisado--7/8	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
110	Article--Koloniale Raad	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
111	Article--Santo Domingo	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
112	Article--Venezuela	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
113	Article--Historia di korsouw	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
114	Article--Meteorologia	Civilisado	1871	a	c	1
115	Article--Educacion 5/25/1872	Civilisado	1872	a	c	1
116	prayer book--Roman Catholic catechism		1882	r	c	/
117	story--Mabon [cuentanan pa un y tur]	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
118	story--un ladron di oro	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
119	story--contrabandistanan di malmok	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
120	story--e sirena di boca prins	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
121	letter--prologo to cuentanan rubiano	Rosenstand	1960	l	a	1

122	story--Guadirikiri (cuentanan rubiano)	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
123	story--canashito	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
124	story--cali i su pluma di aguila	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
125	story--andicuri	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
126	story--macuarima	Rosenstand	1960	f	a	1
127	letter--prologo 1 (cambionan social cu un yiu di tere ta sonja cune den e partinan igual…)	Nita	1969	l	c	1
128	letter--prologo 2 (cambionan social cu un yiu di tere ta sonja cune den e partinan igual…)	Nita	1969	l	c	1
129	nonfiction--cambionan social cu un yiu di tere ta sonja cune den e partinan igual di e reinabo nobo	Nita	1969	n	c	1
130	nonfiction--historia kortiku di hudiunan di korsou	Gomes-casseres	1990	n	c	7
131	song--Cancionero Papiamentu	P. Lauffer	1942	s	c	1
132	nonfiction--Brief historical description of the island of Aruba in English and PP	W. M. Hoyer	1945	n	c	1
133	nonfiction--manera korsou tabata	A. R. Hoyer	1984	n	c	1
134	letter-prologo for juancho picaflor	de Rooy	1954	l	c	1
135	play--juancho picaflor	de Rooy	1954	y	c	1
136	play instructions--juancho picaflor	de Rooy	1954	y	c	1
137	Jubileo di 1875	religious	1875	r	c	/
138	[Prayers in PP]	religious	1877	r	c	/
139	Algun Pagina tuma fo'i Historia di Curacal	W. M. Hoyer	1933	n	c	1
140	Catecismo pa oeso di katolikanan di Curacao	Niewindt	1852	r	c	2
141	Proclamasjon (freeing slaves)	Crol	1863	n	c	2
142	Regla pa roemannan di tercer orde di Santo Dominico	H. J. A. van Ewijk	1885	r	c	2
143	Algun discursito riba invocacion di Santoenan (2 edision)	P. J. Poiesz	1909	n	c	2
144	Catecismo Grandi di Doctrina Christiana	Miguel Gregorio Vuylsteke	1925	r	c	2
145	Critica riba Norancia o educando un pueblo di senor P.P.M. de Marchena	J. Muller	1930	n	c	/
146	Catecismo Chiquito di Doctrina Cristiana	Pedro Inocencio Verriet	1934	r	c	/
147	Article--La Cruz--C.E.N.	Henriquez 1937	1933	a	c	/
148	Article--La Union--Inauguracion di estatua di S.M. La reina Guillermina	Henriquez 1937	1933	a	c	/
149	Article--La Cruz--Srta. Rebecca Cohen Henriquez	Henriquez 1937	1936	a	c	/
150	Advertisement--Club Entre Nous	Henriquez 1937	1930	n	c	/
151	Poem--Ay! Mi ta cansa'	*Consecha Arubiano*	1919	p	a	1
152	Poem--San Nicolas	*Consecha Arubiano*	1907	p	a	1
153	Letter--'Carta di Ipi' 30 Maarch 1889, p 11-12	La Union, 1889	1889	l	c	1
154	Proclamashon--regarding property	Bonaire Museum	1905	n	b	1

155	Speech--by Tula, leader of 1795 slave rebellion, before his death	de Palm 1995	1795	d	c	1
156	Article--"San Hose, patrono di artesano ó trahadornan" Yr. 1 No. 1, 19 March (pg. 1-2)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
157	Article--"Carta di Ipi" Yr. 1 No. 1, 19 March (pg2)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
158	Article--"Noticia General" Yr. 1 No. 1, 19 March (pg 2-4)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
159	Article--"Carta di Cobi" Yr. 1 No. 1, 19 March (p4)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
160	Article--"Nobidad di Punda i Coenucoe" Yr. 1 No. 1, 19 March (pg4-5)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
161	Article--"Kiko ta un artesano o un trahador Catoloco?" No 2. 3 April 1889 (9-10)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
162	Article--"Anuncio." 7 Augustus 1889, No. 11 (88)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
163	Article--"Carta di Ipi" written 18 di Aug. 1889; pub. 21 Augustus 1889, No. 12	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
164	Article--"Varias" 21 Augustus 1889, No. 12 (95-96)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
165	Article--"Un Martir di Secreto di Confesion" 21 Augustus 1889, No. 12 (96)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
166	Article--"Carta di Cobi" written 1 Sept. 1889; pub. 4 September, No. 13 (101)	La Union, 1889	1889	a	c	1
167	Article--"Carta di Cobi" 19 Feb., 1890 (199-200)	La Union, 1890	1890	a	c	1
168	The Ten Commandments (included after Gospel of Matthew)	Conradi	1844	r	c	2
169	Poem-Atardi	*Consecha Arubiano*	1907	p	a	1
170	Poem-Aruba	*Consecha Arubiano*	1919	p	a	1
171	Catechism--Katekismoe of sienjansa di berdad I di manda, meentoe nan di kriestiaan nan pa oesoe di protestant nan na aruba, N.A. Kuiperi	A.L.S. Muller and J.F. Newman	1862	r	a	2
172	letter--from Niewindt to church; republished by Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma	Stichting Libri Antilliani	1833	l	c	2
173	non-Fiction Prose--E Indiannan di Aruba, by A.H. Versteeg	Museo Arquelogico di Aruba	1989	n	a	1
174	Catecismo Corticu pa uso di Catolicanan di Curacao	Niewindt	1837	r	c	2

Genre Key:

a	article
c	oral story
d	dialogue
f	fictional prose
l	letter
n	non-fictional prose
p	poem
r	religious
s	song
t	television
y	play

Island Key:

a	Aruna
c	Curaçao
b	Bonaire
h	Holland

Language Context Key:

1	Papiamentu
2	Dutch
3	Spanish
7	Portuguese
/	unknown

NOTES:

1. Text 79—date is unknown
2. Texts 135 and 136—different elements of the same text; dialogue and stage instructions, respectively
3. Island—Bonaire and Holland recoded as Curaçao

Appendix B—List of Speaker Characteristics[130]

Sp#	Pseudonym	Town	Isl	Age	Loc	Sex	Class	Eth
1	Loreta Dijkhoff		A	82	U	F	UM	
2	Ivonne Kelkboom		A	52	U	F	UM	AFR
3	Flora Maldonado	RURAL	A	71	R	F	WL	
4	Raquel Carolina		A	52	U	F	UM	VEN
5	Diana de la Cruz		A	42	U	F	WL	DOM.
6	Gregorio Mateo		A	18	U	M	UM	AFR
7	Maria Rosario		A	58	U	F	WL	HISP
8	Irma Marchena		A	18	U	F	UM	
9	Maria Thijzen	RURAL	A	41	R	F	UM	
10	Louis Hassel	RURAL	A	21	R	M	UM	DU
11	Juliette Bareno		A	40	U	F	UM	DU
12	Freddy Gomez		A	44	U	M	UM	
13	Lilianna Dubero		A	21	U	F	UM	
14	Marcolina Willems		A	30	U	F	UM	
15	Eric Carolina	SANNIC	A	35	U	M	WL	AFR
16	Roberto Martinus		A	43	U	M	UM	DU
17	Magdeline Cabral		A	38	U	F	UM	DU
18	Estefana Ignacio		A	24	U	F	WL	
19	Emmanuel Todd		A	41	U	M	WL	
20	Miriam Figureroa		A	49	U	F	UM	
21	Jerry Hernandez		A	41	U	M	UM	
22	Gus Turner		A	47	U	M	WL	
23	Kenny Harms		A	20	U	M	WL	
24	Martin Cruz	RURAL	A	50	R	M	UM	
25	Analisa Dijkhoff		A	55	U	F	WL	
26	Marisol Wester		A	42	U	F	WL	
27	Carmen Cuba	RURAL	A	50	R	F	WL	
28	Frank Valle		A	22	U	M	UM	
29	Bernard Valle		A	30	U	M	UM	
30	Esteban Curiel	SANNIC	A	51	U	M	UM	
31	Alejandra Linden		A	75	U	F	UM	DOM
32	Jessica Duinkerk	RURAL	A	34	R	F	WL	
33	Marta Geertz	RURAL	A	62	R	F	WL	
34	Paula Torres	RURAL	A	32	R	F	WL	COL
35	Antonio Pena	SANNIC	A	48	U	M	UM	
36	Rolando Almonte	SANNIC	A	57	U	M	UM	
37	Fernando Luydens	SANNIC	A	68	U	M	UM	DU
38	Roberto Giel	RURAL	A	49	R	M	WL	
39	Filomena Geerman	RURAL	A	45	R	F	UM	
40	Glenda Perez	RURAL	A	35	R	F	UM	

[130] Abbreviations explained at the end of this appendix (page 253).

Sp#	Pseudonym	Town	Isl	Age	R/U	M/F	Class	Eth
41	Sylvia Hereira		A	65	U	F	UM	
42	Ignacio Todd		A	63	U	M	UM	
43	Diana Morales	O	A	21	U	F	UM	ARG
44	Janna Wever	O	A	20	U	F	UM	
45	Juan Curiel	RURAL	A	80	R	M	WC	
46	Herman Delgado	O	A	55	U	M	UM	
47	Lorenzo Montoya	SN	A	53	U	M	UM	
48	Silvia Thiel	RURAL	A	75	R	F	WC	
49	Damon Rasmijn	O	A	20	U	M	UM	
50	David Croes	RURAL	A	21	R	M	UM	
51	Edna Joseph	O	A	22	U	F	WC	
52	Roland Jong	SN	A	65	U	M	UM	
53	Ben Castillo		C	50	U	M	WL	DOM
54	Lena El-Nagib		C	37	U	F	WL	LEB
55	Nellie Esprit		C	77	U	F	UM	
56	Mirelle Sendar		C	31	U	F	UM	LEB
57	Angela Hamadeh		C	51	U	F	UM	LEB
58	Daniel Rosa		C	45	U	M	UM	
59	Mark Langeveld		C	53	U	M	WL	AFR
60	Amy Hamadeh		C	49	U	F	UM	LEB
61	Gareth Vicario		C	18	U	M	UM	
62	Carla Isenia		C	83	U	F	WL	AFR
63	Mariksa Hermelijn		C	54	U	F	UM	
64	Edna Breekijk		C	49	U	F	UM	
65	Rupert Silonero		C	44	U	M	WL	AFR
66	Edsel de Greeft		C	54	U	M	UM	
67	Linda Scholtz		C	25	U	F	UM	DU
68	Gibson Provence		C	47	U	M	UM	AFR
69	Ronald Malacia		C	50	U	M	UM	V/S
70	Ernest Hermelijn		C	54	U	M	UM	
71	Rusty Coffie		C	24	U	M	UM	
72	Janet De Castro		C	42	U	F	WL	
73	Sulisa Nga		C	19	U	F	UM	CHIN
74	Felicia Koenraad		C	77	R	F	WL	AFR
75	Yvonne Florentina		C	52	R	F	WL	AFR
76	Shulaika Florentina		C	23	R	F	WL	AFR
77	Lisa Huang		C	40	R	F	WL	CHIN
78	Odile Trinidad		C	56	R	F	UM	AFR
79	Odette Groenenberg		C	42	U	F	UM	SUR
80	Alijah Dongen		C	34	U	M	UM	AFR
81	Clarissa Vieira		C	52	U	F	UM	MAD.
82	Hansel Schotborgh		C	55	U	M	UM	
83	Sam Jesurun		C	63	U	M	UM	
84	Veronica Breedijk		C	25	U	F	UM	

