

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE DUTCH INFLUENCE
ON PAPIAMENTU

by

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this study is the influence which Dutch has had on Papiamentu.

The first chapter deals with the history of the Benedenwindse Eilanden of the Netherlands Antilles in order to explain the reason for the "mixed" nature of the language.

The second chapter is devoted to the influence which the various component parts of the population have had or may have had on the language. It further shows how Papiamentu developed from a pidgin into a creole and subsequently into an independent language. This growth is demonstrated by statements from writers on the language.

The third chapter concerns in particular the Dutch element in Papiamentu. After a short description of the various categories in which Dutch influence is apparent, an analysis is made of the presence of words and expressions from those categories in Ora Solo Bahá, a collection of children's stories by Pierre Antoine Lauffer.

In this analysis attention is given to the lexicon as well as to syntactic calques. Words and expressions have been explained not only on the basis of present-day Dutch, but, as far as possible, also in the light of their occurrence in earlier forms of Dutch, the seventeenth-century language, or in the West Frisian and Zealandic dialects, as well as in colloquial Dutch.

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INTRODUCTION

My interest in Papiamentu was aroused during a course on the History of the Spanish Language at The University of British Columbia. From the sample texts prescribed for study, it was evident that the contributions from the Dutch language were more numerous than could be readily detected by non-native speakers of Dutch. It was clear, therefore, that there was scope for additional research into Dutch influence on Papiamentu. This was a challenge for me to study the language further. However, there was very little primary source material available on Papiamentu or the Netherlands Antilles in the University Library, and the secondary sources were in some cases out-of-date. When I received permission to make the influence of Dutch on Papiamentu my thesis topic, it was, therefore, necessary to go elsewhere to gather the required information.

For that purpose I went to The Netherlands for short stays in 1970, 1971 and 1973, and to the three Benedenwindse Eilanden for six weeks in the Summer of 1971. In these places I have met with generous co-operation from libraries, universities, associations, government agencies and individuals -- among whom were authors, poets and actors -- who provided me with documentation, allowed me to make tape recordings and introduced me to various aspects of Antillian culture.

This study is devoted to the lexicon and syntax of Papiamentu as far as Dutch influence in this respect can be detected. However, in order to explain how Papiamentu came to be a language composed of so many different linguistic elements, it was felt necessary to devote the first chapter to the historical background of the territory where Papiamentu is spoken. The second chapter investigates the influence which the history of the Benedenwindse Eilanden has exerted upon the development of Papiamentu. It shows, furthermore, how it passed from the state of a pidgin to that of a creole and subsequently into an independent language. Quotations from writers on the language from 1704 on are given to illustrate this growth. Attention is also paid to documents and publications in the language from the last quarter of the eighteenth up to the end of the nineteenth century.

The third chapter is devoted to the Dutch element in twentieth century Papiamentu. It gives first a short description of the various categories in which the Dutch language, in its earlier forms, the seventeenth-century idiom, as well as present-day speech has left its impact. As far as possible, references are made to dialectal influences, mainly from West Frisian. The remainder of the chapter concerns the presence of Dutch elements in the usage of Papiamentu by a prominent Antillian writer, Pierre Antoine Lauffer, in his collection of children's

stories Ora Solo Baha. In the conclusion a break-down of the proportion of Dutch elements in the running word count of two of the stories "Mushe Raton" and "Bas Pipi i su barika-hel" is given.

No attention is paid in this study to the phonology of Papiamentu. There is a certain amount of influence from Dutch in that respect, but to go deeper into that subject would not be justified by the scope of this work.

The lack of a uniform spelling system is a considerable disadvantage for those who wish to study the landstaal of the Benedenwindse Eilanden, since, as a result, there is no up-to-date dictionary. One can only consult word-lists from before 1953. Many attempts have been made to arrive at a standard orthography. However, this aspect of Papiamentu is not dealt with in this study either.

It should further be noted that no emphasis has been placed on the differences in the Papiamentu of the three islands. The variety discussed is that of Curaçao.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TERRITORY WHERE PAPIAMENTU IS SPOKEN

Papiamentu¹ is spoken, besides the official language, which is Dutch, on part of the Netherlands Antilles, that is, on the three islands Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, sometimes called the ABC Islands when listed in alphabetical order rather than in geographical sequence. From West to East this would be Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. They are located in the Caribbean Sea, to the North of Venezuela, at a distance varying from 30 to 90 km off its coast, between latitudes 12° and 13° N. and longitudes 68° and 71° W. The distance between Aruba and Curaçao is about 78 km, between Curaçao and Bonaire about 52 km. These islands form the southern part of the Lesser Antilles, the northern part of which lies at a distance of 900 km to the North East.

¹I have chosen this spelling, since the word is pronounced and written that way by native speakers. English-speaking scholars, such as, for instance, Robert A. Hall, Jr. of Cornell University, Douglas Taylor of Dominica, and R.W. Thompson of the University of Hongkong, also use it. In Spanish the language is called papiamento. In Dutch publications one may find, spread over the centuries: Papiamentoe, Papiamentu, Papiamentsch, Papiaments, Papiamento or, recently Papiament. The latter is an improvement on the un-Dutch noun Papiaments(ch). (See Joh. Hartog, Curaçao: Van Kolonie tot Autonomie (Aruba, N.A.: D.J. de Wit, c. 1961, Part I, pp. 431-32.). Raúl G. Römer of the Spaans Seminarie of the Gemeentelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam has suggested Papyamentu (1970). He is a native speaker of the language and was asked to draw up an official spelling for it. The lack of one has resulted in much discussion, the non-publication of many a literary work and the frustrating absence of any up-to-date dictionary.

The official Dutch name of the southern group is Eilanden Beneden de Wind or Benedenwindse Eilanden (Spanish: las Islas de Sotavento), "Leeward Islands". However, the British gave this group the name "Windward Islands". The Dutch translation for this would be quite the opposite, that is, Eilanden Boven de Wind or Bovenwindse Eilanden, literally "Islands Above the Wind". In Dutch, Spanish as well as in French this concept is used for the northern group of the Lesser Antilles, three of which, Saba, Sint Eustatius and half of Sint Maarten, are also part of the Dutch Realm. As an amusing but confusing result the former British Leeward Islands are surrounded by what the Dutch and French would call their Windward Islands.¹ This reference to the wind reflects the great importance of the trade winds in the days of the sailing vessel.

Curaçao is the largest of the three islands, covering an area of 472 km².² It is the seat of the Government. Before September 8, 1948, when a revision of the Netherlands Constitution was accepted, the name Curaçao was used to designate the whole territory of what is now called the Netherlands Antilles, encompassing the above-mentioned six

¹To avoid confusion in this study the phrase Benedenwindse Eilanden will be used.

²At a short distance from Curaçao, to the South-East, lies Klein-Curaçao (Little Curaçao). Its surface is 1 km². From 1871 to 1913, it was an important supplier of phosphate.

islands. Bonaire has a surface of 281 km² and Aruba of 190 km².¹ In 1972, the number of inhabitants was 150,000, 62,000 and 8,200 respectively, a total of about 220,000. When, on December 29, 1954, Her Majesty Queen Juliana gave Royal Consent to the Statuut (Statute, Charter), The Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam were incorporated into the Kingdom of The Netherlands as three autonomous parts and as equal partners. On November 25, 1975, Surinam withdrew from that status in order to gain complete political independence.

It is estimated that there are at present about 200,000 speakers of Papiamentu. Included in this figure are those who live on the ABC Islands, immigrants from Surinam, from other parts of South-America and from other islands in the Caribbean Sea, who came in search of work and later went back to their own habitat using Papiamentu there as a sort of secret language. Examples of this are the Island of St. Thomas and, on the Paraguana Peninsula, Ricla (Adicora), Porta Secondé (Puerto Escondido) and Punta Macamba. There is also a considerable number of speakers of Papiamentu who have now settled in The Netherlands. These are students, people in various occupations, civil servants, persons on welfare and retired people. The number of Dutch citizens

¹At a distance of about 2 km to the East of Bonaire lies the uninhabited Klein-Bonaire (Little Bonaire), used as grazing land for goats and for recreational purposes. It measures 6 km².

from the West Indies (Surinam and the Antilles together) was 70,000 in 1972, but it is likely that not all who had entered The Netherlands to remain had registered as residents. The greatest portion by far of these were from Surinam. In 1974, the figures were 80,000 and 10,000 for people from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles respectively. More than 30% of the total population of Surinam lived in The Netherlands in 1975. For the Netherlands Antilles it was 5%.

During my visit to Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire as well as during my stay in The Netherlands in search of informants, I found the statement that everyone living on those islands or who had lived there for a certain length of time would speak Papiamentu to be ill-founded. The employees of Shell brought out from The Netherlands often did not acquire the language, since they led a rather secluded life. People who come to the Benedenwindse Eilanden from Holland or elsewhere for a contract of two or three years do not always feel inclined to take the trouble to learn Papiamentu. This explains the difference in the number of inhabitants of the three Benedenwindse Eilanden (220,000) and the estimated figure for speakers of the language (about 200,000). It is true, however, that Papiamentu is spoken by the landskinderen of all levels of society: the white, including the Jews, who have come from various parts of the world and at different times in history, speak it among themselves, with their employees and servants. So do the black and mulatto parts of the population, among themselves and with other groups.

Children often do not learn Dutch until they go to school, that is, not until they are six years old. Landskinderen (literally "children of the country") is the term used for those who are born on the three islands, albeit of Indian, European, South-American or other descent, and have, therefore, Dutch citizenship.

Chapter Two will go into more detail about the development of Papiamentu from a pidgin into a creole language and now an independent language. Suffice it to say here that it can be considered a "mixed language" because it is composed of a variety of elements. Its grammar is not complicated. Its vocabulary is about three quarters Iberian. I have chosen this term, since it is not my intention to explore in this study the validity of the arguments whether the Romance base may be attributed to Portuguese, Spanish, Galician, Bable (the Asturian dialect) or Catalan influences. Many scholars, such as Antoine J. Maduro, H.L.A. van Wijk, Richard E. Wood, Tomás Navarro Tomás, Germán de Granda and J.P. Rona, have entered into discussions on this matter. The other quarter of the lexicon consists for the main part of Dutch or Dutch-derived words; some words from French, some from English. In the names of flora and fauna, as well as in geographical names one can recognize traces of Indian languages. In the sound system and folk-literature as well as in old songs there are undoubtedly reminiscences of African substrata.

In order to explain these characteristics this chapter will be devoted to the historical background of the islands Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire in so far as it had an influence on the development of Papiamentu. The various groups of people will be discussed according to their origin and not in the chronological order of their arrival.

As far as can be established, these islands were already separated from the continent before the early inhabitants, the Indians, had reached the Americas. The assumption is that these people came about 10,000 years B.C. from Asia via the strip of land that connected at that time the Asian and American continents, but is now covered by the waters of the Bering Strait.

As far as indications of the presence of Indians on the Benedenwindse Eilanden is concerned, there is one settlement, which can be identified as dating from the Meso-Indian period (5000 to 1000 B.C.) and that is Rooi Rincón, a hiding-place in the rocks on Curaçao. Radiocarbon dates for five earthenware fragments found at a Neo-Indian (1000 B.C. to 1500 A.D.) settlement at Santa Cruz, Aruba, fall between 260-290 B.C. and \pm 120 A.D.¹

¹These data were taken from the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, Chief Editor: H. Hoetink (Amsterdam and Brussel: Elsevier), 1969. The remainder of this chapter is based on data from the same Encyclopedie as well as on J. Hartog, Curaçao: From Colonial Dependence to Autonomy (Aruba, Netherlands Antilles: De Wit Inc., 1968), which is the English version of his Curaçao: Van Kolonie tot Autonomie, 2 vols.; L.C. Vrijman, Slavenhalers and Slavenhandel (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, N.V., 1943); W.R. Menkman, De Geschiedenis van de West-Indische Compagnie (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, N.V., 1947). Also consulted were the Grote Winkler Prins Encyclopedie (Amsterdam and Bruxelles: Elsevier, 1974) and Supplement (1976).

Bonaire and Curaçao, and probably also Aruba, were discovered in 1499 by Alonso de Ojeda, one of the Conquistadores of Venezuela, who called them the "Isla de los Gigantes" because of the size of the Indians he encountered there. It is not clear whether Amérigo Vespucci, with whom Ojeda set sail from Spain, was still with him at that time. Hartog expresses doubts as to whether Ojeda himself was with the expedition at the moment of discovery. These doubts are based upon the contents of a letter from Vespucci to a friend, upon documents pertaining to legal proceedings which arose from the question of whether it was indeed Columbus who had discovered Margarita island and the adjacent coast, as well as upon the fact that Ojeda apparently did not write any report about the discovery.¹

The Spanish did not consider the islas adyacentes (Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba) important because they found no pearls or gold there. For that reason they were declared, in 1513, to be islas inútiles. They were used only to protect Spain's sea routes to her possessions in Central and South America. Moreover, Spain did not want to fight the Island-Caribs, whom Columbus and his men found on the Antilles. These were fierce cannibals² who claimed their ancestors had arrived a few generations before as conquerors of the Arawak-speaking inhabitants. They had come

¹Hartog, Curaçao, pp. 24-33.

²The word "cannibals", Sp. caníbales or caríbales, was derived from Caribe.

mainly to abduct the women. Most of the men had been killed. The Indians of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire in Columbus's days spoke an Arawak rather than a Carib language. They belonged to the Caquetios, peace-loving people, who also inhabited Falcón, Venezuela. However, it is not certain whether those of Aruba were of the same group as the ones on Curaçao and Bonaire. It seems more likely that there was contact between the inhabitants of Aruba and the mainland, because of its proximity, than between Aruba and the two other islands from which it is separated by very rough passages.

In 1494, Queen Isabel forbade the sale of Caribs who had been brought to Spain. She declared that only she herself had the right to decide the fate of the prisoners of war and ordered the "servants" from the Caribbean to be returned to their homeland, since they were free men. Four years later, she decreed that those who did not obey her orders to set Caribs free would be sentenced to death.¹ In the colonies, however, no attention was paid to this decree, and, after her death in 1504, the treatment of slaves got out of hand. In 1512, the Indios were officially recognized as free people, but the whites could exercise some form of "tutelage".² Twenty-five years later, Pope Paul III issued a bull to the same effect.

In 1515, about two thousand Indians were brought to Hispaniola as slaves to work in the gold mines. However,

¹Vrijman, Slavenhalers, pp. 19-20.

²Vrijman, p. 21.

in 1527, Juan Martínez de Ampués, factor of Hispaniola since 1511 and in 1526 appointed factor and corregidor of "Curazao, Ouruba y Baynari" was given the task of peaceful colonization of the Islas de los Gigantes. To this end he returned a number of Arawaks to the three Benedenwindse Eilanden. He then saw to it that the slave-hunters were forbidden access. He also entered into an agreement with an Indian chief on the mainland which made possible the transport of the latter's prisoners of war as slaves to the three islands.

The Indians were used to help the Spanish in the exploitation of the forests and in raising herds of sheep and goats. These animals, as well as donkeys and possibly cows and horses, had been brought from Spain. The orange, pomegranate and lemon, as well as tobacco and sugar also were introduced on the Benedenwindse Eilanden by the Spanish. Skins and brazilwood (Haematoxylon brasiletto) were exported.

During the fifteenth century, there was a great competition between the Portuguese and Spanish with regard to the possession of discovered and still-to-be-discovered distant lands.

Although Columbus had come to "the Indies" in 1492, he was unable to report this fact to Queen Isabel until early 1493. She immediately requested Pope Alexander VI, a Valencian, to give Spain the rights of possession over this territory. He drew a line of demarcation, running from pole to pole, a hundred leagues West of the most western point of the Cape Verde Islands or the Azores.

Everything to the West or South (!) of that line would fall to Spain. John II of Portugal did not agree with this partition, which accorded the whole of the Atlantic to Spain, and a new treaty, known as the Treaty of Tordesillas, was signed in 1494. It established the line of demarcation 270 leagues further westward, running roughly from the mouth of the Amazon to the coast where São Paulo is located now. In other words, Brazil, which was to be discovered in 1500 fell within Portugal's sphere of influence. In the centuries which followed, outposts West of that line were established, so that the line was replaced, in 1750, by one based on the principle of uti possidetis. A considerable amount of land was involved in this new agreement. Still more was gained by the Portuguese, in 1777, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso. In 1529, with the settlement of the Moluccas question, a similar line of demarcation had been drawn on the other side of the Americas.

