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Linguistic Studies on PAPIAMENTU

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Acknowledgements

The purpose of this volume, *Linguistic Studies on Papiamentu*, is to bring together current research findings on Papiamentu from a broad range of linguistic disciplines and from many diverse points of view. A number of the contributions to the volume are updated versions of papers presented at the Curaçao Creoles Conference (CCC2004), an international conference on Creole languages hosted by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (the language planning institute of Curaçao) in 2004. At CCC2004, three of the world's most prominent associations for the study of creole languages, the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL) and the Association of Portuguese and Spanish Lexically Based Creole Languages (ACBLPE)[1], came together for the first time. Because the last published collection of articles on Papiamentu appeared in 1983, the CCC2004 call for papers invited researchers to present results of their work with the aim of eventually producing a new volume on Papiamentu as a Caribbean creole language. The response to the call was surprisingly robust and fruitful, and the results are presented in this book. The editors wish to thank all of the contributors to this volume for their cooperation as well as the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma and its staff for their support. This is also the appropriate place to acknowledge the efforts and contributions of the local board of the CCC2004, which included Ronnie Severing, Frank Martinus Arion and Jay Haviser.

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THE INDIRECT ADDRESS CONSTRUCTION IN PAPIAMENTU AND ITS ORIGIN*

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0 Introduction

One of the characteristic syntactic features of Papiamentu, the Iberoromance Creole language spoken on the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao,[1] is its use of an indirect address construction of the following type:

(0) *Mener tin hopi ekipahe?*
Sir have many luggage
'Do you have a lot of luggage, sir?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 39)

In this article it will be shown that the current thesis which attributes an Iberoromance or Portuguese origin to this construction (see, for example, Munteanu, 1996: 302 and Kramer, 2004: 113) is clearly untenable. Both structural evidence and evidence from historical linguistics which support the idea of a Dutch origin for this construction will be presented. For those researchers who have addressed the question of the origin of Papiamentu this is of special interest, since there are only a few *syntactic* structures in Papiamentu that are *definitely* traceable back to Dutch,[2] which along with Spanish and Portuguese represents the third base language of Papiamentu.

* I thank Sidney Joubert (Curaçao) for some valuable information about Papiamentu, Michael von Büchau (Heidelberg, Germany) for helping me with Dutch and Ron Walker (Germersheim, Germany) for correcting my English.

[1] The history and structure of Papiamentu are excellently presented by Kramer (2004).

[2] Cf., for example, the possessive construction of Papiamentu with the possessive pronouns *su* ('his, her, its') and *nan* ('their') appearing between the possessor and the possessed: *e hòmber su búki* ('the man's book'), which is modeled after the colloquial Dutch construction *de man z'n boek* ('the man's book') (cf. Wood, 1972: 640; Birmingham Jr., 1970: 65). As in the Iberoromance languages, the possessive can also be expressed by using the preposition *di* ('of') in Papiamentu: *e búki di e hòmber* (cf. Wood, 1972: 640).

1 Overview of the different address constructions in Papiamentu

Besides a direct informal address construction (see example 1 below) Papiamentu also has an indirect formal/deferential address construction (also called the indirect vocative construction) (see examples 2-4):

Direct informal address construction:

(1) Bo (boso) ta papia hulandes?[3]
you ASPECT speak Dutch
'Do you speak Dutch?'

Indirect formal/deferential address construction:

(2) Kuantu tempu mener ta keda aki?
how much time sir ASPECT stay here
'How much time will you spend here, sir?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 27)

(3) Yùfrou por ta asina bon di mustra-mi algun lugá di bishitá riba mapa di Punda?
miss can be so good of show me some place of visit on map of Punda
'Would you be so good as to show me some places of interest on the map of Punda, miss?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 65)

(4) For di unda señor ta bini awor akí?
from of where mister ASPECT come now here
'From where have you come, mister?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 27)

In examples 2-4 the vocatives *mener*, *yùfrou* and *señor* function as forms of indirect formal address (indirect vocatives), which means that these vocative nominals are syntactically integrated into the main body of the sentence and function as personal subject pronouns or pronouns of address (just like Papiamentu *bo*, Spanish *usted*, Portuguese *você* etc.).
In Papiamentu the following expressions/titles are used as indirect vocatives in the indirect formal/deferential address construction:[4]

señor(nan) / señora(nan) / *señorita(nan)* (< Spanish *señor(a), señorita* 'mister, sir/madam/miss')
hóben (< Spanish *joven* ,young person')[5]

[3] *Bo* is the personal subject pronoun of the second person singular, *boso* represents the second person plural, the emphatic forms are *abo* (singular) and *(a)boso(nan)* (plural) (cf., e.g., Kramer, 2004: 183).
[4] Cf. Lenz, 1928: 111s.; Goilo, 1953: 62; Munteanu, 1996: 301; van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a; van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997b: 42; Dijkhoff & Vos de Jesús, 1994; Dijkhoff, 2000: 102; Joubert, 1991.

meneer(nan) / *mener(nan)* (< Dutch *meneer* 'mister, sir')
mevrou(nan) / mevrouw(nan) (< Dutch *mevrouw* 'madam')[6]
yùfrou(nan) / *juffrouw(nan)* (< Dutch *juffrouw* 'miss')[7]
(mi) shon / *(mi) shonnan* (< Spanish *señor* 'mister/sir')[8]
mosa (of Iberoromance origin: Spanish *moza*, Portuguese *moça* 'ms.')[9]
pastor (< Dutch *pastoor* 'pastor')
frater (< Dutch *frater* 'lay brother, monk')
zùster (< Dutch *zuster* 'sister in a religious order')
dòkter (< Dutch *dokter* 'doctor')
domi (< Dutch *dominee* '(protestant) priest, pastor')
tio (of Iberoromance origin: Spanish *tío*, Portuguese *tio* 'uncle')

Of course the above listed forms can also be used as more prototypical direct vocatives (see examples 5 and 6):

Direct vocatives:

(5) Yùfrou, kuantu pa e tarhetanan akí?
miss, how much for the postcards here
'Miss, how much are these postcards?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 91)

(6) Señora, tuma e ehemplar akí.
madam, take this one here
'Madam, take this one here.'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 91)

[5] According to Sidney Joubert, a native speaker of Papiamentu from Curaçao, the form *hóben* generally is used for children and young people until about the age of 16 to 18 (p.c.; 22.6.2004).
[6] Munteanu (1996: 302) mentions that this form is only used when addressing a woman from the Netherlands or among housemaids from the *islas caribeñas británicas* (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, etc. cf. Fischer Weltalmanach 2003: 345-350) when addressing the lady of the household they are working for.
[7] In the modern Dutch of the Netherlands *juffrouw* is considered an impolite form of address (cf. Kowallik & Kramer, 1994: 163); see also the German form *Fräulein* which is hardly ever used today in direct address.
[8] According to Lenz (1928: 111) *shon* is a creole abbreviation of Spanish *señor* (cf. also Goilo, 2000: 8). The form *shon* may refer to a man or a woman (Goilo, 1953: 62). Goilo (ibid.) claims that this form is gradually falling out of use. The author published his grammar in 1953, so that one might come to the conclusion that *shon* is no longer used in today's Papiamentu. However, in a recently published textbook for learners of Papiamentu, *shon* still appears occasionally as a form of address (cf. van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a) and it still can be heard on Curaçao, so that it cannot be considered a completely extinct form.
[9] *Mosa* is used "*pa dirigí nos na un señorita o na un señora ora cu nos no sa si é ta casá o soltera"* ('when we address a young woman and do not know if she is married or not'; my translation; cf. Goilo, 1953: 62). Goilo also mentions that usually the forms *señorita* or *señora* are used instead of *mosa*: "*Ma na lugar di e palabra aquí nos ta usa mas Señorita o Señora i si en caso nos quivocá nos, anto e persona nos dilanti lo jama nos atención i como esaqui ta un falta tolerabel nos ta pidié dispensa i nos ta sigui, dunando é e título cu é ta merecé*" (ibid.; 'But instead of the form "mosa" we use more often the expressions "señorita" or "señora". If we are mistaken the person we are talking to will correct us. And since this is a tolerable mistake, we apologize and address the respective person by using the appropriate form'; my translation).

The same lexical item may be used both as a direct and as an indirect vocative in a single utterance. In the following example, the first instance of *mener* is a direct vocative, whereas the second instance of *mener* is an indirect vocative functioning within an indirect formal/deferential address construction:

(7) Ay nò, mener, mener a keda hòspital hopi tempu?
oh no, mister, mister ASPECT stay hospital much time
'Oh (no), have you spent much time in the hospital, mister?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 117)

Besides the above presented indirect address construction which is of a clearly formal character, Papiamentu also has an indirect intimate/deferential address construction. Persons with whom one is well acquainted are usually addressed with the canonical, direct intimate or informal address construction employing *bo*/*boso* 'you', but they might also be addressed in a more deferential way employing their personal names or expressions like *mama* ('mother') or *tata* ('father') as indirect vocatives in indirect deferential address constructions:[10]

Indirect intimate/deferential address construction:

(8) Mama ta bai?
mama ASPECT go
'Are you going, mama?'
(Birmingham Jr., 1970: 62)

[10] This state of affairs is generally not explicitly mentioned in the literature.

(9) Tinchi por a duna mi Tinchi su copi?[11]
Tinchi can ASPECT give me Tinchi her glass
'Could you give me your glass, Tinchi?'
(Dijkhoff, 2000: 102)

As several authors point out, the *indirect* formal/deferential address construction is not as widely used in contemporary Papiamentu as in the past, with direct address constructions employing the personal pronouns *bo* and *boso* being utilized instead (cf., e.g., Birmingham Jr., 1970: 62; Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 40). However, the indirect formal address construction still occurs with a very high frequency in the textual representation of spoken colloquial language included in a recently written textbook for learners of Papiamentu (van Putte & van Putte-de Windt 1997a), it is still mentioned in modern grammars of Papiamentu (cf., e.g., Dijkhoff , 2000: 102) and I heard the construction several times (from different speakers) during a two-week stay on Curaçao in August 2004. Lenz (1928: 111) points out that the personal subject pronoun *bo* may also be used as a *polite* form of address corresponding to Spanish *usted*. According to Goilo (1953: 62), however, *bo* is exclusively used as an *intimate* form: "E pronomber personal Bo ta ser usá solamente ora cu nos tin di entendé cu un persona cu ta bon amigu di nos, o papiando cu nos jiunan" ('The personal pronoun "bo" is only used when we communicate with a good friend or with our children'; my translation). That this affirmation is definitely wrong is shown by the following example, which illustrates that Papiamentu also has a *direct* formal address construction employing the subject personal pronoun *bo* (cf. also Lenz, 1928: 111):[12]

Direct formal address construction:

(10) Meneer Tromp, Bo por a duna mi Bo copi?
mister Tromp, you can ASPECT give me your glass
'Would you give me your glass, Mister Tromp?'
(Dijkhoff, 2000: 102)[13]

As this overview of the variants of address used in today's Papiamentu shows, this creole language offers us an astonishingly subtle and rich variety of forms of address, which is quite remarkable since the grammars of creole languages are generally supposed to be structured very economically. There exist, however, other creole

[11] Interestingly, the first name *Tinchi* can refer either to a man or to a woman (p.c. from Sidney Joubert, Curaçao; 22.6.2004).
[12] According to Lenz (1928: 110s.) *tú* exists in Papiamentu only as a vocative in insults: «*Bai for di mi, tu, muher infiel*!» ('¡Véte lejos de mí, tú, mujer infiel!'/'Get away from me, unfaithful woman!'; my translation). Cf. also Birmingham Jr., 1970: 61.
[13] When *bo* and *boso* are used as polite forms of address they are written with capitals (cf. Dijkhoff, 2000: 102).

languages in which distinct *formal*/*polite* address constructions are used,[14] but as far as I can see Papiamentu might be quite a rare case among creole languages insofar as it disposes of a wide range of *different*, *nuanced* structures of address, including an indirect formal/deferential and an indirect intimate/deferential address construction. A detailed variationist investigation of the distribution and functioning of different address constructions in present day Papiamentu has not yet been done and thus would be a most welcome topic for future research on the language.

2 The origin of the *indirect* formal address construction in Papiamentu

Even upon the most cursory examination, the *indirect* formal address construction in Papiamentu immediately reminds one of the indirect deferential address construction in Portuguese, which – as has already been mentioned – is one of the Papiamentu's base languages along with Spanish and Dutch. In European Portuguese the *indirect* deferential address construction or, to be more precise, the so-called *tratamento nominal* (cf. Cintra 1972, 12) with *o senhor, a senhora* etc. (see examples 11 and 12 below) represents the canonical (grammaticalized) polite address form within a tripartite system (polite form: *o senhor*/*a senhora* – intermediary form: *você* – intimate form: *tu*):

(11) O senhor sabe onde eu moro?
the mister know where I live
'Do you know where I live, mister?'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins 1982: 585)

(12) A senhora conhece o meu irmão?
the lady know the my brother
'Do you know my brother, madam?'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins, 1982: 585)

Since this pattern of indirect nominal address is also attested in old and modern Spanish (see below) one is tempted to consider the Papiamentu structure as being of Portuguese and/or Spanish origin.[15] In the literature the question of the origin of the

[14] See, for example, the English-based *Eastern Maroon Creole* (spoken in Suriname and French Guiana (Guyane)), which also has an indirect formal address construction: *Dda A., a án mu holi a taki a baka* 'Elder A., *he* should not distract from the topic' (cf. Migge, 2004). In this example, taken from a *kuutu*, a political meeting (council) of the Eastern Maroon communities, the elder A. is not addressed with *i* 'you' nor with *u* 'you' (polite) (which according to Migge might have been possible here as well), but with *a* 'he' (Bettina Migge, p.c., 24.9.2004).

[15] Indirect address constructions with vocatives (like portuguese *senhor*) are very widespread among the ancient and modern languages of the world: they are found in many Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages (including Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, Romanian, German, Swedish, Polish, Greek, Finnish, Turkish, Arabic and Chinese). Testimonies of the use of the indirect formal address with substantival forms (like Latin *domino*

indirect formal address construction in Papiamentu either is not mentioned discussed at all[16] or it is attributed *exclusively* to the influence of the two Iberoromance languages Portuguese and Spanish:

> La utilización de unas fórmulas de tratamiento cortés para la segunda persona se explica por el empleo de fórmulas semejantes en español y portugués (pronombres de cortesía), así como en el resto de las lenguas románicas en determinados contextos (Munteanu, 1996: 302)

or regarded as being only of Portuguese origin:

> «Zweifellos ist auch die distanzierte Anrede […] aus dem Portugiesischen zu erklären.» (Kramer, 2004: 113)
> 'Also the formal address (the indirect formal address construction of Papiamentu) is, without doubt, of Portuguese origin' (my translation).

2.1 Structural Evidence

However, the following observation cannot be explained satisfactorily within the framework of these hypotheses: In Papiamentu the indirect vocative form consists only of the nominal, whereas in old and modern Portuguese and Spanish the indirect vocative form consists of a nominal expression which is *always* accompanied by a definite article. Papiamentu also has a definite article and when referring to a specific, identified single person it is always used in front of the respective nominal/vocative: *e señor*, *e señora*, *e shon* etc. (cf. Dijkhoff, 2000: 47). Therefore the following question arises: If Papiamentu inherited the indirect formal address construction from Portuguese and/or Spanish, why then is the definite article suppressed in Papiamentu indirect vocative forms? Of course one could explain this divergence by simply considering it a case of restructuring or simplification. However, if instead of restricting our investigation to the two Iberoromance base languages of Papiamentu, we take a closer look at its third base language, Dutch, we find that in the 17th and 18th centuries an analogous indirect formal address construction was "widely distributed over the whole Dutch linguistic area (including Frisian)" (Ponelis, 1993: 251; cf. also Paardekooper, 1988: esp. 43-57) and that just as in Papiamentu the indirect vocatives of 17th and 18th century Dutch are in most cases *not* preceded by the definite article (cf. Paardekooper, 1988):

meu, German *mein Herr*) already appear in the oldest written documents of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, in Papyri letters of ancient Egypt and also in Sanskrit (cf. Svennung, 1958: 7-58; Wandruszka, 1969: 265s.).

[16] Cf., for example, Goilo, 1953; Dijkhoff, 2000; Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994; Kouwenberg & Muysken, 1995: 205-218; Bartens, 1995; Maurer, 1998: 139-217; Kerkhof, 1998: 644-661.

(13) Gisteren toen Juffrouw uit was (1686)
yesterday when miss out was
'Yesterday when you were out, miss.'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 50)

(14) Trui zegt dat Papa my wilde spreken (1697)
Trui says that dad me wants talk
'Trui says that you want to talk to me, dad.'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 51)

In addition, when we take a look at the various syntactic and functional contexts in which the indirect formal address construction appears in Papiamentu, Portuguese (Spanish)[17] and Dutch, we see that the Dutch constructions show more parallels to Papiamentu than the respective Iberoromance constructions do. Interestingly, we will demonstrate that this greater degree of similarity to Papiamentu also holds for indirect formal address constructions in Afrikaans, a language very closely related to Dutch.[18] When we examine the behavior of indirect vocatives when they function as subjects, verbal objects, and prepositional objects or when they are used in indirect intimate/deferential address constructions (see examples 15 through 34 below), it becomes apparent that in all of these cases the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Afrikaans constructions are identical to those found in Papiamentu (leaving aside the already mentioned use of the definite article in the Portuguese constructions). Therefore, given that both the Dutch and the Portuguese constructions might have served as models for the corresponding constructions in Papiamentu, there is – as far as the question under consideration in this paper is concerned – no need to further comment on these data:

[17] In the examples given below we will only consider Portuguese since the indirect formal address construction in Portuguese is much better documented and described in more detail in the grammars and in the literature than is the analogous construction in Spanish. This is due to the fact that this structure is marginal in Spanish, whereas in Portuguese, as has already been mentioned, it has become the canonical variant of formal address.

[18] With regard to Afrikaans I should mention two facts which are of utmost importance for my hypothesis that the indirect address construction in Papiamentu has a Dutch origin:
1. today it is generally accepted that Afrikaans is neither a creole nor a semi-creole language but rather a strongly divergent form of Dutch which has as its *main* basis the urban varieties of Holland (specifically the Amsterdam dialect) of the 17th and 18th centuries (cf. Ponelis, 1993: 121s., 129; Raidt, 1983: 6s.; Kramer, 1999: 8-12);
2. Afrikaans developed at about the same time as Papiamentu. In the literature it is generally accepted that Papiamentu developed between 1650 and 1700 and Afrikaans between 1652 and 1775 (for Papiamentu cf. Maurer, 1986: 130; Maurer, 1998: 193; Bartens, 1995: 247; Munteanu, 1996: 84; Kouwenberg & Muysken, 1995: 205; Fouse, 2002: 83, for Afrikaans cf. Raidt, 1983: 7).

Indirect vocative functioning as a subject:

Papiamentu: (15) For di unda señor ta bini awor akí?
from of where mister ASPECT come now here
'From where have you come, mister?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 27)

Dutch: (16) Maar Mynheer, hoe kan Mynheer dat zeggen? (1732)
but sir, how can sir that say?
'But sir, how can you say that?'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 54)

Portuguese: (17) O senhor sabe onde eu moro?
the mister know where I live
'Do you know where I live, mister?'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins, 1982: 585)

Afrikaans: (18) Mevrou kan my help.
madam can me help
'Madam, you can help me.'
(Ponelis, 1993: 249)

Indirect vocative functioning as a verbal object:

Papiamentu: (19) Mi ke gradisí Señor di antemano pa yudansa.
I want thank mister of advance for help
'I want to thank you in advance for your help, sir.'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 211)

Dutch: (20) Ik ken Mynheer juist niet van aanzien […] (1732)
I know mister just not from seeing
'I have never seen you, sir.'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 54)

Portuguese: (21) Eu aprecio muito o senhor...
I esteem much the mister
'I esteem you very much, sir.'
(Cunha & Cintra, 1991: 213)

Afrikaans: (22) Ons sal (vir**)** mevrou help
we shall (for) madam help
'We'll help you, madam'
(Ponelis, 1993: 249)

Indirect vocative functioning as a prepositional object:

Papiamentu: (23) Ata un mapa grandi aki pa señora.
here a map big (here) for madam
'Here I have a big map for you, madam.'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 65)

(24) Kuantu maleta ta di mener?
how many suitcase be of sir
'How many suitcases are yours, sir?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt 1997a: 34)

Dutch: (25) Ik heb van Mynheer meer als eens horen spreeken (1732)
I have of mister more than once hear talk
'I have often heard talk of you, mister.'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 54)

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Portuguese: (26) Isto é para o senhor.
this is for the sir
'This is for you, sir.'
(Teyssier, 1989: 132)

Afrikaans: (27) Ons weet van mevrou
we know about madam
'We know about you, madam'
(Ponelis, 1993: 250)

Indirect vocative functioning in an indirect intimate/deferential address construction:

Papiamentu: (28) Pedro a manda kumindamentu pa tantannan.
Pedro ASPECT send greetings for aunt PLURAL
'Pedro sends you (Pl) his greetings.' (in addressing
one's aunts)
(Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 40)

Dutch: (29) Wat doet daer Ariaen, soo lang dat venster op? (1632)
what does there Ariaen so long that window open
'Why is it taking you so long to open the window, Ariaen?'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 45)

(30) Ik bedank Mama. (1684)
I thank mama
'I thank you, mama.'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 50)

Portuguese: (31) O Manuel pode emprestar-me este livro?
the Manuel can lend me this book
'Could you lend me this book, Manuel?'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins, 1982: 583)

(32) O pai já leu o jornal?
the father already read the newspaper
'Have you already read the newspaper, dad?'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins, 1982: 584)

Afrikaans: (33) Oom en tannie moet hier teken
uncle and aunt must here sign
'You have to sign here'
(Ponelis, 1993: 250)

(34) Waar wil oom Hennie sit?
where want uncle Hennie sit
'Where do you want to sit, uncle Hennie?'
(Ponelis, 1993: 251)

However, when an indirect vocative form functions as the possessor in possessive construction in Papiamentu (see example 35) it differs clearly from the equivalent form in Portuguese (see example 37), but it is identical to the equivalent forms in 17th and 18th century Dutch and of Afrikaans (illustrated in 36 and 38):

Indirect vocative functioning as the possessor in a possessive construction:

Papiamentu: (35) señor su buki
mister his book
'Your book, mister' (when addressing a male)
(Wood, 1972: 641)

Dutch: (36) Juffrouws man (1686)
Miss-POSSESSIVE man
'your husband, miss'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 50)

Portuguese: (37) A sua mala está aqui. / A mala da senhora está aqui.
the her suitcase is here / the suitcase of the madam is here
'Your suitcase is here, madam'
(Hundertmark-Santos Martins, 1982: 590)

Afrikaans: (38) Hier is mevrou se koffers
here be madam POSSESSIVE suitcases
'Madam, here are your suitcases'
(Ponelis, 1993: 250)

As far as the use of the indirect vocatives in *reflexive* constructions is concerned (see example 39 below) I have not been able to find such a structure in the grammars of old Dutch. However, since this construction is well-known in Afrikaans (see example 41), but at the same time completely unknown in Portuguese (and Spanish), it is highly probable that this usage of the indirect vocatives in Papiamentu has its origin in the colloquial/dialectal Dutch of the 17th and 18th centuries, since these nonstandard varieties of Dutch constituted the base of Afrikaans and at the same time influenced Papiamentu:

Indirect vocative functioning in a reflexive construction:

18 Papiamentu: (39) Señora ta sinti señora su mes bon?
madam ASPECT feel madam her self good
'Do you feel well, madam?'
(van Putte & van Putte-de Windt, 1997a: 119)

Portuguese: (40) A senhora sente-se bem?
the madam feels herself good
'Do you feel well, madam?'

Afrikaans: (41) Mevrou gedra (vir) mevrou moedig
madam behave (for) madam valiantly
'You are behaving valiantly, madam.'
(Ponelis, 1993: 249)

Another characteristic of the indirect address constructions in Papiamentu is the repetitive use of indirect vocatives, such as personal names or forms such as *meneer*, *juffrouw*, *señora* etc. (as illustrated in examples 42 and 43 below).[19] Such repetitive use of indirect vocative forms within one and the same utterance is generally avoided in the Iberoromance languages, but one finds parallel constructions in 17th and 18th century Dutch (see examples 44 and 45 below; cf. also Paardekooper, 1988: 51, 54)

[19] According to Dijkhoff (2000: 102) this structure is gradually disappearing from Papiamentu.

and such repetition is a very prominent syntactic feature of Afrikaans (see example 46):

Repetitive use of indirect vocatives:

Papiamentu: (42) Tinchi por a duna mi Tinchi su copi?
Tinchi can ASPECT give me Tinchi her glass
'Could you give me your glass, Tinchi?'
(Dijkhoff, 2000: 102)

(43) Meneer por a duna mi meneer su copi?
mister can ASPECT give me mister his glass
'Could you give me your glass, mister?'
(Dijkhoff, 2000: 102)

Dutch: (44) Maar Mynheer, hoe kan Mynheer dat zeggen? Mynheer weet ... beter. (1732)
but sir, how can sir that say? sir knows ... better
'But sir, how can you say that? You should know better'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 54)

(45) Ik ken Mynheer juist niet van aanzien, dog ik heb van Mynheer meer als eens horen spreeken (1732)
I know sir just not from seeing, but I have of sir more than once hear talk
'I have never seen you, sir, but I have often heard talk of you'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 54)

Afrikaans: (46) Meneer, ek wil meneer iets vertel wat meneer seker nie weet nie
sir, I will sir something tell what sir certainly not knows not
'Sir, I will tell you something that you certainly do not know'
(Paardekooper, 1988: 62)

Together with the fact that, just as in the corresponding constructions in 17th and 18th century Dutch, there is no definite article before the nominal in indirect vocative expressions in indirect address constructions in Papiamentu, the data clearly show that from a structural perspective the indirect formal address constructions in Papiamentu show more parallels with the indirect formal address constructions in 17th and 18th century Dutch (and in Afrikaans) than with the corresponding constructions in

Portuguese (and Spanish). On the basis of this evidence, we conclude that the Papiamentu indirect address construction can be much more plausibly traced back to a Dutch source, rather than to an Iberoromance source.

2.2 Historical Evidence

The structure-based arguments presented above are sustained by the following facts from historical linguistics. As has already been mentioned, in the literature it is unanimously accepted that Papiamentu developed on Curaçao in the second half of the seventeenth century (see note 18 above). During this period in Dutch the indirect formal address construction, which, as we have seen, formally and functionally largely coincides with the Papiamentu construction, was very popular. The earliest attestations in Dutch for the use of indirect formal address constructions with forms such as *meneer* etc. date from the early seventeenth century and later this variant of formal address, which in the Netherlands of the 17th and 18th centuries was considered more polite than the direct address, became very popular within the whole Dutch linguistic area (cf. Ponelis, 1993: 251; Paardekooper, 1988: 45, 51).[20]

In the two Iberoromance languages which represent the principal base languages of Papiamentu, however, the situation is quite different. Let us first consider the facts concerning Spanish. Although the indirect formal address of the type *¿el señor no lo sabe?* ("you don't know that?") also exists in today's Spanish in specific contexts (see note 24 below) and was already used by Cervantes, its position in the 17th and 18th centuries was quite marginal since the forms *Vuestra Merced* and *usted* were by far the most frequently used forms of formal address both in Spain and in Hispano-America (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992: 82s.; Lapesa, 1970, 147s., 157; Svennung, 1958: 33).[21] In Spain in the second half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century *usted*

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[20] According to Paardekooper (1988: 51) the indirect formal address was taken over by the Dutch from French before 1611 (to address someone indirectly was known as «op z'n Frans groeten» ('to address someone in the French manner'); cf. Paardekooper, 1988: 45) and it was probably introduced into the northern regions of the Netherlands by refugees from Antwerp who had fled to these provinces when Spanish troops conquered the town (1585) during the Spanish-Dutch War. During the 17th and 18th centuries the dialect of the city of Antwerp was strongly influenced by the French language (cf. Paardekooper, 1988: 45). In the northern parts of the Netherlands the Dutch standard language developed in the 17th century on the basis of the language used in Holland, which was culturally and economically the most influential province. But the language of the refugees from the southern regions of the Netherlands (Flanders and Brabant), who belonged to the intellectual and economic elite, had a great impact on the language of Holland and this Flemish language of the southern provinces (to which Antwerp also belonged) was characterized by many loans from French since it had already been strongly influenced by French during the so-called Middle-Dutch period (1170-1500) (cf. Vekeman & Ecke 1993: 61, 74, 91s.).

[21] Neither Fontanella de Weinberg (1992: 80-91) nor Kany (1969: 122-129) mention the indirect formal address construction with forms like *el señor* in their diachronically oriented studies on address forms in Spanish America. It should be mentioned, however, that in Spanish America the plural forms *señores* and *señoras* appear as indirect forms of address in documents of the 17th century (cf. Rojas Mayer, 1996: 541).

predominated in formal address (at the same time it was also used in familiar address; cf. Lapesa, 1970: 147s.). In 18th century Spanish-America *usted* "es ya prácticamente el tratamiento formal por excelencia" ('is the predominant variant of the formal address'; my translation; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992: 91). Another fact that makes clear that Spanish indirect address forms utilizing the form *el señor* can hardly have served as model for Papiamentu is the observation that its usage in Golden-Age Spain was also strongly restricted for social reasons. It was considered a stigmatized form: members of the upper class resented being addressed with *el señor* and in their communication with people of the lower class they *never* used *el señor* but *vos*[22] or *tú* (cf. Wilson, 1949: 297s.). In Classical Spanish[23] indirect address with *el señor* was only occasionally used by people who, motivated by jealousy or haughtiness, resorted to this construction in order to avoid the canonical forms of formal address, like *vuestra merced*, which expressed due respect (cf. Wilson, 1949: 297).[24]

With regard to the question of a possible Portuguese origin for the indirect formal address construction in Papiamentu, it should first be mentioned that in Portuguese the indirect formal address construction is much more popular than in Spanish, which is due to the fact that in contrast to Spanish, Portuguese has grammaticalized the nominal forms *o senhor*/*a senhora* as personal pronouns or pronouns of address, i.e. as formal counterparts to the intimate form *tu*. For our purposes, however, the fact that in Portuguese the use of indirect formal address constructions with *o senhor*/*a senhora* only began during the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th century (cf. Cintra, 1972: 38, 128s.; Ali, 1971: 94) is of crucial importance. So the situation is almost the same as in Spanish: during the period of development of Papiamentu (1650-1700) the use of indirect formal address constructions in Portuguese and Spanish was very restricted, a fact which makes it highly improbable that these

[22] Interestingly, the form *vos*, which in medieval Spanish had served as polite form of address in opposition to the intimate *tú* and later functioned as intermediary form in a tripartite basic system of address (*tú-vos-Vuestra Merced*) (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg, 1992: 81s.), in the 17th and 18th centuries was also used as a respectful form, when addressing *personas de gran Dignidad* "people of great dignity" (*Diccionario académico de Autoridades* (1739) cited by Lapesa (1970: 150)).

[23] The term refers to the Spanish of the Golden Age (*Siglo de Oro*) which is generally supposed to begin in 1492 or 1516 (when Carlos I took power) and to end in 1681, the year of Calderón's death (cf. Bollée & Neumann-Holzschuh, 2003: 92).

[24] In contemporary Spanish indirect formal address constructions utilizing the indirect vocative *el señor* are very restricted. In Spain and in Mexico they are almost exclusively used by servants (cf. Carricaburo, 1997: 54, 59). In Uruguay constructions like *el señor doctor viene* are used instead of *usted viene*, which is attributed to Brazilian influence (cf. Entwistle, 1973: 311, 323). It should be mentioned, however, that today in Brazil indirect formal address constructions of this type are used very restrictively, as the generalized *você* is in almost all contexts the appropriate form of address. According to Entwistle (1973: 251s.) in Chile there is also a tendency to use forms such as *el señor ministro*, *el patrón*, *la señora* instead of *usted* or *vos*. It must be mentioned, however, that Entwistle wrote his book in 1969 (in 1973 it was translated into Spanish). In the monograph by Carricaburo, which considers both Spain and Spanish-America indirect formal address constructions of the type *¿el señor no lo sabe?* are mentioned neither with respect to Uruguay nor Chile, but only – as we have already seen above – with reference to Spain and Mexico.

Iberoromance structures served as models for the Papiamentu indirect formal address construction.

The validity of this conclusion is further supported by the evidence presented above which clearly demonstrates that in Dutch indirect address constructions show more structural parallels to the same constructions in Papiamentu than do indirect address constructions in the two Iberoromance languages, was very popular and widespread during the period in question. In addition, it should be mentioned that the indirect formal address construction is by no means the only Dutch contribution to Papiamentu dating from the 17th century: as Maduro (1966) has shown, many Dutch-derived lexical items in Papiamentu also date from the 17th century, as, for example, *tayó* 'plate' (< Dutch *taljoor*) (cf. Maurer, 1998: 195; Wood, 1972: 635).

3 Conclusion

In Summary,we can say that the following facts make it evident or at least highly probable that the indirect formal address construction in Papiamentu has a Dutch and not an Iberoromance origin:

1. The indirect formal address constructions in Papiamentu show more structural parallels to the indirect formal address constructions in 17th and 18th century Dutch than to the corresponding constructions in Portuguese and Spanish.
2. While during the period of development of Papiamentu (1650-1700) the use of indirect formal address constructions was very marginal in Portuguese and Spanish, it was very popular in Dutch. In addition, we know that other elements from Dutch, i.e. lexical elements, had already become part of the Papiamentu system as early as the 17th century.
3. Afrikaans has indirect formal address constructions which, both formally and functionally, largely coincide with the indirect formal address constructions of Papiamentu. Afrikaans has without any doubt inherited these constructions from the colloquial varieties of Dutch spoken in the urban centers of the Netherlands of the 17th and 18th centuries, which constitute its base.[25]

While considerable Dutch influence on the lexicon and on the phonological system of Papiamentu is well-documented in the literature, the investigation of potential Dutch influences on the *syntax* of Papiamentu has been neglected. However, when our treatment of indirect formal address constructions is considered together with the

[25] Afrikaans has never been influenced by Spanish and the Portuguese elements in its grammar are very few in number (cf. Ponelis, 1993: 103).

Dutch syntactic loans discussed in Wood (1972), Kowallik & Kramer (1994) and Kramer (2004), it becomes apparent that the Dutch language has left some traces on the syntax of Papiamentu as well.

Before finishing, I would like to stress that our study of the origin of the indirect formal address constructions in Papiamentu teaches us an important lesson. Just because a certain construction in Papiamentu corresponds to similar or even parallel constructions in its two principal Iberoromance base languages, this fact alone does not automatically allow us to conclude that the construction in question is of Iberoromance origin. The third base language of Papiamentu, Dutch (or for that matter the African substrate languages) may well have an analogous construction also and therefore we must consider the structural, demographic, dialectological, and socio-historical evidence more carefully before coming to any hasty conclusions.

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LANGUAGE USE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG PAPIAMENTU SPEAKERS

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1 Introduction

This study explores attitudes toward Papiamentu, the Creole language spoken on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao (the ABC islands) and the extent to which it serves as a symbol of identity for its speakers.[1] The social value of a Creole like Papiamentu is that it provides a symbol of group identity, of togetherness in the wake of the political, economic, religious, and other tribulations of our colonial past. Once viewed as marginal, the study of pidgin languages and Creoles has attained in recent years a greater academic respectability.

Hall (1966: 130) mentions that while pidgins often do not enjoy any degree of social esteem, when they become creolized into "normal" languages by expansion of syntactical structure, vocabulary, and standardized orthography, "a Creole is just as intimately bound up with the egos of its native speakers as in any other language". Nevertheless, a Creole is frequently the object of strong contempt and social prejudice which sometimes leave the native speakers with undefined insecurities. The difficult predicament of diglossia, which for speakers usually means being torn between two languages, one with more prestige than the other, is what often shapes attitudes toward the less prestigious language.

Whether collective identity is to be sought in local cultural practices, whether it is to be determined through individual processes of inquiry, or whether it is experienced as a loss in exile and needs to be revived - it appears that Caribbean identity depends on the relations that a Caribbean self establishes with a locale, history, memories and other selves. Often centuries of slavery, oppression, and political and economic dependence will take its toll on both the individual psyche and the collective psyche of the population. Caribbean communities and Caribbean people need to deal with issues related to self hatred by delving into the collective and individual subconscious in

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order to offer solutions to help solve the dilemma of identity. Marianne Meyn (1983: 24) suggests that if we wish to investigate and account for linguistic change within a colonial society, we need to place a detailed analysis of the past colonial system (and the present neo-colonial system) at the center of our research, to confront the forces of national, cultural and linguistic oppression. Only then will we be able to understand fully how social change imposed by the colonial powers has affected linguistic change.

Scholars have recognized that social identities are critically important to human interaction yet the study of language attitudes has not fully come to terms with the significance and potential power of this construct. In language attitude study, the nature of speakers' social identities has long been assumed based upon their membership in ethnic, national, or other social groupings. It must be remembered that although speakers' social identities are inextricably bound to their categorical membership in various social groups, they are not completely determined by them (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Within a given social group, individual members differ in the manner and extent to which their identities are shaped by their group membership. As Tajfel and Turner argue in their seminal theoretical work on social identity, individuals must first internalize their group membership as an aspect of their self-concept. Of course the true strength of one's identity cannot be measured, but instead what can be observed is a self-image that is produced as a function of the strength of one's identity in a given situation.

Literature has played an important part in the ongoing Caribbean search for identity. Individual identities as well as collective ones are formed through the voicing and interchange of ideas. The Caribbean person cannot isolate him or herself from the rest of the world, either intellectually or materially. One has only to look at Caribbean author Elis Juliana, to note that the Antillean identity (or the Papiamentu identity) can be considered to be a proven instrument of resistance to linguistic and cultural domination. The building materials necessary for the (re)construction of an Antillean identity are present and available in the history, culture, and the resilience of our Papiamentu language.

Identities are not static. As the world around us changes, we who live in it are consequently affected. Social circumstances have a great impact on how we perceive ourselves and how we project ourselves. Thus yesterday's identity will be modified by present conditions, but not wholly erased. The Antillean of today can be expected to show the effects of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial realities in the construction of his or her identity. It is the coming to terms with all of these elements which facilitates the liberation of individuals and communities to determine their own identities in their own image and in their own interests.

In his book *Dede pikiña ku su bisiña* (lit. Little finger and his neighbour), Florimon

van Putte (1999) writes that in the past Papiamentu was called “the old, poor slave language of the Negroes” (Putte, 1999: 14). In the past, many believed that not only did the Papiamentu language have a limited capacity for expressing ideas, but that by extension those who used this language possessed a diminished mental capacity. Luckily times and sentiments have changed. The development of Papiamentu as a major medium for communication in newspapers, television, drama and radio has seen this language play an ever increasing role in all levels of social and political life in the ABC islands.

We are all socially constructed. As such the role of ethnicity is extremely important in identity construction. Whereas in the past the ABC Antillean might have wanted to hide any evidence of his or her African roots, a new awakening to and pride in our national identity is taking place, which undoubtedly includes how we feel about our mother tongue. My own interest in Papiamentu is quite natural as I was born on the island of Curaçao. Although my parents forbade us to speak this “non-language”, it was spoken all around us and seemed to have seeped through my pores and into my very being. Hence my desire to study Papiamentu and to retrace my Antillean roots. It is therefore this Papiamentu identity that I wish to explore in this study.

The notion of attitudes has a place in psychology, sociology, education, history and everyday life. Attitudes are not static, but are apt to change, especially when we confront social issues. There have been studies done on attitudes toward many different European languages, such as French, Welsh, Catalan, Irish and English. Occasionally there have been studies done on attitudes toward languages spoken by peoples of non-European descent, such as Black English.

On the ABC islands the use of Dutch and Papiamentu may be referred to as a diglossic situation, where each of the two languages is used in distinct institutional sectors and in distinct social situations. Dutch is generally utilized in more formal and prestigious environments while Papiamentu is used in less formal and prestigious situations. The resulting tension between the two languages affects the shaping of the identities of Creole speakers. George Lang calls this the “diglossic dilemma” and defines it as “a situation where two or more language varieties coexist but have different functions within a society” (Lang, 2000: 143). The relationship in terms of individual attitudes between these two languages (Dutch and Papiamentu) within a variety of contexts and domains is what I set out to explore in this study.

I hasten to mention that no approach, whether quantitative, qualitative, statistical, theoretical or psychological is value free. Choices and decisions are made as to what should be studied and how it should be studied and these choices are determined by the overt and covert ideological stances adopted by the researcher. Gardner and Lambert’s research (1972) was later revised by Gardner (1985), culminating in Gardner’s socio-educational model. In this model attitude is but one variable among

others in the prediction of bilingual proficiency and includes non-linguistic outcomes such as self-concept, cultural values and beliefs.
The present study focuses on the social construction of identity and how identity tends to shift when a second (or a third) language is acquired. The premise in this study is that all respondents had learned Papiamentu as their L1 or first language (mother tongue) and Dutch as their L2 or second language. An attempt is made to understand the implications that second language learning has on self perception, as well as what the effective acquisition of a second language implies in terms of identity and perception of both the self and of the first language and culture.

2 Colonization through language and the transmutation of identities

Colonization through language has been an integral part of the process of conquest and domination. One of the many ways that language has been used to colonize a people has been that of imposing a language as the dominant and official language, while making all existing local languages subordinate. In such a situation, the transmutation of identities becomes linked to the form of linguistic imposition. Transmutational identities, in this sense, imply the ever changing complex process of self definition. Meyn (1983) asks whether learning the dominant non-creole language (which in many cases is necessary in order to guarantee survival and status in the community) is not to put in jeopardy the cultural and historic identity of the Creole speaker.

Promoting one language to the status of official language is to create a two-tiered system. Those who speak the language of lesser status may strive so hard to overcome the stigma attached to it and to be accepted that they shun their primary language and cultural practices in the process (Meyn, 1983: 51-62). It is said that one common language is useful for the preservation of a nation and to promote nationalism, but this is not always the case. One has only to think about Switzerland, where four different languages are spoken, but there is a strong feeling of nationhood on the part of members of all four speech communities. Other examples include the Basque and Welsh languages which do not have many speakers today, yet among these populations there exists a high degree of solidarity and collective identity, which is constructed with reference to other factors instead of language - i.e. ethnic affiliation, a common ancestry, or a geographical location.
It is my belief that a good foundation for participation in society must be nurtured through a process of acquiring critical literacy in the dominant language, whilst maintaining consciously and vigorously all aspects of the primary language and cultural identity. The Papiamentu language not only allows its speakers to function within the socio-economic realm, but it also allows them to express themselves fully

within the emotional realm, and thus preserves its value in the opinion of its speakers. It seems obvious that the prestige of a minority language will increase as long as it receives value in the area of group identification, cultural awareness and solidarity. Even though a Creole may be perceived by its speakers to be inferior to an official language, it also serves as a symbol of identity. Moreno Fernández writes:

> Se puede decir que las actitudes lingüísticas tienen que ver con las lenguas mismas y con la identidad de los grupos que las manejan...algunos hablantes de variedades minoritarias tienen una actitud negativa hacia su propia lengua...Los hablantes saben que su comunidad prefiere unos usos lingüísticos a otros, que ciertos usos son propios de unos grupos y no de otros y, por lo tanto, tienen la posibilidad de elegir lo que consideran más adecuado a las circunstancias... (Moreno Fernández, 1998: 180-81).
>
> [It may be said that linguistic attitudes have to do with languages themselves and with the identity of the groups that utilize them...some speakers of minority language varieties have a negative attitude toward their own language...The speakers are aware that their community prefers some linguistic uses over others, that certain uses are characteristic of some groups and not of others, and consequently have the possibility to choose that which they consider more appropriate for their circumstances...].

3 Hypotheses

My hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The average speaker Papiamentu has a linguistic repertoire that includes two or more linguistic codes and a cultural repertoire that includes two or more cultural codes.

Hypothesis 2: Based on the plurilingual and pluricultural ethos in which they find themselves, as well as on their own plurilingualality and pluriculturality, speakers of Papiamentu make conscious choices in selecting the linguistic and cultural codes to use in particular situations.

Hypothesis 3: The conscious movement from one linguistic and cultural code to another gives Papiamentu speakers the capacity to adopt multiple identities.

Hypothesis 4: The ability to adopt multiple identities poses no serious psychological or social problems for speakers of Papiamentu, who feel equally comfortable, for example with their Caribbean identity as Antilleans

as they feel with their identity as citizens of a Northern European country (the Netherlands).

In the present work, it is my intent to study how identity, language attitude and language use are interrelated for the Papiamentu speaker. Language attitude research has successfully been pioneered by Lambert et al. (1960). Others, like Cargile (1996) studied how emotions and social identities influence attitudes toward a particular language group. To my knowledge, no data have as yet been published regarding the attitudes of Papiamentu speakers toward their own use of that language and how they value Papiamentu versus Dutch for integrative and instrumental purposes. If my hypotheses are validated, the situation of Papiamentu speakers in the ABC islands might be similar to that of Catalan speakers in Catalonia. Miquel Strubell i Trueta (1984) studied the relationship between the national identity of immigrants of Spanish origin residing in Catalonia and their knowledge and use of Catalan. Strubell i Trueta argues that although the Catalan language has over the years been the object of severe repression by political leaders in Spain, Catalan nevertheless has always maintained a high degree of language loyalty among its speakers, which seems to stem from the fact that Catalan speakers feel that their language plays a very real and important role in their lives. (It must be noted here that Catalan did not gain new speakers until it was recognized as an official language by the Spanish state). Strubell i Trueta attributes this strong sense of loyalty to the fact that the Catalan language is still used in the home and socially and that this is perhaps due to the fact that a Catalan speaker's identity is very closely linked to knowledge and use of the language, albeit in a diglossic way. It is my contention that this is the case as well for speakers of Papiamentu. In the present study, I set out to demonstrate some aspects of this phenomenon in Curaçao.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) contend that in order to come to terms with their social identity, individuals must first come to terms personally with their group membership, that is, they must first internalize their identity in order to be able to speak to their self-concept. This self-identification will either be in line with or else be contradicted by the individual's linguistic behavior. Social identities obviously influence linguistic behavior and vice versa. In Edmonton, Canada, my Antillean social identity intensifies when I interact in Papiamentu. I might liken this phenomenon to an "identity switch" that is activated in certain environments. An important aspect of my research was to find out what types of social interaction trigger an Antillean identity in speakers of Papiamentu. Another goal of this study was to ascertain the extent to which linguistics as a descriptive science can usefully help us to understand the various functions performed by minority and marginalized languages in society.

4 Methodology

Data Collection

During the initial stages of my research, severe constraints in terms of time and funding limited me to conducting the study by means of a written questionnaire which I sent out by regular postal service and by e-mail. I also used the same questionnaire as the basis for a series of telephone interviews. The questionnaire was created with questions that came (with some changes) from the questionnaire used in Baker (1992: 139-141). Included in the questionnaire were questions regarding demographic information about the respondents such as occupation, gender, age and education. Wanting to limit interference from or bias to a language, I opted to use a neutral language, which in this case was English. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix 1.

To do the phone interviews, I had to buy a phone card, as doing the interviews using the Edmonton based Telus phone company would have been too costly. First of all, I had to explain who I was and why I was bothering them with long distance calls. The first person I spoke to must have been sleeping, because he made a point of telling me that it was actually 11:30 at night in Curaçao. I apologized profusely and wished him a good night's sleep for the remainder of the night. At times I had someone on the phone who put me on hold, in order to get the owner of the house to speak to me. The questionnaire had to be explained to people, and in answering the questionnaire, many wanted to explain their answers to me, which took a lot of time and proved to be very costly. One Aruban woman living in Curaçao took offense when I asked her the question: 'I am happy to be an Antillean'. She said that she was an Aruban and that did not mean being an Antillean (For those of you who do not know this, Aruba received a status apart from the other islands, and is consequently no longer grouped with the Antilles).
At a later stage, I was able to travel to Curaçao, and there I was able to administer more questionnaires in person.

The Participants

My research involved several different groups of respondents. The first group consisted of members of an e-mail based "*Antiyano*" group, (which hereafter I will refer to as the E-mail group), of which I also am a member. The members of this group are all interested in Papiamentu and the culture of the ABC islands. They have joined this group in order to maintain ties with their Antillean identity, although many

live in countries across the world and perhaps do not even speak Papiamentu. I am a member of this group, but am not acquainted personally with any other member. My only contact with other members has been via an occasional e-mail

Given the difficulties involved in obtaining data from all the social strata of the populations of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, I decided to limit myself to a random sample of the population of Curaçao, To obtain such a sample, I used a current telephone directory for Curaçao. Using the MS Excel program to obtain random numbers, I was able to select my participants for the mail-out questionnaires as well as the participants for the telephone sessions (hereafter referred to as the P-group). Although I had anticipated receiving 30 completed questionnaires from the mail-out group, I did not receive any responses at all!

This initial study became a pilot study as I only had a rather small sampling to work with. Although I arrived at some findings, they needed to be confirmed by a larger sampling. In 2002, while back in Curaçao on another research trip, I set out to gather additional data. I was graciously invited by various principals both in Willemstad as well as elsewhere on the island, to visit their schools to collect the data that I needed. The names of the schools and their principals have been withheld from this study to preserve their anonymity. Suffice it to say that the questionnaire was filled out by 75 youths between the ages of 13-18 attending secondary and vocational schools.

During this same research trip, I also handed out questionnaires to people wherever I happened to be. As a result, I received an additional thirty questionnaires completed by people who I had met while shopping in Otrobanda, on the Brionplein, at the library downtown, at Hato Airport and at the University of the Antilles. For the present work, I have attempted to combine my earlier data (10 e-mail and 10 phone responses) with the 75 youth and 30 adult responses collected in 2002 to give me a sampling of 125 respondents, of which 64 were female and 61 were male. I introduced myself in Papiamentu before each session at the various schools. As well, I handed out an informed consent form to the adult group in which I introduced my project and the reasons for my research.

The instruments

Below is a description of the elements comprising the questionnaire which the various respondents completed. The questionnaire was made up of 5 sections, with the first 4 sections following a fixed format. The responses to some sections were quantified according to a numerical scale. For example, in Section 1 the possible responses were: SA (Strongly Agree), A (Agree), N (Neither agree nor disagree), D (Disagree) and SD (Strongly Disagree). I worded the questions in such a way that the respondent had to think before answering each one. My aim was to prevent respondents from just

picking one column and ticking off that column for each question. The first section asked questions that measured identity, such as the following:

Item 5: I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans
Item 6: I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen

The focus of much of the research on attitudes towards a specific language is the measure of favorability versus unfavorability of attitudes towards the language in question. The extent of favorable attitudes towards a language can affect decisions about language policy and language planning. Differences in attitude can also be correlated to differences in gender, age, language background or education. Section 2 consisted of questions that were designed to elicit the participants' attitudes about the use of Papiamentu versus Dutch for integrative and instrumental purposes. Instrumental motivation to use a particular language is based on a desire to gain social recognition, is mostly self-oriented, individualistic and extremely important for economic survival and accessing employment opportunities. Integrative motivation to use a particular language is based on interpersonal needs for affiliation, a desire to be like the other members of a particular language community, and identification with a language group and their cultural activities. This section contained an attitude inventory concerning the use, value and status of the Papiamentu language. Examples of the 20 items that made up the inventory follow:

How important or unimportant do you think Papiamentu is for people to do the following:

Item 1: To make friends
Item 13: Bring up children

Section 3 dealt with actual use of Papiamentu versus Dutch, asking which language the respondent used in various situations, including:

Item 1: family at home
Item 2: at work with colleagues
Item 3: at work with boss
Item 4: with friends
Item 5: with strangers

In section 4 the participants were to state their age, gender, occupation and level of formal education. No names were asked for, in order to ensure total anonymity.
In the final section (section 5) participants were asked to comment freely on the topics covered in the questionnaire. As this was an open-ended question, it did not figure in

the statistical analysis of the data. Therefore, the results obtained from section 5 will be summarized below in a descriptive manner.
An important objective of the questionnaire was to find out whether age, gender, occupation and education levels: 1) influence how the Antillean identity is negotiated; 2) are correlated to levels of Papiamentu versus Dutch language usage; 3) predict levels of solidarity with the rest of the Papiamentu speaking community; and 4) have a bearing on whether Papiamentu was used more for instrumental or for integrative purposes.

5 Results

As the analysis of responses to sections 1 through 4 of the questionnaire necessitated counting things, this study has a statistical aspect and as such can be classified in part as a quantitative analysis. Statistics is an instrument which can be used to extract something of significance out of a great quantity of numbers. While the sample involved is rather small, statistical tools were used in the collection and analysis of the data in order to test my hypothesis and to insure that my analysis and conclusions were reliable and reproducible. Since the responses to section 5 were elicited and analyzed using non-statistical techniques, that part of the study can be classified as qualitative. In the following sections, I will present the qualitative results first and then I will present the quantitative results.

Qualitative Results

The responses to the unstructured section of the questionnaire as well as other comments made by respondents are included here.

One respondent wrote about being multilingual:

> I speak and write in more than one language. Beside Papiamentu, English, Dutch and Portuguese, I also know Spanish. I write thus in one of these languages depending on the way I feel during the course of a day or depending on the mood I am in. I write in Papiamentu when I feel close to my roots [*yu di Kòrsou* – meaning island child]. I write in English when I want to be serious or if I want to explain something technical. I write in Portuguese when I feel romantic. Dutch is my language of default as it is the language I use most of the day at work.

Below are some other comments I received from the various groupings in this study:

> Your research seems interesting. Do you feel there has been a positive change in the attitudes over the years in Papiamentu usage?
>
> There are many nations that do not value their own heritage or only come to value it after outsiders remind them of it.
>
> Do you think nations can uphold a critical balance between preservation of a language and adaptation to innovative influences from other languages? In other words, how does one keep a language pure?
>
> I would like to know - since when has Papiamentu been spoken in its present form? I remember when I was growing up, many people would argue that it wasn't even a language. Is Papiamentu officially recognized as a language at the international level or is it considered a dialect?
>
> *Hopi bon Helene, sigui asina, bo ta un bon defensor pa e lenga Papiamentu.*
> [Very good Helene, keep going on in his way. You are a good defender of our Papiamentu language].

> What the hell are you trying to do? If it were up to me we would speak only English.
>
> I'm glad to have filled out this questionnaire. I think that we have to accept ourselves for who we are. We must not feel badly that we are from the Netherlands Antilles, but be proud of our Papiamentu language, because it is the most beautiful language on earth.

Quantitative Results

The 20 questionnaires administered during the initial pilot phase (via e-mail and phone) included responses from 10 males and 10 females. Later on I received 75 questionnaires from youths at the various schools that I visited and an additional 30 questionnaires filled out by adults that I had met. The total sample therefore consisted of 125 respondents of which 61 were males and 64 females. Males were coded as 0 in my results and females as 1. The range of age of all the respondents in this study was from 13 to 70. Therefore I placed them into 2 groups. Those from 13 to 40, I called group 0 and those from 41 to 70, I called group 1. One participant declined to give his

age. Occupations varied widely. Most of the younger respondents did not have a job and stated their occupation as student. The occupations of the other respondents included university student, engineer, seamstress, clerk, airport worker, construction worker, baker, social worker, teacher, housewife, store manager and retiree. Quantitative analysis was carried out with the aid of MS Excel and SPSS software programs.

In the following discussion, I will consider the quantitative results from the study in relation to each of the hypotheses that I advanced above.

Hypothesis 1: The average speaker of Papiamentu has a linguistic repertoire that includes two or more linguistic codes and
a cultural repertoire that includes two or more cultural codes.

The responses to the questions which deal with language use (in section III of the questionnaire) indicate a high degree of bilingualism/biculturalism in Curaçaoan society as well as a high degree of bilinguality/biculturaltiy among Curaçaoans. While over 80% of respondents (regardless of age and gender differences) reported using Papiamentu 'only' or 'mostly' in their homes and 70% of respondents (regardless of age and gender differences) reported using Papiamentu 'only' or 'mostly' with friends, the majority of respondents reported making significant use of both Dutch and Papiamentu at work and with strangers.

While the responses to questions regarding language use varied little between the sexes, some interesting generational trends emerged:

1) While 35% of the respondents in the older age group (41 to 70 years of age) reported using Papiamentu 'only' or 'mostly' with their workmates, this figure rises to 56% in the younger age group (17-40 years of age).
2) While 35% of the respondents in the older age group (41 to 70 years of age) reported using Papiamentu 'only' or 'mostly' with their bosses at work, this figure rises to 42% in the younger age group (17-40 years of age).
3) While 19% of the respondents in the older age group (41 to 70 years of age) reported using Papiamentu 'only' or 'mostly' with strangers, this figure rises to 37% in the younger age group (17-40 years of age).

This generational shift seems to indicate an extension of Papiamentu use from its traditional functions as an integrative code to functions that are more instrumental in nature, rather than indicating a shift from plurilinguality and pluriculturalism to monolinguality and monoculturalism, since most respondents of all age, gender, and

educational groups still reported significant use of Dutch in many contexts. What seems to be happening instead is the transformation of a diglossic society, where Papiamentu is used only in integrative contexts to a truly plurilingual society, where two or more different languages (including Papiamentu) are used in the same domains.
The maintenance of plurilinguality and pluriculturality among young people in Curaçao is also supported by the results from the other sections of the questionnaire dealing with identity and language attitudes (see below). If anything, plurilingualism and pluriculturalism have expanded both qualitatively and quantitatively in Curaçao over the past decades, with significant immigration from Latin America and the Anglophone Caribbean as well as the massive influence of the English and Spanish media from the US and Venezuela.

Hypothesis 2: Based on the plurilingual and pluricultural ethos in which they find themselves, as well as on their own plurilinguality and pluriculturality, speakers of Papiamentu make conscious choices in selecting the linguistic and cultural codes to use in particular situations.

The responses to the questions which we discussed above on language use in part III of the questionnaire attest to the fact that speakers of Papiamentu make choices in selecting the linguistic and cultural codes to use in particular situations. That these choices are conscious is borne out by the responses to the questions on language attitudes in part II of the questionnaire. Respondents generally consider Papiamentu to be 'important' or 'somewhat important' for integrative functions, such as making friends (>80%), being liked (>60%), living in Curaçao (>90%), bringing up children (>80%), making phone calls (>60%), being accepted in the community (>80%), and talking to friends in school and out of school (>80%). Respondents rated Papiamentu as less important for instrumental functions, with 'important' and 'somewhat important' ratings lower for earning money (29% for the older age group), getting a job (43% for the older age group), becoming 'cleverer' (38% for the older age group), passing exams (19% for the older age group), and talking to teachers at school (14% for the older age group).
Papiamentu was rated as 'important' or 'somewhat important' for some instrumental functions, however, such as reading (81% for the whole sample, 76% for the older age group) and writing (83% for the whole sample, 71% for the older age group), no doubt due at least in part to the fact that literacy in Papiamentu has been promoted and propagated to a greater extent than for any other Creole language in the Caribbean. If this is indeed the case, it provides interesting evidence of the value of intervention by educational authorities and other promoters of creole languages in contributing to more positive evaluations on the part of Creole speakers toward creole languages.