Sp#	Pseudonym	Town	Isl	Age	R/U	M/F	Class	Eth
85	Michel Breedijk		C	73	U	M	UM	SUR
86	Gilberto Kleinmoedig		C	30	U	M	UM	
87	Gerta Magdelena		A/C	27	U	F	UM	
88	Yvette Goedgedrag		C	58	U	F	WL	
89	Lucinda Beaujon		C	60	U	F	UM	
90	Gilbert Cijntje		C	55	U	M	UM	
91	Jamal Yrausquin		C	49	U	M	UM	
92	Raheem Hansen		C	26	U	M	WL	AFR
93	Eugenia Willems		C	76	U	F	WL	AFR
94	Federico Pieters		C	65	R	M	WL	AFR
95	Ahmed Mohamed		C	32	R	M	UM	LEB
96	Preston Liendo		C	44	R	M	UM	LEB
97	Frank Ilario		C	44	R	M	WL	AFR
98	Vicente Boekhoudt		C	74	R	M	WL	AFR
99	Ariel Lovert		C	51	R	F	UM	DU
100	Sharlotte Ras		C	58	R	F	WL	AFR
101	Lupo Ranes		C	27	R	M	UM	SUR
102	Anton Arvelo		C	70	R	M	WL	
103	Bart Vlijt		C	23	R	M	WL	AFR
104	Ardis Rijna		C	63	R	M	UM	ARAB
105	Maisha Leito		C	37	R	F	WL	AFR
106	Eduardo Oleana		B	53		M	WC	AFR
107	Mavis Felida		B	39		F	WC	
108	Alberta Chirino		B	39		F	WC	
109	Elvio Held		B	28		M	UM	AFR
110	Alfredo Mercera		B	83		M	WC	
111	Doris Clarenda		B	41		F	MC	AFR
112	Gustavo Wijman		B	47		M	UM	IN/AF
113	Fillip Anthony		B	47		M	UM	
114	Sidro Silberie		B	41		M	UM	
115	Gisella Ranes		B	70		F	UM	
116	Anastacio Ranes		B	74		M	UM	
117	Edson Thode		B	37		M	UM	
118	Nicole Watapana		B	34		F	UM	
119	Hugh Emerenciana		B	41		M	WL	
120	Constancia Wijman		B	57		F	WL	
121	Federico Coffi		B	50		M	UM	
122	Lucia Wijman		B	42		F	WL	
123	Shahaira Rodriguez		B/C	27		F	UM	
124	Juana Jimenez		B	20		F	WL	
125	Ruthmila Goedgedrag		B	23		F	UM	
126	Basilio Mercera		B	67		M	WL	
127	Jessica Cicilia		B	61		F	UM	
128	Mario Mercera		B	46		M	WC	

Sp#	Pseudonym	Town	Isl	Age	R/U	M/F	Class	Eth
129	Luis Mercera		B	22		M	WC	
130	Maria Rodriguez		B	19		F	WC	
131	Merutsa Rollan		B	22		F	UM	
132	Leon Wijman		B	18		M	WC	

Town and Location		Island and Sex		Class and Ethnicity	
SANNIC, SN	San Nicolas	A	Aruba	UM	upper/middle
O	Oranjestad	B	Bonaire	WL	working/lower
		C	Curaçao		
U	urban			AFR	African
R	rural	M	male	ARAB	other Arabic
		F	female	ARG	Argentinian
				CHIN	Chinese
				COL	Colombian
				DOM	Dominican
				DU	Dutch
				HISP	other Hispanic
				IN	Indian
				LEB	Lebanese
				MAD	Madeiro
				SUR	Surinamese
				VEN	Venezuelan

Appendix C—Interview Modules[131]

ARUBA	
DEMOGRAPHY	
Confidential:	Confidential information:
Nomber	Name
Adres	Address
Edad	Age
Bo tin trabao awo? Ki sorto?	Do you have work now? What kind?
Y bo famia?	And your family?
Cuanto aña di skol bo a kaba?	How many years of school did you finish?
Kico tabata bo prome trabao despues di skol? Pa cuanto tempo? Y djey?	What was your first job after you finished school? For how long? And then?
Na unda bo a naci? (di ki pueblo?)	Where were you born? (which town)
Bo tabata biba na _____ semper?	Have you always lived in (town)?
Na unda bo tata y mama a naci?	Where were your father and mother born?
Bo conosi bo isla?	Do you know your island well?
Bo por a biaha pa Curaçao of Boneiru?	Have you had a chance to travel to Curaçao or Bonaire?
Y otro luga na mundo?	And other places in the world? Where have you traveled?
PAPIAMENTO	
Con ta e Papiamento di Curacao?	How is the Papiamento of Curaçao?
Con ta e Papiamento di Boneiru?	How is the Papiamento of Bonaire?
Tin diferencia entre e Papiamento di O'stad	Are there any differences between the Papiamento of Oranjestad and
Santa Cruz, Paradera	Santa Cruz, Paradera?
Noord	Noord?
San Nicolas	San Nicolas?
anciano-young	old people and young people?

[131] Adapted from Labov (1984) for use with the Papiamentu speech communities.

LANGUAGE	
Bo por papia idioma ademas di Papiamento? Cua?	Can you speak a language/languages other than Papiamento? Which one(s)?
Cu kende bo ta papia _____?	With whom do you speak (language)?
Cu ki frequencia bo ta papia _____?	How often do you speak (language)?
Na cua idioma bo ta lesa courant?	In what language do you: read the newspaper?
ta wak television?	watch television?
ta wak pelicula?	watch movies?
ta papia cu bo casa?	speak to your spouse?
yiu?	children?
tata y mama?	parents?
amigonan?	friends?
coleganan?	colleagues?
clientenan?	clients/customers?
ta papia na e tiendanan?	speak in the stores?
supermarket?	supermarket?
misa?	at church?
ta scucha musica?	listen to music?
ta pensa?	think?
Pa cuanto aña bo a studia _____?	For how many years have you studied (language)?
Cua idioma bo ta gusta mihor?	What language do you like best?
Ora cu bo ta papiando ____, bo ta sinti comodo? Nan ta compronde bo?	When you're speaking (language), do you feel comfortable? Do people understand you?
Dunami bo opinion tocante e uzo di Papiamento na skol?	What's your opinion on the use of Papiamento in school?
CLASS	
Na bo cas, bo tin correiente?	In your house, do you have: electricity?
awa?	water?
telefono?	phone?
television?	TV?
airco?	air conditioner?
computer?	computer?

Bo tin un celular?	Do you have a cell phone?
auto?	car?
cable?	cable TV?
internet?	internet?
Bo ta usa computer na trabao?	Do you use a computer at work?
Bo ta bai pa un internet café?	Do you go to an internet café?
Bo tin un gende pa hasi trabao di cas?	Do you have a housekeeper?
RURAL	
Na unda bo ta bai supermarket?	Where do you go to the supermarket?
Cu ki frequencia bo ta bay Playa? San Nicolas?	How often do you go to Playa (the capitol)? San Nicolas (refinery town)?
Si bo tin emergencia, kende bo lo yama?	If you have an emergency, who would you call?
Bo ta corda ora bo a risibi corriente? awa? Kico a pasa?	Do you remember when you first received electricity? Water? What happened?
PROGRESS	
Ora bo tabata mucha, con tabata Aruba?	When you were a child, how was Aruba?
Kico bo ta kere na e cambio/desaroyo di Aruba?	What do you think has changed in Aruba?
Kon leu Aruba lo progresa?	How far will Aruba progress/develop?
TOURISTS	
Bo clientenan ta tourista?	Are your clients/customers tourists?
Ta cierto cu aki na Aruba ta demasiado tourista?	Is it true that Aruba has too many tourists?
Tin biaha ora cu nan ta hasi bo bira loca? ta causa problema?	Are there times when tourists drive you crazy? cause problems?
Ki sorto di problema nan ta causa?	What kind of problems do they cause?
Cua tourista ta esun di mas exigente?	Which tourists are the most problematic?

NATIONALITY	
Ki sorto di gende ta biba na bo bario? Arubiano so? Gende di otro pais?	What kind of people live in your neighborhood? Only Arubians? Foreigners?
Nan ta amistoso?	Are they friendly?
Bo tin amigo di otro pais?	Do you have friends from other countries?
Ora bo tabata mucha bo tabatin amigo di otro pais?	When you were a child, did you have friends from other countries?
Tin bringamentu entre ___ y ____?	Are there fights between (different nationalities)?
Kon ta cuminsa?	How do they start?
Ken ta Arubiano?	Who is an Arubian?
FOREIGNERS	
Ta cierto cu ta demasiado ilegal/extranhero aki na Aruba?	Is it true that there are too many illegals/foreigners in Aruba?
Pa kico nan a bini na Aruba?	Why do they come to Aruba?
Bo ta kere cu e extranheronan ta kita trabao di Arubiano?	Do you think foreigners take jobs away from Arubians?
Ta cierto cu e extranheronan ta busca pleito?	Is it true that foreigners look for trouble?
Bo ta kere cu un sorto di extranhero ta mihor cu otro sorto? Cual? Di con?	Do you think that one kind of foreigner is better than another kind? Which? Why?
Bo por distingui un extranhero for di aparencia?	Can you tell a foreigner by his or her appearance?
Ora un patron kier emplea Arubiano so, ta discriminasion?	When a boss hires only Arubians, is that discrimination?
Bo ta kere cu ta importante pa un extranhero ken kier biba na Aruba siña Papiamento?	Do you think that it's important for foreigners who want to live in Aruba to learn Papiamento?

CRIME	
Aruba tin peliger? Ki sorto?	Does Aruba have crime/danger? What kind?
E chollernan ta causa problema? Ki sorto?	Do homeless drug addicts cause problems? What kind?
Kico nos mester hasi tocante e chollernan?	What should we do about homeless drug addicts?
Bo ta cana na Playa anochi so? Sin peliger? Y den San Nicolaas? Y den bo bario?	Do you want in Playa alone at night? Without danger? And in San Nicolas? And in your neighborhood?
Con e polisnan ta comporta nan mes?	How do the police treat people?
Nan ta trata tur persona di e mes manera?	Do they treat everyone the same?
FIGHTS	
Con un bringamento ta cominsa akibanda?	How does a fight start around here?
Ki ta un bringamento limpi?	What's a clean fight?
Bo a bringa cu un persona mas grandi cu bo? (di cuerpo)	Have you ever fought with someone bigger/older than you?
Kico tabata e bringamento peor cu bo ta korda?	What's the worst fight you remember?
Kico tabata e bringamento mas importante cu bo ta corda?	What's the most important fight you remember?
Muhe ta bringa?	Do girls/women fight?
GAMES	
Ora bo tabata mucha, ki sorto di weganan bo tabata hunga?	When you were a kid, what kind of games did you play?
Wega di sconde?	Hiding games?
Wega di bola?	Games with balls?
SCHOOL	
Bo tabata bay skol ben bo bario?	Did you go to school in your neighborhood?