The English, French, Dutch, and later the Danes, also set out to share in the riches of this continent. For the Dutch there were several reasons for sending expeditions to this part of the world. In the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, except for the Twelve Year Truce from 1609 to 1621, they were at war with Spain and, hence, with Portugal (including Brazil) during the years that it came under the Spanish crown (1580 to 1640). As a result, they had no access to Portuguese ports and were also cut off from the salt supplied by the

Portuguese salt pans. The livelihood of the inhabitants of the West-Frisian cities of Hoorn, Medemblik and Enkhuizen depended mainly upon their fishing, particularly of herring, for whose preservation salt was an essential commodity. They began to sail to the Peninsula of Punta de Araya (Venezuela) and the Island of Tortuga in order to obtain it from other sources. This involved smuggling, since normal trade with the Spanish colonies was forbidden to all foreign nations.

Another destination for the vessels sent out to load salt was Bonaire, where the Indians had known how to extract salt from seawater before the arrival of the Spanish. Brazilwood was another product of Bonaire sought by the Dutch. They obtained from it a red dye for their woollen cloth. They called this wood verfhout, which means dye-wood. Sugar and tobacco also played an important role in their trade with the Americas.

Naturally, the Dutch traders were equally interested in the precious stones, gold and silver which the Spanish brought back from the New World. However, these treasures were not primarily what made them desirous of capturing the Spanish ships. Foremost in their minds was the fact that this wealth made it possible for Spain to pay for her wars, including that with the Dutch. If the ships were intercepted, Spain would not have the means to prolong those wars and would be willing to open peace negotiations.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Spain brought a great fleet to the Caribbean Sea in order to

prevent the privateering, in which the British and French were involved as well. As a result the Dutch merchants had to join forces and, so, the West-Indische Compagnie (West India Company) was founded on June 3, 1621, with the help of the States-General, which also promised military aid, if necessary. The Company obtained a charter granting it for twenty-four years the monopoly of the trade and shipping on the West coast of Africa between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, the East and West coast of America, except that part of the East coast which lies North of the southern point of Newfoundland (Terra Nova), as well as the discovered or still-to-be-discovered Austraelsche Zuyderlanden, terra australis incognita "Southlands", which were located between the Cape of Good Hope and the eastern point of New Guinea. The Company was given the right to trade in those parts, to acquire possessions there and to enter into treaties with the aborigines, as well as to wage war. Its monopoly was renewed several times. However, the W.I.C. was dissolved at the end of 1674, when it was taken over by the Tweede West-Indische Compagnie (Second West India Company). The latter had no military obligations. It lasted until 1792.

The management of the Company was divided among five chambers, that is, those of Amsterdam, the Maas (composed of the cities of Rotterdam, Delft and Dordrecht), Zeeland (Middelburg, Vlissingen and Veere), the Noorderkwartier (Northern Quarter), that is, the three West Frisian cities

of Hoorn, Enkhuizen en Medemblik, and Groningen and Friesland. There were nineteen members in the Board of Directors, called the Heeren XIX. Amsterdam and Zeeland were the most influential ones. When, in 1628, certain possessions were placed under the supervision of specific chambers, most of those on the mainland and the Bovenwindse Eilanden in the Caribbean were placed under the jurisdiction of Zeeland. The Benedenwindse Eilanden Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire were to come under Amsterdam. The coat of arms of that city is still part of that of Curaçao.

Besides the objectives of weakening the enemy by cutting him off from his main resources, which lay in his overseas territories, and to get hold of those resources for the Company and The United Provinces there was a strong desire to convert the heathen natives to the Christian faith, that is, Protestantism in its Calvinistic form. Later, this was extended to include "the blacks and the Portuguese and Spanish". However, the preachers in the employ of the West India Company neglected this part of their task, often as a result of circumstances beyond their control.

In the first twenty years of its existence, the Company was quite successful, although Piet Hein was the only one who was able to seize a Spanish "silver-fleet" (1628). In 1623, its ships started to get salt and brazilwood from Bonaire and in the years following called at the three islands, not always peacefully. In the year 1634, the Amsterdam Chamber decided to capture Curaçao and to

establish there a centre for its trade and make it a stronghold against the enemy. Johannes van Walbeeck did so in the same year. The Spanish who lived on the island were allowed to leave for Venezuela in order to avoid the possibility of treason and also because it was feared that the food supply may run out. However, seventy-five Indians, men, women and children remained on Curaçao. Thus, the island became almost completely Dutch, though subsequently other Indians returned. In 1648, the Spanish ceded Curaçao to the Dutch. Already in those days "Curaçao" included Aruba and Bonaire (with Klein-Curaçao and Klein-Bonaire) and even the Aves and Roques Islands. If Curaçao proper was meant, it would be referred to as "the Island of Curaçao".

Bonaire, which had played a rôle in the conquest of Curaçao by serving as a spring-board, and also Aruba were taken in 1636. The latter was at that time practically uninhabited, but Indians from the mainland came to settle there, attracted by the possibility of stud-raising. It was no longer permitted to use Indians as slaves. They used to live rather isolated from the other racial groups. When the Indians on Aruba had been allowed by the West India Company to possess plots of land, they had as slaves other Indians, captured on the Wilde Kust, lit. "Wild Coast", located between the mouths of the Orinoco and the Amazón, and smuggled onto the island. These were the so-called roode slaven or roô slaven "red slaves". In 1800, the Indians on Curaçao no longer formed a separate group of the

population, partly because of the increase in the number of black slaves. Early in the nineteenth century, there were still over five hundred Indians of pure blood on Aruba.¹ In comparing the population on the two islands Aruba and Bonaire in our time from the point of view of physical type, one could say that on the former the people are more reminiscent of the Indians, the Spanish conquerors and other Hispanic people, the Dutch settlers and the descendants of mixed blood of the different groups than on Bonaire, where there is a preponderance of negroid features. One of the reasons for this may be that Bonaire was used as a penal settlement for blacks, and sometimes also for whites. It is noteworthy that a Royal Decree of July 9, 1816, contained a clause saying that

Convicts in the colonies i.e. Curaçao and the Dutch East Indies⁷ shall experience no further impediment to their liberty than such as is necessary to prevent their return to Europe.²

As a consequence, the members of the different groups could freely mix.

It was the intention to establish an agricultural colony. The island of Curaçao was to become agrarian,

¹ Joh. Hartog, Aruba: Zoals Het Was, Zoals Het Werd (Aruba: Gebroeders De Wit, 1953), p. 223; English edition: Aruba: Past and Present (Oranjestad, Aruba: D.J. de Wit, 1961), p. 217.

² Aruba: Past and Present, p. 114.

Bonaire would supply salt and maize, and Aruba was meant to become a stud-ranch.

Many of the explorers of the New World, the privateers and traders had been Protestant, persevering Zeelanders, trying to find the freedom of religion they could not obtain under Spanish occupation. They formed the most important contingent of the settlers who came to Curaçao from 1635 on. Then there were Hollanders, that is, persons from the two Provinces of Holland (North- and South-Holland), not to be confused with Nederlanders, which name denotes nowadays all people of Dutch nationality. Among those from the Province of North-Holland, the West Frisians should be mentioned in particular.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, settlers began to come to Curaçao from other European countries as well: Germans, Danes, French, Spanish, Walloons and Flemings, Greeks, Swiss and some English. Indeed, so many French and Spanish came that, in 1747, in view of the developments in Europe, all these were ordered to leave the island, unless they were willing to swear an oath of allegiance, which sixty-five persons did. The order was given toward the end of the combined Anglo-Spanish War (1739-48) and War of Austrian Succession (1741-48). In the latter war, the Dutch were involved as allies of the British, in the defense of the Barrier Fortresses in the Southern Netherlands, meant as a protection from France, but they did not take part in the Anglo-Spanish War. They

appear to have wished to neutralize the Benedenwindse Eilanden. This would explain the expulsion of the French and Spanish.¹

Other groups of people of European origin came to regions of the New World, albeit not to the three islands. However, individuals from among them -- or their descendants -- may have come at a later stage. Another possibility is that they worked side by side with black slaves who then took over certain words from their vocabulary prior to their being transported elsewhere, for instance, to the Dutch possessions. Examples of this are a group of individuals who sailed from the Dutch island of Texel in 1623. Since almost all had French names, it is assumed that they were Huguenots. After 1626, a group of Swedes settled near the Delaware, where they were joined by Dutch emigrants from the Province of Utrecht. In 1644, a group of four hundred persons who had fled the Portuguese in Brazil arrived in Curaçao, but were sent on to Nieuw-Amsterdam (now New York) by Pieter Stuyvesant.

Around 1650, a regular export of young people, many of whom were still almost children, took place from France (Dieppe, le Havre, Saint-Malo, Brest and la Rochelle) to the territories around the Caribbean Sea. They were called engagés or servants and were treated little better than slaves.

¹Dr. J.M. Norris of the Department of History, The University of British Columbia, has most kindly provided me with this information concerning the events in Europe.

Between 1683 and 1688, Cornelis van Aerssen, Governor of Surinam, another territory in the hands of the Dutch, brought compatriots but also foreigners, among them many French refugee families, to that country.¹

In the British West Indies political prisoners or prisoners-of-war and Irish Catholics sold to the Antilles were used for the heavy work.

As the Spanish had realized earlier, the French and British came to the conclusion that the import of white workers was a failure. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, they no longer made use of whites as slaves on their islands. The importation of black slaves became, therefore, a necessity.

The Spanish had also brought inhabitants from the Canary Islands, the Isleños. They were the Guanches, probably of Berber descent. Spain's sovereignty over the Canary Islands was recognized in 1479, after lengthy quarrels with Portugal about their possession.² Access to these islands had greatly facilitated the voyages to the New World as a result of their favourable position in the trade winds. Once the Guanches had been converted to Christianity, the Spanish no longer wanted to take them to the West-Indies as slaves, since they had now become "human beings".

¹Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, pp. 32-33.

²Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie, 1949 ed., V, 460.

The idea to make use of Negroes (or others, for that matter) as slaves was not a new one for the Spaniards. Even before the Portuguese Gonçalvez kidnapped some Negroes on the coast of Guinea, in 1443, the Portuguese had already captured Moors on the West Coast of Africa, after taking Ceuta in 1415, and sold them in Seville, which became an important slave market, as did Córdoba, Granada and Lisbon. The real trade began in 1444, in which year a company was established for the sole purpose of slave hunting in Africa. In 1448, the Portuguese established their first post for the trade in Negroes and gold in Arguin, where they also built a fort for protection. A second such fort, the famous castle São Jorge da Mina, was erected in 1481. After the Portuguese had established themselves in Arguin, the export of black slaves increased greatly. That Spain was an important buyer may be concluded from the fact that there was a great number of them in Spain in the second part of the fifteenth century. They had their own cofradias and were not without rights or a certain protection. On the other hand, there were also severe laws dealing with punishment for offences committed by slaves.¹

As far as the Dutch were concerned, the course of events was as follows. Among the ships they captured there were, of course, slave-ships en route to the Spanish colonies. At

¹This information is taken mainly from L.C. Vrijman, Slavenhalers, passim.

first, they had no policy for the disposal of the slaves. They either let them run off into the woods, once they had landed, or allowed the ships to go. However, this was soon to be changed.

In 1621, they had taken rich sugar-plantations in Brazil. In 1624, they conquered Bahia and in 1630 Olinda and the Recife (Pernambuco), so that the northern part of Brazil had come under the rule of the West India Company. The latter was trying to establish a colony there under Johan Maurits van Nassau, governor from 1636 to 1644. For that reason great pressure was put on him to supply labourers, that is, black slaves. As elsewhere, the Indians had proven too delicate to do the heavy work which was expected of them and died in large numbers. White labourers had also come, either to flee oppressive situations in Europe or because they were criminals sent to the Americas for punishment. Some had been lured into going there by irresponsible traders. A large number of them perished. Besides, they were expensive and needed more protection as well as better food than the Africans. One black was known to be able to do as much work as three or four Indians. He could also stand the hot climate.

The great problem with which the West India Company had to cope in order to satisfy the need for Negro workers was the fact that all slave-ports were in the hands of the enemy. The Company felt, therefore, that it was necessary to take possession of the former Portuguese ports used in connection

with the slave-trade on the African coast ("former" because Portugal was now under the Spanish crown). Elmina (another name for the castle São Jorge) was captured in 1637 with little effort. From that moment on, the Company was engaged in the slave-trade, and regarded that trade as its exclusive monopoly. This state of affairs was maintained by the Company's successors until 1734.

Another expedition was sent to São Paulo de Luanda in 1641. The town and the country of Angola were seized for the Company. This was a blow to the Spanish, who were in great need of the slaves from that region. The advantage for the Company was that it took a far shorter time to bring the slaves to the Americas from there than from Elmina.

In 1640, a ten-year truce was concluded with the Portuguese. In 1645, the Brazilian Portuguese, freed Negroes and people of mixed blood rose against the Dutch. In 1654, they were driven completely out of Brazil. Earlier, they had given up the African possessions.

As a result, Curaçao became a centre of the slave-trade -- as it had been for red slaves during the Spanish period¹ -- however, chiefly for transit, since on the island itself Africans were used mainly as house-servants. A few worked on the plantations. They were not badly treated. A threat to send them to Surinam was enough to keep them under control.² Still, there were two slave uprisings on the island.

¹Hartog, Curaçao, End. ed., p. 40; Dutch ed., p. 88.

²Vrijman, Slavenhalers, p. 121.

One was in 1751, instigated by new arrivals from Africa. The other took place in 1795, inspired by the French Revolution of 1789 and the resulting emancipation of slaves on Santo Domingo.

The last slave-ship is said to have arrived in Curaçao in 1778.¹ After that date, no further imports were necessary, since the population increase by birth was sufficient to meet the demands.² In 1814, The Netherlands abolished the slave-trade. The emancipation of the slaves on the Benedenwindse Eilanden came into effect in 1863.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many Sephardic Jews arrived in Curaçao. These were the descendants of the Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1497, had then gone to Portugal, from where they had to flee again when it was conquered by Spain in 1580. A great number of them then went to Amsterdam, others to Brazil, which they had to leave in order to escape the Inquisition once more. From the former they came to Curaçao because they were attracted by the success of the West India Company. Originally they were supposed to cultivate the land, but, because of the condition of the soil, this could not be done successfully. They became, therefore, involved in commercial undertakings.

In 1651, the Company granted João de Illan permission

¹Hartog, Curaçao, Dutch ed., p. 446; Eng. ed., p. 169.

²Hartog, Du., p. 446; Eng., p. 169.

to bring fifty Jewish colonials to Curaçao. Many Jews came from Brazil between 1654 and 1659.¹

Again, in 1659, the W.I.C. offered Isaac de Acosta favorable conditions and privileges for bringing Jewish colonials from Amsterdam to Curaçao.

The Jews formed a very close community with strong family ties, but came into contact with the other ethnic groups through their commerce. From the beginning, Ashkenazim had also come to the Island, but in very small numbers. Not until 1926, did they arrive -- as an aftermath of the First World War -- in greater numbers, most of them from Romania. And, again, after the Second World War, many of their relatives came from Europe. In 1970, there were some one hundred Ashkenazim families in Curaçao (about 400 persons).²

Many Venezuelans and Colombians, among others Bolívar, established themselves in Curaçao at the beginning of the nineteenth century for political or economic reasons. Aruba has always had a great attraction for Venezuelans who have remained there for various periods of time.

¹Hartog writes on p. 336 of the Dutch edition of Curaçao, 1961, that the validity of this assertion has not been proven. However, this comment is left out on p. 131 of the English edition, which was published in 1968. This would seem to indicate that he had revised his views on the matter by then.

²Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 316; and Isaac and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles, Vol. I, History (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1970), p. 496.

In Holland the Bataafsche Republiek came into being in 1795, after the invasion of the country by the French. As a result, the stadhouder, Prince William V, who had fled to England, gave orders to the Dutch colonies to grant access to the British. The French tried to gain influence over Curaçao, taking advantage of the friction between Orangists and Francophiles.¹ They attacked it, as a precautionary measure, in September 1800. Governor Johann Rudolf Lauffer, in charge of the Comité militaire, did not want to surrender to the French and put the island under the protection of the British. He was in charge, in name, of the civil government. One of the stipulations of the Peace of Amiens, concluded between the British and French in 1802, was that the Dutch Benedenwindse and Bovenwindse Eilanden were to be returned to the Bataafsche Republiek. From 1803 to 1806, Curaçao was back under Dutch rule, but in 1807, the British took it again, this time by force, and it remained in their hands until 1816, although already in 1814, by the Convention of London, the Benedenwindse and Bovenwindse Eilanden had been given back to Holland, which in the next year, 1815, was reinstated as The Kingdom of The Netherlands under the House of Orange.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the oil industry has brought considerable changes to the Benedenwindse Eilanden. Shell chose Curaçao for its transfer

¹Hartog, Curaçao, Dutch ed., pp. 472-76; Eng. ed., pp. 190-92; and Emmanuel, p. 283.

station in 1915; Lago decided to establish one on Aruba in 1925. Royal Shell opened its refineries on Curaçao in 1918 and on Aruba in 1928. Lago did the same on Aruba in 1929. This meant an influx of employees from The Netherlands, Britain and the United States.