Comparing age groups, the responses attest to a dramatic shift from a diglossic to a truly plurilingual situation over the past generation, with Papiamentu gaining in every domain, to the extent that for all of the functions listed in part II of the questionnaire over 50% of respondents aged 17 to 40 rated Papiamentu as 'important' or 'somewhat important'. These shifts in attitude towards a more positive evaluation of the importance of Papiamentu were quite spectacular for some instrumental functions, such as earning money (from 29% 'important' or 'somewhat important' ratings for the older age group to 58% for the younger group), becoming cleverer (from 38% 'important' or 'somewhat important' ratings for the older age group to 71% for the younger group), passing exams (from 19% 'important' or 'somewhat important' ratings for the older age group to 72% for the younger group), and talking to teachers in school (from 14% 'important' or 'somewhat important' ratings for the older age group to 71% for the younger group).

The language attitude results from part II of the questionnaire were in most cases similar for male and female respondents, but there was a slight tendency for female respondents to rate Papiamentu as more important for instrumental functions than male respondents did (i.e. getting a job, going shopping, and talking with teachers in school) and for male respondents to rate Papiamentu as more important for integrative functions than female respondents did (i.e. raising children, being accepted by the community, and talking to people outside of school). The trend that emerges when language attitude indicators were correlated to educational levels is a very slight tendency for the ratings of the importance of Papiamentu to fall for instrumental functions (such as earning money, getting a job, becoming cleverer, going shopping, passing exams, and talking to teachers in school) and even for some integrative functions (such as being liked and bringing up children) as the level of formal education increases. This effect, however, may be due more to the fact that those with more formal education also tend to be older than those with less formal education.

Hypothesis 3: The conscious movement from one linguistic and cultural code to another gives Papiamentu speakers the capacity to adopt multiple identities.

Hypothesis 4: The ability to adopt multiple identities poses no serious psychological or social problems for speakers of Papiamentu, who feel equally comfortable, for example with their Caribbean identity as Antilleans as they feel with their identity as citizens of a Northern European country (the Netherlands).

The results from part I of the questionnaire that deals with identity indicate that not only do speakers of Curaçaoan Papiamentu adopt different identities in different situations, but that they do not experience psychological or social unease as a result. Strong and positive identity as an Antillean is indicated by the fact that 93% of the total sample do not disagree with the proposition that they consider themselves to be

Antilleans, that 97% percent do not disagree with the proposition that they feel happy to be Antilleans, and that 92% do not disagree with the proposition that they identify with other Antilleans, Positive identity as a Dutch citizen is indicated by the fact that 95% of the total sample do not agree with the proposition that they make excuses for being a Dutch citizen, that 69% percent do not agree with the proposition that they are bothered to say that they are Dutch citizens, and that 79% do not agree with the proposition that they feel critical about the Netherlands.

The responses from the two age groups were similar in a number of cases, but where they differed, the younger age group (17 to 41 years of age) felt more positive about their identities as Antilleans as well as their identities as Dutch citizens. For example, 95% of younger people but only 81% of older people do not disagree with the proposition that they consider themselves to be Antilleans, and 82% of younger people, but only 62% of older people do not agree with the proposition that they are critical of the Netherlands. It is interesting to note that as young people have begun to feel more positive and secure in their identity as Antilleans, they have also become more positive and secure about their identity as Dutch citizens. This finding as well as others in the sample illustrate that efforts made to encourage a more positive evaluation on the part of young people of their own ancestral languages, cultures, and identities increases their capacity not only to valorize their own languages, cultures, and identities, but also to valorize the identities, languages and cultures of others and to make these 'foreign' languages, cultures, and identities their own by integrating them into their linguistic, cultural and identificational repertoires.

While the responses of women did not differ significantly from those of men in terms of the questions on identity in part I of the questionnaire, a slight tendency could be discerned in the correlation between identity indicators and education level, whereby those with more years of formal schooling had more critical attitudes toward the Netherlands and felt less comfortable with their identity as Dutch citizens. While 79% of people with the lowest levels of formal education and 85% of people with intermediate levels of formal education do not agree with the proposition that they are critical of the Netherlands, only 61% of people with the highest level of formal education do not agree with the same proposition. In a similar vein, while 98% of people with the lowest levels of formal education and 93% of people with intermediate levels of formal education do not agree with the proposition that they make excuses for being a Dutch citizen, only 89% of people with the highest level of formal education do not agree with the same proposition.

6 Summary

In general, the results have confirmed the hypotheses which the study was constructed to test. Speakers of Papiamentu on Curaçao (and most probably on Aruba and Bonaire as well) are plurilingual and pluricultural. This plurilinguality and pluriculturality allows speakers of Papiamentu to make conscious choices in selecting the linguistic and cultural codes to use in particular situations and to adopt different identities in different situations, without major psychological or social unease. Younger people seem to be moving away from a diglossic model where Papiamentu is restricted in its use to integrative functions and are expanding the use of Papiamentu alongside other languages for more instrumental functions as well. This expansion in the use of Papiamentu on the part of the younger generations is accompanied by a more positive evaluation of Papiamentu and a stronger and more positive sense of identity as an Antillean. These tendencies among younger people to expand the use of Papiamentu, to have a higher valorization of Papiamentu, and to have a stronger sense of positive identity as Antilleans, have not hindered their desire and capacity to utilize, valorize and appropriate other languages and identities. On the contrary, younger people seem to be using their more secure sense of grounding in their own language, culture, and identity to develop a greater openness and ability to confidently make other languages, cultures, and identities part of a set of dynamic and creative Antillean plurilingual, pluricultual, and pluri-identificational repertoires.

In the past language attitude research has helped us understand the ways in which speakers may be predisposed to using one language over another. This present study has attempted to add to that understanding by providing a glimpse at how speakers of Papiamentu interact in their everyday relationships. Despite the contribution that this study may make to our understanding of language attitudes among speakers of Papiamentu, much work remains to be done.

Born in Curaçao I spent my youth on the island and as such my experience has necessarily been colored with a Caribbean outlook and my whole being is undeniably linked to that community. My journey that began in Willemstad made stops and contact with many people, places, and languages, and ended up full circle with studying Papiamentu, the language of my birthplace. Finally being given the opportunity to research my history, my culture and my language also allowed me to capture something, not yet wholly articulated, of my own identity. Claiming this identity brought me to a better understanding and appreciation of the history of the islands, the impact of colonialism, and the genesis of Papiamentu and the Antillean culture associated with it. My voice joins others in saying: “Di nos e ta” [It is ours].

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QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Here are some statements about your feelings. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with one of the following:

SA = Strongly Agree (circle **SA**)
A = Agree (circle **A**)
N = Neither agree nor disagree (circle **N**)
D = Disagree (circle **D**)
SD = Strongly Disagree (circle **SD**)

1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen	SA	A	N	D	SD
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands	SA	A	N	D	SD
3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Antillean	SA	A	N	D	SD
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Antillean	SA	A	N	D	SD
5. I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans	SA	A	N	D	SD
6. I am a person who considers it important to be Dutch citizen	SA	A	N	D	SD
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen	SA	A	N	D	SD
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Antillean	SA	A	N	D	SD
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Antillean	SA	A	N	D	SD
10. I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands	SA	A	N	D	SD

II. How important or unimportant do you think Papiamentu is for people to do the following? There are no right or wrong answers. Check the appropriate box.

FOR PEOPLE TO:	important	a little important	a little unimportant	unimportant
1. To make friends				
2. To earn plenty of money				
3. Read				
4. Write				
5. Watch TV/ videos				
6. Get a job				
7. Become cleverer				
8. Be liked				
9. Live in Curaçao				
10. Go to church / chapel				
11. Sing				
12. Play sports				
13. Bring up children				
14. Go shopping				
15. Make phone calls				
16. Pass exams				
17. Be accepted in the community				
18. Talk to friends in school				
19. Talk to teachers in school				
20. Talk to people out of school				

III. What language do YOU use in the following situations? Answer with one of the following:

OD =Only Dutch
MD = Mostly Dutch
B = Both equally
MP = Mostly Papiamentu
OP = Only Papiamentu

1.	In your house with your family	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
2.	At work with your colleagues	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
3.	At work with your boss	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
4.	With your friends	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
5.	With strangers	OD	MD	B	MP	OP

IV. Please answer the following:

AGE: _____

GENDER: ____ Male
____ Female

OCUPATION:_____

EDUCATION:____ Elementary
____ Secondary
____ Vocational School
____ University

V. Please comment freely on this questionnaire:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENTS IN PAPIAMENTU[1]

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1 Introduction

Papiamentu contains a notable if not massive Portuguese lexical element, even though the Netherlands Antilles have never been subjected to Portuguese rule. In this chapter I examine and enumerate the most frequent elements in everyday Papiamentu which are probably or clearly of Portuguese origin, and make some observations about their role in the history of the development of Papiamentu. I will also discuss Martinus' work on Guene (based on Brenneker's collections), which has been claimed to be an important source of Portuguese elements in Papiamentu. It is clear from examining Papiamentu data that not all forms which are ultimately of Portuguese origin came into Papiamentu from the same source, and it is also true that not all forms of certain and assured Iberoromance origin which do not appear superficially to derive from Spanish need to be attributed to Portuguese influence.

2 Papiamentu as an Iberoromance Creole: on the Iberoromance sources

The usual shorthand description of Papiamentu typifies it as an 'Iberian-based Creole'. By this what is usually meant is that the bulk of the lexical elements in the language derive from an Iberoromance language. This is quite clearly true and it can be apprised from a swift examination of a page of a Papiamentu newspaper. It is just as true of, say, the contents of the 1775 letter in Papiamentu which Salomon (1982) analyses and discusses. The question of which Iberoromance language it is that these elements are taken has long been a matter of dispute, although the only such language with which Papiamentu is in contact nowadays and from which it can draw new Iberoromance elements is Spanish (predominantly Antillean Spanish). This is a language which has long been familiar to many speakers of Papiamentu of all origins,

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who have one of the highest literacy rates in the Caribbean and who had and have access to Spanish-language media, which they use in an increasing number of modalities. For its part Portuguese nowadays plays a tiny role in Sephardic worship in the Netherlands Antilles, and not even the 1775 letter, written as it was by a Sephardic Jew of Portuguese extraction, and translated into Dutch by Nicolaus Henricus, a sworn interpreter into Portuguese and Dutch who bears a distinctively Portuguese Sephardic surname, contains many clearly Portuguese forms. Nor would the nature of the lexical elements in the language of the letter (or in other early sources) lead us to suspect that Papiamentu is a partial relexification of an original Portuguese-lexifier creole.

The table in Maduro (1953), drawn from his short orthographical dictionary and presented here in translation, presents a picture of etymological complexity in the everyday Papiamentu lexicon which may be belied by historical reality. For instance Maduro's claims for the possible Galician sources of some forms may be taken with a pinch of salt. One should also remember that Portuguese and Spanish – even the official forms of these languages – were more similar to one another in terms of their basic elements 350 years ago than they are now, and the largest single element among the forms of Iberoromance origin is that of elements which are the same in Spanish as in Portuguese.

Table 1 *Common Papiamentu words subdivided etymologically (as presented in Maduro, 1953)*

Spanish or Portuguese	660
Spanish	501
Spanish or Galician	7
Spanish, Portuguese or Galician	13
Spanish or archaic Galician	2
Archaic Spanish	21
Archaic Spanish or Portuguese	7
Archaic Spanish, Portuguese or Galician	14
Archaic Spanish or Galician	7
Archaic Spanish or archaic Galician	1
Portuguese	89
Portuguese or Galician	78
Galician	73
Archaic Galician	10
Spanish Americanisms	107
Dutch	683
French	40
English	31
Unspecified European	53
African or American Indian	23
Total number of elements:	**2426**

But the Iberoromance sources in Papiamentu are not always easy to pin down precisely. A few dozen Papiamentu elements which are clearly of Iberoromance origin cannot be sourced more specifically to a particular Iberoromance language. This is because they do not resemble either Spanish or Portuguese perfectly, for instance a word such as *hariña* 'flour' (Portuguese *farinha*, Spanish *harina*) is clearly Iberoromance in origin but its shape does not correspond perfectly to either probable source form.[2] There are yet other Papiamentu forms which are securely Iberoromance in origin but which do not correspond in shape to any known Iberoromance source. This is true for instance with the handful of forms which have paragogic vowels such as *boso* 'you plural', *solo* 'sun', and these paragogic vowels are supported neither by their etymologies in Spanish nor in Portuguese, though paragoge of this kind is common enough in Gulf of Guinea Creoles.

In this context we may note also the forms of words such as Papiamentu *haña* 'to find', which is more like Sp *hallar* than Port *achar* but which is still anomalous phonologically, and we may observe that Spanish *camino* gives *kaminda* 'path', with an intrusive consonant and a final vowel which is harmonic with the first one, whereas Spanish *caminar* gives *kana* 'to walk'[3]. We may note that the permissible word-final consonants in the Iberoromance stratum of Papiamentu are those permitted word-finally by Antillean Spanish, namely /s n l r/ plus Papiamentu /-t/ for Spanish final /-d/ [-ð], and that other word-final consonants are only found in elements of (later) Dutch, French and English origin.

In short, tracing all the Iberoromance forms in Papiamentu back to Spanish is not as easy as it seems, and this is especially the case with many of the more high-frequency morphs. Some further Papiamentu forms which do not look particularly Spanish in shape may actually be more easily derived from Spanish base forms by the application of frequently-used sound laws. For instance the phonological development of *shinishi* 'ashes', which derives from Spanish *ceniza* or /senísa/, as it is pronounced in Antillean Spanish, exhibits the use of several phonological strategies, namely Pre-Tonic Vowel Raising, and also a form of Vowel Harmony which is dictated by the nature of the primary stressed vowel, and Palatalisation, all of which are abundantly attested in the Papiamentu forms of other Spanish words, though these phonological rules are no longer productive. We cannot attribute the word to Portuguese *cinza* /sĩza/ on phonological grounds. Indeed, what makes some Papiamentu words look as though

[2] Some of these forms may resemble parallel forms in Galician or other Iberoromance varieties (for example *palomba* 'dove', contrasted with Spanish *paloma* and Portuguese *pomba*), but this may be coincidental, since there are few if any other forms in Papiamentu which represent lexical elements which are otherwise only found in Galician and which contain Galician stems that are unparalleled in both Portuguese and Spanish. The role of coalescence between Portuguese and Spanish forms in the creation of Papiamentu forms is therefore a likelier prospect.

[3] It is not always the case that Papiamentu forms which are maximally different from their Iberoromance etyma have always been so different from them. An example of this is *lanta* 'to get up, rise', which was formerly *lamta*, and which (as Martinus, 1999 points out) is recorded in the mid-19th century as *lamanta*; it is from Spanish and Poruguese *levantar*.

they are taken from Galician or Portuguese may actually be no more than the result of the early application of certain phonological rules to what are actually Castilian word-shapes, and this goes too for certain words of assuredly Iberoromance derivation whose shapes are equally distant from those of Portuguese and Spanish, for instance *dede* 'finger', with its use of post-tonic vowel harmony (compare both Portuguese and Spanish *dedo* from Latin DIGITUS).

The definitely Spanish and presumably Spanish elements in Papiamentu conform on the whole pretty closely to modern Latin American phonology. For instance, seseo and yeismo are reflected all the way through; there are no instances of interdental fricatives or palatalised laterals in the Spanish element, and /s/ of whatever origin behaves in the same way in response to phonological tendencies: both the /s/ which derives from /s/ and that which derives from earlier /θ/ can be subsequently palatalised before /i/. There is no evidence that any of the Spanish-derived forms in Papiamentu preserve any relics of former phonological distinctions which were current in Spanish in the 16th century but which have now disappeared or which have merged into other sounds. No trace is found, for instance, of earlier Spanish /š/ in any words in Papiamentu, nor of earlier Spanish /ž/. The only exceptions to this non-occurrence are forms which are actually more readily traced back to Portuguese, and this is hardly likely to be a coincidence. Both the post-alveolar sibilants are realised in Papiamentu as /h/, just as in Antillean Spanish, with a variant of zero (it can seem to the etymologist that /h/ and zero are in free alternation in Papiamentu, because of the existence of such forms as *haltu* 'high', compare Spanish and Portuguese *alto).* Nor are any traces of earlier /f/ preserved in Papiamentu words in cases where they have been changed earlier into /h/ or later into zero in modern Spanish, although Spanish words containing /h/ from an original /f/ preserve /h/ in Papiamentu more often than they lose it. By contrast, different forms of Papiamentu have variously *hulandes* and *ulandes* for 'Dutch', the latter form being more typically Aruban.

There are some other forms in Papiamentu which have phonological shapes that can only be explained by referring to dialectal Spanish forms. One instance will suffice for now: *awe* 'today', comparable with Aragonese *agüey*, and a form which is found in the 1775 letter in the same spelling as it has in modern Papiamentu (Salomon 1982), is one such example (Maurer, 1998), since neither Spanish *hoy* nor Portuguese *hoje* look like plausible sources.

In all, it is clear that the Spanish component in Papiamentu derives massively from post-Golden Age Castilian Spanish, of the sort which was transported to Venezuela, rather than it coming from an earlier form of Spanish which had been preserved from the speech form which was employed in the sixteenth century in linguistic encounters between Indigenous Americans and Spaniards. Even so, it is feasible that some older or more archaic forms which had originally been in use in earlier Papiamentu were gradually replaced by the more modern phonological shapes of their semantic

equivalents, as a result of the speakers' increased oral (and latterly often also written) exposure to forms of metropolitan Spanish.[4]

In terms of sheer numbers the language after Spanish which has provided the greatest number of lexical morphs to Papiamentu is Dutch, after which we find much smaller numbers of elements from English, Portuguese, Arawak (or at least Arawakan languages, mainly ecological terms such as *shimaruku* 'West Indian cherry', a plant whose Arawak name indicates the importance of its wood for making arrow-shafts), French, assorted African languages and (marginally) Hebrew. In addition there is a small number of words, some of them of high frequency, which are as yet of unknown origin, for instance *mahos* 'ugly'. Portuguese is present in Papiamentu but its contribution is not numerically large.

It is obvious that many dozen more Papiamentu words could have been derived either from Portuguese or Spanish simply because the two languages have identical shapes and senses for the words in question, and the Papiamentu form could have sprung from either. One such Papiamentu example is *awa* 'water', which has a phonological form which could be traced back with equal ease to Portuguese or Spanish but which is identical to neither.[5] Yet other forms can be shown to derive from Spanish but not from a directly Castilian form of Spanish, and indeed some of these may possibly derive from varieties of Afro-Spanish foreigner talk which have recently been associated with the forms of Spanish used for addressing *bozales* (African-born slaves; see Lipski, 2001).[6]

Some other forms are clearly more like Spanish than Portuguese but have still not been recorded for Spanish: an example of this is *wea* 'pot', Spanish *olla*.[7] And yet

[4] Baker (1997) has shown that this exchange of newer for older forms has happened with some forms in Mauritian, whose archaic 18th century phonological shapes have been replaced over time with equivalents which more closely reflect the phonological shapes of modern French (for instance earlier Mauritian *pwesõ* 'fish', whose form reflects the way in which the word was pronounced in French in the early 18th century, is now modern *pwasõ*).

[5] The change of Spanish or Portuguese /gw/ to Papiamentu /w/ is categorical in the pre-cultismo stratum of Papiamentu vocabulary of Iberoromance origin, and this would have alleviated the passage into Papiamentu of numerous Dutch words containing initial or medial /w/. Of course the Papiamentu word for 'water' would have been equally hard to source for Spanish against Portuguese if it had had the form */agwa/.

[6] The Spanish did not have any footholds in Africa until the 1770s (indeed they had no forts or possessions there until after our first record of Papiamentu), when they took over the island of Annobon from the Portuguese. Consequently we may reject from the start any idea of a possible Afrogenesis of Papiamentu. The question then is how Papiamentu acquired those elements which are generally associated with bozal Spanish and with Afro-Portuguese creoles and interlanguage, and which are sometimes shared with Palenquero (Megenney, 1984; Bickerton & Escalante, 1970, note that Schwegler, 1998, a full report on Palenquero, consistently puts the word *lengua* 'language' in quotation marks when referring to Palenquero). Some of the most highlighted characteristics attributed to *bozal* Spanish, such as the change of /r/ to bozal /l/, are rarely if ever found in Papiamentu, although such a change is widespread in Palenquero (where it may have been reinforced by the effects upon Papiamentu of Kikongo, which does not preserve /d/, /r/ and /l/ as separate phonemes) and also in conservative varieties of Gulf of Guinea Creole Portuguese. This change also characterises Guene, although lambdacism is not found instantiated in the Portuguese lexical stratum in Papiamentu. Both Spanish rhotics /r/ and /rr/ have merged completely into /r/ in Papiamentu.

[7] But this form instantiates a sound-change which occurred in a period after the original Spanish /lj/ had been changed to /j/, a change which is categorical in such words of Spanish origin in Papiamentu. It looks as though

others are ambiguous as to their origin but may be more like Spanish than like Portuguese without yet being identical to either. The form *wowo* 'eye' (Spanish *ojo*, Portuguese *olho*) is one such. What seems to have been important in shaping the phonological forms of many high-frequency words in Papiamentu is their high perceptual salience. If a portmanteau form, combining elements of both Spanish and Portuguese word-shapes (and modified through the effects of strong Dutch first-syllable stress, with the consequence of an increased occurrence of post-tonic vowel harmony in many words), enabled the meaning of a sound-shape to be got across effectively, then it would be more readily acceptable both to lusophone and hispanophone people (be they first or second-language speakers). Hence we see the use of forms such as *palomba* 'pigeon'. The net result would be that the Iberoromance component of Papiamentu would be a kind of Spanish/Portuguese *cocoliche* (see Meo-Zilio, 1956 for an outline of what this implies), with levelled forms and portmanteau forms abounding. The twist here is that this was influenced by the linguistic habits of Dutch speakers, who not only spoke this language with people who were natively familiar with one or more of the Iberoromance components and who were familiar with the other major Iberoromance component language to a greater or lesser extent, but who (just like their hispanophone and lusophone compatriots) later also used it with people – African slaves - who spoke neither these nor Dutch.

Those few dozen elements in Papiamentu which are probably or certainly of Portuguese (rather than Spanish) origin cluster predominantly in the most basic and culture-free strata of the lexicon, with very few exceptions (*chumbu* 'the metal lead', which derives from Portuguese *chumbo* rather than the Spanish cultismo *plomo*, an adaptation to Spanish phonological norms of Latin PLUMBUM, is a rare exception to this principle)[8]. But there are only a few dozen forms (and certainly there are fewer than a hundred) which are of probable or certain Portuguese origin in Papiamentu (Grant ,1996 ms listed about seventy such items). Some of these are also found in varieties of Antillean Spanish (either as old loans from Portuguese or as retentions from an earlier stage of Spanish which modern Spanish lost) and may have entered the Papiamentu lexicon from this source.

But really there is no reason why the Portuguese-derived elements in Papiamentu may not come from many or all the possible Portuguese sources which could have influenced Papiamentu:

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the phonological form of /wea/ (which on the surface looks like a reflex of Spanish *huella* 'footprint') may ultimately be the modified form ofa previous and predictable /oja/.

[8] The Papiamentu form of this word begins with a postalveolar affricate, as was the case in earlier stages of Portuguese, whereas the modern Portuguese form in both Brazilian and Peninsular Portuguese begins with a postalveolar fricative. The two sounds which were kept separate in earlier Portuguese (a separation realised in modern Portuguese orthography: <ch> for the sound which changed versus conservative <x>), were also kept separate in their Papiamentu reflexes: note *pusha* 'to push', from Portuguese *puxar* but Spanish *empujar* (and not from English *push*).

1) an Afro-Portuguese (or Lusoafrican) pidgin),
2) possibly a Lusoasian speech variety;
3) Guene (of which more later);
4) Judeo-Portuguese or at least the Portuguese spoken by the Sephardim on Curaçao who came directly from Holland or other parts of Europe;
5) possibly material brought in by speakers of Upper Guinea and/or Lower Guinea Portuguese-lexifier Creoles;
6) the few Portuguese elements which have been attributed to Antillean Spanish (*mai*, *pai* 'mom, dad', for instance, cf. Port. *mãe*, *pai*); and
7) the Portuguese speech variety from coastal north-eastern Brazil, which would have been familiar to Sephardim who had moved there from Europe (or elsewhere) before going to Curaçao, and which would have been known (at least in pidginised or otherwise reduced form) also to the Dutch Protestants who had run the lusophone colony until it was retaken by the Portuguese crown in the 1650s.

Add to these items those elements which are neither truly Spanish nor truly Portuguese in phonological shape, plus those other forms which are not found in modern Spanish but which are attested for other or earlier varieties (for instance forms which are shared with modern Eastern Judezmo, such as *topa* 'to meet', *ainda* 'yet, still') and those others which may more easily attest to a state of affairs which obtained before the full run of certain Spanish phonological rules, and the 'Portuguese' stratum looks very heterogeneous indeed. Whatever the origins of the Portuguese stratum, it is certainly not all to be derived from one burst of influence from Portuguese.

It is almost certain that some Lusitanisms came from a different source from the sources which provided others. For example it is highly unlikely that a Lusoafrican source would have provided Papiamentu with such a heavily-loaded religious term such as Sephardic Papiamentu *zjuzjum* 'a fast, abstention from food among Sephardic Jews' (Portuguese *jegum* against Spanish *ayuno*), which is likely to have been introduced by Portuguese-speaking Jews who would have practised such fasts.[9] Yet other Iberoromance forms are also found in other Romance-lexifier Creoles and yet their forms do not closely correspond either with Spanish or Portuguese forms. An example of this is Papiamentu *asina* 'so, thus', which is similar to Judezmo and Philippine Creole Spanish *ansina*, rather more so that it is to Spanish *así* or to Portuguese *assim*.

[9] In any case, /ž/, written *zj* in the standard Papiamentu orthography, is a sound which only occurs in words borrowed from languages other than Spanish, and indeed it is probably the rarest consonant in Papiamentu. Other consonants which have been acquired 'post-crystallisation' are /v z/, both acquired from words which have been taken from Dutch, and in addition the vowels /ü ö/ are also new introductions, principally via Dutch. The word under discussion occurs in the 1775 letter; modern Papiamentu uses Spanish-derived *yuna* for 'to fast' (Spanish *ayunar*).

We cannot exclude the possibility that some of these terms come from a form of West African Creole Portuguese, either from the Upper Guinea or Lower Guinea varieties, or from both. The Sephardic Portuguese trading networks stretched across much of the world, including much of coastal South Asia and adjoining parts of the Pacific in addition to parts of Africa and the Americas, and it was pointed out to me in August 2004 by Alan Baxter and Hans den Besten that many slaves who had been transhipped to Willemstad by Sephardim would have been transferred from elsewhere in this network, for instance from islands such as Annobon or Principe in the Gulf of Guinea. At least one Papiamentu term (*bachi* 'jacket') is specifically of Lusoasian Creole origin and derives from Malay *baju* (Hans den Besten, personal communication), and this form is itself ultimately a borrowing from Persian *bāzū* 'arm'[10]. Although Papiamentu lacks the wholesale replacement of /l/ for /r/ that modern Lower Guinea Creole Portuguese languages show, this fact does not of itself exclude them as possible sources of some lusitanisms in Papiamentu.

In short, we may say that any and all Iberoromance elements in Papiamentu which cannot be readily traced to the standard and regional Antillean forms of modern Castilian Spanish will require further examination as to their possible provenances. This is no less true of certain forms which derive from regional Spanish rather than Portuguese. Some forms which have been associated with Lusoafrican Creoles (for instance *landa* 'to swim', a form which Papiamentu shares with Fa d'Ambu of the Gulf of Guinea, and with which we may compare Spanish and Portuguese *nadar*) and which have been adduced as evidence for an especially close relationship, historical, genetic or otherwise, between Papiamentu and Lusoafrican Creoles, are also attested in regional Spanish and are therefore not necessarily indicative of such a close relationship (I am indebted to Armin Schwegler for this datum). But it still remains to be explained how such a regionalism found its way into Papiamentu.

There are also numerous terms in Papiamentu which are compounds of two or more Iberoromance (or even clearly Castilian) morphemic elements, yet which are not brought together or even found together as one word in the source language. The proliferation of abstract nouns in Papiamentu bearing the characteristic and highly productive affix *-mentu* (whose shape corresponds to modern Portuguese *-mento* but which may trace back to an undiphthongised Spanish form of *–miento*), many of which nouns have no parallels in Portuguese or Spanish, is one such case of this, although the possibility of its Portuguese origins cannot be entirely ruled out.[11]

[10] The possessive construction *e yiu su kas* 'the child 3SG.POSS house' for 'the child's house' is characteristic of Lusoasian creoles and Papiamentu but not of Lusoafrican creoles, and may represent another piece of evidence for influence upon Papiamentu from a Lusoasian creole.

[11] I am indebted to John McWhorter for suggesting to me that the lack of diphthongisation of Spanish /ie/ in some Papiamentu forms does not necessarily mean that they must derive from Portuguese rather than from Spanish. The same stricture does not apply to the other characteristically Spanish diphthong: Papiamentu forms which have /o/ where their Spanish counterparts have /ue/ may actually be from Portuguese, and there are numerous Papiamentu forms of high textual frequency which contain /ue/. The prominence of nouns in

Elements from English and French are the most recent in terms of introduction, dating as they do from the 19th century onwards, and these elements are the ones which are most peripheral to an assessment of the history of the creation of Papiamentu. Elements of Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, 'African' and Arawakan origin are the ones which most deserve attention in this historical regard because they are the oldest strata, and it should be recognised that probably not all Portuguese elements came into the language in the same way, from the same sources, and at the same time. Some elements of Portuguese origin may come from a Portuguese-lexifier Creole (as may some of the elements of African linguistic origin) while others may not. Philippe Maurer suggests that the Arawakan elements in Papiamentu may have come in through local Antillean Spanish and that they therefore may not represent borrowings from a submerged Arawakan language of the islands (Maurer, 1998: 187). Whatever non-Arawakan American Indian forms there may be in Papiamentu will probably have come in through Spanish or Dutch, as they also occur in these languages. (Van Buurt & Joubert, 1997 discusses the American Indian elements in Papiamentu, which outnumber the elements of African origin, but most of the 200 or so words listed there are either Arawakisms also found in Antillean Spanish, or are internationalisms taken from a wide variety of Indigenous American languages, and this suggests that Maurer's observations on this matter are correct.)

3 On Lusitanisms in Papiamentu and their various potential sources

I begin by reiterating the almost incontrovertible fact that the elements of Portuguese origin in Papiamentu have probably entered the language in more than one way and from more than one direction. Some of these must have come from the Portuguese used (firstly on a daily basis, then later for ritual purposes) by Sephardic Jews. Other lexical items may have their origins in a Lusoafrican pidgin (the use of which was never clearly attested for Curaçao, which does not mean that one was never used there) or in a levelling of the phonological shapes of Spanish and Portuguese cognates in an attempt to assist the process of interlinguistic communication on the islands. Yet other forms may be direct transmissions from earlier versions of Lusoafrican Creoles of Upper or Lower Guinea, or from elsewhere in Africa where Portuguese varieties were in use.

A list of common elements in Papiamentu which probably or certainly derive from Portuguese (or from a pidgin or creole which derived the bulk of its lexicon from Portuguese) follows below. Inclusion of an item in this list should not be taken as

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Papiamentu ending in unstressed /-u/ does not indicate a Portuguese origin for these forms, since this is simply the normal Papiamentu reflex of an unstressed /-o/, and what is more, such nouns end in /-o/ in written Aruban Papiamentu.

meaning that an etymology from Spanish is unfeasible or impossible, or indeed that I support the Portuguese etymology offered over the Spanish one. Most of these have been taken from Megenney (1984: 181-182) or Lenz (1928: 252). Other scholars have often followed one another's observations and have adduced other forms as being probably Portuguese in origin, though I personally fail to see the compelling case to be made for the Portuguese origin of *yiu* 'child, offspring' or *wowo* 'eye', which are even more distant in phonological form from Portuguese *filho* and *olho* than they are from Spanish *hijo* and *ojo*. Even so, a Portuguese origin for these forms is often proposed in the literature.

A few Papiamentu forms such as *haríña* 'flour', which seem at least on the surface to be Spanish-Portuguese blends, have been excluded from this list. A large number of these forms are problematic as far as their exclusively Portuguese origin is concerned; I have noted this consideration in the list.

3.1 Papiamentu Morphemes of Certain, Probable or Hypothesised Portuguese Origin

Word	**Meaning**	**Portuguese**	**Spanish**
afó(r), for (di)	'outside'	(*a)fora*	*(a)fuera*
ainda	'still, yet'	*ainda*	*todavía*
(But *ainda* is recorded for Eastern Judezmo of the former Ottoman Empire.)			
antó	'then'	*então*	*entonces*
(But a form of this also occurs in older Spanish.)			
bai	'to go'	*vai* (3 sg. pres. ind.)	*va*
(Munteanu 1991: 65-85 cites the existence of a form *vai* and points out that this form was widespread in pre-1650 Spanish and competed with *va*.)			
banda	'side'	*banda*	*lado*
(this also occurs in placenames such as *Otrabanda*, a district of Willemstad)			
bate	'to hit'	*bater*	*golpear*
bini	'to come'	*vim*	*viene*
(But note Spanish *vino* 's/he came'.)			
bira	'to turn, become'	*virar*	*virar* 'turn'
bo	'you'	*vós*	(*vosotros*)
boso(nan)	'you plural'	*você*	*vosotros*
(Although the forms *nosotros, vosotros* came into general use in Spanish only in the late sixteenth century.)			
bon	'good'	*bom*	*bueno*
bringa	'to fight'	*brigar*	*pelear*
(Spanish *brincar* 'leap' is less common.)			
chumbu	'lead'	*chumbo*	*plomo*

(The Spanish form is a cultism for hypothetical **llomo*, whereas the Portuguese form continues directly from Latin *plumbum*.)

dal 'to hit' *dale* *dale*

(Both the Spanish and Portuguese forms mean 'give [it] to him/her' but Megenney suggests that the Papiamentu form is Portuguese in origin; the same form, spelt *dále/dáli*, is the simple verb meaning 'give' in Zamboangueño, where it is also used for 'to hit'.)

(a)den 'in(side)' *adentro* *adentro*

(This is core lexicon, but just as likely to be from Spanish as from Portuguese.)

di 'of, from' *de* *de*

(This word could have been taken from either language but we note that the vowel, which is unstressed, causes the form to resemble the Portuguese form [di ~ dži] more closely.)

drumi 'to sleep' *dormir* *dormir*

(The Portuguese form is pronounced as if written *durmir*, but note Spanish *durmimos* 'we sleep'; a similarly irregular form for 'sleep' is found in Haitian.)

duna 'to give' *doar* *dar*

(The Papiamentu form of the verb is more usually *na*.)

éle 'he, she' *ele* *él*

(But note archaic Spanish *el(l)e*, or consider the possible conflation of Spanish 3sg pronouns *él* and *le*.)

forsa 'force, strength' *força* *fuerza*

foya 'leaf' *folha* *hoja*

guli 'to gobble down' *engolir* *engullir*

gumitá 'to vomit' *gumitar (*dialectal*) vomitar*

(A form which is identical to that found in Portuguese also occurs in dialectal Spanish, and also in Judezmo as *gomitar*, while forms with the same shape as the Papiamentu word occur in Lusoafrican and Lusoasian Creoles as well as in Saramaccan, where the word is *gumbita*; *gumita* is also the form of the verb in most if not all varieties of Philippine Creole Spanish.)

kachó 'dog' *cachorro* *perro*

(*perro*, of unknown origin, is a Spanish shibboleth, replacing *can*, preserved in Portuguese *cão*; Spanish *cachorro* = 'puppy'.)

kai 'to fall' *cair* *caer*

(But the similarity of this form to that in Portuguese could be largely based on stress-shift to the final syllable, while there is a similar form to the Papiamentu one in dialectal Spanish: Armin Schwegler, p. c., to John H. McWhorter.)

kaba 'to finish' *acabar* *acabar*

(The Portuguese and Spanish etyma are identical; however, forms such as *kabá* occur in a number of Creoles which have shown to have proven Portuguese influence though which are not themselves Iberoromance-lexifier Creoles, such as Saramaccan, Sranan, and Cayenne Creole French, as well as occurring in Iberoromance-lexifier Creoles, and this has often been offered as proof of monogenesis of some or all Creoles by certain scholars, including Megenney himself.)

kaska 'bark' *casca* *cáscara*

(Note also *kaská* 'to strip bark' from Portuguese *descascar* rather than Spanish *descascarar*, but quite likely to be a Papiamentu-internal derivation from the noun *kaska* 'bark' through

stress-shifting; the noun 'bark' could yet be Spanish and serve as an instance of final post-tonic syllable loss in Papaimentu.)

ke, kier	'to want'	*quer* (3sg. pres.ind.)	*quiere*

(Note the doublet, though *ke* is commoner; note also the presumably Papiamentu-derived Negerhollands *keer* 'want'.)

ken	'who'	*quem*	*quien*
ketu	'quiet'	*quieto quieto*	
koba	'to dig'	*cova*	*cueva* 'a hole'

(The verb is *cavar* in each case.)

kompái	'chum, mate (address)	*compãe*	*compadre*

(Both Iberoromance forms mean 'godfather'.)

kontá	'to tell'	*conta* (3sg. pres.ind)	*cuenta*

(But the form could derive from the Spanish infinitive.)

ku (1)	'with'	*com*	*con*
ku (2)	'that, complementiser'	*que*	*que*

(Both of these derive from Iberoromance; neither looks particularly Portuguese, although the first form is closer to the Portuguese form than the second is, and both look even less typically Spanish. Of such dubious material are many 'Lusitanisms' in Papiamentu ma

kurpa	'body'	*corpo*	*cuerpo*

(The use of *mi kúrpa* 'my body' to mean 'myself' is a trope which is paralleled in Mauritian Creole *mo lekor*, Haitian Creole *kò-m*, Chabacano *mi kwérpo*, et cetera.)

landa	'to swim'	*nadar*	*nadar*

(*landar* also occurs in regional Spanish, and as such its shape probably owes something to influence from *andar* 'to walk' or maybe *levantarse* 'to get up', with perhaps some dissimilation from **nandar*, but we should not omit mention of Principense *lánda*.)

lembe	'to lick'	*lamber*	*lamer*

(Note the irregular stem vowel in the Papiamentu form.)

lensu	'cloth'	*lenço*	*lienzo*
lo	(irrealis marker)	*logo* 'soon'	*luego* 'soon'
ma	'but'	*mais*	*pero*

(But *mas* was the archaic word for 'but' in Spanish.)

mai	'mother'	*mãe*	*madre*
maske	'although, even though'	*mas que*	*aúnque*

(This word is recorded for non-creolised Dutch in addition to being found as a discourse marker or adversative in Tok Pisin, Chinese Pidgin English, Papiamentu, Capeverdean, Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese and all forms of Lusoasian Creole, all forms of Philippine Creole Spanish, in addition to Negerhollands, Cape Dutch, remaining in Afrikaans in the construction *almaskie* 'nonetheless', and in Fanakalo. See Roberge 2002 for a discussion of the origin of this form)

-mentu	(noun marker)	*-mento*	*-miento*
mes	'self'	*mesmo*	*mismo*
mester	'to need'	*menester*	*necesitar*

(Lusoasian Creoles use forms of *mester* in the same sense.)

na	'at, on, in'	*na*	*en* (+ article)

(This also occurs widely in Chabacano and elsewhere.)

nobo	'new'	*novo*	*nuevo*
pai	'father'	*pai*	*padre*
papia	'to speak'	*papear*	*hablar*

(Portuguese normally has *falar*, but Portuguese *papear* is commoner than Spanish *papiar*; apparently Sephardic Papiamentu uses Spanish-derived *habla* for 'to speak'.)

pasobra	'because'	**para salvo de + ?*	*porque*
		or: **para esa obra de*	

(The etymology of this conjunction is a puzzle, though it is certainly Iberoromance in origin and looks impossible to link up with a Spanish etymon; for sheer perplexity of derivation, compare Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese *pamódu* 'because', from *por amor de*: John N. Green, personal communication.)

pénchi	'clothespeg'	*pente* 'comb'	*peine*

(Megenney suggests this as a Lusitanism, but could this not just be the Spanish form plus the Dutch diminutive, or even a form of Dutch *pin* with a diminutive suffix added?)

perta	'to press'	*apertar*	*apretar*

(But this may be a secondary development from the Spanish form.)

por	'can, to be able'	*po(de)r*	*poder*

*(*The Spanish verb form has 3 sg. present indicative *puede*, with diphthongisation, which is the base form for this verb in the Philippine Spanish Creoles, and also is the base form in many modern Philippine languages which have absorbed it, for instance Tagalog *puwede* 'can, be able'. The version without brackets is the modern Portuguese form. It is nonetheless possible that the form has been taken over from one of the unstressed allomorphs of Spanish *poder*.)

prétu	'black'	*preto*	*negro*

(Spanish also has *prieto*, but it occurs with diphthongisation, as a rather infrequent and literary adjective meaning 'dark'. The form *negro* in Portuguese became specialised to refer to people of African descent, while *preto* became the adjective for 'black' in other senses.)

pusha	'to push'	*puxar*	*empujar*

(This is not likely to be a loan from English *push* or French *pousser*.)

racha	'to slit'	*rachar*	*rajar*
salga	'to salt'	*salgar*	*salar*

(Given their rarity in the lexicon and the improbability of them occurring frequently in communication between speakers of African languages and of Portuguese, this form and the previous one meaning 'to slit' are possibly hitherto ignored Spanish dialectalisms which have been borrowed into Papiamentu rather than true Lusitanisms, although we should remember the importance of salt as a trade good in Curaçao's export economy.)

so	'only, alone'	*só*	*solo*

(This form is found also in the same shape in Cayenne Creole, a Creole with a handful of very high-frequency Lusitanisms.)

solo	'sun'	*sol*	*sol*

(Note the rare paragogic vowel at the end of this word, paralleled also in the identical Principense form of the word; this word may be a relic of a Lusoafrican Creole rather than a

straight lift from Portuguese, since the Portuguese word for ‘sun’ has the same form as the cognate lexical item in Spanish.)

tambe	‘also’	*também*	*también*
tanten	‘as long as’	*tanto tempo*	*tanto tiempo*
te	‘until’	*até*	*hasta*

(Both the Spanish and Portuguese forms derive ultimately from Arabic *hatta*, and both are phonologically irregular; note the archaic Middle Spanish form *fasta*.)

(ki) tempu	‘when?’	*tempo*	*tiempo*
tera	‘land’	*terra*	*tierra*

(But this is another form which looks Portuguese solely because it lacks diphthongisation.)

tin, tene	‘have’	*tem* (3sg. pres. ind.)	*tiene*
tinzja	‘to dye’	*tingir*	*teñir*

(For this form Aruban Papiamentu has more Spanish-looking *tíña*. It is uncertain why this word would have been taken over into Papiamentu from Portuguese, since cloth-dyeing was more likely to be a profession discharged by free persons of colour than by Sephardim.)

trese	‘to carry, wear’	*trazer*	*traer*
tur	‘all’	*tudo*	*todo*

(The archaic Papiamentu form *tudu* occurs in the 1775 letter.)

unda	‘where’	*onde*	*donde*

(But this form may actually be Spanish if we note also Antillean Spanish *onde*; this is an archaism in peninsular Spanish, which has innovated with *donde* which derives from Latin DE UNDE.)

4 Observations on the above forms

It will be noted that there are very few forms here listed for which a Spanish etymology (from some form of Spanish, for example one in which diphthongisation of *e o* did not occur where it did in Castilian) is almost completely excluded. On the other hand, it is easy to compile a long list of commonly-occurring words (starting with the numerals and the definite article *e*) which on the basis of their forms simply could not have been taken from Portuguese, and it would be easy to draw up another list (I have gathered fifty such items from the wordlist in Muller, 1975) which consists of words of Iberoromance origin whose form is irregular by comparison with ANY variety of Iberoromance. It would only be possible to assure the Portuguese derivation of most of the words in the table above if it could be shown to be impossible to derive them from archaic or dialectal (and non-Castilian) Spanish forms, and assembling this kind of evidence is rarely possible. Some of the ‘best bets’ for Portuguese origin can be found among the terms which are probably taken over from a Lusoafrican Creole. Most if not all these forms above can also be found in the Portuguese-Cape Verdean glossary of Lopes da Silva (1957: 193-388), but this is unsurprising given the Cape Verdean Creoles’ predominantly Portuguese-derived lexicon. One notes that most of

them can also be found in dictionaries of Guinea-Bissau Creole too, such as Biasutti (1987); the fact that they are not as fully attested in materials for Gulf of Guinea Portuguese-lexifier creoles tells us mostly that our lexical resources for these languages are simply not as plentiful or as copious as they are for Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese varieties.

As I have pointed out before, it is clear that practically all the unambiguous Lusitanisms listed here belong to the core vocabulary of Papiamentu, and this is also the case with many of the commonest Papiamentu function words (a selection of which is provided in appendix 1), while Appendix 2 illustrates how difficult it is to present cast-iron Castilian etymologies for Papiamentu pronouns, whereas elucidating the origins of pronominal forms by the use of Portuguese etyma is considerably easier in several cases. It should also be borne in mind that although Portuguese may have adopted or 'recreated' words, especially neologisms, using Spanish models and modifying them by invoking well-understood phonological changes, and thereby creating false cognates, the prestige and position of Spanish *vis-à-vis* Portuguese over the last millennium has ensured that the reverse has happened rarely, if at all.

5 The issue of Guene

The Catholic priest Paul Brenneker (Brenneker, 1959, 1986) recorded some 1500 songs, sayings and rhymes from very elderly native speakers of Papiamentu which were presented in a language they referred to as *Guene* or *Gueni*, which they claimed was the original language of the African slaves. In fact Brenneker found there to be textual material from what has been identified as four separate languages, all with predominantly Portuguese lexicon but with influences from different parts of Africa: from Cape Verde, from Guinea Bissau (both of these being areas where Portuguese-lexifier creoles are in use; they are the twin sites of Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese varieties), from A Mina (now Elmina) in Ghana (where the linguistic influence was from Akan) and from the Congo-Angola area where the dominant languages and influences were Kikongo and Kimbundu. If there was any material from the Gulf of Guinea area reflecting the impact of the local Portuguese-lexifier Creole languages which are sometimes known as the Lower Guinea Creoles, none of it has come down to us. Such material should potentially cast a great deal of light on both the Portuguese and the African elements in Papiamentu.

The material which Brenneker obtained from his respondents is mixed with Papiamentu and is phonologically much altered, to the extent that not all the texts in Guene are immediately comprehensible to someone who knows Papiamentu and a Lusoafrican (especially an Upper Guinea) Creole. It has been discussed in extenso in Martinus (1996), who sees in it a Creole which was replaced by Papiamentu, and he

uses the various forms of Guene data carefully. But Martinus' view that Papiamentu derives mostly from Cape Verdean Creoles, citing Guene as evidence of this claim, is a valid subject for dispute. Cape Verdean Creoles and Papiamentu are not in any way mutually intelligible (this is certainly the situation regarding the Sotavento Creole of Brava and Papiamentu: Marlyse Baptista, personal communication 2004). There are certainly structural and lexical similarities between the languages, such as the use of *ta* to mark the progressive aspect, but attributing all Portuguese material in Papiamentu to an Upper Guinea Creole would be unwise. One may note a paucity of forms in Papiamentu which derive from Atlantic and Mande languages, which are the substrate languages for the Upper Guinea Creoles, while the few distinctive Africanisms in Papiamentu which are not found in other creoles are generally of Gbe origin, such as *ohochi* 'twin', yet no Guene variety can be tied in with the presence of a Portuguese-lexifier Creole in Gbe-speaking territory, while the 3rd person plural Papiamentu pronoun and pluraliser *nan*, one of the most frequent morphemes in the language, has parallels in Gulf of Guinea Creoles but not Upper Guinea Creoles. What we have of Guene may well reflect the (garbled and 20th century) analogue of a speech form (or speech forms) which helped shape Papiamentu, but we cannot be sure that the historical connection is secure, and Guene and its assumed direct ancestors cannot account for all the Portuguese features in Papiamentu.

The name *Guene* itself is of little help in helping us locate the geographical origin of the language, since so much of West Africa was referred to as 'Guinea' or its equivalents in the 17th and 18th centuries. Attempts to make complete sense of the small number of rhymes and sayings in Guene which have come down to us and to assign them a synchronic interpretation which would permit them to be analysed as coherent textlets have not been completely successful, despite Martinus' strenuous efforts, although a number of parallels of some of the forms found in these Guene textlets have been found in certain varieties of Cape Verdean Creole Portuguese. It is apparent that the Romance element which is to be found in the Guene material is Portuguese rather than Spanish or anything else, although this does not of itself mean that the Portuguese element in Papiamentu has to derive from the same source (namely Cape Verdean), or even that Guene has had any special bearing upon the development of Papiamentu. Most of the forms from Portuguese which occur in Guene have never been attested as being in use in Papiamentu, and the language looks much more like a Lusoafrican Creole than Papiamentu does.

Furthermore, our first records of Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese (Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese and the Sotavento and Barlavento varieties of Cape Verdean) date only from the second half of the 19th century[12], even though these languages have been in existence since the 16th century at the latest. So we have to factor in this

[12] The material in Bertrand-Bocandé (1849), which I have not seen, is the first known record of Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese.

question of the diachronic distance between the unattested 17th or 18th century form of Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese which may have given rise to some varieties of Guene, the modern forms of Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese, and the rather sparse modern Guene material which is all that we have of this last speech form (and not all of which reflects Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole speech varieties). Was Guene central to the early history of the development of Papiamentu? Was it only peripheral to this history? Is Guene a sister-language of Papiamentu which has somehow resisted the Hispanisation which its more urban sister has undergone? Is its very existence in the area a historical coincidence? We have to investigate the answers to these questions as far as we can by drawing upon what evidence we can find, and we cannot assume aprioristically that we know these answers already. It may even be that the presence of Guene on Curaçao is the fruit of a post-slavery migration there from the Cape Verde Islands rather than a relic of a speech form from there which was being used in the Antilles in the 17th century, and that the link between it and earlier Portuguese-lexifier creoles which may have been used in the ABC Islands is factitious.

As such the continued existence of elements and textlets of Guene which have come down to us may be analogous to the presence of considerable remnants of Yoruba which have been recorded in Trinidad since the 1960s (Warner-Lewis 1993). The presence of Yoruba in Trinidad is not a relic from pre-emancipation times, even though one might at first innocently assume that it was. Rather, what remains is the result of 19th century post-emancipation migrations from West Africa, as Warner-Lewis has shown. The exact role of Guene in the early stages of development of Papiamentu is one of the remaining 'wild cards' in our understanding of the history of the language. And until we are more certain whereabouts Guene fits in, we should perhaps try to reconstruct the history of Papiamentu without reference to it unless its absence creates otherwise unbridgeable epistemological problems.

It is always possible (to say the least) that some of the slaves who were brought to Curaçao and who stayed there were native or second-language speakers of a Lusoafrican Creole, or that some of them came from coastal areas of Africa where there were Portuguese forts (for instance from Akan-speaking Elmina in modern Ghana) and therefore spoke pidginised Portuguese as a lingua franca with Europeans and alloglot Africans. This would be the case if Portuguese slave ships had recruited heavily in (for instance) the Cape Verde Islands or the islands in the Bight of Benin, looking for slaves whom they would then sell in the Americas. This certainly seems to be the case. Furthermore, of late we have evidence that Curaçao was largely settled in the 1600s by slaves from Portuguese-operated colonies or enclaves in Africa. The historical Cape Verdean Creole connection with Papiamentu is currently being pursued in as yet unpublished work by the Dutch Creolist Bart Jacobs (Jacobs, 2008).

Jacobs reinforces the observations made by Quint (2000) about the strong structural parallels between Papiamentu and Cape Verdean, and also mentions that there is some documentary evidence from the early 1670s, a period which is scantily documented in West-Indische Compagnie records (because of the subsequent loss of many such records in a fire) that much transshipment of slaves took place between Upper Guinea and Curaçao. Jacobs' work provides the strongest linguistic and historical evidence yet for a solid connection between a Portuguese-lexifier creole and Papiamentu.

6 On the comparative effects of Portuguese and Dutch on Papiamentu: a lexicostatistical aside

It may be instructive for us to compare the degree of integration and what we may call 'nucleation' (that is, its role in the core of the language's lexicon and structure) of Portuguese with that of Dutch in Papiamentu. The bulk of the lexicon of Papiamentu which can be unambiguously placed with or sourced from a particular language (rather than it being traceable to any one of several closely related languages) can be shown to derive from Spanish. But the Dutch proportion of the lexicon is also striking in its size in gross terms within the recorded Papiamentu lexicon, and the Dutch lexicon in Papiamentu is growing in quantity. On the other hand, the list of items from the Portuguese lexicon in the Creole (however 'Portuguese' is defined) has been an essentially 'closed list' for the past few hundred years.[13] And yet the few dozen unambiguously Portuguese-derived items can be found at the very core of the Papiamentu lexicon, to a much greater degree than is the case with forms which derive from Dutch.

At least 27 of the items on the Papiamentu translation of the Swadesh 100-word list can be claimed as being certainly (if not always exclusively) of Portuguese origin, and the case for the Portuguese origin of a few others is plausible. But only 4 such items are clearly traceable to Dutch. 36 of the items which appear on the combined 100- and 200-item Swadesh lists are certainly or (in half a dozen cases) probably of Portuguese origin. The equivalent number of Dutch-origin items on the list is under a dozen. The proportions on the Swadesh list are c. 17% for Portuguese versus 6% for Dutch-derived elements. So at least half the Lusitanisms in Papiamentu belong to the most basic strata of the Papiamentu lexicon, even if one restricts the criterion 'basic' to the confines of the Swadesh lists.

[13] Given that Portuguese was being replaced in everyday use by Dutch, Spanish, English and indeed Papiamentu among the dwindling Sephardic community by the end of the eighteenth century, and that it was being replaced by Spanish in synagogue services, it is unlikely that the modern creole contains any Portuguese-derived items which were not already in use when the first document in Papiamentu was written in October 1775.

At a generous estimate, 3% of the 2500 commonest Papiamentu lexical items (as listed in the lexical materials in Muller, 1975 and Lenz, 1928) may derive from Portuguese, whereas between 20% and 30% of these same 2500 items derive from Dutch.[14] Now these Dutch forms are found in all the open form classes, and they become commoner when matters such as politics and economics are the topics of discourse. If we subtract from this list of about 2500 forms the 200 or so forms which are found on the Swadesh list, we find that Portuguese has about 35 forms out of c. 2300 (therefore 1.5%), whereas Dutch has about 750 to 800 forms out of 2300 items.
We can apply the Componential Integrative Index to this state of affairs. This index, which I developed some years back, takes the proportion of elements of a particular origin as they occur in the morphemes making up the Swadesh list for that language, and compares this with their occurrence in a much larger lexicon the origin of whose elements has been carefully plotted, minus only those forms which have previously been logged as occurring in the Swadesh list. The proportion found in the first equation is then divided into the proportion found in the larger lexical sample, and the result is the Componential Integration Index (CII). This is done for all lexical strata for which figures are available, and these are then graded. The formula is:

$$(a/b) \ / \ \{(x-a)/(y-b)\} = C.$$

In this equation, *a* represents the number of morphs from a particular language that are to be found in the Swadesh list and *x* represents the number of morphs from the same language in the larger lexicon. Meanwhile *b* represents the total number of morphs in the translation of that Swadesh list and by the total number of morphs in the large lexical sample; C is the index.
For the index of integration of the Lusitanisms in Papiamentu we get the following result:

(36/200) divided by the result of (70-36)/(2500-200) (= 34/2300) = 11.8.

But for the Dutch elements (rounded down very slightly for ease of calculation) we get the following reading:

12/200 Dutch-derived items on the Swadesh list divided by the result of 575/2300 items of Dutch origin = 0.24.
By comparison, the index of integration of Lusitanisms into Papiamentu is 45 times as great as the integration of Dutch elements. This is not surprising, since the roles of Dutch and of Portuguese in the formation of Papiamentu are so different: it would be difficult to find a semantic field in Papiamentu which consisted very largely of forms

[14] I reproduce the table of etymologies from Maduro (1953) as Table 6.

of Portuguese origin, whereas it is easy to find such fields when one is looking for semantic domains (for instance education, commercial and technical terminology) which are dominated by items of Dutch origin. We do not seem to have failed to stumble upon a large and previously unrecognised stratum of low-frequency and specialised lexical items in Papiamentu which could only be of Portuguese origin and which cannot derive from Spanish.

Additionally, we must recognise that the proportion of Dutch elements in such a lexical sample has probably been underestimated. My own reading and etymological analysis of the lexicon in Muller (1975), which is strongly loaded towards scholastic terms, which largely come from Dutch because Dutch rather than Papiamentu has been the language of education in the Netherlands Antilles, suggests that nearly a third of the elements there derive from Dutch. The further down in the lexicon one goes towards less basic elements or textually less frequent ones, the greater the proportion of Dutch elements that one finds and the smaller the proportion of Portuguese ones. We may note as a point of interest that the only Dutch loans or Hollandisms of any sort which occur in the three earliest textual samples of Papiamentu from 1775, 1776 and 1803 (all of which are admittedly rather short, especially the second one) are Dutch proper names, even though the third one (which was probably written down on Aruba with the assistance of a Dutch official as amanuensis) uses a modified Dutch orthography.

7 Conclusions

We must note the importance and pre-eminence of Spanish in the circum-Caribbean region as a native or target language of people of all origins. We may also note the relative uselessness of Dutch and Portuguese in this region and the paucity of Europeans who learned either of these two languages as second languages for commercial purposes. Slaves who might have acquired Dutch or uncreolised Portuguese on Curaçao (which is unlikely after the colony was more fully established, since both were caste-dialects on the island) would find both those languages useless when they were sent on from the island to slavery in Caracas or Cartagena or wherever, and the same would go for the newly-arrived slaves brought by the Dutch from Recife to Curaçao in the latter half of the 17th century: Portuguese would have been of little use on the island, except maybe as a means of communication with their Dutch masters if they otherwise lacked a common language. (It has tacitly been assumed that slaves only infrequently came from other slave-holding territories to work in Curaçao, except in the case of those slaves who followed their Dutch and Jewish masters from Recife in 1651. However, we are increasingly sure that this is not the case, and one cannot lose sight of the probability of a large input of slaves from

lusophone or creolophone Portuguese holdings in West Africa or beyond, and the effect this might have had in transmitting items of Portuguese and of varied West African linguistic origins into Papiamentu, maybe through one or more of the speech forms which survived in abraded form into the 20th century as which have been classified as *Guene*. (Indeed, such an assumption would help shed light on the presence of some forms in Papiamentu, such as *solo* 'sun', which are only otherwise attested in that shape and with that meaning in Saotomense, a Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creole variety, see Taylor, 1977: 163, 256.)

It was to everyone's advantage (either currently or later when they had been moved elsewhere by slavery) to be able to communicate somehow with Spanish-speakers (be they native or L2 users of African, Indigenous American, or European origin, and be they either fluent or users of intentionally or unintentionally restructured forms of Spanish), because of Curaçao's massive trade in all commodities with hispanophone parts of the world (a situation which has persisted until the present day). Such was the economic reality with which people of various linguistic backgrounds on Curaçao contended.