Bo tabata cana?	Did you walk?
E maestronan tabata streng?	Were the teachers strict?
Tabatin un tempo ora cu nan a culpabo pa algo cu bo no a hasi?	Was there ever a time when they blamed you for something you didn't do?
MARRIAGE	
Na unda bo a conose bo casá?	Where did you meet your spouse?
Bo/E a pidi e/bo pa casa? Kico a pasa?	Did you ask her/did he ask you to marry? What happened?
Despues di boso a casa, bo tabata biba cu bo suegro of bo mayornan? Kon tabata?	After you got married, did you live with your in-laws or parents? How was it?
Na cua edad ta bon pa casa?	What's a good age to get married?
Ta bon pa biba cu bo guy/chick prome cu casamento?	Is it OK to live with your boy-/girl-friend before getting married?
DATING	
Pa unda bo ta bay pa un date?	Where do/did you go for a date?
Bo tabatin un amigo so of bo tabata bay cu hopi hende?	Did/Do you have one friend or did you go out with lots of people?
Bo ta sinti jalurs si bo guy/chick lo a balia cu otro muhe/homber?	Do you feel jealous if your boy-/girl-friend/spouse dances with someone else?
Con bo ta kita un hende for di bo?	How do you break up with someone?
Ta bon pa bo sunchi ya na e prome date?	Is it OK to kiss on the first date?
RELIGION	
Bo famia ta bay misa?	Does your family go to church?
Cada dia domingo?	Every Sunday?
Bo ta catolico?	Are you Catholic?
Ta cierto cu e gende bon lo bay cielo y e gende malo lo bay fierno?	Is it true that good people go to heaven and bad people go to hell?

Kico ta pasa ora cu bo muri?	What happens when you die?
SUPERNATURAL	
Bo ta kere na destino?	Do you believe in destiny?
Bo ta kere na reincarnacion?	Do you believe in reincarnation?
Bo conose un gende ken sa kico lo pasa y si ta pasa?	Do you know someone who knows what will happen and it happens?
Bo sa algun luga cu tin spiritu of alma malu?	Do you know a place with ghosts or evil spirits?
Papiando di spiritu ta molestia bo?	Does talking about spirits bother you?

CURAÇAO	
DEMOGRAPHY	
Confidential:	Confidential information:
Nomber	Name
Adres	Address
Edad	Age
Bo tin trabao awo? Ki sorto?	Do you have work now? What kind?
Y bo famia?	And your family?
Cuanto klas bo a kaba?	How many years of school did you finish?
Kiko tabata bo prome trabao despues di skol? Pa cuanto tempo?	What was your first job after you finished school? For how long? And then?
Na unda bo a naci? (di ki pueblo?)	Where were you born? (which town)
Bo tabata biba na _____ semper?	Have you always lived in (town)?
Na unda bo tata y mama a naci?	Where were your father and mother born?
Bo conosi bo isla?	Do you know your island well?
Bo por a biaha pa Aruba of Boneiru?	Have you had a chance to travel to Aruba or Bonaire?
Y otro lugá na mundo?	And other places in the world? Where have you traveled?
PAPIAMENTU	

Kon ta e Papiamento di Aruba?	How is the Papiamento of Aruba?
Kon ta e Papiamento di Boneiru?	How is the Papiamento of Bonaire?
Tin diferencia entre e Papiamento di Stad	Are there any differences between the Papiamento of Willemstad and
Bandabou	Bandabou
Bandariba	Bandariba
Boca Samí	Boca Samí
anciano-young	old people and young people?
LANGUAGE	
Kua idioma bo por papia?	Can you speak a language/languages other than Papiamento? Which one(s)?
Ku kende bo ta papia _____?	With whom do you speak (language)?
Ku ki frequencia bo ta papia _____?	How often do you speak (language)?
Na kua idioma bo ta lesa courant?	In what language do you: read the newspaper?
ta wak television?	watch television?
ta wak pelicula?	watch movies?
ta papia cu bo casa?	speak to your spouse?
yiu?	children?
tata y mama?	parents?
amigonan?	friends?
koleganan?	colleagues?
klientenan?	clients/customers?
ta papia na e tiendanan?	speak in the stores?
supermarket?	supermarket?
misa?	at church?
ta skucha musica?	listen to music?
ta pensa?	think?
Pa kuanto aña bo a studia _____?	For how many years have you studied (language)?
Kua idioma bo ta gusta mihor?	What language do you like best?
Ora cu bo ta papiando ____, bo ta sinti comodo? Nan ta compronde bo?	When you're speaking (language), do you feel comfortable? Do people understand you?
Dunami bo opinion tokante e uzo di Papiamento na skol?	What's your opinion on the use of Papiamento in school?
CLASS	
Na bo cas, bo tin korreiente?	In your house, do you have: electricity?
awa?	water?

telefono?	phone?
television?	TV?
airco?	air conditioner?
computer?	computer?
Bo tin un celular?	Do you have a cell phone?
auto?	car?
cable?	cable TV?
internet?	internet?
Bo ta usa computer na trabao?	Do you use a computer at work?
Bo ta bai pa un internet café?	Do you go to an internet café?
Bo tin un gende pa hasi trabao di cas?	Do you have a housekeeper?
Pa hana bon trabaou, bo mester papia hulandes?	To get a good job, do you need to know Dutch?
RURAL	
Na unda bo ta bai supermarket?	Where do you go to the supermarket?
Kuantu biaha pa siman bo ta bai Punda/Otrobanda? Bandabou?	How often do you go to Punda/Otrobanda (the capitol)? Bandabou (rural area)?
Si bo tin emergencia, kende bo lo yama?	If you have an emergency, who would you call?
Bo ta korda ora bo a risibi korriente pa prome biaha? awa? Kiko a pasa?	Do you remember when you first received electricity? Water? What happened?
PROGRESS	
Ora bo tabata mucha, kon tabata Korsow?	When you were a child, how was Curaçao?
Kiko bo ta kere na e cambio/desaroyo di Korsow?	What do you think of the change in Curaçao?
Bo ta korda e 30 Mei? Kiko bo ta korda?	Do you remember the 30th of May? What do you remember?
Bo ta kere ku kos ta miho despues di e protesta? Mesun kos? Piyo?	Do you think that things are better after the protest? The same? Worse?
TOURISTS	
Bo klientenan ta tourista?	Are your clients/customers tourists?
Tin biaha ora ku e turistana ta fastioso? kausa problema/	Are there times when tourists drive you crazy? cause problems?

Bo ta kere ku turismo ta bon pa Korsow?	Do you think that tourism is good for Curaçao?
--e gobiernu mester buska mas turista?	--that the government should look for more tourists?
NATIONALITY	
Ki sorto di gende ta biba na bo bario? yiu Korsow so? Gende di otro pais?	What kind of people live in your neighborhood? Only Curaçaolenos? Foreigners?
Nan ta amistoso?	Are they friendly?
Bo tin amigo di otro pais?	Do you have friends from other countries?
Ora bo tabata mucha bo tabatin amigo di otro pais?	When you were a child, did you have friends from other countries?
Tin bringamentu entre ___ y ____?	Are there fights between (different nationalities)?
Kon ta cuminsa?	How do they start?
Ken ta yiu Korsow?	Who is 'child of Curaçao'?
FOREIGNERS	
Ta cierto cu ta demasiado ilegal/extranhero aki na Korsow?	Is it true that there are too many illegals/foreigners in Curaçao?
Pa kiko nan a bini Korsow?	Why do they come to Curaçao?
Bo ta kere cu e extranheronan ta kita trabao di yiu Korsow?	Do you think foreigners take jobs away from Curaçaolenos?
Ta cierto cu e extranheronan ta buska pleito?	Is it true that foreigners look for trouble?
Bo ta kere cu un sorto di extranhero ta mihor cu otro sorto? Kual? Di con?	Do you think that one kind of foreigner is better than another kind? Which? Why?
Bo por distingui un extranhero for di aparencia?	Can you tell a foreigner by his or her appearance?
Ora un patron kier emplea yiu Korsow so, ta discriminashon?	When a boss hires only Curaçaolenos, is that discrimination?
Bo ta kere cu ta importante pa un extranhero ken kier biba na Korsow siña Papiamento?	Do you think that it's important for foreigners who want to live in Curaçao to learn Papiamento?
CRIME	

Korsow tin peliger? Ki sorto?	Does Curaçao have crime/danger? What kind?
E chollernan ta kausa problema? Ki sorto?	Do homeless drug addicts cause problems? What kind?
Kico nos mester hasi tokante e chollernan?	What should we do about homeless drug addicts?
Bo ta kana na Punda anochi so? Sin peliger? Y den bo bario?	Do you want in Punda alone at night? Without danger? And in your neighborhood?
Kon e polisnan ta komporta nan mes?	How do the police treat people?
Nan ta trata tur persona di e mes manera?	Do they treat everyone the same?
FIGHTS	
Kon un bringamento ta cominsa akibanda?	How does a fight start around here?
Ki ta un bringamento limpi?	What's a clean fight?
Bo a bringa cu un persona mas grandi cu bo? (di cuerpo)	Have you ever fought with someone bigger/older than you?
Kico tabata e bringamentu peor cu bo ta korda?	What's the worst fight you remember?
Kico tabata e bringamentu mas importante cu bo ta corda?	What's the most important fight you remember?
Muhe ta bringa?	Do girls/women fight?
GAMES	
Ora bo tabata mucha, ki sorto di weganan bo tabata hunga?	When you were a kid, what kind of games did you play?
Wega di skonde?	Hiding games?
Wega di bola?	Games with balls?
SCHOOL	
Bo tabata bai skol ben bo bario?	Did you go to school in your neighborhood?
Bo tabata kana?	Did you walk?
E maestronan tabata streng?	Were the teachers strict?
Tabatin un tempo ora cu nan a culpabo pa algo cu bo no a hasi?	Was there ever a time when they blamed you for something you didn't do?