In this century Portuguese immigrants arrived again. This time, they were working-class people who left Portugal for political reasons or because they were unable to find work there.

As a result of the events that took place in the Dutch East Indies -- later Indonesia -- in the nineteen forties and fifties, a certain number of Dutch people from those parts settled in Curaçao. They often felt more at home in another overseas territory than in the mother country, partly because of the climate, partly because of the way of life.

At this point, it is interesting to note two items in the Antilliaanse Nieuwsbrief of May 27, 1977, published by the Cabinet of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Netherlands Antilles in The Hague. One quotes figures concerning the number of voters for the elections in Curaçao of June 17, 1977. There were 89,681 persons eligible. Of those 73,515 were born on Curaçao, 1874 were Arubans, 3235 Bonairians, 1452 from the Bovenwindse Eilanden, 3670 from The Netherlands, 1670 from Surinam and 4265 "from elsewhere". It is unfortunate that "from elsewhere" is not

specified, since it could have shed more light on the diversity of the population.

The second item refers to the elections on Aruba of the same date. The number of persons eligible to take part in the elections was 36,927. These persons were born in no fewer than 74 countries or islands. Among these were Australia, Morocco, Egypt, Sarawak, New Guinea, Malacca, Turkey, Iran, China. The majority were born on Aruba: 25,060; followed by Curaçao: 1985; The Netherlands: 962; the Dominican Republic: 685; Bonaire: 659; Sint Maarten: 617; Surinam: 573 and Colombia: 483.

It is obvious that the events and movements of people described above have left their mark on the language.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HISTORY OF THE BENEDENWINDSE EILANDEN UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAPIAMENTU

The aim of this chapter is to trace the influence which the presence of the many varied groups during the centuries has exercised upon the landstaal "language of the country". This term refers to Papiamentu on the three islands to distinguish it from Dutch, which is the official language but not necessarily the mother tongue of all of the inhabitants.

The word Papiamentu is derived from papear, which is found in Old Spanish, Galician and Portuguese. It has many meanings referring to oral communication: to scream, babble, talk, express one's feelings, whisper, talk a great deal, give away secrets; hablar sin conocimiento.¹ The Dicionário Prático Ilustrado lists

PAPEAR, v.i. (outra forma de pipiar). Falar muito, palrar, papaguar, chilrear. Cochichar.²

and under pipiar:

PIPIAR, v.i. (lat. pipiare). O mesmo que pipilar. S.m. O piar das aves.³

¹Antoine J. Maduro, Procedencia di Palabranan Papiamentu i Otro Anotacionnan, part II (Curaçao: n.p., 1966), p. 15.

²Dicionário Prático Ilustrado (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1966), p. 869.

³Dicionário, p. 916.

Martín Alonso gives:

PAPEAR. intr. S.XIII. Hablar sin conocimiento,
confusamente. . . .¹

In Papiamentu the verb "to talk" is papia. In Puerto Rico the word papiamento means a "non-full-fledged language".² Proof that a form of papear is used in other parts of the world as well may be found in the section dealing with the lexicon in Baltasar Lopes da Silva, O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde, where one reads: papear - papiâ³ and in the statement by Bernard Anwar Kamawidjaja that

«Papiah» és el nom donat al portugués parlat a Tugu. Es el mateix dialecte de portuguès parlat a Malacca. Malacca està plena de records portuguesos, i hi ha una comunitat portuguesa de milers de persones.⁴

It is found further in titles of publications such as Luís Chaves, "O 'cristão', 'papia cristão', ou 'serani'. O português de Malaca em apontamentos folclóricos"⁵ and of an unpublished paper by Ian F. Hancock (March 1970) "600-item

¹ Martín Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma, III, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1958), p. 3131.

² This would seem the best translation of Dutch taaltje, which is given as the equivalent of the Puerto Rican papiamento in the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 440.

³ Baltasar Lopes da Silva, O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1957), p. 333.

⁴ Bernard Anwar Kamawidjaja, "La influencia portuguesa a Indonesia," Vida Nova, 61 (1974), 18.

⁵ Published in Língua Portuguesa, 3(1933), 169-78, and listed in John E. Reinecke et al., A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1975), p. 104.

lexical checklist for Papia Kristang" (from an unpublished lexicon of Malaccan Crioulo).¹

In order to give a precise picture of Papiamentu one would have to deal with each of the islands separately and, for Curaçao, perhaps even with the different districts of Willemstad, the capital, as well as the kunuku, that is, the countryside; for Aruba, with the differences between the various towns and between the towns and the rural area. Further distinctions could be made according to age, social and racial background, religion and education. However, that would result in more detail than is justified by the scope of this paper.

As mentioned in Chapter One, Indians were the first inhabitants of the area in question. It is not always an easy task to define whether a certain word actually had its origin in an Indian language. There is, perhaps, a tendency to ascribe a word or phrase to Indian or African influence when it does not seem to fit into the pattern of the languages represented by the European settlers. This may result in erroneous conclusions. Maduro has made a thorough study of Papiamentu etymology, including the Indian element, and has reported his findings on the latter in many of his works.²

¹Reinecke, p. 104.

²Mainly in Procedencia, passim.

M.D. Latour, O.P. has studied the subject of Indian words as well.¹

It would be safe to say that the contribution from Indian languages to Papiamentu may be found mainly in the names of flora and fauna, in toponyms and some utensils. Examples: rucu (Bixa orellana L.) - a plant from which a dye is extracted for the colouring of food, such as butter and cheese; Aruba: waltaca, a small lizard; mampiri or mompiri - a very small fly; mapiri - a basket with handle. Kunuku, a word in every-day use, "countryside, country seat, plantation" also is of Indian origin. It must be pointed out, though, that there are Dutch names as well for animals, trees, plants and flowers. At times, they were given to animals or plants of a species different from the ones for which the name is used in Holland. On consulting the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen one will immediately see how many of those Dutch names there are. The sea-gull, Dutch meeuw, is called meuchi, no doubt from the diminutive meewtje. One of the names for Dutch fregatvogel (Fregata magnificens) "frigate-bird, hurricane bird or weather bird" is Papiamentu skerchi, derived from the diminutive of Dutch schaar (dialectal scheer or skeer) "scissors" because it can make scissor-like movements with its tail.

¹M.D. Latour, O.P., "Vreemde Invloeden in het Papiamento," West-Indische Gids, 17e Jaargang (1935/36), 18e deel (1936), 390-92; and "De Taal Papiamento" in De Taal Papiamento en Haar Oorsprong (Curaçao and Hilversum, 1953), p. 14.

Interesting is one of the Papiamentu names which the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen lists for the pelican, namely ganshi (Pelecanus occidentalis), whereas Dutch gans is "goose". G.P. Jansen gives Pap. pelican for Dutch pelikaan.¹ Richard E. Wood has gáns (not ganshi, which does not appear in his lexicon of words of total or partial Dutch origin) for "goose". He refers to rógans "pelican".² Under rógans he says "pelican Du. rotgans 'wild goose' . . . pelecanus fuscus".³ Maduro mentions under ganshi that it has changed meaning and gives as origin Dutch gans and Spanish and Portuguese ganso.⁴ For rogáns (note the difference in stress with Wood's version) he writes:

rogáns (Aruba; na Corsou: ganshi, Pelecanus occidentalis) — Parce deformación di e palabra ulandés r o o d g a n s (Branta ruficollis).⁵

Other birds are the visdiefje (Sterna hirundo) lit. "little fish-thief", "common tern"; dwerpstern (Sterna

¹G.P. Jansen, Diccionario Papiamentu-Holandes (Curaçao, 1945), p. 117.

²Richard Elliot Wood, "Papiamentu: Dutch Contributions," Diss. Indiana 1970, p. 127.

³Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 188.

⁴Maduro, Ensayo pa Yega na un Ortografia Uniforme pa nos Papiamentu (Curaçao: M.S.L. Maduro, 1953), p. 79.

⁵Maduro, Procedencia, II, 27. It should be noted that Maduro does not italicize Latin phrases.

albibifrons) lit. "dwarf tern", that is, "little tern"; and geelsnavelstern (Sterna sandvicensis eurygnatha) lit. "yellow-beaked tern", that is, the "sandwich tern". Another example of change in meaning as well as a difference of appellation on the three islands is patrishi. Jansen translates it as patrijs, which is "partridge". Maduro writes in 1953: "patrushi; patrishi (Ar.) (*Coturnix curassavica*) - patrijs(je) (ul.)".² In 1960:

patrishi Benaming voor de 'socle' (kuifkwartel) op Aruba en voor de 'aladuru' op Bonaire. Op Curaçao: het jong van een 'buladèifi'.³ kuifkwartel = tufted quail

and in 1967:

patrishi (patrishi) - (Aruba; na Corsou: cocoí, socle, sloke) *Colinus cristatus* (L.). Kuifkwartel.

patrishi - (Bonèiru; na Corsou: aladuru). *Leptotila verreauxi*. Soort wilde duif. Sort of wild pigeon

patrishi - Corsou. Pichón di buladèifi). *Zenaidura auriculata vinaceo-rufa* (Ridgway). Soort wilde duif. Como e pichonnan di buladèifi (marón-shinishi cu strepi blancu irregular) tá mashá diferente di e buladèifi grandi (adulto), pueblo di Corsou ta mir'é pa un otro sorto di para. Djèi ta bini qu nan a duna e pichonnan aquí un otro nòmber, esta: patrushi.⁴ para = bird

¹Jansen, p. 116.

²Maduro, Ensayo, p. 105.

³Maduro, Proverbio-, Refran-, Dicho- i Expresionnan i nan Nificacion na Ulandes (Corsou: n.p., 1967), p. 51.

⁴Maduro, Loque a Sobra den e Macutu di Dicho, Refran, Proverbio, Frase i Palabranan di nos Lenga i nan Nificacion na Ulandes (Corsou: Cardoze, 1960), p. 142.

As for the flora, kelki gel, also spelled kelki heel, is the name of a shrub with yellow flowers (Tecoma stans) "yellow blossom" from Dutch kelk "chalice" and geel "yellow".

There are interesting explanations for the names of the three islands. The Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, 1914-17, mentions the following possibilities, without claiming certainty. Aruba could be of Indian origin and may be found on old maps as Oruba and Orua, which could have been derived from Oirubae and mean "companion", that is, to Curaçao. However, another possible derivation would be from ora "shell" and oubao "island", hence "island of shells". This seems more likely. The Encyclopaedie rejects the suggested Oro hubo "there was gold once".¹ Hartog also rejects it

since the name of our island would in that case be Spanish. This would not be impossible in itself, but if Aruba really meant 'goldland', it is hard to explain why Diego Colón counted it among the "valueless islands".²

It should not be forgotten, however, that in 1824 gold was indeed found on Aruba. The production of gold from ten places resulted in 1,338,628 kg over the years 1824-1916, plus an unknown quantity for the period 1830-54.³

¹Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, p. 56.

²Hartog, Aruba: Past and Present, pp. 32-33.

³Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 263.

Hartog quotes other theories, based on analogies with the Bay of Oruba, in lake Maracaibo, where the same kind of Indians with similar customs were living, and with the Gulf of Uruba, which would mean Gulf of the Canoes and which is now known as the Gulf of Darien.¹ He refers also to later occurrences of Curava, Arouba and Aruba.

The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen suggests that oruba could be the Indian word for "well-situated", that is, with regard to the mainland.

"Bonaire" suggests "good air", as in the old Spanish rendition "Buen-Ayre". However, this result of folk-etymology seems a less probable explanation than the one based on the fact that the original inhabitants were Indians and that, according to the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, the name must have come from a Guarani word meaning "the low island".² The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen refers to a Carib word banare with that same meaning.³ James Cerruti mentions the word "Bojnaj", pronounced somewhat like 'Boh-nah'.⁴ Latour maintains that the original name was Bona-Iri.⁵ In a written comment

¹Hartog, Aruba: Past and Present, p. 33.

²Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, p. 143.

³Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 224.

⁴James Cerruti, "The Netherlands Antilles: Holland in the Caribbean," National Geographic Magazine, January 1970, p. 137.

⁵Latour, "Vreemde Invloeden in het Papiamento," p. 390.

prepared for me by Maduro on 25 June 1971, he mentions that documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries talk about Buinare and Buynare. From p. 32 of this study it may be seen that he himself used Boneiru in 1960, and on p. 9 reference is made to Baynari.

The name Curaçao for the largest of the three islands, although of even more uncertain etymology, seems to stem from the original Indian inhabitants known as the Indios Curaçaos. The oldest known spelling of the name on maps from 1519 and 1527 is Curasote, which could be cora uacu "the large plantation" plus the Spanish suffix -ote, thus distinguishing it from the tiny island nearby, now called Klein-Curaçao in Dutch, Klein-Corsow in Papiamentu and Curazao chico in Spanish. The Indian name for it was Adicora and the Spanish called it Nicula in 1634. Whether they did this because discoverers often gave new names to the discovered territories, since they did not know the original one, or whether Nicula is a distortion of Adicora is difficult to decide. Other sixteenth century versions of Curaçao were Carasao and Corazao, Corazante, Curaçante, Curaçote, Curasoete and Curasoore. In about 1620, the Spanish began to write Curaçao or Curazao.¹ The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse

¹The information concerning the names for Curaçao has been taken from the Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, pp. 251-52; the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 224; and Hartog, Curaçao, Eng. ed., p. 27.

Antillen further suggests the following possible derivations: corossol after the fruit zuurzak, which abounds on the island; corauaçu, spelled differently from the above-mentioned cora uacu, "large plantation" and with the added meaning of "black" or "high" mountain; curacan, which is supposedly a Carib combination of oblong and powerful; and the Spanish corazón or Portuguese coração, since on old maps the island is given the shape of a heart. The present Papiamentu name for it is Kòrsow, also spelled Kòrsou or Corsow.

Other Indian-derived toponyms are of hills, caves and settlements.

It is noteworthy that most of the words of Indian origin which Latour lists end in a vowel (a, e, i, o, u) or a diphthong (ao, oi, ou) and very few in a consonant.

During the Spanish rule, which, in reality, did not begin until 1527 and lasted until 1634, that is, a little more than a century, the Spanish must have taught their language to the Indians. It may be that the sailors and soldiers who came did not speak their own language very correctly and passed their imperfect Spanish or dialectal and popular forms on to the Indians. Another factor is, of course, that when two peoples of a different level of civilization come into daily contact with one another there is a tendency to use intentionally childish speech in an attempt to facilitate communication with people who are assumed to be childlike in their understanding. This type

of language has a minimum of grammar, the main features of which will be discussed on pages 46 and 47.

When the Spanish, at their request, were allowed to leave by the Dutch, the Indians went with them or were sent away to the mainland of South America. The language in the territory (Aruba was almost uninhabited at the time) became obviously Dutch, albeit with dialectal differences in vocabulary and pronunciation, since, again, soldiers and sailors formed the larger part of the Dutch arriving on the islands and they came mainly from the specific regions of The United Provinces mentioned in Chapter One.

The number of Indians said to have remained differs according to the various researchers and their sources.

W. Brada puts it at fifty¹, Hartog at seventy-five.² The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen mentions that twenty or so Indian families, or as many as wanted to stay, were excepted from the forced departure.³ Wood states that thirty-two Spanish women were captured and were not allowed to leave.⁴ This seems unlikely in view of the statement in the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen and by Hartog that the Spaniards who left the Island and their families

¹W. Brada, O.P., Pater Schabel S.J., 1704-1713 (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), p. 73.

²Hartog, Curaçao, Eng. ed., p. 59.

³Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 229.

⁴Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 7.

numbered thirty-two.¹ More precise figures about the population of the Island are given in a document of 24 October 1635 which declares that there were fifty Indians, six of whom were women, and 412 Europeans, that is 350 soldiers, 32 sailors, 20 non-combatants, ten civil and military authorities.²

At a later stage, some of the Indians returned and others came for the first time from the mainland. No doubt, the language of communication between the Dutch and those Indians was mainly Spanish. This possibility has often been overlooked. Educated Dutchmen have always been interested in foreign languages, both for commercial purposes and out of cultural interest. Already in the fifteenth century, there existed Flemish-French glossaries and vocabularies, often in the form of dialogues and reprinted in many editions. In the sixteenth century Spanish manuals were composed as well. The great majority of them were printed in Antwerp, a few in Amsterdam and one in Delft. In 1598, an octolingual Colloquia was published in Delft also.³ The foreword was dated November 1585. The eight languages represented in this dictionary were Latin, French, Flemish, German, Spanish, Italian, English and Portuguese, quoted in that order in a handwritten note in the volume. The addition of Portuguese may be explained by the arrival of the

¹ Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 229; Hartog, Curaçao, Eng. ed., p. 58.