As the 17th century drew on one might have thought it more likely that Portuguese-speakers on Curaçao would learn Dutch (which at least had some *de facto* official status on the island as the language of government) than vice versa, while in Dutch Brazil the roles of these languages may have been reversed. Yet a reading of the sources of Jewish history on the island (such as Emmanuel, 1970) indicates that the Sephardim were often slow to learn Dutch and that a working knowledge of it was not widespread among them until the nineteenth century; they preferred Papiamentu and latterly English. There were, additionally, few native-speaking Spanish speakers who were permitted to reside openly on Curaçao in the early decades of colonisation, and there was no support for Catholic hispanophone communities on the island, since they were largely banned from the island for religious and political reasons.

While the official native speaker base of Spanish on Curaçao may have been minimal (the unofficial one being much greater, of course), and while Spanish had no official status in Curaçao, the Spanish language was of far greater regional importance as a first or second language than any other language in the area, and anyone in business who wanted to survive or progress economically would have had to learn it. The slaves (and maybe others) developed a common language from whatever linguistic materials they were most readily exposed to, and such a language eventually became useful for the communicative needs of other members of the island society.[15]

What is clear, though, is that either the founding generations of slaves, or else subsequent generations, were or had been exposed to speech varieties which drew

[15] It is at least possible that Papiamentu, being the language of the slaves on one of the most important slaving entrepôts in the Caribbean, served as a source for some of the 'Spanish' elements found in the non-Spanish lexifier creoles in the Caribbean; this is more than likely to be the case for many of the Romance-derived loans in Negerhollands, for instance.

upon Portuguese (rather than merely upon Spanish) lexicon, and that such varieties, while not diluting the general impact of Spanish in shaping the Papiamentu lexicon, played a crucial role in establishing the essential shape and form of Papiamentu as we now know it. Though they are relatively few in number, Portuguese elements lie at the very heart of Papiamentu, both in its lexicon and its function words, and they become more prominent the closer to its heart that one travels.

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Appendix 1 Free grammatical morphs in Papiamentu and their likely origins

Definite article:	*e* < earlier *es* <Spanish, Portuguese
Indefinite article:	*un* <Spanish, Portuguese
Personal pronouns:	see appendix 2.
Interrogatives:	*unda* 'where' < Portuguese or archaic Spanish; *komo* 'how', *kuanto* 'how much' <Spanish/Portuguese

kiko 'what', *k'ende* 'who', *ki tempu* 'when' are bimorphemic forms with Iberoromance 'what' and with a Spanish-derived form meaning 'person' (for 'who') and a Portuguese-derived form for 'time' (for 'when').

Demonstratives:	*e ... aki, e ... ai*: bimorphemic forms innovated within Papiamentu. The demonstrative adverbs used here are themselves of Spanish rather than Portuguese origin.
Basic indefinites:	*algun* < Spanish
Reflexive:	(*mi*) *kurpa* '(my) body' < Portuguese
Plural NP marker:	*nan* < Bini
Possession:	*di* < Portuguese or Spanish
Numerals:	no basic numerals which cannot be attributed to Spanish
Adjectival comparison:	*mas* < Spanish, Portuguese
'much, many'	*hopi* < Dutch
'Very X' from 'too much'	*mashá* < modified Spanish
'all'	*tur* (earlier *tudu*) < Portuguese
Negators:	*no* < Spanish rather than Portuguese
Copula:	*ta* < Spanish
'to have'	*tin* < Portuguese
'there is'	*tin* = 'to have' < Portuguese
'there is not'	*no tin* – see the components
'there was not'	*no tabatin*– see the components
Past marker:	*a* < Spanish *ha* meaning 'has X'd'
Habitual marker:	*ta* = copula
Continuous marker:	*taba ta* < Spanish or possibly Portuguese as regards elements, but the form itself is a Papiamentu innovation
Irrealis marker:	*lo* < Portuguese *logo* 'soon'
Passivisation:	*worde* < Dutch 'become', also passiviser in Dutch (but this is little used for 'to become' in Papiamentu)
Passive agent marker:	*dor* (*di*) < Dutch 'through, by'.
'for'	*pa* < Iberoromance, note Antillean Spanish *pa*
'at, in'	*na* from Portuguese rather than Spanish though it occurs in Philippine Creole Spanish too
'with'	*ku* < Iberoromance *con/com* but modified
'from'	*fo'i, <for di* < Portuguese 'outside of'
'and'	*i* from Spanish rather than Portuguese *e*
'but'	*ma* < Creole Portuguese *mais* rather than Spanish *pero*
'or'	*o* < Iberoromance *o*
Complementiser:	*ku* <Spanish or Portuguese but not close to either
Relativiser:	= complementiser
Derivational noun morphol.	*-mentu* 'abstract noun marker' < Portuguese, *-dó* 'agentive' < Spanish or Portuguese
Causative marker	*hasi* 'to make' (< Spanish) plus verb

Appendix 2 Presumed sources of personal pronouns in Papiamentu

Pronoun	Papiamentu	Spanish	Portuguese	Comments
1sg	*Mi*	*Yo*	*Eu*	Spanish has a disjunctive mi and Portuguese has objective *mim*
2sg	*Bo*	*Tú*	*Tu*	Papiamentu form occurs in dialectal Spanish and is standard in Portuguese. A reflex of Spanish 2sg only occurs in Papiamentu in imprecations.
3sg	E(*le*)	*Él, ella*	*Ele, elha*	Spanish formerly had *elle* as 3sg male pronoun, and it still uses the subjective form as the disjunctive
1pl	*Nos*	*Nosotros*	*Nos*	This is the Spanish object form, and the Portuguese subject and object form
2pl	*Boso*(*nan*)	*Vosotros*	*Vos*	Portuguese has *você* as a formal singular and Argentinian Spanish has this form as a polite singular form
3pl	*Nan*	*Ellos*; *ellas*	*Elhos*; *elhas*	The Papiamentu form is taken from Bini (Norval Smith, p.c. 1995), and is also used to pluralise NPs. Similar but not necessarily historically connected forms are found in Gulf of Guinea Creoles

A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF PAPIAMENTU[1]

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1 Historical introduction

Papiamentu or Papiamento is a creole language which is spoken as a first language (but rarely the only one) by the majority of the inhabitants in two of the five islands nowadays included in the Netherlands Antilles), namely Curaçao and Bonaire, and also on the island of Aruba, the third of the 'ABC Islands'. Furthermore there are many speakers (as a linguistic minority) living on Saba, St Eustatius and Sint Maarten (the other three islands of the Netherlands Antilles, where the bulk of the inhabitants have a slightly creolised English as their first language) and elsewhere in the West Indies, not to mention tens of thousands of speakers in the Netherlands. All in all, it probably has over 250,000 native speakers as well as quite a few people (especially on Curaçao but also in Saba, St Eustatius and Sint Maarten) who have other native languages (principally Sranan, Spanish, English and Dutch) but who are fluent in Papiamentu and who use it both frequently and on an everyday basis. Bachmann (2005) is a fine account of the growth of recognition of Papiamentu as an independent language, which culminated in it being awarded official language status in the Netherlands Antilles in 2007.

The forms that comprise the core of the lexicon of Papiamentu can be traced to Iberoromance languages; this is somewhat surprising to the neophyte, since the islands have been under Dutch control since 1634 (with the exception of a brief interregnum of two short periods under British rule during the Napoleonic Wars), and although Spaniards were settled on Curaçao from 1521 to 1634 and constituted the only European population there, Spaniards have not controlled the island since then.

The first textual record of a language which can reliably be asserted to be Papiamentu dates from 1775; it was long believed that the first specific mention of the language

[1] I would like to thank Iris Bachmann, Philip Baker, Hans den Besten, Adrienne Bruyn, Eva Martha Eckkrammer, Nydia Ecury, Nicholas Faraclas, Bart Jacobs, Mirto Laclé, John McWhorter, Mikael Parkvall, Matthias Perl, Armin Schwegler, Ronald Severing, Norval Smith and Christa Weijer for their assistance with the research which underpins this paper and Jo-Anne S. Ferreira for her encouragement. None of these is to be held in any way responsible for any misunderstandings and mistakes which may have found a place in this work.

was by Governor Hughes, then the British governor of Curaçao, in 1805, even though a century previously the polyglot Austrian Jesuit Alexius Schabel had observed from his personal observation that the inhabitants of Curaçao spoke 'un español chapurreado' (a corrupted Spanish; Wood, 1972a: 29). However, Dr Ronald Severing has pointed out that the language was mentioned in the 1740s in a court case in Rhode Island involving a Dutch ship, whose crew (the court was told) spoke a language called "Poppemento" which was said to be a mixture of Spanish and Dutch.

There is little certain information regarding the early stages of the development of Papiamentu, while the first census was only taken on Curaçao in 1790, on Aruba in 1804 and on Bonaire in 1806 (Maurer, 1998: 187-189). The Spaniard Alonso de Ojeda became the first European in the historical record to have encountered the islands in 1499. The Spanish began the first period of permanent European settlement of the islands some decades later, in 1521.

Of course, these islands were inhabited beforehand, apparently by speakers of Lokono/Arawak or a similar Arawakan language. However, what little we have of the supposed aboriginal language of these islands, which comprises a few dozen names, botanical terms and stray words plus a few incomprehensible textlets which were collected from the last speaker on Aruba in 1873 by the French ethnographer Alphonse Louis Pinart, makes little or no sense in terms of Arawak proper. Nor is this material interpretable through reference to the Arawakan language Guajiro (a relatively close relative of Arawak) which is spoken on the Venezuelan coast opposite the islands, or in terms of any other language, American or otherwise (the mysterious language is presented in Gatschet, 1885)[2]. But accounts vary; some say that the original inhabitants of Curaçao were Caquetios or Caiquetios (the nature of whose language is unknown, but which may have been Arawakan), who were deported to Hispaniola by the Spanish and replaced with Arawakan-speaking Taínos from Hispaniola. Since those words of Native American origin whose etymology is clear are of Arawakan origin and since most have cognates in Lokono/Arawak proper, I shall refer to the language of the pre-European inhabitants of the islands as Lokono/Arawak.

The Spanish regarded Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire as 'islas inútiles' (useless islands) because of their generally poor fertility, and therefore used the largest of these islands as an *estancia* for cattle-breeding, teaching the local Indigenous Americans to communicate in (some form of) Spanish. The Dutch under Peter Stuyvesant took the island from the Spanish by military force in 1632 (Stuyvesant lost his right leg in the battle for the island, which was buried with full military honours) and despatched the Spaniards and most of the Indigenous Americans to the Venezuelan mainland. Permanent Dutch settlement and cultivation on the island dates from 1634. Only about

75 Indigenous Americans remained after this forcible population removal and these Indigenous Americans, hispanophone and evidently Catholic, apparently acted as house-servants to the Dutch. On the other hand the practice of slavery, which was later to be so profitable in this region was not yet in place on Curaçao. Indeed slavery was not a significant economic force on this island until about 1655 (we know that there were only 8 or 9 African slaves on Curaçao in 1639: Hartog, 1961), and for much of its history Curaçao was a stepping-stone for the victims of the slave trade, who were sent on to other places, mostly in continental South America, rather than it serving as a final destination for slaves. It appears from the available material that most slaves on Curaçao had had this island as their first port of call in the Caribbean and that they had not come via other ports such as Caracas or Cartagena, although some slaves on Curaçao in the 1650s had been brought over from Brazil with their Sephardic owners.

The reason for this rapid relocation of populations was that there was limited scope for agriculture on these islands, so that it would not have been feasible to set up a traditional plantation society of the sort which was being established at this time on many other Caribbean islands. The soil of the ABC Islands is poor and barren, and the islands are not self-supporting in food crops, let alone in cash crops such as the highly labour-intensive crops of sugarcane and coffee which proliferated elsewhere in the Caribbean. The Curaçaoan economy is nowadays built on oil refining and the provision of financial services, but in the 17th century it was built on both the export of salt (as the islands have numerous saltpans) as well as on the export of slaves by the West-Indische Compagnie, the Dutch West Indies Company, the *de facto* owners of the islands. These slaves were imported from Africa to Curaçao, which served as a major entrepot for the re-export of slaves to other islands as well as to the mainland South America.

Not all the European inhabitants of Curaçao were Dutch (either ethnically or by birth)[3], nor did they all speak Dutch as a first language, and nor were speakers of Dutch (or indeed Europeans) always numerically dominant there. The Dutch demographic domination of the island was (as far as we can tell) secure only from the 1630s to the 1650s, after which the Dutch were merely one of the European groups which had a strong presence on the island. (And we cannot even be sure that the Dutch were numerically dominant on the island at this time; the presence and significance of Spanish-speakers of whatever ethnicity has consistently been under-discussed in the literature.) There may have been some second-language speakers of Dutch among the personal slaves which the Dutch had brought with them from

[2] I have not seen the list collected by Van Koolwijk and reproduced in Hartog (1953: 4), which indicates that the language of Aruba, or at least the language collected by Van Koolwijk in 1880 from a 'rememberer', was probably Cariban rather than Arawakan.

[3] Quite a number of the people born in Holland but resident in Curaçao would have been Dutch citizens or at least Dutch subjects, but would not have been regarded as 'Dutch' in the ethnic sense because they practised Judaism and generally spoke Dutch as a second or other language.

Holland (and, we assume, from Brazil) and who lived with them on Curaçao in the years before commercial slavery became significant on the island in the 1650s.

The other group with a large presence in the population was that of the Sephardic Jews, Iberian Jews who had been expelled from Portugal and Spain in 1492. Some of these may have come to Curaçao from the short-lived Dutch colony in north-eastern Brazil centring on Recife/Pernambuco, which itself had been populated with Sephardic Jews with immediate connections to Holland. This short-lived colony may have been the source of some non-Jewish Dutch settlers in Curaçao too, who would have had to seek a new homeland every bit as much as their Sephardic neighbours did, once the Portuguese recaptured the territory. But the majority of Sephardim who went to Curaçao came directly from Europe, both from Livorno in Italy, which had an important Sephardic Jewish community (where Spanish rather than Portuguese was dominant), and from Amsterdam. According to Emmanuel (1957: 111)[4], the first Jew to set foot on Curaçao, Samuel Cohen the interpreter, arrived in 1634.

It is apparent that a majority of the Sephardim living in Holland in the 17th century, and consequently also in Curaçao, spoke Portuguese as their first language and as the language of the home rather than Spanish (the latter having been the native language of the bulk of Sephardim who relocated to Italy, to the Balkans or to Morocco), although they were familiar to a greater or lesser extent with Spanish as well, which for some Dutch Sephardim was and always had been their home and community language.

The 1534 Old Testament translation into Spanish, carried out by rabbis in the Sephardic diasporic city of Ferrara in northern Italy (itself a staging-post for later Jewish migrations to the Ottoman Empire), was widely used among members of the Sephardic community, and youths learned to read it in religious schools; its language set the standard for the conservative language used for writing by Sephardim on religious subjects. This is a language which is correctly referred to as *Ladino*, a name which is still often misused to refer to spoken Judeo-Spanish. Emmanuel (1957: 112) states that 'Castilian' increasingly took the place of Portuguese on Curaçao from about 1820 and had replaced it by 1865, the date of the last gravestone to be inscribed in Portuguese. Incidentally these gravestones were customarily inscribed in Latin letters and not in Hebrew characters as one might have thought. We cannot assume that (for instance) the Sephardim in Curaçao who originated in Livorno would all have come there with a knowledge of Dutch, although on the other hand probably all Sephardim (including those from Livorno) were fluent in at least one Iberoromance language. Given the restricted public role which Jewish women experienced at that time, it may also have been the case that more men among the Sephardim had a second-language

[4] Rabbi Emmanuel, an American rabbi, also discovered the 1775 letter which is the first document written in Papiamentu.

commercial knowledge of Dutch than Sephardi women did, though Dutch was by no means universally known even to the male Sephardim.

In addition, there were numerous speakers of Spanish who were at least nominally Catholic and who visited Curaçao from the Venezuelan mainland. Other Spanish-speakers resided in some numbers (which are as yet unknown but which were probably considerable) on the island. Spanish was the most important commercial language in the area, the language of the neighbouring South American coast which would centuries later become Venezuela, as well as being a language of considerable political prestige, and it is therefore unsurprising that many European people of whatever background saw the virtue in learning and using it, even as a second language. A couple of brief and early attestations of a pidginised Spanish, one of which dates from 1599, have been attested from the Caribbean (Philip Baker, personal communication). Further elements of pidginised Spanish can be found mingled in among the fragments of xenolectal pidginised French which were recorded by various French priests from the 1640s on the islands of Dominica and Guadeloupe, and which document a speech-form which was used between Frenchmen and local Island Carib-speakers (and sometimes also speakers of African languages). Goodman (1964) provides some examples of these brief texts of a predominantly French-lexifier pre-Creole.

It is very likely that the possession of a high degree of multilingualism was a matter of everyday necessity in the islands of the Netherlands Antilles in the 17th century, as it is today. The remaining speakers of Arawak (or Caiquetio, or Taíno) who were living on the island in the late 17th century would have had regular interaction at the very least with speakers of Spanish (the medium in which they received their religious instruction, and in which they were apparently conversant) and of Dutch. Speakers of Dutch would have come into contact with speakers of Spanish and also of Portuguese, since the Sephardim had the monopoly on local trade on the island, including the slave trade. A Sephardic slave-owner would have had interaction at least with speakers of Dutch, of Spanish, of various mutually unintelligible African languages, and of (Judeo-)Portuguese, and he would have found it useful to be familiar with at least one and maybe two languages other than those which were relevant to full participation in his own community. (We assume that, whether they were native speakers of Spanish or of Portuguese, they would have used Portuguese as the language of communication with their Brazilian concubines, although whether these concubines were of European, Indigenous American or African origin, or indeed of Afro-European or mestizo (mixed white-Indigenous American) or caboclo (mixed African-Indigenous American) origins, is as yet unknown.) The Europeans, including the Sephardim, are likely to have had greater contact also with speakers of other European languages, who were quite numerous in Willemstad and who were mostly engaged in commerce

(although they are curiously absent as a separate category from the 1790 census, here they are presumably entered under the category 'Dutch').

It is certain that Papiamentu's first base in the ABC Islands was on Curaçao, after which it spread to Aruba in the course of the 18th century, and then to Bonaire about 1800, and although there is a small amount of dialectal differentiation among the varieties of Papiamentu used on the three islands, it is certain that Papiamentu had already crystallised as a language and had acquired its characteristic features by the time it passed to Aruba, with its possibly Cariban-speaking population. Of the three varieties, Aruban Papiamento is the most distinctive and is also the one most strongly influenced by Spanish, but its origin as a form and derivative of earlier Curaçaoan Papiamentu is beyond doubt. The inhabitants of Bonaire, the second-biggest island in terms of size but the one with the lowest population, are of Arawakan descent, as were the people settled there before the arrival of the Spanish and Dutch (Haviser, 1991), while those of Aruba are largely of Indigenous American descent, and those living on Curaçao are mostly of African (and also of European) descent. This is a factor which is important to a clearer understanding of the way in which Papiamentu developed in the early decades of its use.

The use of Papiamentu on Bonaire and Aruba is largely the result of language shift from Arawak or the undocumented Caiquetio, or from a Cariban language to Papiamentu on the part of the people who had lived there. It is important to understand that, unlike what happened on the major island, Bonaire and Aruba were never depopulated 'by neither the Dutch nor the Spanish', but retained the population groups which had been living there before the first documented European encounter with the islands in 1499, while few Dutch people or their retinues (which included slaves) settled on Aruba and even fewer on Bonaire. Nevertheless it was apparently on Aruba (which is also the most densely-populated of the three islands) that the original Arawakan language of the islands lasted longest. We have no comparative records of this extinct and mysterious language from the other islands. It is certain that Papiamentu was transported to Aruba and Bonaire in the course of the 18th century in a fully formed state, so that there is no need for us to set up separate demographic scenarios which would account for its development on these islands. Whatever languages were used on Aruba and Bonaire have not exerted any substrate influence on Papiamentu as spoken there. I do not know of any influence upon Aruban and Bonairean Papiamentu from American Indian languages which is not also found in Curaçaoan Papiamentu.

Early documentation of Papiamentu is sparse, and the first text which is of more than a couple of words in length[5] dates from a century or more after the introduction of

[5] Martinus (1990: 137) states that the first recorded Papiamentu sentence dates from 1765 and was actually the name of a Jewish-owned ship, the *Awa pasa hariña* 'Water surpasses flour', which Martinus describes as an idiom meaning 'hard times' (that is, times when we have more water than flour). He states that the practice of giving ships Papiamentu names was common among the Sephardim of that day.

African slaves to the islands. This text, a love-letter (written, it should be noted, in Latin letters and not in Hebrew script) from a married Sephardic Jew to his married mistress who was carrying his son, dates from October 1775 and what little has been published of it[6] is interesting from a number of different angles, historical and sociocultural as well as purely linguistic. The second text consists of a few sentences, comprising a few dozen words, which were taken down (presumably by the clerk of the court) from the oral testimony of two slaves who were witnesses to these adulterous goings-on (both texts are presented, in original plus standardised orthography and with analysis and translation into Spanish, in Maurer, 1998). The third oldest text is a lengthy petition presented by 36 Aruban Indigenous Americans complaining to the Dutch authorities about the behaviour of the governor of their island. It was written in an impromptu Dutch orthography in June 1803 (it is presented with a discussion of certain salient forms in Martinus, 1999). The first text is from a Sephardi, the second batch of material was provided by African slaves, and the third by Indigenous Americans. Only a very early excerpt of Papiamentu from people of Dutch background is so far missing in our chrestomathy, and even the Aruban text from 1803 is known to have been taken down from the dictation of the Arawak leaders by a Dutch amanuensis.

The language appears to be uniform across the texts, suggesting that the overall form of Papiamentu had stabilised by the early 19th century if not before. It is very similar to modern Papiamentu, and more specifically the lexicon is not any fuller of common items of Portuguese origin than the modern language is. If the process of relexification from Portuguese to Spanish had played any part in the formation of Papiamentu, it had finished its run by 1775[7].

The Papiamentu found in these earliest texts is also relatively untouched by secondary influence from Spanish, and as such they stand in contradistinction to those Papiamentu texts of the 19th and early 20th century which had been written or published by people who were also more or less familiar with Spanish. Wood (1972a, 1972b) has mentioned that there are instances in such texts of the use of number or gender agreement between nouns and adjectives of kinds which are found quite regularly in Spanish, but which are alien to Papiamentu morphosyntax. There are other overt Hispanisms in these texts, for instance we note the use of Spanish

[6] Although the content of the letter is fully known in English and Dutch (see the texts in Salomon 1982), only the final page of the Papiamentu original has either been published or analysed. The reason for the lack of publication (if only for philological purposes) of the original Papiamentu text of a controversial letter whose contents are well-known is baffling. The letter was discovered in the 1950s by Rabbi Isaac S. Emmanuel, the American rabbi of the Sephardic Congregation Mikve Israel in Willemstad.

[7] We do not know how much Portuguese Abraham da Costa, the author of the letter would have known, although it is probable that he would at least have been able to understand and read the written portions of the religious services. Presumably he wrote his letter in Latin letters because his beloved was not literate in Hebrew; in a part of the letter which has not yet been made available in the original Papiamentu he indicates that he could read Hebrew as he speaks of being congratulated on his excellent reading of the haftarah (non-Pentateuchal reading from the Old Testament) for Yom Kippur.

subjunctives such as *sea* 'that it be', which are post-crystallisation takeovers from Spanish.

2 Some theories on the origins of Papiamentu

Numerous theories on the origin of Papiamentu have been adduced ever since Schabel's observation about its status as "un español chapurreado" in the early 18th century cited above. A summary of some of the more important or probable ones is provided below.

In a relatively recent survey article Kerkhof (1998) discusses and evaluates the numerous hypotheses which have been put forward at various times about the genesis of Papiamentu, and classifies them into four types.

* The first school of thought listed by Kerkhof, which was early proposed by Naro (1978), sees Papiamentu as developing from a Lusoafrican pidgin which had its roots in the 15th century 'reconnaissance language' which was used between Portuguese and Africans, and which was adopted by Africans as a means of communication with other Africans who came into the Portuguese ambit.[8]

* The second thesis, proposed for instance by Van Ginneken (1928) and followed up sporadically ever since, suggests that Papiamentu developed on Curaçao from a largely Spanish-lexifier pidgin used with Africans which acquired its Lusitanisms somewhat later, as the result of contact between speakers of this pidgin and lusophone Jews.

* The third hypothesis offered is that Papiamentu is a development from an Afro-Spanish Creole (admittedly with an old Portuguese component) which was used in the Caribbean and which also lies at the heart of the Afro-Hispanic speech variety Palenquero of Colombia. This view was offered in Bickerton & Escalante (1970). The connection of this Afro-Spanish Creole with what Lipski has called *bozal* Spanish (the L2 Spanish of African-born slaves who first arrived in a hispanophone environment as mature adults – so-called 'saltwater Africans'), and with any Afro-Spanish foreigner talk used by Spaniards to Africans, is uncertain.

[8] An unusual twist on this is presented by Latour & Uittenbogaard (1953), who suggest that the source of the Lusitanisms in Papiamentu is actually Malayo-Portuguese rather than a Lusoafrican creole or pidgin. There may be some basis for this claim. The usual means of forming NP=NP possession in Papiamentu is by NP *su* NP (NP his/her NP), as in *e yu su kas* (the child his house) 'the child's house'. This is typical of Malayo-Portuguese (and the typology of the possessive construction is also typical of Arawakan languages) but not of Atlantic creoles. Furthermore, Hans den Besten has pointed out to me that the Papiamentu word *bachi* 'jacket' derives from Malay *baju* with a Dutch diminutive suffix. This topic could fruitfully be investigated further. But certainly it seems that at least some people involved in the early history of Papiamentu would have been conversant with Malayo-Portuguese - the Dutch and the Portuguese were at this time the two great European trading empires, and restructured Portuguese was in use in several localities where the Dutch were also present (some forts on the Slave Coast of West Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, many points in the East Indies, and the first, Dutch occupation of Mauritius, while creolised forms of Portuguese would probably have been known to Dutch traders in Eastern India), and they might have seen some benefit in trying to use it as a lingua franca in the West Indies.

* The fourth category which Kerkhof isolates is the theory proposed by Goodman (1987), who suggests that Papiamentu arose as a linguistic result of the migration of lusophone Sephardim from the abandoned Dutch colony around Recife to Curaçao.

Additionally Kerkhof's work and that of Maurer (1998) provide much useful background demographic data on the Papiamentu-speaking world, against which the likely validity of these theories for an understanding of the origins of Papiamentu can be assessed.

One factor which is too infrequently recognized when one is trying to account for the shape of particular forms in Papiamentu is that there were still considerable similarities between the phonological forms of words in 17th century Spanish and 17th century Portuguese (which would be the languages from which the Iberoromance elements in Papiamentu would have their ultimate source). But it may be that such similarities, present 350 years ago, are no longer apparent because of subsequent historical phonological developments in one or both languages. This underexamined phonological history may mean that some forms which have so far been taken as 'Portuguese' elements are actually reflexes of pan-Iberoromance forms whose shapes have changed in modern Spanish. For example, many words have been taken as being from Portuguese because they have /e/ where forms deriving from Spanish have /ie/, but they exhibit no other unambiguously Portuguese features. If we realise that /ie/ was not universal in 17th century Spanish to the extent that it is now, we can set an earlier stage of Spanish up as another plausible source of such words.

Another factor which has only recently been brought into discussion of the origins of Papiamentu is that of Guene or Gueni, a language with a name apparently related to that of the toponym Guinea. This is a speech variety which has been preserved, apparently in a garbled manner, in some songs and sayings recalled by a few very old Papiamentu-speakers of African descent, and it has lately been discussed in Martinus (1996 and this volume). I discuss this, and the origins of the Portuguese elements in Papiamentu, in greater detail in Grant (this volume).

A word also needs to be said about the nature and sources of the African elements in Papiamentu, which are in fact considerably outnumbered by those of American Indian (principally Arawak) origin (and most of these Americanisms, such as the name of the *dividivi* tree, are also found in Antillean Spanish). With very few exceptions, and these being words exclusive to Papiamentu, the small number of items of African origin comprise a subset of those which are found in West Indian creole languages of whatever lexical base (these same words also occur to a very large extent in Negerhollands, Jamaican Creole English, etc). These are also the kinds of words which have often passed into use as cultural or local colour lexical items in non-creole Caribbean versions of metropolitan languages, and which sometimes receive yet wider currency and become known to speakers of metropolitan varieties of these languages

who have never set foot in the Caribbean. In fact it is hard to think of more than a few Africanisms in the Papiamentu lexicon which are exclusive to the language. Details on this can be found in Table 1 below.

Table 1 *Sources of African lexicon in Papiamentu (Parkvall 2000: 110; n=15)*

Languages	**Percentage**	**Number**
West Atlantic languages1	1%	1.5
Mande	6	1
Kwa[i]	38	5
Non-Bantu Benue-Congo[ii]	12	1
Bantu Benue-Congo[iii]	33	4.5

i. (eg. *ohochi* 'twin', *djaka* 'rat', *desu* 'child born after twins', all deriving from Fon, *anansi* 'spider myth character' and *funchi* 'maize porridge' from Akan (if the latter is not from Kikongo)
ii. (*nan* 'they; plural markers' from Bini)
iii (eg. *maribomba* 'wasp', *pinda* 'peanut')

Nor are there any languages which can be shown to have contributed especially lavishly to Papiamentu. In this respect the situation which we find here is very different from the nature of influence of Eastern Ijo on Berbice Dutch. (The information provided in Parkvall, 2000 suggests that four of the 15 lexical Africanisms in Papiamentu which he has found came from languages which were highly unlikely to have ever been dominant among Africans on the islands, that is they are forms from Atlantic, Mande and Ijoid languages. As far as we know, speakers of such languages as Wolof, Bambara or Ijo never came close to being demographically dominant on Curaçao. Presumably these words entered the Creole indirectly from a speech form or forms, for example a form of what we may call Tropical Spanish, in which they were already to be found.)

On the other hand, the elements of Indigenous American origin (which are all nouns and which are almost exclusively taken from Lokono/Arawak or from languages related to it, except for those loans which came into Papiamentu ready-borrowed from other European lexicons, such as that of Dutch) play no role in the morphology of the language. In any case the route of American Indianisms into the Papiamentu lexicon, namely from the speech of previous settlers of the islands and from earlier stages of Antillean Spanish (which apparently contained hundreds of such forms) appears to have been rather different from that of the route for Africanisms into the language.

What is not as often realised as it might be is the fact that Papiamentu is somewhat anomalous, especially in regard to its typology and structure, when it is compared with the other Creoles (of whatever lexical base) which are spoken in the West Indies. Papiamentu is not a prototypical Creole according to the three inductively-arrived at criteria of prototypicality which are presented in McWhorter (1998), although it seems just to miss out in each case.

The three criteria which McWhorter proposes are:

1) the lack of lexical tone,
2) the absence of inflection and
3) the lack of non-compositional derivation.

For McWhorter, the co-occurrence of these three features in a language indicates that the language is a prototypical Creole.

In terms of productive inflectional morphology, Papiamentu does conform to the prototype (if one excludes the Dutch-derived prefixes which are used in forming passives), and although its patterns of derivation are clear, there are nonetheless numerous noncompositional forms in the Papiamentu lexicon which were taken bodily from the lexica of the lexifying language(s) without them being developed afresh out of pre-existing elements, but which manifest at least fragments of the derivational patterns found in the languages from which these words are taken. Papiamentu has lexical tone, and distinguishes between high and low tone, but more often than not the high-toned syllables are those which bore primary stress in the same words in the lexifier language. What has happened is largely a reconstrual of Iberoromance primary stress as Papiamentu primary pitch. This pitch alternation has been used to develop grammatical distinctions: *mata* [mátà] 'to kill' but *matá* [màtá] is the past participial form 'killed, slain'. (Acute accent denotes high tone and grave accent denotes low tone in the above examples.)

Although Papiamentu is undoubtedly a Creole and always has been, there are some features of Papiamentu structure which are simply surprising if one compares the typology of this language with those of (say) Sranan or Haitian. For example, Papiamentu lacks the feature of copula absence before stative verbs and nouns, something which is found in most other Caribbean Creoles, and as such it is more like a European language than a West African or creole one, since the copula behaves more like the European substantive verbs. This means that in Papiamentu, adjectives are a separate form-class and are not a kind of stative verb as they are in other Atlantic Creoles. What is more, the copula in Papiamentu can be marked with particles for tense and mood:

(1) *lo mi ta bon*
IRREALIS 1SG COPULA good:
'I will be good'.

We may reasonably ask why this should be so, when it is not the case in other Caribbean Creoles.[12]

We may also note that the Papiamentu verbal system works with European-style tenses rather than with Caribbean-style aspect systems[13], and that (unlike what we finds in other Atlantic Creoles) there is no distinction in behaviour in this system between the tense-patterns of active verbs and those of stative ones. It is apparent that the European typological imprint on the language, from Spanish as well as from Dutch (and no matter when it occurred), has been stronger and more substantive than what we find in the Creoles spoken in the cities of Surinam or Haiti, and it makes perfect sense to look at the conditions which might have militated towards this.

In doing so and in attempting to answer the question I will employ Baker's concept (Baker, 1997; 2000) of what has come to be called the 'constructivist' (or simply 'constructive') school of theories of creole genesis. This theory differs from other approaches inasmuch as it denies the interpretation of Creoles as *necessarily* being the result of faulty acquisition of a second language whose successful native-speaker-like acquisition was the target of the slave learners. This is because it is asserted that *there was no target language* in such situations to begin with. The target for the speakers, rather, was that of performing innumerable necessary and daily acts of successful intercultural communication, and this was achieved triumphantly by the creation of a Medium for Interethnic Communication (MIC), which generally corresponds in sociolinguistic terms to a pidgin. Having expanded its structural and lexical resources, this MIC later gained native speakers who shared commonalities of culture and became a Medium for Community Solidarity (MCS).

3 Towards a constructivist approach to the early and formative history of Papiamentu

In examining the history of Papiamentu it is essential for us to recognise that the sociolinguistic situation which was to be found in, for example,Willemstad at the end

[12] The presence of this European cast which pervades many features of Papiamentu structure and which makes it typologically different from other Caribbean creoles is something which has to be kept separate from the fact of the secondary hispanisation which Papiamentu has undergone increasingly strongly over the past several decades. Some of the features which certain authors have wrongly assumed indicate the inherent semi-creoleness of Papiamentu (for instance the use of secondary tenses involving the substantive verb plus Spanish gerundial *–Vndo*, an ending which has been borrowed into Papiamentu) are actually more recent take-overs from Spanish and they do not occur in earlier Papiamentu texts; indeed Sanchez (2005) notes no occurrences at all of compound tenses plus *–Vndo* in any Papiamentu texts written before 1916.

[13] However, Faraclas, Rivera-Castillo and Walicek (2004) have suggested that the future tense in Papiamentu was formerly expressed by using *bai* 'go' rather than by using the modern irrealis particle *lo*, or by using zero-marking before the verb, much as the Papiamentu subjunctive is nowadays (Maurer, 1993). If this is the case, then Papiamentu's earlier mode of expressing futurity would have been identical to that found in Portuguese-lexifier creoles of Upper and Lower Guinea, and also Negerhollands (Taylor, 1971). Faraclas et al. also point out a number of typological parallels between the Papiamentu TMA system and that of Nigerian Pidgin.

of the 18th century was rather different from the one which had previously obtained on the island in the late 1630s, and that there were further differences in the intervening period. The balance of languages and populations between urban and rural areas also differed, and this spectrum of variation and diversity also varied through time. Several sociolinguistic stages need to be recognised, each of which is roughly bounded by the following dates: 1) from 1521 to 1634; 2) from 1634 to the mid 1650s; 3) from the 1650s to 1700; and 4) after 1700.

3.1 Stage 1: 1521-1634, A pre-Papiamentu stage

The usual assumption until Maurer (1998) made more details more explicit was that Spaniards set up a cattle station on Curaçao and spoke (possibly restructured) Spanish to Arawak-speaking Indigenous Americans (or at least Indians who spoke an Arawakan language), who learned Spanish in order to communicate with the Spaniards, but who may not have relinquished their native language for purposes of use among themselves. According to this assumption, crosslinguistic interaction at this time would therefore have been simple yet bilateral: Spanish ⇔ Arawak(an).
However, four issues are raised in Maurer (1998) which make this scenario less simple than it seems. Firstly, it is questionable whether the language of Curaçao was Arawakan, as we have no material in it which would indicate that it was. It may have been Cariban (as the Van Koolwijk list in Hartog, 1953: 4, which was collected on Aruba, is), or it may have been of an as yet unascertained lineage (as the material collected in the early 1870s by Alphonse Pinart and presented in Gatschet, 1885 seems to be). Secondly, it is not certain that the Indigenous Americans who lived on Curaçao while it was occupied by the Spanish were actually native to that island. Many Indigenous Americans who were originally living on Curaçao had in fact been exiled to Hispaniola when the Spanish took Curaçao over. In fact, it is probable that some of the Indigenous Americans living on Curaçao at the height of the Spanish settlement at least were originally from Hispaniola, in which case they would have spoken Taíno, an Arawakan language which was related to Lokono/Arawak, to Igneri or 'Island Carib', and to the Guajiro language of the neighbouring Venezuelan coast, but which was distinct from all, and probably mutually unintelligible with all.
And in any case those speakers of Cariban languages who were trying to communicate with people who spoke one or another of these Arawakan languages would have needed to know a second language, probably Spanish (which would also be useful for communicating with their overseers), unless the interlocutors regularly learned one another's languages. This of itself would complicate the whole picture and make the likelihood of use of some form of lingua franca for interethnic communication much greater. Spanish, being the language of the overseers on the island and therefore the

language which workers of all linguistic backgrounds would have to know (at least in part) in order to communicate with their hispanophone bosses, might well have formed the basis of such a lingua franca, whether or not this was formally a pidgin.
Thirdly, and following on from this, we cannot be sure how Indigenous Americans of different ethnicities who were living or resettled on Curaçao (if this were indeed the case) communicated with one another, though we presume that they would have found the need to do so.
Fourthly, we cannot be certain that the Indigenous Americans who were to remain when the Dutch took Curaçao were the same individuals as those who had been settled there in the earlier part of the 1630s - that is, we are not certain that there was historical continuity in this case. All of these factors have a bearing on the possible earliest stages of Papiamentu. But if Curaçao had been linguistically diverse in the 16th century, through social engineering on the part of the Spanish cattle-raisers and perhaps additionally as a result of the vicissitudes of pre-Columbian migration, and if a form of contemporary and possibly restructured Spanish (which had yet to develop certain of the characteristically Castilian sound changes) had come into use as a lingua franca between Indigenous Americans of various linguistic backgrounds and between Indigenous Americans and Europeans, this language would have formed a fruitful basis for Papiamentu. However there are few features of Papiamentu which absolutely have to be traced back to a pre-modern (rather than modern) variety of Spanish, even though there are some dialectalisms in the Spanish component whose presence in the Creole requires explanation.

3.2 Stage 2: 1634-mid 1650s

The Dutch established a fort on Curaçao near the present-day city of Willemstad and drove out the settled Spanish, whom they expelled to the coast of Venezuela along with most of the Indigenous Americans, although a few dozen of the latter remain (therefore we find 75 Indigenous Americans to 415 Dutch). The major linguistic interaction here was therefore Dutch ⇔ presumably Lokono/Arawak (or at least an Arawakan language), although it appears that the Arawaks (as some sources describe them) still have covert contact with speakers of Spanish (in the 1650s Arawak children were learning Catholic prayers from fugitive Spanish priests: Kerkhof, 1998: 651). And in any case Spanish was a more useful trade language in the area around Venezuela than was Dutch (which nobody else in the region spoke). Consequently some L2 knowledge of Spanish may have been common among the experienced traders among the Dutch, not least because Curaçao was run by and for the (Dutch) West-Indische Compagnie for many years, which had been set up for commercial purposes and for the exploitation of territories such as Curaçao, rather than the island

being administered directly by the Dutch Crown. This would accord with the Netherlanders' pragmatic approach to language learning and use (as instantiated for example by their adoption of Malay in Insulinde, later Indonesia).

The presence of the Spanish on the island after the Dutch expulsion of Spaniards in 1634 was surreptitious. Although Dutch trade with Spaniards on the coast of South America was important, there were no established Spanish-speaking communities on the island at that time (nor is there much evidence of any great amount of contact between the fugitive Spanish and later hispanophone Sephardic settlers). It is clear that many if not all the Dutch would have needed to be able to communicate with the inhabitants of the Venezuelan coast opposite if they had wanted to maintain any kind of political or economic presence in the area. There was no incentive for people on the Paraguana Peninsula to learn to speak Dutch in order to conduct trade with a few hundred people who lived on a remote island, especially one which in any case was hard to gain access to because of the ferocity of the currents between the ABC Islands and the South American coasts. Indeed it is significant that Spanish would have been the dominant language in almost all the islands and coastal areas with which the inhabitants of Curaçao would have been likely to have come into prolonged contact at the time. At the time of the Dutch acquisition of Curaçao the French and English colonies in the insular Caribbean (which in any case were geographically far removed from the ABC Islands) were in their infancies. The nearest major Caribbean island to the ABC Islands, namely Grenada, was not the subject of an attempt at colonisation (by the French) until 1638 and was not successfully colonised by them until 1650. And it would have been more use for the slavemasters if their slaves, who largely went to Spanish-speaking territories, could speak something approximating Spanish (for the purposes of understanding orders) before they reached their destination.

So there is Dutch ⇔ Spanish and Spanish ⇔ Arawakan interaction going on, at least in some cases, as well as plentiful Dutch ⇔ Arawakan interaction (to say nothing of some of the other interactions which would of necessity be required if the linguistic situation outlined in Stage 1 was optimally complex, as I suggested earlier). Thus it is more than merely possible that some of the Dutch, whose homeland had been under Spanish control less than a century previously, would have known and used Spanish when required. This is more likely to have been true of Dutch males than of such Dutch females as there may have been on Curaçao at the time, since the women probably only knew Dutch in addition to having some command of any language which they may have needed to use in order to give instructions to their domestic servants. But most speech acts which were carried out on the island at this time were probably conducted between two or more Dutch-speakers.

The Dutch also brought some African slaves with them; these formed part of their households in the role of servants and presumably (though we cannot be certain, since we have no evidence on this matter) they spoke Dutch with their masters and were

addressed in Dutch. The very few slaves who found their way to Aruba and Bonaire in this period came as part of the Dutch settlers' retinues (the number of Dutch settlers on these islands was itself very small), and they would be unlikely to have spoken anything like Papiamentu which had a Portuguese component in it unless they had been exposed to a speech variety which contained such a component.

Parenthetically, the situation of Curaçao in the early decades of colonisation can be fruitfully compared with that of the early decades of the settlement history of Mauritius. Curaçao was previously inhabited, and apparently (but not certainly) some of its inhabitants from the period of Spanish occupation remained after the arrival of the Dutch, because the Dutch esteemed the Indigenous Americans' skills in cattle-raising. Consequently there may have been a degree of linguistic continuity, perpetuating a form of restructured or at least L2 Spanish into the period of Dutch occupation. On the other hand, Mauritius had been uninhabited from time immemorial until the Dutch arrived and settled it in the 1660 and named it for the current Stadhouder. The Dutch brought Indo-Portuguese slaves with them, and spoke creolised Portuguese to them (the solitary example of this from Mauritius is attributed to a Dutch woman addressing a slave). On the other hand, the Dutch left the island in 1716 and completely removed their families and slaves, so that Mauritius was uninhabited by 1720 and the French settlement of the island marked a wholly fresh period in the island's history of occupation. Consequently Creole French sprang up on Mauritius independently of the direct influence of any previously-used language which might have been spoken there, and it was not a relexification of the Indo-Portuguese which had previously been used.

We cannot be sure that there was a similar clean break (like that of Dutch on Mauritius) with Spanish on Curaçao in the case of the early years of the rise of Papiamentu. The Iberoromance input on these islands may date from the early sixteenth century, which is the period when the Spanish took over the islands, but then again it may date from 1634, when the Dutch landed and made their permanent settlements, or it might date from c. 1650 when the first organised consignments of slaves arrived for the Dutch West India Company (but if and only if these slaves spoke a Lusoafrican contact language or Creole, which is far from certain), or from a later period. Each of these starting dates would put a rather different complexion on the early history of Papiamentu.

If Papiamentu had its roots in the form of the Spanish language which had been used between Spaniards and Arawaks in the 16th century, which was then pressed into use by the Dutch (maybe in a foreigner-talk register) for communicating with Arawaks and other Indigenous Americans, maybe with Spaniards, and later also with Africans (and which was also used among these groups for intercommunication, maybe again as a foreigner-talk register), then many of the alleged Lusitanisms in Papiamentu might actually be Spanish phonological or lexical archaisms which have not so far

been recognised as such within Papiamentu, though their pre-modern form is known to students of the history of the development of Spanish. But if Papiamentu is the product of the mid-17th century slave trade, the question then arises of where and how the bulk of the indubitably Spanish input into the language came in, given that the Spaniards did not rule the slaves who were settled or barracooned in Willemstad, although the Spanish had been dominant on the island (*faute de mieux*) in the 16th century. In any case, whatever the date of origin of Papiamentu, it is certain that the first records of the language date from more than a century after the slave trade began in earnest there. This contrasts with the date after primary settlement of the first records of most other pidgins and Creoles (though on the whole Lusoafrican and Lusoasian Creoles tend not to have been recorded until some centuries after the creation of the communities in which they sprang up).

Given their rather small numbers, it would have been possible to assimilate Indigenous Americans, whether they were of one ethno-linguistic group or of many, to Dutch or to Spanish linguistic norms (for even if they were not welcome culturally among the Dutch; the Spanish seem to have been more open in this respect). After all, they were outnumbered several times over by the Dutch. By Stage 3, the wholesale linguistic assimilation of newly arrived populations into membership of Dutch-speaking communities would no longer be possible.

3.3 Stage 3: 1650s-c. 1700

In this period two new groups of people, both of them internally ethno-linguistically diverse, came to Curaçao in considerable numbers, while the significance of the indigenous populations on the island declined almost to oblivion, together with their gross numbers and their proportion within the rapidly growing general population. (The last Indigenous American on Curaçao died in 1788. The indigenous presence on on Bonaire and Aruba remained important, however, and constituted the dominant element in the tiny population of those islands at the time.) As a result of the arrival of these two groups, the linguistic situation on the island grew much more complex than it had been before, and before long the Europeans of whatever linguistic and religious background (as well as the L1 speakers of Dutch) were outnumbered.

The first group was that of the African slaves, who came directly from Africa and who spoke a variety of African languages (slaving records suggest that the Slave Coast and the coastal region of Congo and Angola were the main sources of such slaves, so that various of the Gbe languages and Akan languages and Kikongo and Kimbundu are probably relevant here) and who would need a language to use among themselves for everyday purposes as they were working in the fields, at the salterns, or around the fort. A rough guide to the identity of at least some of the languages which the Africans

brought with them is furnished by an analysis of those loans of African origin in Papiamentu which are *not* also found in other Caribbean Creoles with other lexifiers and which were probably *not* already current in local Dutch or Spanish. There are not many of these 'exclusive' forms, but those few which are present appear to derive from Gbe languages. No single African ethnolinguistic group can be shown to have predominated among the Africans in Curaçao at any one time, or to have constituted the language on Curacao which had more L1 or L2 (or L1 and L2) speakers than any other, and there is no evidence that any Europeans here acquired an African language out of the communicative need to do so. I do not know of any evidence that there are any Africanisms, deriving from West Atlantic or Mande languages (the only ones which could have influenced Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese lects), which are *exclusively* shared between Papiamentu and either Capeverdean or Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese, and which might indicate some kind of special historical relationship between these languages.

The second important new ethnolinguistic group comprises the Sephardic Jews. These were the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in 1492, some of whom went to North Africa, others to France, some to Amsterdam, and yet others to Italy and thence to various points in the Ottoman Empire. There were Sephardim in all these places by the time the Dutch took over Curaçao. Some of these may have spoken Spanish as their home language, though most appear to have had Portuguese as their first language, albeit with a good liturgical (and trading?) knowledge of Spanish and an as yet unascertained (and probably individually variable) knowledge of Dutch. (Spanish Sephardim may also have known Portuguese as a secondary language, or they may have easily acquired it in order to participate more fully in a Portuguese-dominant Sephardic community, such as the one on Curaçao. At any rate it does not appear that any Sephardim of differing native-language backgrounds found that there were any barriers to communication with one another.) An exception to this would be the case of those who came to the West Indies from Livorno and who would have known Spanish and/or Portuguese, and probably also Italian, rather than having Dutch available to them as a language with which to interact with non-Jews.

Indeed the most prosperous slave-traders at this time are Sephardim, a number of whom have come over to Curaçao from the dissolution of the short-lived Dutch colony at Recife (Pernambuco; this was retaken by the Catholic Portuguese, and the Sephardim living there were apprehensive regarding their freedom to practise their religion once the Portuguese had returned). These people would have used Portuguese, at least 'on the outside', among members of the Portuguese Sephardic community, as a matter of course, even if they had once had other first languages. They would also bring with them their Brazilian concubines (whatever language or languages these spoke, be it Portuguese, Dutch, Tupi or other languages) and also their African slaves. It is possible that Guene (or at least its presence on the island)

dates from this era and that it derives from the Portuguese speech of these cohorts of slaves (and concubines?) who came over to Curaçao with the Sephardim from north-eastern Brazil.

The role of the 17th century Sephardim in shaping the commercial history of the West Indies is not to be underestimated. There was an important commercial impact of Sephardim on the economic history of islands as diverse as St Kitts, Jamaica and Aruba, in addition to Sephardic settlements in what are now Surinam, Guyana and French Guiana. Members of many of these communities wound up in Curacao; this is true of many of the Portuguese Jewish settlers in Cayenne in the late 17th century, who were prominent among the Portuguese settlers who established a short-lived colony fuelled by slave labour which was later supplanted by a French plantation society. Some relics of this early Portuguese colony can still be found in Cayenne Creole French, including *briga* 'to fight' and *fika* 'to remain, to be (state or condition)' (Holm, 1989).

One essential social and demographic consideration should not be lost sight of. For much of the latter half of the 17th century the only people who were granted the Dutch equivalent of the Spanish *asiento* and who were thereby allowed to buy slaves in Curaçao were the Sephardim. The Dutch were not similarly entitled to do so, and they had to make do with the labour of the slaves (and their descendants) already on their plantations. This would probably have resulted in a much greater number of speech acts being contracted between Lusophone (or at least Iberophone) Sephardim and African slaves of varied linguistic backgrounds. On the other hand, house slaves who were owned by Dutch-speaking masters are the slaves who had the greatest opportunity to acquire some competence in Dutch and to become bilingual in forms of two 'master's languages', Dutch and the emerging creole. Slaves owned by the Sephardim, who were eventually the only numerically increasing group of slaves, did not have this opportunity.

A third group would consist of whatever Dutch settlers from the colony of Recife might have come to Curaçao after the loss of this Dutch enclave and its absorption into a larger Lusophone Brazil. In Recife they would have been in contact with the Sephardim and with the Portuguese Catholics (and presumably with members of other groups, Indigenous American and African), and they would presumably have known and used Portuguese as a matter of course and of everyday need (there being no other Dutch-speakers in the area) while maintaining their Dutch language and Calvinistic identity among themselves. These Dutch settlers left Recife at the same time as the Sephardim.

By now the number of possible linguistic combinations in a two-way conversation was very considerable. It is likely that most people, but especially Europeans (including the Sephardim) were in everyday contact with others who spoke one or more of upwards of half a dozen languages. Furthermore it is increasingly unlikely

that all Europeans who needed to communicate with one another for commercial or other purposes would have had a common language or a shared repertoire of languages, and that they would have been able to speak to all other Europeans and be understood. What served as the second language of some Europeans would have been a first language for others, and might have been unknown to yet other Europeans. It may be that there were more people who were familiar with an Iberoromance language, even as a second language, than with Dutch. This situation is exacerbated in the early 19th century, when speakers of French, English, German and also Spanish, became more numerous and more significant, at least in Willemstad. Some languages were more useful than others for cross-cultural communication and for wider use in general; Dutch did not have much further currency in the Caribbean, and Portuguese was of no use outside Brazil, but knowledge of Spanish was a decided economic asset. The same lack of a common language prevailed among the various Africans, both those living in Willemstad and the more isolated and more numerous (and proportionally much more demographically dominant) *kunukeros* (country-dwellers, from a Taíno word *conuco* which occurs in Antillean Spanish, and which is also found in Arawak as *khunukhu*) in the countryside. Whether they were working on plantations or in the houses of their owners, two African slaves, say an Ewe-speaker and a Kikongo-speaker (or even an Ewe-speaker and a Gun-speaker, users of different Gbe languages), who came from different linguistic backgrounds but who worked together, would need a common means of communication, and this would be a speech form which they would each use for a high proportion of their daily exchanges with each other and with such of their fellow-slaves with whom they had no other means of communication.

But we have a huge lacuna in our knowledge. It is clear that Africans and people of African descent outnumbered both Indigenous Americans and Europeans of every linguistic and religious kind from the late 17th century onwards. We also know (courtesy of the statistics in Postma, 1990: 112-115, 122) about the origins or places of sale in Africa of many of the slaves who passed through the hands of the West-Indische Compagnie (though Postma, 1990: 112 indicates that the origins of some 43% of the slaves is unknown). We also know which words in Papiamentu are of African origin, and which are exclusive to Papiamentu, and they are very few. It is clear that the Slave Coast (the home of Gbe languages), Loango (where at least Kikongo and Kimbundu are spoken) and – for a short priod in the 1720s – the Gold Coast (where Akan and Ga dominate) were the three areas which throughout the documented period (from 1658) contributed the bulk of the slaves whose origins we know, and about whose first languages we can hazard educated guesses. (Table 2 provides some statistics on places of assumed origin.) But we do not have as much information on this as we might hope; we have scraps and clues. It is beyond doubt that Africans of many different linguistic traditions would have needed to

communicate with one another (and with non-Africans) on a daily basis, and would need an MIC which would later develop into an MCS. But the finer details of the sort which Philip Baker has been able to invoke on his Mauritian work (Baker, 1990 and after) is largely unavailable to us.

Table 2 *Sources of slaves brought from Africa to Curaçao (Parkvall, 2000: 137; numbers expressed as percentages of the respective totals)*

Origin	Early period	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s	1710s	1720s
Senegambia	1	5	8	0	0	0	0	0
Ivory Coast	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold Coast	7	18	19	15	0	17	9	57
Slave coast	56	41	19	63	60	41	66	29
Bight of Biafra	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	0
Congo/Angola	36	25	54	22	40	42	24	14

'Early' figures only include those slaves (n = 15964) whose origin within Africa is known. The fact that the vast majority of slaves who were transported to Curaçao remained there only briefly and that they were then transhipped to other areas, and that this had long been the case, can be seen from the fact that even in the late 1690s there were still fewer than 3000 slaves residing permanently on the island.

Barely 10% of the slaves who were imported to Curaçao in what I have called the 'early' (pre-1660) period actually remained there long enough to be counted in the population tallies which have come down to us from the period before proper censuses were taken, and we cannot attribute this low figure and low proportion simply and singly to the shockingly high death rate that prevailed among slaves once they had arrived in the Caribbean.

Tables 3a and 3b indicate the known presence of members of various ethnic groups on Curaçao and on Aruba and Bonaire respectively at various times in their histories of settlement.

Table 3a *Presence of historically significant ethnic and/or linguistic groups on Curaçao during various periods of its history of habitation*

	1521	1630s	1640s	1650s	1775	2001
Indigenous Americans	Y	Y but few	*	*	N	N
Other American Indians	Y(?)	Y but few	N?	*	N	N
Spaniards/ Hispanics/ other L1 speakers of Spanish	Y	Y?	Y?	?	Y	Y
Dutch	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sephardim	N	N	N	Y	Y	Rather few
Other Europeans	N	N?	Y?	Y?	Y	Y
Africans	N	*	Y	Y	Y	Y

*=minimal

Table 3b *Presence of historically significant ethnic and/or linguistic groups on Aruba and Bonaire during their histories of habitation*

	1521	1634	1800	2001
Indigenous Americans of predominantly Arawakan (but also of Cariban) linguistic background	Y	Y	Y[i]	Y
Dutch	N	*	*	Y
Sephardim	N	N	*	*
Spaniards/General L1 Spanish-speakers	N	N	N?	Yes
Other Europeans	N	N	N?	Increasingly
Africans	N	*	* < Y	Y

i. Especially on Bonaire; increasingly reacculturated on Aruba

There were other opportunities for intercommunication across ethnic lines. Slaves from different ethnic groups who married one another and who raised families would need a common medium of communication within the household, even if the children acquired the mother's language (and sometimes also the father's), since children would play with other children who came from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds and with different repertoires of languages being known (if not used) in their households. The slaves would also need a language in which the overseer could communicate with them and through which he could give orders to teams of slaves of varied linguistic background with some hope of being understood. If the language that the overseer used with the slaves were the same as the language which at least the alloglot slaves used among themselves, the whole process of communication would be so much simpler. (And such a lingua franca might well be a useful means of communications among Europeans, be they Jews or Christians, who lacked another common language.) Kerkhof (1998) is not the first observer to note that 91% of the rural population outside Willemstad in 1790 was of African descent (as was more than

half the population within Willemstad), and that the majority of these people were slaves, with only a minority of African descended and mixed-race freedmen.

For the record, there is unlikely to be much of a puzzle about the way in which subsequent generations of European descended peoples acquired their knowledge of Papiamentu. As in other plantation and slave-driven societies in the Caribbean, children of the colonists and slave-holders would have been brought up by female slaves employed for that purpose, and would have learned to speak Papiamentu from their nurses and from associating with child and adult slaves. Dutch children would acquire Dutch and Papiamentu in childhood, Sephardic children Spanish or Portuguese and Papiamentu, and so on, and those slave children whose parents did not have a common language would presumably learn Papiamentu as their first language. None of this means that children did not also acquire simultaneous fluency in other languages.

Parkvall (2000: 205) makes an interesting use of Baker's Events Hypothesis (an approach which was first presented in Baker, 1982) in plotting the trajectory of demographic events which took place on Curaçao. In his calculations Parkvall assumes as a first point that Papiamentu originated from a period of time after the date of the permanent settlement of the island by the Dutch, and thence from the introduction of Africans there during the slave trade, and he dates his demographic events accordingly. Parkvall states that the first arrivals of slaves to Curaçao took place in 1634 (two years after the Dutch took over; the date of the first arrival of slaves is Baker's Event 0), although it must not be assumed that slaves immediately flooded onto the island then. He adds that the non-European descended population exceeded 20% in 1652, and exceeded 50% in 1657 (this numerical dominance of the slave population on the island is Baker's Event 1). The non-European descended population on Curaçao finally exceeded 80% in 1685.

I do not have information on when Baker's Events 2 (the date at which locally-born slaves outnumbered the white population) and 3 (the end of the period of transportation of slaves to Curaçao) took place, although slavery was not abolished there until 1863. Given the unattractiveness for agriculture of Curaçao, and the consequent dearth of sugar plantations there (the cultivation of sugar being an especially labour-intensive practice), and given also the use of Curaçao as a staging-post for seasoning slaves who were soon to be sent off to the other parts of the Caribbean, I would imagine that Event 2 occurred rather late in the history of Curaçao, simply because the constant demand for slaves to replace those worked to death in short order on sugar plantations was not present on Curaçao. I would further assume, given the late date of the abolition of slavery, that Event 3 would have occurred at some point in the first half of the 19th century.