MARRIAGE	
Na unda bo a konose bo kasa?	Where did you meet your spouse?
Bo/E a pidi e/bo pa kasa? Kico a pasa?	Did you ask her/did he ask you to marry? What happened?
Despues di boso a kasa, bo tabata biba cu bo suegro of bo mayornan? Kon tabata?	After you got married, did you live with your in-laws or parents? How was it?
Na cua edad ta bon pa kasa?	What's a good age to get married?
Ta bon pa biba ku bo frei prome ku kasamento?	Is it OK to live with your boy-/girl-friend before getting married?
DATING	
Pa unda bo ta bai pa un date?	Where do/did you go for a date?
Bo tabatin un amigo so of bo tabata bai cu hopi hende?	Did/Do you have one friend or did you go out with lots of people?
Bo ta sinti jalurs si bo frei lo a baila cu otro muhe/homber?	Do you feel jealous if your boy-/girl-friend/spouse dances with someone else?
Kon bo ta kita un hende for di bo?	How do you break up with someone?
Ta bon pa bo sunchi ya na e prome date?	Is it OK to kiss on the first date?
RELIGION	
Bo famia ta bai misa?	Does your family go to church?
Tur dia domingo?	Every Sunday?
Bo ta katolico?	Are you Catholic?
Ta cierto cu e gende bon lo bai cielo y e gende malo lo bai fierno?	Is it true that good people go to heaven and bad people go to hell?
Kico ta pasa ora bo muri?	What happens when you die?
SUPERNATURAL	
Bo ta kere na destino?	Do you believe in destiny?
Bo ta kere na reincarnacion?	Do you believe in reincarnation?
Bo konose un gende ken por wak e futuro of sinti e futuro?	Do you know someone who knows what will happen and it happens?

Bo sa algun luga cu tin spiritu of alma malu?	Do you know a place with ghosts or evil spirits?
Papiando di spiritu ta molestia bo?	Does talking about spirits bother you?

BONAIRE	
DEMOGRAPHY	
Confidential:	Confidential information:
Nomber	Name
Adres	Address
Edad	Age
Bo tin trabao awo? Ki sorto?	Do you have work now? What kind?
Y bo famia?	And your family?
Kuanto klas bo a kaba?	How many years of school did you finish?
Kico tabata bo prome trabao despues di skol? Pa kuanto tempo? Y djey?	What was your first job after you finished school? For how long? And then?
Na unda bo a naci? (di ki pueblo?)	Where were you born? (which town)
Na unda bo tabata biba?	Where have you lived?
Na unda bo tata y mama a naci?	Where were your father and mother born?
Bo conose bo isla?	Do you know your island well?
Bo por a biaha pa Aruba of Korsou?	Have you had a chance to travel to Aruba or Curaçao?
Y otro lugá na mundo?	And other places in the world? Where have you traveled?
PAPIAMENTU	
Kon ta e Papiamento di Aruba?	How is the Papiamento of Aruba?
Kon ta e Papiamento di Korsow?	How is the Papiamento of Curaçao?
Tin diferencia entre e Papiamento di Playa	Are there any differences between the Papiamento of Playa and
Rincon	Rincon?
anciano-young	old people and young people?
LANGUAGE	
Kua idioma bo por papia?	Can you speak a language/languages other than Papiamento? Which one(s)?

Ku kende bo ta papia _____?	With whom do you speak (language)?
Ku ki frequencia bo ta papia _____?	How often do you speak (language)?
Na kua idioma bo ta lesa courant?	In what language do you: read the newspaper?
ta wak television?	watch television?
ta wak pelicula?	watch movies?
ta papia cu bo casa?	speak to your spouse?
yiu?	children?
tata y mama?	parents?
amigonan?	friends?
koleganan?	colleagues?
klientenan?	clients/customers?
ta papia na e tiendanan?	speak in the stores?
supermarket?	supermarket?
misa?	at church?
ta skucha musica?	listen to music?
ta pensa?	think?
Pa kuanto aña bo a studia _____?	For how many years have you studied (language)?
Kua idioma bo ta gusta mihor?	What language do you like best?
Ora cu bo ta papiando ____, bo ta sinti comodo? Nan ta compronde bo?	When you're speaking (language), do you feel comfortable? Do people understand you?
Dunami bo opinion tokante e uzo di Papiamento na skol?	What's your opinion on the use of Papiamento in school?
CLASS	
Na bo cas, bo tin korreiente?	In your house, do you have: electricity?
awa?	water?
telefono?	phone?
television?	TV?
airco?	air conditioner?
computer?	computer?
Bo tin un celular?	Do you have a cell phone?
auto?	car?
cable?	cable TV?
internet?	internet?
Bo ta usa computer na trabao?	Do you use a computer at work?
Bo ta bai pa un internet café?	Do you go to an internet café?
Bo tin un gende pa hasi trabao di cas?	Do you have a housekeeper?

Pa hana bon trabaou, bo mester papia hulandes?	To get a good job, do you need to know Dutch?
RURAL	
Na unda bo ta bai supermarket?	Where do you go to the supermarket?
Kuantu biaha pa siman bo ta bai Playa? Rincon?	How often do you go to Playa (the capitol)? Rincon?
Bo ta korda ora bo a risibi korriente pa prome biaha? awa? Kiko a pasa?	Do you remember when you first received electricity? Water? What happened?
PROGRESS	
Ora bo tabata mucha, kon tabata Boneiru?	When you were a child, how was Bonaire?
Ela a kambia hopi?	Has it changed a lot?
Bo ta spera ku Boneiru lo bira mas modernizá?	Will Bonaire become more modernized?
TOURISTS/FOREIGNERS	
Tin biaha ora e turistana ta fastioso? kausa problema	Are there times when the tourists are rowdy? cause problems?
Tin biaha ora e makambanan ta fastioso? kausa problema?	Are there times when the Dutch are rowdy? cause problems?
--Kiko nan sa hasi?	-What do they do?
--Bo ta korda un biaha ora bo a bringa ku un makamba?	-Do you remember a time when you got into a fight with a Dutch person?
Ki sorto di gende ta biba na bo bario? Boneirianu so?	What kind of people live in your neighborhood? Only Bonairians?
Ken ta Boneirianu?	Who is a Bonairian?
Ta importante pa stranhero siña Papiamentu?	Is it important for foreigners to learn Papiamentu?
Kiko bo ta kere tokante e makambanan ku no ta papia Papiamentu?	What do you think of Dutch people who don't speak Papiamentu?
ILLEGALS	
Tin hopi ilegal aki na Boneiru?	Are there a lot of illegals in Bonaire?
Pa kiko nan a bini?	Why do they come here?
Nan ta kita trabao di Boneirianu?	Do they take jobs away from Bonairians?
E gobiernu mester kontrolá mas e inmigrashon?	Should the government control immigration more?

--of nos mester yuda tur hende ku ta bini?	--or should we help everyone who comes here?
CRIME	
Boneiru tin peliger? Ki sorto?	Does Bonaire have crime/danger? What kind?
Bo ta kana na Playa anochi so? Sin peliger?	Do you want in Playa alone at night? Without danger?
Tin problema ku e chollernan? Ki sorto?	Do homeless drug addicts cause problems? What kind?
Kico nos mester hasi ku nan?	What should we do about them?
Kon e polisnan ta komporta nan mes?	How do the police treat people?
Nan ta trata tur persona di e mes manera?	Do they treat everyone the same?
FIGHTS	
Kon un bringamento ta cominsa akibanda?	How does a fight start around here?
Ki ta un bringamento limpi?	What's a clean fight?
Bo a bringa cu un persona mas grandi cu bo?	Have you ever fought with someone bigger/older than you?
Kico tabata e bringamentu piyo cu bo ta korda?	What's the worst fight you remember?
Muhe ta bringa?	Do girls/women fight?
GAMES	
Ora bo tabata mucha, ki sorto di weganan bo tabata hunga?	When you were a kid, what kind of games did you play?
SCHOOL	
Bo tabata bai skol ben bo bario?	Did you go to school in your neighborhood?
Bo tabata kana?	Did you walk?
E maestronan tabata streng?	Were the teachers strict?
Tabatin un tempo ora cu nan a culpabo pa algo cu bo no a hasi?	Was there ever a time when they blamed you for something you didn't do?
Abo tabata mala mucha?	Were you a bad kid?
Hopi studiante di Boneiru ta bai Hulanda?	Do a lot of students from Bonaire go to Holland?

Di kon no tin hopi--sen? gana?	Why aren't there many? Because of money? Or they just don't want to go?
Kon ta na Hulanda pa antiyano? tin diskriminashon?	How is Holland for Antilleans? Is there discrimination?
MARRIAGE	
Na unda bo a konose bo kasa?	Where did you meet your spouse?
Bo/E a pidi su/bo mayonan pa kasa? Kiko a pasa?	Did you ask her/did he ask you to marry? What happened?
Despues di boso a kasa, bo tabata biba cu bo suegro of bo mayornan? Kon tabata?	After you got married, did you live with your in-laws or parents? How was it?
Na cua edad ta bon pa kasa?	What's a good age to get married?
Ta bon pa biba ku bo frei prome ku kasamentu?	Is it OK to live with your boy-/girl-friend before getting married?
DATING	
Pa unda bo ta bai pa un date?	Where do/did you go for a date?
Bo ta sinti jalurs si bo frei lo a baila cu otro muhe/homber?	Do you feel jealous if your boy-/girl-friend/spouse dances with someone else?
sunchi	Kisses someone else?
Kon bo ta kita un hende for di bo?	How do you break up with someone?
Ta bon pa bo sunchi ya na e prome date?	Is it OK to kiss on the first date?
RELIGION	
Bo famia ta bai misa?	Does your family go to church?
Tur dia domingo?	Every Sunday?
Bo ta katolico?	Are you Catholic?
Ta cierto cu e gende bon lo bai cielo y e gende malo lo bai fierno?	Is it true that good people go to heaven and bad people go to hell?
Kico ta pasa ora bo muri?	What happens when you die?
SUPERNATURAL	
Bo ta kere na destino?	Do you believe in destiny?
Bo ta kere na reincarnacion?	Do you believe in reincarnation?

Bo konose un gende ken por wak of sinti e futuro?	Do you know someone who knows what will happen and it happens?
Bo sa algun luga cu tin spiritu?	Do you know a place with ghosts or evil spirits?