² Hartog, Curaçao, Du. ed., p. 196.

Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam.¹

It should be kept in mind that The United Provinces were the largest carriers of trade in Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and that, from 1530 to 1660, Spain was their best customer.² This meant that sailors also came in touch with their Spanish counterparts and, hence, acquired at least a superficial knowledge of their tongue. It is not surprising, then, that there are Dutch-derived words in Spanish and Spanish-derived words in Dutch, albeit no longer recognizable as such.

Naturally, the presence of Spanish rulers during the sixteenth century also played a rôle in bringing speakers of Dutch and Spanish into contact. That, however, would affect the administrators in Spanish service, who came primarily from the upper classes. The aversion towards the occupier was stronger in the northern part of The United Provinces than in the southern part, where the seat of the Spanish regent was located, because, after 1590, the population there was mainly Roman Catholic, whereas the northern provinces were mainly Protestant.

The knowledge of Portuguese became also wide-spread. Many countries used it as the language of diplomacy until

¹Simon A. Vorsters, "Lope de Vega en de Nederlandse Lexicografie," in Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, Aflevering 3 (Gent, 1970), passim.

²Again, I am indebted to Dr. J.M. Norris for this information.

French began to fulfil that function. Queen Elizabeth I of England and Prince Maurits of Nassau are known to have conducted their correspondence with Asian princes at the turn of the sixteenth century in Portuguese.¹ As for traders and seamen, they would come in contact with Portuguese in foreign ports and, thus, acquire some knowledge of the idiom.

As has been seen, the Dutch became involved in the trade of slaves in 1637, in order to sell them to the Americas. From 1648 on, they brought them to Curaçao as a transit point before they were transported to their destination, mainly territories occupied by the Spanish, who, as a result of the demarcation line of 1494, were themselves unable to obtain slaves in Africa. During the waiting period in Curaçao, the majority of the slaves were kept in restricted quarters, so that they did not come into contact with the inhabitants of the Island. However, a certain number of them were kept by the Dutch to serve as workers on the plantations, in the gardens and as house servants. In the early twentieth century, there would still be black servants, that is, one woman, a girl and a boy, in many households. Thus, there was a necessity to find means of communication on an every-day basis, that is, a lingua franca or contact vernacular, not only between master and servant,

¹C.R. Boxer, "The Portuguese in the East (1580-1800)," in Portugal and Brazil: An Introduction, ed. H.V. Livermore (Oxford: Clarendon, 1953; rpt. 1970), p. 238.

but also between the servants themselves, since they had come from various parts of Africa and spoke different languages.

Another point to be considered here is that when the black captives had been brought to the West coast of Africa, they had to await transport to the Americas, sometimes for a considerable length of time. Perhaps the ones from the coast, if not the ones who were taken from the interior parts, had already been in contact with the Portuguese in their own habitat and were now in trading posts where they were addressed in Portuguese. They may have come from regions where Portuguese men had chosen to remain and married African women -- despite the fact that this was frowned upon by their government -- and would speak Portuguese, mixed with Africanisms, to their wives and offspring. No doubt, the Dutch continued the habit of speaking Portuguese with the traders and slaves alike and, perhaps, those Dutch who had a command of the language continued to do so after the latter had arrived in Curaçao. Certainly this would be the case for those living on this island whose native tongue was Portuguese.

It has been suggested by several sources that the slaves learnt Portuguese or Spanish on the ships that brought them to this continent, but that does not seem likely because of the relatively short time it took to cross the ocean, that is, from two to three months. Besides, the crews, who were not necessarily Iberians, were forbidden to mingle with the blacks who, in any case, were let on deck for short periods

only and the conditions in the holds of the ships were not such as to encourage fraternization. However, a few phrases, most likely commands, could well have been learnt. This may explain, for instance, the verb bai "to go", from vai! or vaya! Sometimes, black women were allowed to serve at the tables of the officers and crew.

By the time that the blacks began to make their appearance on the Island, people of Sephardic background were arriving too, some from Amsterdam, others from Brazil. In their household the jaja (yaya), the black children's maid, played an important rôle. This was the case also in the Dutch families. One could not say that they were always completely part of the family, since often some distance was kept, but over the centuries there have remained strong ties between jajas and those who as children were once entrusted to their charge. The European mothers were unable to look after their many children properly because of their other duties as wives and housewives in a country with a tropical climate which left them with little energy. The yaya had, therefore, a great influence on the upbringing of the children, on the language they spoke and in other aspects by telling them stories belonging to their own culture, such as the tales about Nanzi, the clever spider. These cuenta'i nanzi are known in other parts of the Caribbean as well. They originated in West Africa where the spider Ananzi plays an important rôle in the folklore. Other characters in these fables are Shi Maria, Nanzi's wife; Shon Arei, the king;

Compa Sese, an acquaintance of Nanzi; and Tja Tiger, the tiger.¹

Although this study deals with the landstaal of the Benedenwindse Eilanden, one cannot ignore the similarities that exist between Papiamentu and contact vernaculars spoken in other parts of the Caribbean in so far as Indian, African and Iberian elements are concerned, and in other parts of the world for African, Iberian and Dutch influences. It should not be forgotten that the Portuguese and Spanish travelled and traded widely over the globe -- as did the Dutch and later the British -- and that slaves from Africa were also taken to Asia and later from Asia, where a Creole Portuguese, the so-called Crioulo, had developed, to other parts of Africa. In this connection Malayo-Portuguese should be mentioned.

In the Chapter on Creole Portuguese in A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole, compiled by John E. Reinecke and others, the following statements appear:

In some parts of Asia creole Portuguese (Crioulo or Creoulo) was still used as a lingua franca during the early nineteenth century, long after the Portuguese trade empire had collapsed. In a few spots in West Africa pidgin Portuguese was displaced by pidgin English only after 1850.²

¹ Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 395. The existence of the Nanzi figure in the Caribbean as well as in Africa was confirmed by students from those areas at present at The University of British Columbia.

² Reinecke et al., A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 75.

In several places the use of Crioulo was continued by the Dutch and British successors to Portuguese rule.¹

In Batavia, on the island of Java, where the Portuguese never set foot other than as prisoners of war or as itinerant traders, the Dutch mixed-blood community and their servants used Portuguese or Crioulo in preference to and sometimes to the exclusion of their own language. This continued until about 1800, and in the nearby Tugu the dialect was used until after 1900.²

Among the African slaves who had been brought to Portugal there had developed a Negro-Portuguese, just as in Spain one could speak of a Negro-Spanish. Black slaves from these two countries often went to the New World with their masters. First, Ferdinand and Isabel had given the Governor of Hispaniola instructions not to permit entry to Moorish or Jewish slaves, but, instead, to foster importation of Negro slaves, born in Spain as the possession of white Christians and baptized and instructed in the Catholic faith. Later, the governor asked permission to forbid the entry of these slaves because they were driving the Indian ones to insubordination and urging them to run away.³

¹Reinecke, p. 75.

²Reinecke, p. 77; Boxer, "The Portuguese in the East," p. 239; Kamawidjaja, "La influencia portuguesa," p. 18.

³Vrijman, Slavenhalers, p. 22.

As a result, Queen Isabel then decreed that white slaves only could be brought there. All those imported labourers were, naturally, another source of African and Iberian influence on the languages spoken in the New World.

Out of the contacts of the various groups in the Benedenwindse Eilanden grew a pidgin language. Robert A. Hall, Jr. describes such a language as follows:

It often happens that, to communicate with each other, two or more people use a language in a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side.¹

In citing the example of Italian guides in museums he says:

If only one side were to speak this way, and the other were to use normal Italian, then we do not call the reduced language a pidgin; it would simply be "broken Italian".²

and further:

For a language to be a true pidgin, two conditions must be met: its grammatical structure and its vocabulary must be sharply reduced . . . and also the resultant language must be native to none of those who use it . . . Pidgin languages can be found at all social levels and in all kinds of situations, but they have arisen most frequently in short contacts between persons desiring to trade or do other things in which detailed exchange of information or minute co-ordination of activity is not required.³

¹ Robert A. Hall, Jr., Pidgin and Creole Languages (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. xii.

² Hall, p. xii.

³ Hall, p. xii.

The name "Pidgin" was originally given to the lingua franca used in trade between the Chinese and British and is said to be a distortion by the Chinese of "business". Hall considers it more likely that it came from the name of the local Indians at the mouth of the Oyapock where the English tried to establish a colony in 1605 and 1606, that is, the Pidians.¹ This opinion does not seem to have obtained much support. According to E. Schultze, the name was derived either from "business" or from pidjom, the Hebrew word for "trade" or "business". Pidjom English was the idiom spoken in the Jewish quarter of London.² A more modern linguistic term is the earlier quoted "contact vernacular". Otto Jespersen speaks about a "makeshift" or "minimum" language.³ This kind of language disregards the conjugation of verbs and declensions, restricts the use of tenses, omits prepositions, has truncated words and uses reduplication to indicate an absolute superlative, a plural or an action that took place repeatedly. It is known for its circumlocutions, such as, for instance, in Melanesian

¹Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 7.

²E. Schultze, "Sklaven- und Dienersprachen," Sociologus, 9 (1933), 377-418, as quoted by L.L.E. Rens, The Historical and Social Background of Surinam's Negro-English, Diss. Amsterdam (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1953), p. 48.

³Otto Jespersen, Language: Its Structure, Development and Origin (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 232.

Pidgin, screw belong leg "knee", grass belong head "hair".¹

Rens quotes other examples without specifying the region:

basket belong trousers "a pocket", lamp belong Jesus "the sun", bullamakau banana "a sausage" (bullamakau being the word for "beef").² They also occur in Papiamentu, for example, buscuchi di pia "knee cap"; pal'i pía (palu di pia) "shin"; patata (di brasa) "biceps".

When the contact vernacular becomes the mother tongue -- or as William J. Samarin puts it, a "natural language" as opposed to a pidgin which is not³ -- for the offspring of the speakers of that substitute language, it is called a creole language. This phrase originated in the French West Indies and Louisiana where the slaves' language was called créole, using the French word for "indigenous" (from Spanish criollo "native").⁴

However, in other parts of the world "creole" was used to denote a person of European origin who had settled in one of the colonies of the Americas. The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen indicates that the word creolen

¹Hall, Melanesian Pidgin English (Baltimore, Md.: Linguistic Society of America, 1943); pp. 138 and 140.

²Quoted by Rens in Surinam's Negro-English, p. 39.

³William J. Samarin, "Lingua francas, with Special Reference to Africa," in Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, ed. Frank A. Rice (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, 1962), p. 56.

⁴Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. xiii.

was originally used to denote those who were born in the Spanish colonies as descendants of persons coming from the mother country, but that in Surinam the members of the negroid part of the population are described as creolen and that this meaning of the word is gaining ground all the time.¹

For the purpose of this study the following definitions of creole languages are of interest. D.C. Hesselink understands them to be

de talen die in overzeese gewesten uit Europese talen in de mond van Afrikanen, Aziaten, Australiërs of Amerikanen zijn ontstaan, en dan later ook dikwijls door Europeanen of hun afstammelingen zijn gesproken.²

and Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain states:

On appelle créoles en linguistique une série de langues mixtes nées, dans les colonies, du contact du blanc, parlant une langue européenne, avec l'indigène ou l'esclave importé. Ce terme, qui ne couvrait d'abord que les langues négro-aryennes, s'est peu à peu généralisé, si bien qu'on parle du créole anglais de Chine (pidgin-english), du créole français d'Annam, du créole portugais des Indes . . .³

¹Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. I36.

²D.C. Hesselink, Het Negerhollandsch der Deensche Antillen (Leiden: n.p., 1905), p. 50, as quoted by Rens, Surinam's Negro-English, p. 47, f.n. 6.

³Suzanne Sylvain, Le Créole haïtien: morphologie et syntaxe (Wetteren: n.p., 1936), p. 7, as quoted by Rens, p. 47, f.n. 7.

Rens adds to that statement:

The stress is now placed on the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan tongues, and the Creole language is found both in the Western and in the Eastern hemisphere.¹

A creole language may develop a literary standard, as is the case with Papiamentu.

At this point it may well be asked what influence the African languages have had on Papiamentu. Not many traces are left in the vocabulary. Nanzi the spider, as mentioned earlier, is one of them. Zumbi "a ghost, a spirit", another. This word is known -- with slight variations in form and meaning -- in all parts of the Caribbean area, as well as in Africa. Maribomba "wasp" may also be quoted. Experience shows that one has to be extremely careful in drawing conclusions in the field of etymology. For instance, nan "they", "their" and also used for the formation of the plural of nouns and sometimes of adjectives, is generally considered to be of African origin. Other opinions are that it comes from an Indian source. (See Maduro, Procedencia, II, 10.) However, one example quite clearly indicates African influence. R.S. Rattray states in The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland that in the Mole language group, which represents ten of the languages spoken on the Gold Coast, the numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed in the following fashion: 10 + 1, 10 + 2, 10 + 3, etc.² The same

¹Rens, Surinam's Negro-English, p. 38.

²R.S. Rattray, The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland, I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 47.

phenomenon exists in Papiamentu in the numerals diesun, diesdos, diestres, etc. In an article (still in manuscript in 1973) by L. Ferraz of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, on the "African Influences on Principense Creole" -- which is a Portuguese-based creole spoken on the island of Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea -- some facts may be found which deserve mention in connection with Papiamentu. Some of these are quoted here and illustrated by equivalent phenomena in Papiamentu and followed by other comments; others will be referred to later in this chapter as well as in Chapter Three.

On page 8 of his paper, Ferraz states:

Bantu words are typically consonant-commencing and vowel-ending, with a C V C V structure, where C may represent either a single consonant or a consonant cluster. The structure of Principense words is also typically C V C V, although other phonological patterns may occur.

Because of the C V C V pattern of Principense, a Portuguese initial vowel may be deleted when absorbed in Principense, as in:

Ptg entender → /tē'de/ "to understand"
Ptg açucar → /'suke/ "sugar"
• •

One may compare these examples with Papiamentu tende "to hear" (although in this case one should really speak of the deletion of an original syllable rather than a consonant) and sucu "sugar", Sp. azúcar and Port. açucar. (Pap. sucú means "dark", Sp. and Port. oscuro. In this sense suku

exists also in Guyanese meaning "pitch dark".)¹ Other examples may be found on page 52 below.

The following two quotations are taken from p. 9 of Ferraz's paper.

A paragogic vowel may be added to a Portuguese word ending in a consonant, to conform to the Principense C V C V pattern, as in:

Ptg	mal	→ /'mali/	"badly"
Ptg	sol	→ /u'solu/	"sun"

Compare with Pap. malu and solo, with same meanings.

If a final vowel is not added to the end of a Portuguese word ending in a consonant, the final consonant of the Portuguese word may be deleted to make the Principense word vowel-ending, as in

Ptg	às vezes	/az 'veze/	/až 'veze/	"sometimes"
"	calor	/ka'lo/	"heat"	

Examples of this phenomenon in Papiamentu are the verbs ending in -a, -e, and -i instead of -ar, -er, and -ir; and the nouns in -do instead of -dor.

An epenthetic vowel may be used to separate the liquid from the second consonant in the cluster. This process, however, is seldom used. The following is an example:

Ptg	calma	→ Pr /'kalima/	"calm"	(Ferraz, p. 10).
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Compare Papiamentu calacuna from Dutch kalkoen "turkey".

¹ Marguerite Saint-Jacques Fauguenoy, "Guyanese: A French Creole," in Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects, eds. David DeCamp and Ian F. Hancock (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1974), p. 35.

It is obvious that the C V C V pattern described by Ferraz also played a rôle in the formation of Papiamentu, for instance, in amarrar > mara "to moor a ship"; arrancar > ranca "to pull out"; aguillon > bión "sharp hook"; apurado > purá "hurriedly". As for "C" representing a consonant cluster, examples like escuchar > skucha and espantar > spanta may illustrate the same phenomenon in Papiamentu. The C V C V pattern may explain why so many Dutch words were taken over in their diminutive form, which end as a rule in a vowel. Exceptions are, for instance, those older and poetic forms as kindekein "little child" and vogelein "little bird". Furthermore, the work of the seventeenth-century Dutch author Hooft shows an abundance of nouns with paragogic -e.¹

The majority of scholars agree that the complicated pattern of pitch in Papiamentu points to a strong African influence. It might be worthwhile to investigate the Indian languages of the Caribbean in this regard as well. The stress pattern follows in most instances the Spanish one and in Dutch-derived words the Dutch rules apply. It is, however, not the intent of this paper to dwell on the phonology of Papiamentu, which is a tone language.