It is the linguistic result of such encounters which took place during Stage 3, which forms the basis of modern Papiamentu and it is an early form of this linguistic result

which, having crystallised, was also exported to Aruba and Bonaire in the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries. We should also remember that the total population of Curaçao in 1700, including members of all ethnic groups including slaves, was less than 3000, and that a high proportion of this number would have been socially rather immobile (most slaves, most women of whatever linguistic background). But other members of this society – the Dutch, the Sephardim, people of colour and African descended craftsmen – would have had considerable physical and social mobility, and they would have come into regular contact for common purposes with people of several linguistic backgrounds.

A speculative schema of languages which were used in interlingual communication between members of the major ethnolinguistic groups on the islands at the end of the 17th century is given in Table 3c.

Table 3c *Languages probably used in conversations between members of various speech communities at the end of the 17th century on Curaçao*

	Indige-nous	Gbe	Akan	Bantu	Portu-guese	Spanish	Dutch	Other European
Indigenous	=	0	0	0	0	Spanish	?	?
Gbe	0	=	X	X	X	X	X	X
Akan	0	X	=	X	X	X	X	X
Bantu	0	X	X	=	X	X	X	X
Portuguese	0	X	X	X	=	Sp/Port	X??	?
Spanish	Spanish	X	X	X	Sp/Port	=	X??	?
Dutch	?	X	X	X	X??	X??	=	?
Other European	?	X	X	X	?	?	?	=?

= these groups spoke the same language natively and would presumably have used this in most encounters.
0: it is unlikely that members of the two groups came into contact.
? – the nature of the shared language is unknown, though an emergent lingua franca may have been used, or maybe the first language of one of the speakers was used.
X –probably an emergent lingua franca was used.

3.4 Stage 4: After 1700

After this period (if not before) Papiamentu had crystallised and was available as a language for learning by that small proportion of African slaves who remained and settled in Curaçao rather than being kept there for a matter of months as a waystage to being sent somewhere else in the Caribbean. Newly arrived slaves (and slavery did not finish here until 1863) would thereby acquire Papiamentu as a necessary means of communicating with alloglot Africans and also with locally-born slaves and with others, European descended and non-European descended, with whom they needed to maintain social contact. Newly-arrived slaves would now have a target language, which they would endeavour to acquire in order to be able to participate (to whatever

limited extent they were allowed to do so) in the wider society, and that target language would be Papiamentu. There was already some incentive for slave-owners and overseers to acquire Papiamentu as an everyday means of communication for daily use with their slaves, if they had not already learnt it in their youth.

Exact details are few but it is apparent that this is the stage during which the language spread further, both geographically and socially. The use of the language spread to Aruba (probably by means of the migration there by slaves and other people of African descent) and also to Bonaire. In both these islands it presumably replaced other languages, which are as yet unidentified but which were probably of Northern Arawakan or possibly of Cariban affiliation. Furthermore the use of the language spread upwards socially, although its primary identification was still as a slave language.

The 1775 Papiamentu text was written in Latin letters in a modified Dutch orthography by one European descended Sephardi to another, and it was one of several such notes (none of the others having survived) circulating in what one observer of the contemporary situation, commenting on the scandal during which the 1775 letter was written, described as being 'the language of the slaves'. The language of the letter, which conforms to modern Papiamentu grammatical norms, shows that the author (and, we may assume, his mistress the reader too) was comfortable in the language, which may have been his first or at least his equal first language (although his family, the da Costa family, were Portuguese Jews, as was that of the recipient of the letter, Sara Ishac Pardo e Vaz Farro, wife of Selomoh Vaz Farro). Incidentally the full translation which has come down to us is executed in Dutch and was done by Nicolaus Henricus, a translator between Dutch, Portuguese and Papiamentu who (to judge by his knowledge of Portuguese, a language that was of of little commercial or social use in late 18th century Curaçao) was presumably a member of the Henriques family, another prominent Curaçaoan Sephardi family.

A word should be said about the later linguistic history of the Curaçao Sephardim, as discussed in Jeuda (1991). In addition to reviewing the better-known hypotheses on the origin of Papiamentu, with special interest in the role of Portuguese, Jeuda devotes some attention to Sephardic language use in the 18th and especially the 19th centuries, a period when Sephardic influence was in decline. Drawing upon the findings in Emmanuel (1957) he discusses the range of languages used on Sephardic gravestones. Of the 2574 gravestones that Emmanuel investigated, some 1668 were written in Portuguese (sometimes with an accompanying Hebrew inscription), and these dated from a period which began in 1668 (or possibly 1662) and which lasted into the mid-20th century. Among the 47 17th century gravestones, there were 4 gravestones in Spanish, 1 in Hebrew alone, but 42 in Portuguese (6 of them including an inscription in Hebrew). The first gravestone carved in English appeared in the mid-19th century, and this was the period when the first Sephardic gravestones inscribed in Dutch also

appeared. 78 of the 112 gravestones preserved form the 18th century are written in Portuguese (30% of these having an accompanying Hebrew inscription) and only 8 in Spanish. Between 1854 and 1884 2 epitaphs were written in Portuguese, two in English, 5 in Dutch and seven in Spanish. For the record, none of the Sephardic gravestones at any time were written in Papiamentu.

In regard to Sephardic language use in written media, Emmanuel (1957: 112) observed that most Sephardic documentation, for instance wills and deeds, was written in Portuguese until the late 19th century, and pointed out that a knowledge of Portuguese was preserved by families of the Sephardim for more than two centuries after they first settled on the island, although nowadays the small Sephardic communities on Curaçao and Aruba speak the same languages as their gentile white neighbours, though to this day synagogue prayers for the Dutch royal family are said in Portuguese (Matthias Perl, personal communication).[14]

The first censuses for the three islands are relatively late; from 1789 in the case of Curacao and from the early nineteenth century for Aruba and Bonaire, and their results are not always intercompatible. Details are in tables 4a-c below.

Table 4a *1789 and 1816 Curaçao census data (Maurer 1998: 193)*

1789	Willemstad	rural	TOTAL	1816, all areas
Grand total	11398	8146	19544	14094
Total whites	3423	541	3964	2780
Dutch	2001	469	2469	1759
Sephardim	1423	72	1495	1021
Non-whites	7974	7606	15580	11314
Slaves	5359	7445	12804	6765
Free persons	2615	161	2776	4549

We may note the absence of separate categories for non-Dutch, non-Sephardic whites (including Ashkenazim), for Spanish-speakers of whatever race, and for Indigenous Americans. Nor is it clear what percentage of free non-whites are mestizos.

[14] The same is done for the British royal family at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue at Bevis Marks, London, Britain's oldest functioning synagogue, likewise a Sephardi place of worship and one which was founded in 1701.

Table 4b *Early Aruba census data (Maurer 1998: 188)*

	1806	**1816**
Total population	1546	1732
Total free persons	1352	1396
Whites		211
Indians		564
Free mestizos		584
Free blacks		37
Total slaves	194	336
Mixed-race slaves		133
Black slaves		203

Table 4c *Early Bonaire census data (Maurer 1998: 190)*

	1808	**1816**
Total population	945	1135
Total free persons	581	705
Whites	72	137
Indigenous Americans	284	n/a
Mestizos	225	394
Blacks	0	174
Total slaves	364	430
Domestic slaves	92	124
WIC slaves*	272	306
Mestizo slaves		65
Black slaves		365

* This rubric indicates slaves belonging to the West-Indische Compagnie

It is highly likely that in some of these censuses the same people would have been classified differently in successive censuses which used different criteria. Of the total population in Bonaire in 1816, 91 were listed as Protestants and 1044 were Catholics.

4 Aspects of societal multiculturalism and multilingualism in the early history of Papiamentu

It appears that the linguistic diversity on Curaçao in the late seventeenth century was very considerable, and maybe greater than has been previously recognised, although many languages used there were in-group languages and probably had very small speech-communities on the island. We are less certain of the degree to which individuals were bi- or multilinguals. There is still a dearth of hard facts available about exactly which African, Indigenous American and European languages were

spoken there at that time, how many people spoke each one, which ones were used beyond those members of the speech community for whom it was the first or customary language, and so on. We can assert that some particular languages were certainly spoken there (Gbe languages for instance), but we do not know the full list of African languages which were known or used. It is apparent, though, that as Africans (and coterminously also the Sephardim) became more numerous, the demographic role and actual number of Indigenous Americans on the island became minimal (though this was not so on Aruba or Bonaire, where language shift to Papiamentu was to take place).

Now if we assume that no single African-language community was numerically dominant enough to impose its language as an L2 on other alloglot Africans, and that Africans were compelled to socialise with other alloglot Africans, then it is clear that crosslinguistic African-to-African interactions of the Ewe-Wolof sort mentioned above would have been numerous enough, and it is certain that these would have constituted a large enough proportion of most Africans' everyday speech acts, to require or warrant the rise of a Medium of Interethnic Communication for everyday use among slaves.

Multilingualism on Curaçao, or more precisely the challenge of daily communication with people of different language backgrounds and the techniques which evolved to make this task easier, was also a fact of life among the European population. No one language was dominant in the bulk of European homes on Curaçao at that time, even among Europeans alone. Many Sephardim did not learn Dutch till the nineteenth century (and then they switched to Papiamentu or English), and few Dutch people would have spoken Portuguese. But the Dutch and the Sephardim had one significant sociocultural trait in common. Although they may have mated with people from outside their group (as the presence of Brazilian concubines with the Sephardim and of 'free persons of colour' as a separate classificatory category in early censuses suggests), they did not outmarry formally, nor did members of these two groups marry one another. This is at least in part because they were both concerned about preserving their sense of religious exclusivity, and keeping it safe from slaves, from indigenous people, and from one another. At this time and in this place Judaism and Calvinism were not religions which actively sought converts.

The Dutch settlers of the 17th and 18th century were overwhelmingly Calvinistic Protestant by religion, and they did not at that time welcome converts to Calvinism from the ranks of the slave or freedman population.[15] The Sephardim were of course Jewish by religion, and at that period it would have been inconceivable for a slave (or for that matter a Dutch person) to convert to Judaism, and it would also have been extremely unlikely for a Sephardi to convert to Calvinism. Nonetheless there was some cultural transfer between the groups: the Saramaccans absorbed some Sephardic

[15] Matters were to change later; Conradi (1844) is clearly the work of a Protestant minister.

food taboos (and the Hebrew words denoting them) from observing the rituals of their Sephardic masters in Surinam[16], and they also adopted some Sephardic surnames as clan names (Ladhams, 1999 points out that the Saramaccan clan name *Matjáu* derives from the Portuguese surname *Machado*). The Dutch and the Sephardim did not intermarry, nor did they exchange religions here or elsewhere (the case of the 19th century Dutch author Isaac da Costa, a Sephardi writer in Holland who became a zealous Calvinist, is an exception). The slaves and Arawaks (and one assumes, the Indigenous Americans belonging to other tribes) were converted to Catholicism by Spanish-speaking priests from Venezuela, who entered the island surreptitiously.
The practice of Catholicism may have been quite beyond the pale for the Calvinistic Dutch to take up for themselves (especially since the United Provinces, the forerunner of the Netherlands and Belgium, had been under the Catholic yoke of Spain from 1580 to 1640) but it was probably regarded as fit or acceptable for non-whites to embrace it (at least in preference to 'animism', especially if Calvinism was deemed out of bounds for slaves). It is also possible that some of the Dutch settlers, whether coming directly from the United Provinces or by way of Brazil, were at least closet Catholics. (A disproportionately large number of Dutch in their overseas colonies and in non-colonised settlements such as the Cape of Good Hope have been Protestant, if one considers that at least nominal Catholics account for 40% of the modern Dutch population; on the other hand, some of the Dutch explorers, such as Abel Tasman, were Catholic.) Protestantism was identified with the Dutch Crown, later the Dutch Republic, and with the official Dutch state in general. Catholics were regarded by many Dutch with suspicion, since the Spanish and Portuguese who had occupied and ruled Holland were Catholic and were leading the Counter-Reformation. Feelings of anti-Catholicism and the natural consequence thereof, namely the demonisation of adherents to Catholicism and of the beliefs which they espoused were strong among many Dutch people at the time, to a degree which seems hilarious or simply grotesque to modern observers. And the Dutch often exhibited an especial animosity toward Jesuits, the very group within Catholicism which was evangelizing and catechizing among the slaves and Indigenous Americans.

In Surinam measures were in place during the slaveholding era to impress upon the slaves their lowly position; there the slaves were forbidden to learn Dutch or to wear shoes (Voorhoeve, 1971: 308). It is not known to me if these strictures were also in place in the Netherlands Antilles, but the existence of some degree of linguistically-

[16] These may have reinforced certain practices which were already part of those elements of Saramaccan culture which derived from Africa. Both Sranan and Saramaccan have a form of the word *kaseri* to express the idea of 'ritually pure' (Sephardic Hebrew *kasher*), though only Saramaccan has *trefu* (>Hebrew *trefa*, literally 'torn') to describe a food which is ritually impure. For the record, other European religious influences may have played their part among the Saramaccans: according to Ladhams (1997) the Saramaccan clan name *Abaísu* reflects the presence there of members of the Labadists, an Anabaptist community of French origin which enjoyed a brief vogue in parts of western Europe in the late 17th century.

signalled social distance between the Dutch and their slaves, with the distance being mediated by the Dutch rather than by their slaves, is certain.[17] (Indeed Reinecke, 1937 remarks that the Dutch in their various tropical colonies seemed to regard their language as a kind of 'caste dialect', one which they kept for use among themselves.[18]) The Dutch increasingly used Papiamentu with members of the outside world (of whatever linguistic background) on the island as the decades went by, and thereby legitimised its social status in the eyes of people who were concerned about such things[19], although Dutch remained dominant in education and administration. This audience of interlocutors now included not only slaves but also other European descended peoples, people of Portuguese and other linguistic backgrounds, with whom they interacted and who often did not express themselves easily in Dutch.

5 On the first attestations of some typically creole features in Papiamentu (a philological examination after Baker, 1996)

It is apparent, from an examination of earlier records in other creole languages, that the overt morphological features which characterise a Creole and which mark it out structurally from its chief lexifier are not all acquired at once, but are accreted over time, often within the period of a century or more. This is true even in cases where our records from earlier periods are full enough and detailed, and the range of constructions found is rich enough, for us to be able to expect the appearance of certain features which do not actually turn up, so that we cannot always blame their absence from earlier materials upon the absence from these same materials of the appropriate structural contexts in which such features would have appeared. For example, certain semantic contexts which would have led us to expect the obligatory

[17] The existence of this specially-controlled linguistic distance might also account for the continuation of Guene as a secret language known only to slaves.

[18] For that matter, Portuguese may have been a caste language among Sephardim on the island in the earlier years. An example of a place where Dutch became used among slaves and where it did not discharge the role of a caste dialect was in the former Danish (now American) Virgin Islands. Although the islands were governed by the Danes, Danes as such had constituted only a minority of the white population on 17th century St Thomas, where no single white group predominated. Speakers of Dutch were able to impose their language on other whites and to have it used as a lingua franca. The Danes used their own language among themselves and (certainly in the 19th and 20th centuries) communicated with all others through the medium of non-creolised English. The bulk of the slaves who settled on St Thomas were apparently of Akan linguistic background, but the slave population must have been diverse enough linguistically for there to be a need for a lingua franca between Akan-speakers and slaves of other linguistic backgrounds, and between both groups and their overlords. It would appear that, despite earlier scholars' ideas about the rise of creole languages as the linguistic result of the deliberate mixing up of linguistic groups among the slave population by slave-traders or slave owners (in order to prevent the possibility of a slave rebellion), the Dutch often preferred to have their slave populations dominated by members of a single ethnolinguistic group, by Ijos in Berbice, by Akans on St Thomas, and possibly by Gbe-speakers in Curaçao.

[19] The fact that Dutch was not the primary lexical source of Papiamentu but could be drawn upon for neologisms would probably have helped elevate Papiamentu's social status in the eyes of the whites to some extent:

pluralisation of count nouns are attested in sentences occurring in earlier materials on Mauritian Creole French, and yet the first time when pluralization of count nouns is overtly marked (with a form of modern Mauritian *ban,* from French *bande*) is as late as 1885 (Baker, 1997).

The article by Baker (1996) which examines the earliest dates of attestation of the manifestations of certain creole structural characteristics pinpoints some of the salient features of Caribbean and other European-lexifier Creoles, and mentions when they first appear in the material available on seven pidgins and Creoles of French or English lexical origin: Sranan, Hawai'ian Pidgin/Creole English, Eastern Australian Pidgin English, Melanesian Pidgin English, Chinese Pidgin English, Mauritian, and Antillean Creole French varieties (including Haitian Creole French). These are the Creoles or pidgins with the richest early attestations. Fourteen characteristically creole structural features are profiled; I have sought the first attestations of each of them (insofar as they occur there at any time) in our materials on Papiamentu and I present my findings in Table 5.

It should be noted that our earliest record of Papiamentu dates from a period which is at a considerably greater remove both from the date of permanent Dutch settlement, as well as from the date which marked the demographic predominance of slaves than that for any of the pidgins and Creoles which Baker surveyed. In addition, the structural uniformity of the language in the three early texts is such that we can assume that Papiamentu had crystallised as a language at a period preceding the making of the first Papiamentu records, and that its structure was already 'in place' and had stabilised. If our assumption is correct, then the only quibbles are as to when particular long-established features were actually first attested in a text. We cannot assume that a particular feature was absent from earlier stages of Papiamentu just because it occurs now but is not attested in texts before a particular period. Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. All that has been published of the first Papiamentu text is the last page of a letter which must have been at least four pages in length, if not more. If we are to assume that the discourse structure and the range of grammatical features of the original text have been truly reproduced in the Dutch and English translations which Salomon (1982) has provided, and there is no reason for us to doubt it, we may assume that the original of this letter, if published in full (which it never has been and probably never will be), would have furnished us with the first attestations of quite a few structural features and syntactic constructions (for example the first instances of several TMA markers) for which our first known records now date from 1775, rather than from 1776 as Wood (1972b) had led people to believe, 1803 or even later.

It is also interesting that the language depicted in these texts, which were all produced within a 30-year period, does not show many striking differences between Sephardic,

Papiamentu was acceptable because (unlike Patwa in Jamaica) it couldn't be seen as a 'broken' version of the official language.

Indigenous American and African/slave Papiamentu linguistic usage, nor do many differences between Aruban and Curaçaoan usage appear here. All of this bespeaks some kind of a community structural norm which transcended ethnic lines. In short, all the indications are that the three texts represent the same language and there are no true indications that they do not. Consequently the nature of the results here is substantively different from those for the findings in the early material for the languages which Baker surveyed. As mentioned before, I present the findings of my research in Table 3. Further examples of 19th century Papiamentu, mostly dating from after 1850, are sprinkled through van Putte (1999), and are especially prominent in the photographic illustrations of pages from older Papiamentu books in the middle of that work.

Table 5 *The earliest attestations of certain typically creole features in Papiamentu (inspired by Baker 1995*

Number	Feature	First Papiamentu record of this feature
1	Zero copula	Not applicable; Papiamentu has an obligatory copula *ta*, which is used with nouns, adjectives and locative phrases and as a highlighter, and as such is anomalous among Caribbean Creoles
2	Preposed negator in opposition to the major lexifier language	Not applicable: both Spanish and Portuguese prepose their negators.
3	1 sg non-subject pronoun of lexifier used as subject pronoun	1775: *my (mi* in modern Papiamentu)
4	Preverbal completive marker	1775: *a-*
5	Definite article from a demonstrative in the lexifier language	1803: *es* (nowadays *e*)
6	Preverbal past marker	1775: *a*, also *taba*[20]
7	Overt internal copula	1775: *ta*
8	Indefinite article	1776: *hum* (the spelling is an archaic kind of Lusitanism, and does not mean that the Papiamentu form was necessarily taken from Portuguese; modern *un)*
9	Single morpheme plural marker	1803: *nan* (but the same form is recorded as a 3pl pronoun in 1775)
10	Bimorphemic interrogatives involving the use therein of a noun in the lexifier language	1775: *kiko* 'what'
11	Preverbal future marker	1803: *lo* (this form also occurs pre-subject before singular pronouns in modern Papiamentu and before all pronouns in earlier records of the Creole)
12	Preverbal progressive marker	1803: *ta*
13	Combination of two preverbal markers	1803: *tabata* (a form which incorporates past and present markers) whereas earlier sources used *taba*; there are modern instances of *lo V ta* and other combinations
14	Exposed copula in languages without an overt internal copula	Not applicable (see feature 1 above); Portuguese and Spanish both have exposed and non-deletable copulas

[20] Later material, certainly that recorded from 1803 onwards if not before, has *tabata* for this form; reflecting a combination of past and present tense forms; older Papiamentu (and also modern Aruban) used *tawata*. Papiamentu *tabatin,* a sort of past form of this construction, means equally '(someone) had' or 'there used to be'.

We should note the importance and pre-eminence of Spanish in the circum-Caribbean region as a native or target language of people of all origins. We may also note the relative uselessness of Dutch and Portuguese in this region and the paucity of Europeans who learned either of these two languages as second languages for commercial purposes.
The slaves (and maybe others) developed a common language from whatever linguistic materials they were most readily exposed to, and such a language eventually became useful for the communicative needs of other members of the island society.[21]

7 Conclusion: why the Papiamentu morphemic inventory is (still) largely Spanish

Given the history of settlement, conquest, reconquest, population movement, language shift and linguistic diversity and also less than universal multilingualism even among the two major components of the European population (the Dutch with political and legal power and the Sephardim with their commercial power and slave-holding privileges), and given the crosscurrents and directions from which slaves came to Curaçao, it is unsurprising that the island provided an ideal set of conditions for the development and cross-caste spread of a Medium for Interethnic Communication, and that it later developed into a Medium for Community Solidarity.
It is apparent from a close reading of Curaçaoan and indeed of general Antillean history that several factors militated against the rise of a Dutch pidgin on 17th century Curaçao. It is also less than surprising that the language which did arise in the area drew its vocabulary for the most part from a 17th century post-Siglo de Oro version of the Spanish which was also used in nearby Venezuela, and this happened despite the fact that the Spanish colonization (such as it was) of Curaçao ended in 1634 and was never firmly established on either Aruba or Bonaire. Speakers of Spanish, be they ladino, Indigenous American, mestizo, Afro-European or African descended, surrounded the islands and outnumbered their inhabitants at almost every stage of colonial history.
We find that Spanish, though rarely serving as a first language of people living on the island, was known to many people as a second language. It is clear that Spanish was well-known as a second language firstly among the Indigenous Americans on Curaçao. Later Spanish became better known among many of the Dutch and more especially among the Sephardim (apart from those who spoke it natively; indeed, as

[21] It is at least possible that Papiamentu, being the language of the slaves on one of the most important slaving entrepôts in the Caribbean, served as a source for some of the 'Spanish' elements found in the non-Spanish lexifier creoles in the Caribbean; this is more than likely for many of the Romance-derived loans in Negerhollands, for instance.

the 18th century went on, Sephardic Portuguese gave way more and more to a non-judaised form of Spanish, and later attestations of Portuguese in Curaçao became more and more mixed with Spanish forms). In contrast, the other languages – Dutch, non-creolised Portuguese, Lokono/Arawak - were generally not widely known outside the communities which used them as their first and most intimate language.

Some Dutch people may have known Portuguese from their time in Brazil or from prior experience in world trade, where Portuguese was highly useful at that time, and most Sephardim did not begin to learn Dutch until the 19th century, and then only as a second language. But the Dutch traders' Spanish customers are unlikely to have known Dutch or Portuguese nor probably did the diminishing number of Indigenous Americans. Nor would these groups on the whole be likely to feel the need to learn each other's language once they were on Curaçao, as there would be few native speakers willing to talk to them in those languages. As far as I have been able to determine, nobody in the dominant European communities bothered to learn an Indigenous American language or an African language as a second language, and even if this had occasionally happened (for instance in alloglot slave marriages or in other inter-ethnic alliances) the use of such languages did not extend beyond the home. Thus, the factors which would support the creation and spread of a viable Medium of Interethnic Communication were all perfectly in place on Dutch Curaçao.

The question of the type(s) of Spanish which were drawn upon in the development of Papiamentu must also be considered. It is highly likely that some of the Sephardim, who would have been schooled in reading the Ferrara Bible, which had been translated from Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic into somewhat archaic Castilian Spanish and written in the so-called Rashi version of Hebrew Masoretic script, would have been literate in Spanish (albeit in Hebrew letters rather than Latin ones) as a matter of course. And at least in the earliest generations of Sephardic settlement of the islands, there may have been some Sephardim for whom Spanish rather than Portuguese was their first language. But this is far less likely to have been the case for most of the Dutch and Indigenous Americans (although there were probably exceptions in both groups).

The Spanish input which gave rise to Papiamentu would have been largely mediated in the first instance through the mouths of Dutch people who had acquired the language orally rather than through schooling. This Spanish variety may have had foreigner-talk elements, including a number of widely-understood 'Spanish' elements which originated in some form of Portuguese, plus an infusion of Dutch words if Spanish equivalents were unknown or unavailable, and it may indeed structurally have been a pidgin.[22] The use of such a language would account for the presence in Papiamentu of elements from all sources apart from French, English, Hebrew, a few

stray loans (such as *bachi* 'jacket' above from Malay) and items of unknown etymology. The Dutch had no love for the empire which used Spanish, and therefore their approach to Spanish was utilitarian. Dutch speakers of Spanish in many cases had had some equally oral familiarity with Portuguese, and may well have pronounced their Spanish with Dutch phonological rules – including predominant first-syllable word stress.

It is possibly the case that Dutch people who had spoken a Spanish pre-pidgin with Venezuelans (and some Dutch people who had never learned Portuguese properly but had once spoken a Portuguese pre-pidgin in Brazil with Jews and others) and who had maybe used this with Lokono/Arawak speakers on Curaçao with some measure of success, later on tried to use the same kind of language with lusophone Jews from Brazil, Livorno and maybe from Amsterdam, as well as with slaves and what Indigenous Americans remained on the island. These Jews for their part (if they did not know Dutch, as some of them may not have done, at least in the early years of Sephardic settlement on Curaçao) were trying to communicate with the Dutch either in Spanish (if it was assumed that both parties to the conversation knew the language) or in something as close to colloquial Spanish as they could manage (if their knowledge of Spanish was largely confined to the Ferrara Bible, which for them was still revered text).

The proliferation of brackets in the previous sentence may be taken as an indication of the high proportion of the number of educated guesses and necessary hedges to the number of certainties. We can know some things about the sociolinguistic situation in late 17th century Wilemstad, and we can guess about the likelihood of other of the features of the speech economy of the time, but we cannot be cast-iron certain about everything – even though the more certain we can be about who spoke which language to whom and when in that time and place, the more we can come to understand why Papiamentu turned out the way it did, and why it is not more heavily hollandised or lusitanised, or indeed africanised to the extent that many other Creoles of the Caribbean and Atlantic are.

Let us also remember that 17th century Portuguese was much closer in all respects (including in phonological matters) to 17th century Spanish than 21st century Portuguese and Spanish are to one another, and that Antillean Spanish was probably closer to Portuguese than most Spanish varieties were because it preserved some forms shared with Portuguese which Madrilenian Spanish had lost, so that shifting between Spanish and Portuguese would not have been as herculean a task as it is now. Spanish was the first language and lingua franca of the greater outside world and the Curaçaoan Dutch community was too small (a few hundred at most, separated by far from their Dutch-speaking compatriots) for it to impose its language upon others.

[22] Or it may have been the case that the Dutch may have spoken the best Spanish they could manage to other Europeans while speaking broken Spanish to non-Europeans. We do not know. Additionally, some Dutch

And this community was also too heavily involved in large-scale trade (especially the slave trade, in which it played a cardinal role and dominated the Caribbean) for it to limit its contact with its mostly Spanish-speaking trading partners. But for the Protestant Netherlanders, the idea of abandoning Dutch and shifting to Spanish as a mother tongue, rather than as a commercial language, was anathema.

The phonological forms of many Papiamentu words are typical of the kind of language which one would expect to be produced (in the sense of 'used' as much as 'created') by L1 Dutch-speakers who needed regularly to shift for practical purposes between Spanish and (one or another form of) Portuguese, languages in which neither they nor their interlocutors would necessarily have been fluent, indeed languages which they may not always have been able to disambiguate or distinguish. Such people needed to make themselves understood to slaves and other workers who knew something of an Iberoromance language, but who did not usually know Dutch. And this is because Europeans of different linguistic backgrounds living in the area (specifically, most Dutch people and most Sephardim) needed a lingua franca in order to communicate with one another on a daily basis as much as Africans of many and various linguistic backgrounds and Indigenous Americans did.

Papiamentu is a creation born out of the linguistic interaction of diverse Indigenous American groups, and even greater diversity of African groups, and several European groups. It is a part of the colossal African diasporic cultural heritage as much as Saramaccan or Haitian or Berbice Dutch are, and many of its speakers are the descendants of people who settled the ABC Islands before either Africans or Europeans knew of the islands' existence. But we should not forget that Europeans of various linguistic backgrounds and linguistic competences - the full details of which will probably never be known to us – also played a decisive role in shaping and 'Europeanising' a speech variety which would serve their needs to communicate with one another and with those they enslaved. Papiamentu is the legacy of those circumstancess.

people must have spoken more and better Spanish than others.

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THE PAPIAMENTO-DUTCH LEXILIST

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1 Introduction

The *Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist* (PDL) is a language proficiency screening instrument developed for very young Papiamento-speaking children living in the Netherlands. The instrument is based on the Language Development Survey (Rescorla 1989) and the Lexilijst Nederlands (Schlichting & lutje Spelberg 2002).
The PDL consists of 238 words and 24 short sentences. These items reflect the productive linguistic knowledge of a normally developing child of 2 to 2.5 years old.
The multi-ethnic society of the Netherlands which includes many non-native Dutch inhabitants provides a culturally diverse backdrop for the use of a variety of languages which are spoken daily by parents to their children. The largest groups of immigrants are the Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccans, followed by people from the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. The Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics reports around 140,000 Antilleans and Arubans living currently in the Netherlands. Under these conditions, it is often impossible to use the Dutch language exclusively to test the linguistic development of young children. To reduce the chance of non-identification of linguistic problems at an early age, the Stichting Studio Taalwetenschap (Studio Linguistics Foundation) is producing a number of bilingual *Lexilists* including the following: Turkish-Dutch, Tarifit Berber-Dutch, Moroccan Arabic-Dutch, Papiamento-Dutch and Frisian-Dutch.[1] In this paper, we first present the aims and purpose of the *Lexilijst Nederlands* (the original Dutch Lexilist) as a screening tool for the assessment of language production. We then discuss the construction and standardization procedures utilized in the design of the Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist, focussing on the selection of the items included in the list. Finally, we briefly address the possibilities for the introduction of this tool in child care centres and educational institutes in the Dutch Antilles and Aruba.

[1] In December 2005 the preliminary research project was completed. In June 2006, the standardized Turkish-Dutch, Tarifit(Berber)-Dutch and Arabic(Moroccan)-Dutch lists were published by Uitgeverij JIP, Amsterdam. The (non-standardized) Papiamento-Dutch list can be ordered at stichting@studiotaalwetenschap.nl.

2 The Lexilist as screening tool for the assessment of language production

In the Netherlands, children below the age of 4 years old are regularly brought into child care clinics where they are routinely tested to determine the nature and pace of their development in a number of areas. Linguistic development is one of the cognitive abilities that are tested. Linguistic testing starts around 12 months, and is repeated more or less every 6 months. Linguistic testing between 12 and 27 months has proven to be of crucial importance in the identification, prevention and treatment of severe disorders.

Generally speaking, there are three ways to test linguistic abilities: i) by observing the child's behaviour during visits to the care centre, ii) by testing the child at the care centre, or iii) by parental reports. Observation takes time, and time is scarce in child care centres. Testing very young children is difficult since they lack the attention span and concentration normally required for testing. Parental reports, on the other hand, if done with accuracy and clarity, provide the best results (cf. Schlichting & lutje Spelberg, 2004). Parents, especially mothers, are still spending quite a lot of time with their children at this age and generally enjoy partaking in the observation of their children and in reporting on how they are growing and developing. Therefore, like Rescorla's Language Development Survey (1989) and the MacArthur Communicative Development Inventories (Fenson et al., 1994), the Lexilist is a parent report instrument. Direct involvement of parents is part of Dutch governmental policy and programming to prevent and minimize language deficiencies ('taalachterstand'). While compulsory education in the Netherlands starts at the age of 5, most children begin school at 4 and parents are encouraged to send their children to a nursery school or a playgroup as soon as they reach the age of 2. 'Vroeg-en-voorschoolse educatie' (early-and-preschool-education) is one of the cutting edge educational policies of local authorities. Programs have been developed especially for lower-educated indigenous and immigrant families, to encourage parents to communicate, read books, show pictures and play together with their children.

Language testing generally focuses on either perception or production. However, good perception does not necessarily imply good production. On the other hand, if a children's linguistic production is good, their perception is usually also good. As studies have demonstrated, measuring linguistic production correlates with overall linguistic development (Berglund & Erikson, 2000; Burden et al., 1996). The *Lexilijst Nederlands* is a production tool, and as such is an appropriate instrument for the measurement of overall linguistic development.

2.1 The Dutch screening context

As Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2002) argue, the *Lexilijst Nederlands* can be used in various settings and for different purposes:

- in child health centres as a screening tool for language development;
- in nursery schools and playgrounds when linguistic communication proves to be difficult or when a language deficiency is suspected;
- in clinics by E.N.T (ear, nose and throat) specialists, phoniatricians or paediatricians to establish the nature of a language deficiency;
- in practical work by speech therapists or psychologists to test and improve linguistic production;
- in research projects on longitudinal language development.

Language screening by means of the Lexilijst Nederlands or the bilingual lexilists makes a number of assumptions:

- the parents who are asked to do the report must be able to read
- the parents must be able to understand the instructions
- especially for non Dutch–speaking parents, a native speaker of the parents' first or main language must be present in the health centre to explain the instructions to the parents
- the centre must create adequate infrastructure to collect parents' reports

2.2 The nature of the test

The latest version of the *Lexilijst Nederlands* (2002) consists of 485 words and 11 short sentences, subdivided into two parallel lists of 263 words and 11 sentences each. The selection of the words is based on three sources (Schlichting 1996, 2001). The first source is a longitudinal study of the first 50 words spoken by 37 Dutch children, as reported monthly by their parents in standard written form. The study was begun when the subjects were 15 months old until all children had acquired their 50th word. The second source is a corpus of spontaneous language produced by children acquiring Dutch as their first language. From this corpus the language samples of 64 children, whose longest sentences contained four words, were studied with regard to vocabulary. A third source is a pilot study in which parents were presented with the items from the two previous sources, and were requested to add unlisted words produced by their children. After the pilot study, names of people and television programs were excluded from the checklist in order to minimize cultural bias. Words that were checked in fewer than 5% of the returned checklists were removed, yielding a final checklist of 485 words, and 11 phrases. To facilitate the checking of the word

lists, the words are arranged in 15 semantic categories, resembling the categories as distinguished in Rescorla's Language Development Survey. And to facilitate the analysis, the semantic categories are made to coincide with syntactic categories. Table 1 summarizes the various semantic/syntactic categories and the numbers of words in each category, with Dutch examples. The largest semantic category is no 7, which consists of 91 verbs, including auxiliaries. The smallest category is no 1, which consists of 13 onomatopoetic forms.

Table 1 also shows the classification of the semantic/syntactic categories into the four SUPER CATEGORIES Nouns, Predicates (verbs and adjectives), Closed class elements (function words, particles and adverbs) and Others (onomatopoeia, sound effects and interjections).

Table 1 *Semantic and syntactic categories included on the Lexilijst Nederlands (from Schlichting & lutje Spelberg 2004)*

Semantic Categories	Syntactic Categories	Super-categories	Number of words	Examples	
				Dutch	English
1 Animal sounds and sound effects	Onomatopoeia	Others	13	woef	woof
2 All sorts of things	General nouns	Nouns	36	bal	ball
3 What is it like?	Adjectives	Predicates	52	klaar	finished
4 Clothing	General nouns	Nouns	18	sok	sock
5 Outdoor objects	General nouns	Nouns	25	boom	tree
6 Animals	General nouns	Nouns	31	poes	cat
7 Actions	Verbs	Predicates	91	zitten	sit
8 At home	General nouns	Nouns	40	bad	bath
9 Food and drink	General nouns	Nouns	29	kaas	cheese
10 Small Words	Closed class words (26), particles	Closed class	40	mij	me
11 Vehicles	General nouns	Nouns	15	fiets	bike
12 Place and time	Prepositions and adverbs	Closed class	24	weg	all gone
13 Body parts	General nouns	Nouns	17	neus	nose
14 People	General nouns	Nouns	18	mama	mommy
15 Routines and interjections	Interjections	Others	25	bah	poo/yucky
16 Phrases	Two- and three-word sentences		11	jas aan	coat on
Total			485		

2.3 Test results

The *Lexilijst Nederlands* is studied in seven groups of subjects aged 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25 and 27 months. The response percentage was 66%, yielding 809 usable checklists. The sample is representative with regard to age, sex, region, density of population of place of residence, and maternal educational background. The mean raw scores are shown in table 2.

Table 2 *Mean raw scores (and standard deviations) on the 474-word list for boys and girls, per age group*

Gender	Age in months						
	15	**17**	**19**	**21**	**23**	**25**	**27**
Girls	**26.8** (21.9)	**41.3** (31.3)	**91.5** (65.1)	**157.8** (100.2)	**239.6** (111.8)	**295.9** (118.6)	**323.8** (107.6)
Boys	**25.1** (25.0)	**45.2** (42.4)	**78.3** (72.8)	**112.3** (98.9)	**171.6** (108.3)	**247.6** (119.0)	**297.4** (121.1)
Totals	**25.9** (23.6)	**43.4** (37.7)	**85.2** (68.9)	**135.4** (101.8)	**204.2** (114.7)	**271.4** (120.8)	**311.7** (114.3)

Gender differences in communicative skills often show up as higher scores for girls than for boys. With respect to Dutch children, this difference is most clearly observed from 19 months onwards, and decreases slowly around the age of 25 months. This gender related difference is also reported by Fenson et al. (1994) for American children, Maital et al. (2000) for Israeli children, Ogura et al. (1993) for Japanese children, Zink & Lejaegere (2001) for Flemish-Dutch children, and Reese & Read (2000) for children in New Zealand. In the Swedish research of Berglund & Erikson (2000) no difference, however, was reported between boys and girls; nor in Jackson-Maldonado et al. (1993) for American Spanish-speaking children.

The data collected by the Erasmus University Rotterdam in order to standardize the bilingual Turkish-Dutch and Berber-Dutch Lexilists, give rise to the following patterns with respect to gender differences: Turkish girls score higher than Turkish boys, but the Moroccan boys score much higher than the Moroccan girls (De Koning & van Agt 2004). No explanation for this striking difference has yet been formulated.

The Rotterdam research also shows that the Moroccan children are much more balanced bilinguals than the Turkish children. In fact, the vocabulary of the Moroccan children consists of about 50% Dutch and 50% Berber, while the vocabulary of the Turkish children consists of about 20% Dutch and 80% Turkish. This difference cannot be explained by the length of stay (both groups of immigrants came to the Netherlands from the late sixties onwards, in similar numbers). Rather the official status of the native language seems to play a role: Berber is not a formally accepted and educationally sustained language in Morocco; most Berber-speaking people never

read Berber texts. In other words, it seems that Berber speaking families living in the Netherlands are more inclined to give up their language than Turkish speaking families.

Regarding the relationship between age and the acquisition of specific word categories, Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2004) observed the following patterns in the subjects:

- an initial increase of the proportion of nouns, followed by a decrease;
- a gradual increase of predicates;
- a slow start of the closed class words, with a faster increase once a vocabulary size of above 200 is attained;
- the super-category Others, consisting of onomatopoeia, routines and interjections, comprises a large proportion of items in the vocabularies of the youngest children, and shows a sharp decrease towards the age of 27 months.

These patterns are in agreement with the findings reported by Bates et al. (1994) regarding the composition of American children's vocabulary, and Kauschke & Hofmeister (2002) who studied vocabulary development in German children.

On the basis of the mean raw scores on the *Lexilijst Nederlands*, Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2002) constructed tables showing the performance standard of boys, of girls, and of boys and girls together. The performance tables give standard scores per month with gradual deviations resulting in three zones: white, grey and black zones. Black stands for a very low score; grey for a low score, and white for an unproblematic score. The tables 3 and 4 summarize the findings for girls and boys separately.

Table 3 *Summary of performance standards for girls on the Lexilijst Nederlands (black = very low score, grey = low score, white = unproblematic score) after Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2002)*

Age	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
0													
1-10													
11-20													
21-30													
31-40													
41-50													
51-60													
61-70													
71-80													
81-90													
more													

Table 4 *Summary of performance standards for boys on the Lexilijst Nederlands (black = very low score, grey = low score, white = unproblematic score)after Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2002)*

Age	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
0													
1-10													
11-20													
21-30													
31-40													
41-50													
51-60													
61-70													
71-80													
81-90													
more													

Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2002) formulate recommendations for the treatment of children at 21, 24 and 27 months whose performance corresponds to a grey or black zone.

3 The Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist (PDL)

The Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist is modelled on three sources. The first source is a translation of the 485 words and 11 phrases of the *Lexilijst Nederlands*. The second source is a study by Schlichting & Willemse (1999) of the early vocabulary of 12 Papiamento-speaking children in Aruba. Parents were asked to score a list of 300 Papiamento words, and to add missing words which were used by their child. The age of the children ranged from 17 to 33 months. Both sources were put together, yielding a list of 554 items. The third source is a small study amongst 8 Papiamento-speaking families in Rotterdam. The parents were presented with the list of 554 Papiamento items and their Dutch equivalents, i.e. a list of more than 1100 items. This final study revealed that such a list is much too long to be handled: parents got confused by the huge number of items, and had problems remembering whether the child produced a given word or not.

Parents were asked to indicate which language(s) they normally use when addressing the child. Two used Papiamento only; two Dutch only; three both Papiamento and Dutch, and one Papiamento, Dutch and sometimes English. The behaviour of Antilleans/Arubans in the Netherlands with respect to their home-language is studied by Extra et al. (2001) among inhabitants of the city of The Hague. A group of 893 Antillean/Aruban children ranging in age from 4 to 17 years old participated in the

research. The study measured different dimensions of linguistic skills and attitudes, yielding a final vitality-index of all the non Dutch home-languages spoken in The Hague.
Of the Papiamento-speaking children, half were born in the Netherlands, half in the Antilles/Aruba, while more than 70% of the parents were born in the Antilles/Aruba. Almost 60% of the children use Papiamento when communicating with their mothers, and 55% with their fathers. With respect to language-dominance, the study shows that 41% of the children indicate that Papiamento is their dominant language. Dutch, in other words, is slightly more dominant. Compared to the other languages with which the Netherlands have a colonial relationship, i.e. Sarnami Hindi, Malay, Sranantongo and Javanese, Papiamento appears to be the least threatened. Where Papiamento has an overall vitality-index of 58%, Sranantongo, for instance, has a vitality-index of 37%. Turkish, in the study, is the language with the highest vitality index: 72%. The above facts support the need for bilingual lists: testing in either Dutch or Papiamento alone will inevitably paint an incomplete picture of the linguistic development of young Antillean/Aruban children.

3.1 Development of the Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist

The construction of the PDL is based on the previously mentioned sources. The long bilingual list of 1100 items was reduced to a shorter list with a total length of about 500 items. Firstly, all items never scored in either of the two languages by the 8 parents in the Rotterdam study were deleted. The remaining items were randomly selected by deleting every other item in each category, except for the categories of ‘small words’ and ‘sentences’. These latter two categories are important indicators of linguistic development, as shown by the studies on early linguistic development by Bates et al. (1994), Kauschke & Hofmeister (2002), and Schlichting & lutje Spelberg (2004).
Table 5 presents the semantic and syntactic categories, the number of items in each category, with an example in Papiamento and a translation into Dutch.

Table 5 *Semantic and syntactic categories On the Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist*

Semantic Categories	Syntactic Categories	Super-categories	Number of words	Examples	
				Papiamento	Dutch
1 Playing sounds/*Wega*	Onomatopoeia	Others	(14>)7	wou	woef
2 What is it like?/ *Con e ta?*	Adjectives	Predicates	(56>)26	sera	dicht
3 All sorts of things/ *Diferente cos*	General nouns	Nouns	(40>)19	buki	boek
4 Clothing/*Paña*	General nouns	Nouns	(22>)10	carson	broek
5 Outdoor objects/*Pafo*	General nouns	Nouns	(26>)12	palo	boom
6 Body parts/*Curpa*	General nouns	Nouns	(21>)8	nanishi	neus
7 Actions/*Haci cos*	Verbs	Predicates	(90>)37	wak	kijken
8 Animals/*Bestia*	General nouns	Nouns	(39>)17	pushi	poes
9 At home/*Na cas*	General nouns	Nouns	(46>)20	cashi	kast
10 Food/*Come*	General nouns	Nouns	(36>)14	awa	water
11 Vehicles/*Vehiculo*	General nouns	Nouns	(15>)7	boto	boot
12 Place and time/ *Luga y tempo*	Prepositions and adverbs	Closed class	(25>)12	aki	hier
13 Small Words/ *Palabra cortico*	Closed class words (26), particles	Closed class	(36>)29	mi	ik
14 People/*Hende*	General nouns	Nouns	(23>)8	tata	papa
15 Routines and interjections/*Expresion*	Interjections	Others	(26>)12	che	bah
16 Phrases/*Frase cortico*	Two- and three-word sentences		(27>)24	un mas	nog een
Total			262		

Comparing the items on the PDL with the items on the Lexilijst Nederlands, the PDL contains 11 words that do not occur on the Dutch list. These words are:

habon 'soap'	placa 'money'	*golpi* 'slap'
sushi 'dirty'	faha 'belt'	*zipper* 'zipper'
yuana 'iguana'	*bari* 'sweep'	*pensa* 'think'
serbete 'towel'	*despensa* 'sorry'	

Geographical and/or cultural factors may be argued to interfere in a few cases only. In fact, the word *yuana* 'iguana' does not belong to the typical Dutch vocabulary of young speakers; and perhaps the verb *bari* 'to sweep' is more commonly used in the Caribbean than it is in the Netherlands, where vacuum cleaners have almost completely replaced brooms.

Compared to the 11 sentences/phrases of the *Lexilijst Nederlands*, the PDL contains 24 sentences/phrases, more than twice as many. In some cases this is explained by different syntactic structures. In Dutch the concept is expressed by a word, in Papiamento by a short sentence:

Papiamento Dutch

mal mucha	*stout*	'naughty'
laga para	*afblijven*	'keep off'
a pasa	*over*	'gone'
hopi hopi	*heleboe*l	'very much'

An additional linguistic problem regarding the PDL is the contested Papiamento orthography. Since 1976 there are two spelling-systems, one for Aruba and one for Curaçao. Although most Papiamento-speaking people in the Netherlands come from Curaçao, we decided to present both spellings on the instrument. We want to thank Selvia Ellis from Aruba for having done this difficult job.

3.2 Standardization issues

Monolingual studies on language development generally take into account a number of non-linguistic factors in order to interpret scores properly, and in order to formulate adequate recommendations. On the Lexilijst Nederlands, for example, in addition to age and gender of the child, parents are asked to indicate i) which languages are spoken at home, ii) whether the parents are concerned about the development of their child, and iii) whether the parents are concerned about their child's hearing. On the bilingual lists we added some questions directly related to the non-Dutch background of the parents, regarding the mother tongue of the mother, the mother tongue of the father, and which language is mainly spoken to the child at home. In addition, the parents are asked to indicate whether their child is going to nursery school, and whether the child has brothers or sisters. These matters prove to influence language development in general and the development of Dutch specifically.

3.3 Using the Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist as a screening tool on Aruba and Curaçao

The Papiamento-Dutch Lexilist can be used as the basis for the development of a language screening tool specifically designed for use in the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. The selected items must be reconsidered, however. The Dutch context for which the PDL is constructed, might prove to have influenced word selection to such an extent that the PDL is not directly transferable to the Antillean and Aruban context. In addition, the PDL lacks any reference to English or Spanish, two other languages widely spoken by the inhabitants of the ABC islands.

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PAPIAMENTU'S ROOTS IN GUINEA

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1 Introduction

It is not coincidental that the early inhabitants of Curaçao called their African ancestors' language *Guene* or *Gueni* (Martinus, 1997:17). Africa's Guinea coast, stretching from Senegal in the west to Cameroon in the east, was the home of millions of people taken in slavery to the New World. Although this area has hundreds of languages, virtually all belong to the Niger-Congo family and share many structural features, even though the languages of my homeland, Guiné-Bissau (formerly Portuguese Guinea), which belong to the Mande and West Atlantic branches of Niger-Congo, are in some ways typologically distinct from the Volta-Congo branch (which includes both the Kwa and Benue-Congo sub-branches) to the east. I have two first languages; one is Balanta (BAL), a West Atlantic language with 367,000 speakers (Gordon 2005) used by over 30% of Guiné-Bissau's population, making it the country's most widely spoken ancestral African language. Its most widely spoken language of all is my second mother tongue, Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese (GB CP), a lingua franca spoken along the westernmost part of the Guinea coast. Since this was the place of origin of many slaves taken to Cape Verde, Curaçao and other parts of the Americas (Couto, 1994), it is likely that today I have unknown cousins in Curaçao whose language was historically influenced by those of our common ancestors. To provide some strictly linguistic evidence for this claim, I have done the following study, which is a systematic comparison of one area of syntax, the noun phrase, in our two creole languages (Papiamentu and Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese) and one of their likely substrate language (Balanta).

2 Determiners

As can be seen in Table 1 below, the noun phrase of the languages examined here can be divided into determiners (discussed in this section), nouns and modifiers (section 2), and personal pronouns (section 3).

Table 1 *The noun phrase in Portuguese, Guiné-Bissau CP, and Balanta*

Language	**Prenominal mod**		**Noun**			**Post nominal mod**	
	DETERMINERS		PL prefix	stem	PL sufix	prefix	stem
	DEF	INDF					
PORT	o(s),a(s)	um(a)/uns, umas	-	+	**-s**	-	+
GB CP	e/es ki/kil	un/utru	-	+	**-s**	-	+
BAL	interrogative		+	+	-	+	+

This table attempts to provide an overview of the main features of the NP discussed in this study rather than an exhaustive inventory for each language, e.g. "mod." refers to modifiers in general, including adjectives in Papiamentu, determiners in Balanta, etc.

1.1 Determiners in Papiamentu

Maurer (1988:155) observes that Papiamentu (PAP) has a definite article *e*, used before both singular and plural nouns:

(1) PAP e kas
DEF house
'the house' (Maurer, 1998:155)

(2) PAP e kas-nan
DEF house-PL
'the houses' (ibid.)

Example (2) demonstrates that in PAP, as in many other Atlantic Creoles, a form identical to the third person plural pronoun (nan in PAP, see Table 2 below) is used within the noun phrase to mark plurality. (Note that the Leipzig Glossing Rules, used here, require hyphens between morphemes although Maurer used none before *-nan).*
The definite article **e** appears to come from the Portuguese demonstrative **esse** 'that' (cf. Spanish **ese**); note that the pronoun referring to ***e*** *homber aki* 'this man' is *e**s**aki* 'this one' (Holm, 2000:213). Apparently, Portuguese *esse* /es/ lost its final consonant at the end of a word in the Papiamentu article, but /s/ was preserved word internally before a vowel in the Papiamentu pronoun.

With regard to indefinite articles, *un* is used with singular nouns (3), and an empty specifier can indicate an indefinite plural (4):

(3) PAP un kas
INDF house
'a house' (ibid.)

(4) PAP kas-nan
house-PL
'houses' (ibid.)

Maurer (1998:155) also notes the use of an empty specifier with non-count nouns (e.g. *awa* 'water') and with count nouns to indicate generic reference (e.g. *kachó* 'dogs'). Munteanu with Joubert (1996:282) discusses the use of *algun* as an indefinite article which is not marked for gender or number:

(5) PAP algun buki
INDF book
'some books'

Maurer (1998:154) points out that demonstratives are the only determiners that occur after the noun; other determiners (possessives, numbers and interrogatives) generally precede the noun:

(6) PAP e dos kabai-nan akí
DEF NUM horse-PL DEM
'these two horses' (ibid.)

While the use of a number inhibits the use of the pluralizer (e.g. *dos kabai*), the co-occurrence of the definite article makes the pluralizer obligatory in (6) above (ibid.).

1.2 Determiners in Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese

GB CP uses the demonstratives *e* (or *es*) 'this/these' (cf. etymology of PAP *e* above) or *kil* (or *ki*) 'that/those' (cf. PORT *aquele* 'that [one]') as specifiers much like definite articles:

(7) GB CP e omi
kil omi
DEF man
'the man'

In other words, a noun thus specified is understood to have already occurred in the discourse and/or to be known to one or more of the participants in the communicative.

While the above determiners do not vary for number, the noun can take an optional plural inflection **-s**, especially if it is [+ human]:

(8) GB CP e omi -s
kil omi -s
DEF man PL
'the men'

The indefinite article is *un*:

(9) GB CP un omi musulmanu
INDF man Muslim
'a Muslim man' or 'one Muslim man' (Kihm, 1994:137)

Note that the indefinite article is invariable for gender and number and can also be interpreted as a numeral. As an indefinite article, it indicates that the noun that it modifies is understood not to have already occurred in the discourse and/or not to be known to one or more participants in the communicative event (ibid.). GB CP *utru* (cf. PORT *outro* 'other' and sentences 16 and 17 below) functions similarly, and can be used with nouns with plural marking:

(10) GB CP utru omi -s 'some men'
INDF man PL
'some men'

Nouns also occur with empty specifiers, which can be interpreted as definite or indefinite according to context:

(11) GB CP omi musulmanu
man Muslim
'a Muslim man; the Muslim man'

However, the specifier position is coming to be more frequently filled, either by the indefinite article (9) or the definite article / demonstrative (7).

1.3 Determiners in Balanta

In contrast to determiners in many European and creole languages (e.g. Portuguese, GB CP and Cape Verdean CP), in Balanta determiners usually take the postnominal position, including the interrogative *ala* 'which':

(12) BAL b- raatu b- ala
SG plate SG Q
'Which plate?' (Wilson, 1961:140)

As (12) shows, both the noun and its modifier take a prefix (in this case *b-*) indicating agreement with the noun for number (in this case SG) and class--but not gender. As Wilson notes, "In Balanta, as in all the non-Mande languages of Portuguese Guinea, there operates a system of concord whereby certain grammatical relationships between words are indicated by their morphology, the initial element of one word being conditioned by that of others in the same concord series" (ibid.). In (12) *b-* is the prefix in question, and indicates that the root morpheme (*raatu*) is singular. Nouns and their modifiers take different prefixes depending on the noun's class, which is semantically based. For example, the prefix *fi-* is used for certain kinds of domestic tools and furniture:

(13) BAL fi- luth fi- ndan
SG chair SG big
'a big chair' or 'the big chair'

The demonstrative *de* 'that' can, as in GB CP, serve the specifying function of a definite article; note its concord with the preceding noun which it specifies, indicated by the prefix *fi-* or its allomorph *f-*:

(14) BAL f- luth fi- dee
SG chair SG DEM
'that chair' or 'the chair'

Wilson (1959**:**601) doubles certain vowels and consonants to represent modifications of the quantity and tone of segments in particular circumstances. Prefix concord can also fill a grammatical function by indicating plural number. The head of the noun phrase takes the plural morpheme for a particular class (*g-* in the case of certain kinds of domestic tools and furniture, corresponding to the singular prefix *fi-*), as do any following modifiers (such as the demonstrative *dee)*:

(15) BAL g- luth g- **dee**
PL chair PL DEM
'those chairs' or 'the chairs'

The indefinite article oo*lo "other"* conforms to the rules outlined above:

(16) BAL f- luth f- oo*lo*
SG chair SG INDF
'a chair'

(17) BAL g- luth g- oo*lo*
PL chair PL INDF
'chairs' or 'some chairs'

2 Nouns and modifiers

2.1 Biological Gender

None of the three languages examined here indicate biological gender grammatically, so that such distinctions as Spanish *herman**o*** / *herman**a*** or Portuguese *irmã**o*** /*irm**ã***, both 'brother' and 'sister' are not signalled by inflectional morphology. Instead biological sex is signalled lexically by following nouns with a word indicating 'male' or 'female':

(18)

	'sibling'+ 'male'		'sibling'+ 'female'	
Papiamentu	ruman	hòmber	ruman	muhé
Guiné-Bissau CP	ermon	maco	ermon	femia
Balanta	bia iada	lante/lufu	bia iada	nin/fula

(Note that in Balanta, *lante* 'man' and *nin* 'woman' are used for adult siblings, whereas *lufu* 'boy' and *fula* 'girl' are used for young siblings). Since these languages have no inflectional morphemes indicating biological gender, there can be no agreement for biological gender between head nouns and their modifiers.

2.2 Number

In Papiamentu nouns can take the pluralizing suffix *-nan* as in examples (2) and (4) above. Guiné-Bissau CP has preserved the plural inflection *-s* from Portuguese, but in noun phrases only the head noun (and certain personal pronouns; see section 3) are marked for number while modifiers remain invariable. In Balanta, as noted regarding examples (14) to (17) above, plurality is indicated by noun class prefixes, each of which has two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural. Some plural prefixes are realized as Ø, as illustrated in example (19):

(19) BAL p- karu Ø karu
SG car PL car
'car' 'cars'

3 Personal pronouns

Table 2 below lists the forms of the personal pronouns of the three languages under discussion (Maurer 1998:158 for PAP, Scantamburlo 1981:49 for GB CP, Wilson, 1961:146 for BAL). In many cases subject and object pronouns are identical, but those object pronouns that differ from the corresponding subject pronoun are given in **bold**.

In GB CP, Scantamburlo distinguishes between what he calls the *principal* and *secondary* forms of the subject pronouns, referred to here as the *non-emphatic* and *emphatic* forms respectively. The emphatic forms are used for emphasis or as vocatives. As subjects, the emphatic forms do not occur alone but rather precede non-emphatic forms, much like French disjunctive pronouns (*Moi, je*... 'As for me, I...'), but non-emphatic forms can occur alone. The lexical source of the emphatic forms seems to be the Portuguese construction with the preposition *a* plus the emphatic pronoun, e.g. *A **mim** ensinou-me tudo*. 'He taught *me* everything.' (Holm, 1988:203).

The form *ami* however, could equally have been derived from Kikongo, where it represents the 1st person singular pronoun (for details see Schwegler, 2002: 203). The Kikongo presence on the ABC islands is well documented. Bakongo slaves were clearly on Curaçao and neighboring islands, and most likely in respectable numbers. Moreover, Schuchardt (1882:906) points out that the form *ami* may be the result of the convergence of partially similar forms in a number of African languages, and certainly the existence of the morphosyntactic category of emphatic pronouns in these languages (including Balanta, see below) is very relevant to the existence of the distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns in a number of Portuguese-based creoles such as Príncipe, Cape Verdean, and possibly in earlier or regional varieties of Papiamentu.