Appendix D Verb Etymology

Verb[132]	Alternate Spellings	Meaning	Cognate	Family	Language	Source
abolí		abolish				
aboná		subscribe				
aborecí		abhor				
absorbé		absorb				
abundá		abound				
abusá	abuzá	abuse				
adapta		adapt				
admití						
adoptá		adopt				
adorá	dorá	adore, worship				
afektá		affect				
afirmá		affirm				
aflihí	afligir	afflict				
agree		agree	agree	g	English	
agregá		aggregate				
akomodá	acomoda	accomodate				
aksentuá	asentua	accentuate				
aksepta		accept				
aktua		act				
akudí	acudí	turn to, apply, report to				
akumulá		accumulate				

[132] All verbs found in texts and interviews with *ta*, *tabata*, *ser*, *wordu*, and *keda* are listed here alphabetically, according to the modern orthography of Curaçao. All alternate spellings and pronunciations encountered are also given. Orthographies represented here include the modern standard Aruban orthography and pre-standard orthographies largely influenced by Dutch. Pronunciations vary due to things like the phonological integration of Iberian words into Papiamentu and variable phonological rules such as metathesis. For example, Spanish *acompañar* 'to accompany' may be pronounced in Papiamentu as *akompaña* or *kompaña*, and Spanish *bailar* 'to dance' may be pronounced *baila* or *balia*. Nonce borrowings and recently integrated borrowings are written in the standard orthography of their source language (for example, English 'supposed'). Where available, meanings are taken from Ratzlaff (1992) and etymologies from Maduro (1953).

akusá	acusá	accuse				
alabá		praise				
alarmá						
alegá		allege				
alegrá	legra	make happy		i		TSS
alehá		withdraw, secede, alienate				
alertá		alert				
alkansá	alcansá	reach, attain				
amargá		embitter				
amplia		amplify, enlarge				
analisá		analyze				
anda		associate, walk		i		
anhelá		yearn, long for, crave				
animá		animate, liven up, cheer up				
anotá		annotate				
anunsiá	anuncia, nunsiá	announce, annunciate				
aparesé		appear				
apliká						
aploudí	aplaudi	applaud				
aportá		contribute		i		
apoyá		support		i		
apresiá	apreci	appreciate				
apropriá		appropriate, allocate				
areglá	arregla	arrange				
argumentá		argue				
aseptá	acepta	accept				
aserká	acerca	approach				
asistí		assist				
aspirá		aspire				
asumí		assume				
atendé		attend to				

atmirá	admira	admire				
atraé	atrahe	attract				
atraká	ataca, ataká, atraka	attack				
atribuí	atribui	attribute, ascribe				
attract		attract	attract	g	English	
aware		aware		g	English	
back off		back off		g		
baha	baja	descend, decrease, lower		i		
bai	bay, baay, ban, bam	go	vai	i	Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
baila	balia	dance	bailar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
bal		cost	val	i	Old Span., Gallego, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
baña		bathe	bañar(se)	i		
bandoná	abandona, bandonar	abandon, leave				
barahá		shuffle				
bari		sweep				
barka		embark				
basa		base		i		
basha		pour		i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
bati		hit, bat				
batisá	batisaar, batiza, batisaa, batizar, bautizar	baptize				
bebe	bibi	drink		i		Maduro (1953)
behave		behave	behave	g	English	
bèl		call someone by phone		g		
bende	beendee	sell	vender	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
bendishoná	bendiciona, benedicionar	bless		i		
benefisiá						
bèns		bandage				

benta		throw, heave				
besa		kiss	besar	i	Spanish	
bezig		busy (with something)	bezig	g	Dutch	
biaha		travel		i		
biba		live	vivir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
bider		haggle, bargain		g		
bini	bin, bien, vini	come	venir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
bira		become, get	virar	i	Portuguese, Gallego, Santander	Maduro (1953)
bisa	biesa	say	avisar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
bishita	bisita	visit	visitar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
bisti	biestier	get dressed	vistir	i	Gallego	Maduro (1953)
blame		blame		g		
blasfemá		blaspheme				
blend in		blend in		g		
blo		show up, appear	bloot (adverb)	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
blow it up		blow it up		g		
blush				g		
bofoná		mock, spoof				
boga		plead	abogar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
bòks		clash, collide				
bolbe		return	volver	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
bolt				g		
bombardiá						
boot				g		
borda	bordo	board				
borotá		make noise, rant, rave				
bother		bother	bother	g	English	

brasa		embrace	brazar	i	Gallego	Maduro (1953)
brinda		toast				
bringa	brienga	fight, tussle	brigar	i	Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
broma		boast, brag, jest				
bruha		mixed up, confused				
bula	boela	jump, fly	volar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
buska	boeska, busca	look for	buscar	i		
buta	boeta, boetar	put, place				
catch	ketch, kèch	catch		g		
chansa		jest, joke				
check		check		g		
checkin		check in	check in	g		
choose		choose		g		
confirm		confirm		g		
course				g		
dal		hit	dar; dale (imp.)	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
dampe		??				
daña	danja, danjaar	spoil, damage				
data		date (put a date on)				
deal		deal		g		
debe	deber, debi	owe				
debilitá		debilitate				
dediká	dedica	dedicate				
defendé		defend				
dehá						
deklará	declara	declare, state				
dekorá						
delegá		delegate				
demole		??				
demostrá	demonstra	demonstrate				

dèn		thin out (hair)				
denunciá		denounce				
dependé		depend				
deprimí						
dera	derar, derra, derrar, deerraar	bury, entomb	enterrar; averrar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
derivá		derive				
desapreciá		unapprove				
desaprobá		disapprove				
desaroyá		develop, unfold				
desea		desire		i		
desembarká	desembarca	disembark				
desempeña		desist				
deskonsehá		dissuade				
deskribir		describe				
deskubrí	descubri, descubrí	uncover, discover				
deskuidá	descuida	not care for, overlook				
desmantelá		dismantle				
desmentí	desmenti	disclaim				
desobedesé	deesobedesie	disobey				
desokupá		??				
desonrá	deshonra	dishonor				
despachá		dispatch				
despedí	despidi	take farewell of				
desplegá		unfold				
despreciá	deprecie	despise, depreciate				
destaká		bring out, stand out, make prominent				
destilá		distill				
destiná		destine, intend		i		
destruí	distrui	destroy				
detené		detain				

determiná	determinar	determine				
detestá		detest				
devorá		devour				
di	dici	say, said		i		
dirigí	dirihi	direct, address		i		
dirti		thaw, melt				
disfrutá		enjoy				
disi	dici	say		i		
disidí	dicidi	decide	decidir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
diskriminá		discriminate				
diskuti	discuti, descutí, deskutí	discuss				
dispensá	dispensar	forgive		i		
disponé	disponi	be available				
distinguí		distinguish				
dividí		divide				
divorsía		divorce				
divulgá						
dokumentá		document				
domestiká		domesticate, raise				
dominá		dominate, subdue				
dòrna		adorn				
drai	draai, drei, dreige	turn				
drama	dramaar	shed, spill	derramar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
drecha	dretja	fix	drezar; aderezar	i	Old Span., Gallego	Maduro (1953)
drenta	dreenta	enter	dentrar	i	S.Americanism (Venez., Col., etc)	Maduro (1953)
drif	drief	float, drift				
drop out		drop out		g	English	

drumi	droemi	sleep	durmir	i	Gallego	Maduro (1953)
dualu	dwale, dual, dwaal	stray				
duda		doubt		i		
dueil		mop				
duel	dwel, doeel,	be sorry				
duna	doena, doenaar	give	donar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
dura	doera	last				
echa		ripen				
edifiká	edifica	edify				
editá		edit				
eduká	educa	educate				
eens		agree	eens	g	Dutch	
efektuá		effectuate				
ehekutá	ehecutá	execute				
ehersé	eherci	exercise	ehercer	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
eksagerá	exagerá	exaggerate				
ekiboká						
eksagerá		exagerate				
eksigí		require				
eksistí	existi	exist				
eksitá	excita	excite				
ekskavá	excavá	excavate				
eksperensiá						
eksplotá	escplota	explode				
eksponé	escpone, expone, exponi, eksponi	expose, display				
eksportá	exporta	export				
ekspresá	expresa	express				
ekstendé	extende	extend, stretch				
elevá		elevate				
elihi	elegi, elehi, erihí	elect				
elogía	elohia	eulogize				

emfatisá						
emití		emit				
empatá		tie (a game)				
empidí		??				
empleá		employ				
enamorá		enamor		i		
enbolbí	envolvi, enbolbe	involve				
end up				g		
engañá		deceive, beguile, fool				
enjoy		enjoy		g		
enkantá		enchant				
enkargá	encarga	entrust with, take upon oneself				
enkontra		encounter				
enserá						
entrebista		interview				
entregá		deliver, yield, surrender		i		
era						
eskalá	eksala	escalate				
eskapá	escapa	escape				
eskohí	escogi					
esperando				i		
espone						
establesé	estableci, establesi	establish				
estravia		??				
evaluá		evaluate				
evaporá		evaporate				
evidensá						
evitá		avoid, shun, prevent				
expect		expect	expect	g	English	
explorar		explore	explorar	i	Spanish	

faboresé	favorece, favorecer, favorese	favor				
fabriká		fabricate				
facilitate		facilitate		g		
fada		irk, bore				
fall op		fall up, fall out		g		
falsifiká	falsificá	falsify, counterfeit				
falta		fault, lack, miss		i		
fangu	fango	catch				
fasilitá		facilitate				
faya		fail, miss				
fayesé		pass away, die				
ferfelu		boring, weary	vervelend	g	Dutch	
fia		borrow, loan, lend	fiado (on credit) fiar	i	Spanish?	Maduro (1953)
figurá		figure				
fiha		fix	fijar	i	Spanish?	Maduro (1953)
fika	fica	bog, delay				
finalisá	finalizá	finalize				
finansiá	financia	finance				
find out		find out		g		
fingi		feign				
firma	firmar	sign, autograph				
fit				g		
fix				g		
fleit	flùit	whistle, flute		g		
flihi	fligi	??				
floresé	florece	flourish				
focus		focus		g		
follow				g		
fomentá		foment				
forduná						
forma		form, shape				

fòrsa	forza	force, coerce	forzar/ forc,ar	i	Spanish/ Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
frakasá	fracasa	fail				
freelance		freelance		g		
frei		flirt, court, woo	vrijen	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
frek		??				
frena		bridle, restrain, curb, stop				
frifri		pick	firifiri, encanijado, enclenque	i	Venezuelan Spanish (prob.)	Maduro (1953)
funda		found, establish				
funshoná	funciona	function, work				
fura		upholster, line				
gaba		boast, brag	gabar; elogiar	i	Portuguese, Gallego	Maduro (1953)
gabla		talk, speak		i		
gana		win, gain, earn				
gaña		lie, fool	engañar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
gara		grasp, understand, seize, clutch				
garantisá	garantiza	guarantee		i		
garna		crumble, break into pieces				
gamble				g		
gasta		spend, use up, wear out, erode				
gierta		??				
glorifiká	glorifica	glorify				
goberná	governa, gobiërna	govern, rule				
gosa	goza	amuse, enjoy, delight	gozar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
graba		record				
gradisí	gradici	thank	gradecer	i	Old Spanish	Maduro (1953)
gradua						

grasia						
grawatá		itch, scratch, claw	esgaravatar	i	Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
grina						
grita		yell, scream, howl	gritar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
guia	gia	guide, lead, conduct				
guli		swallow, guzzle		i		
gusta		like, fancy		i		Maduro (1953)
habitá		inhabit				
habri	abri	open	abrir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
hak		crochet, hook		g		
hala		pull, move, stir, massage	halar; jalar	i		Maduro (1953)
halsa	halza, halzar	raise, lift				
handle		handle		g		
haña	hanja, hanya, haja, haya	find, get, receive	hallar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
hari		laugh				
hasa						
hasi	haci, hacir, hasje	do	hacer	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
hefja		?				
help out		help out		g		
heridá		wound, injure				
hiba		take, convey, lead	llevar / levar	i	Spanish / Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
hinka	hinca	stab, sting, puncture		i		Maduro (1953)
hisa		lift, raise, hoist	izar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
hode	hodeis	bug, pester		i		
hoga		drown				
hole		smell		i		
honra		honor				
horka		hang				
hòrta		rob, steal		i		Maduro (1953)