In the early stages of what was to become Papiamentu, the main influence was Portuguese, in pure or pidgin form.

¹A. Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal (Zutphen: Thieme, n.d.), p. 11.

Words like ainda, na, pretu (which could also be old-Spanish) seem to confirm this. The often quoted porta and porco may well be the result of what could be called the reversal of diphthongization or, as Maduro suggests, may have come from other Iberian languages or dialects. Other important factors are the period in history during which a certain Iberian word was absorbed into the language and the sound pattern in the mother tongue of those who made it part of their vocabulary. Deletion or addition of certain phonemes occurred according to the ability of groups of speakers to pronounce sounds or consonant clusters hitherto unknown to them.

The same can be said of the Dutch vocabulary that found its way into Papiamentu. For instance, Dutch knoflook "garlic" became konoflo; knijpen "to pinch": kinipi; knikker "a marble": kiniki (Aruba; in Curaçao ninichi or malbu, from southern Dutch malbel, dialectal marmel); rookvlées (a particular kind of smoked meat): rokoflès. On the other hand, knolletje "tuber, turnip" became knolchi and knoops-gat "buttonhole": knopskat. In other words, there was in these last two words no addition of an epenthetic vowel. It could be that these words came into the language when there were no longer newcomers arriving from Africa and the offspring of the earlier immigrants had adjusted to the Dutch speech pattern or because, at a certain time in history, slaves were brought in from other regions of Africa than before and, hence, spoke different languages in which the C V C V system did not exist. This would

explain why there are in Papiamentu words ending in consonants, such as haf, Du. haven "harbour"; vloot "fleet"; tòh, Du. toch "just the same", "anyhow"; trankil "tranquil".

Another explanation for the presence of epenthetic vowels in Papiamentu may be that the same phenomenon could occur in seventeenth-century Dutch words in which the liquids -r- and -l- were grouped with other consonants. Weijnen lists examples such as ellick for elk "each"; errenst for ernst "seriousness"; gelas for glas "glass"; gerager for grager "rather"; geladde for gladde "smooth".¹ Epenthesis is still a feature of modern Zeelandic. It is found in West Frisian as well, for instance: ellef for elf "eleven"; twalef for twaalf "twelve"; zellef for zelf "self"; mellek for melk "milk"; kleremaker for kleermaker "tailor".² From the foregoing one may conclude that in Papiamentu there are two possible sources for the phenomenon of epenthesis.

In Dutch families the black servants would naturally hear a great deal of Dutch and, no doubt, the Dutch housewives would speak it to them or address them in a kind of Spanish, perhaps even Portuguese, mixed with Dutch words, since they were unfamiliar with Spanish names for household

¹Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 32.

²H. Langedijk, Hé, Is Dat Westfries? (Hoorn: 'West-Friesland', 1971), p. 131.

utensils, vegetables, spices, etc. This would explain the presence of words like panchi, Du. pannetje "pan"; kanika, Du. kanneke "pitcher"; néatumuskat, older and dialectal Dutch neutemuskaat now nootmuskaat "nutmeg"; rósamarein (Rosmarinus officinalis), Du. rozemarijn "rosemary", an alteration of "rosmarine"; bonchi, Du. boontje "bean"; (bonchi) èrtu, Du. erwt "pea"; pruimù, Du. pruim "plum"; rásenchi, Du. rozijntje "raisin"; nechi, Du. nootje "nut".

A number of professions and trades got their names from Dutch, for instance, notaris "notary public" or "lawyer"; mesla or metsla, Du. metselaar "mason"; verfdó, Du. verver (now more frequently called schilder) "painter". It is interesting to note here that the word verfdó is the combination of a Dutch root verf- and an Iberian suffix: -dor. The same is the case with blekerø, Du. blikslager "tin-smith", formed from the noun blik "tin" plus the Spanish suffix -ero. Also in the field of military affairs and administration a number of words have been accepted from the Dutch, for instance, coprá, Du. korporaal "corporal"; sergeant or sershán or serzjant, Du. sergeant "sergeant"; komandant, Du. commandant "commander"; general, Du. generaal "a general"; matroos, Du. matroos "sailor"; marinier, Du. marinier "a marine"; admiral, Du. admiraal "admiral".

The writers on Papiamentu have tried to show how certain categories of words came from Spanish, certain others from Dutch. A number of word-lists have been compiled in

accordance with these categories. However, it is more correct to state that in a given category only a general preponderance of the words proceeds from one linguistic source. There are a number of exceptions for which explanations cannot always be found. For example, the names of the months are taken from Dutch, without any change: Januari, Februari, Maart, April, Mei, Juni, Juli, Augustus, September, October, November, December, but those of the days, with the exception of one, from Spanish: Diadomingo, Dialuna, Diamars -- but Diarason from Spanish día plus a corrupted form of Dutch rantsoen in its older form ransoen because Wednesday was the day on which the slaves got their food rations -- Diahuebes, Diabiernes, Diasabra. For the latter there may have been an influence of Dutch Zaterdag on Spanish sábado.

Other instances are colours. Black is pretu (Portuguese and older Spanish); white - blancu, which may just as well have come from Dutch blank, an older and poetic form of wit; red - corrá (cf. coral); green - berde, Spa. verde; but blue is blau, Du. blauw (Maduro ascribes it to Catalan blau); yellow is geel (or heel) as in Dutch; purple is puus, a corruption of Dutch paars; pink is roos, Du. rose; brown is brein (with a normal sound change from Du. bruin). However, we find also morán, which is Iberian-derived. Interesting expressions are black pretu and black geel, which are "black shoe polish" and "yellow shoe polish" respectively.

The points of the compass are also Dutch: Noord, Oost, zuid or seid, west. There are also Papiamentu circumlocutions for them, but not Spanish equivalents.

Another field where one can find Dutch-derived names as well as Iberian-derived ones is that of the parts of the body, for instance, wenkbrauw, Du. wenkbrauw "eyebrow"; kenchi, Du. kin(netje); lip, Du. lip; "lip"; scouder, Du. schouder "shoulder"; hilchi, Du. hiel(tje) "heel".

One may justifiably wonder why the Iberian influence in Papiamentu was so much greater than the Dutch one. Usually the Dutch are blamed for this phenomenon. They are said to have been unwilling to teach their language to the black servants in order to keep them at a distance. However, another consideration is expressed by Van Wijk as follows:

Este fenómeno tiene su explicación en el hecho de que los holandeses nunca se han preocupado de difundir su propia lengua, esforzándose al contrario, por hacerse con la de los pueblos sometidos. Así es que en el siglo XVII los capitanes de la flota de la Compañía de las Indias Occidentales estaban bastante familiarizados con el portugués por razón de su frecuente paso por el África Occidental y el Brasil.¹

Another reason could be that the ministers sent out by the West India Company did not do their duty to convert the Africans to the Christian faith. Soon, this task was taken over by Spanish Roman Catholic priests who came at first clandestinely, later with permission, from the mainland and, naturally, used Spanish in their work among the slaves. This would explain why so many religious terms are of Spanish

¹Van Wijk, "Orígenes y evolución del papiamentu," Neophilologus, 42 (1958), 172.

derivation where the Roman Catholic church is concerned (80% to 90% of the population of the Benedenwindse Eilanden is Roman Catholic), whereas Dutch-derived words are used in connection with the Protestant form of worship: kerki, Du. kerk "church" (the Roman Catholic church building is called misa); preekstoel "pulpit"; dommi, Du. dominée "minister"; dop, Du. doop, beside bautismo for the Roman Catholic, "baptism". Again, some overlapping takes place here too: in both religions Hemelvaartsdag exists beside Ascención "Ascension Day". The Lord's Supper is called Nachtmaal, Du. Avondmaal. (Nacht = night; avond = evening; maal = meal.)

From 1776 on, the Spanish priests began to be replaced by Dutch ones in Curaçao. On Aruba it started in 1791. By that time, Papiamentu had already developed and the Dutch Franciscans used it in their teaching beside Dutch and Spanish. An interesting detail is that they had to know French in order to be appointed. Naturally, they made, at times, errors in Papiamentu, mainly by their stressing the wrong syllable or using the wrong pitch, thus changing the meaning of what they were trying to say considerably. As a result, the faithful were not always able to suppress their laughter and maintain the required solemnity during the sermons.¹

¹I am indebted to W.M. Brada for this information.

Until 1816, there had been only private teachers and private schools. In that year, education was officially introduced by the government while the former were allowed to continue their task. In 1824, M.J. Niewindt, a priest, founded a Roman Catholic school. Another category of Dutch words from the field of instruction entered into the language, including words such as skol, Du. school "school"; pen, Du. pen "pen"; ink, Du. inkt "ink"; potlood, Du. potlood "pencil"; grif, Du. griffel "slate-pencil"; buki, Du. boek "book"; skrif, Du. schrift "notebook".

It is difficult to determine at what point the black slaves abandoned their own languages in favour of Papiamentu. It happened probably in the latter part of the eighteenth century and was, of course, a gradual process. For some time, there still existed a language called Gené (from Guinea), a sort of secret African creole language of which there were even four different dialects corresponding to the plantations Lagún, Knip, Portomari and Savonet. The district of Bandariba also had a dialect of its own, though V. Brenneker (who also signs his works at times as Paul Brenneker or Pader Brenneker) wrote in 1961 that no one could speak it any more and that it was known only in a hundred or so songs and some fixed expressions.¹ Other names for it are géni, lenga di luango, macamba, masopaso and makwiba.

¹V. Brenneker, O.P., Curaçaoensia (Curaçao: Boekhandel St. Augustinus, 1961), pp. 61-63.

Gené may also have the meaning of a "gené-speaking slave". Furthermore, it may be used to indicate that something has an ambiguous or insinuating meaning. Formerly, slaves would have worksongs in this Gené, sung on the plantations and at the salt pans. There were different songs for the various kinds of work performed.¹ They were often satirical songs about their white masters. However, the slaves would eventually sing them without knowing what the words meant. Brenneker has recorded and studied them, as well as other Papiamentu songs. Some are completely in Gené, others only partially so. The age of his informants ranges from 50 to 90 years. In Sambubu No. 2 (1970) he includes a picture of a baas di gené, Martili Pieters, one of the few master singers who are still able to sing in the slave language.² Since these informants had no idea of what the words meant, with few exceptions, one may conclude that they had lost their meaning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This may well be the result of the emancipation of the slaves in 1863. Brenneker tells us that the kind of animals which are mentioned in the songs point to their African origin, as in this one about a tiger who encounters a lion:

¹ Brenneker, Curaçaoensia, p. 232.

² Brenneker, Sambubu: Volkskunde van Curacao, Aruba en Bonaire, 2 (Curaçao: Paul Brenneker, 1970), p. 398.

Tjaka main bovi
djamá main bovi
bovi jetán
tajká contra bovi
anto hou-hou.¹

A few words from Gené are kanga "empty, poor"; jecán "sea-turtle"; jocán "Indian"; kambáo "invalid, neglected". Some fixed expressions: Dama silwéla "the sea beats against the rocks"; Sáita nora "shut up"; Avú babè "you are lying".² Hartog gives the Papiamentu for these three expressions as laman ta bati, keda ketu, and bo ta gana (Curacao, p. 158).

As in Dutch, there are words and phrases of Hebrew origin in Papiamentu. Some examples from Emmanuel, History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles (p. 482) are:

Beshimantob, from the Hebrew Bessiman tob "with good augury", used for someone who has concluded or liquidated a matter in a radical manner; Beth Haim ta spok, where Beth Haim or Beth Hahaim is cemetery; ta is the Papiamentu verb for "to be", and spok comes from Dutch spoken "to haunt" or "to walk like a ghost". The phrase means "the ghosts of the Jewish cemetery are stalking". This is said of a hungry person.

Panim beganab, instead of the Hebrew panim shel ganab, meaning a dishonest face. Hohkma, the Ashkenazi equivalent of Hohom, referring to the airs of importance a person gives himself. Kidusin, from the Hebrew kiddushin "marriage", "wedding ring". There can also be traced an influence of

¹Brenneker, Sambubu 5, p. 1033.

²Brenneker, Curacaoensia, p. 63.

the Ladino of the Sephardic Jews of the Balkans. One example: Su Mala, from Spanish su and the Hebrew ma'ala "highness", meaning the Chief Rabbi.

The words of French origin in Papiamentu may have come from different sources: through the Huguenots, through contact with people from the French Caribbean islands or also from Sint Maarten, which is half Dutch, half French, and from the French settlers. The most likely possibility is that they entered the language via Dutch, which has a large number of French or French-derived words in its lexicon. Examples are: petitpwas (also known in Venezuela) from petits pois; chandelier; trashèr or trashèt from étagère; shilet or zjilet from gilet "waistcoat". A colloquial form of address is Mushe with the name of a person, from monsieur. This is also found in Guyanese.¹

As for the English-derived words, they are mainly modern terms, such as tayer "tire"; waya "wire"; brek "brake"; rin "ring of the telephone"; rim "rim of a car wheel"; fjus "fuse"; tjub "tube"; swichi "light switch"; and zip "zipper". All the above are words connected with goods imported from the United States. Other words of English origin are muf "to move" and chens "chance". The following are taken from an article by Maduro: beròm "bay-rum"; bulfaït "bullfight" (a wild dancing party);

¹Marguerite Saint-Jacques Fauquenoy, "Guyanese," p. 31.

djubòks "juke-box"; hòdòk "hot dog"; les "to lace".¹ Of earlier date are the following nautical terms: tèntu "turn to"; djip "jib".² Strangely enough, the period of British rule did not leave any traces in the language. Dutch remained the official language during that time and most government documents had to be translated.

The only word I have noticed that may have come from the Dutch East Indies is toko "shop". Naturally, Malay has words of Portuguese origin which also figure in Papiamentu, for instance, sepatu "shoe" is Pap. sapatu; bendéra, Port. bandeira, Pap. bandera. Both these words could well have entered Papiamentu from Spanish.

The Portuguese who arrived in the twentieth century were gardeners, garbage collectors and ice-cream sellers in the streets, jobs which the native coloured blue-collar workers do not like to do, particularly not the gardening. After more than a century since the emancipation of the slaves, this kind of work reminds them still too much of the labours of their ancestors on the plantations. The presence of these Portuguese immigrants does not seem to have any influence on modern Papiamentu.

At the same time as Papiamentu became the mother tongue for the slaves, it started to be the means of communication

¹Maduro, "Enkele Opmerkingen over Richard Wood's Artikel over 'The English Loanwords in Papiamentu,'" Nieuwe West-Indische Gids 48 (1971), 190-92.

²These terms were brought to my attention by A.J. Maduro.

between the Portuguese-speaking Sephardic Jews and the Dutch-speaking part of the population. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the use of Papiamentu became wide-spread. Many Dutch families preferred to speak it rather than Dutch, although there were objections to that from those who considered it harmful to the children's intelligence, and to their speech habits in Dutch. Among those who held this opinion were Gerardus Balthazar Bosch, a Protestant minister, who made a statement to that effect in 1815¹, and Governor Cantz'laar, who did so in 1823.²

Papiamento began to replace not only Dutch, but also Portuguese and Spanish. By 1800, one could no longer speak of any influence of Portuguese on Papiamentu. The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen (p. 464) places the disappearance of Portuguese as the mother tongue of the Sephardic Jews at around the middle of the nineteenth century. First, it was replaced partly by Spanish, later in general by Papiamentu. Until recently, many continued to consider Papiamentu as an inferior language. However, it does not meet with the contempt that other creole languages have experienced at times.

In order to obtain an insight into the different opinions about the nature of Papiamentu as a language during

¹Van Wijk, "Orígenes," p. 169.

²Hartog, Curaçao, Eng. ed., p. 298.

the last three centuries, the following statements may be of interest. In 1704, Michael Alexius Schabel, S.J. made his often quoted statement that the Negro slaves on Curaçao spoke a "broken Spanish". According to Latour, Schabel, a Jesuit from Bohemia, knew European languages such as German, French, Spanish and Polish. He wrote two works in Latin and had a certain command of Flemish. He was also acquainted with some Indian languages of Venezuela.¹ Hartog comments: "Having no Portuguese, he was unable to trace the Portuguese elements in what he heard."² However, Maduro feels that Schabel's judgement must have been correct.³

The Prefect Agustín de Caysedo asked in a letter written in the year 1732 for more priests, stipulating that they had to know el idioma del país. Since he mentions Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese in the same letter, that phrase must refer to whatever stage Papiamentu found itself in at that time.