In Curaçao there exist PAP pronouns that appear to be etymologically derived from emphatic forms (***a**mi* 'I', ***a**bo* 'you') in addition to the forms below without the initial *a-*. The Papiamento of Aruba also retains such forms throughout the plural (***a**nos* 'we', ***a**boso* 'you PL', ***a**nan* 'they' (Dijkhoff, 1985). It is possible that these variants carry

more emphasis than the forms without initial *a-*. In fact Joubert (1991:8) translates *ami* with the emphatic Dutch pronoun *ikke* as well as non-emphatic *ik*, noting that it is used *als lijd.[end] of meew.[werkend] vw. [voorwerp] bij emfatisch gebruik, maar niet na voorzetsel* 'as an emphatic direct or indirect object, but not after prepositions' (translation by author), a good indication that the origin of these forms is the same as that of the corresponding forms in GB CP. Some of the singular creole pronouns form the corresponding plural with a pluralizing morpheme: GBCP *abo* 'you SG', *abó**s*** 'you PL'; *e* 'he/she/it', *eli**s*** 'they'(cf. PORT *você, você**s***; *ele; ele**s*** respectively). Papiamentu, *bo* 'you SG' combines with the pluralizer *-nan* to form *boso**nan*** or *bos**nan*** 'you PL' (Maurer, 1988:154).

In Balanta some of the emphatic and non-emphatic personal pronouns are distinguished by different tones. The first person singular subject pronoun is ***n*** (a velar nasal) in both GB CP and Balanta, as well as in other neighboring languages (Papel, Manjaco, Mancanha), a straightforward instance of substrate/adstrate influence.

Table 2 *Personal pronouns in Papiamentu, Guiné Bissau CP and Balanta*

PAPIAMENTU

	Subject	Object
1SG	mi	mi
2SG	bo	bo, **bu**
3SG	e, el	e, (el)
1PL	nos	nos
2PL	bos, bosonan, bosnan	bos, bosonan, bosnan
3PL	nan	nan

GUINE BISSAU CP

	EMPHATIC Subject	NON EMPHATIC Subject	Object
1SG	ami	n	n
2SG	abo	bu	**u**
3SG	el	i	**l**
1PL	anos	nô	**nu**
2PL	abos	bô	**bós**
3PL	elis	ê	elis

BALANTA

	EMPHATIC Subject	NON-EMPHATIC Subject	Object
1SG	ñi	n	**ni**
2SG	u	a	**na**
3SG	in		**ma**
1PL	ba	bi	ba
2PL	ba	ba	ba
3PL	ba	bi	ba

4 Conclusions

This comparison of the noun phrase in Papiamentu, Guiné Bissau Creole Portuguese and Balanta has revealed several similarities, including the following:

(1) All three languages use the same word-formation device to indicate gender.
(2) None of the three languages uses inflections to indicate biological gender.
(3) All three languages have definite articles derived from demonstratives. Both creoles have derived their definite articles (PAP *e* and GB CP *e* or *kil*) from Portuguese demonstratives (*esse* or *aquele*); while Balanta has no definite article, its demonstrative *de* 'that' can perform the same specifying function of a definite article. The fact that GB CP *e* and *kil* are only now being systematized seems likely to be connected to the recent spread of the Creole, that gained new impetus with the independence of Guiné-Bissau from Portugal in 1975, which was accompanied by the dispersal of its speakers from the principal urban centers to the countryside.
(4) Both GB CP and Balanta distinguish between emphatic and unemphatic pronouns, and there is convincing evidence that a similar distinction existed at an earlier stage in the development of Papiamentu.

If the assertion of a genetic relationship between Papiamentu, Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese and Balanta remains debatable, it is clear that the two creoles owe many of the structural features that they share to their common substrate in the Niger-Congo family of languages, and that this family's West Atlantic branch (which includes Balanta) played (and continues to play) a particularly important role in the formation and development of GB CP. The slave trade between Portugal's former Guinea colony and the Caribbean constitutes an important demographic connection between Guinea Bissau and Curaçao during the initial stages in the development of

Papiamentu. There can therefore be no doubt that the structural similarities between Guinea Bissau Creole Portuguese and Papiamentu go beyond mere coincidence.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao
BAL	Balanta
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
GB CP	Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese
INDF	indefinite article
MOD	modifier
NUM	numeral
OBJ	object
PAP	Papiamentu
PL	plural / pluralizer
PORT	Portuguese
Q	question word
SG	singular
SBJ	subject

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EL PORTUGUÉS EN CURAÇAO[1]

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0 Introducción

La comunidad lingüística de Curaçao, la mayor isla de las Antillas Neerlandesas, es multilingüe. Muchos de sus habitantes dominan, a diferentes niveles, cuatro lenguas: el papiamento como lengua materna, el holandés como idioma oficial, y el español y el inglés como las lenguas extranjeras más importantes.

Aparte de los hablantes que tienen como lengua materna el papiamento, también hay hablantes: 1) de lengua materna holandesa - empleados de empresas y de autoridades de los Países Bajos, gente jubilada de Holanda, y ciudadanos de las islas neerlandoantillanas (Curaçao, Bonaire, San Eustaquio, San Martín y Saba), de Aruba y del Surinam que nacieron y se criaron en los Países Bajos (y a veces también la segunda generación de estos habitantes); 2) de lengua materna española - numerosos trabajadores extranjeros de Venezuela, Colombia y República Dominicana; 3) de lengua materna inglesa - habitantes de San Martín (la parte holandesa), San Eustaquio y Saba y de otras regiones del Caribe de habla criolla inglesa; 4) de lengua criolla de base léxica francesa - principalmente de Haití, pero también de diversas otras islas caribeñas: 5) de lengua materna portuguesa - oriundos de Madeira, las Azores y Portugal y sus descendientes; 6) de lengua materna árabe - inmigrantes del Líbano y en los últimos años con mayor frecuencia también de Marruecos; y 7) de lengua materna sranan - inmigrantes del Surinam. En el caso de matrimonios mixtos donde uno de los padres es de origen holandésa casi siempre se habla holandés, lo que también sucede en casos aislados de familias que originalmente hablaban papiamento, pero que por razones educativas pasaron a hablar holandés con sus hijos.

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El origen de la lengua criolla papiamento constituye todavía un tema altamente discutido. En la dialectología "clásica" de Alonso Zamora Vicente (1979: 442) se encuentran los siguientes datos: "El papiamento tiene en su base el criollo negro-portugués que traían los esclavos de África. En Curaçao esta lengua se mezcló con el español hablado en las Antillas y en la costa venezolana. Por añadidura, cuenta con numerosas palabras holandesas." Un estudio científico que defiende el origen afro-portugués del papiamento es el de Frank Martinus Arion (1996).

Para no indagar en el desarrollo del papiamento, nos basaremos en las observaciones siguientes. En la mayoría de las publicaciones se dice que se trata de una lengua criolla basada en lo iberorrománico con una variedad de componentes provenientes del portugués y español y que, además, ha sido influenciada tanto por las lenguas de los cautivos africanos, deportados de su continente como esclavos, así como por el holandés, el inglés y, en menor intensidad, por el francés (Maurer, 1988 ; Munteanu, 1991; Munteanu, 1996 ; Perl y Schwegler, 1998). En el léxico, hay además unos componentes amerindios que juegan un papel importante en la denominación de *flora* y *fauna* (Van Buurt & Joubert, 1997).

Para investigar la situación del portugués en Curaçao, es necesario hacer la siguiente división en tres puntos principales:

1. El afroportugués hablado por los africanos.
2. El portugués hablado por los sefardíes.
3. El portugués de los trabajadores extranjeros provenientes de Madeira, las Azores y de Portugal y los descendientes de estos trabajadores.

1 El afroportugués de los africanos

Hoy en día ya no se cuestiona la existencia de conocimientos lingüísticos afroportugueses en el Caribe (Perl, 1989 ; Perl & Schwegler, 1998), ya que en Colombia, Cuba y Surinam, entre otros países, ha sido posible recuperar evidencia de textos históricos que comprueba tales conocimientos de la parte de los esclavos africanos. Aunque hasta el momento actual no existen fuentes que documenten elementos lingüísticos afroportugueses en Curaçao, éstos no pueden ser descartados, dado que se pudo comprobar su existencia en Cartagena de Indias, con la cual Curaçao mantuvo durante siglos un intercambio intenso (Granda, 1978: 355-356). A pesar de que el primer documento importante para nuestra temática - la carta de Abraham de David da Costa Andrade Hijo a su amante Sarah de Isaac Pardo y Vaz

Farro - fue escrito en el año 1775 (Maduro, 1971: 55[2], Munteanu, 1996: 44), no se debe interpretar la falta de documentos anteriores a esta fecha como falta de conocimientos lingüísticos afroportugueses o criollos entre la población africana, sobre todo puesto que muy probablemente el papiamento ya se había formado en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII (Maurer, 1986: 97; Maurer,1988: 2).

En Curaçao, la trata de esclavos de origen africana comenzó en 1650 y finalizó en 1778. Curaçao fue un emporio importante para la trata de esclavos, no solamente para las colonias españolas en el continente, sino también para toda la región de las Antillas. Fueron relativamente pocos los cautivos africanos que se quedaban en la isla y éstos en su gran mayoría fueron puestos a trabajar en las plantaciones. Ya el primer gobernador holandés de Curaçao, Johan van Walbeeck, quiso remplazar a los trabajadores indígenas por trabajadores africanos (Goslinga, 1983: 299). Poco después de independizarse del imperio español, los Países Bajos conquistaron y ocuparon gran parte del imperio colonial portugués en África en el siglo XVII, de manera que la trata de esclavos se convirtió en fuente principal de la prosperidad de los Países Bajos.
Los cautivos africanos fueron deportados sobre todo de África Occidental y de la región Angola/Congo. A partir de 1641 fueron ocupadas tanto partes de Angola como la isla de São Tomé, punto estratégico para la trata de esclavos (Goslinga, 1983: 302). Siempre se trataba de regiones que ya habían estado durante un tiempo bajo el imperio portugués. En su descripción de viaje Olfert Dapper ya menciona en 1668 que en muchas de estas regiones se hablaba un portugués "chapurreado" (Dapper, 1671: 405, 452, 472) y más temprano todavía en 1627 el padre español Alonso de Sandoval (1576-1652) habla de un "lenguaje muy corrupto y revesado de la portuguesa que llaman lengua de San Thomé" y lo compara con la "lengua española corrupta" hablada por los esclavos africanos en Cartagena de Indias (Granda, 1978: 355-356). Por ello, no podemos descartar de ninguna manera conocimientos por miembros de la población esclavizada en Curaçao de una o más variedades lingüísticas afroportuguesas en el siglo XVII, teniendo en cuenta que casi todos los esclavos pasaban varios meses en los depósitos de la costa de África Occidental y de la región Angola/Congo que estaban o bien habían estado bajo el dominio portugués, esperando su travesía a América, y que algunos de los esclavos provenían de regiones que estaban o bien habían estado bajo el dominio portugués.
La trata de esclavos no fue organizada solamente por la población africana como constata Kramer (1995: 249-250) con relación a Goslinga, sino muchas veces por *lançados* de habla portuguesa, provenientes de Portugal, que se habían establecido en África. Ya en 1606 existían establecimientos de *Neuchristen* (cristianos nuevos) en

[2] Según Granda (1974: 1) Richard E. Wood fue "el primer especialista que percibe con claridad el interés lingüístico de este dato para el estudio del papiamento". Será porque Granda no coincide con Antoine Maduro sobre el origen del papiamento. Prueba es que en 1971, pues un año antes que Wood, ya Maduro había publicado la carta en cuestión, con una explicación del contenido.

Senegambia. En el pueblo Portudal, por ejemplo, esta comunidad contaba con 100 personas. En 1630 el área de operación de aquellos comerciantes se había extendido hasta el interior del país (Curtin, 1975). Otras pruebas históricas para la existencia de conocimientos lingüísticos afro-portugueses en África Occidental se encuentran en Perl (1989: 135-136).

2 El portugués de los sefardíes

El 31 de marzo de 1492 el inquisidor general Fray Tomás de Torquemada redactó el edicto del destierro y de la persecución de los judíos españoles que no se bautizaran dentro de un plazo de cuatro meses (Stoll, 1995: 15). Como consecuencia, en su gran mayoría los judíos españoles abandonaron a España y se fueron a otros países, entre ellos a Portugal, donde la Inquisición no comenzó hasta el año 1536 (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970: 15). Los datos son muy contradictorios cuando se trata del número de conversos en Portugal. Emmanuel & Emmanuel (1970: 38) mencionan 120,000 *marranos* - judíos conversos que seguían practicando su religión en secreto (Moliner, 1979: 355) - residentes en Portugal, pero puesto que lapoblación total del país entero era de un millón de habitantes, la cifra parece demasiado elevada. Además, parece que hay alguna confusión en las fuentes disponibles entre los términos *marranos*, conversos, y *cristãos novos*, entre los cuales se encontraban *anusim* (los judíos que se tuvieron que bautizar obligatoriamente) y *meshumadim* (los que se dejaron bautizar voluntariamente) (Studemund-Halévy inf. pers.). Studemund-Halévy estima que se trataba de unos 5,000 conversos de España que se exiliaron a Portugal.

Cuando las provincias en el norte de los Países Bajos se independizaron de España en 1581 y fundaron la República de los Países Bajos Unidos, conocida por su tolerancia religiosa, llegaron los primeros conversos en fuga a Amsterdam. Ahí se formó en los años 90 del siglo XVI una comunidad judía (Yerushalmi, 1982: 178). Con los primeros holandeses que se instalaron en el Brasil nororiental (1630) también llegaron los primeros conversos y fundaron la primera comunidad judía de América en Recife (1637). Se estima que aproximadamente 200 colonizaciones fueron establecidas por pobladores judíos en las costas brasileñas. La Inquisición no llegó a Brasil hasta mediados del siglo XVII y no tuvo las consecuencias que tuvo en Europa. Junto a los holandeses, que se retiraron del noreste del país (1654), muchas familias judías (aproximadamente 600 personas) abandonaron el Brasil y regresaron a Amsterdam (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970: 45).

Cuando Johan van Walbeeck conquistó a Curaçao de los españoles en 1634 por orden de la West-Indische Compagnie, el intérprete Samuel Coheño (Cohen), cuyo nombre fue mencionado como primer nombre sefardí en la historia de Curaçao, se encontraba a bordo (Karner, 1969: 9).

En los años 1651 y 1652 la West-Indische Compagnie hizo diferentes contratos con João de Ilhão y Joseph Nunes da Fonseca (alias David Nassy) para establecer una colonia agraria en Curaçao (Karner, 1969: 9). A partir del año 1651 llegaban grupos de inmigrantes sefardíes a Curaçao, entre ellos gran número de los que habían abandonado Brasil para emigrar a Amsterdam. Otros llegaban de Italia, Francia, Guadalupe, Surinam y Portugal (Karner, 1969: 10). Un grupo de entre 50 y 100 sefardíes fundó en 1651 la primera comunidad judía de Curaçao, Mikve Israel. En 1659 llegó por primera vez un grupo muy grande de sefardíes a Curaçao, lo que contribuyó a la consolidación de la comunidad. Los sefardíes exiliados de Brasil tuvieron que pasar primero por Amsterdam y, al parecer, no se llevaron muchos esclavos a causa de las escasas posibilidades de transporte.

Desde aquel entonces la población judía creció continuamente. Mientras que en 1651 había entre 50 y 100 sefardíes en Curaçao, en 1785 ya había aproximadamente 1,200. En 1720 seis familias sefardíes poseían 165 esclavos (compárese: seis familias holandesas protestantes poseían 497 esclavos) y en 1765, 860 de los 5,534 esclavos pertenecían a judíos sefardíes. De los 8,500 habitantes registrados en el año 1785, de entre 3,000 y 3,200 eran holandeses blancos y 1,200 eran judíos sefardíes (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970: 228 y 277).

¿Cómo se desarrolló el uso de idiomas entre la población sefardí? Partimos de la base de que muchos judíos sefardíes que llegaban a Curaçao dominaban varios idiomas. Una posibilidad para reconstruir la situación lingüística de aquel entonces nos brinda el análisis de las inscripciones sepulcrales del antiguo cementerio judío Beth Hahaim (Casa de los Vivientes), que data de 1659. Más tarde se denominó también Beth Haim y Blenheim.

Estas inscripciones son las únicas fuentes para investigar la situación lingüística, ya que no existen documentos acerca de la vida de la comunidad judía de antes de 1775. La primera tumba con inscripción portuguesa data del año 1668, la última de 1865. En total hay, según Gomes Casseres[3], de entre 5,200 y 5,500 tumbas. 2,574[4] de ellas están cubiertas con una lápida sepulcral. De acuerdo a las listas municipales de Curaçao se puede partir de un número de entre 7,830 y 7,850 judíos sefardíes residentes entre los años 1634 y 1957, lo que comprueba que su gran mayoría encontró su última morada en el cementerio Beth Haim (Emmanuel, 1957: 138-140). Actualmente este cementerio ya no se encuentra en uso, pero está abierto al público. Hay en el mismo un pequeño museo que se puede visitar y unas tumbas que se han restaurado. La comunidad judía mantiene uno nuevo en Berg Altena.

[3] Gomes Casseres, Charles: „Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen“, programa radial escrita para Nederlandse Omroep Stichting (NOS), s.a

[4] Emmanuel y Huisman hacen mención de 2,569 tumbas. El que en este caso damos 5 más de esa cantidad debemos a Gomes Casseres, quien descubrió 5 lápidas en 1994, que hasta ese momento se encontraban enterradas. (El artículo que Gomes Casseres dedicó a este descubrimiento se intitula *Five stones Emmanuel never saw*).

De las 2,500 y pico de lápidas en Beth Haim, 1,668 llevan la inscripción en portugués, 433 en español, 89 en inglés, 40 en hebraico, 32 en holandés, 3 en francés, y una en yiddish. 72 son bilingües, o sea en hebraico y español, hebraico y portugués, o hebraico y holandés y (Emmanuel: 1957). Los datos expuestos en Emmanuel (1957: 111-112) varían algo de los presentados más recientemente por Gomes Casseres (1990). Aparte de las ya mencionadas cinco tumbas descubiertas por este investigador, él no trata el tema de inscripciones bi- o multilingües, lo que sí es el caso en Emmanuel (1957). Por este motivo Gomes Casseres llega a la cantidad de 112 en hebraico.
Para ilustrar lo antes expuesto damos a continuación como ejemplo la siguiente inscripción de una tumba (de Emmanuel 1957: 152):

(1) Lápida para Menaseh Jesurun Henriquez (21 de diciembre de 1685):

S A
DO GLORIOZO E, BEM
AVENTURADO VARÃO
MENASEH JESURUN
HENRIQUEZ QUE PARA
SY RECOLHEO DEOS, EM
24 DE KISLEU Ao 5446
SUA ALMA GOZE DE
GLORIA
(al final hay unas letras en hebraico)

Lo que asombra es que no existen lápidas en judeoespañol (ladino). No hay datos que comprueben el uso de esta lengua en Curaçao, que es justamente la lengua característica de las comunidades sefarditas europeas. Por esta razón, no se puede mantener la teoría de Germán de Granda (1974: 5-9) sobre el repertorio lingüístico de los sefardíes en Curaçao, o sea que hablaban el ladino. Su crítica de los estudios que dicen que los sefardíes eran hablantes monolingües del portugués ha sido confirmada por diferentes investigaciones exhaustivas (entre otros Echteld, 1999). Los idiomas más importantes de la comunidad sefardí fueron el español y el portugués. Sabemos que en el transcurso del siglo XIX predominaba el español mientras que conocimientos del ladino no están documentados. Cabe mencionar en especial el número tan bajo de epitafios en español, ya que en otras áreas de comunicación, según las fuentes, el español gozaba de un uso más extendido (compárese entre otros Granda, 1974 y Echteld, 1999). Emmanuel (1957) explica que el porcentaje de

inscripciones en hebraico era tan bajo ya que en Curaçao apenas se estudiaban las escrituras sagradas en su versión original hebraica.

El alto porcentaje de inscripciones en portugués se explica por el hecho de que fue la lengua materna de la mayoría de los sefardíes y que fue transmitida con mucha dedicación a los hijos en memoria a la patria perdida. Además, desde un principio el portugués se convirtió en el idioma más importante de la población sefardí, particularmente para fines religiosos, donde fue usado como lengua sagrada hasta el año 1865 por el rabino Aron Chumaceiro (Emmanuel, 1957: 113). Este fue el último rabino que predicó en portugués. Parece que ya a partir de 1820 el español comenzó a adquerir una importancia mayor. Chumaceiro había llegado a Curaçao de Amsterdam en 1856, predicaba en portugués y holandés antes de abandonar la isla en 1865. Su hijo Joseph Haim ya no usaba el portugués, sino el inglés, el español y el holandés (Emmanuel, 1957: 114).

La imposibilidad de contratar a rabinos que hablaran portugués y la inmigración de judíos no-hispanos ni lusohablantes (sefardíes del Oriente Medio) tuvieron como consecuencia que se introdujo en un momento dado "obligatoriamente" el inglés como idioma para predicar en la sinagoga sefardí (Karner, 1969: 26). Además, para aquel entonces, se calcula que el portugués ya había perdido su posición como idioma más importante entre las familias sefardíes. Los rabinos actuales proceden de los Estados Unidos y dominan el inglés sea como lengua materna, sea como segunda lengua. No dominan, y generalmente ni saben, ni el portugués ni el español. No siempre la lengua en que se predica y en que están redactadas parte o la totalidad de las oraciones es la más hablada entre los fieles. Prueba es que en este momento el inglés es la lengua en que se predica y en que están muchos rezos y cantos en la sinagoga Mikvé-Israel. Esta sinagoga, inaugurada en 1732, es la más antigua en uso permanente del Hemisferio Occidental. El libro de oraciones es bilingüe inglés-hebraico, lo que no implica que los miembros sean en su mayoría angloparlantes y en absoluto hablantes del hebraico ni del moderno ivrit. Compárese al respecto el uso en la iglesia católica durante siglos del latín en lugar de y/o al lado de la lengua nacional.

A pesar de que el holandés sea la lengua considerada como la oficial de Curaçao desde 1634, no fue hasta 1825 que los miembros de la comunidad judía tuvieron que aprender este idioma para ser reconocidos como ciudadanos con plenos derechos. La mencionada carta del año 1775 demuestra que ya en aquellos tiempos se usaba el papiamento en las familias sefardíes. También fue necesario aprender el papiamento porque llegaban cada vez más inmigrantes judíos con diferentes lenguas maternas. El papiamento se convirtió para todos en "lingua franca" (compárese Karner, 1969: 25).

Entre los sefardíes había tres tipos de apellidos (Emmanuel, 1957: 99):

a) Apellidos de origen judío o árabe como por ejemplo: Abaz, Abenatar, Abendana, Abensur, Abesdid, Aboab, Acohen, Gabay, etc.

b) Apellidos de origen español-portugués como por ejemplo: Almeida, Alva, Alvares, Andrade, Arobas, Belmonte, Brandon, Britto, Bueno Vivas, Castello, etc.
c) Apellidos judíos y no-judíos mixtos como por ejemplo: Abenatar Melo, Abendana Pereira, Abinun de Lima, etc.
Miembros de familia que tenían que viajar a las colonias españolas a menudo se protegían usando únicamente su nombre cristiano. Esta práctica se aplicó también durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Los que se quedaban siempre en Curaçao podían seguir usando su nombre judío. Relatos del siglo XVIII documentan que para un judío realmente existía el riesgo de ser detectado en las colonias españolas y ser entregado a la Inquisición (Kaplan, 1982: 200). Por consiguiente resulta muy difícil sacar conclusiones acerca de la lengua que hablaban los sefardíes basándose en los apellidos, ya que muchos inmigrantes sefardíes en efecto tenían apellidos hispano-portugueses pero llegaban de países donde durante años sus familias ya no usaban ni el español ni el portugués (Oriente Medio, regiones del Caribe de habla inglesa o francesa, Italia).
De gran interés es la indicación de Swetschinski (1982: 219) que entre 1580 y 1640, es decir en tiempos de la unión personal entre España y Portugal, cada vez más conversos pudieron establecerse en las ciudades por las principales rutas de comercio (entre otros en África, India Oriental y Brasil) y que desde Curaçao se establecieron estrechas relaciones comerciales con Cartagena de Indias y Puerto Bello. La trata de esclavos fue una de las actividades comerciales más importantes de los marranos en Cartagena de Indias (Swetschinski, 1982: 234 ; Böttcher, 1995).

En el momento actual, la población sefardí de Curaçao ya no habla portugués, a pesar de que, según Charles Gomes Casseres (el investigador principal de la historia de los judíos sefardíes de Curaçao) quedan aún en Curaçao unas familias sefarditas descendientes de los que llegaron a la isla entre 1654 y 1675. Pero unos vestigios portugueses se siguen manteniendo en la comunidad sefardí. Aún hoy en día el rabino y la comunidad sefardí expresan en una oración en portugués sus agradecimientos a la casa real holandesa y su gobierno y el gobierno de las islas neerlandoantillanas. Esta tradición tiene sus raíces en los primeros tiempos de los sefardíes en Amsterdam, cuyas oraciones en portugués fueron comunicadas al alcalde por un ciudadano preocupado que pensaba que eran en español y suponía que se trataba de espías españoles. El asunto se pudo aclarar y desde aquel entonces la comunidad sefardí expresa en las palabras siguientes en sus servicios en portugués sus sentimientos de gratitud a la casa real holandesa y la administración de las islas neerlandoantillanas:

Palabras de agradecimiento tomadas del documento conmemorativo: *United Netherlands Portuguese Congregation Mikvé Israel-Emanuel celebrates 350 years of living Torah on Curaçao,* Drukkerij De Curaçaosche Courant N.V., p. 8:

À Sua Majestade, Rainha dos Países Baixos, e ao Seu Real Consorte[5]*. Aos sereníssimos Príncipes, Seus Filhos. À serenissima Princesa Juliana*[6]*, Sua Mãe. Aos descendentes da Casa Real de Orange-Nassau, aos ilustres Membros do Governo destas terras e aos nobres e veneráveis Senhores, Sua Excelência o Governador destas Ilhas e todos os Magistrados nas mesmas.*

Pero hay más vestigios del portugués entre los judíos sefarditas de Curaçao. Se trata de expresiones que se usan en los ritos, y por lo tanto no incluyen las palabras que coleccionó May Henriquez en sus obras (véase más adelante). Los ejemplos de elementos portugueses que se usan hasta la fecha en la sinagoga neerlando-portuguesa de Curaçao que damos a continuación debemos a Debbie Joubert. Son casi siempre una combinación de hebraico - aunque escrito en letras latinas - y portugués. En las ceremonias actuales se nota también una tendencia a mezclar el español con el portugués, ya que el español es más conocido entre los miembros de la comunidad que el portugués - un idioma no hablado por ninguno de ellos.

(3) En la instalación de la nueva directiva:
Matanát Tzedaká[7] *pela saúde dos Senhores Parnassim salientes e entrantes.*

(4) En el Año Nuevo (Rosh Hashanah) y Yom Kipur:
Matanát Tzedaká para que Deus nos escreva no 'Livro da Vida'.

(5) Para invocar las lluvias:
Matanát Tzedaká para que Deus nos conceda chuva de bençâo.

(6) Para la salud de alguien que ha estado en peligro:
Matanát Tzedaká pela saúde de ..... y para que sua saída seja para bem.

[5] Desde el fallecimiento en 2002 del Príncipe Consorte Claus no se le menciona en este rezo de agradecimiento.
[6] Desde el fallecimiento en 2004 de la Princesa Juliana tampoco a ella se le menciona en este rezo de agradecimiento.
[7] *Matanát Tzedaká* se dice antes de que el rabino anuncie algún mensaje a solicitud de un miembro de la congregación. *Matanát* es palabra hebraica por donación y *tzedaká* es caridad. La razón por usar estas palabras es que la donación que hace el miembro en cuestión en esas ocasiones se destina a algún fin benéfico. El donante espera que la donación redunde en beneficio de la persona u ocasión a quien o a que, según el caso, corresponda el mensaje.

Además, en el *Snoa Bulletin*[8] boletín mensual de la Congregación Unida Neerlando-Portuguesa Mikvé Israel - Emanuel, se leen votos en hebraico y portugués. Por ejemplo, bajo el capítulo de "Socials" (¡el boletín está redactado en inglés!) se lee: *refuah sh'lemah*[9] seguido por una parte en inglés en que se mencionan nombres de miembros o amigos enfermos o convalecientes. De cada nombre se indica si se trata de que esa persona ha sufrido una operación, si ha estado hospitalizada y sea o no ya se le ha dado de alta, o se dice que está recuperando de algún mal, etc. etc. Al final sigue el siguiente deseo (junio de 2004: 2):

(7) *Que Deus lhes conçeda Refuah Shlema e continuen en saude perfeita!*

En la misma página leemos sobre un buen amigo que fue condecorado en el exterior y sigue el siguiente voto:

(8) *Que Deus lhe engrandeça para Seu santo serviço.*

En Salomon (2000) encontramos otros ejemplos de buenos deseos, agradecimientos, felicitaciones, etc. que estilan usar los descendientes de los judíos sefarditas que se establecieron en Amsterdam, procedentes de Portugal. Se trata de deseos similares a los que se estilan en los servicios religiosos de los sefarditas de Curaçao. Por ejemplo:

(9) *Pela saúde do Senhor seu pai, que Deus lhe conceda uma velhice descansada*.
"Para su señor padre, que Dios le conceda una vejez sin preocupaciones."

En la página 53 de dicho libro leemos que los judíos sefarditas de Amsterdam suelen (quizás hay que decir hoy día solían) al saludarse al inicio de la semana deseándose el uno al otro: *Boa semana*! "Buena semana!" Es este exactamente lo que hasta la fecha hacemos en papiamento en el mismo caso, cuando decimos: *Bon siman*! Es difícil imaginarse otro origen que no sea el portugués de dichos sefarditas para esta salutación.

Los niveles diastráticos del papiamento en Curaçao apenas han sido objeto de investigación. Los hablantes perciben intuitivamente que el papiamento en el occidente de la isla (Barber, Westpunt) es una variación del criollo más basilectal que el papiamento que se habla en Willemstad, puesto que los habitantes del oeste de Curaçao son descendientes directos de la población esclava y que apenas hubo mestizaje con otros grupos de la población. Una característica de esta variedad del papiamento es que no se pronuncian las consonantes finales (sobre todo la [s] en la

[8] *Snoa Bulletin*, 12 Sivan-aa Tammuz 5764 / June 2004, Curaçao. En papiamento siempre los sefarditas llamaron *znoa* a su sinagoga, del portugués *esnoga*, que se pronuncia con la [z] sonora inicial. En los últimos años se oye cada vez más la pronunciación [snoa], con la [s] sorda.
[9] Es el deseo en hebreo por una total recuperación.

última sílaba de la palabra (*no* en vez de *nos* "nosotros", *do* en vez de *dos* "dos", *ka* en vez de *kas* "casa", *ka´i mi mama* en vez de *kas di mi mama* "casa de mi mamá"). Se trata en este caso de un fenómeno que hoy día se considera popular, de gente de menor educación y que se va perdiendo cada vez más.
En el habla rápida prácticamente todos los papiamentohablantes eliminan sonidos, en particular la –s final de sílaba de una palabra que figura en una frase fija (*ko'i hunga* en vez de *kos di hunga* "juguete", *band'i nos kas* en vez de *banda di nos kas* "al lado de nuestra casa". Se usa esta habla popular a veces para "chocar" y consecuentemente llamar la atención. En lugar de poner en un letrero *awor tin kos* "ahora hay (muchas) cosas", dice un letrero propagandístico de un negocio: *awó tin ko*.
May Henriquez (1988 y 1991) señaló bastantes diferencias entre la variedad del papiamento de los sefardíes y, por ejemplo, el papiamento de la población de color en Willemstad. Karner (1969: 25) ya indicó que en el siglo XIX la variedad del papiamento sefardí reflejaba gran influencia del latín. Pero, en realidad no se trata de influencia del latín, lo que comprobó May Henriquez. Las dos obras de Henriquez sobre el habla de los sefardíes de Curaçao contienen palabras en papiamento que sobre todo usan los hablantes sefardíes. Su comparación entre el *'papiamentu sefardí'* y el *'papiamentu komun'* ("papiamento común") es especialmente útil (Henriquez, 1988: 97). Ahí se encuentra, entre otros, para el '*papiamentu sefardí' bañu, festehá, fora, poko dia atras* comparado con el *'papiamentu komun' baño, selebrá, fuera, poko dia despues*. Algunas palabras se usa(ba)n prácticamente sólo en el *'papiamentu sefardí'* (*bena, festa, goza, huña, kucharita, kurigí, kustumá, nònchi, skore, strañu* (Henriquez, 1988: 98). Estos escasos ejemplos muestran que la variedad sefardí del papiamento fue más influenciada por el portugués que el '*papiamentu komun'* o que éste fue más influenciado por el español. Diferentes aportes de Henriquez respaldan esta suposición, ya que el gerundio del *'papiamento sefardí'* siempre termina en [u] y no en [o], como *kabandu* y no *kabando*, *atakandu* y no *atakando*, también *komendu* y no *komiendo*, *bebendu* y no *bebiendo*, *kerendu* y no *kreyendo*, también *baindu* y no *bayendo*, *hasindu* y no *hasiendo*, *pidindu* y no *pidiendo*, etc. (compárese Henriquez, 1988: 98).

En un interesante artículo por Florimón van Putte (2003), el autor describe el origen de una rima que hasta la fecha se recita con mucha regularidad en papiamento, haciendo uso de ciertos movimientos con el dedo índice. Con este dedo una persona va tocando uno por uno los dedos de la mano de un bebé o niñito, comenzando con el meñique de éste. Despues de tocar finalmente el pulgar, la persona hace cosquillas con uno o más dedos en la palma de la mano de la criatura y poco a poco sube por el antebrazo, haciendo cosquillas, hasta llegar a la axila del referido brazo. Llegado a la axila, ya la criatura casi no aguanta las cosquillas y, si aún no reía, en todo caso en ese instante sí empezará a reír y quiere retirar el brazo. Desde luego, una vez que una

criatura conoce este juego, a veces ya cuando uno le toca el meñique con el dedo índice y pasa al dedo índice de la criatura, ya ésta quiere retirar el brazo o prepararse para hacerlo en su debido momento. Al hacer dichos movimientos, se dice la siguiente rima:

10) *Dede pikiña*
ku su bisiña.
Mayor di todo,
(…)
Fulambeu
Ta piki su pieu.
Galiña ta buska su webu, su webu, su webu … t'ei bou el a hañ'e.

El autor da la traducción al holandés, que nosotros traducimos al español como sigue, lo más literalmente posible:

"Dedo pequeño
con su vecino.
Mayor de todos,
(…)
Dedo índice
Exprime su piojo.
La gallina busca su huevo, su huevo, su huevo … ahí abajo lo halló."

Desde luego hay variaciones de la referida rima. Personalmente conocemos la siguiente versión. La damos también en papiamento. De las partes que desvían de la rima que ofrece Van Putte damos la correspondiente traducción al español.

11) *Dede pikiña*
ku su bisiña.
Mayor di todo,
Komedó di bolo ("Comedor de tortas")
Ta piki pieu ("Exprime piojo")
E galiña ta buska su webu, ta buska su webu, te aki bou el a hañ'é ("La gallina busca su huevo, busca su huevo, hasta aquí abajo lo halló.")

Quizás la palabra que más resalta en la versión que nos ofrece Van Putte es *fulambeu*. Explica el autor que en el portugués existe para denominar al dedo índice el término *fura bolo* o *fura bolos*, lo que literalmente significa perforar una torta. Según el diccionario de papiamento de Ratzlaff–Henriquez (1992: 84) existen, explica la

autora, en Aruba la palabra *fulabola* y en Bonaire *fulabomba* para denominar al dedo índice y el autor curazoleño Elis Juliana (1988: 77) usó una vez para indicar al dedo índice *fika un bola*, sin que ninguna de estas denominaciones tengan significado en papiamento. Van Putte cita a Frank Elstak (2000: 25) en que el autor habla de *kalamboso* en lugar de *fulambeu* y *a mata un pieu* en lugar de *ta piki su pieu*.
Jeannette Leonora (comunicación personal) nos explica que ella siempre ha usado *karambola* en lugar de *fulambeu*. Lucille Berry-Haseth (comunicación personal) nos explica que ella siempre ha usado *fulambomba*, pues igual a lo que, según Ratzlaff-Henriquez, se usa en Bonaire. Y Sonia Ortela llama en la rima al dedo índice: *kalambeu*, y al llegar al meñique ella dice: *mata un pieu* (mata un piojo) (información personal).
Van Putte encontró la palabra *fulambeu* en el *Diccionário do Folclore Brasileiro* de Luís da Câmara Cascudo (1979) junto con una rima en portugués y que citamos del artículo de Van Putte:

12) *"Dedo mindinho,*
Seu vizinho,
Maior de todos,
Fura-bolo,
Cata-piolho".

Según Van Putte la rima en papiamento vino a estas islas con los judíos sefarditas deportados del Brasil a la terminación de la dominación holandesa de Recife en 1654. Sin duda, en el Brasil los judíos habrán oído estas y otras rimas en portugués, y las aprendieron y las llevaron consigo. Y muy probablemente las niñeras de ascendencia africana (en papiamento denominadas *yayas*) de Curaçao, Aruba y Bonaire oyeron a sus amos judíos cantar estas rimas a sus hijos y los vieron hacer cosquillas, costumbre que dichas *yayas* pasaron a los hijos de sus amos y a sus propios hijos.

3 El portugués de los inmigrantes portugueses

Si los descendientes de los sefardíes ya no hablan portugués, hay que haber otro grupo de la población que sigue hablándolo activamente, puesto que se menciona con cierta frecuencia el portugués como lengua minoritaria de Curaçao. Para realizar el trabajo actual, pudimos entrevistar a diferentes miembros de la *comunidade portuguesa* como por ejemplo dueños de supermercados o de tiendas de comestibles (que en la isla se llaman *toko fruteria*) y de otros tipos de negocios, incluyendo jardineros, vendedores de helados y camareros. La *comunidade portuguesa* de Curaçao tiene unos 4,000 miembros adultos.

No hace muchos años que estos primeros inmigrantes portugueses llegaron a Curaçao. Mientras ya en el siglo XIX se contrataba en el Caribe a trabajadores de Madeira y las Azores para el sector agrario, no fue hasta 1928 que los primeros grupos de portugueses procedentes de dichas islas llegaron a Curaçao. Antes de ese año, parece que habían estado presentes algunos inmigrantes de Madeira en la isla. Su fama de ser trabajadores se difundió rápidamente, de modo que se contrató en Madeira en septiembre de 1929 a 50 portugueses para la industria petrolera de Curaçao, la *Curaçaosche Petroleum Industrie Maatschappij* (C.P.I.M.), que más tarde se convirtió en la *Shell Curaçao N.V.* (Pijnenburg & de Wit, 1984:2). Estos madeirenses, todos ellos varones, fueron alojados en antiguas casas "renovadas", situadas en la cercanía de la refinería, exclusivamente para ellos y ubicadas en campamentos de trabajadores.

Ya en 1938 había 2.563 portugueses empleados en la C.P.I.M. Ellos constituían un 42 % de la totalidad de obreros. Pero en 1939 ya unos 1,000 portugueses habían regresado a Madeira. Una iniciativa para contratar a brasileños fracasó debido a los complicados procesos administrativos. En 1937 unos 250 portugueses fueron trasladados de Venezuela a Curaçao. En 1938 vivían en Suffisant, donde estaba ubicado el campamento de los trabajadores portugueses, unos 2,500 portugueses. En la mayoría de los casos se trataba de trabajadores no especializados provenientes de Madeira. Entre 1944 y 1945 trabajaban en la industria petrolera unos 3,000 portugueses (35 % de los empleados). Los portugueses eran contratados en Madeira por mediadores. La paga que recibían en Curaçao era módica, a consecuencia de lo cual muchos buscaban otro trabajo aparte, por ejemplo como jardineros para sobrevivir y para mandar cuanto pudieran a la familia que había quedado atrás en Madeira.

No fue hasta 1945 que llegaron los primeros portugueses, unas 150 personas, de la Península Ibérica a Curaçao. También llegaron dos barcos con inmigrantes de las Azores. Un artículo en el diario portugués *"Diario de Notícias"* del 23 de noviembre de 1945 describe las pésimas circunstancias en los campamentos, lo que tuvo como consecuencia que dos representantes del gobierno viajaron a Curaçao. En 1947, 157 portugueses tenían habitaciones individuales, 700 vivían en barracas compartidas por entre 2 y 10 personas y había 1,644 portugueses que vivían en barracas que consistían de salas para entre 13 y 85 personas (Pijnenburg y de Wit 1984: 23). Como sólo se contrataba a trabajadores portugueses masculinos para trabajar en la isla, no fue hasta 1945 que llegó la primera mujer portuguesa a Curaçao.

A partir de 1946 disminuye de forma acelerada el número de trabajadores portugueses en la refinería. En 1958 había 1,342 portugueses en la fábrica, tres años después solamente quedaban 281. En abril de 1959 la compañía petrolera modificó su nombre en *Shell Curaçao N.V.*, y debido a la automatización que siguió en 1960 comenzó a reducir drásticamente el personal que no era de nacionalidad holandesa. (Los habitantes de las islas neerlandoantillanas tienen nacionalidad holandesa) (28).

Consecuentemente muchos portugueses abandonaron Curaçao para ir a Venezuela o a Brasil o para regresar a Madeira. En 1970 ya solamente quedaban 10 trabajadores portugueses en la *Shell*. La influencia lingüística de los portugueses en la *Shell* se considera insignificante, ya que este grupo siempre tenía un permiso de permanencia limitada, vivían (en el campamento ya señalado) relativamente apartados de la comunidad curazoleña y después regresaban a su país.

En 1938 llegaron los primeros portugueses que no fueron empleados por la C.P.I.M., sino por el servici de obras públicas de Curaçao, el *Dienst Openbare Werken*. Fueron aproximadamente 150 hombres que trabajaban como barrenderos y en otros oficios de limpieza. La tasa elevada de desempleo en Madeira produjo una demanda continua de oportunidades de trabajo en Curaçao. Pero solamente se otorgaban los permisos de permanencia, si al entrar al país ya los inmigrantes tuvieran patrón local y si tuvieran consigo los 380 florines requeridos para el viaje de regreso a Madeira. Por lo general estas fuerzas laborales empezaron como vendedores de helados (empresas Ritz y Super), jardineros o fueron contratados para trabajo agrícola. Los vendedores de helados portugueses hasta desempeñaban un papel importante en el folclor local, como se plasma en una canción de hace 40 años compuesta por Horacio Hoyer y Walter de Jongh. El famoso cantante curazoleño Rudy Plaate inmortalizó la canción, que se intitula *Tein de tres colores*.

Después de cinco años estos inmigrantes tenían la oportunidad de empadronarse. Aunque en realidad tenían que esperar hasta diez años para obtener la ciudadanía (Pijnenburg y de Wit 1984: 34). Además, solamente los portugueses que renunciaran a su ciudadanía portuguesa y que pudieran demostrar en diferentes entrevistas conocimientos satisfactorios del holandés obtenían la ciudadanía. En 1983 se empadronaron de esta forma entre 500 y 700 portugueses de los 2,700 residentes portugueses en ese momento en la isla. La gran mayoría no quería renunciar a la nacionalidad portuguesa. Los niños nacidos en Curaçao obtenían antes de 1949 automáticamente la nacionalidad holandesa. A partir de diciembre de 1972 era decisiva la nacionalidad del padre.

En 1983 Pijnenburg y De Wit fueron informados por el cónsul portugués Ribeiro que un 5% de los portugueses seguían siendo vendedores de helado, el 10% eran trabajadores en el sector agrario, el 20 % empleados en otros sectores, el 10 % autónomos en el sector agrario y el 55% autónomos en otros sectores. Los portugueses son especialmente orgullosos de este último sector, porque lograron crear su propia base de existencia a través de sus ahorros y porque hoy en día son por ejemplo dueños de los mayores supermercados de Curaçao. Ellos no solamente se reúnen en su propio club (Centro Recreativo Português) con sus propios grupos de danza (el Grupo Folclórico Madeirense y el Grupo Folclórico Luso-Antillano), sino que también hay una iglesia católica (en Suffisant) a cuya construcción mayormente los portugueses han aportado. Existen 4 estaciones de radio que transmiten con regularidad también en

portugués: Radio Tropical (los domingos de 9:00 a 11:00 hrs.), Radio Kòrsou FM (los miércoles de 18:00 a 19:00 hrs. y los domingos de 11:00 a 13:00 hrs.), Radio Geminis (diariamente de 18:00 y 19:00 hrs. y de lunes a viernes de 18:00 y 19:00 hrs. y los sábados de 9:00 a 11:00 hrs.) y Radio Caribe (los domingos de 11:00 a 13:00 hrs). Hasta ahora no se ha podido fundar una escuela portuguesa.

¿Cómo han evolucionado las prácticas lingüísticas de los portugueses? Cuando los inmigrantes de habla inglesa o española llegaron a Curaçao podían seguir hablando su lengua materna, contrario a los hablantes del criollo de Haití o del portugués, quienes tenían que aprender rápidamente el papiamento, ya que los hablantes de los demás idiomas no los entendían. Para un hablante del papiamento la semántica del español es casi 100 % transparente y la fonética no causa problema. Además, se reciben múltiples transmisiones de radio y televisión en español y miles de personas de habla española residen permanentemente en Curaçao, tanto de forma legal como ilegal. El inglés se ha difundido en gran manera y se usa como tercer o cuarto idioma en la isla.

Para los hablantes de papiamento, el idioma portugués no fue inteligible fonéticamente, y por eso tampoco se produjo la transparencia semántica. De todas maneras, al poco tiempo los portugueses normalmente ya se defendían en papiamento. Cabe observar además que – sin ningún motivo evidente - existía cierto desprecio entre la mayoría de los curazoleños para los portugueses. ¿Será porque ellos eran muy trabajadores y les quitaban el trabajo a algunos curazoleños o estarían envidiosos los curazoleños por estos hombres tan trabajadores? ¿Será porque los portugueses vivían totalmente separados de los demás habitantes? ¿Será porque al curazoleño, que estaba acostumbrado a oír el español, el portugués le parecía un idioma un poco raro, como un español mal pronunciado? De seguro que no hay sólo un motivo para aclarar este fenómeno. Una expresión usada por aquel entonces por los curazoleños, hasta por los niños de quienes de seguro muchos no sabían qué decían, era *portuguese no presta* (pronunciado con acento portugués), con el significado de que los portugueses no valen nada. El origen de esta expresión ofensiva es desconocido. En todo caso no concuerda en absoluto con la realidad.

Para adaptarse cuanto antes a esta su segunda “patria”, los conocimientos de la lengua portuguesa entre los inmigrantes portugueses y definitivamente entre sus hijos y nietos disminuyeron considerable y rápidamente. En diferentes conversaciones con habitantes de ascendencia portuguesa, nos dimos cuenta de que su “portugués” casi siempre consistía en una mezcla de papiamento y portugués. En casi todos los matrimonios mixtos se dejaba el portugués a un lado para adoptar el otro idioma. El portugués ya solamente se habla en la intimidad de los hogares donde tanto el padre como la madre hablan portugués.

4 Conclusión

Para concluir se puede hacer resaltar, que muy probablemente hubo tres fuentes diferentes de influencia portuguesa en Curaçao. Lo que resulta lo más difícil de comprobar son los conocimientos lingüísticos afroportugueses de los cautivos africanos. Pero estos conocimientos no pueden ser descartados. El portugués de los sefardíes ya comenzó a disminuir en el siglo XIX y solamente sobrevivió dentro de los rituales religiosos del culto de la comunidad judía y en las expresiones y palabras tal como las que estudió May Henriquez (1988). El portugués de los inmigrantes – en especial de Madeira – se sigue usando entre ellos y sus descendientes, aunque el uso del portugués y el dominio de esta lengua han venido disminuyendo bajo la gran presión del idioma nacional, el papiamento, y el hecho de tener que adaptarse rápidamente a éste.

Si uno intenta hablar portugués lentamente a los hablantes del papiamento, usando preferiblemente la pronunciación brasileña, se puede hacer entender, no tanto por los conocimientos lingüísticos de los oyentes, sino más bien por la transparencia semántica, aunque, sin duda, también influye la larga tradición de oír dicha lengua sea hablada entre los inmigrantes portugueses y sus descendientes, sea en los últimos años en las transmisiones de radio.

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AND GUENE IS… WELL, WHAT EXACTLY?

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1 Introduction

Although Papiamentu has received much attention for over a century, the relics of other Afro-Portuguese creoles that were once spoken on the islands of Curaçao and Bonaire have been completely overlooked by (creole) linguists. In his review of my Amsterdam 1996 dissertation entitled *The kiss of a slave,* Derek Bickerton (1999) shows himself rather perplexed by the existence of Guene:

> And Guene is... well, what exactly? According to Martinus, the relic of an earlier variety of Lesser Antillean Creole that reveals its roots far more clearly than does its descendant, Papiamentu. But since supporting citations are limited to (mostly) fragmentary songs, riddles, proverbs, and isolated words cropping up in what is otherwise standard Papiamentu, it is not so easy to classify.

The crux of the matter here is not whether or not I did a good job in presenting the data in such a way that Guene can be classified, but why during more than a century of Papiamentu study, no other linguist has paid serious attention to the classification of Guene. The answer may well have to do with the lack of acceptance of The Afro-Portuguese Creole theory as a coherent framework for both the genesis of Papiamentu and the decoding of Guene. In this presentation I'll try to throw some more light on that link.

To begin with, the term Guene stands for three related notions. First: A secret language that a particular group of slaves used to speak and understand. Second: The slaves who spoke that language. It is said that they were of small stature, very black, could fly and understand the language of animals. Third: A collection of songs, rhymes, expressions, puns and words that have been passed on from generation to generation on the islands of Curaçao and Bonaire and that is considered to be the legacy of the Guene-speaking people. Its other names are: 1) *kantá makamba:* 2) *kantika di Luango;* and 3) *kantika di makamba.* The Kimbundu word *makamba* [plural marker *ma* + *kamba* 'friend'] means friends. The meaning passed to Dutchmen during

the years between 1641 and 1648 when the Dutch were chasing the Portuguese from Luanda and had signed a treaty with the queen of Angola.

2 A collection of pidgin/creole varieties

In this work, I'll mainly be concerned with the first meaning of Guene: The languages of certain groups that were spoken on Curaçao and Bonaire alongside Papiamentu until around the middle of the 20th century. Profound study of the Guene material shows a collection of Afro-Portuguese Creole varieties, including:

1. Cape Verdean varieties
2. A Guiné-Bissau variety
3. An A Mina variety
4. An Angolan/Congolese/Gulf Creole variety
5. Mixed varieties

This diversity seems to correspond with the observation of J. Hartog (1961: 433) that 'there existed at a certain point four different dialects of Guene in keeping with the four biggest plantations: Lagun, Knip, Portomari and Savonet'.

2.1 Cape Verdean varieties

Because of the close phonological and morphological links between Papiamentu and Cape Verdean Creole, Cape Verdean Creole forms stand out as different from Papiamentu only when their meaning is not transparent.
This is clearly the case in the following song. The T + number code assigned to the song below and elsewhere indicates the number of the corresponding recording in the Guene collection (Zikinza, 1974):

(1) Song T1223

Kaya bati
street IMP hit

kamisera
shirtmaker

pa ***chincha*** *n kome*
for tidbit I eat

lomb'i ***zera***
back of zera

*ku **chincha** kome*
if [I] tidbit eat

*lomb'i **zera***
back of zera

***zera** ta tira un*
zera ASP make a

sueltu mortal
luck/jump deadly'

The song is unintelligible to present day Papiamentu speakers only because of the unfamiliarity of the three words: *kamisera, chincha* and *zera*. The owner of a tailor shop sends an assistant out to buy him something to eat, preferably a piece of bonito and does this with a well-balanced, funny rhyme. The word **kamisera** will be vaguely recognizable in Papiamentu as 'having something to do with shirt' but not necessarily with the meaning of 'shirtmaker' from Portuguese (PORT) < **camiseira**. Papiamentu has **chincha** in the expression

(2) ***chinchan** kos [e ta rabia]*
'any little thing [he gets angry]'
'For any little thing [he gets angry]'

Both the Papiamentu and Guene forms can be traced back to Portuguese *chicha* 'tidbit, small thing'. *zera* is from Portuguese *serra* 'a type of bonito' (Sarda Sarda). The intriguing thing is that Papiamentu *sueltu* 'luck, jump' takes over the place of *salto*. Once these meanings have been clarified, the text could read either as Old Papiamentu or as a Cape Verdean Creole variety.
The poet must have been familiar with the fact that bonitos travel in big leaping schools, for the whole poem hinges around the final fatal leap of the *serra*. He must also have had a more than average education, for not only is he familiar with Spanish *salto mortale*, he gives it a more cynical and dramatic turn by changing *salto* 'leap' into Papiamentu *sueltu*, which means 'luck, destiny' besides 'jump'. The *serra* meets with 'a deadly destiny' in addition to 'a deadly jump'.

2.2 Guiné-Bissau variety

The singer's comment on the following song explains it as a welcome song at a harvest festival, sung to greet the **earth** and the people organizing the festival.

(3) Song T781:
ngan malé chucha
[His] Highness Malé IMP sip

chucha djorowe

IMP sip syrup

ngan male chucha
His Highness Malé sip

chucha djorowe
sip syrup

ngan male chucha
His Highness Malé sip

djorowe
syrup

djorowe
syrup

chucha me djorowe
sip self [= really] syrup

In the first line we encounter *ngan malé*, 'a Muslim dignitary'. Because of the religious connotation involved in 'greeting the earth' the invitation to the *ngan male* to take some syrup, seems to stand for a form of libation in honor of a Male divinity (= Muslim) or ancestor as in the religious customs observed to date in Suriname (Wooding, 1972: 220-225).
The only real sound change that has taken place is /b/ > /w/ in *djorowe* <***** *djorobe* < PORT *xarope*, *xarob* 'syrup' < Arabic *sharáb* 'drink' (Ferreira, 1986: 1796). Compare Papiamentu (PAP) *shalup* 'a sticky white drink'. *chucha* < PORT *chuchar* 'suck, sip', synonym of PORT *chupar* and PAP *chupa***.**

A very telling feature for the origin of the next song is the presence in it of the intensifier *kankan* of Guiné-Bissau Creole 'hard, big, entirely ,etc' which is also found in Papiamentu and Sranan:

(4) Song T1230 (*=reconstructed form in Guiné-Bissau Creole):

simokan kankan
** esmoká kankan*
broken completely

ah simokan plero
**esmoká pleno*
broken fully

simokan kankan
**esmoká kankan*
broken completely

m'a kome napa wermu
**m'a kome napa werme*
I ate poisoned turnips

simokan < *simoká* with nasalization of the final vowel, possibly under influence of *kankan* is the adjectival participle of the PORT verb *esmocar* 'beat, thresh, spank etc' with epenthesis to break up the initial cluster.

A renowned song from the group of Cape Verdean varieties is *kaiman djuku*, with its many variants, of which the first two lines are fully Cape Verdean.

(5) Song (*=reconstructed form in Cape Verdean Creole):

kaiman djuku,
**ka e mas djugo*
not is more yoke not is more submission

djuku kaiman
*djugo ka e mas
yoke not is more submission not is more

Ultimately *djuku* goes back (via *djugo***)** to PORT *jugo* 'yoke, submission: **slavery'***!*

2.3 A Mina variety

Although there are no known written texts in the A Mina Creole, there is fortunately enough information to attest its existence and form an opinion about its grammatical nature, including the following:

a) There exists a vocabulary list at the end of the travelogue of Pieter de Marees of 1602 (Marees, 1912);

b) The report of Wilhelm Johann Müller in *Die Africanische auf der Guineischen Gold-Cust gelegene Landschafft Fetu* published in 1673. (Müller, 1968) contains six short Portuguese Creole sentences and words of Portuguese origin;

c) There is an eighteenth century testimony by the Dutchman, J.P. Th. Huydecoper (1760) on the existence of the A Mina Creole. It is especially in his capacity as a slave trader and a judge that he had to deal with language problems. He refers to the A Mina pidgin/Creole in a letter as 'a broken and corrupt Portuguese'.

d) Creole formulas are to be found in the prayer-book of the Preacher Johannes Capiteyn (1743).

Johannes Capiteyn was a unique man. He studied in Leiden and was the first former slave that managed to become a preacher in the Dutch Reformed Church of Calvin (Van Dantzig 1968:114-115). He translated the Lord's Prayer, The Declaration of Faith and the Ten Commandments into Twi. He uses Dutch and Portuguese based pidgin/Creole in these translations. Some examples from Capiteyn (1743) are found below.

(6) In The Lord's prayer (8):

Dieekjeree wojen essur onne ***adaede***
'Thy will be done in heaven and on **earth.**'

Adaede < DU *aarde* 'earth'. In Müller's list this form appears as *arádde***.** The form used by Capiteyn shows consonant assimilation and vowel epenthesis.

(7) In the Creed (10):

Mi vía Jancómpon *Adja Panniin obbóade essur onne* ***adaede***
'I believe in the God the Father, the almighty Creator of heaven and earth.'

*ian cómpon***;** Almighty Creator', is also in Müller's list. The first part *ian* is from Twi *onyame* 'God'. The second part is derived from Portuguese *compor* 'to compose,

arrange, put together, invent, create etc.' Because the Dutch historian, Vrijman, overlooked the Portuguese influence in A Mina completely (Vrijman, 1937: 58) he jumped to the conclusion that *ian cómpon* meant *Jan Companie* 'John, the (West Indian) Company'!
The most telling item in the translation of *The Creed* is *mivía* = *mi vía* 'I believe'. The pronoun *me/mi* could come either from Twi or Portuguese but the verb *vía* is pdigin/Creole Portuguese *fiar* 'to rely, trust, confide in'. It exists in Papiamentu with the meaning 'to lend' and in Guene as 'to trust'. As 'I believe' is the basis of the creed, the creole phrase *mi vía* is repeated throughout the twelve articles.
Another song that contains elements from the A Mina variety is the following.

(8) Song T1279:

toma toma
IMP Take IMP take

toma
IMP Take

non bòshi mi
NEG overfill me

***pakus** di*
[The] **ware-house** said

toma
IMP Take

m'a toma
I PFT take

non bòshi mi
NEG overfill me

*pena **koko***
feather [of] hen

*vipe **koko** eh*
child [of] **hen**'

This song is also treated in Martinus (1996a & 1996b). A word of importance in the text is **pakus** 'ware house'. It exists in Papiamentu as **pakus '**shop' and in modern Twi as **pakusu** 'closet'. We know that Dutch /u/ was diphtongized to **ui** after the middle of the 17th century (Martinus 1998b). This is confirmed by the appearance of

oi for that sound in Sranan as in *kumakoisi* < Dutch *gemakhuisje* 'toilet'. So, Papiamentu and Guene *pakus* and Guene *koko* 'hen' (also on Muller's list) were probably introduced into these languages from the A Mina pidgin/Creole by the first slaves to arrive from Mina around 1640.