huda		?	Judas	?		
hui	hoei, huy	flee, escape, run away, make off				
huma	fuma			i		
humiyá	humili	humble, humiliate				
huña		scratch, claw				
hunga	huga, hoenga	play	jugar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
hura	jura	swear, vow				
hustifiká	justifica, hoestifikaar	justify				
huur		rent		g		
huzga		judge				
identifiká						
ignorá		ignore				
iluminá		illuminate				
imaginá	imahina	imagine				
imigrá		immigrate				
imitá		imitate				
implementá		implement				
implorá		implore				
importá		import				
indigá		investigate, inquire into/about				
indiká	indica, indicar	indicate				
infestá		infest				
influenshá	influencia	influence				
informá		inform				
inisiá	inicia	initiate				
inkliná						
inkluí	inclui, incluya	include				
inkorporá		incorporate				
inkulkal						
inprintá						

insalá						
insinuá						
insistí						
inskribí						
inspirá		inspire				
instalá		install				
instigá		instigate				
instituí	instituir, instituwier	institute				
instruí		instruct				
integrá		integrate				
interesá		interest				
interkambia						
interpretá		interpret				
interview		interview	interview	g	English	
introdusí	introduci	introduce				
invadí		invade				
inventá		invent				
inventarisá						
inverti		invest, invert				
investiga		investigate				
invitá		invite				
joyride		joyride	joyride	g	English	
judge		judge	judge	g	English	
kaba	caba	finish	acabar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kabesa						
kai		fall	cair	i	Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kalifiká	califique	qualify				
kalka						
kalkulá	calcula	calculate				
kalma		calm, allay, still				

kambia		change, exchange, trade				
kamina						
kampa						
kana	kamna, camna, cana	walk	caminar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
kansa	cansa	tire, fatigue, weary	cansar(se)	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kanta	canta	sing, chant, carol		i		
kap		cut, chop, fell, hew		g		
kapia		spy on; drift (boat)		i		
kapta		capture				
karga	carga	carry, load		i		
kariña		show affection		i		
karisiá	caricia, karisja	caress, fondle		i		
kasa		get married	casar(se)	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kastigá	castiga	punish		i		
katsa ballen						
kausa		cause				
kautiloss						
ke	kier, ker	want		i		Maduro (1953)
keda	queda	remain, stay, is		i		
kega		??				
keha	queha, quega	complain				
keiru		drive around, walk around	kuieren	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
kere	kiri, quere, keere, queré	believe		i		
ketch		catch		g		
kibra	quibra	break	quebrar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kik (af)	kiek	kick (against authority)		g		Maduro (1953)
kima	kimaar	burn				
kita	quita, kieta	remove, subtract, quit		i		
klabe						

klara		clarify, elucidate, make clear				
klasifiká	clasifica	classify				
koba	cobar	dig, excavate	cavar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kobra		collect, charge				
kodisia??	codicia	??				
kohe	coi, cogi, cohe, koe	seize, take, fetch	cojer	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
kolabora		collaborate				
kolgá	cologa, kologa	hang, dangle, droop				
kombatá	combati	combat				
kombersá	combersa	converse	conversar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kombidá	combidar	invite				
kombiná	kumbini	combine				
kombiní		agree upon, suit, be convenient	convenir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
kome	komee	eat		i		Maduro (1953)
komentá	comenta	comment				
kometé	comete, kometi	commit				
kompañá	acompanja, acompana, kompanja	accompany, escort, cohabit	compañar	i	Old Span., Gallego	Maduro (1953)
kompará		compare				
kompartí		impart, share				
kompetí		compete				
kompilá						
komplasé	komplasi	please				
komponé	compone	compose				
komportá		behave, conduct		i		Maduro (1953)
komprobá	comproba	verify, ascertain, prove				
kompronde	comprende, komprende	understand		i		
kompwesto	compuesto	??				
komunika		communicate				

konbertí						
kondená	condena	condemn, find guilty				
kondusí	condusí	conduct				
konektá	conecta	connect, hook-up				
konfesá	confesa	confess				
konfiá	confia	trust, confide				
konfida						
konfirmá	confirma, confirmar	confirm, corroborate		i		
konfundí						
konkistá		conquer				
konkluí	conclui	conclude				
konkretisá		concretize, solidify				
konosé	conose, conosi, conocir, konosi	know		i		
konsa						
konsagrá	consagra, consagrar, consegra, konsegra	consecrate				
konsebí	consebi, concibir, concebir	conceive				
konsebí	concibir, konsibier, konsibí	conceive				
konsechá						
konsedé	concede	concede				
konsehá	conseha	advise, counsel				
konsentrá		concentrate				
konserá						
konserní		concern				
konservá	conserva	conserve				
konsiderá	considera	consider		i		
konsiente		conscious?				
konsiguí						
konsistí	consisti	consist				
konsolá	consola	console				
konstituí	constitui	constitute				

konstruí		construct				
konsultá		consult				
konta	coonta, conta, contra, koonta	tell, add, count				
kontemplá		contemplate				
kontené	contene, konteni	contain				
kontestá	contesta	answer, reply		i		
kontinuá	continua	continue, remain				
kontra	contra	to meet, encounter	encontrar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kontraresta	contrarresta	?counterarrest				
kontribuí	contribui	contribute				
kontrolá		control				
konvení						
konvensí						
koopera	koperá	cooperate				
koordiná	coordina, kordiná	coordinate				
kopa						
kopia	copia	copy				
korbe						
kòrda	koorda	remember, remind	acordarse; acordar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kore	corre, core, kuri, koeri	run	correr	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
korehí	corrigir	correct		i		
korespondé	corresponde	correspond				
koroná	corona	crown				
korsa						
kòrt (off)		make brief, short?	kort	g		
kòrta	koortar	cut	cortar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kose	koseer	sew, suture				
kosta	costa	cost				

kostumbrá	akustumbrá, kustomá, kustumá	accustom, get used to	acostumbrar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
kousa	causa, kausa	cause				
koya						
krak		crack		g		
krea	crea	create				
krese	cree, kresi, kreser	grow		i		
kria	cria	bring up, rear, raise	criar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
krimp		??				
kritiká	critica	criticize				
krusa	cros	cross				
krusifiká	crucifica, crucificar, kroesifikaar	crucify				
kuadra						
kuba						
kubri		cover, hide, coat				
kuenta						
kuestioná						
kuida	kwida	tend, guard, nurse, care for				
kuinda						
kulpa	culpa	blame				
kultivá		cultivate				
kumindá	coeminda, cominda, cominda	greet	encomendar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
kuminsá	kuminza, coeminza, cuminsa, cuminza, koeminsa, koemiensa	begin, start	comenzar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
kumpli	compli, kompli, koempli, koemplier	accomplish, fufill				
kumpra	cumpra, kompra, koempra	buy				
kuni?/ kunindo						
kura	cura, koera, koeraar	cure, heal				
kursa						
kushiná		cook		i		

kustumbrá	coestumber, kustumber, custumbra	accustom, get used to				
kwee		?take		g		
laba		wash		i		
laga	larga	let, allow, leave	largar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
lamenta						
landa		swim				
lansa		lance, throw, hurl				
lanta	lamta, lamanta	rise, get up, wake up	levantar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
lapi		patch				
larga		dissolve, melt		i	same as l4?	Maduro (1953)
lasta						
lastra		drag, shuffle, tow				
lek						
lembe		lick, coax, cajole	lamber; lamer	i	Old Spanish, Portuguese, Gallego, Spanish dialects	Maduro (1953)
lesa	leza, leer, resa[133]	read	leer-Sp; lesa-Dutch lezen	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
lia						
libra	liber	free				
liderisá		lead				
liga		bind				
like		like	like	g	English	
limitá		limit, conform				
limpi	liempi, limpia	clean	limpiar	i		

[133] Context differentiates *resa* 'pray' from *resa* 'read'. In coding, I indicated in the spreadsheet cases where *resa* was used to mean 'read'. Three Curaçao speakers did this in interviews: PUT PSEUDONYMS HERE 62, 65, and 72. Though this is stereotypically a rural phenomenon, the speakers who did this are all from the Willemstad area. One was 83 years old at the time of interview. The other two were much younger ADD A LITTLE MORE ON THEIR LIFE HISTORY

lira						
lit						
logra		achieve, attain				
lok	lock	lock		g		
lombra		shine, glitter				
look up to		look up to		g		
lora		roll, wrap, curl	rolar	i	Portuguese, Gallego, Span. dial.	Maduro (1953)
lubidá		forget				
lucha						
lusa	luza	light				
lusi	luci	shine, distinguish oneself				
mach	mag	must	mach	g	Dutch	
macha		??				
madura						
mail		mail	mail	g	English	
make it		make it				
maltratá		ill-treat	maltratar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
malusá		misuse, ill-use				
mancha	manchár	blemish, spot				
manda	mandar	send	mandar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
manehá	manehar	manage				
manifestá		manifest				
manipula						
mantené		maintain				
mara	marrar	tie, bind, bandage	marra	i	Venezuelan	Maduro (1953)
marchitá		droop				
marka	marca	mark, scar, brand				
market		market	market	g	English	
mata	matta, matar	kill, murder		i		

match		match	match	g	English	
meditá		meditate				
men	meen	mean		g		
menazá	menasa, amenasa, amenaza	menace, threaten	amenazar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
menospreciá	menopreciá	belittle				
menshoná	menciona	mention				
meresé		deserve, merit	mereci	i	Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
meskla	mezcla	mix, mingle, blend, amalgamate		i		
mester	meste	need to; must				
meta						
mete						
midí	midier	measure				
mind		mind		g		
mira	miera	see, look		i		
misa						
mishandle		mishandle	mishandle	g	English	
misplace		misplace	misplace	g	English	
mix		mix	mix	g	English	
mobilisá	mobilizá	mobilize				
modernisá						
modifiká		modify				
molestia	molestar	bother		i		
monta		mount				
mop		mop		g		
morde		bite, ache	morde; mordi	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
motibá						
move	moef, muf	move		g		
muebla		furnish	amueblar/ muebelen	m	Spanish/Dutch	Maduro (1953)
muha	mua	wet				
muri	moeri, mori	die	morir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)

mustra	moestra, moenstra, munstra, monstra, mostra	show	mostrar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
nabegá	nabaga, navega	navigate				
nase	nace, nasi	to be born				
nenga	ninga	deny, negate, refuse				
nifiká	nifica	mean, signify		i		
nombra		name, appoint				
nota		note, notice				
obedesé	obedece, obedise, obedesie	obey				
obligá	obligar	obligate, compel				
obra		work				
obtení		obtain				
odia		hate		i		
ofendé	ofonde	offend				
ofiesi		??				
ofresé	ofreci, ofrece, ofrese	offer		i		
ofuská		obfuscate				
okashoná	occasiona	occasion				
okupá	ocupa	occupy				
omit		omit		g		
ondia		??				
operá		operate				
opina		opine		i		
oprimí		oppress				
opservá	observa	observe				
opta		opt, choose for				
optené	obteni	obtain				
ordená	ordoná	ordain				
organisá		organize				
orusá	oruza	??				
otorgá		give (as an award)				

ouksili	auxili	??				
oumentá	aumentá	augment				
padesé	padesee, padece	suffer, feel deeply				
paga		put out, turn off / pay	apagar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
pak				g		
pala						
palabrá		agree to, give one's word				
papia		speak, talk	papear	i	Portuguese, Old Spanish	Maduro (1953)
para		stop, stand				
paralisá		paralyze				
pari		give birth, bear fruit				
parse	parce, parese, parece	resemble, look like	parecer	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
parti	partir	part, share				
partikula						
partisipá	participa	participate				
pasa		pass		i		
patruyá	patrujá	patrol	patrullar; patrulhar	i	Spanish; Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
pausa						
pega		glue, fasten, light, get stuck				
pela						
pelea						
pena		pain, grieve, ache				
peña		comb	peinar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
pendiente						
penetrá		penetrate				
pensa		think	pensar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
perde	perdi, perdir, perdier	lose	perder	i	Spanish,	Maduro (1953)