An ordinance of 1769 was read to freed Negroes "in the creole tongue of those people".⁴

A Father Schinck described the language, in 1786, as being Spanish with Dutch words in it and felt that it could be learnt in half a year.

¹Latour, "De Taal Papiamento en Haar Oorsprong," p. 3.

²Hartog, Curaçao, p. 157.

³Maduro, Papiamentu: Origen i Formacion (Corsou: n.p., 1965), p. 5.

⁴Hartog, Curaçao, p. 157.

In a report by the co-governor William Carlyle Hughes of August 18, 1802, Hartog found the first mention of the language as such by the name Papimento.¹ A few years later, in 1805, the governor Pierre J. Changuion wrote in a letter about an officer "who understands Papiments".²

Father Johannes Stöppel, O.F.M., who arrived in 1816, mentions that the early Mass was conducted in Papiamentu, which he calls Papiamentice, the following one, the tussen-mis "the intermediate Mass" in Spanish, and late Mass in Dutch.³ Only in a few Protestant churches were the services conducted in Papiamentu. In the others they were in Dutch. This is still the case in our time.

Mr. A. Jesurun of Curaçao declared in 1897, in the first annual report of the Geschied-, Taal-, Land- en Volkenkundig Genootschap of Willemstad:

Op het eiland Curaçao en de naburige eilanden Bonaire en Aruba wordt algemeen gebruik gemaakt van een patois of volkstaal, die oud-Spaans of Portugees tot grondslag heeft en waarin een niet onaanzienlijk aantal Hollandse woorden, meestentijds met een zeer gewijzigde uitspraak, voorkomt.

and:

De regels der taal zijn weinig. Verschillende vormen om een zelfde denkbeeld uit te drukken, worden daar niet aangetroffen. Abstracte denkbeelden mogen met de woorden

¹Hartog, Curaçao, Dutch ed., p. 433; Eng. ed., p. 157.

²Hartog, Curaçao, Dutch ed., p. 433.

³Hartog, Dutch ed., p. 433; Eng. ed., p. 157.

dier volkstaal niet behandeld worden. Het is slechts een taal voor dagelijks gebruik. Het dient dan ook niet voor litteratuur. 't Is niets anders dan een gesproken taal, die eigenlijk dus geen spelling heeft.¹

N.J. Everts says in the Prólogo to his Compendio de la gramática del papiamento in 1898:

No es nuestro objeto hacer una Gramática ó un Diccionario del papiamento (tarea muy difícil por cierto) sino dar algunas ideas de él hasta donde nos lo permitan nuestros humildes conocimientos, con el deseo de facilitar á los Venezolanos, Colombianos, Dominicanos, etc., que con frecuencia visitan esta Isla, el aprendizaje de nuestro dialecto.

En el papiamento (que se habla en estas islas de Sotavento) se distinguen tres dialectos:

- 1º. el de las personas instruidas en el castellano, que se aproxima á la pronunciación y la ortografía españolas;
 - 2º. el de los holandeses, que participa de la pronunciación y la ortografía holandesas;
y
 - 3º. el del pueblo, que participa de estos dos idiomas, suprimiendo, cambiando ó combinando una ó más letras.
- •

Sólo nos mueve, al publicar esta obrita, el deseo de servir en algo á las personas que se dignen hacer uso de ella, y de contribuir á la vez con un grano de arena al conocimiento de nuestro pobre idioma²

G.J. Eybers, a Protestant minister, who lived for a long time in Curaçao and Aruba, and under whose supervision

¹ Quoted by Latour in "De Taal Papiamentu," pp. 5-6.

² N.J. Everts, Compendio de la gramática del papiamento, ó sea método para aprender á hablarlo y á escribirlo en corto tiempo (Curaçao: Tipografia Bethencourt, 1898), Prólogo, n. pag.

a number of Aruban ladies translated the whole New Testament into Papiamentu in 1916, wrote in the Amigoe di Curaçao of October 2, 1915:

Wanneer een Colombiaan of Venezolaan, om van een Spanjaard niet eens te spreken, hier komt, dan kan hij Papiamentu onmogelijk verstaan, en omgekeerd een Curaçaoënaar, die nooit Spaans geleerd of gehoord heeft, verstaat eenvoudig geen Spaans. Papiamentu is plus minus voor drie kwart Spaans, maar is zozeer van de hoofdtaal afgeweken, dat hoofdtaal en afwijking elkander niet meer verstaan. Zo is dus Papiamentu, hoewel van Spaanse oorsprong, geen dialect van het Spaans, maar wel degelijk een taal op zichzelf. In hoofdzaak zal het hier beweerde wel niet tegengesproken kunnen worden. Een tweede verbreide mening onder de ontwikkelde of onontwikkelde Benedenwindse eilanders is deze: Papiamentu is een mengelmoes van alle talen (alweer door hen uitgesproken met een soort minachting). In de eerste plaats is het niet waar. In hoofdzaak is het Spaans. Daarna vrij sterk de invloed ondervonden van het Hollands en verrijkt met Hollandse woorden; verder een stuk of wat Portugese, Engelse en Franse en misschien zijn er nog wel enkele Kaffer- of Indiaanse woorden onder.¹

and:

Ik zelf ben hier ruim zeven jaar en kan zeggen, dat ik wel iets van Papiamentu afweet en tot nog toe zijn er heel wat terreinen in Papiamentu, waarop ik niet thuis ben en ook heb ik tot nog toe geen vreemdeling ontmoet, 't zij tien of twintig jaar of langer in de Kolonie, die het Papiamentu met zuiver accent en vloeiend spreekt.²

It would seem that Ds. Eybers was the first to consider Papiamentu an independent language in its own right. The

¹Quoted in Latour, "De Taal Papiamentu," p. 6; and Maduro, Origen, p. 6.

²Latour, "De Taal Papiamentu," p. 7.

term mengelmoes, to which he objects, may also be found in a passage from De Regenboogkleuren van Nederlands Taal by Jac. van Ginneken and J. Endepols. It reads:

West-Indische mengtaaltjes. Vertoonde het Nederlandsch als zelfstandige taal weinig expansie-vermogen, van meer gewicht is de rol, die het speelde als samenstellend element van verschillende in West-Indië heerschende mengtaaltjes. Merkwaardig is het mengelmoes van sommige dezer mengtaaltjes. Er zijn er, die niet uit twee maar uit vier of vijf verschillende talen zijn ontstaan. Zoo wordt 1°. in een deel van Nederlandsch Guyana een mengtaaltje het Djoe-Tongo gesproken, dat ontstaan is uit het Portugeesch-Hollandsch van naar West-Indië getrokken Portugeesch-Amsterdamsche Joden. Wij vinden er 2°. het Neger-Engelsch (Ningre-Tongo) van slaven en plantage-bezitters. Nederlandsch, Portugeesch, Joodsch, Engelsch en Afrikaansche negerdialecten vormen samen de bestanddeelen van deze talenpoespas. Op Curaçao, Aroeba, enz. wordt 3°. het Neger-Spaansch of Papiamentoe gesproken, dat behalve op de reeds genoemde talen, vooral nog op het Spaansch en een Caraïbische inboorlingentaal berust.¹

and further on:

Het Neger-Spaansch. Het Neger-Spaansch of Papiamentoe (afgeleid van papia = spreken, betekent: taal) is een vermenging van Spaansch, negerdialecten, Portugeesch en Nederlandsch. Het Spaansch, sterk gecreoliseerd, vormt het voornaamste bestanddeel van deze mengtaal, ongeveer 90%. De overige 10% zijn overwegend Nederlandsche elementen. Het Nederlandsche deel van het Papiamentoe bevat honderden woorden en uitdrukkingen, maar ook hier herhaalt zich het boven besproken verschijnsel; het zijn meestal lage cultuurwoorden en als zoodanig behorende tot de meest alledaagsche en gebruikelijke. Zoo komen er de volgende woorden voor: toch, net, hopi (hoopje = veel), oen tiki ('n tikje), danki Dios (God

¹Jac. van Ginneken and J. Endepols, De Regenboogkleuren van Nederlands Taal (Nijmegen: Malmberg, 1917), p. 237 (p. 222 in the 1931 edition). It is noteworthy that the only difference between the two editions is that the pejorative talenpoespas has been changed to talenmengsel. poespas = hotchpotch; mengsel = mixture; talen = of languages

dank), ba(a)s, winkel, skol, stem, keire (kuieren), flésji, oen koker di pèn (een pennekoker), oen rampi di skeif (een schuifraam)

Het Papiamentoe maakt dezelfde ontwikkeling door als het Neger-Engelsch. Ook hier verdringen de Nederland-sche woorden langzamerhand te Spaansche negerwoorden. Ook hier geschiedt dit van de steden uit. Merkwaardig is echter, dat de Spaansche elementen meer weerstand bieden aan de vernederlandsching dan de Engelsche in het Neger-Engelsch. De toestand is nog altijd van die aard, dat een huisvrouw op Curaçao op straffe van niet door haar ondergeschikten verstaan te worden, dit mengtaaltje moet gebruiken.¹

Rodolfo Lenz, considered by many the greatest expert on Papiamentu calls it "el mejor ejemplo de una lengua criolla que se ha levantado hasta el nivel de 'una lengua de alta cultura.'"²

In his "Observaciones sobre el papiamento," Tomás Navarro gives an adición fonética to Lenz's work. The following evaluation is taken from it:

Como se ha visto, no se trata en realidad sino de un dialecto afroportugués desarrollado en Curaçao desde el siglo XVII bajo la dominación holandesa, al que el contacto con el español le ha hecho adquirir elementos que le han ido enriqueciendo, hispanizando y desacriollando.³

Further quotations would lead to a discussion of the opinions of modern linguists. They are not included here because they are mainly concerned with non-Dutch elements

¹Van Ginneken and Endepols, Regenboogkleuren, 1917, p. 238; 1931, pp. 224-25.

²Rodolfo Lenz, El papiamento: la lengua criolla de Curazao: la gramática más sencilla (Santiago de Chile: Universidad, 1926), p. 33.

³Tomás Navarro, "Observaciones sobre el papiamento," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 7 (1953), 189.

in Papiamentu. Since Hall has been relied upon for definitions, the last quotation is taken from Pidgin and Creole Languages, where he states:

Along the south shore of the Caribbean, to the west and off the coast of Venezuela, are the islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, where an old-established creole named Papiamentu . . . is spoken. It is often stated that Papiamentu is an outgrowth of an earlier Pidgin Portuguese, but all of its regular phonetic and morphological correspondences point rather to a Spanish origin. It may well represent a fusion of two earlier pidgins or creoles—one based on Spanish (which constitutes the dominant element in present-day Papiamentu), and one based on Portuguese.¹

R.G. Römer mentioned in 1958, in his "Geheimen van het Papiamentu," that it had been spoken for a hundred and seventy-five years and written for a hundred and twenty-five.² This would bring the beginnings of the spoken language to around 1783 and would mean that one could expect to find correspondence or printed material from around 1830 on.

As for the written word, in the late nineteen-sixties, the discovery of a letter written in 1775 by Abraham de David da Costs Andrade, Jr., to Sarah de Isaac Pardo y Vaz Farro, as well as two documents concerning a law suit in

¹Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, pp. 17-18.

²R.G. Römer, "Geheimen van het Papiamentu," in De Nederlandse Antillen in de Actualiteit, ed. J. van de Walle (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1958), pp. 120-29.

1776¹ were of great interest to every scholar concerned with Papiamentu. Not only did it push back the date of the earliest known written Papiamentu by fifty years, it also provided important information concerning the features of Papiamentu at that point in time. A photograph of a fragment of the letter may be found in Emmanuel, History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles between pages 256 and 257. Unfortunately, the letter itself disappeared mysteriously from the archives where it was kept; at least, in 1973 there was no trace of it. Details of the legal case in which Abraham de Andrade and Sarah Farro were involved may also be found in Emmanuel.²

A word-list of Papiamentu seems to have been composed in 1790³, but no copies appear to be extant.

As far as is known, the oldest printed text was the catechism published in 1825 or 1826 by Mgr. M.J. Niewindt, Vicar Apostolic of Curaçao: Declaracion Corticu di Catecismo pa Uso di Catolica di Curaçao. This may have been lost

¹Maduro, Bon Papiamentu (i un Appendix interesante) (Kòrsou, 1971), pp. 53-57; Wood, "New Light on the Origins of Papiamentu: An Eighteenth-Century Letter," Neophilologus, 7 (1972), 21-28; Frank Martinus, Bibliografie van het Papiamentu (Curaçao-Amsterdam, 1966-72), pp. xix-xx; and Germán de Granda, "El repertorio lingüístico de los sefar-ditas de Curaçao durante los siglos XVII y XVIII y el problema del origen del papiamento," Romance Philology, 28 (1974), 1-16.

²Emmanuel, History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles, pp. 271-75.

³Father Brada provided me with this information during a conversation.

during the fire in Curaçao in May 1969. If this is so, then the Catecismo Corticu pa Uso di Catoliconan of 1837, also by Mgr. Niewindt, would be the oldest existing catechism in Papiamentu.¹

Manuel Álvarez Nazario of the University of Puerto Rico has drawn attention to a Papiamentu song, composed in 1830 by an anonymous author for the festivities in connection with the celebration in Puerto Rico of the marriage, contracted in 1829, of Ferdinand VII, King of Spain and the Indies, to Maria Christina de Bourbon, Princess of Sicily, and of the birth of their daughter, the future Isabel II.² Since 1766, immigrants from Curaçao -- white, mulattoes, blacks, freed slaves, who came for economic reasons -- had been settling in Puerto Rico.³ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, slaves had been brought from Curaçao to Puerto Rico.⁴

Papiamentu translations of the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Mark were published in 1844 and 1865 respectively.

¹Martinus, Bibliografie, pp. vi and 56.

²Manuel Álvarez Nazario, "Un texto literario del papiamento documentado en Puerto Rico en 1830," mimeographed, n.d., p. 6; and "El papiamento: Ojeada a su pasado histórico y visión de su problemática del presente," mimeographed, n.d., pp. 3-4.

³Álvarez Nazario, "El papiamento," p. 3.

⁴Álvarez Nazario, "Un texto literario," p. 2.

J.J. Putman, a Roman Catholic priest, published, with his sister, the Meditashon arieba Soefrimeentoe di Noos Senjoor Hesoe Kriestoe: Partier na Historia, Exemplo i Orashon. The title page continues:

pa J.J. Putman, Pastoor; i soe roeman, Joanna Adr. Putman, fundadora di skool pa moetsja moeheer pober na st. Rosae Imprimier na st. Rosa. 1853.

The following passages may serve to illustrate the orthography used in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sienjameentoe adilanti.

Meditameentoe di pasjon i moorto di noos salbadoorta oen debosjon di mas koestoomaar bau di bon kris-tiaan; eel mesteer ta i eel poor ta tambe oen di mas saloedabel debosjon, i koe toer ees eel ta pa moetsjoe heennde di pokoo probetsji (p. iii).

And on page 3:

Hesoes noos exemplo.

1. Hesoes ta deen hoffi di Getsemani oen exemplo pa noos. Eel a jega deen di mas teriebel ansja.
- i lo noos kieer anto, ki toer seemper toer dis-goestoe, toer ansja i miëdølo ta aleew foor di noos?
2. Deen soe ansja di mas grandi Hesoes tabata reza.
- Pakiko anto noos ta bisa: „mi ta moetsjoe ansjaar - mi no poor reza?” Hoestameentoe deen momeentoe di ansja, orasjon ta noos oenikoe joedanza, ta höesta-meentoe ees ora, ki noos tien di mesteer di mas tantoe di klama na Dioos.

For those who know Dutch the spelling used may not be too much of a hindrance. It shows how priests and missionaries tried to represent the sounds of Papiamentu according to Dutch orthography. Hall calls this

"ethnophonemic". It also shows us a great deal about the way in which Papiamentu was pronounced in Putman's time.

Some bibliographies refer to a Nederlandsch-Papiamentsch-Spaansch Woordenboekje by P.H.J.A. van Ewijk, dated 1875. A word-list with this title, published in Curaçao, but printed in Arnhem, The Netherlands, is at my disposal. It does not bear an author's name. The foreword is in Dutch and it is signed "H. Mei 1875". There would seem to be no doubt that this is the one by Van Ewijk. It provides an excellent insight into the nature of Papiamentu as a "mixed" language.

In 1885, a Woordenlijst en Zamenspraak in de Nederlandsche en Curaçaosche Landstaal door N./Lista di Palabranan i Kombersasjoon na Leenga Oelandees i Papiamentoe pa N., Gedrukt en te verkrijgen bij C. J. & A. W. Neuman Fz., Curaçao 1885, was published. Like other publications of that nature it lists words according to subject, nouns and numbers. Then there are five pages with adverbs, adjectives, prepositions, and four-and-a-half pages with verbs, and then more nouns. The word-list is forty-three pages long, the Zamenspraak ("dialogues") part, in reality phrases, thirty-eight pages.