A very frequent feature of this pidgin/Creole is the postpositioned plural marker *-ina*, present on Müller's list in the combination *koko ovina* **'**chicken eggs'. The plural is created by replacing the last vowel of the singular noun with *-ina***.** In this way Portuguese *ovo* 'egg' is transformed into plural *ovina***.** This plural marker, with its variant *-ini* is one of the most prominent features of Guene morphology, as illustrated in Table 1 below. It is also probably the origin of the Papiamentu plural marker *nan*.

Table 1 *A. MINA plurals with -ina, -ini*

Guene	Meaning	Source	Singular
djamantina	'diamonds'	PAP	*djamante*
mi gelina	'loved ones'	Guene	*geli*
gobina	'containers, ivory'	Twi	*gobi*
matutina	'fieldworkers'	BrazilianPORT	*matuto*
mochina	'hornless sheep'	PORT	*mocho*
wemina	'men'	pidgin/Creole *ueme* < PORT *ome* 'man'	
wevini	'eggs'	pidgin/Creole *uevi* < PORT *ovo* 'egg'	
sabini	'inhabitants of Sabbee' Twi	*Sabbee*	

2.4 Angolan/Congolese/Gulf Creole variety

The following song exemplifies the Angolan/Congolese variety of Guene.

(9) Song T56:

*azi ma **wedje***
say, mother **wedje**

*ta palabra di **zòme***
is word of men

ta ki e palabra ei ta?
is what word that is

*ta palabr'e **zòme***
is a word of men

*ta palabr'e **zòme**nan*
is a word of men.'

azi < creole interjection *adi* ‘say’ with /z/ < /d/; *ma* ‘mother’ < PORT *mai* (also Papiamentu ‘but’). *wedje* < PORT *beijo***,** Cape Verdean Creole **(**CV) *beshe* ‘beautiful’ with /b/ > /w/’. *zòme /zome /djome* ‘man’, original plural < PORT *os homens* ‘men’.

2.5 Mixed varieties

(10) Song T973:

laga boso mi ta wai wai [laga boso mi ta bai bai]
leave you all i go go

m’a domele
I PFT tame him / her

maye **koko**
mother **hen**

mundu paloma
[the] person [is a] dove

paloma e
dove eh

This text refers to the (strained) relationship of mother in law and daughter in law. The mix consists of the presence of Twi derived *koko* ‘hen’ Kimbundu derived *mundu* < *muntu* ‘human being’ with /nd/ < /nt/, which is a typical development for Portuguese words that pass into Kimbundu.

2.6 Afro-Portuguese relics in other creoles and European languages

Elsewhere (Martinus, 1998; 2003) I discuss the occurrence of Afro-Portuguese forms in Dutch and English nursery rhymes. A frequent item there is the front positioned plural marker ***ine*** in Dutch (written <***iene***> which corresponds to English <***eenie***>. Below I list only the first lines of these songs with a probable Sao Tomé Creole derivation.

(11a) Dutch children’s song (*=reconstructed form in Sao Tomé Creole):

iene *martiene mar tip*
**** ine*** *martine mar teb*
hammers the sea had

iene miene *mutte*
****ine mine*** *mute*
girls many

iene miene *melle*
****ine mine*** *mele*
girls sweet

iene miene *marko*
****ine mine*** *marko*
(the) **boys** I point

(11b) English children's song (*=reconstructed form in Sao Tomé Creole):

eenie meene *maine mo*
****ine mine*** *maine* ***mo***

children, the hand calm ('Children, calm down.')

There are many other instances of the survival of undecoded relics of Afro-Portuguese pidgins/Creoles both in Caribbean Creoles and in European languages (Martinus, 1996). Here I want to focus only on one widely absorbed item in European languages, namely the word 'fetish'. Invariably it is derived from Portuguese *feitiço* 'artificial charm' and always Latin *facticius* is referred to as its ultimate source. Mostly the meaning is given as having to do with 'inanimate object worshipped by savages', or (more) explicitly African indigenous peoples. In not one case though is an effort made to give any kind of explanation for this derivation**.**

In reality, the linguistic event involved here is perhaps the most characterizing feature in the shift of Portuguese to Afro-Portuguese Creole: the reduction of the Portuguese diphthong /ei/ to /e/ and /i/ in creole languages. It is comparable to some of the emblematic sound changes that we find in Indo-Germanic Languages. I therefore refer to it as *the Common Creole Connection* since it is a distinguishing trait of all Portuguese creoles, including the Pacific ones. The next table shows the shift for Cape Verdean, Papiamentu and Guene.

Table 2 Portuguese /ei/ > Creole /e/ and /i/ in Cape Verdean, Saramaccan, Papiamentu, and Guene

Portuguese	Cape Verdean	Saramaccan	Papiamentu	Guene	Meaning
azeite	*azete*		*zeta*		'oil'
azeta/zeta					
beijo	*beshe*				'kiss'
carreira	*karera*		*kareda*	'race'	
deixar	*dexa/ deixa*	*disa*	*desha*		'leave/ let' down
feitiçio fitise				'fetish'	
feitor	*fitó(r)/vitó*			*weto*	'(land) supervisor'
feitura				*wetula*	'fabric, knot'
inteiro	*inter*	*telu*	*(h)inté*		'whole'
jeito	*zjeto/e*	*zjeitu*			'manner'
	zjètu	*zjetu*		*djèkto*	
manteiga	*manteka*	*manteka*			'butter'
parceiro	*parser*				'partner, similar'
peixe	*peshe*		*pishi-(porko)*		'fish'
qeimar	*kema*	*chuma*	*kima?*		'to burn'
chima	*chima*				
			chimi-chimi		'burning plant'
teimar	*teme*	*teme*	*teme*		'to nag'
			teima		

The examples in Table 3 are from the pidgin/Creoles spoken in Djakarta and Ambon (França, 1970).

Table 3 *Portuguese /ei/ > Creole /e/ and /i/ in Djakarta and Ambon pidgin/Creole*

Portuguese	Djakarta & Ambon Creoles	Meaning
beiço	*besu*	'lip'
areia	*aria*	'sand'
cadeira	*kadera*	'chair'

From the Portuguese words officially accepted in Bahasa Indonesia we find the following Portuguese derived words with diphthong reduction.

Table 4 *Portuguese /ei/ > Creole /e/ and /i/ in Bahasa (Grijns, De Vries & Santa Maria, 1983)*

Portuguese	Bahasa	Meaning
manteiga	*mentega*	'butter'
leilão	*lelang*	'auction'
parceiro	*persero*	'partner'
feitor	*petor*	'commissioner'
meirinho	*merinyu*	'bailiff'

What is most diagnostically useful in this shift from a historical point of view is the fact that it is limited to a certain period without continuing on or repeating itself later, so that /ei/ persists in present day Papiamentu both in words derived from Dutch /i/ and /ui/ as well as in words derived from Portuguese at a later stage, such as: *zjeitu*, 'spirited'; *teima*, 'to quarrel'; *mishirikeira*, 'quick to touch'; *chismeira*, 'meddlesome person'; *mei*, 'half' and *bañadeira*, 'caretaker of the ritual bathhouse'. Most of these forms are mentioned by May Henriquez (1988) as being of Sephardic origin. They therefore came into Papiamentu at least three decades after the reduction of /ei/ had run its course.

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INSTITUTO PEDAGOGICO ARUBANO AND THE PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN ARUBA

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1 The historical context of educational reform in Aruba

Over the past few years, the people of Aruba made some very significant decisions with regard to educational reforms. In the changes under discussion the national language, Papiamento, plays a key role.
The proposed educational reforms in Aruba are by any standard very ambitious, and are the product of the combined effort, over many years, of organizations, commissions and working groups who have formed networks to share ideas, experiences, and praxis. Because Aruba is a small island we have been obliged to join forces, making use of the professionalism and experiences of each and everyone. At present, Aruba lacks an institutionalized body that can take charge of language planning, policy, and training to guide the implementation of the proposed reforms. Hopefully in the near future there will be a change for the better in this respect.

From the 1970's onwards, many studies have been done which have supplied us with sufficient data to help us in our search for solutions to the problems in our educational system. Formal education in Aruba has been beset by a number of very serious problems, including high rates of desertion, failure and repetition of classes, rote learning devoid of meaning, and a subject matter-centered rather than a child-centered approach. It is therefore no surprise that the general level of education of about 70% of our population is low, and as a result, Aruba suffers from a chronic need to attract highly qualified people from abroad to do the jobs that our own people do not have the educational qualifications and training to do.
Most studies identify Aruba's educational language policy as one of the main causes of these problems. In the current educational system, Dutch, which is a foreign language for the overwhelming majority of the population, is used as the sole language of instruction and initial literacy, whereas Papiamento, the mother tongue of most Arubans, is practically absent from the classroom. Moreover very little attention is paid to the culture of the pupils themselves. In the 1990s, more and more people on

the island began to accept both that Papiamento needed to play a more important role in education and that the way Dutch, English and Spanish are taught in the classroom needed serious rethinking.

In fact, Papiamento has been the language of instruction for many years in kindergarten and special education classes. For the last decade it has also become a language of instruction at certain levels of vocational education. The position of Papiamento in the educational system became stronger when the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano (IPA) introduced courses for Papiamento teachers. Three groups of teachers took these courses and completed their studies in the 1990s, and several of them have been working in the Enseñansa Profesional Basico (EPB or lower vocational) schools, where Papiamento has become the language of instruction and is also taught as a subject.

Since then, many things have been achieved, including the following:

May 2003: Papiamento became the official language of Aruba.

August 2004: Papiamento became part of the curriculum of general secondary education.

School year 2004-2005: Formal in-service training began for kindergarten and primary school teachers.

February 2005: The first group of teachers of Papiamento graduated from the IPA with the equivalent of a bachelor's (BA or Bed) degree.

School year 2006: A bachelor's (BA) programme in Papiamento was initiated.

August 2008: Pilot classes in Papiamento will begin in selected primary schools.

2 Education reform: New challenges for Instituto Pedagogico Arubano

On the basis of the report of the 'Grupo di Trabao Papiamento' (1987) and the report of the 'Stuurgroep Herstructurering Onderwijs' (1988), in 1995 the 'Proyecto di Innovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico' (PRIEPEB) was initiated. The main task of PRIEPEB has been to design a new primary school system for Aruba. One of their first publications was the 'Plan Strategico 1997 – 2006' which offered recommendations for changes and improvement of primary education. Several of these recommendations are now being implemented, while the implementation of others is in the preparation phase.

The 'Plan Strategico' gave rise to the 'Grupo Modelo', which formulated its vision on language in education in the report, entitled 'Habri porta pa nos drenta' (2002). Based upon this vision and the ideas formulated in another report, entitled 'Vision y structura di curiculo nacional', a new language curriculum was formulated for primary education on Aruba.

This new vision on language in education has thus engendered a new model of language instruction, which includes the following elements:

- Papiamento will be the language of instruction and initial literacy in the new primary schools, so that all subjects will be taught in Papiamento, which is the mother tongue of the majority of the pupils.
- Papiamento will also be taught as a subject, with the objective of improving the language skills of the pupils, both at the level of daily communication as well as at the academic level.
- Because Aruba is a multilingual community, in the two years of Kindergarten as well as in Basic School Grades 1 and 2 (the 'first cycle' of primary education in Aruba) Dutch, English and Spanish will also be taught with a focus on audial comprehension and oral expression skills.
- Reading and writing skills in Dutch, English, and Spanish will be taught in Basic school Grades 3, 4, 5, and 6 (the 'second cycle' of primary education in Aruba)
- The entire curriculum will be revamped to incorporate a content-based approach, where the teaching of language skills will be integrated into the teaching of all of the other subject areas (mathematics, sciences, etc.) This will enable the pupils to learn how to acquire knowledge in any one of the languages mentioned above, thus preparing them for secondary education.

This multilingual model is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 *Multilingual model for primary education in Aruba Modelo multilingual pa EPA - "Habri porta pa nos drenta", 2002*

Edad /Age	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Grupo	1 K1	2 K2	3 Gr1	4 Gr2	5 Gr3	6 Gr4	7 Gr5	8 Gr6
	Ciclo 1				Ciclo 2			
Papiamento IM	Idioma di instruccion y instruccion sistematico + ABC							
Papiamento I2	Familiarisacion Instruccion sistematico + ABC							
IS # 1	Familiarisacion				Instruccion sistematico + ABC			
IS # 2	Familiarisacion					Instruccion sistematico + ABC		
IS # 3	Familiarisacion						Instruccion sistematico + ABC	
Otro IM	Atencion pa e otro IM pa medio di diferenciacion							

(IM= mother tongue, I2= second language, IS= foreign language, ABC=Acercamento Basa riba Contenido=Content Based Approach)

So the new primary school teacher must be highly competent in the use of Papiamento as the language of instruction in all subject areas and in the teaching of Papiamento language skills through these other subjects. Teachers will need adequate levels of competence in Dutch, English, and/or Spanish to teach language skills in these languages using a content-based approach as well. All of this will require teachers to master the theories and methodologies of first, second, and foreign language teaching.

Additionally, the new primary schools will incorporate other innovative features, including the following:

- a new vision of the child as a member of the community
- a new focus on the various dimensions of human development
  a new attempt to integrate the teaching of all eight subject matter areas by embedding transversal connections throughout the curriculum
- a new foundation in caring and affectionate schooling (‘Scol di cuido y cariño’)

Crucial to the success of the whole reform process will be active monitoring and evaluation. It is of the utmost importance to critically examine and evaluate every step of the process, in order to make timely adjustments and/or corrections.

The Ministry of Education has given its approval for the implementation of a pilot project that incorporates these innovations in the first cycle and part of the second cycle of primary education (Grades K1, K2, Gr1, Gr2, Gr3 and Gr4). One crucial test of the success of the program will be whether the students in the pilot classes are able to obtain similar or higher levels of proficiency in Dutch than students in non-pilot classes. .

A master plan for the implementation of the new primary school is being worked on by PRIEPEB, after which the passage of the appropriate legislation will take place.

According to the current plan, the implementation of the pilot classes will start in 2008. In view of the considerable amount of preparation that needs to be done before then, meeting this goal will be a major challenge.

We are, for example, still working very hard on a comprehensive educational reform plan. Educational reforms in Aruba have taken place in a haphazard fashion, in bits and pieces. Serious efforts are currently being made by the Department of Education and the various stakeholders to fit these pieces back together. Additionally, Instituto Pedagogico Arubano faces the challenging task of preparing new teachers and upgrading all currently practicing teachers to implement the reform.

The core teaching staff at IPA are on the whole very optimistic and resilient and they have started preparing to meet these challenges head-on. IPA has a complex set of

tasks to perform in relation to the reform process, including: 1) preparing new teachers for primary as well as, to a lesser degree, for secondary education, who will be able to function both in the existing system as well as in the new system; 2) upgrading the skills of currently practicing teachers to equip them with the new skills required by the reform; 3) fostering the ongoing involvement of IPA staffmembers as active participants in reform commissions and workgroups.
The reforms at the primary school level mean that IPA will have to change from a training college which prepares teachers for the traditional system with Dutch as the language of instruction, to an institution which prepares teachers for an innovative system with Papiamento as the language of instruction. This will be the first fundamental reform since the inception of formal primary education on Aruba some one hundred years ago. As such, it is a historical process which will in time hopefully contribute to freeing our community from the negative heritage of colonialism and lead to a higher sense of self-worth and self-esteem, which are essential elements of true development. We see this process as a change for the better, but we also recognize that it will involve many difficult challenges.

3 IPA and the role of Papiamento in the reform process

For years IPA has offered Papiamento courses for secondary level teachers. Now the complete curriculum for future primary schools teachers has to be revamped to include Papiamento as a central element. It is clear that without fundamental changes in all aspects of IPA's work, innovation in primary education will remain an illusive goal in Aruba.

Among the most important challenges faced by IPA in the reform process in relation to the adoption of Papiamento as the language of instruction and of initial literacy at the primary level are the following:; 1) designing new strategies for the teaching of the language arts; 2) formulating a new curriculum for the teaching of Papiamento; 3) devising new curricula for the teaching of Dutch, English, and Spanish; 4) developing new curricula for the teaching of the other subject areas; and 5) establishing programs for the training of teachers to implement the new curricula and strategies,

3.1 Designing new strategies for teaching the language arts

First and foremost there must be a national policy regarding language education, with a corresponding language policy at the level of the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano.

Once the standards to which all stakeholders must adhere have thus been clarified and collectivized, the institute can design new strategies for the teaching of the language arts that address specific areas, such as the languages of instruction, the languages that are part of the curriculum, the levels of competency to be obtained by teachers and pupils at the primary and secondary levels, the use of languages outside the classroom, etc. These new strategies must include the following elements: 1) The motivation for the choice of languages must be clear; 2) Good language practices must be generally accepted, especially for the use of Papiamento; 3) Respect for foreign languages and varieties thereof must be promoted; and 4) Knowledge of and respect for Aruban culture are essential.

IPA has come to some preliminary conclusions with regard to its involvement in implementing the new language policies which include but are not limited to the following:

1) Teachers will have to be prepared to teach all subject matters in Papiamento, consequently all IPA teachers must have a good command of the language and knowledge of the local culture.
2) The situation being as it is, local Aruban teachers must acquire a higher level of proficiency in Papiamento by means of courses that IPA will offer in the future. Foreign teachers will also be offered courses in Papiamento to gain an acceptable level of proficiency in the language.
3) As Dutch will eventually become the second language of instruction and Papiamento, Dutch, English and Spanish will become an integral part of the programs of primary and secondary education, IPA teachers and students must attain an acceptable level of proficiency of all four languages.
4) In the future all students enrolling in IPA will have to master Papiamento at a native speaker level and in order to graduate they must obtain a cognitive competence in the language.
5) All teaching materials must be made available in Papiamento. In order to ensure uniformity, the development of new materials in Papiamento as well as the translation of existing Dutch materials will be done in close cooperation with the corpus planning section of the Department of Education.

3.2 Formulating a new curriculum for teaching Papiamento

Currently Papiamento has the status of a support language in the sense that instruction is given in Dutch and Papiamento is used to explain and to clarify concepts that pupils find difficult to grasp in Dutch. In the four year program of teacher training at IPA, a

total of six Papiamento modules have been designed and made part of the curent curriculum: two modules dedicated entirely to developing prospective teachers' proficiency in Papiamento and four other modules designed to increase both their proficiency and their ability to teach in Papiamento. Over the past few years IPA has utilized its small but extremely committed language department staff to transform Dutch modules into more general language modules.
In the future, additional modules will need to be developed for IPA students, including more modules designed to increse students' proficiency in Papiamento, modules on the theory and practice of first, second, and foreign language pedagogies, modules on the content-based approach to teaching and learning, modules on the use of Papiamento for the teaching of other subject areas, and modules on the development of course materials in Papiamento.

3.3 Devising new curricula for teaching Dutch, English, and Spanish

All of the proposed changes involving Papiamento have an effect on the relation between all of the languages taught at IPA. As Dutch, English and Spanish will be part of the curriculum of the new primary school, and as for the foreseeable future Dutch will remain the language of instruction in general secondary education, a curriculum must be developed at IPA, that will take into account the position of these languages in the community and in the reformed education system. We are still struggling to answer such questions as:

How do we ensure that both currently practicing teachers as well as future teachers acquire a level of proficiency in Dutch, English and Spanish that is sufficient for them to learn in them and teach in them? Should we allow the current and future teachers to specialize in just one of the languages or will they all have to be evenly proficient in all three? If specialization in one language is an option, who selects the language of specialization, the current or prospective teachers according to their preference, or the IPA according to the needs identified by educational authorities in particular schools?

3.4 Developing new curricula for teaching the other subject areas

In order to ensure the design of coherent curricula and the development of sufficient quantities of high quality course materials for non-language subjects in Papiamento, we propose a joint venture between the language department, working groups in the specific subject areas, and the corpus planning section of the Department of Education.

3.5 Establishing programs for the training of teachers to implement the new curricula and strategies

An important task for IPA is to train or retrain its students and staff as well as the whole corps of currently practicing teachers on a continuous basis, in order to guarantee sustained progress and quality in the implementation of the reforms. Therefore IPA and the Department of Education are in the process of designing a comprehensive long term plan for training all primary school teachers to use Papiamento effectively as a language of instruction and initial literacy.

We prefer to think of our task in this area as one of training rather than of retraining, for the following reasons:

- Primary school teachers, with the exception of special education teachers, have little or no experience with using Papiamento as a language of instruction or with teaching Papiamento as a subject.
- Primary school teachers' proficiency in Papiamento is mediocre at best, as they have been trained to teach in Dutch, and their mastery of Papiamento has suffered as a consequence. We also have to bear in mind that most have never had the opportunity to develop an academic competence in Papiamento, with many believing that this cannot in fact be done.
- Many primary school teachers cannot envision teaching in Papiamento, instead of in Dutch.
- The pedagogical approaches currently in use in Aruban primary schools are outdated. For example, the present curriculum is subject matter-centered rather than child-centered.
- The current system has discouraged primary school teachers both from familiarizing themselves with significant new developments in the area of language teaching and from integrating innovative techniques in their classrooms.
- Primary school teachers have become accustomed to the severe limitations and reduced performance levels imposed both on their own work as well as on the work of their pupils by the imposition of Dutch, which is a foreign language to most pupils and teachers, as the language of instruction and of initial literacy.

Teachers and prospective teachers can acquire new information and skills by attending and organizing conferences, lectures, seminars etc. in the fields of linguistics, language instruction, research, curriculum design and course materials development. IPA has therefore made such events an increasingly regular part of its program. In order to remain abreast of the latest developments in their field, teachers also need a quiet place with library facilities, a language lab and a space where workshops can be

presented. A facility that meets this need is projected to be established in the near future on the premises of IPA.

With all of these innovations IPA hopes to prepare teachers who can utilize Papiamento as a tool for instilling a strong and positive Aruban identity in their pupils and for the provision of education of the highest yield, quality, and relevance with respect for children and their rights and for the creation of a democratic society.

IPA's role is obvious: without an innovative IPA, reform of Aruban education will not be possible. The future of education on the island in general and of the current reform process in particular lies in the hands of the next generation of Aruban teachers, who will serve as a vital link in the transmission of Aruban language and culture to our children.

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THE INTONATIONAL SYSTEM OF CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU

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1 Introduction

A given tonal pattern in a human language can serve a variety of functions. It can distinguish a lexical item from unrelated lexical items (lexical contrast); it can mark a particular word form as distinct from other forms of the same lexical item (morphological contrast); or it can contribute meaning at the level of the phrase or the utterance as a whole (intonational contrast). Examples of intonational contrasts include marking of focus and sentence type. In many languages, the function of tone patterns in speech is either predominantly lexical (Mandarin Chinese) and/or morphological (e.g. Dinka), or predominantly intonational (e.g. English). In some other languages, however, both lexical tone and intonation play key roles. Well-known examples of such systems are Stockholm Swedish (Bruce, 1977; Riad, 1998; 2006) and Venlo Dutch (Gussenhoven & van der Vliet, 1999). Of particular interest in such systems is the issue of the interaction between lexical and intonational specification of tone. That is, what happens when a lexical tone and an intonational tone are constrained to associate with the same – e.g. stressed – syllable? In Stockholm Swedish, the lexical tone takes precedence and associates with the stressed syllable, and the intonational tone docks on a following syllable instead.

This paper presents an overall phonological analysis of the tone system of the Curaçaoan insolect of Papiamentu. Within the study of prosody, Curaçaoan Papiamentu is of particular interest, because it has distinctive word-level stress and distinctive word-level tone. This combination of two distinctions in word-level prosody is typologically unusual among the languages of the world (cf. Hyman, 2006). In this paper we focus on the tone system. Just like Stockholm Swedish and Venlo Dutch, Curaçaoan Papiamentu combines word-level with intonational specification of tone. Of particular interest is the marked accentuation pattern that is found in certain sentence contexts, among them negations. Under this marked type of accentuation, both lexical and intonational tone are affected, yielding a radically

different specification of tones. The analysis of this type of accentuation and other tonal phenomena can serve as a useful guide in the formulation of phonological models of the Curaçaoan Papiamentu intonational phrase and its constituent tones.

Papiamentu is a Caribbean Creole, with around 200,000 speakers (Kook & Narain, 1993:71). It is the first language of most of the population of the islands Aruba, Curaçao, and Bonaire, which are located just north of Venezuela. In addition, there is a sizeable Papiamentu community in The Netherlands. The main lexifier languages are Portuguese and Spanish. Dutch and English have also influenced the lexicon, but to a lesser extent. The literature and native-speaker judgments agree that there are different variants of Papiamentu on Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire, and that speech melody is one of the dimensions in which the variants diverge most (Kook & Narain, 1993:72; Enrique Muller p.c., Ini Statia p.c.). The analyses presented in this paper are all based on data from the Curaçaoan variant of Papiamentu, and it is unlikely that our sample would faithfully reflect the prosodic characteristics of the other two variants.

2 Background

In this section we present a summary of the prosodic system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu on the basis of earlier studies. Section 2.1 introduces the word-level prosodic system, which includes stress and tone contrasts. We pay particular attention to the realization of lexical tone patterns in sentence context. Section 2.2 presents Römer's (1991) account of a marked accentuation pattern. This pattern is radically different from the unmarked one, and we will examine this marked accentuation pattern in detail in Section 4, after a brief discussion of the methodologies and procedures used in the collection and analysis of the data upon which the present work is based in Section 3. Section 5 presents an overall phonological interpretation of the tonal prosody of Curaçaoan Papiamentu, encompassing lexical, phrase-level, and edge tones. Our concluding remarks follow in Section 6.Word-level prosodic contrasts in Curaçaoan Papiamentu

2.1.1 Competing phonological analyses of contrastive tone in Curaçaoan Papiamentu

Papiamentu has contrastive lexical tone. For example, the noun meaning 'parrot' and the verb meaning 'to turn' both consist of the segmental string / lora/, with stress on the penultimate syllable. The difference between them is tonal. In the citation form, [*lora* 'parrot' has high pitch on the penultimate syllable and low pitch on the final. This is illustrated in Figure 1.A, which shows an averaged track of the fundamental frequency of this word.

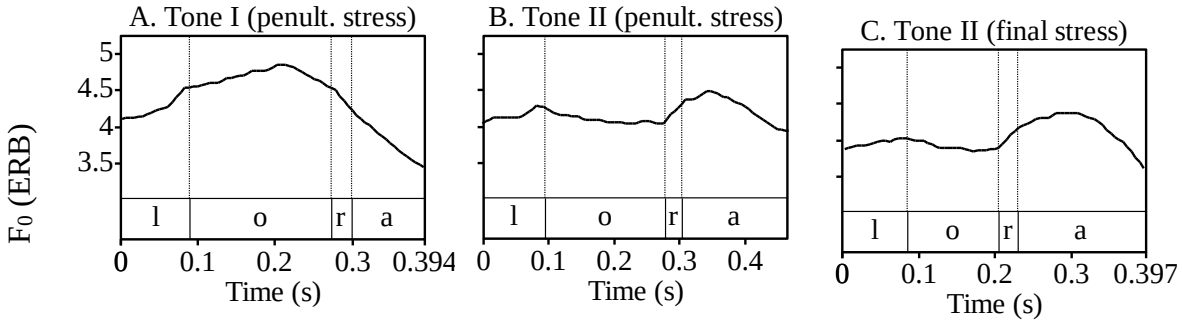


Figure 1 *Fundamental frequency (F0) tracks of a disyllabic minimal set for stress and tone:* $_{I}$ *lora 'parrot' (A) vs.* $_{II}$ *lora 'to turn' (B). Tracks A, B and C are averaged over 18, 17, and 16 tokens, respectively. Data from 9 speakers, elicited in citation form. From Remijsen & van Heuven (2005)*

Fundamental frequency – hereafter F0 – is the main factor determining perceived pitch. In other words, low and high values within a speaker's F0 range correspond to low and high perceived pitch, respectively. As seen from Figure 1.B, $_{II}$ *lora* 'to turn' has low F0 on the penult and high pitch on the final. We refer to these tone patterns as Tone I and Tone II, represented by means of subscript I and II preceding the word. We will give a more detailed description of these patterns shortly.

Traditionally, researchers have inferred the phonological specification of tone on the basis of the pitch patterns of words like these in their citation form (Devonish, 1989; Römer, 1991; Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994; Rivera-Castillo, 1998). In this way, the high-low F0 or perceived pitch pattern on $_{I}$ *lora* 'parrot' (cf. Figure 1.A) leads to the phonological transcription of / lórà/. Similarly, the low-high pattern on $_{II}$ *lora* 'to turn' (cf. Figure 1.B) leads to an inferred transcription / lòrá/. This phonological analysis is illustrated in (1). As seen from these representations, each syllable has a tone associated with it, High (H) or Low (L). Since each potential tone bearing unit (syllable or mora) is assigned a tone, we can say that, in this analysis, words are fully specified for tone. This traditional interpretation of Papiamentu tone could therefore be called the "fully specified tone hypothesis".

(1) Assignment of tone according to the fully specified tone hypothesis:

(1a) Tone I: H L
l o r a
'parrot'

(1b) Tone II: L H
l o r a
'to turn'

In Tone I words like $_{I}$ *lora* 'parrot', the H on the penult is actually predictable given the position of lexical stress (cf. Kouwenberg, 2004). In Tone II words, by contrast, tone is not predictable on the basis of stress – the same L-H pattern is also found in final-stressed forms such as $_{II}$*lo ra* 'turned' (cf. Figure 1.C). Therefore specification

of tone is required for the Tone II words. In the analysis presented in Kouwenberg (2004), the only syllable in the words in (1) that is specified for tone is the final syllable of Tone II words. And because the Tone II pattern is predominantly limited to disyllabic verbs, she argues that this specification is to be interpreted as grammatical rather than lexical. For these reasons, this alternative hypothesis for the assignment of Papiamentu tone can be called the "underspecified hypothesis".

As stated earlier, all of the above-mentioned studies infer the tonal patterns of words on the basis of their citation form. This is problematic, because words in citation form are actually mini-utterances. As a result, citation-form realizations reflect both word-level and intonational specification of tone. Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) addressed this concern by studying tonal realizations in several contexts. The resulting analysis agrees with Kouwenberg (2004) that the specification of tone in Curaçaoan Papiamentu is limited to a single syllable in Tone II words, whereas Tone I words are not lexically specified for tone at all.

A schematic representation of the analysis proposed in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) is presented in (2). According to this alternative analysis, only one syllable in the $_{\text{I}}$ *lora* vs. $_{\text{II}}$ *lora* minimal set has a lexically specified tone pattern associated with it – the penultimate syllable of $_{\text{II}}$ *lora* 'to turn'. As seen from (2b), two tones – H and L – are associated with the penult. This HL contour tone is realized as an F0 fall, as the H is aligned with the beginning of the syllable and the L with the end. Falling F0 is prone to be perceived as low pitch (Nabalek, Nabalek & Hirsh, 1970). As for high F0 on the other syllables – on the final syllable of $_{\text{II}}$ *lora* and on the penult of $_{\text{I}}$ *lora* – Remijsen & van Heuven argue that these maxima reflect intonational rather than lexical specification. They postulate an LH prominence tone – a tone that communicates that the word with which it is associated is prominent in discourse. That is, this tone is associated with any constituent in a declarative sentence that is focused (cf. below). In Tone I words, the LH prominence tone is associated with the stressed syllable. In Tone II words like $_{\text{II}}$ *lora*,the stressed syllable already has the lexical tone associated with it, and the prominence tone associates with the following syllable instead. Just as in the case of the HL lexical tone, the LH prominence tone has two components, in this case L and H, which associate with the beginning and the end of the syllable. In this way, the L and H components define a rise in F0. F0 rises are prone to be perceived as high pitch (Nabalek, Nabalek & Hirsh, 1970). In (2), the LH prominence tone has been placed between brackets, to indicate that its presence is conditional. The same goes for the L% edge tone, which is normally associated with a word that appears at the end of an utterance. The association of these tones depends on considerations of information structure and sentence context.

(2) Assignment of tone according to Remijsen and van Heuven's (2005) version of the underspecified tone hypothesis:

(2a) Tone I: (LH) (L%)

l o r a

'parrot'

(2b) Tone II: HL (LH) (L%)

l o r a

'to turn'

As seen from the representations in (2), the only tone that is postulated to be consistently realized across contexts is the HL lexical tone. In this sense, underspecification is an essential characteristic of this alternative analysis: apart from the HL pattern on the initial syllable of Tone II words, tones are not part of the phonological form of words. Another characteristic of the alternative hypothesis is privativity: the HL lexical tone on II *lora* is distinctive, not relative to another lexical tone on I *lora* 'parrot', but rather relative to the absence of any lexically specified tone pattern on that word.

Comparing Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) with Kouwenberg (2004), we find that both limit the word-level specification of tone to a single syllable in Tone II words. According to Kouwenberg (2004), this is the final syllable of Tone II words, which is assigned a High tone in the grammar. According to Remijsen & van Heuven (2005), it is instead the tone pattern of the penultimate syllable that is specified, and in this case it is a HL contour which is assigned.

2.1.2 Testing the competing hypotheses

The fully specified tone hypothesis as well as both versions of the underspecified tone hypothesis (i.e. Kouwenberg's version vs. Remijsen & van Heuven's version) make different predictions, and as such it is possible to put them to the test. If the tone pattern of every syllable is lexically specified, as in (1), then I *lora* 'parrot' should be realized as [lórà], and II *lora* 'to turn' as [lòrá], whatever the prominence structure of the utterance. Kouwenberg (2004), by contrast, predicts that only the high pitch pattern on the final syllable of Tone II words like II *lora* is fixed. Remijsen & van Heuven (2005), finally, predict that only the falling pattern on the initial syllable of II *lora* is consistently present across contexts.

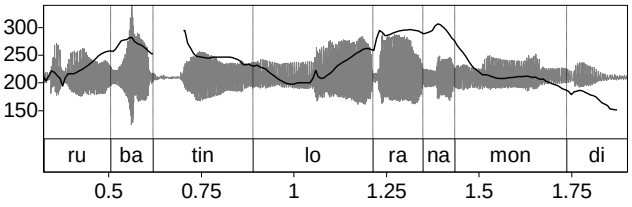
These competing predictions are evaluated in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005). In that work, recordings were made of the realizations in several contexts of two minimal sets – one of them the '/lora/'-setby nine native speakers of Curaçaoan Papiamentu. Here we only present qualitative evidence, using representative examples of the F0 tracks. For a more detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis of the results of this test, the reader is referred to the original paper.

Before presenting the data, it is worthwhile to note that F0 tracks may be perturbed under the influence of certain types of consonants. While unvoiced consonants do not show F0 by their very nature, they have the effect of raising F0 on adjacent vowels. The effect is strongest for stops. Examples of this phenomenon include the F0 on the [i] in I*tin* in Figure 2.A, and the vowel of the second syllable of I*Kòr sou* in Figure 2.B. On the other hand, voiced consonants and especially voiced stops lower F0 slightly. Consider for example the slight dips at the stops in I *Ruba* and I *mondi* in Figure 2.A. Finally, minor blips in the F0 levels often occur at the boundaries between speech segments in general. For example, note the spikes at the boundaries between consonants and vowel in I *lora* in Figure 2.A. Such purely physiological perturbations may obscure the phonological specification of F0 in these and other figures.

Representative examples for Tone I and Tone II words are presented in Figures 2 and 3, respectively. Figure 2.A shows the realization of the Tone I word I *lora* when this word is maximally prominent in the discourse. The discourse prominence of I *lora* in Figure 2.A was achieved by means of a preceding question, the translation of which is included between square brackets. This preceding question, uttered by a different native speaker, sets up I *lora* as the most prominent element in the following answer, where it is highlighted relative to alternative concepts that would fit in the same slot. This high level of discourse prominence can be referred to as narrow focus (cf. Ladd, 1996). In the answer in Figure 2.A, the speaker has marked the prominence of I *lora* 'parrot' by means of an F0 rise on its stressed penultimate syllable. The rise sets in at the start of the vowel, and levels off at the start of the following – final – syllable. After this rise, F0 remains high up to the following stressed syllable.

2.A Tone I – Narrow focus

[Has Aruba got flamingos in the countryside?]
Ruba tin lora na mondi
Aruba have parrot PREP countryside
'Aruba has parrots in the countryside.'



2.B Tone I – Out of focus
[Does Curaçao have parrots in Punda?]
Kòr sou tin lora na Punda
Curaçao have parrot PREP town
'Curaçao has parrots in town'

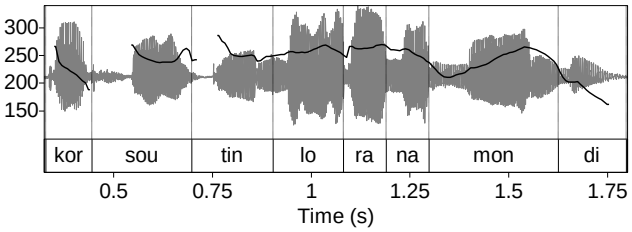


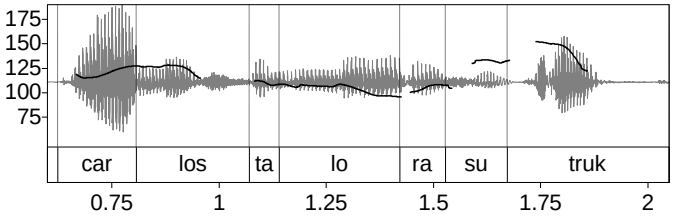
Figure 2 *A Tone I word with two levels of discourse prominence: narrow focus (A); out of focus (B). F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F5*

Figure 2.B shows the F0 track of a very similar sentence, uttered in reply to a question that sets up narrow focus on $_{I}$ *mondi* 'countryside'. As a result, $_{I}$ *lora* is out of focus. Here again we find an F0 rise, but now it is located on the penultimate syllable of $_{I}$ *mondi*. By contrast, F0 is flat on $_{I}$ *lora*: there is a high plateau that runs from the second syllable of $_{I}$*Kòr sou* 'Curaçao' up to the preposition *na*. We will argue in section 5.1 that this high plateau is the result of a left edge tone. The examples in Figure 2 support the underspecified tone hypothesis, in that they confirm that the F0 pattern on Tone I words depends on discourse prominence. The stressed syllables of the Tone I words $_{I}$ *lora* and $_{I}$ *mondi* have rising pitch when they themselves are prominent in discourse, but not when another word in the utterance is. This finding contradicts the traditional fully specified tone hypothesis, whereby a word like $_{I}$ *lora* is postulated to have a lexically specified High-Low pattern, and therefore is predicted to be realized [lórà] irrespective of discourse prominence.

Figure 3 presents comparable examples for the Tone II word pattern. This example comes from a male speaker, whose F0 range is narrower than that of the female speaker represented in Figure 2. As before, the leading question – included between square brackets – sets up narrow focus on either the target – in this case $_{II}$ *lora* (Figure 3.A) – or on a following constituent (Figure 3.B). In both contexts alike, there is a fall on the penultimate syllable of $_{II}$ *lora*. Note that this F0 fall sets in at the boundary between the /l/ and the onset of the vowel /o/. This is the point in the waveform (in grey behind the F0 track) where the amplitude increases abruptly.

3.A Tone I – Narrow focus

[Does Carlos drive his truck in reverse?]
Carlos ta lora su truk.
Curaçao INCOMPL turn POSS truck
'Carlos turns his truck.'



3.B Tone I – Out of focus

[Does Carlos turn his truck on the road?]
Carlos ta lora na kru sada.
Curaçao INCOMPL turn PREP crossroads
'Carlos turns at the crossroads.'

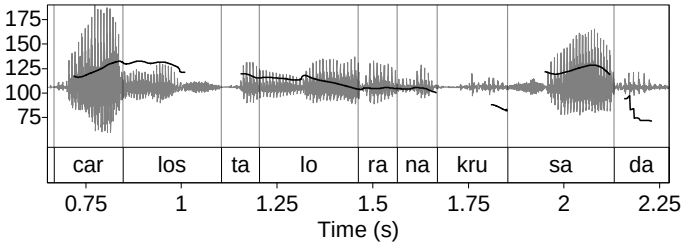


Figure 3 *A Tone II word with two different levels of discourse prominence: narrow focus (A); out of focus (B). F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker M10*

When the verb is in narrow focus, the fall on the penult is immediately followed by a rise. In Figure 3.A, this rise defines the left slope of a plateau, which continues up until the following stressed syllable. By contrast, when $_{II}$ *lora* is out of focus, as in Figure 3.B, then we find F0 to be flat on the second syllable of $_{II}$ *lora*. These results are as predicted by Remijsen & van Heuven: the pitch pattern on the final syllable of $_{II}$ *lora* is a matter of phrase-level prosody: the presence of high pitch here depends on discourse-prominence. When $_{I}$*kru sada* is focused instead of $_{II}$ *lora*, the LH prominence tone is associated here. Here again, we find that the data do not support the hypothesis of lexical specification of tone on every syllable. In addition, Kouwenberg's version of the underspecified tone hypothesis cannot account for this state of affairs, as it predicts that the tone pattern on the final syllable of Tone II words should be stable across utterance contexts.[1]

2.1.3 Summary of the word-prosodic system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu

The acoustic study in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) supports an interpretation of the tone system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu whereby only Tone II words have a lexically specified tone associated with them. This tone is HL, and it is associated with the penultimate syllable. All Tone II words are disyllabic. The set includes all disyllabic verbs, plus some exceptional nouns – notably $_{II}$ *mucha* 'child', $_{II}$ *djaka* 'rat', and $_{II}$ *piska* 'fish' – and a few adverbs such as $_{II}$ *tambe* 'also'. The rest of the lexicon is not lexically specified for tone. These are the Tone I words. Some more examples of these are provided in (3).

(3)

[1] A further illustration in line with this conclusion appears in Figure 5.A below.

I *kas* ‘house’ I *kamber* ‘room’ I*chi ki* ‘small’ I*kumin sa* ‘to begin’
I *wak* ‘to watch’ I *klechi* ‘sheet’ I*pa pel* ‘paper’ I*de posi to* ‘storage’

As seen from these examples, the position of stress in Tone I words is not fixed: it can appear on the final, the penultimate, or the antepenultimate syllable. There is disagreement as to the extent to which the location of stress is predictable given word class and syllable weight. While Kouwenberg (2004) emphasizes the regularity, Devonish (1989:56) states that the key factor is the stress pattern in the lexifier language – mainly Spanish and Portuguese. By contrast, the disyllabic Tone II words are invariably penult-stressed in their stem form. In Tone II verbs, which make up the great majority of the Tone II class of words, stress is final in the participle form. As a result of the above-mentioned word-prosodic distinctions, there are three-member sets of words in which tone and stress are distinctive. Three examples are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 *Examples of minimal contrasts of stress and tone in disyllabic words*

Tone I & penult. stress	Tone II & penult. stress	Tone II & final stress
I *lora* ‘parrot’	II *lora* ‘to turn, to wrap’	II*lo ra* ‘turned, wrapped’
I *baba* ‘slobber’ (noun)	II *baba* ‘to slobber’	II*ba ba* ‘slobbered (on)’
I *sala* ‘living room’	II *sala* ‘to salt’	II*sa la* ‘salted’

Interestingly, the intricate interaction between a privative lexical tone and an intonational tone mirrors an unrelated tone system, found in the Stockholm dialect of Swedish, and in tonally similar dialects of Swedish and Norwegian. Traditionally, Swedish words are categorized on the basis of their tonal behaviour as Accent I or Accent II words. An accent I word like I *Milan* ‘Milan’ has a high-low pitch pattern in the citation form; an accent II word like II *milan* ‘the charcoal stack’ sounds low-high. This is illustrated by the F0 tracks in Figure 4. These contours bear a clear resemblance to those of the minimal set in Figure 1.

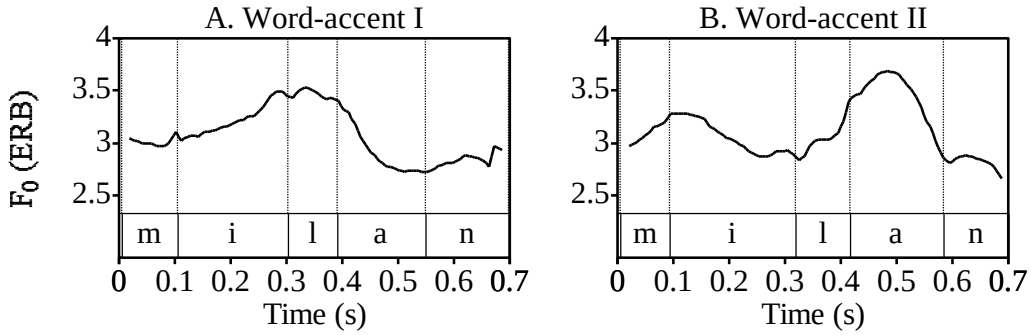


Figure 4 *F_0 trajectories illustrating the Stockholm Swedish tone contrast in a minimal pair. The members were embedded in utterance-final position in the carrier sentence: Det var [target word]. 'It was [target word]'. Based on sound data from Olle Engstrand*

Riad (1998; 2006) has postulated a privative analysis of this contrast in Stockholm Swedish, represented schematically in (4). According to this analysis, the only lexically specified tone is the H that is associated with the initial syllable of Accent II words. This H is aligned with the beginning of the syllable. It defines the starting point of a fall in F0, because the following tone is an L: the LH prominence tone or the L% edge tone. The remainder of the lexicon – the Accent I words – are not lexically specified for tone. Instead, they can have the LH prominence tone, depending on the discourse context. The prominence tone associates with the first stressed syllable of the word that is available – in (4a), this is the penultimate syllable; in (4b), the penult is taken by the H lexical tone, and the prominence tone links to the following syllable instead.

(4)

(4a) Word-accent I: (LH) (L%)
| |
M i l a n
'Milan'

(4b) Word-accent II: H (LH)(L%)
| |
m i l a n
'the charcoal stack'

Comparing the tone systems of Curaçaoan Papiamentu and Stockholm Swedish, we find clear parallels in the phonetic facts and in the phonological representations that have been postulated to account for them by Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) and Riad (1998; 2006), respectively. And just as in the case of Curaçaoan Papiamentu, Riad's analysis of Stockholm Swedish is supported by quantitative phonetic evidence. Engstrand (1995; 1998) found that the tone pattern on the initial syllable of Tone II words is constant across contexts. By contrast, the tonal specification of other syllables depends on the context.

In summary, we have presented competing hypotheses that attempt to account for the pitch patterns found in Curaçaoan Papiamentu. The phonetic evidence suggests that the version of the underspecified tone hypothesis proposed in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) provides a closer fit to the facts. The key characteristics of this hypothesis and

of the analysis that follows from it are privativity and underspecification: most syllables are not specified for tone at the lexical level. These syllables may get a tone at the intonational level, or they may remain toneless, in which case the pitch/F0 on them follows from interpolation between specified tones.

2.2 Marked accentuation

In certain contexts, the F0 patterns of both Tone I and Tone II words are radically different from those outlined above. One of these contexts is sentences where the predicate is negated (hereafter we refer to these constructions as negations). The other two contexts are question-word questions and most types of imperatives. The marked accentuation pattern is not found in yes/no questions, nor in commands where the verb is followed by another constituent. Clearly, this alternation serves a number of unrelated functions – while negation is a modality, question-word questions and imperatives are pragmatically marked sentence types. Interestingly, the same sentence types (negations, question-word questions, imperatives) are likewise distinguished by a pitch pattern in Nigerian Pidgin and in several other West African languages (Nick Faraclas, personal communication).As for the realization of this marked accentuation pattern, it can be described roughly as the opposite of that of unmarked forms. That is, when the first content word in the predicate of an affirmative declarative is a Tone I word, it has a rise on its stressed syllable (see Figure 2.A). In the same position in a negation, by contrast, a Tone I word has a fall on its stressed syllable. Similarly, whereas the first Tone II word in the predicate of an affirmative declarative has a fall on the penult (cf. Figure 3.A), it has rising or high F0 in the same position in a negation. In this section, we survey the treatment of this phenomenon in Römer (1991) and Devonish (1989).

The first to comment on this phenomenon was Raúl Römer (1983; 1991), a native speaker of Curaçaoan Papiamentu himself. Römer presents a detailed analysis of marked accentuation phenomenon, using the mechanisms of autosegmental theory (Goldsmith, 1979). Illustration (5) presents phonological transcriptions from Römer (1991: 84; 30), contrasting the tone sequence found in an affirmative declarative (5a) with those found in a corresponding negation (5b) and a corresponding question-word question (5c). These are transcriptions in terms of the traditional, fully-specified interpretation of the Curaçaoan Papiamentu tone system.

(5)

(5a) **bò tá grìtá spàntá Dàdâ.**
2S INCOMP yell startle Dada.
'You yell, startling Dada.'

(5b) **bò nó tá griíˡtá spánˡtá Dádà.**
2S NEG INCOMP yell startle Dada.
'You don't yell, startling Dada.'

(5c) **kén tá griíˡtá spánˡtá Dádà**
WHQ INCOMP yell startle Dada.
'Who yells, startling Dada?'

The tone patterns of the content words in the affirmative declarative (5a) corresponds roughly to the underlying – i.e., lexical – specification of tones. The specification of tones in the corresponding negation and question-word question is radically different: for example, Römer's transcription for the Tone word II *grita* is /grìtá/ in the affirmative declarative and in the citation form. In the negation, he transcribes it /griíˡtá/. In his phonological analysis of the phenomenon, Römer postulates a rule that dissociates every Low tone to the right of the negation marker *no* (5b), or to the right of a question word (5c). The syllables that are toneless as a result of this process are reassociated with a High tone to the left. In a following step, the rightmost High tone is deleted, so that a Low tone can associate instead. If this were all there is to it, the resulting contour should sound like a monotony of high pitches, ended by low pitch. However, there is one more process involved. When a Low tone is dissociated, to be replaced by a High tone at the left, it still has some effect. That is, it lowers the F0 level at which following High tones are realized. This lowering effect of Low tones on following high tones is called downstep. It is represented by the superscript exclamation mark. As a result, Römer transcribes /grìtá spàntá/ in the affirmative declarative, and /griíˡtá spánˡtá/ in the negation and the question-word question, since the Low tones that have been dissociated from the penult syllables of these verbs each lower the pitch at which the following High tones are realized. In summary, Römer's analysis predicts that F0 is high throughout sentences in which the marked accentuation applies, lowering slightly each time there is a Low in the underlying specification of tones.

In (6), also from Römer (1991:85), we can see the same processes at work in a different construction. Earlier on, in section 2.1, we saw that speakers of Curaçaoan Papiamentu can highlight a constituent by uttering it with the LH prominence tone. Another highlighting device they have to their disposition is fronting, illustrated in (6a). As seen from this example, the fronted constituent is introduced by *ta*, which also serves as an incompletive marker – cf. examples in (5). In (6b), this fronted constituent is negated. As seen from Römer's transcription, the impact of the marked

accentuation is not limited to the negated prepositional phrase, but instead extends from the negation marker onwards up to the end of the sentence.

(6)

(6a) **Tà pà Mìgél nós á kùmprá é káshì dií Ìsàbél àyèrà.**
FOC PREP M. 1P COMPL buy ART cabinet POSS I. yesterday
'It is for Migel that we have bought Isabel's cabinet yesterday.'

(6b) **Nó tá pá Mií$^{!}$gél nós á kúm$^{!}$prá é káshií $^{!}$dií Ií$^{!}$sábél áyérà.**
NEG FOC PREP M. 1P COMPL buy ART cabinet POSS I. yesterday
'It is not for Migel that we have bought Isabel's cabinet yesterday.'

A similar change takes place in the imperatives, with Tone II verbs changing from e.g. /grìtá/ to /griítà/ according to Römer (1991:83). Römer treats this process as unrelated to the ones in negations and question-word questions (Römer, 1991:82). The process is also noted in Devonish (1989: 60), who writes that "[w]hen these [disyllabic verbs] function as imperatives, they take H-tone on the initial syllable […]".

Römer's study of marked accentuation reveals that there is more to the tonal prosody of Curaçaoan Papiamentu than the interaction between the lexical tone distinction and the tonal marking of prominence, both introduced in section 2.1. The marked accentuation pattern raises several questions. In particular, what happens with the lexical distinction between Tone I and Tone II words under marked accentuation? If Low tones are replaced by High tones, then I *lora* 'parrot' vs. II *lora* 'to turn' – transcribed /lórà/ vs. /lòrá/ by Römer (1991) – could become indistinguishable but for downstep under marked accentuation: /lórá/ vs. /ló$^{!}$rá/. However, we saw in section 2.1 that the fully specified tone hypothesis makes the wrong predications in relation to the actual realization of pitch patterns in sentence context. How, then, can marked accentuation be represented in terms of the underspecified tone hypothesis?

Answering these questions constitutes the main focus of this study. In section 4, we investigate marked accentuation as it is realized in a number of sentence contexts. And then, in section 5, we use the results of this investigation to make our overall analysis of the tone system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu explicit by means of a model of the intonational phrase and its constituent tones.

3 Methodology

3.1 Materials

We collected data on the realisation of various word-prosodic patterns of Curaçaoan Papiamentu in a number of discourse contexts. As much as possible we collected

minimal-set data, which enabled us to study the various contrasts and processes while keeping segmental influences constant. The minimal sets utilized were the /lora/ and /baba/ sets listed in Table 1. Each of the six target words (two sets with three members each) were recorded in a number of contexts, representing a wide range of sentence types, positions in the sentence, and information structures. Apart from these data, we collected additional materials to gain insight into phenomena that required other target words: the exceptional Tone II nouns, trisyllabic verbs, serial verb constructions, etc.

3.2 Data collection

The data were elicited over three sessions for each speaker, in such a way that different members of minimal sets appeared in different sessions. The sessions were spaced at least 24 hours apart, in order to avoid confusion between members of minimal sets. This separation was motivated by the fact that some word-prosodic distinctions are not represented in the orthography. The order of presentation was varied between speakers to balance out any order effects. The data were elicited by a female native speaker of Curaçaoan Papiamentu (the second author). She communicated with the speakers in Curaçaoan Papiamentu throughout the sessions. The role of the first author – not a native speaker of Papiamentu – was mainly confined recording the data. The data were elicited as scripted dialogue. That is, the sentences were presented on paper, and most target sentences were elicited by means of a precursor question, uttered by the second author. This preceding question set up the intended information structure for the sentence to be uttered by the speaker, as illustrated by the examples in Figures 2 and3. In the elicitation of the various types of questions, the roles were reversed, now with the speaker asking the question and the second author answering it. The speakers were asked to enact the dialogues, so that somebody listening to the recording would not be able to tell that the speaker was actually reading.

3.3 Sample of speakers

The data were recorded from the speech of eleven native speakers of Curaçaoan Papiamentu. All had grown up in the Willemstad area of Curaçao. In addition to Curaçaoan Papiamentu, all participants were fluent in Dutch. Data from two participants was not analysed. One of these speakers had difficulty with reading. The other had a cold at the time of the first session. This left data from nine native speakers (four men, five women; age range: 24-64).

3.4 Data processing and analysis

The data from both the speaker and the assistant were recorded using microphones mounted on a headset. These signals were recorded digitally on separate channels. The utterances by the participants were processed and inspected using the Praat software for phonetic analysis (Boersma & Weenink, 2005). Auditory inspection of the complete dataset in Praat suggested that inter- and intra-speaker variation was limited. That is, within each context and word-prosodic condition, the speakers appeared to produce the utterances with the same tonal patterns.

Where relevant, the analysis of measurements was enhanced using Linear Discriminant Analysis (LDA). LDA is a statistical technique that allows us to determine how sensitive a given acoustic measure – e.g. vowel duration – is to a structural distinction – e.g. stress. The result can be expressed as the percentage of the dataset that can be correctly classified for a given feature on the basis of an acoustic measure, or set of measures. A detailed introduction to LDA can be found in Woods, Fletcher & Hughes (1986: 265-271).

4 The marked accentuation pattern

In this section, we examine the realization of the marked accentuation pattern in the various contexts in which it arises. The phonological interpretation of the attested phenomena will be developed progressively as they are discussed.

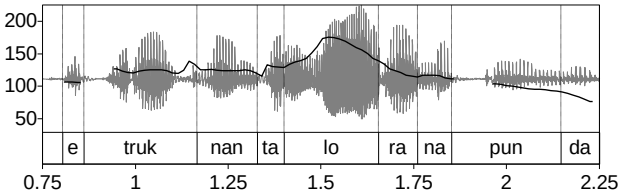
4.1 Negation

4.1.1 Tone II, penult stress

Figure 5 shows an affirmative declarative sentence (panel A) and an otherwise identical negating/negative? sentence (panel B), uttered by a male speaker. Negation is expressed in two ways: by the negation marker *no*, and prosodically, by a difference in the tone contour. That is, in the affirmative declarative sentence in Figure 5.A, the verb shows a fall in F0, that sets in at the boundary between onset and nucleus of the first syllable. As argued in section 2.1, this is the HL lexical tone. The HL lexical tone defines a fall in F0, the slope of which exceeds the rate of declination observed on the remainder of the utterance (cf. Remijsen & van Heuven, 2005: 220). Note that there is no F0 rise on the final syllable of the verb. This is because the sentence is uttered in answer to a question – included between square brackets – that sets up the whole sentence as given information. Given that II *lora* is not in narrow focus, then, it does not come as a surprise that it does not have the LH prominence tone associated with it.

5.A Affirmative

[Do the trucks turn in Punda?]
e truk-nan ta lora na Punda
ART truck-PL INCOMPL turn PREP Punda
'The trucks are turning in Punda'



5.B Negation
[Do the trucks turn in Punda?]
e truk-nan no ta lora na Punda
ART truck-PL NEG INCOMPL turn PREP Punda
'The trucks aren't turning in Punda.'

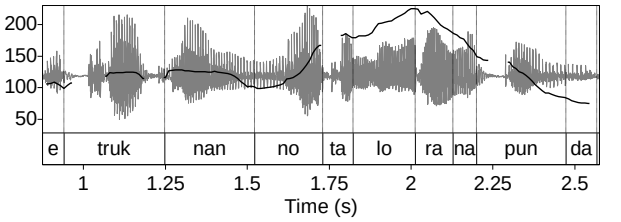


Figure 5 *Affirmation (A) and corresponding negation (B) of a sentence with a predicate headed by a Tone II verb. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker M10*

The F0 contour of the corresponding negation, in Figure 5.B, shows some similarities and some differences. Just as in the affirmation, the highest peak in the F0 contour of the utterance is found on II *lora*, the first content word of the predicate, and, in a syntactic sense, its head. This is interesting, because, in both utterances alike, the prominence of II *lora* does not follow from discourse prominence, as the precursor question sets up the various constituents in the utterance as equally prominent. We refer to this type of prominence as broad or default focus, and will come back to it in sections 4.1.3 and 5.2.1. At this stage, we wish to highlight the special status of the first content word of the predicate under broad focus. Hereafter we refer to this constituent as the head of the predicate.

As for the tonal difference between the two utterances, the negation shows an F0 rise that begins over *no* and culminates at the boundary between the penultimate and final syllables of the verb. Following this maximum, F0 falls continuously up until the end of the utterance. Comparing paradigmatically between affirmation and negation, the rising/high F0 on the stressed penult of II *lora* in the negation contrasts with the falling F0 on the same syllable in the affirmation. In terms of impressionistic pitch perception, these F0 patterns translate into high pitch in negations vs. low pitch in affirmations.