					Portuguese	
perfekshoná	perfecciona	perfect				
perform		perform		g		
perkurá	precura	care for	percurar; procurar	i	Gallego	Maduro (1953)
permanesé		stay				
permit		permit		g		
permití	permitier, permitir	permit		i		
persiguí		persecute, maltreat	perseguir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
persisití		persist				
pertenesé	perteneci, pertenece, pertinece	pertain				
pichiri						
pick up		pick (something) up	pick up	g	English	
pida						
pidapida						
pidi		ask	pidir; pedir	i	Gallego	Maduro (1953)
piece				g		
piki		pluck, pick		g		
pinta		color, paint	pintar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
pisa		weigh	pisar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
piska	pisca	fish	pescar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
plak		paste, stick on	plakken	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
plama	plamaar	scatter, spread, take apart				
plan		plan		g		
plania	planea	plan				
planta	plantaar	plant, sow				
play the part	[codeswitch]	play the part		g		
pleita		argue				
pluralizá		pluralize				

pobla		populate, people				
poderá	apoderá	overpower				
pòmp		pump		g		
pone	poni, poner, poneer	put		i		
por		can, may, is able		i		
pordoná	pordonar, poordonaar	pardon, forgive				
poseé	possee	possess, own				
posponé	posponí	postpone				
praktiká	practica	practice				
prediká	predica	preach				
preferá	perferá	prefer	preferir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
prek		prick		g		
premia						
preokupá		worry		i		
prepará		prepare				
prepare		prepare	prepare	g		
presedé	precidi, precede	precede				
presentá		present		i		
presia						
presta						
pretendé		pretend				
prevení		prevent				
primi		squeeze, press				
primintí		promise, pledge				
prinsipiá	principia	begin				
proba	aprobar, aprobá	prove				
probechá	provechá	profit, make the most of	aprovechar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
problematisá						
produsí	producir	produce				
profaná		profane				

profesá		profess				
profundisá						
progresá		progress				
prohibí		prohibit				
proklamá		proclaim				
promové	promovi	promote				
pronostika		prognosticate, predict		i		
pronunciá		pronounce				
propagá						
proponé		propose				
proporshoná	proporcionar	proportion				
protehá	protega	protect				
protektá						
prove		prove		g		
provoka		provoke				
proyektá	proyecta	project				
publiká	publica	publish, publicize				
puntra	poentra	ask, question	[reguntar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
pura		hurry				
purba	prueba, pruba	endeavor, try, taste	probar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
purifiká		purify				
push (up)		push up	push	g	English	
pusha	push	push, thrust, shove				
qualify				g		
question		question		g		
rabia		anger, rage, enrage				
ranka	ranca, oranka	pull, tug, jerk				
rape		rape		g	English	
raporta						
rasga						

rastra	arrastra	trace, track				
reakshoná	reacciona	react				
realisá		realize				
reatá						
rebahá		lower, cut price, demean	rebajar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
rebibá		relive				
rechazá		reject, repel				
reedifiká		reedify				
referí		refer	referir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
refiná		refine				
reflehá		reflect, ponder				
reflekshoná						
regalá		give, donate		i		Maduro (1953)
registrá		register				
regla		arrange, settle				
reina		rule, reign				
reinkarná		reincarnate		i		
reiterá		reiterate				
rèk	reken	stretch, draw out		g		
reklamá						
rekobrá		retrieve, recover				
rekohé		regather				
rekomendá		recommend				
rekompensá	reekoompeensa	recompense, reward, requit				
rekone						
rekonosé		recognize, admit, confess		i		
rekonstruí		reconstruct, rebuild				
rekontá	rekoontá	retell, recount				
rekòrdá		remember, recall, remind		i		
rekuperá		recooperate		i		

rekurí						
relahá						
relata		relate				
relevá		relieve, replace				
rema		oar, row	remar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
rementá	remontá	burst	reventar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
remordé		remorse, regret				
remplasá		replace				
rende		increase, render				
renová		renovate				
repartí		distribute, hand out		i		Maduro (1953)
repasá		review, pass over, rehash				
repentí	repientie	repent				
reportá	raporta	report				
representá		represent				
reprodusí	reproduci	reproduce				
resa	reza	pray	rezar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
reserbá	reservar	reserve				
resistí		resist				
resolvé		resolve				
respet		respect		g		
respetá		respect		g	Dutch, French, English	Maduro (1953)
respirá		breathe				
respondé	respondi	respond				
responsabilisá		be responsible to				
restapá						
restorá	restoura	restore				
resultá		result				
retirá		retire, withdraw				

reuní		reunite, assemble				
revelá		reveal				
ridiculisá		ridicule				
rika						
ring		ring (i.e. telephone someone)	ring	g	(British) English	
ripará		notice				
ripití	repeti, repiti	repeat, reiterate	repetir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
risibí	ricibi, resibi, recibi	receive	recibir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
riská	risca	risk				
ristra	rista	rummage, search				
roba						
rodeá		??				
roga		beg, beseech, plead, implore				
rompe		break				
ronka	ronca	snore, rumble, roar				
rospondé		respond	responder	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
run (around)		run		g	English	
sa	sabi	know		i		
sagudí		shake, wag, shudder				
sak		bow, bend down				
saka	saca	take out, remove				
sakeá	saquequa	ransack				
sakrifiká	sacrifica	sacrifice				
salba	salva, salbar, salbaar	save				
salbaguardiá	salvaguardá	safeguard				
sali		leave, exit, go out		i		
salta		skip, leap				
salvé		save				
saludá		salute		i		

santifiká	santificaar, santifica	sanctify, hallow, consecrate				
sapatiá		trample, sprawl, kick with feet				Maduro (1953)
saturá		saturate				
schat		sweetheart				
scohe		choose	escoger	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
score		score	score	g	English	
screen		screen	screen	g	English	
sede		cede				
seka	sekaar	wipe, dry				
sekuestrá		kidnap, adbuct				
selebrá	celebra, celebrar, célébraar, celebraar	celebrate				
selekshoná		select, choose				
sembra						
señalá	seña	signal				
sende	cendi, sendi	light, ignite				
sense		sense	sense	g	English	
senurá	censur	censure				
separá		separate, sunder				
sera	cerra,	close, shut	cerrar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
seya		seal, stamp				
shock		shock	shock	g	English	
shop		shop	shop	g	English	
show off		show off	show off	g	English	
shusha		dirty, soil		i		
sigi	sigui, segui	follow	seguir	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
signifiká		signify				
sigurá		assure				
sili						

siña	sinja, sinjaal	learn, teach	enseñar / ensinar	i	Spanish / Portuguese, Gallego	Maduro (1953)
sinta	sintar, sienta	sit	sentar(se)	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
sinti		feel				
sira						
sirbi	sirvi	serve		i		Maduro (1953)
sirkulá						
situá		situate				
skapa	scapa	escape				
skeiru		brush	schuier, schuieren	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
sker		split, rip, tear		g		
skirbi	scirbi. Skribi, escribi. Skirbir, skierbier, skierbi, skibi	write	escribir	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
sklama	sclama	exclaim	exclamar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
skohe	scohe, escogi, eskohe, eskohi	choose				
skonde	skoondier, sconde	hide, conceal				
skop		kick		g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
skucha	skoetsja	hear	escuchar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
slow down		slow down		g	English	Maduro (1953)
smak	smaak	taste		g		
smor	smoor	stew				
sobra						
sobreviví		survive		i		
soda		perspire, sweat				
soi	sooi	??		g		
sokete						
solemnisá	solemizá	solemnize				
solistá	solisitá	solicit		i		
solushoná						
solta						
someté		submit				

soña	sonja, zonz	dream				
sonrei		smile		i		Maduro (1953)
soportá		support, bear, put up with				
soru		take care of	zorgen	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
sosegá		rest				
sosodé	socede, sosede, sucede	happen		i		
sospechá		suspect				
sostené		sustain, support				
spacha						
span						
spanta		frighten				
spar	spaar	save				
speibel				g		
spel				g		
spera		hope, wait for	esperar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
speshalizá		specialize		i		
splika	splica	explain	explicar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
sponsor		sponsor		g		
spot		spot		g		
spuit				g		
stabilize		stabilize	stabilize	g	English	
stage		stage	stage	g		
stand		stand	stand	g	English	
start		start	start	g	English	
stick		stick		g		
stima	stimar	love		i		
stimulá		stimulate				
stipulá		stipulate				
stoba		stew				
stop		stop	stoppen; stop	g	Dutch or English	Maduro (1953)

straf		punish		g	Dutch	
stress				g		
stret		straighten out				
strika						
stroba		hinder				
stroi	strooi	strew, scatter		g		
stuck		stuck (past tense of ‘stick’)		g		
studia		study				
study		study	study	g	English	
subi	soebi	climb, raise, ascend		i		
sufri	soefri	suffer				
suministrá		supply, provide, furnish				
suncha		kiss	zoentje [dial. zu:nchi; su:nchi]	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
supla		blow, spray paint	soplar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
supliká		supplicate				
suponé		suppose				
supply		supply	supply	g	English	
supposed (di, to)		be supposed to	supposed to	g	English	
surgi		surge, rise				
suspirá		sigh				
suta	zuta	flog, spank, whip, thrash				
switch		switch	switch	g	English	
switch over		switch over		g	English	
swing				g	English	
ta		COPULA		i		
taar						
taha	tahar	forbid, restrain				
tapa		cover		i		
tarda		delay, tarry, linger				
tek		type		g		

telefòn		telephone (someone)	telefoneren	g	Dutch	
tembla		tremble, quaver, shake, shiver				
teme		fear				
tende	tendi, teende	hear, listen	entender	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
tene	teni	hold, keep, have		i		
tenta	teenta, tempta	tempt				
termina		terminate				
testiguá	testigu	witness				
tin	tien	have		i		
tira	tiraa	shoot				
tjiep / chip		drizzle		g		Maduro (1953)
toka	toca	touch, play instrument	toca	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
tolerá		tolerate				
topa		meet (with)	topar	i	Portuguese, Gallego	Maduro (1953)
tormentá		torment, harass, castigate				
torturá						
touch		touch		g	English	
tover						
trabaja		work	trabahar (trabaja)	i	Spanish	
trafika		traffic				
traha	trahar,	work, make, build	trabajar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
tradusí	traduci, traducir	translate		i		
trafiká						
traishoná	traiciona	betray				
trak				g		
transmit						
transportá		transport				
trapa		step on	trappen	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
trasladá		transfer, transport				
traspasá	traspasar	trespass				

trata		try, treat		i		
travel		travel	travel	g	English	
tren				g		
trese	trece, tresee	bring				
triumfá		triumph				
troka	troca	change, move, exchange				
trot		trot, walk				
trust		trust		g	English	
tuma	toema, toemaar	take	tomar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
tumba		overthrow, cast down, take off to				
uni	unir, oeni, oenir,	unite		i		tss
usa	uza	use				
utilisá	utiliza	utilize				
vak	vok			g		
variá		vary				
vencé		vanquish				
vernisá		varnish				
veropt				g		
vigilá		keep vigil				
violá						
vota		vote				
waak		walk		g	English	Maduro (1953)
wak	waak	look, look after	waken	g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
wanta		bear, endure, last, hold back	guantar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
wara						
warda		wait, safe keep	guardar	i	Spanish, Portuguese	Maduro (1953)
wedde		pay, pay salary		g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)
wep						
weta		see				

wheel and deal		wheel and deal	wheel and deal	g	English	
wonder		wonder		g	English	
worry		worry	worry	g	English	
yama	jama, jamar, jamá	call, say		i		
yanga	janja, yanya	sway, totter				
yega	jega	arrive, reach		i		
yena	jena, jenaar	fill				
yobe	jobe	rain				
yora	jora	cry	llorar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
yuda	juda	help, aid	ayudar	i	Spanish	Maduro (1953)
yuna	joena	fast (i.e. go without eating)				
zak	zaak	bend down, fail an exam		g?		
zoja		swing hips, sway				
zona						
zorg		care for		g?		
zundra	soendra, zondra	berate, scold				
zuta						
zwaai		swing		g	Dutch	Maduro (1953)