Everts divides his Compendio de la gramática del papiamento ó sea método para aprender á hablarlo y á escribirlo en corto tiempo (1898) into three parts. In the first he deals with the alphabet, spelling, pronunciation, stress, grammar and a list of verbs which in Papiamentu differ slightly

or completely from the Spanish equivalent. The second part is devoted to a Spanish-Papiamentu vocabulary according to subject (also one headed Miscelánea). He marks Papiamentu words which are the same as in Spanish, and the ones of Dutch origin in two distinct ways. It is difficult to say whether he was biased in favour of Dutch or whether Papiamentu has changed since, but the asterisks marking Dutch words are very numerous indeed, so that the figure of 10% for the proportion of Dutch elements in Papiamentu given by Van Ginneken in 1917 and 1931 and by others does not seem to be accurate.

The last title of the nineteenth century at my disposal is also the last one to be included here. It is the Gramática corticoe di Idioma Papiamentoe by Alfredo F. Sintiago, published in 1898 in Curaçao and printed by Bethencourt. It is written in Papiamentu. In his preface he says:

Mi no ta keré mi un autoridad, pues mi ta ofrecé es Gramática corticoe di idioma Papiamentoe pa loké é ta, deseando pa pago di mi trabao, koe lé haja un bon acohida cerca toer hende.

Pronto es boeki aki lo mira luz na hoelandés i spanjol, afin koe PAPIAMENTOE por ta extendí na toer camina.

Many catechisms and other religious publications were put out in the nineteenth century as well, but were not accessible during the preparation of this study.

Three interesting points may be inferred from the information given in the foregoing pages. In the first place, the clergy has played an important rôle in the propagation of Papiamentu; secondly, with one exception, the books were published in Curaçao itself; and thirdly, the number of books on Papiamentu belies the frequently repeated statement that there was or is a lack of interest in it.

The printing of books also reveals the presence of a printing press. The Emmanuels report that:

Although nothing in the old archives of Curaçao or in the inventories of decedents' estates (of Christians and Jews alike) definitely says so, there must have been a printing shop on the island in the second half of the 18th century. The inventory of the estate of Jeosuah Guidon Mendes (d. 1797) listed among other belongings "a small printing press". The Scotsman William Lee installed a printing shop in Curaçao in 1812. During the second half of the 19th century a number of printing houses burgeoned. . . .¹

Hartog claims that before 1812 government communications had to be duplicated by hand or to be sent abroad for printing, usually to New York.² He mentions further that Niewindt saw to it that the Vicariate had two printing offices at its disposal, one in Barber, established in 1843, another one at Santa Rosa, in 1848. Putman brought a printing press for the latter and also a printer. Between

¹Emmanuel, History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles, p. 464.

²Hartog, Curaçao, Eng. ed., p. 227.

1850 and 1901, the mission published seventy-two titles: grammars, school texts and church books.

In 1867, Agustín Bethencourt, a poet of Isleño descent, who lived on Curaçao from 1860 to 1885, founded the Publishing and Printing Company A. Bethencourt e Hijos, where works of authors and composers (he was an amateur musician himself) of Curaçao and surrounding countries were printed.

A great number of newspapers, weeklies and literary periodicals -- some in Papiamentu, others in Spanish or Dutch, some bilingual -- also came into being during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some had a short life, others still exist.

The spelling of Papiamentu has been and still remains a thorny question. For almost a century, there have been attempts to arrive at a uniform system. Studies have been made, by individuals as well as committees formed for that purpose, and commissions have been given to scholars in the field. They have come forth with extensive documents containing worthwhile proposals. Newspapers and periodicals have published arguments for and against those proposals. However, by August 1977, no decision had been made. Clearly, a whole chapter could be devoted to this subject. Suffice it to say that the lack of an official spelling for Papiamentu is a serious handicap. In this paper quotations from Papiamentu sources appear in the spelling used by the respective writers. In the next chapter no attempt will be

made to regularize the orthography. In fact, an author may change his spelling from one work to another or even from one part of an anthology to another. Moreover, it may happen that a word is spelled in various ways within one composition.

So far, this study has dealt with the history of Papiamentu and the impact which the various contributing elements have had on it. The next chapter will be concerned with its present form and the extent to which the Dutch language is represented in it.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DUTCH ELEMENT IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY PAPIAMENTU

The influence of the Dutch language on Papiamentu has varied over the centuries. The extent to which Dutch was spoken at different periods depended on the number of people of Dutch descent on the islands and upon their status. It was replaced by Papiamentu in the families of a lower level of education already in the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹ Among the senior civil servants and their families Dutch was maintained until the First World War, although the women would speak Papiamentu with the servants. At that time, the number of native speakers of Dutch who came to the Antilles increased considerably. Their Dutch must have been different from that which was current on the islands, since a language spoken in geographically separated areas invariably develops local peculiarities. Perhaps the new arrivals harboured a certain sense of superiority about their language. In any case, at that time most of the Dutch speaking people born on the Benedenwindse Eilanden began to use Papiamentu as their main language, possibly to set themselves apart from the new-comers.

¹This information is taken from the Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, pp. 405-406, 441-442; and Hartog, Curacao, Eng. ed., pp. 305-306.

After the Second World War, the influence of Dutch grew stronger because of the ever-increasing governmental involvement in the affairs of the islands, the greater attention given to the educational system and the large number of Antillian students who went to The Netherlands for their university or other post-secondary education and returned to the islands afterwards. Many of them had married Dutch women whom they brought back with them. This is still the case today.

It is a difficult task to determine precisely the extent of the Dutch element in Papiamentu. The influence of the Dutch language on the landstaal covers several areas: lexicon, grammar and syntax. It is also present in Papiamentu phonology, but, except in special instances, this will not be discussed in this study.

During the earliest stages of research on the present study in 1969, it became clear through reading Papiamentu texts that there are a great number of calques on Dutch in the language. That aspect of Dutch influence had long been neglected. This opinion was shared by Van Wijk, who wrote in 1958:

Sin duda por desconocimiento del neerlandés los eruditos extranjeros descuidan con exceso los abundantes calcos neerlandeses semánticos en vocablos y expresiones curazolenas.¹

¹Van Wijk, "Orígenes y evolución del papiamentu," p. 178.

More recently, Wood has dealt with the subject of syntactic calques in his Ph.D. thesis, still listed as unpublished in 1971, but made available through an authorized facsimile in 1973.¹ His conclusions are confirmed by many of my own findings.

Jespersen defines a calque as a "translation loan word" and describes words of that nature as "modelled more or less closely on foreign ones, though consisting of native speech-material".² In other words, a calque is a word or phrase which came into a language by translating the component parts directly. Sometimes, that involves a literal translation, at others, the transfer of a meaning. The word "sky-scraper" is a good example. In Spanish it became rascacielos, in French gratte-ciel, through a literal translation, but in Dutch wolkenkrabber "cloud-scraper" the meaning was transferred. The same applies to German Wolkenkratzer. Rumanian has zgârie-nori from zgâria "to scratch, scrape" and nori "clouds".

However, calques do not consist of borrowing of words only. They may involve sentence structure. In that case "loan translation" is one of the term used. A significant number of the Papiamentu calques on Dutch are of this kind.

In this study, no distinction will be made between the two applications of the term "calque". Only this term will be used rather than "loan translation" or "loan word".

¹Wood, "Papiamentu : Dutch Contributions."

The reason for this is that the word "loan" or "borrowing" conveys the meaning of a temporary state of affairs, whereas the words and expressions which come into a language by this process of adoption remain in it.

Dutch influence on Papiamentu may be divided into the following categories:

A. Words adopted from standard Dutch.

Examples:

belasting	taxes (also <u>belaster</u> , see under B.)
bleek	pale
bril	glasses (also <u>brel</u> , see under B.)
Chines	Chinese
dokter	doctor
dozijn	dozen
duim	(as measurement) an inch
fluit (also spelled <u>fleit</u>)	a flute <u>or</u> to whistle
geel	yellow
geheel	adv. totally However, Du. <u>geheel</u> , adj., "complete" is <u>(h)enter</u> .
glas	glass
(un) gros	(a) gross
gulden (cf. <u>florin</u>)	guilder
(pronounced <u>heeldu</u>)	

stem voice

B. Words adopted from dialectal, non-standard or earlier forms of Dutch.

Examples

<u>Papiamentu</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	<u>English</u>
belaster	belasting	taxes (See also under A, p. 83.)
blachi	blaadje	leaf <u>or</u> page
brel	bril	glasses (See also under A, p. 83.)
dashi	das(je)	tie
diki	dik	fat
dipchi	dubbeltje	dime
	coll.: dupje	
hap	gappen	to jawn
pelushi	vitterig	nit-picking, nagging, fussy

Pelushi must have come, with a change of meaning, from Du. pluisje "bit of fluff", pluusje; dial. Groningen: ploes, with metathesis: pelushi. The Papiamentu adjective also means "jealous" and "envious". The verb is pelushá "to find fault", "carp at", "nag".

séliga	zeilgaren	yarn to repair sails
stonkenè	stommeknecht	a hat-and-coat stand i.e. kapstok lit. a mute valet

tayó telloor a plate for food
 Zeeland dial. <
 Fr. tailloir
 "chopping board"

C. Words with Dutch or Romance etymologies.

Examples:

bote	Du. boot	Sp. bote	boat
palco	Du. balcon	Sp. balcón	balcony
parti	Du. part	Sp. parte	part
tristu	Du. triest(e)	Sp. triste	sad
curá	Du. kraal	Sp. corral	kraal <u>or</u> corral = Port. curral grounds, yard

Jan de Vries writes under kraal 2

'veekraal, inboorlingendorp', ouder-nl. koraal <
port. curral, corral.¹ And: 'inboorlingen-
dorp', vroeger koraal < portug. curral.² It
must have come into Dutch from Afrikaans, which
has words from Portuguese. The spelling "kraal"
in English shows that it came into the language
via South Africa, as the Oxford dictionary says
"adoption from Colonial Dutch, adoption from
Portuguese".

¹ Jan de Vries, Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek
(Leiden: Brill, 1971), p. 355.

² De Vries, Etymologisch Woordenboek: Waar Komen Onze
Woorden Vandaan? (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1971), p. 121.

famia Du. familie, but old- Fr. famille relatives
fashioned pronunciation
/fa'mijə/

shofer Du. chauffeur Sp. chofer chauffeur

D. Words adopted from another language via Dutch.

Examples:

bifstik Du. biefstuk from Eng. beefsteak

canopé Du. canapé from Fr. canapé (17th century) <
or: It. canapè < mlat. canopeum <
canapé lat. cōnōpēum < Gr. kōnōpeion
"sofa".

djelei Du. geleï from Fr. gelée, possibly also
also: from Port. gelea "jelly".

zjilei,

zjilea

djèm Du. jam from Eng. jam.

enfin Du. enfin, sometimes afijn from Fr. enfin
"in short".

pòtmòni Du. portemonnaie from Fr. portemonnaie
"purse".

E. Words or phrases combining Dutch and Iberian elements.¹

Examples:

barika-gel suikerdiefje from Sp. barriga "belly"

or: barika heel and Du. geel "yellow"; name of the
mocking bird.

esei ke meen Sp. eso quiere decir and Du. verb
menen (root meen), here in the sense
of betekenen "to mean".

un of otro of is Du. for or. It occurs in
Papiamentu only before a vowel.
Before a consonant it is o.

traha smid traha from Sp. trabajar "to work"
and Du. smid "smith": "to forge".

scarsedad Du. schaars "scarce" plus Sp.
suffix -dad.

boda di coper Du. koperen bruiloft, lit. "copper
wedding anniversary" from Sp. boda
"wedding" and Du. koper "copper".

jagmentu Du. jacht "hunt from Du. verb jagen
(root: jaag) "to hunt" plus Spanish
suffix -mento.

¹These are words or phrases which are a combination of a Dutch root or word with an Iberian suffix, or words whose component parts are taken from Dutch and an Iberian language.

stoeimentu	"horseplay" from Du. verb <u>stoeien</u> "to romp" plus Sp. suffix <u>-mento</u> .
verloofmentu	Du. <u>verloving</u> "engagement to be married" from Du. root <u>verloof</u> plus Sp. suffix <u>-mento</u> .
subi fli	Du. <u>een vlieger oplaten</u> "to fly a kite" from Du. <u>vlieger</u> plus Sp. <u>subir</u> .
blekero	Du. <u>blikslager</u> "tinsmith" from Du. <u>blik</u> (M.N. <u>blic</u> or <u>blec</u>) plus Sp. suffix <u>-ero</u> .
verfdó	Du. <u>verver</u> "painter" from Du. root <u>verf</u> plus Sp. suffix <u>-dor</u> (with apocopation of the <u>-r</u> > <u>-dó</u>).

In this category would also fall the verbs with a Dutch root and Spanish verb ending -ar (with apocopation of the -r), for instance, bora, Du. boren "to drill"; ferfela, Du. vervelen "to bore"; fula Du. voelen "to feel"; fura, Du. voeren "to line clothes" (Sp. forrar); lesa, Du. lezen "to read"; raporta, Du. rapporteren "to report"; sara, Du. sarren "to pester"; spoela, Du. spoelen "to rinse"; strica, Du. strijken (dial. strieken) "to iron". It should be mentioned here that in most parts of The Netherlands the final -n of the verb ending is not pronounced. Another explanation for the ending -a could, therefore, be that the remaining /ə/ ending became -a in Papiamentu. Sometimes a Dutch-derived verb

ends in -u, e.g. fangu, Du. vangen "to catch"; ferdwalu, Du. verdwalen "to lose one's way"; flektu, Du. vlechten "to braid"; lektu, Du. lichten "to lift".

Noteworthy in the verb-group are the past participles in Dutch-derived verbs, e.g. gebukt, Du. gebukt "bent over"; gebuk, Du. geboekt "booked"; gedruk, Du. gedrukt "printed"; gehap, Du. gegaapt "yawned"; gemors, Du. gemorst "spilled"; gezaag, Du. gezaagd "sawn". It is interesting that the verb dal "to beat" also forms its past participle in this fashion: gedal or hedal. This may be due to the fact that it ends in a consonant, resulting, no doubt, from the apocope of the final -e of the imperative dale pegas (golpas), and, thus, giving it the appearance of a Dutch verb form.

In many cases there is redundancy. For instance:
sapatu di voetbalschoen Du. voetbalschoen (heard in a record by Elis Juliana) "soccer shoe" or "football shoe".

luna ta volmaan Du. Het is vollemaan. "It is full moon." Both luna and maan mean "moon".

Blo sunu is an interesting example. Blo = Du. bloot = "naked"; sunu from Sp. desnudo = "naked". Blo sunu is "stark-naked". In other words, the intensity is not represented here by reduplication (sunu-sunu or blo-blo),

but by elements from two composing languages in which they have the same meaning.

Although they will not be assigned to a separate category, mention may be made of some words which have changed meaning. A few examples: laf, which in Dutch means "cowardly" (persons) or "insipid" (food), has in Papiamentu the meaning of "dull", Du. saai; Du. pret is a noun: "fun", whereas Pap. pret is an adjective: "witty", Du. geestig; Du. krijt is "chalk" (for writing); in Papiamentu it is used for that same substance, but also for "plaster", Du. pleister or gips.

F. Calques.

Examples:

mita di diez Du. half-tien, lit. "half ten", "half past nine". Sp. las nueva y media, which found its way into Aruban nueve i mei.

tur dos Du. allebei, lit. "all both", "both" .
 Sp. los dos or ambos.

fuera di eseí Du. bovendien or buitendien, lit. "above or outside of that", "besides".

tres aña pasa Du. drie jaar geleden, lit. "three years past", "three years ago", Sp. hace tres años

trabou forsá Du. dwangarbeid "hard (forced) labour",
 whereas Spanish has plural: trabajos forzosos or forzados.

The examples cited above are taken from vocabularies and word-lists compiled up to 1953, and serve only to illustrate general tendencies. In order to obtain a more precise picture of the extent of Dutch influence in modern Papiamentu, a prose work by a prominent author will be analyzed. The results of this analysis will be divided into categories similar to those already indicated above. From the works at my disposal Ora Solo Bahá, a collection of children's stories by Pierre Antoine Lauffer, was chosen, since it seemed to be the most suitable for the purpose of this study.¹ The eleven stories in the collection were written between 1964 and 1968; some of them are based on the folklore of Curaçao.

The translation of the title is When the Sun Goes Down. It is the time when parents -- or grandparents for that matter -- tell their children or grandchildren stories. As a Dutch title Schemeruurtje (lit. "twilight-hour") would reflect precisely the atmosphere which Lauffer describes in his introduction.