Figure 6 presents the same sentences, now uttered by a different speaker. The realization of the point-of-reference affirmation in Figure 6.A is very similar to the one in Figure 5.A, with the HL lexical tone showing its characteristic alignment with the segmental string. The negation in Figure 6.B, though, presents a new element. As seen from Figure 6.B, the vowel of the negation marker *no* has been elided: there is no

syllable between the plural marker *-nan* and the copula *ta*. But while the segmental marking of negation has been greatly reduced, its tonal marking is realized clearly. F0 starts rising from the syntactic slot of *no* – irrespective of the fact that it is greatly reduced – and reaches a maximum after the first syllable of II *lora*. F0 then remains high until the end of the final syllable before falling. This is different from the realization in Figure 5.B, where the rise on the penult is immediately followed by a fall on the final syllable. Across speakers and target words, the latter pattern is more common, occurring in 78 percent of the utterance tokens, whereas the delayed fall is found in the remaining 22 percent of the tokens.

6.A Affirmative
[Do the trucks turn in Punda?]
e truk-nan ta lora na Punda
ART truck-PL INCOMPL turn PREP Punda
'The trucks are turning in Punda.'

6.B Negation
[Do the trucks turn in Punda?]
e truk-nan n ta lora na Punda
ART truck-PL NEG INCOMPL turn PREP Punda
'The trucks aren't turning in Punda.'

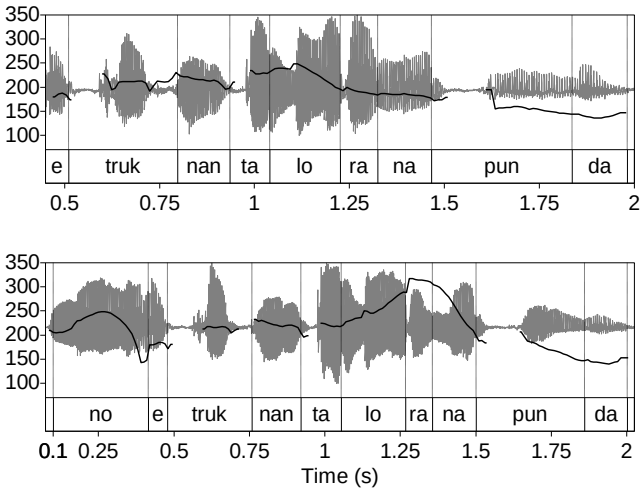


Figure 6 *Affirmation (A) and corresponding negation (B) of a sentence with a predicate headed by a Tone II verb. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F9*

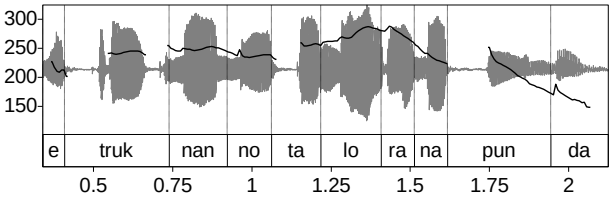
The fact that the segmental marking of negation can be reduced in this way suggests that the prosodic marking of negation is fully grammaticalized. If so, then a measure of F0 in the vowel of the penult syllable should discriminate between negations – displaying rising and/or high F0 – and various types of affirmations – with falling and/or low F0. We used a Linear Discriminant Analysis to check whether this is the case across the various realizations by each of the 9 speaker in our sample. We used a single F0 measure: the F0 slope over the penultimate vowel. This measure is calculated by subtracting the F0 value at the end of the vowel from the value at the start. Out of a total of 136 utterance tokens, 91.2 percent could be correctly classified as a negative or an affirmative sentence on the basis of this measurement. Undoubtedly, successful discrimination could have been increased further by including a measure reflecting the F0 level within the speaker's range.

4.1.2 Tone II, final stress

In the previous section we have considered marked accentuation in negations where the head of the predicate is the base form of a Tone II verb, which has stress on the penultimate syllable. As seen from Table I, the participle forms of Tone II verbs differ from their base forms in that they bear stress over their final syllable. Does this difference in the location of stress interact with the marked accentuation? Figure 7 holds the answer. This figure shows negations with both the base form $_{II}$ *lora* – in Figure 7.A – and with the corresponding final-stressed participle $_{II}$*lo ra* – in Figure 7.B. The effects of stress can be seen from the segmentation of the syllables: the final syllable /ra/ is considerably longer in Figure 7.B, where it is stressed, than in Figure 7.A, where it is not.

7.A Tone II, penult stressed

[Do the trucks turn in Punda?]
e truk-nan no ta lora na Punda
ART truck-PL NEG INCOMPL turn PREP Punda
'The trucks aren't turning in Punda.'



7.B Tone II, final stressed

[Has this present been wrapped on Aruba?]
e saki no ta lo ra na Ruba
DEM NEG INCOMPL turn:PART PREP Aruba
'This one has not been wrapped on Aruba.'

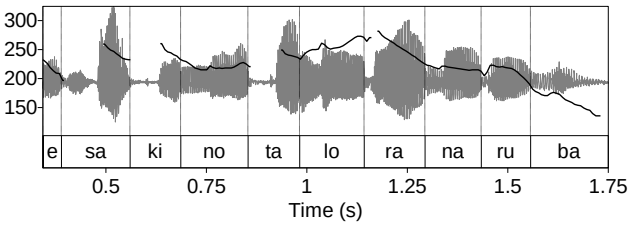


Figure 7 *Penult-stressed (A) and final-stressed (B) Tone II words heading the predicate of negations. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F5*

There is little difference between the two utterances in terms of the F0 contour that each bears. That is, both show an F0 rise that sets in on *no*, and that reaches a maximum after the penultimate syllable. The same pattern is found on all realizations of utterances in our dataset that have a final-stressed Tone II word in the head of the negated predicate. At the end of section 4.1.1, we stated that there is some variation in our dataset among penult-stressed Tone II words under marked accentuation, with the majority (about 80%) of the tokens showing F0 falling from early on in the final syllable, as in Figures 5.B and 7.A. F0 remains high throughout the final syllable in the remaining 20% of cases – this pattern is illustrated in Figure 6.B. The final-stressed Tone II words, however, invariably follow the majority pattern. As in the example in Figure 3.B, F0 starts falling early on in the final syllable.

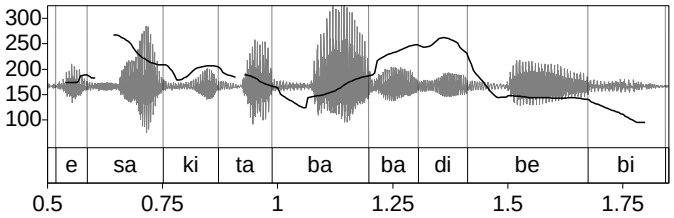
4.1.3 Tone I, penult stress

In this section and the following one we examine how marked accentuation affects the realization of Tone I words in the head of negated predicates. We start out with penult-stressed Tone I words – words like I *baba* ‘dribble’ and I *lora* ‘parrot’. In order to observe them with the marked accentuation pattern, they are set up as the head of negated nominal predicates. A representative example is presented in Figure 8. As before, discourse prominence in this case can be characterized as broad focus – the precursor questions sets up the various constituents of the predicate as equally prominent.

The baseline for comparison is the realization of the affirmative sentence in Figure 8.A. Here the stressed penultimate syllable of I *baba* shows rising F0, setting in in the onset, and reaching a maximum after the stressed syllable. This is the LH intonational tone. Different from earlier examples, its appearance here does not follow from narrow focus – the sentence as a whole is old information. Instead, it is the case that – in the absence of any lexical or focal marking – the LH tone constitutes default accentual marking. That is, the utterance requires some tonal marking, and if discourse prominence does not favor any constituent, the LH is associated by default with the head of the predicate. We will return to this in section 5.2.1. After the stressed syllable of I *baba*, F0 remains high up to the onset of I *bebi* ‘baby’, the following content word.

8.A Affirmative

[Is this baby dribble?]
e saki ta baba di bebi
DEM COP dribble POSS baby
'This is baby dribble.'



8.B Negation

[Is this baby dribble?]
e saki n ta baba di bebi
DEM NEG COP dribble POSS baby
'This is not baby dribble.'

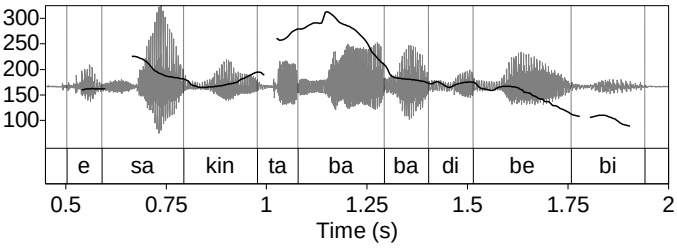


Figure 8 *Affirmation (A) and corresponding negation (B) of a sentence with a predicate headed by a Tone I noun. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F1*

The corresponding negation in Figure 8.B shows F0 rising from the segmental negation marker onwards. As in Figure 6.B, *no* is reduced to its onset. As for the head of the negated predicate, here we find the opposite F0 pattern over the vowel of the stressed syllable: where the affirmation has an F0 rise, the negation has a fall, starting in the onset of the stressed penultimate syllable, and continuing up to the following syllable.

Just as we found for Tone II words earlier (section 4.1.1), the distinction between negations and affirmations is consistently marked on the Tone I word that heads the predicate. An LDA that uses the F0 slope over the vowel of the stressed penult to discriminate between negative and affirmative sentences shows a successful classification result of 95.5 percent (based on 133 utterance tokens over 9 speakers).

4.1.4 Tone I, final stress

Marked accentuation has the same effect on Tone I words with a different stress pattern. Figure 9 presents a representative example of the F0 track of utterances where the head of the predicate is a trisyllabic verb – in this case ˩*namo ra* 'to be in love with'. Such verbs are Tone I, and most of them have final stress. Just as in the penult-stressed Tone I words, there is rise on the stressed syllable in the affirmative (Figure 9.A), and a fall over the stressed syllable in the corresponding negation (Figure 9.B).

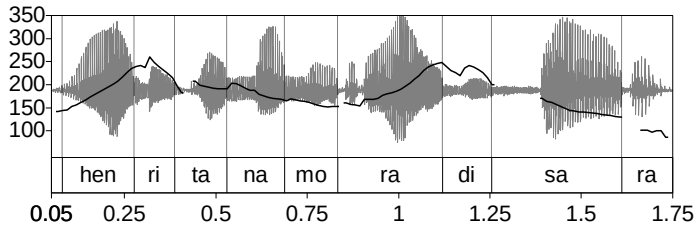
9.A Affirmative

[What is happening with Henri?]

Henri ta namo ra di Sara

H. INCOMPL love POSS S.

'Henri is in love with Sara.'



9.B Negation

[Is Henri in love with Sara?]

Henri no ta namo ra di Sara

H. NEG INCOMPL love POSS S.

'Henri does not love Sara.'

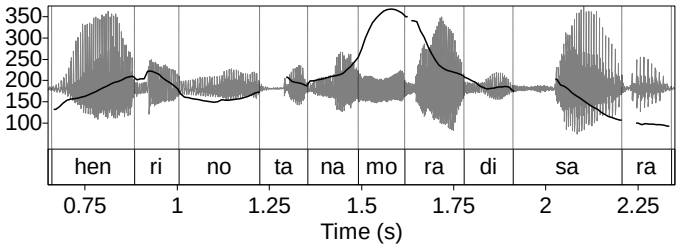


Figure 9 *Affirmative declarative (A) and corresponding negation (B) of a sentence with a predicate headed by a Tone I verb. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F1.*

There is some variation between speakers in the realization of the rise between the negation marker *no* and the stressed syllable of I*namo ra*. Whereas most speakers realize a gradual rise, others – like the speaker in Figure 9.B – delay the rise until the pretonic syllable, and still others realize an abrupt rise on *no*, followed by a plateau up to the stressed syllable of I*namo ra*. We speculate that the latter two variants lend greater emphasis to the verb and to the negation marker, respectively.

4.1.5 A phonological interpretation of marked accentuation

In this section, we propose a phonological analysis of the marked accentuation, on the basis of the evidence from negations presented in the previous subsections. Marked accentuation presents several characteristics that are present in the tonal contour irrespective of whether the head of the predicate is a Tone I word or a Tone II word. First, the negated predicate invariably begins with an F0 minimum on the negation marker. In phonological terms we postulate a Low tone to account for this. A second general characteristic is that the main peak in the tonal contour is to be found on the first content word of the predicate, which we have referred to as its head. Finally, the tonal contour on the head of the predicate in a negation is the opposite of the contour found in corresponding affirmations.

The nature of the pitch pattern over the head of the negated predicate is different for Tone I and Tone II words. In the case of Tone I words, the rise that begins at the negation marker reaches a peak right before the vowel of the stressed syllable. This is followed by a steep fall over the stressed syllable, after which F0 levels out again. We can phonologize this as a HL contour associated with the stressed syllable of Tone I

words, the components of which are aligned before and after the vowel, respectively. As for Tone II words, here the rise from *no* ends after the penultimate syllable, irrespective of whether it is stressed – as in Figure 5.B – or not – as in Figure 7.B. This maximum is followed by a fall. This F0 pattern can be phonologized as an HL associated with the final syllable of Tone II words. Like other bitonal elements, the component tones align just before and just after the vowel.

A schematic representation of the tone associations under marked accentuation in one of the minimal sets is presented in (7). The associations for final-stressed Tone II words are the same as those for the penult-stressed forms in (7b). As seen from a comparison with the unmarked tone associations in (2), the marked pattern is the opposite of the contour found in affirmatives – for Tone I words, there is a fall on the stressed syllable instead of a rise; for Tone II words, there is a rise on the penult instead of a fall.

(7)

(7a) Tone I:

L HL

n o l o r a

NEG parrot

(7b) Tone II:

L HL

n o l o r a

NEG turn

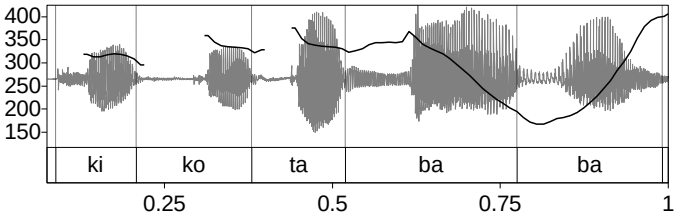
Now that we have examined the marked accentuation in negations, and postulated phonological representations for negation with Tone I and Tone II words, we can proceed to consider marked accentuation in two other contexts where it arises: question-word questions (4.2) and certain types of imperatives (4.3).

4.2 Question-word questions

The effect of marked accentuation on question-word questions is illustrated in Figure 10. In panel A, the head of the predicate is a Tone I word; in panel B it is a Tone II word. Irrespective of the Tone class of the word that heads the predicate, F0 begins at a high level the question word, so that there is an initial plateau leading up to the head of the predicate. This plateau ends in a fall. When the predicate is headed by a Tone I word, the fall takes place over the stressed syllable. When it is headed by a Tone II word, F0 starts to fall in the final syllable.

10.A Tone I

kiko ta baba
WHQ COP dribble
'What is 'dribble'?'



10.B Tone II

Kua ta lo ra
WHQ COP turn:PARTIC
'Which one is wrapped?'

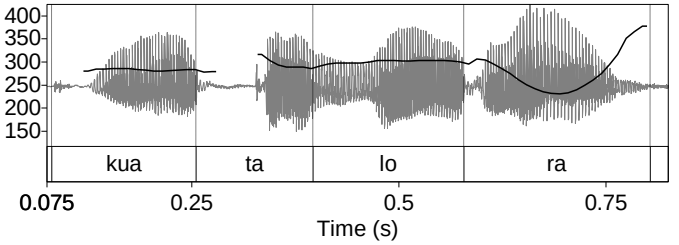


Figure 10 *Tone I (A) and Tone II words heading the predicate of question-word questions. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F9*

Clearly, these F0 falls over the content words heading the predicate are consistent with the analyses presented in (7). The difference is in the preceding contour. In negations, there is a preceding Low target associated with *no*. In the question-word questions, the preceding contour is high level, from which we can infer that a High tone associates with sentence-initial question words.

Question-word questions optionally have a high edge tone at the end of the utterance. Examples with a final rise are presented in Figure 10. Figure 11 shows the same sentence illustrated in Figure 10.A, now by a different speaker, who does not utter it with a final rise. Out of a total of 120 question-word utterance tokens, 103 end high on the final syllable; the remainder seventeen tokens end low. These seventeen low-ending tokens come from four different speakers. Impressionistically, the difference between high- and low-ending question-word questions is most salient. We speculate that the low-ending variant may be more common in natural – i.e., spontaneous – communication.

kiko ta baba
WHCOP dribble
'What is 'dribble'?'

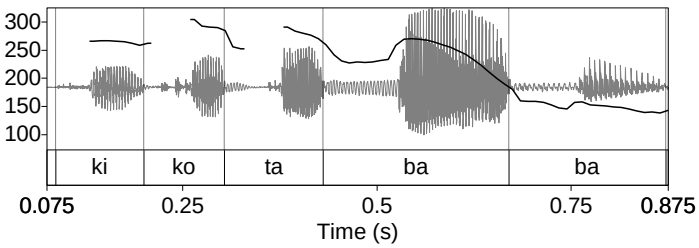


Figure 11 *A question-word question with a Tone I word heading the predicate. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F7*

4.3 Imperatives

Imperatives constitute a third construction over which marked accentuation is found. Figure 12 illustrates the realization of several imperative constructions, with a Tone II verb. When the imperative is a prohibition, as in Figure 12.C,D, it is introduced by the negation marker *no*. Here we find the same tone pattern as in non-imperative negations: a rise begins over the negation marker, and carries through until the onset of the final syllable of the Tone II verb.

When the imperative does not begin with *no*, we find different patterns, depending on whether the Tone II verb is in utterance-final position or not. If it is, as in Figure 12.A, it has the marked accentuation, familiar from negations and question-word questions. By contrast, if it is followed by another constituent, then the first syllable has low F0, and there is a rise on the second syllable (cf. Figure 12.B). This is the unmarked contour on Tone II words, represented schematically in (2b).

It is worthwhile to note that in the case of these imperative forms there is a high degree of consistency among speakers. With the exception of one utterance token by a single speaker, the realizations of these four types of imperatives consistently correspond to the patterns described here and illustrated in Figure 12.

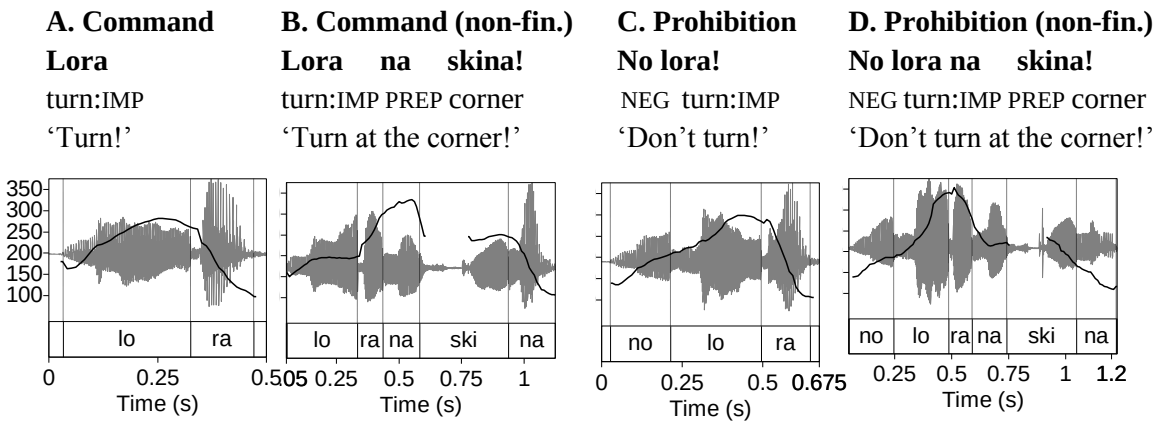


Figure 12 *Tone II verb in four kinds of imperatives, crossing command vs. prohibition with presence vs. absence of a following constituent. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F1*

4.4 Discussion

There are important differences between Römer's analysis of marked accentuation, which follows from the traditional fully specified tone hypothesis and our own analysis, which follows from Remijsen & van Heuven's (2005) version of the underspecified tone hypothesis. Summarizing them briefly, Römer postulates that

lexical Low tones get dissociated, and that the resulting toneless syllables get associated with an adjacent High tone. This rule applies to the right of (1) the negation marker *no*, and (2) any question word. Our own analysis of the marked accentuation centers on the head of the predicate. If this word is a Tone I word, then a HL contour tone is associated with its stressed syllable. If it is a Tone II word, then a HL contour tone is associated with its final syllable – instead of the lexical tone sequence HL on the penult. In addition, a Low initial boundary tone associates with the left edge of the negated predicate, and a High initial boundary tone associates with the left edge of a question-word question. These two competing analyses make different predictions with respect to the tonal contour (a) on the head of the predicate, (b) to its left, and (c), to its right. We will examine the predictions made by the two different hypotheses that underlie these two analyses against the evidence from our data for each of these domains in turn.

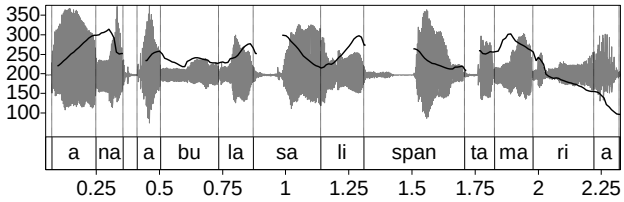
Starting with the head of the predicate, Römer's analysis of the marked accentuation involves High tones linked with each syllable. As a result, a Tone word like I *lora* 'parrot' would be realized /lórá/. This phonological analysis predicts high level pitch across the word. However, the F0 tracks of Tone I words in the head of the predicate (Figures 8.B, 9.B, 10.A, 11) show a steep fall on the stressed syllable. These realizations are more adequately described by a phonological analysis that postulates a HL contour tone associated with the stressed syllable of Tone I words, as in (7a).

As for the tonal contour leading up to the head of the predicate, Römer predicts the same pattern – high F0 – in negations and in question-word questions. Our data contradict this. There is indeed high F0 to the left of the head of the predicate in question-word questions (Figures 10,11), but not consistently in negations (Figures 5.B-9.B). In the latter, we find that F0 rises from an F0 minimum on *no*. This difference between these two constructions is in line with our hypothesis that there is a High boundary tone at the start of question-word questions, and a Low one at the start of negated predicates.

Finally we come to the tonal contour following the head of the predicate in marked accentuation. Our own analysis does not postulate any tonal marking on this part of the sentence; Römer predicts that the replacement of Low tones by High tones carries on throughout the utterance. In the examples considered so far, the head is usually no more than three syllables away from the end of the utterance. To get a clearer view we can examine longer sentences, like the ones in Figure 13. These sentences involve serializations of three Tone II verbs: II *bula* 'jump', II *sali* 'leave', and II *spanta* 'scare'. The corresponding affirmative declarative sentence by the same speaker is included in Figure 13.A as a baseline for comparison. In this baseline, we find the unmarked Tone II pattern – cf. (2b) – on each of the three verbs: each time falling or low on the penult, and rising or high on the final. Now let us consider the

corresponding negation in Figure 13.B. There is the now familiar reduction – *no* is again reduced to its onset consonant, which in this case has assimilated in place with the following labial. As in the earlier examples involving Tone II words, the negation is marked tonally, by means of a rise that sets in on *no* and that culminates at the boundary between the penult and the final syllable of the Tone II verb. After this, the F0 shows a gradual decline, all the way up to the end of the utterance.

13.A Affirmative
[What is happening?]
Anna a bula sali spanta Ma ria.
A. COMPL jump leave scare M.
'Anna has jumped out, scaring Maria.'



13.B Negation
[Has Anna jumped out, scaring Maria?]
Anna no a bula sali spanta Ma ria.
A. NEG COMPL jump leave scare M.
'Anna has not jumped out, scaring Maria.'

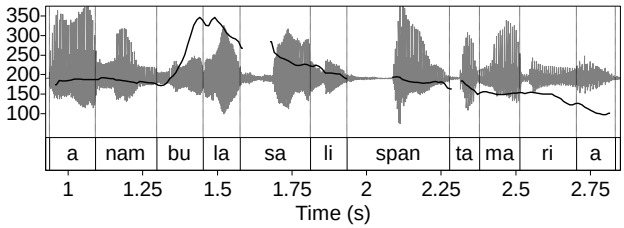


Figure 13 *Negation (A) and corresponding affirmative (B) of a serial verb construction involving a sequence of three Tone II verbs. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F1*

Römer's analysis for the sentence in Figure 13.B predicts a sequence of High tones, lowered slightly between the penult and final of every Tone II verb, as a result of downstep. Instead, the observed F0 pattern can better be described as plain declination, or, in phonological terms, an absence of tonal specification between the head of the predicate and the end of the utterance. That is, the Tone II verbs that follow the head are phonologically toneless, and their F0 patterns can be accounted for in terms of interpolation between the High tone on $_{\text{II}}$ *bula* and the Low edge tone at the end of the utterance. This interpretation is confirmed by a measurement of F0 at the very end of the utterances illustrated in Figure 13. Averaged across all 9 speakers, the F0 minimum at the end of the utterance is 118 Hz for the affirmative and 111 Hz for the negation. This result contradicts an interpretation whereby the tonal specification of the latter would involve more High tone targets.

We can conclude, then, that marked accentuation does not add tonal specification on words following the head of the predicate, but rather involves fewer tone targets. Our data is best accounted for by an analysis which posits that the HL lexical tone and the

LH prominence tone are absent on this part of the sentence. In summary, the F0 pattern preceding, on, and following the head of a predicate under marked accentuation can be accounted for more adequately in terms of the analysis proposed here, which is based on the underspecified tone hypothesis, than in terms of the one proposed in Römer (1991).

5 Towards a Phonological Model of the Pitch Patterns in Curaçaoan Papiamentu

In the previous section, we have examined the realization of marked accentuation, proposed a phonological analysis for it, and evaluated it relative to a competing analysis (Römer, 1991). Alongside the privative analysis of unmarked accentuation in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005), summarized in section 2.1, we now have phonological analyses of the two main accentuation patterns that are found in Curaçaoan Papiamentu. In this section, we complement these analyses with other phonological descriptions of other elements, leading to a systematic overview of the pitch patterns found over utterances in Curaçaoan Papiamentu.

This overview is a model, in the sense that, given information relating to sentence type, tone class, and information structure, it predicts which sequences of tones are available to speakers. In this context, we extrapolate from the behaviour of the speakers represented in our dataset to the community of speakers of Curaçaoan Papiamentu as a whole. This is justified, as the postulated tone patterns reflect consistent tendencies across the 9 speakers who are represented in our sample. Nonetheless, there remain numerous issues with respect to which our model is not explicit, and that is why we have characterized the model proposed here as a work in progress. One limitation is that our sentences represent enacted communication rather than spontaneous speech. Another is that there are several syntactic and discourse-related processes that are not included in our dataset. For example, we have no data on intonational pitch patterns associated with left- and right-dislocation, nor with complex sentences involving subordinations, nor on intricate patterns of discourse in which multiple constituents within the phrase are given prominence.

Our model is articulated within the framework of the autosegmental-metrical theory of intonational phonology – for background see e.g. Pierrehumbert (1980); Ladd (1996: 42ff); Gussenhoven (2004: 123ff.). A key insight of autosegmental-metrical theory is that the F0 contour of an utterance is taken to be composed of a number of local tone events. These are associated with the segmental string – the sequence of consonants and vowels, at particular points. One set of tones are associated with the edges of intonational phrases. These are called edge tones. Another set of tones, often referred to as pitch-accents, are associated within these domains, usually with the stressed

syllables of prominent content words. We will cover edge tones in section 5.1, and accentual tones in section 5.2.

5.1 The intonational phrase and the edge tones that mark it off

The intonational phrase (IP) of Curaçaoan Papiamentu is a prosodic domain, with the following structure: it has edge tones marking off its beginning and its end, and at least one accentual tone in between. A spoken utterance corresponds to one or more IPs. The sentences in the dataset are all simple clauses – i.e., without subordinations – and these tend to be made up of two IPs: one corresponding to the subject, and the second to the predicate. But there are exceptions, as we will see below, and these confirm that the IP is a prosodic rather than a syntactic domain (cf. Shattuck-Hufnagel & Turk, 1996). In prosodic terms, then, the defining characteristics of an IP are the tones that associate with the syllables at its left and right edges. In schematic representations, the left and right edge tones are preceded and followed by a %, respectively.

As a first illustration, consider the representations in (8a,b). These representations show the association between tones and syllables, just as in (2), but now for whole sentences. Illustrations (8a,b) show the tone associations of the utterances in Figure 2.A,B, respectively. In each of these sentences there are two IPs, corresponding to the subject and the predicate, respectively. The first IP starts with a Low edge tone, and ends in a High one: %L …H%. In (8a), the syllable with which the %L is associated is the stress-bearing syllable, and therefore it attracts the LH accentual tone as well. This translates to rising F0 over the initial syllable. In (8b), by contrast, the accentual tone is associated with the stressed final syllable of ˌ*Kòr sou*, and the only tone associated with the penultimate syllable is the %L. As a result, F0 on the penult is low – actually falling, due to the perturbing effect of the initial [k]. This comparison shows that the realization of a given tone – in this case the %L – varies depending on any other tones that may be associated with the same syllable. As for the H%, it is characteristic of non-final IPs, i.e., IPs that are not the last one in an utterance. This use of the high right edge tone phenomenon is quite common cross-linguistically in intonation systems, and they are sometimes referred to as ‘continuation rises’ (cf. Ladd, 1996; Caspers, 1998).

(8)

(8a)

%L LH H% %H LH HL L%

R u b a t i n l o r a na m o n d i

Aruba have parrot PREP countryside

'Aruba has parrots in the countryside.'

(8b)

%L LH H% %H LH L%

K ò r s o u t i n l o r a na m o n d i

Curaçao have parrot PREP countryside

'Curaçao has parrots in the countryside.'

The following IPs in (8a,b) each begin with a %H boundary tone. In Figure 2.A, this translates into high F0 on I*tin*, after which F0 falls right away due to the LH accentual tone on I *lora*. In (8b), the accentual tone only appears much later in the IP, on I *mondi*, and here we find F0 remains high from I*tin* up to *na*. This difference demonstrates that edge tones may spread inwards from the edges, up to an accentual specification of tone.

We stated above that the IP cannot be defined in purely syntactic terms. That is, whereas subject and predicate often correspond to an IP, the utterance may be parsed into IPs in a different way. For example, in sentences where the subject is a pronoun like *mi* 'I', this short function morpheme and others like it are typically part of the same IP as the predicate that follows them. Another case in point is when the subject or the predicate are long. Consider, for example, the sentence in (9), where three nouns appear in the object position, as a list. An example of the F0 track of this sentence is presented in Figure 14. The first IP corresponds to a prepositional phrase. Then follows the predicate, which corresponds to three IPs, the first two of which can be identified by the right edged H% that gives rise to high F0 on the final unstressed syllables of I *patu* and I *lora*. As noted above, the right edged H% is characteristic of a non-final IP. Similarly, the right edge tone of the final IP within an utterance is usually L%.

(9)

%L L H H% %H LH H% %L L H H% %L H L L%

D e n k o u c h i t i n p a t u l o r a i c h u c h u b i.

prep cage have duck parrot CONJ tropical_mockingbird

'In the cage there are ducks, parrots, and tropical mockingbirds.'

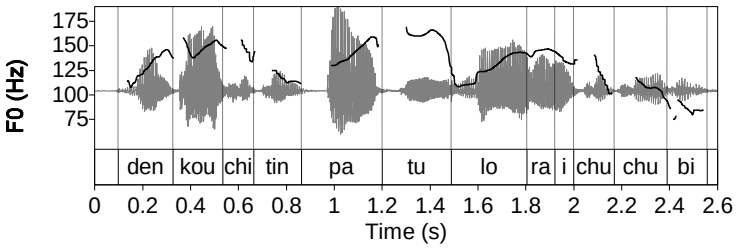


Figure 14 *A sentence illustrating a listing of nouns. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker M2*

In summary, %L … H% is the most common edge tone sequence for subjects and other IPs that are not the last one in the utterance. Predicates that map onto a single IP have the edge tone sequence %H … L%.

However, several alternative patterns also occur, both in non-final and in final IPs. First, the left edge tone of the final IP within the utterance is not invariably %H: it is %L in negations, as seen from Figures 5.B-9.A, among others. Also, H% is found at right edge of a final IP in questions. H% is found consistently at the end of yes/no questions. This is illustrated in Figure 15. The marking of the utterance in Figure 15 as a yes/no question is purely prosodic. The segmental morphosyntax of this sentence is identical to that of the declarative statement meaning 'The baby is dribbling.' Moreover, H% is optional at the end of question-word questions. For example, question-word questions with a final H% appear in Figure 10; while an example of a question-word question ending in L% can be found in Figure 11.

E bebi ta baba?
ART baby INCOMPL dribble
'Is the baby dribbling?'

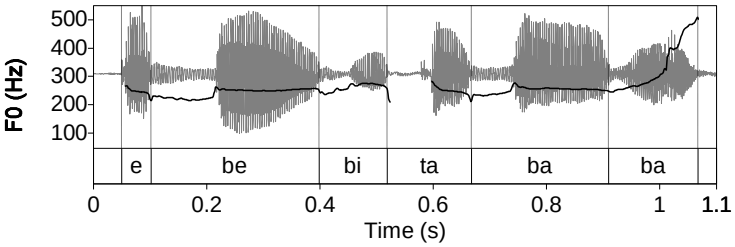


Figure 15 *A yes/no-word question. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F9*

Figure 15 also illustrates that the left edge tone of the subject can be %H, even if it is a non-final IP. Both yes/no and question-word questions set in high. Admittedly, if we interpret the utterance-initial question words as part of the same IP as the following

predicate, along with pronouns, then the %H follows from the regular edge tone configuration of final IPs (%H … L%).

A summary overview of the edge tones postulated here, and of their functions can be found in Figure 16. Left edge tones are aligned early in the syllable; right edge tones are aligned late. The accentual tones and some general issues in Figure 16 will be covered in section 5.

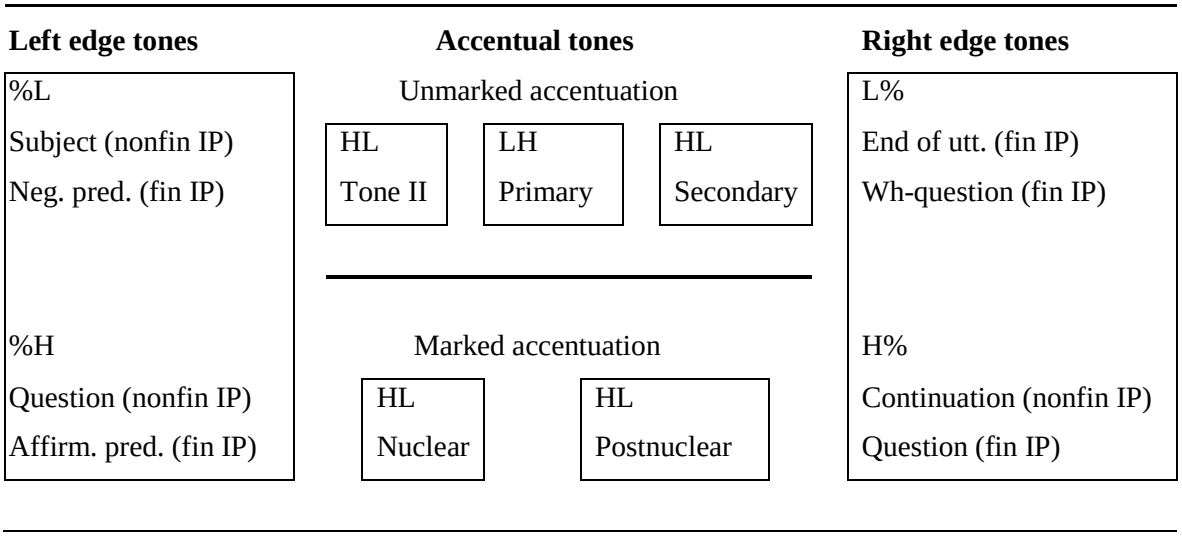


Figure 16 *A summary of various tones – edge and accentual – that can be part of the intonational phrase (IP) in Curaçaoan Papiamentu. Separate specifications are postulated for final IPs within the utterance (fin IP) and for earlier IPs (nonfin IP)*

5.2 Accentual tones

In this section we present an overview of the accentual tones of Curaçaoan Papiamentu. This overview covers both lexical and intonational specification of tones. The results in section 4 reveal that the specification of tones in negations, question-word questions and certain imperatives (marked) is completely different from the specification found in other contexts, such as affirmative declaratives and citation forms (unmarked). For this reason, we draw a basic distinction between unmarked and marked accentuation patterns. We will cover them in turn, starting out with unmarked accentuation patterns.

5.2.1 Accentual tones under unmarked accentuation

Under unmarked accentuation, any Tone II within an IP word has the HL lexical tone on its initial syllable. In the sentence in (10), for example, there are lexical tones on

each of the three serialized Tone II verbs. An F0 track of this utterance can be found in Figure 13.A.

(10)

%L LH H% %H HL LH HL LH HL LH HL L%

An na a bu la sa li span ta Ma ri a

Anna COMPL jump leave scare Maria.

'Anna has jumped out scaring Maria.'

In addition to lexical tones, there may be one or more intonational accents. If one of the constituents within the phrase is in narrow focus, then it bears the LH prominence tone. In this way, the LH is on $_{I}$ *lora* in (8a), and on $_{I}$ *mondi* in (8b) – F0 tracks are in Figure 2.A,B, respectively.

There are cases in which no single constituent stands out in terms of discourse prominence, that is, that the whole predicate is equally prominent. We have referred to this as 'broad focus'. Broad focus predicates reveal the default accentuation pattern, which ensures that the IP contains at least one accentual tone. In Curaçaoan Papiamentu, default accentuation associates the LH prominence tone with the head of the predicate. The LH associates to the stressed syllable of Tone I words, and to the final syllable of Tone II words. This is illustrated by the utterance in (11) – its F0 track appears in Figure 17. This sentence was uttered in answer to the question 'Is this a grey parrot?'

(11)

%L LH H% %H LH HL L%

e sa ki ta un lo ra shi ni shi

DEM COP ART parrot grey

'This is a grey parrot.'

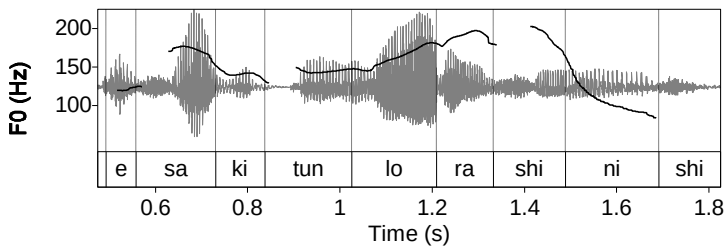


Figure 17 *A declarative sentence with broad focus. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker M10*

It is noteworthy that the pattern of association under broad focus is structurally identical to the pattern with narrow focus on the head of the predicate. This can be seen by comparing (8a) with (11), or Figure 2.A with Figure 17. In this respect, the intonation system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu is interestingly different from many other intonation systems, where default accentuation places an accent at the right hand side of the utterance-final IP – the default accentual tone is associated with the last content word in Icelandic (Dehé, 2007) and in Catalan and Italian (Ladd, 1996: 194) and it is associated with the rightmost noun in Dutch, English, and German (Ladd 1996: 189).

An IP may contain more than one instance of the prominence tone, with the effect of emphasizing several constituents. One example appears in Figure 13.A, where each of the verbs has an LH on its final syllable; another appears in Figure 18. Here we find the LH prominence tone both on ˩ *lora* and on ˩*shi nishi*. This utterance was realized after the same precursor question as the utterance in Figure 17. Both across and within speakers, it is the only realisation of this sentence with two instances of the LH within the predicate.

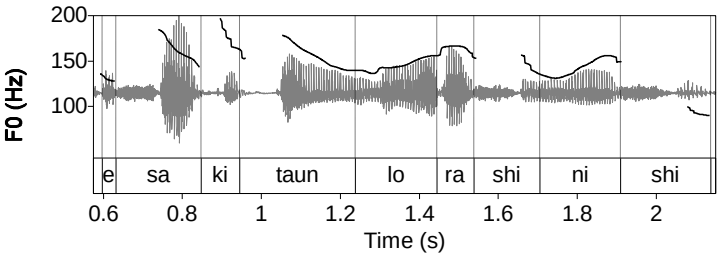


Figure 18 *A declarative sentence with two instances of LH prominence within the same IP. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker M6*

In addition, when the first content word of the predicate is a Tone II word, then a broad focus realisation may not involve the LH prominence tone at all. This is illustrated in Figure 6.A. This suggests that the HL lexical tone can fulfil the requirement for the IP to contain an accentual tone.

A third tone that can occur within the IP under unmarked accentuation is HL, now not as a lexical tone but as an intonational one. Contrary to the LH prominence tone and the HL lexical tone, it is not able to fulfil the requirement for the IP to contain an accentual tone. In our dataset, it is only found on Tone I words, where it appears on the stressed syllable. It is used as a secondary accentual tone within the phrase, coming to the right of a LH prominence tone. When the prominence tone is associated with the first content word of the predicate – due to narrow or broad focus – F0 tends to remain high until the stressed syllable of the following content word, where it makes a sharp fall. The sequence of the LH prominence tone followed by the HL

create a plateau of high F0. An example is presented in Figure 19. Crucially, F0 remains high after the second prominence tone on $_{II}$ *djaka*, an exceptional case of a Tone II noun, and only falls on $_{I}$ *kas*. A schematic representation of the tone associations appears in (13). Additional examples can be found in Figures 2.A, 3.A, 8.A, and 9.A.

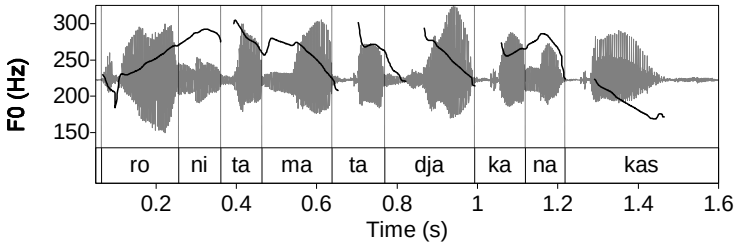


Figure 19 *An affirmation with a sequence of two Tone II words. F0 trace (in Hz) is overlaid on a waveform (in grey), segmented at the syllable level. Speaker F5*

(13)

%L LH H% %H HL LH HL LH HL L%

R o n n i e t a m a t a d j a k a n a k a s
Ronnie INCOMPLP kill rat PREP house
'Ronnie is killing rats at home.'

5.2.2 Accentual tones under marked accentuation

Marked accentuation is found on negated predicates, question-word questions, and certain imperatives (cf. section 4). Across our dataset, marked accentuation involves a particular accentual tone, which is associated with the head of the predicate. As seen from (7), the nature of this accentual specification depends on the Tone class. On Tone I words, it is a HL sequence on the stressed syllable. On Tone II words, it is HL sequence associated with the final syllable, irrespective of the location of stress. Moreover, the HL sequence replaces the HL lexical tone which associates with the penultimate syllable of Tone II words under unmarked accentuation. The tone associations under the marked accentuation are illustrated in (14) and (15). As seen from (14), no HL lexical tones are marked in the penult of the three Tone II verbs. Acoustic evidence in support of this phonological interpretation can be found in Figure 13.B, where the contour shows a shallow decline from after $_{II}$ *bula* up to the end of the utterance. In this respect, the sparse specification under negation in (14) contrasts with the much richer specification in the corresponding affirmative - cf. (10).

(14)

Anna NEG COMPL jump leave scare Maria.
'Anna has not jumped out scaring Maria.'

If we consider the tone associations on (14) against the F0 track of this sentence in Figure 13.B, it is not clear that we actually need as complex a phonological pattern as the HL – simply postulating a H on the penult of the Tone II word would appear to be sufficient, and the following fall could be accounted for in terms of interpolation with the right edged L%. The sentence in (15) makes clear that the second component of the HL combination is required. Here the L of the HL sequence is immediately followed and preceded by H tones, and as a result it marks a salient valley in F0 contour (cf. Figure 10.B).

(15)

WHQ COP turn. PARTIC
'Which one is wrapped?'

The remainder of the IP – from the head of the predicate up to the right edge tone – may contain a secondary HL accentual tone, as in Figures 7.B, 8.B, and 9.B, or it may not, as in Figures 5.B, 6.B, 7.B, and 13.B. The same accentual tone was postulated under unmarked accentuation. When present, it is ordered to the right of the primary accent, which is on the first content word of the predicate. We have only observed it on Tone I words. However, their impact on the F0 contour of the IP is different. Under unmarked accentuation, the HL secondary tone follows the LH prominence tone. This gives rise to a high plateau. Under marked accentuation, the secondary HL tone follows an L – the second component in the HL sequence. As a result, there is not a plateau, but rather a suspension of downdrift from this low target to the initial high target of the HL secondary tone.

An overview of the accentual tones of Curaçaoan Papiamentu is presented in Figure 16. This schema shows the tone patterns that associate with syllables. In addition, we can be more specific about the alignment of the tones, i.e., the precise position of the turning points in the F0 contour relative to the speech segments. Consider, for

example, the HL lexical tone. As seen from Figures 3A, 3B, and 5A, its first component (H) aligns right before the vowel, and its second component (L) aligns right after the vowel. This alignment pattern with the most salient part of the syllable – the vowel – is critical to the perception of low or falling pitch. Likewise, other contour tones – i.e., tone patterns that consist of two components – are aligned in the same way, with the first component right before and the second component right after the vowel. Single tones, such as H%, are aligned with the end of the syllable. The F0 on syllables that do not have tone associated with them is determined on the basis of interpolation between neighboring targets. Alternatively, F0 on these syllables may follow from tonal spreading. Consider the F0 on the interval from *no* up to the stressed syllable of Tone I words, or to the penult of Tone II words. As noted above, this rise is concentrated right before the stressed syllable of *ınamo ra* in Figure 9.B. In Figure 5.B, most of this rise has been completed by the end of the negation marker *no*, and in other examples, the rise is spread out more evenly. This variability can be accounted for in terms of rightward spreading of the Low edge tone on *no* in Figure 9.B, and leftward spreading of the initial component of the HL combination in Figure 5.B. We speculate that this spreading lends emphasis to the constituent on which the F0 change is concentrated as a result.

6 Conclusion

In this paper we have examined the phenomenon of marked accentuation, originally reported by Römer (1991), in the context of the underspecified/privative analysis of the Curaçaoan Papiamentu tone system presented in Remijsen & van Heuven (2005). Our results confirm Römer's description of special pitch patterns that are characteristic of negations and question-word questions. In addition, we have demonstrated that the same pitch patterns are found over certain types of imperatives. Contrary to Römer (1991), however, we found that the source of these pitch patterns marking centers on a single word, namely the first content word in the predicate. Under marked accentuation, content words in this position have a tone pattern that is the opposite of what they would have if the sentence were affirmative and declarative: rising or high F0 becomes falling or low F0, and vice versa. This prosodic marking is salient to the extent that the segmental marking of negation can be greatly reduced.

As noted in the introduction, the combination of lexical and intonational specifications of pitch in Curaçaoan Papiamentu raises the question as to how these specifications interact. An important finding of this study is that the formal realization of the lexical tone contrast is not constant across sentence types. That is, the HL contour on the penultimate syllable which identifies Tone II words in affirmative declaratives is absent in negations, question-word questions, and in most imperatives. This means

that the relation between word-level and phrase-level tone cannot be characterized as a sequential process whereby lexical tones are specified first, to be complemented in a second stage by additional intonational tones. Instead, both lexical and sentence-level information weigh in the specification of tones. The same conclusion can be drawn from the findings of Gussenhoven & van der Vliet (1999), in their study of the tone system of Venlo Dutch, another language that combines privative lexical tone with intonational distinctions. They find that a marked tone pattern is only realized in particular sentence contexts, namely when the word is either in focus or phrase-final position.

While our study makes explicit some essential characteristics of the intonation system of Curaçaoan Papiamentu, many questions remain. For example, what are the prosodic implications of fronting constituents? And what happens with marked accentuation in utterances with narrow focus on a constituent other than the first content word of the predicate? In other words, can we separate lexical tone from focus-marking tone, under marked accentuation, just as we can under unmarked accentuation? Due to the limitations of the current dataset, we have no conclusive answers to these and many other questions regarding pitch patterns in Curaçaoan Papiamentu. But we hope that our model provides a framework that helps us to formulate additional questions like these, so that they may be answered in further studies.

ABBREVIATIONS

1P=1st plural
2S=2nd person singular
ART=article
COP=copula
COMPL=completive maker
CONJ=conjunction
DEM=demonstrative
IMP=imperative
INCOMPL=incompletive marker
NEG=negation maker
PARTIC=participle
PL=plural
POSS=possessive maker
PREP=preposition
WHQ=question word

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PHONETIC CORRELATES OF TONE AND STRESS IN CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU

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0 Introduction

This chapter examines the tone and stress system in Papiamentu (Rivera-Castillo & Faraclas, 2006) based on data collected in Curaçao during the summer of 2003 by a research team including Don Walicek, Abigail Michel, Lucy Pickering and Yolanda Rivera-Castillo with funds provided by the Vicepresident's Office at the University of Puerto Rico (ATLANTEA). In Curaçao, the University of the Netherlands Antilles, a local radio station (Direct 107.1), and the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI) helped extensively in making the interview process a success. Abigail Michel, linguist and native speaker of Papiamentu, composed most of the carrier sentences used for this study and collaborated in the collection of spontaneous speech data. Dr. Luis Ortiz (University of Puerto Rico) was our sociolinguistic consultant. Dr. Pickering and Dr. Rivera-Castillo's larger goal is to achieve a systematic description of the mixed tone/stress subsystems of Papiamentu. Partial results of this ongoing project are included in Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004: 261-284).

This paper also discusses the contribution of studies of suprasegmentals in Papiamentu to the development of models of suprasegmental systems across languages. Phonological descriptions of Papiamentu suggest that it has a system that combines stress from its Indo-European lexifier and tone from its substrate West African languages.

1 Descriptions of the Suprasegmental System in Papiamentu

Traditionally, characterizations of the phonological system of Papiamentu have relied on researchers' auditory observations, rather than on instrumental data. Although the present analysis of instrumentally-based experimental data represents a relatively less explored line of research into Papiamentu phonology, the description of suprasegmentals in Papiamentu as constituting a system where stress and tone interact, dates from studies carried out as early as 1951. A number of previously published works on Papiamentu assert that the Papiamentu stress and tone systems interact in

ways that have previously been identified in languages such as Saramaccan (Rountree, 1972), Palantla Chinantec (Merrifield & Edmondson, 1999), Ma'ya (Remijsen, 2002), and San Mateo Huave (Yip, 2002), among many others.

Papiamentu's suprasegmental system has the following features.

1. Stress system - primary and secondary stress, only one primary stress per word.
2. Tone system - High (H) and Low (L) tones. Tone distinguishes between minimal pairs of monosyllabic words as well as between words belonging to separate lexical categories.

The Papiamentu tone system also displays the following features shared by many tone systems worldwide:

- Polarization: The default tones assigned over syllables which are underlyingly unspecified for tone alternate between H and L tones from right to left.
- Contour tones in bimoraic syllables (long syllables), resulting from phrase final lengthening and stress.
- Tonal Preservation: Tones are preserved even when a vowel segment is deleted.
- Floating Tones: These are tones that attach to phrase-final vowels; for example, in negative sentences.
- Assimilatory Downstepping (Laniran & Clements, 2003: 205): Gradual lowering of H tones when a L tone is present.

One of the sets used consistently to demonstrate mixed features in this system consists of disyllabic words that form minimal triplets to indicate categorical distinctions (stressed syllables are capitalized and an acute accent indicates H tone):[1]

(1) A minimal triplet showing the possible interaction of tone and stress in disyllabic words:

maTÁ 'killed' V (participle form)
Máta 'plant' N
MAtá 'to kill' V (base form)

Table 1 lists typical patterns of interaction between tone and stress in Papiamentu.

[1] The final possible form máTA does not occur because stress is penultimate by default; and a H tone in penultimate position will attract the stress.

Table 1 *Patterns of Tone and Stress in Papiamentu (based on Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994; Maurer, 1998)*

Lexical Class	Antepenultimate Syllable	Penultimate Syllable	Final Syllable
Disyllabic Verbs: MAtá		Stress	H tone
Past Participles: maTÁ*			H tone & Stress
Polysyllabic words: kuminSÁ	Weak Stress		H tone & Stress
Nouns with heavy final syllable: ruMÁN**		L tone	H tone & Stress
Nouns with a final light syllable: MÁta		H tone & Stress	
Monosyllabic lexical items: KÉ			H tone & Stress

*Except for those ending in L tone or forms with a prefix e-
**Or nouns derived from verbs

Citation forms such as those shown above can be further conditioned by phrase level phenomena (Harris, 1951; Römer, 1991; Remijsen & van Heuven, 2005). For example, a stressed H toned syllable and an utterance final phrase-level H floating tone may coincide to create an extra H tone as opposed to the contour that might occur over the final word in declarative sentences, and yes/no questions.

1.2 Phonetic Correlates of Stress and Tone

Using auditory based analysis, Debose (1975) and Römer (1980) suggested that in Papiamentu, unlike Spanish, duration rather than pitch (also referred to as fundamental frequency or F0) functions as the primary phonetic correlate of stress, with pitch functioning instead as the primary correlate of tone height. Later analyses by Rivera-Castillo (1998), Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004), and Remijsen & van Heuven (2005) provide acoustic analyses that corroborate these initial auditory descriptions. In an analysis of Ma'ya (an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia by a few thousand speakers), Remijsen (2002) suggests that:

1. Duration is a reliable cue for stress, irrespective of syllable position (e.g. initial vs. final, etc.), as are changes in first formant (F1) values.
2. F0 is a reliable cue for tone. A higher F0 level signals a H tone and a further increase in F0 level occurs if a H toned syllable is also stressed.

Remijsen's (2002: 613) conclusion is that: "acoustic parameters most important in the encoding of stress are least important in the encoding of tone and vice versa." These

predictions fit the Functional Load Hypothesis [discussed by Remijsen (2002) on Berinstein (1979)] which states that prosodic parameters are a finite resource:

> […]the distribution of prosodic parameters is determined by a constraint to minimize overlap between various prosodic parameters (such as duration, pitch, intensity) in the encoding of linguistic functions […] This is similar to the notion of the dispersion hypothesis for vowels, i.e. that languages will maximize the contrast between linguistic categories. (592)

Previous descriptive studies and experimental work on stress indicates that this constraint on the distribution of phonetic resources is universal. Generally, H toned syllables are shorter than stressed or L toned syllables, and stressed syllables are longer than unstressed syllables (Pike, 1974; Beckman & Edwards, 1988). However, in languages with contrastive vowel length, duration is not a cue for word stress (Remijsen, 2002: 592).

Initial forays into instrumental analysis of the same kind of mixed system in Papiamentu have yielded similar results, leading us to propose that the relation between phonetic correlates and phonological categories of tone and stress is non-arbitrary and predictable (Rivera-Castillo, 1998; Rivera-Castillo & Pickering, 2004). Therefore, we predict that:

1. F0 measurements will be higher on vowels that are specified for H tone.
2. Syllables identified as stressed will exhibit longer duration measurements.
3. Phonetic correlates of tone and stress will also show the influence of phrase and word level phenomena such that combinations of stress, tone, and/or intonation will result in different acoustic encoding.

1.3 The Pilot Study on Aruban Papiamentu

A pilot study conducted by Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004) was based on tests that we conducted using one native speaker of Aruban Papiamentu then residing in Alabama, U.S.A. We prepared 16 sentences that incorporated specific stress and tonal distinctions, which we divided into 3 sets:

1. Set A, tokens 1-6, which focused on sets of minimal triplets as in (1) above:
2. Set B, tokens 7-10, which focused on tonal polarization and spreading across LHL & HHH sequences: and

3. Set C, tokens 11-16, which focused on H tones in different positions and the effect of different syllable onsets.

Measurements were conducted following criteria established by previous work on the acoustics of tone and stress (Beckman & Edwards, 1986 and 1988; Liberman, Schultz, Hong & Okeke, 1993; Ladefoged, 1996; Shunde, 1996; and others). For frequencies below 1000 Hz, the variation in frequency that we can detect as a change in pitch is about 2 or 3 Hz (Beckman, 1986; Ladefoged, 1996). There are no absolute levels for pitch height measurements for H toned syllables or L toned syllables. Pitch height is relative, therefore it can change according to the vowel's position in the utterance, the speaker's gender, and co-articulation whereby in a change from one tone to the next there is a period of time during which the speaker has to make a transition (Yip, 2002). Thus, we determined the correlation between pitch height and tone according to differences between adjacent syllables.

We provided raw F0 measurements taken from the beginning, middle and end of each vowel nucleus under consideration. In cases where the duration of the vowel nucleus approximated or was shorter than 50 ms., it was only possible to make two measurements. The three measurements displayed a pitch pattern on the vowel nucleus that allowed us to more confidently assess postlexical pitch patterns over individual positions.

For duration, we measured the whole syllable. To calculate these values in a word such as *piska*, we measured syllables such as /pis/ from the closure and release burst to the end of the /s/ and syllables such as /ka/ from the closure (which is identifiable following the /s/), the release burst, and the voiced part of the vowel. We also considered phrasal phenomena that can affect duration measurements. For example, the first syllable bearing H tone in an utterance may exhibit additional length (Harris, 1951: 42).

The following results were obtained from the pilot study:

1. In the minimal triplets, H tone was clearly indicated throughout the data by higher F0 values and the distinctive role of tone was encoded by corresponding phonetic distinctions in F0 levels. Differences in pitch height varied, but were perceptually salient.
2. Stress by itself did not normally trigger higher pitch readings, and only had this effect in combination with a H tone in cases where downdrift did not apply.
3. Assigned primary stress corresponded to longer duration. Stressed syllables were on the average twice as long as unstressed syllables in the same position. For example, the unstressed syllable *pis* measured an average of 49.3

milliseconds (ms.) versus stressed syllable *PIS*, which measured an average of 100 ms.

4. Sentence final syllables were longer than adjacent syllables and could be approximately the same length as a preceding stressed syllable. This resulted from postlexical syllable lengthening.
5. Final syllables with stress and lexical H tone were longer than final syllables with stress only.
6. With regard to amplitude, we measured the highest peak of amplitude for each syllable (Shunde, 1996). However, we have since concluded that alternative methods of computing amplitude may be more effective, such as taking measurements throughout the syllable at 10 ms intervals (Beckman, 1986).

2 The Main Study on Curaçaoan Papiamentu

2.1 Participants, Data Collection, and Elicitation Procedures

For the main study, we interviewed twenty participants during a visit to Curaçao. The study sample was selected according to an analysis of the 2000 census completed by Luis Ortiz. The population sample was based on considerations of gender, nationality, age group, and whether participants were from Curaçao.