Appendix E Distribution of Text Genres by Island and Time Period

Island, Time Pd. **CURAÇAO**	Text #	Genre	Number of Tokens			
			-ndo[134]	*ger. -ndo*	*passive*	*focus*
A 1775-1837	2	letter	7 (7)	0	0	0
	3, 155	dialogues	6 (6)	0	0	0
	174	religious	100 (50)	0	0	0
B 1844-1859	172	letter	42 (42)	0	0	0
	27, 140, 168	religious	140 (140)	80	1	23
C 1860-1879	87, 137, 138	religious	244 (85)	61	4	5
	109-115	articles	270 (63)	5	2	3
	141	non-fiction	2 (2)	0	0	0
D 1880-1899	153	letter	51 (25)	0	0	0
	88, 116, 142	religious	289 (77)	45	19	16
	4, 156-167	articles	198 (64)	9	0	0
	26	fiction	13 (13)	0	0	1
E 1900-1919	108	religious	99 (44)	86	18	0
	143, 154	non-fiction	101 (43)	18	0	0
F 1920-1929	9, 70, 71	letter	12 (12)	0	0	0
	10, 74-76	poem	22 (22)	0	0	1
	22-24, 30	fiction	238 (238)	12	2	24
	72, 73	song	12 (12)	0	0	0
	144	religious	100 (34)	0	0	0
G 1930-1939	139, 145, 150	non-fiction	199 (103)	158	21	11
	146	religious	93 (46)	0	0	0
	147-149	article	18 (18)	4	0	0
H 1940-1949	131	song	76 (29)	3	2	1
	132	non-fiction	90 (35)	9	1	0
I 1950-1959	134	letter	5 (0)	1	0	0
	8, 16, 78	fiction	109 (103)	43	2	35
	34, 135, 136	play	122 (40)	14	6	8
J 1960-1969	13, 81	poem	12 (4)	0	0	3
	29	fiction	100 (100)	2	0	13
	31	dialogue	24 (24)	0	0	5
	127, 128	letter	8 (8)	1	9	0
	129	non-fiction	93 (36)	2	27	19
K 1970-1979	11, 12, 35, 36	poem	8 (8)	2	0	0
	25, 32	fiction	132 (132)	1	2	17
	21	non-fiction	30 (30)	0	0	4
L 1980-1989	6, 28, 33	fiction	37 (37)	2	0	12
	17, 38	article	31 (31)	2	1	0
	133	non-fiction	75 (26)	14	3	0
	37	television	68 (68)	1	1	3
M 1990-1999	5, 18, 20, 83-85, 89, 92-93, 95-98, 100-7	article	269 (83)	21	20	16
	14	poem	3 (3)	0	0	0
	40-42	song	27 (27)	0	0	6
	130	non-fiction	100 (47)	10	31	1
unknown	15, 80	poem	4 (2)	2	0	0
	79	play	21 (0)	0	0	0

[134] The first number indicates total number of tokens; the second number indicates tokens coded for semantic and aspectual interpretation.

TOTAL CURAÇAO			**3700 (2019)**	**608**	**172**	**227**
Island, Time Pd.	*Text #*	*Genre*	*Number of Tokens*			
ARUBA			*-ndo*	*ger. -ndo*	*passive*	*focus*
A 1775-1837	86	letter	11 (11)	1	0	0
B 1844-1859	171	religious	100 (100)	4	11	0
C 1860-1879						
D 1880-1899						
E 1900-1919	151, 152, 169, 170	poems	42 (42)	5	1	0
F 1920-1929	77	poem	3 (3)	0	0	0
G 1930-1939						
H 1940-1949						
I 1950-1959						
J 1960-1969	117-120, 122-126	fiction	517 (165)	3	10	32
	121	letter	7 (0)	1	3	1
K 1970-1979	7, 82	poems	15 (15)	1	0	0
L 1980-1989	173	non-fiction	72 (72)	1	79	0
M 1990-1999	1	fiction	3 (3)	0	0	0
	39	song	8 (8)	0	0	0
	19, 43-69, 90, 91, 94, 99	articles	358 (112)	38	67	15
TOTAL ARUBA			**1136 (531)**	**54**	**171**	**48**
TOTAL			**4836 (2550)**	**662**	**343**	**275**

Time Period	Number of Texts		Number of Tokens			
	Aruba	*Curaçao*	*-ndo*	*ger. -ndo*	*passive*	*focus*
A 1775-1837	1	4	124 (74)	1	0	0
B 1844-1859	1	4	282 (282)	84	13	23
C 1860-1879		11	516 (150)	66	6	8
D 1880-1899		18	551 (179)	54	19	17
E 1900-1919	4	3	242 (129)	109	19	0
F 1920-1929	1	14	387 (321)	12	2	25
G 1930-1939		7	310 (167)	162	18	11
H 1940-1949		2	166 (64)	12	4	1
I 1950-1959		7	236 (142)	58	8	43
J 1960-1969	10	7	761 (337)	9	49	73
K 1970-1979	2	7	185 (185)	4	2	21
L 1980-1989	1	7	283 (234)	20	85	15
M 1990-1999	34	26	768 (283)	69	118	38
unknown		3	25 (2)	2	0	0
TOTAL	54	120	4836 (2550)	662	343	275

Appendix F—Distribution of Interviews by Island, Age, Sex, and Social Class

Island and Location	*Class*	*Age Gp.*	*Sex*	*Spkr #*	*# of Tokens*		
					-ndo	*passive*	*focus*
ARUBA							
Urban	**Upper/middle**	**< 30**	**F**	13, 14, 43, 44	551 (68)	0	0
			M	28, 29, 49	692 (74)	5	3
		30-50	**F**	11, 17, 20	470 (56)	1	0
			M	12, 16, 21	273 (36)	1	0
		50-70	**F**	2, 4, 41	1106 (588)	8	5
			M	42, 46	1044 (55)	0	
		70+	**F**	1, 31	900 (783)	4	21
			M	--			
	Working/lower	**< 30**	**F**	8, 18, 51	557 (119)	1	0
			M	6, 23	140 (116)	3	0
		30-50	**F**	5, 26	253 (63)	0	9
			M	19, 22	405 (46)	0	0
		50-70	**F**	7, 25	420 (31)	0	1
			M	--			
		70+	**F**	--			
			M	--			
Rural	**Upper/middle**	**< 30**	**F**				
			M	10, 50	279 (38)	0	0
		30-50	**F**	9, 39, 40	832 (41)	4	1
			M	--			
		50-70	**F**	27	122 (29)	1	4
			M	24	143 (36)	0	3
		70+	**F**	--			
			M	--			
	Working/lower	**< 30**	**F**	32	96 (43)	0	1
			M	--			
		30-50	**F**	~~34~~[135], 38	280 (39)	0	3
			M	--			
		50-70	**F**	33	163 (41)	0	0
			M	--			
		70+	**F**	~~3,~~ 48	745 (75)	0	0
			M	45	314 (93)	0	0
San Nicolas[136]	**Upper/Middle**	**< 30**	**M**	--			
		30-50	**M**	35, 47	353 (47)		
		50-70	**M**	30, 36, 37, 52	1087 (0)		
		70+	**M**	---			
	Working/lower	**30-50**	**M**	15	230 (0)		
ARUBA	**TOTAL**			51 interviews	11,455 (2517)	28	51

[135] Speaker numbers in strikethrough font indicate that sound problems (usually wind interference) made it impossible to collect tokens.

[136] San Nicolas interviews were coded for progressive *–ndo* (but not the other variables). These tokens are not included in the analysis presented here.

Island and Location	*Class*	*Age Gp.*	*Sex*	*Spkr #*	*# of Tokens*		
					-ndo	*passive*	*focus*
CURAÇAO				--			
Urban	**Upper/middle**	**< 30**	**F**	67, 84, 87			
			M	61, 71, 86			
		30-50	**F**	56, 60, 64, 79			
			M	58, 68, 69, 80, 91			
		50-70	**F**	57, 63, 81, 89			
			M	66, 54, 82, 83, 90			
		70+	**F**	55			
			M	85			
	Working/lower	**< 30**	**F**	73			
			M	92			
		30-50	**F**	54, 72			
			M	53, 65			
		50-70	**F**	88			
			M	59,			
		70+	**F**	~~62,~~ 93			
			M	--			
Rural	**Upper/middle**	**< 30**	**F**	--			
			M	101			
		30-50	**F**	--			
			M	95, 96			
		50-70	**F**	99			
			M	104			
		70+	**F**	78			
			M	--			
	Working/lower	**< 30**	**F**	76			
			M	103			
		30-50	**F**	77, 105			
			M	97			
		50-70	**F**	75, 100			
			M	94, 102			
		70+	**F**	74			
			M	98			
CURAÇAO	**TOTAL**			53 interviews			

Island and Location	*Class*	*Age Gp.*	*Sex*	*Spkr #*	*# of Tokens*		
					-ndo	*passive*	*focus*
BONAIRE	**Upper/middle**	**< 30**	**F**	123, 125, 131	160 (160)	3	5
			M	109[137]	12 (12)	0	1
		30-50	**F**	111, 118	96 (96)	6	4
			M	112, 113, 114, 117, 121	118 (118)	7	1
		50-70	**F**	115, 127	156 (156)	12	27
			M	--			
		70+	**F**	--			
			M	116	16 (16)	0	0
	Working/lower	**< 30**	**F**	124, 130	89 (89)	0	2
			M	129, 132	125 (125)	0	6
		30-50	**F**	107, 108, 122	132 (132)	1	6
			M	119, 128	37 (37)	1	5
		50-70	**F**	120	79 (79)	2	3
			M	106, 126	157 (157)	1	3
		70+	**F**	--			
			M	110	65 (65)	0	2
BONAIRE	**TOTAL**			27 interviews	1242 (1242)	33	65

[137] This interview had a lot of wind interference; no more codable tokens.

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