We recorded the data using a Telex wireless system with a Special Projects headset microphone, and a Digital Audio Tapecorder recorder. We recorded speech samples in the sound proof editing room of a radio station in Curaçao, with the exception of one set of recordings which we made with a senior citizen in her home. Recordings were transferred to a Kay Pentax Computerized Speech Lab (CSL) in order to make acoustic measurements. We administered three sets of tokens to each participant: 1) a series of sentences that focused on the minimal triplets; 2) a set of sentences focused on different grammatical constructions; and 3) some tokens containing lexical elements identified as potentially exceptional in previous phonological descriptions. A set of recordings was also made of spontaneous speech. To collect this data Abigail Michel, a native speaker of Papiamentu from Curaçao, initiated conversations with each participant.

In the present work, we analyze only the carrier sentences containing the sets of minimal triplets. These were presented in random order and speakers completed four full sets. The speaker first read a contextually appropriate sentence containing the targeted word, followed by a repetition of the targeted word in the following carrier sentence: *Mí ta bisá é palábra X dós bé,* 'I say the word X (the targeted word) two

times', as shown in (2) below:

(2) Sample token:

*Trupiál ta ún **PÁra***.	*Mí*	*ta*	*bisá é palábra **PÁra***		*dós bé.*
Trupial be DET **bird**	I	PRES	say the word	**bird**	two times
'The trupial is a **bird**.	I say the word **bird** twice'				
CONTEXTUALIZED SENTENCE	CARRIER SENTENCE				

2.2 Acoustic Analysis

In order to make acoustic measurements, we used the waveform displays, spectrographic images and the pitch function indicators generated by the CSL. It was necessary to complete a phonological description of the targeted words before we could design the carrier sentence. The study of the relation between phonological stress and tone and the phonetic correlates of these as they are measured instrumentally is a relatively new area of investigation. This is particularly true when it comes to mixed tone and stress systems. Since high pitch can also align with stressed syllables, a phonological description that distinguishes stressed syllables from those with H tone allows us to identify the phonetic correlates of each of these two different types of prominence in mixed systems.

2.2.1 F0 measurements

Recent studies involving the measurement of the F0 of vowel nuclei have employed various methods, including the measurement of F0 at durational midpoint (Nolan, 1995); and measuring the maximum value for H tones and the minimal value for L tones wherever these values appear in a nucleus (Liberman, Schultz, Hong & Okeke, 1993). Remijsen (2002) segmented each syllable manually and then selected data points at which to calculate the mean F0 value and standard deviation, which were then converted to a logarithmic scale so that differences between values are more realistic from a 'psycho-acoustic' point of view. In his (2005) study of Papiamentu, in addition to F0 values, he further measured segment durations, vowel quality (in terms of first and second formant frequencies), and vowel intensity. He measured segments at a fixed number of points, averaged over speakers and followed with an analysis of Variance (RM-ANOVA). In the present analysis, we have not yet included measures of intensity, and have focused on pitch and duration measures. We segmented words based on spectrogram readings from the CSL, and measured F0 values at the center/durational midpoint of each vowel nucleus.

Beckman (1986) talks about the problem of dealing with non-steady state vowels as there are a number of possible confounding factors, e.g. perturbations of pitch connected to the preceding consonant, utterance final pitch lowering, use of "idiomatic" pitch on the framing syllable immediately prior to the test word, and other related phenomena. These postlexical effects were a particular problem with our Aruban speaker (see Rivera-Castillo & Pickering, 2004) and we carefully designed the carrier sentences to address the majority of those problems.

The pitch measurements over the two syllables of each targeted word by each speaker are listed in Table 2 below:

Table 2 *F0 measurements (Hz) over minimal triplets of disyllabic words, by speaker (M=male; F=female; S/s=syllable) and sentence number*

	Ss NOUN				**sS PARTICIPLE**			
	#3 *MÁta* 'plant'	#6 *HÚma* 'smoke'	#9 *PÍSka* 'fish'	#12 *PÁra* 'bird'	#1 *maTÁ* 'killed'	#4 *huMÁ* 'smoked'	#8 *pisKÁ* 'fished'	#10 *paRÁ* 'stood'
Speaker 1 (M)	**99-100**	**132-134**	113-94	111-96	104-111	101-116	NR-NR	**100-97**
Speaker 2 (M)	103-NR	NR-NR	**95-99**	122-94	125-132	91-123	95-103	113-130
Speaker 3 (M)	100-78	NR-NR	110-105	**119-131***	101-110	110-144	NR-135	99-115
Speaker 4 (M)	164-163	**159-170**	**100-194***	171-163	136-153	119-146	138-158	127-140
Speaker 5 (F)	**163-171**	**158-170**	NR-146	153-130	160-170	154-164	NR-153	153-158
Speaker 6 (F)	**139-185**	**176-199**	198-181	130-108	212-215	149-186	**178-163**	148-170
Speaker 7 (F)	202-NR	204-158	246-179	176-148	205-245	154-183	NR-NR	**213-180**
Speaker 8 (F)	217-170	**183-211**	225-166	**193-222**	204-212	140-195	172-226	179-200
Speaker 9 (F)	**175-204**	**212-227**	NR-180	216-197	155-181	171-185	NR-179	161-185
Speaker 10 (M)	114-108	**111-114**	**107-118**	107-87	**120-100**	96-110	NR-107	99-104

	S s´ VERB BASE			
	#2 *MAtá* 'kill'	#5 *HUmá* 'smoke'	#7 *PISká* 'fish'	#11 *PArá* 'stand'
Speaker 1 (M)	92-102	90-102	101-106	100-108
Speaker 2 (M)	91-100	91-101	105-120	94-110
Speaker 3 (M)	98-113	111-128	NR-110	106-113
Speaker 4 (M)	138-151	113-154	147-158	137-146
Speaker 5 (F)	140-156	**163-159**	NR-155	140-150
Speaker 6 (F)	**200-164**	174-209	200-NR	148-NR
Speaker 7 (F)	165-172	**194-143**	**188-144**	150-175
Speaker 8 (F)	163-194	192-206	**214-170**	166-NR
Speaker 9 (F)	165-168	213-217	**213-189**	**168-148**
Speaker 10 (M)	98-107	102-NR	**108-77**	108-114

In the first row of Table 2 are listed the numbers assigned to each instance of the carrier sentence and the member of each minimal triplet that is targeted in each of these instances. In each subsequent row are listed two measurements for each of 10 speakers, one measurement for each syllable of the disyllabic member of the minimal triplet targeted. Other information is encoded as follows:

1. NR indicates no reading, which usually occurred because the quality of the vowel was such that a reliable reading was not possible. This was particularly the case with *HÚma* (sentence #6) where the quality of the initial vowel following the voiceless /h/ was not measurable. The initial consonant affects pitch readings, which are lower than expected in these cases. In contrast, notice that in *HUmá* (sentence #5) there are no problems with the readings for the second syllable. Some NR results were also obtained for *pisKÁ* (sentence #8) and PISká (sentence #7). In our study of Aruban Papiamentu, similar problems emerged with the segmentally identical noun PÍSka. Among the speakers with the most NR results is speaker #5 – an elderly woman who produced utterances with less than normal voice quality.
2. Measurements that do not fit the pattern are marked in bold. There are cases in which a higher pitch reading than expected occurs over the first syllable of *PISká* in #7. In our study of Aruban Papiamentu, similar problems emerged with the segmentally identical noun *PÍSka* (as in sentence #9).
   Nouns in the *piska* triplet have idiosyncratic tone/stress assignment, not determined by their lexical category. Speakers had particular difficulty identifying the meaning of the nominal member of the triplet. Further measurements are necessary to determine why there is so much variation in the pronunciation of these tokens. However, we can speculate that tonal patterns corresponding to the word's lexical category might be superimposed upon their word specific tone assignment.
3. In the realization of sentence #9 that is assigned an asterisk (as well as in other realizations of the same sentence) instead of reading the targeted word with the stress and tone of the intended nominal form *PÍSka*, many participants read it instead with the stress and tone of the participal form *pisKÁ*. Several speakers expressed doubts about this word, thus reinforcing our conclusions concerning the *piska* triplet in 2 above.
4. In the realization of sentence #12 that is assigned an asterisk as well as in other realizations of the same sentence, there was an unexpected long rising intonation contour on the second syllable. This may result from anticipation of the following H tone in the last monosyllable of the carrier sentence (*dós*) or from spreading between H tones.

For the most part, however, these initial results bear out the prediction that high-toned syllables will exhibit a higher F0 than a preceding or following low-toned syllable in a disyllabic word. In the case of words with a first accented syllable and a low tone over the second syllable (particularly *HÚma*), the F0 level over the second syllable might be equal to or higher than that of the preceding H tone. Tone spreading applies in these cases as these low tones are found between two high tones.

2.2.2 Duration Measurements

Following Beckman (1986), measurements of duration included the voiced part of the vowel. Measurements were made within 5-10 ms using spectral cues. However, in utterances including unstressed tokens, the low intensity of these tokens made it more difficult to be precise regarding duration, with actual resolution, as in the pilot study, being more like 20 ms. in such cases (cf. Beckman, 1986). In addition, in utterances in which nasals, laterals and approximants precede a vowel, the similar formant structures cause duration measurements to be less precise (Ladefoged, 1982). Vowels preceded by nasals, liquids, and glides were not measured for duration, as the formant structure of the sonorant could not be reliably separated from the vowel. The results of these duration measurements are found in Table 3 below:

Table 3 *Duration measurements (ms.) for minimal triplets of disyllabic words, by speaker (M=male; F=female; S/s=syllable) and by sentence number*

	Ss NOUN				**s S PARTICIPLE**			
	#3 *MÁta* 'plant'	#6 *HÚma* 'smoke'	#9 *PÍSka* 'fish'	#12 *PÁra* 'bird'	#1 *maTÁ* 'killed'	#4 *huMÁ* 'smoked'	#8 *pisKÁ* 'fished'	#10 *paRÁ* 'stood'
Speaker 1 (M)	130-80	160-NR	**70-150***	190-110	90-190	190-310	NR-NR	NR-NR
Speaker 2 (M)	230-120	NR-NR	**80-130***	180-110	80-120	110-120	110-130	110-160
Speaker 3 (M)	130-110	130-110	**70-150***	170-110	70-120	130-150	60-100	**180-150**
Speaker 4 (M)	130-110	110-120	**70-110***	170-110	**130-70**	100-120	50-120	**180-110**
Speaker 5 (F)	140-80	NR-90	**60-130***	190-110	140-160	NR-130	60-110	100-120
Speaker 6 (F)	150-120	130-100	**50-150**	210-90	70-150	**150-140**	150-120	**130-100**
Speaker 7 (F)	150-50	NR-90	**40-120**	230-80	80-150	150-160	NR-NR	**120-90**
Speaker 8 (F)	170-90	200-100	**50-120**	220-130	90-160	170-180	NR-NR	110-240
Speaker 9 (F)	230-150	NR-180	**70-160**	210-170	100-210	110-140	60-210	100-210
Speaker 10 (M)	160-90	NR-NR	**50-120**	190-160	110-150	110-130	50-110	**100-80**

	S s´ **VERB BASE**			
	#2 *MAtá* 'kill (V)'	#5 *HUmá* 'smoke (V)'	#7 *PISká* 'fish (V)'	#11 *PArá* 'stand (v)'
Speaker 1 (M)	160-110	160-120	80-NR	NR-NR
Speaker 2 (M)	130-120	130-120	**110-110**	170-160
Speaker 3 (M)	140-110	170-110	**70-90**	170-130
Speaker 4 (M)	140-90	100-90	110-80	190-110
Speaker 5 (F)	140-110	NR-110	**80-110**	150-110
Speaker 6 (F)	110-90	**120-160**	110-70	150-70
Speaker 7 (F)	120-60	180-130	90-60	190-110
Speaker 8 (F)	80-70	180-70	90-80	240-130
Speaker 9 (F)	180-150	**130-160**	170-120	210-170
Speaker 10 (M)	**70-130**	180-70	**80-80**	160-130

On the basis of the measurements of duration listed in Table 3, we can make the following observations:

1. The *piska* minimal triplet set seems to pose similar problems for duration measurements as noted for the F0 measurements in Table 2. Informants appear to have read the targeted form in sentence #9 as some kind of participle, i.e. with stress and high tone on the second syllable, rather than as a noun, with stress and high tone on the first syllable. Analogous problems are evident in the variation pattern for *PÍSka* in sentence #7.
2. Again, the overall pattern bears out the prediction that syllables carrying stress will be longer in duration than unstressed syllables
3. A more fine-grained analysis will suggest whether accented syllables — with both stress and high tone — are realized consistently with greater duration and higher F0 levels than those syllables with only stress or only high tone.

3.1 Discussion

Initial results indicate that the phonetic correlates of tone and stress in Curaçaoan Papiamentu are similar to those for Aruban Papiamentu in the pilot study, as well as to those found in Remijsen's (2002) work on mixed systems. This is the case despite differences in ways of conducting measurements. The combined findings from the main study in Tables 2 and 3, above, allow us to draw the following conclusions:

1. High tone was clearly signaled throughout the data set by higher F0 levels and the distinctive role of tone was encoded by corresponding phonetic distinctions in F0 levels.
2. Stress by itself did not trigger higher pitch readings.

3. Duration was the main cue for primary stress.
4. There were patterns of pitch height and syllable duration which differ from those listed in 1-3 above, mainly due to postlexical phenomena such as intonation, downdrift, and tone spreading.

Exceptions to these generalizations emerged in cases of particular lexical items (such as the *piska* set) and of syllables containing laryngeal approximants (such as the first syllable of *huma*).
Some of the questions that we still need to address include the following:

1. The methodology involved in measurement is a key issue. For example, is it preferable to measure the duration of the full syllable or only the duration of the voiced part of the vowel? We have now conducted our measurements both ways and for our data both methods generate the same results, but further study is necessary to find a consistent methodological answer to this question. In the case of *piska*, syllabic constituency requires further study before we conduct duration measurements of the full syllable.
2. Intensity may be a significant correlate of stress (cf. Remijsen, 2002 who measured high frequency energy as opposed to overall intensity). We need to study the correlation between higher intensity and stress position.
3. The measurement of vowel quality (using the first and second formant frequencies) may also reveal significant correlations with stress.
4. We need to examine more data on the *piska* set, and determine if differences in performance correspond to any sociolinguistic variable, to variability rooted in an ongoing sound change (for example, regularization of exceptional tone/stress patterns), or to the bleaching of a lexical meaning distinction between live (noun) and dead (participle) fish.
5. Normally, we would expect voiceless consonants to raise pitch, as in the case of the laryngeal approximant /h/ (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994) in *huma*. However, /h/ might actually be voiced to some extent in the carrier sentences in this study, because it occurs between two vowels (Ladefoged, 1982), as in the example in (3) below (preceding vowel underlined):

(3) Sample token:
Mi ta gust<u>a</u> HUmá.
I ASPECT like smoke
'I like smoking.'

Voiced consonants lower pitch in some languages and might cause pitch lowering in these cases. We need to check features such as voicing for /h/ in these contexts.

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PAPIAMENTU FOCUS FRONTING: INFORMATION STATUS AND LANGUAGE CONTACT EFFECTS

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1 Introduction

Of all levels of language, pragmatics may be the least studied in Creoles and other varieties that have emerged from language contact situations. Analyses of creole pragmatics rarely go beyond the mention of discourse markers or specific syntactic constructions used for discourse-pragmatic purposes (i.e. focus fronting, predicate clefting; recent exceptions include Escure, 1993, 1999; Hagemeijer, 2003; Migge, 2004). Contact-induced change has been fairly well documented in general, but is less well-studied at the level of discourse-pragmatics (for exceptions see Prince, 1981a, 1988, 2002; Sankoff, 2002). This paper addresses these gaps via examination of the pragmatics of the Papiamentu focus construction, and possible effects of contact with Dutch, Spanish, and English on this construction. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First I describe the syntax of the focus construction, I review what is known about non-focus fronting, and I advance my hypothesis about the pragmatics of the focus construction. Next, I describe the corpus and research methods and I present quantitative results. Finally, I make some qualitative observations on the use of the focus construction in particular discourse contexts.

2 Background

Canonical word order in Papiamentu is subject-verb-object (SVO) as in (1).

(1) nos gobièrnu ta na Ulanda
1pl-POSS government COP PREP Holland.
'Our government is in Holland.' (Howe, 1994:rg37)

Any constituent type can be focused. The focused constituent is fronted, leaving a trace ([t]), and preceded by the focus marker 'ta' (homophonous with copula 'ta' [1] as in (2)). The focused constituent receives emphatic intonation.

(2) *ta* *na* ***Ulanda*** *nos* *gobièrnu* *ta* [t]
FOC PREP Holland 1pl-POSS government COP
'Our government is in **Holland.'** (Howe, 1994:rg37)

Some constituents can be fronted without being focused, as in (3):

(3) ***un*** ***dia*** *mi* *tabata* *kana* *na* *Punda.*
one day 1sg IMP-PAST walk PREP Punda.
'One day I was walking in Punda [Willemstad].' (Kouwenberg & Muysken, 1994:212)

According to Kouwenberg & Muysken (1994), the fronted constituent in sentences like (3) represents backgrounded information or an established topic, but there is no similar analysis of the fronted constituent in the focus construction to be found in the literature. Given this analysis of non-focus fronting, it is reasonable to hypothesize that focused constituents represent foregrounded information or a new topic.

In an effort to evaluate this hypothesis, I analyze the information status of the focused constituent. In Prince's (1981b) taxonomy, a 'new' entity is one which is mentioned for the first time in the discourse and is not inferable from the context. An 'evoked' entity is one which has been either previously specified in the discourse (textually evoked) or one which is evoked by the situation. This could refer to a discourse participant or a salient feature of the extratextual context. Not all entities are 'evoked' or 'new', though. Prince (1981b) proposes an intermediate status called 'inferable' (Prince 1981a and b) to encompass those things which are not overtly evoked but which the speaker assumes the hearer can infer from logical or plausible grounds.

[1] Römer (1974; cited in Munteanu, 1996:484) calls *ta*, when used to focus an item in a predicate following *tabata*, "ta *enfátiko*". Earlier in the same work, he distinguishes between 'verbal *ta*' (what I have called here the imperfective marker) and 'non-verbal *ta*' (what I have termed a copula). Römer notes that verbal *ta* always has a high tone, while the tone of non-verbal *ta* depends on the tone of the following word; he further implies that when these two types of *ta* are focused, their tone is the same as when it is in the canonical position. He does not call these latter two cases emphatic, and he does not mention the tone of the first case (what he termed 'emphatic *ta*'). I do not know if 'focus *ta'* (the item under study here, and what corresponds to Römer's 'emphatic *ta*' as well as fronted versions of his 'verbal *ta*' and 'non-verbal *ta*') can be considered a monolithic entity with one underlying tone, or if 'focus *ta*' is better described as the syntactic fronting of the *ta*'s described by Römer, as I do not explicitly look at tone here.

3 Data, Methods, and Results

Data come from 129 sociolinguistic interviews of residents (aged 18 to 82) of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, collected in 2003, and 171 written texts dating 1776-1999. Texts are from Aruba and Curaçao. An insufficient number of texts exist from Bonaire, especially early on; later texts are numerous but mostly written by the same person.

I identified all instances of focus fronting in the texts and interviews, and I coded each focused constituent for information status. I then analyzed the data using Goldvarb 2001 (Robinson, Lawrence & Tagliamonte, 2001). The raw percentages for texts are given in Table 1, and for interviews in Table 2.

Table 1 *Overall distribution of focused tokens in texts*

	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

Table 2 *Overall distribution of focus construction in spoken data*

	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

Focused constituents are most often evoked (texts=59.1%; speech=51.9%) or inferable (texts=36%; speech=46.2%) (total *n* in texts= 303; total *n* in speech= 158). The only case where there are more inferable than evoked focused constituents is in the speech of Bonaire speakers (more on this point later). Notice that there are few 'new' focused constituents in texts, and almost none in speech, and then only for Aruba speakers. There is more leeway in focusing 'new' information in texts because readers are free to go back and forth through the text at will. If one reads a sentence with a 'new' focused constituent, one can keep reading to discover the referent in the next sentence, and, if necessary, go back to reread the focused sentence with the intended 'new' referent in mind. These 'new' focused constituents in texts typically occur in titles: the readers do not know the referent when reading the title for the first time, but by the end of the text, they will understand the reference.

In an initial version of this paper, I had only looked at urban data from Aruba and Curaçao. From those data, I observed that focused constituents were overwhelmingly evoked. One native speaker (a non-linguist) protested this analysis. She admitted that she did not know anything about 'old' or 'new' information, but she argued that you can focus just about anything, whether or not it has been previously mentioned in the discourse, and she gave an example of a focused constituent which had not been previously mentioned. The gist of it was that, when one person asks about the hearer's actions ('Did you do X?', when X is a common sense thing to do), the hearer might respond with (4).

(4) *N' ta buriku mi ta.*
NEG FOC donkey I COP
'I'm not a donkey.' = 'I'm not an idiot.'

At first I wondered if it could be said that *buriku* 'donkey' is evoked for cultural reasons, but after looking at all the data, it was clear to me that, as usual, the native speaker is right—*buriku* is more likely inferable, and inferables can certainly be focused—but it was also clear from the statistical analysis that there is a distinction between focused evoked entities and focused inferable entities. Results of the Goldvarb analysis of all the data are presented in Tables 3, 4, and 5.

The Goldvarb program is capable of comparing one dependent variable (or rule application) with all other possibilities (or non-applications). The dependent variable here has three possible values (evoked, inferable, new). To find what factors favor the focus of an 'evoked' constituent, for example, we run the data with 'evoked' as the rule application and with both 'inferable' and 'new' as non-applications. Ideally, three runs need to be made for each dataset in order to determine the conditioning factors for each value of the dependent variable. However, the algorithm used in Goldvarb cannot handle zeroes or ones—each factor needs to contain at least two tokens. This means that three runs are not always possible, depending upon the amount and distribution of the data. The products of the Goldvarb analysis are proportional weights ranging from 0 to 1. At 0.5, the factor neither favors or disfavors the application of the variable rule. Weights > 0.5 indicate environments favoring rule application, weights < 0-.5 indicated disfavoring environments, and the closer a weight is to 0 or 1, the more strongly the environment it represents disfavors or favors rule application respectively.

For the texts, there was enough data to run both 'evoked' and 'inferable' as the dependent variable. Table 3 shows the results for 'evoked' focused constituents. These

are likely to occur in Dutch contexts and at times when there were few Spanish speakers on the islands. 'Dutch context' refers to texts written in Papiamentu by L1 Dutch speakers or texts translated from Dutch, while 'Papiamentu context' refers to texts written in Papiamentu by L1 Papiamentu speakers. Dutch speakers writing in Papiamentu are probably operating with their Dutch pragmatic rules—in Dutch, old information (i.e. evoked entities) tends to be put at the beginning of sentences while new information is put at the end. As for the translations, Dutch pragmatics would put 'evoked' entities at the beginning of sentences, and the translators simply carried this order to Papiamentu (since it is grammatical as is). The fact that percentage of Spanish speakers is significant is also related to Dutch influence (and the fact that I ran texts from both islands together). Aruba and Curaçao do not have the same percentages of Dutch speakers; Curaçao has always had more. Relatively speaking, however, more of these 'evoked' entities are focused when there are more Dutch speakers around, and all the times when there were more Dutch speakers are times when there were fewer Spanish speakers, thus the significance of this factor group. Direct objects are disfavored as 'evoked' focused constituents; they are cross-linguistically preferred as sites of new information.

Table 3 *Goldvarb results for textual analysis of focus construction, 'evoked' as dependent variable*

Factor Groups	**Factors**	**Weight**
Language context	Dutch	0.844
	Papiamentu	0.387
Semantic relationship of focused constituent to rest of sentence	Equative	0.578
	Peripheral	0.573
	Subject	0.509
	Direct Object	0.223
% Spanish speakers on island	0.1-1.5%	0.628
	2-8%	0.440
Input 0.612	Log likelihood = -181.471	

Table 4 shows the results for 'inferable' focused constituents in texts. These are associated with Papiamentu language contexts. *Wh*-words and adverbials are favored as inferable focused constituents. In contrast, there are not as many focused noun phrases and prepositional phrases, some of which are evoked and some not. It is not, however, the case that NPs and PPs are really disfavored for focus. The weights listed in Table 4 appear to suggest this only because of the large number of inferable and small number of evoked *wh*-words and adverbials.

Table 4 *Goldvarb results for textual analysis of focus construction, 'inferable' as dependent variable*

Factor Groups	***Factors***	***Weight***
Type of Constituent	*wh*-word	0.826
	adverbial	0.513
	noun phrase	0.448
	prepositional phrase	0.285
Language Context	Papiamentu	0.594
	Dutch	0.198
Input 0.318	Log likelihood = -38.665	

There were fewer focus constructions in speech, so I only made one Goldvarb run (with 'inferable' as the dependent variable), but I was able to include social and demographic factors about the speakers. These results are in Table 5.

Table 5 *Goldvarb results for analysis of focus construction in speech ('inferable' as dependent variable)*

Factor Groups	**Factors**	**Weight**
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	

Factors relating to Spanish proficiency and use were selected as significant, and though they may seem contradictory at first, I believe they are not. I should first point out that Spanish is like Dutch pragmatically: old information tends to go first in sentences, new information goes last. Those L1 Papiamentu speakers who are fluent or near-native in Spanish favor the focus of 'inferables', which goes against Spanish pragmatic rules. However, we can make sense of this by looking at the other significant factor: use of Spanish. Focus of inferables is favored by those who use Spanish never, irregularly, or only in short encounters. These people will have little

reason to utilize the discourse-pragmatic properties of Spanish in such encounters, and so are unlikely to transfer these properties to their Papiamentu. On the other hand, focus of inferables is strongly disfavored in the speech of those who use Spanish regularly and in more extensive encounters, suggesting that these speakers are obeying the more constrained pragmatic rules of Spanish in their Papiamentu.[2] The Papiamentu results can be explained in terms of the relationship between fluency and language use: there are L1 Papiamentu speakers who are fluent in Spanish, but who do not use it regularly. Here, use of Spanish is a more important determiner in how a speaker will use Papiamentu focus fronting than fluency alone.

Notice also that 'inferables' are favored in the speech of 'rural' speakers (this includes rural speakers from Aruba and Curaçao and all Bonaire speakers). Bonaire speakers and rural speakers on the other islands have (and historically have had) less contact with other languages than urban speakers, suggesting that 'inferable' entities are typically focused in more pure creole, less contact-influenced environments.

This last fact is relevant to a discussion of decreolization. I have long rejected that idea that 19th and 20th century contact-induced changes in Papiamentu represent any sort of decreolization since Papiamentu is in contact with three languages, all of which have exerted influence on the Creole. The notion of decreolization is usually applied to a Creole in contact with its lexifier (and only its lexifier), and where there exists a continuum of lects ranging from most Creole to most lexifier-like. In the past I have argued that this kind of model does not make sense for Papiamentu since there is no linear continuum of lects from Papiamentu to any one of the languages with which it is in contact.

Given the results here, though, I think a revised notion of decreolization may be appropriate. It appears that the focus of inferable constituents occurs in the most creole, least contact-influenced forms of Papiamentu. Contact with Dutch and Spanish seems to promote the focus of evoked entities. In other words, speakers who use Dutch and Spanish frequently (or who are L1 speakers of these languages) transfer the more constrained pragmatic rules of the European languages to Papiamentu. In addition, varieties of Papiamentu influenced by Dutch and Spanish use the focus construction less frequently overall than varieties with less contact. Here, then, 'decreolization' might mean 'becoming less Creole', though not necessarily 'becoming more like the lexifier (or any other one language)'.

[2] Prince notes the reverse tendency among Yiddish speakers of English: their L1 (Yiddish) allows freer fronting than standard English; one characteristic of Yiddish English is the so-called 'Yiddish movement', whereby speakers front even new discourse entities, which is permitted in Yiddish but not standard English (Prince, 1988).

Is it the case that the focus construction is simply falling out of use? Could it be that speakers are replacing the focus construction with an alternate means of focus? In this study, I only extracted examples of focus fronting, so I cannot yet say if another focus mechanism is on the rise, but I will look for other means of focus in future work. Recall that the focus construction is accompanied by emphatic intonation. It may be the case that speakers are dropping focus fronting but maintaining the focus intonation.

4 Qualitative Observations

Finally, I'd like to offer some qualitative observations on the use of this construction. First, it is not subject to a simple difference in casual vs. careful speech style. Examples (5)-(7) are from careful speech, and (8) is from a long narrative in which only one focus construction occurs. Examples (5)-(7) are similar to the narrative in this sense: they are all part of larger discussions which contained no focus constructions except for the examples given. Example (5) came in a discussion of immigration and language. (6) was given in response to the question, 'Do you think the situation on Curaçao has improved after the (labor dispute turned race riot of) May 30 (1969)?' In (7), the interviewee was asked if teachers used to hit kids in school (they did). The narrative containing (8) was told by a woman angry with her husband because he went out drinking. She let the chickens out of the coop, put a piece of cardboard in there, and directed her husband there when he finally came home. (8) is what he said when she did this.

(5) ***Ta*** ***nan*** *ta* *bini* *di* *afo,* ***ta*** ***nan*** *mester* *siña* *papiamentu*
FOC 3pl COP come from outside FOC 3pl must learn Papiamentu
'THEY come from outside, THEY should learn Papiamentu.' (#1, Aruba)

(6) ***Ta*** ***pió*** *nos* *ta* *birando.*
FOC worse 1pl IMP become-GER
'We're getting **worse**.' (#54, Curaçao)

(7) *Pero* ***ta*** ***nos*** *tabata* *mala* *mucha.*
but FOC 1pl COP-PAST bad child
'But, WE were the bad kids.' (# 2, Aruba, raised in Curaçao)

(8) *Si* *mi* *sa* *ku* ***ta*** ***eiden*** *ta* *mi* *kamber.*
yes 1sg know COMP IMP there-in IMP 1sg-POSS room
'Yes, I know that **it's in there** where my room is. (#1, Aruba)

Focus fronting is used when speakers believe that the content of what they say is somehow unexpected (9)-(11). Example (9) is from a folk tale in which a woman

dresses as a man. (10) was recounted in a narrative about an argument. (11) was recounted in a narrative told by a sailor who was not on board when his ship sailed out of a foreign port; the port authority had been looking for him, and (11) is what the officer said when they finally found him.

(9) *Pues, e hòmber ei no ta hòmber ;* ***ta muhé*** *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, folktale)

(10) *Mener mi no ta papia ku bo.* ***Ta kuné*** *mi ta papia.*
mister 1sg NEG IMP speak with 2sg FOC with-3sg 1sg IMP speak
'Sir, I am not talking to you. I'm talking **to him**. (#38, Aruba (rural))

(11) ***Ta bo mes*** *nos ta buska.*
FOC 2sg same 1pl IMP look for
'**You're** the one we're looking for.' (#110, Bonaire)

The focus construction is also used in discussions where speakers disagree or when one speaker is unsure of what hearers believe but is trying to negotiate a stance without offending others, or saying directly that others are wrong (12)-(13). In an interview with two women, there was a question about destiny. The first said that she believes one's destiny is decided before it happens, and is inescapable. The other woman responded with (12). In another interview, a person nearby became interested in the topic of discussion—race relations on Curaçao, and joined in the discussion. (13) was uttered by the interviewee in response to the listener, who did not have as negative an opinion as the interviewee.

(12) ***Ta bo mes*** *ta traha bo destino*
FOC 2sg same IMP make 2sg- POSS destiny
'It's **you yourself** who makes your destiny.' (#27, Aruba (rural))

(13) ***Ta nan*** *tin Mambo Beach.* ***Ta nan*** *tin tur teras.* ***Ta nan*** *tin*
FOC 3pl have Mambo Beach FOC 3pl have all terrace FOC 3pl have

diferente hotèl. ***Ta nan*** *tin diferente kos.*
different hotel FOC 3pl have 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, Curaçao (rural))

Focus constructions are frequently used in expressions of identity (14)-(15), whether the speaker is correcting someone, as in (14), or simply stating a fact, as in (15).

(14) *No,* ***ta*** ***di*** ***Boneiru*** *mi* *ta.*
no FOC from Bonaire 1sg COP
'No, I'm from **Bonaire**.' (#120, Bonaire)

(15) *Bo* *tabata* *sa* *mesora* *esei* ***ta*** ***hende*** ***di*** ***Rincon*** *e* *ta*
2sg IMP-PAST know sametime that FOC person of Rincón 3sg COP

'You used to know right away that that's **somebody from Rincon**.' (#127, Bonaire)

Finally, focus constructions are also used for contrast: to contrast the focused constituent with some other evoked or inferable discourse entity, or to contrast it with all other possibilities (this and no one/nothing else) (16)-(18). In (16), the speaker is identifying the ghosts she hears in her house. The speaker in (17) singles out the one place (out of all the others) to which she wore shoes as a child, while the speaker in (18) singles out the one language (out of the four regularly used in the community) that old people are likely to use.

(16) *Mi* *mama* *i* *mi* *tata* *ta* *morto* *dùs* *mi* *ta* *kere* ***ta*** ***nan*** *ta*
1sg-POSS mother and 1sg-POSS father COP dead thus 1sg IMP believe FOC 3pl IMP
kana *ròn*t
walk around
'My mother and my father are dead so I think **it's them** that are walking around.' (#9, Aruba, rural)

(17) *Nos* *tabata* *bai* *skol* *ku* *pargata* ***Ta*** ***kèrki*** ***so*** *nos* *tabata* *bai* *ku* *sapatu*
1pl IMP-PAST go school with pargata FOC church only 1pl IMP-PAST go with shoes
'We used to go to school with *pargata* (sandals made from pieces of rubber and string).' **It was only church** that we went to with shoes. (#127, Bonaire)

(18) *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 speak **only Papiamentu**' (#127, Bonaire)

5 Conclusions[3]

I show here that the information status of focused constituents in Papiamentu is statistically correlated with linguistic and social factors, and that language contact may have contributed to constraints on the information status of these constituents. Further, an overall decrease in use of this construction may be related to language contact, perhaps a kind of decreolization in the sense that Papiamentu is losing some

[3] The author does not rule out the possibility of substrate influences from Benue-Kwa languages on focus constructions in Papiamentu, but because of the current lack of evidence as to which specific languages might have been involved and when such influence may have exerted itself, it proved impossible to incorporate this possible source of influence into a quantitative analysis such as the one presented in this work.

of its creole features (but is not necessarily moving in the direction of its lexifier or any one particular European language). Finally, I made some qualitative observations on the ways in which the focus construction is used in discourse: as a means of contrasting focused constituents with other entities, but also as a means of expressing identity, negotiating a stance, and/or presenting unexpected information.

ABBREVIATIONS
1sg= first person singular pronoun
2sg= second person singular pronoun
3pl= third person plural pronoun
3sg= third person singular pronoun
COMP=complementizer
COP=copula
FOC=focus
GER=gerund
IMP=imperfect
NEG=negative
PAST=past
POSS=possessive
PREP=preposition

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THE FUNDASHON PA PLANIFIKASHON DI IDIOMA: LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN CURAÇAO

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1 Introduction

In Curaçao and Bonaire, the Leeward Islands of the Netherlands Antilles, and in Aruba Papiamentu is the generally used vernacular. In the Windward Islands of St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius English is used in daily communication. However, up until October 2007 Dutch was the official language for all the six islands. After being tabled for ten years, a bill was passed in March 2008 which designates Dutch, English and Papiamentu as the three official languages in the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles[1]. In 2003, Aruba opted for two official languages, namely Dutch and Papiamentu.

Up until 2007, there were ongoing discussions in Curaçao concerning the relative position of Papiamentu and Dutch and also about the role of English. Mention was also occasionally made of the role of Spanish as well. Low success rates in education and social failure were often blamed on the fact that Dutch, a language that most children do not know when they begin their formal schooling, is used as the main language of instruction and of initial literacy, rather than Papiamentu, the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of the students. Others were of the opinion that the use of Papiamentu in education would limit young people's opportunities, both during their years in school as well as in their communities and on the job market after graduation. For the past few years, it has been more and more the case that people both in the community and in decision making positions at the administrative level are convinced that Papiamentu should play a more prominent part in formal education and other aspects of public life. In order to keep abreast of and to facilitate positive change in the language

1 The regulation is entitled *Landsverordening officiële talen,* March 2007

situation in Curaçao, the government felt the need to establish a language planning agency.
In this chapter, we discuss: 1) the language context in Curaçao; 2) the efforts made in the area of language planning and policy up until the formation of the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI) language institute; 3) the operational framework within which the functions of the FPI were defined; and 4) the activities and achievements of the FPI over the past ten years.

2 The language context in Curaçao

Up until the recent referenda on administrative status, the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius formed the Netherlands Antilles. These five islands together with Aruba and the Netherlands itself constitute the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The former Netherlands Antilles and Aruba enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy and independence, but national defense and foreign affairs are the responsibilities of the kingdom. Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, the so-called ABC-islands, are also referred to as the Leeward Islands. St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius, the three SSS islands, form the Windward Islands of the former Netherlands Antilles. In accordance with the results of the last referenda, the smaller islands of Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius will obtain the status of Dutch municipalities. Curaçao and St. Maarten will have the status of separate countries within the Kingdom, a status which was granted to Aruba in 1986.

There is a total of 295.238 people living in the Antilles (191.780) and Aruba (103.458), while the population of the Netherlands is approximately 16 million. Some 129.683 Antilleans reside in the Netherlands, and the majority of them speak Papiamentu.[2]
The language of the government of the kingdom is Dutch. The inhabitants of the Windward Islands speak a variant of Caribbean English, while Papiamentu is the vernacular of the Leeward Islands. Within the language context of Curaçao and the other Leeward Islands, both Dutch and Papiamentu are thus languages of major importance both . Papiamentu is the home language of the majority of the population (see Table 1) and the everyday language used in the community. Dutch has had the status of official language, and as such it plays an important role in more formal domains such as in education, public administration and the judicial system.

2 The figures for the Netherlands Antilles on the website of the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) Netherlands Antilles, www.cbs.an, are for the year 2007. See also the booklet *CBS, The Netherlands Antilles Statistical Orientation 2006-2007*. The population figures mentioned for Aruba are for the year 2006 and can be found at www.cbs.aw. In the Netherlands, Antillean residents form 0.79% of the total population of 16.334.210.

	Aruba	**Bonaire**		**Curaçao**	
	DATE??	1992	2001	1992	2001
Papiamentu	77.0	83.7	72.6	83.3	80.8
Dutch	5.0	6.4	10.5	8.6	9.3
Spanish	7.0	5.6	11.5	3.1	4.7
English	9.0	3.5	4.0	3.6	3.5
Portuguese	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.5
Chinese	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.4
French Creole	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Other Languages	2.0	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 1 *Languages spoken in the household in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao in 1992 and 2001 in %*

In the processes of decolonization and emancipation, the official colonial language, in most cases the language of the former mother country, can lose its function in social domains as has happened in Indonesia, Ethiopia and (more gradually) in the Antilles. Depending on the circumstances of each former colony, the solution opted for after independence could be the preservation (Venezuela, Brazil and Surinam) or replacement of the language of the colonizer (Indonesia), or a situation in which there is more than one official language (Puerto Rico, South Africa, and Papua New Guinea).

Similar trends are evident in Curaçao as well. Papiamentu has developed from a vernacular whose use was limited to informal social settings to a language with more formal functions. Papiamentu is now the official language in the Parliament of the Leeward Islands IS IT THE ONLY OFFICIAL LG OF THE PARLIAMENT? ALSO, DOES THIS PARLIAMENT COVER BOTH Curacao and Aruba??. An increasing number of government documents are published in Papiamentu. This tendency is also reflected in the mass print and audiovisual media. In Curaçao, there are ten newspapers in Papiamentu and only two (and then only partially) in Dutch. The fourteen radio stations all broadcast in Papiamentu; with one or two offering multilingual service. In addition, both major TV-stations in Curaçao maintain Papiamentu as the leading language.

Papiamentu is becoming increasingly important in both public and private education at all levels. Papiamentu is also spoken by dignitaries during formal institutional gatherings, and even by the governor as the representative of the Dutch Royal House. The Dutch language itself still plays a pivotal role in the judicial system, in education and, especially in written form, in public administration. The legalization of Papiamentu alongside Dutch and English in 2007 can be considered as merely a confirmation and validation of the actual sociolinguistic state of affairs in Curaçao.

Literacy is a strong condition for scholastic and social success. Citizens with a high level of functional literacy have better opportunities with regard to employment, income and social advancement. People with a low level of functional literacy run the risk of social marginalization. In general illiteracy and poverty reinforce one another. The literacy rate in Curaçao is generally above world standards. Figure 5 shows the percentage of illiterates in the Leeward Islands, Windward Islands and the Netherlands Antilles from 1992 to 2001[3].

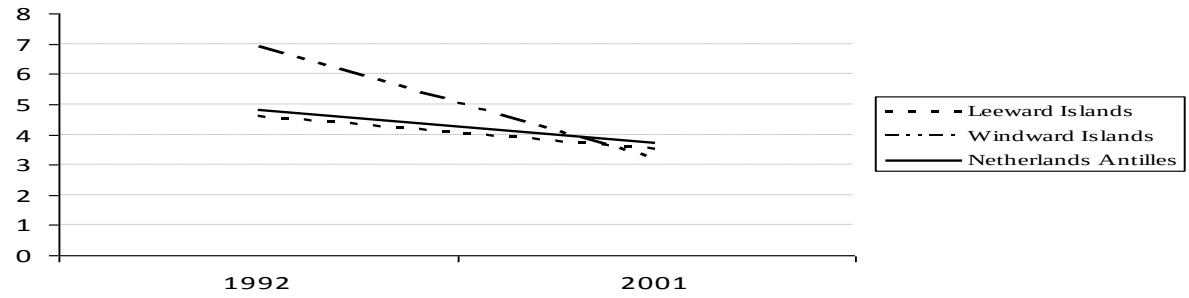


Figure 1 *Percentage of illiterates in the Leeward Islands, Windward Islands and the Netherlands Antilles from 1992 to 2001*

The percentage of illiterate adults was 4.8 in 1992. The last census of 2001 shows a lower percentage of 3.7, while the average percentage of illiterates worldwide is 20%. The graph in figure 1 shows that the percentages of illiteracy are decreasing on both the Leeward as the Windward Islands.[4] Statistics reveal that the literacy rate for adults in the Netherlands Antilles (96.3%) is very favorable compared to the regional average (91.3%).[5] The increasing rate of literacy corresponds with the increased use of and access

3 Every ten years, the Antillean Department for Statistics, uses UNESCO standards of literacy to collect data during national population censuses and household surveys (Quamina-Aiyejina, 1999; www.cbs.an, October 2008).
4 Literacy programs for adults are conducted of by NGO's such as the Pro Alfa Foundation and the Mangusá Foundation. At the Mangusá Foundation, literacy courses are part of the educational package designed for the entire family, but targeting particular potentially vulnerable groups, such as single teenage mothers, etc.
5 The UNESCO Institute for Statistics displays the percentages for 2006 on its website: www.stats.uis.unesco.org.

to communication facilities in Curaçaoan households: telephone connections 76%, portable telephones 61%, television 96%, personal computers 33%, and internet connections 21%.

According to Cobarrubias' classification (1983: 43-3; cf Mesthrie 2001: 385) we can consider Papiamentu to be a partly standardized, 'young' standard language. Students' success in school and, as a result, their success in society has so far been partially determined by their command of Dutch. The mismatch between school language and home language has had an effect on the educational output. From a socio-linguistic viewpoint, the language situation in Curaçao, in comparison to that of many other countries, cannot be considered to be extremely complex. After all, most issues revolve around the use and status of no more than two languages. Moreover, the use of the vernacular language, Papiamentu, does not coincide with ethnic group boundaries or the socio-economic backgrounds of speakers. These favorable circumstances make the achievement of an effective goal-oriented language policy more possible in Curaçao than in many other countries.

Language in education

In 1986 Papiamentu was introduced as a subject in primary education in Curaçao[6]. In 2001 the government began to implement an ambitious new policy of Foundation Based Education (Enseñansa di Fundeshi) which involved a complete re-conceptualization and reorganization of primary education. One of the most important aspects of the new policy was to introduce Papiamentu as the language of instruction instead of Dutch.[7] Two years later, in 2003, the first cohort of six year olds started initial literacy in Papiamentu. The general results were very favorable: the children were reacting enthusiastically, they had a better grasp of the subject matter and learning to read was advancing smoother. The petitions the FPI filed for longitudinal production of learning material in Papiamentu as well as the pleas by school authorities for textbooks in Papiamentu were largely rejected by the education authorities, because the concept clashed with other aspects of the

[6] To get ready for the introduction of Papiamentu as a compulsory subject to be taught for 30 minutes per day, preparations started in 1983. A new office called Sede di Papiamentu (SdP) was established for this purpose. SdP provided retraining for primary school teachers and developed a provisional method called *Papiamentu nos Idioma*, wich is still in use in 2008 without revision.

[7] Besides the introduction of Papiamentu as the language of instruction, the new policy involved a wide range of innovations, including: 1) instituting developmental learning with a strong individual approach; 2) establishing multi-age class rooms; 3) merging kindergarten with primary education; 4) subdividing primary education into 2 cycles of 4 grades each; 5) introducing a cycle supervisor; 6) allowing progress of students without barriers within a cycle, meaning the effective elimination of repetition of classes; 7) upgrading kindergarten teachers to primary level and 8) clustering schools to larger units.

reforms. An existing method, *Lesa bon* (Zefrin, 1983), was reintroduced waiting for the finances for a new one.

Due to the fact that the introduction of Papiamentu as language of instruction was accompanied by a radical restructuring of primary education, and to the fact that teachers were not provided with adequate training and materials to implement the host of innovations involved, major problems were encountered with all aspects of Foundation Based Education, including the expanded use of Papiamentu in the classroom. As a result of these problems, in 2007 the Roman Catholic school board, the board administrating the majority of schools on the island, decided to leave it up to individual schools to select their own language of instruction. While this represents a step backward, it also provides valuable lessons concerning the dangers of attempting to introduce too many educational reforms simultaneously.

Figure 2 shows clearly that as a result of the new policy, the use of Papiamentu as language of instruction first went up in 2001 and then took a fall in 2008. In the educational field and in the community at large, this has been considered a failure, and has done serious damage to the general perception of the effectiveness of the use of Papiamentu as a language of instruction. . A positive consequence of all this is that more and more schools are becoming owners of their own educational projects.

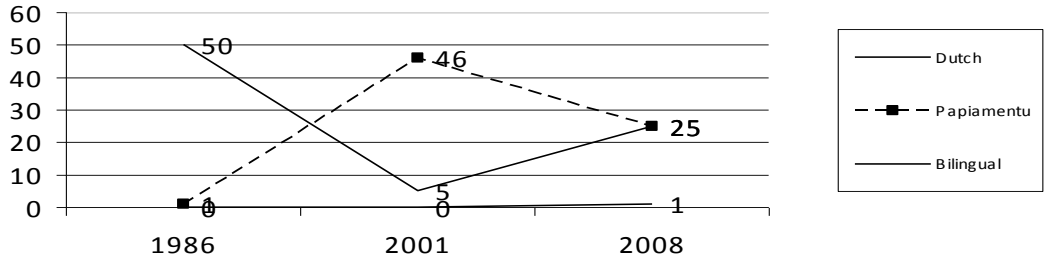


Figure 2 *Number of schools officially using Papiamentu, Dutch or a bilingual combination of Papiamentu and Dutch as language of instruction*

3 Language planning and policy initiatives

Language planning and policy are often simply referred to as government intervention in the language situation of a given community. The distinction between language planning and policy is sometimes indicated simply as follows: Language planning is the responsibility of linguists and other academics, while language policy, or, in this case language politics, is the responsibility of politicians. In this section, we provide a brief overview of the efforts that were made in the field of language planning and policy in Curaçao in the run-up to the establishment of the FPI in 1989.

In September 1982 the Minister of Education sent a letter to all education workers, explaining that the government had adopted an official position in favor of making primary schools and kindergarten mother tongue schools. In 1983 the executive council of Curaçao designed a policy framework concerning the introduction of Papiamentu in schools and instituted a project bureau headed by KOMAPA (Komishon pa Maneho di Papiamentu, or Language Policy Commission). The project bureau, the Sede di Papiamentu, was assigned preparatory and executive tasks in connection with the introduction of Papiamentu as an independent subject in primary education, thus spearheading an explicitly guided language policy for Papiamentu. For reasons of efficiency the Antillean government decided to merge existing entities such as Sede di Papiamentu and the Instituto Linguistiko Antillano (ILA) into one central institute.

Meanwhile the administration considered it desirable to shift its focus from Papiamentu to a broader range of linguistic issues; thus the need for a language institute which would perform the task of supporting the language policy of the government emerged. In accordance with a memo entitled ‘Towards a General Language Institution’ (Severing, 1996), the government established an institute for language planning, the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* in 1998.

4 Operational framework of the FPI

In March 1989, the Foundation for Language Planning, or FPI was established with approval of the Island Council. The Foundation was founded with a principal aim of achieving a structurally sound and coherent language policy. Another important aim of the FPI is comprehensive language planning, which entails sustained and meticulous attention to three areas: status, corpus and distribution (acquisition) planning. In Figure 3 the chief domains, sub-domains, procedures, activities and outputs involved in language planning and language policy are presented in an overview of and guide to language planning (Severing, 1997).

Figure 3 *An overview of and guide to language planning*

DOMAIN	SUB DOMAIN/PROCEDURE	ACTIVITY/OUTPUT
	Status planning	
Society	Selection	▸ selection of variant and status
	(Re)codification	▸ language consolidation
	Standardization	▸ formalization and determination of legal status
	Distribution	▸ variant- and status selection
	Corpus planning	
Language	Orthography	▸ selection and regulation of alphabet
	Phonology	▸ reference of phonology,/tonology and pronunciation
	Lexicon	▸ modernization of lexicon, and idiom; wordlists vocabularies and dictionaries
	Morphology/syntax	▸ reference of syntax
	Discourse/pragmatics	▸ modernization; reference of form and style; text production and -cultivation
	Acquisition planning	
Education	Structure	▸variant- and status selection
	Student	▸variant- and status selection
	Subject matter	▸variant- and status selection
	Teacher	▸variant- and status selection
Media	Oral; written	▸variant- and status selection

The FPI distinguishes four objectives in carrying out language planning, which are also referred to in the statutes of the Foundation:

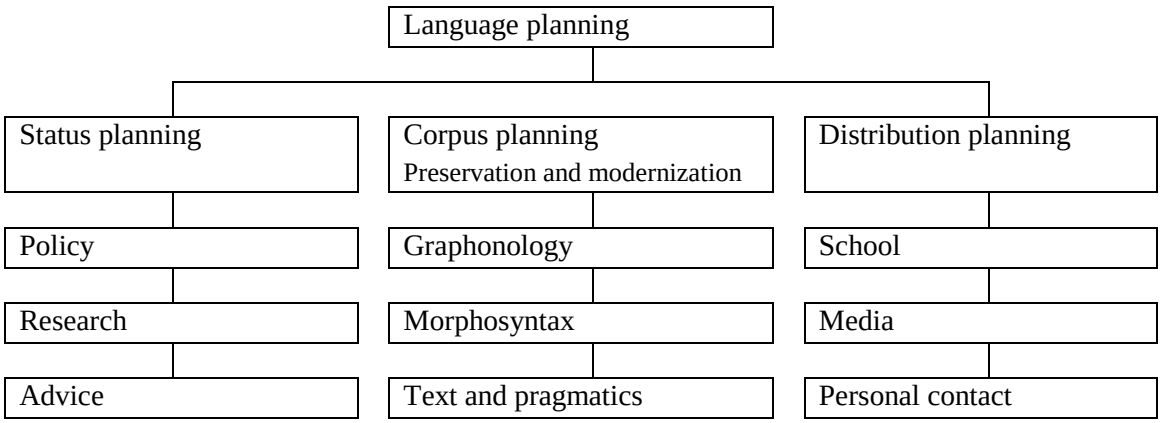
(1) To promote the use of Papiamentu as a shared community language in order to obtain national unity
(2) To promote the use and preservation of Papiamentu in order to promote the preservation of Antillean culture
(3) To promote the development and distribution of relevant vernacular languages
(4) To promote the enrichment of skills for effective communication among citizens in a multilingual setting

The internal organization of the FPI

The three-fold division into corpus, status and distribution planning (as shown in Figure 3) was the point of departure in designing an operational framework for language planning operations at FPI. In the daily work, in the execution of regular tasks, and within the internal organization and the annual budget of the institute this categorization serves

as a model for projects in the following areas: 1) policy and research; 2) language preservation and modernization; and 3) language, education and the media. Figure 4 represents a further elaboration of the operational framework of FPI, especially in relation to language preservation and modernization. Thus, task distinctions are made with regards to the speech sounds of Papiamentu (phonology), spelling (orthography), word segments (morphology), words (lexicology), sentences (syntax), texts (discourse) and at the pragmatic level, in graduated order. The organizational chart in Figure 4 shows how the various tasks are ordered within the design of theFPI.

Figure 4 *Organization structure of the institute for language planning (Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma)*



5 Achievements of the FPI

To conclude, a summary is presented of the achievements of the FPI in the areas of language planning and policy in its ten years of existence. In general, it is to be noted that significant progress has been made in as far as status-, corpus- and distribution planning for Papiamentu are concerned.

Status planning

The efforts of FPI and others in the area of status planning, which have culminated in the recent designation of Papiamentu as an official language alongside Dutch and English has to be considered a major step forward in the upgrading of the status of this Caribbean Creole language. The current spelling system, which was drawn up by a committee set up by the Curaçaoan government (Schooladviesdienst, 1983) was given official status for the islands of Curaçao and Bonaire in 1976. In 2008 a slightly revised version of that

orthography will be converted into a spelling law for the Antilles[8]. These two laws will help to create a foundation upon which further progress in the enhancement of the position and status of Papiamentu can be made. The spelling law will not only elevate the status of Papiamentu, but will also elevate the status of the FPI. The text of the law stipulates that for the Dutch language the guidelines set by the Dutch language institute, the Nederlandse Taal Unie[9], will be valid, while for the Papiamentu language FPI is named as the agency in charge of determining the orthographical rules. Two more new laws which consolidate and fortify the status of Papiamentu are the law regulating Foundation Based Education at the primary level[10] and the law governing Secondary Education[11]. At both levels of education Papiamentu will play a part, as a language of instruction and as a subject, respectively. Furthermore, research and publications supported by the FPI have contributed to growing levels of respect for Papiamentu. Such works include: a bibliography of Papiamentu (Coomans-Eustatia, 2005); facsimiles of the 8 oldest books in Papiamentu (starting from 1833); a spelling checker Papiamentu for Word Perfect and for MS Office; and research on language acquisition.

Corpus planning

In the area of corpus planning, FPI has played a significant role in support of the efforts of the various commissions involved in the development of various orthographic guidelines, leading up to the new spelling law. Orthography as a sub domain has received the most attention thus far in connection with the promotion of Papiamentu. Targeted research has been done as well in terms of the lexicon, with FPI supporting the publication of dictionaries, word lists, word banks, etc.. Aspects such as phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse and pragmatics have hardly been discussed. In this connection, the FPI seeks to build upon efforts made by individual scholars. The following publications, which constitute basic material upon which corpus planning for Papiamentu can be based in the future, are used to illustrate this point. Römer (1983; 1991) and Anderson (1974; 1983) have published articles concerning the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Papiamentu. With regards to the lexicon, Dijkhoff & Vos-de Jesus (1980), Joubert (1991/2007) and Ratzlaff (1992/2008) have published translating dictionaries. Henriquez (1988; 1991) and Marugg (1992) have compiled explanatory dictionaries and thematically organized glossaries of Papiamentu. With respect to syntax,

[8] The draft of the regulation, *Ontwerp-Landsbesluit schrijfwijze van et Papiamentu en het Nedrlands*, is ready to be approved by the Parliament in 2008.
[9] The Nederlandse Taal Unie, the NTU is the official institute to regulate the Dutch language for the governments of The Netherlands, Belgium and Suriname.
[10] Ontwerp Landsbesluit Funderend Onderwijs, Ontwerp no.2, Staten, sitting 2006-2007
[11] Landsverordening Voortgezet Onderwijs, Mei 2008

Maurer (1988) and Dijkhoff (1993) have done research into the verbal system and word formation in Papiamentu. Muller (1989) describes the general syntactic structure of Papiamentu. Severing-Halman (1994) reports the findings of research done at the textual level. Finally, FPI has supported the publication of a literary anthology for secondary education in which Papiamentu literature takes a prominent place alongside fictional works in Dutch, English, Spanish, French and German (Severing, Rutgers, & Echteld 2002; 2006).

Distribution planning

FPI considers schools as the most solid channels for its efforts in the area of distribution planning. In accordance with this viewpoint, strong bonds have been built between the FPI and the education system as a whole as well as between the FPI and individual schools in particular. The FPI has assembled a comprehensive plan, which can serve as a framework for the strategic development of the necessary fundamental materials for language learning in the formal education system. Important achievements by the FPI in the area of distribution planning include: 1) a methodology and textbook for preschoolers called *Trampolin* (Severing et al., 2002-2004); 2) a methodology and textbook for the primary (Foundation Based Education) level, entitled *Salto, Método pa siña lesa na Papiamentu* (Severing et al., 2008) to complement previously introduced methods and textbooks, such as *Lesa Bon* (Zefrin, 1983) and *Papiamentu Nos Idioma* (KOMAPA, 1986); 3) a methodology and textbook for the secondary level called *Mosaiko, Papiamentu pa Enseñansa Sekundario* (Severing et al., 2004); and 4) several children's books in Papiamentu for different reading levels (see the Jubilee Catalogue FPI, 2008).

The FPI strives to work together with sister agencies and interest groups in Aruba and Bonaire with the view to the advancement, the preservation and fortification of Papiamentu across the three islands.[12] There is a danger that the Antillean and Aruban language varieties will grow apart without such links. The cooperation between the islands not only concerns spelling, but also extends to the incorporation of local variants in language manuals and textbooks, so that these manuals can play a unifying role in connection with region-wide status and corpus planning efforts. Possibilities for the exchange of Papiamentu materials throughout the islands must be optimally enhanced, in view of the pressing needs for language preservation, modernization and distribution, and to overcome the limitations connected with small scale publishing. Partnerships have also been established with agencies dedicated to the promotion of Papiamentu in the

[12] The textbooks used in Curaçao are also used in Bonaire. Aruba has adapted some of the Curaçaoan text books. For example, in a joint effort *Mosaiko* was converted to *Cristal* in Aruba and *Trampolin* was converted to *Rampa*.

Netherlands[14]. After a decade of significant achievements, the FPI is looking forward to a new decade of continued progress in the promotion of Papiamentu.

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This volume brings together current research findings from a wide range of linguistic disciplines on Papiamentu as a Creole Language by scholars from the Caribbean and other parts of the world. Contributions of a formal linguistic nature include studies on Papiamentu phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax. Other contributions address the social and historical matrices from which Papiamentu emerged as the most widely spoken language on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. Finally, the volume includes studies on the current status of Papiamentu on these islands. This book, *Linguistic Studies on Papiamentu*, offers the reader an excellent opportunity to get an overall impression of recent linguistic work on Papiamentu.

Linguistic Studies on Papiamentu
Edited by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronnie Severing, Christa Weijer

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