Pierre Antoine Lauffer was born in Curaçao in 1920. He was a student at the St. Thomas College (Fraters van Tilburg), where great attention was paid to the writing of compositions concerning works of well-known Dutch

¹Pierre Lauffer, Ora Solo Bahá (Corsou: Libreria Salas, 1968).

authors, in which task Lauffer excelled. After his school years, he was in business and also held various positions with governmental agencies, including the Ministry of Education, until 1970, when he became a teacher of English and subsequently of Papiamentu.

Lauffer has published collections of poetry, including Patria, Kumbu, and Kantika pa Bientu, for which the Cultureel Centrum awarded him the Prijs pa Literatura. Furthermore, he has written short stories, such as Njapa, Raspa, and Lágrima i Sonrisa. Besides Ora Sola Baha, for which he obtained the Cola Debrot Prijs in 1969, he has written other children's stories: Un Dia Tabatin, and Mangusa. Lauffer is the author of a great number of text-books which are used in the local schools, and he has contributed to the literary periodical "Kristof". In 1975, he received the STICUSA Prijs voor Litteratuur and in 1976, a special committee paid him homage for his accomplishments in the fields of literature and music, for Lauffer is also a composer, among other things of tumbas, waltzes and danzas.

In the analysis, the context of the words listed is indicated by giving the title, page and line number of each story. The abbreviations are as follows:

Introduction	Intr.
Mushe Raton	M.R.
Bas Pipi ku e barika-hel	B.P.
Awa di wowo na labizhan	Awa
Masu Boro	Masu
Ngano ku Mali	Ng.
Peperin, Djodji i Shi Bitwel	Pep.
Dolfi	Do.
Chiku i su kabai	Chi.
Klof di Shinshon	Klof
Nati a bula bai	Nati
Manuel i Menatao	MM

Dutch Elements in the Papiamentu of Ora Solo Bahá

A. Words adopted from standard Dutch.¹

Examples:

	<u>Papiamentu</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	<u>English</u>
M.R. 5.27	ròw, also spelled <u>rouw</u>	rouw	mourning
M.R. 7.25	stem	stem	voice
B.P. 9. title	Bas	Baas	boss
B.P. 9.3	<u>mashin</u> di · trapnaai <u>machine</u> pia		sewing machine with traedle
B.P. 10.15	stul	stoel	chair
Awa 13.9	blar	blaar; <u>here</u> ; <u>plur.</u> blaren	blister
Awa 13.14	lamoengras	both <u>lamoen</u> and <u>gras</u> are Dutch words, but <u>lamoengras</u> is not	lamoen "carriage pole"; gras "grass"; <u>lamoen-</u> <u>gras</u> is a plant
Masu 17.4	dak	dak	roof

¹ Attention must be drawn to the fact that Du. -aa- /a:/ in closed syllables may be found represented in Papiamentu by -a- or -aa-; Du. -ee- /e:/ in closed syllables by -e- or -ee-; Du. -oo-/o:/- by -o- or -oo-.

Masu 18.3	<u>Pa</u> Cheli	Pa	lit. father, but here used as a form of address
Masu 18.14	<u>Om</u> Dani	Oom	a form of ad- dress; lit. uncle; cf. Sp. <u>tío</u>
Masu 19.27	flur	vloer	floor
Pep. 25.22	owel	oh, wel	oh, well
Pep. 26.21	dam	dam	dam
Pep. 26.29	un remedi	een remedie; now more fig.; usual: <u>genees-</u> <u>middel</u>	remedy
Do. 32.7	wilnan;	wiel	wheel
	plur. of		
	<u>wil</u>		
	Pap. i =		
	/i/		
Do. 32.7	muzik	muziek	music
Do. 33.4	glas	glas	glass (for drinking)
Do. 33.6	mest	mest	manure
Do. 33.14	smak	smak	taste
Do. 37.13	stap	stap	step

Do.	37.20	presis	precies	precisely, exactly
Do.	38.13	vakansi(nan)	vacantie(s)	holidays
Chi.	39.24	stal	stal	stable
Chi.	41.10	tas	tas	briefcase
Chi.	41.18	lös	los maken	to loosen
			Du. <u>los</u> is an adj., here used as a verb.	
Chi.	41.26	Klaas	Klaas	boy's name: Claus
Chi.	41.28	bog(nan)	boog (bogen)	arch(es)
Klof	title	Klof	Kloof	Cave
Klof	49.5	auto	auto	car
Klof	49.6	glas	glas, but here with the older meaning of <u>raampje</u>	(car) window
Klof	49.16	Indjan(nan)	Indianen	Indians
Klof	49.31	men	menen, root: meen, to mean but here modern Du. would be <u>betekenen</u> .	
Klof	50.27	tent	tent	tent
Klof	50.28	hagel	hagel	small shot
Klof	52.25	net e . . . momentu	net op het moment	at the very moment

Klof 53.12	nort	Noord (pronounced: Noort) or Noorden; here: adj. =	North; here: adj. nor- thern
		<u>noordelijk</u>	
Klof 53.14	oost	Oost <u>or</u> Oosten	East
Klof 53.14	west	West <u>or</u> Westen	West
Klof 53.29	meter	meter	a meter
Klof 55.31	kap	kappen	to cut (wood or tree)
Klof 55.32	graf	graf	a grave
Nati 58.30	blòw (also spelled blau <u>or</u> blauw)	blaauw (Maduro: also Galician <u>blao</u> and Catalan <u>blaau</u>)	blue
MM 61.1	dek	dek	a deck
MM 61.15	matroos	matroos	a sailor, seaman
MM 62.4	anker	anker	an anchor
MM 62.10	mangel	popular form of <u>amandel</u>	almond
In West Frisian a <u>mangeltje</u> is a kind of candy (<u>zuurtje</u>). This exists also in Papiamentu.			
MM 65.3/4	smal	smal	narrow
MM 67.5	plat	plat	flat

MM 68.13 lat laat

late

MM 71.33 slap slap

lax, limp

B. Words adopted from dialectal, non-standard or earlier forms of Dutch.¹

Examples:

Intr. djis juist just
line 1

The most prevalent opinion is that it came from Eng. "just". However, people of mixed parentage in the Dutch East Indies used to pronounce juist as djuist or djuis. Wood spells it with y:
/yɛyst/ and /yɛwst/.

Intr. hopi hoopje, dim. of many, very
line 2 hoop lit. "a heap of"

Hopi is often regarded as the most frequently used word of Dutch origin. Dutch hoop in this sense is "a heap of", hoopje "a small heap of".
Een hele hoop "very many", Pap. masha hopi.

The Dutch diminutive does not necessarily denote small size. It is often used in an endearing capacity. Maatje or moedertje does not mean a little mother but a dear mother. Maatje gave Pap. Machi, sometimes used for "grandmother".

¹ Words in this category may have been taken over without change in the period when they entered the language, e.g. under dialectal influence or because of the form which they had in the Dutch of the time.

There are several reasons why Dutch words entered Papiamentu in their diminutive form. In the first place, there is a wide-spread use of the diminutive in the Dutch language. The suffix is basically -je, but epenthetic vowels or consonants or vowels plus consonants are added according to the final letter of the word in question. In West Frisian the diminutive ending -ie, with or without epenthetic consonant, occurs very frequently.¹ In other parts of The Netherlands the ending -ie may be heard in colloquial speech, but only if the diminutive is formed by -je.

A second reason for the addition of -i may well be the presence of the C V C V system. Besides, most of the words listed by Latour as taken from an Indian language end in a vowel, and among these the ones in -i are in the majority. Then, the unstressed Portuguese e, pronounced /i/, is also present in Papiamentu: dilanti. It should, further, be kept in mind that the largest proportion of Spanish words end in a vowel and that Aragonese and Leonese seem to favour an ending in unstressed -i, rare in Castilian. Dutch used to have a great number of words with a final vowel, in casu -e, already in the seventeenth century, but in many this -e has been lost.

¹ Langedijk, Hé, Is Dat Westfries?, p. 130.

Intr.	stupi	stoepje	front-door step; in Pap.: porch at the back or front of the house
Intr.	kurá	kraal <u>or</u> koraal	corral (for cattle)
line 4			Whether the Portuguese took the word over from the Dutch in Africa or whether the Dutch took it from Portuguese is difficult to determine. See p. 85.

Intr. ma maar but (Sp. mas)
line 9 Since there has been a tendency to drop the final -r (cf. the Papiamentu verbs and the noun-suffix -dó) rather than the -s, it seems justified to take Dutch as the source language for ma. Maduro writes:

E 'r' final . . . no ta un konsonante ku nos pueblo ta gustápronunsiá. Al kontrario, nos ta sinti mas bien repugnansia p'e.¹

Pero is also used. A quick count shows about an equally divided number of occurrences in Ora Solo Baha. However, although ma and pero are used side by side, in some of the stories ma is more prevalent, in others pero.

¹Maduro, Bon Papiamentu, p. 51.

M.R. 5.3 dams dame; plural; lady
 dames

In Papiamentu dams is singular and plural, although under certain conditions it takes the plural ending -nan. This is a case where a Papiamentu word has been taken from a Dutch plural, no doubt because it is mostly used in that number.

M.R. 5.4 krenchi krentje lit. "little currant", meaning
 a small portion,
 "a little bit"

Both Maduro and Wood give as etymon greintje¹, which is the diminutive of grein, cf. French grain "pellet". Greintje is used mainly in the negative geen greintje with the noun in apposition in order to express "not even the smallest amount of", "not a grain of", "not a fraction of", "not one tittle". In krentje there is the same idea of something very small. The Dutch word krent, like English currant, is a corruption of Corinth, where the early Dutch traders went to

¹Maduro, Ensayo, p. 80; Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 151.

get their wares. Its old form was karent, in which form it still exists in Papiamentu.¹

M.R. 5.10 skèiru schuieren to brush, to sweep
The sk sound is dialectal in Zealandic and West Frisian, which are of particular interest for this study, but is also heard in regional speech in other parts of The Netherlands. In Zealandic the diphthong ui is still pronounced ei.

M.R. 5.11 baki bakje (coll.: bakkie) a cup, small or large bowl

M.R. 5.11 hòfi hofje little garden
Hof is an obsolescent and literary word for garden.

M.R. 5.18 plaka plak money
The words placke, plecke, plac were already used in Middelnederlands "Middle Dutch", henceforth referred to as M.N. Among other things, a plac was a coin of copper, silver or gold. The older generation of West Frisians is still familiar with the name 'n plak' for a two-and-a-half cents piece.² The -a ending in Papiamentu plaka may have been influenced by Spanish plata "silver".

¹Wood, on deriving krenchi from greintje, states that this is the only case where gr>kr.

²Langedijk, Hé, Is Dat Westfries? p. 35.

or, at least, have been reinforced by it, but could well be a version of placke, cf. the Dutch-derived verbs in -a, such as fula and strika. Plaka is an important concept in the Benedenwindse Eilanden. Amounts of money are expressed in it, for example: diez placa is "a quarter".¹

M.R. 5.20 drei draaien to turn

M.R. 5.22 kurashi courage, pronounced: courage
/ku'ra:ʒə/ or /ku'ra:ʒi/

M.R. 5.25 Mushe Raton a kinipi e dams un wowo.
Mushe Raton gaf de dame een knipoogje.
Mushe Raton winked an eye at the lady.

M.R. 6.1 pikete piket term used in
fencing

M.R. 6.3 frepostu vrijpostig impudent
(-ig = /əx/)

M.R. 6.12 angel engel /'ɛŋəl/ angel (Sp. ángel)
Since it is often spelled anguel, the sound thus represented may indicate Dutch origin.

M.R. 6.22 kuki koekje cookie (also from Dutch)

¹Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 391.

M.R. 6.25/26 In these two lines one finds:

Mesora mi ta drenta e sosiedad di mal haltu.

Mi ta bira persona di alta kategoria.

Not only is the spelling of the adjective different, it is also noteworthy that in the second instance use is made of the Spanish feminine form in -a. Papiamentu adjectives do not show the distinction between masculine and feminine. Only in some cases have the forms in -a become standardized for both genders, for example: bunita "beautiful"; coqueta "coquettish", marga "bitter".

M.R. 6.27 damsnan dames ladies
(See also p. 101.)

M.R. 7.13 razu razend furious

M.R. 7.32 sunchi zoentje a kiss (dim.)
Du. zoentje is a noun; Pap. sunchi is used both as a noun and a verb. The Dutch verb is zoenen "to kiss", which is meant here.

B.P. 9.1 snèjru obs.: snijder tailor
Note -u where Du. has /ə/ + a nasal or liquid, for example: the above razu; flektu, Du. vlechten "to braid"; wordu, Du. worden "to become, to be"; mespu, Du. mispel "medlar".

B.P. 9.4 wak waken to watch

The use of wak for "to see" is becoming more frequent in modern Papiamentu. However, the Papiamentu for "to see" is mira, Sp. mirar "to look, watch" or weta from Am. Span. agüitar and dialectal Spanish guaitar. Maduro disapproves of this use of wak.

B.P. 9.13 kla klar ready

Another case where the -r has been deleted. In other instances kla = Du. klaar in the sense of duidelijk "clear", Sp. claro. Also kla = klaar "light" in the sense of light-coloured.

B.P. 9.14 bachi baadje or kind of jacket
baatje or baaitje

B.P. 9.21 tamarèin tamarinde tamarind

Sp. tamarindo. This name came originally from Arabic tamr hindī, Indian date.¹

B.P. 9.22 laga

Although this verb is derived from Iberian largar, there has been, no doubt, the influence of Dutch laten "to let, to leave". Further discussion of this will follow under syntactic calques, pp. 215-217.

¹De Vries, Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek, p. 721.

B.P. 9.23 diki dik fat, thick

The -i can be explained only by the C V C V preference, the influence from languages other than Dutch or an analogy with the diminutives, since dik is an adjective and no diminutives are formed in Dutch on adjectives.

B.P. 9.28 brel bril glasses

B.P. 9.28 nanishi neusje nose (dim.)

Maduro: from Sp. plural narices. If this is so, then it was possibly reinforced by Du. neusje.

B.P. 10.4 wardami wacht op mij wait for me

or me

Sp. aguardar, but reinforced by wachten.

B.P. 10.5 un tiki een tikje or a little bit

een tikkeltje

coll. een tikkie

(See also under calques.)

B.P. 10.7 tajo or telloor plate or dish
tajó for food

This word is still in use in Zeeland. It existed already in M.N. (± 1200 to ± 1500) as taeljoor and different other spellings, denoting 1) a dish, above all serving for the cutting of meat; 2) a cut. From French tailloir "cutting board", a derivation of tailler; L. TALIARE "to split,

to cut". In other regions of The Netherlands it is teller with emphasis on the first syllable. Telloor is stressed on the last one.

B.P. 10.11 pik pikken to pick

B.P. 10.15 lèn leunen to lean

B.P. 10.16 un doshi di een lucifersdoosje a match-box
lusafè

Dutch distinguishes between een lucifer(s)-doosje, which is the "container", and een doosje lucifers, which is "a box of matches".

Papiamentu does not seem to make that distinction. In this text Papiamentu has di, the equivalent of English "of" and Sp. de, whereas in Dutch the two nouns are in apposition. The word for "match" on Bonaire is fofo from Sp. fósforo, and on Aruba swafu from Dutch zwavel "sulphur".

B.P. 10.29 danki dankⁱje or thank you or:
dank U or dank thanks

B.P. 11.1 nèshi . . . nestje nest (dim.)

B.P. 11.4 . . . mi ta gusta mi pleizi.

. . . dat doet me pleizier.

. . . that gives me pleasure.

Another case of the deletion of -r. It is interesting to note the use of gusta as a personal verb with mi as subject, whereas

Spanish gustar is an impersonal verb with me as indirect object. Noteworthy too is the tautology of the Spanish gustar and Dutch pleizier "pleasure".

- | | | | |
|------------|----------|---|---|
| B.P. 11.16 | kòfi | koffie | coffee |
| B.P. 11.18 | pik | bek (with which a
bird picks -- Du.
root: <u>pik</u> -- and
taps. No doubt
influenced by
Sp. <u>pico</u> . | beak |
| B.P. 11.26 | kusinchi | kussentje | pillow, cushion
Wood feels that the word comes directly from French <u>coussin</u> , since the stress falls on the second syllable. As was seen in <u>telloor</u> and <u>teller</u> , stress may change. Moreover, <u>kussen</u> already existed in M.N., also with the spelling <u>cussijn</u> , which would indicate that the last syllable was stressed, and <u>cussin</u> , diminutive <u>cussenkijn</u> . This is noteworthy in connection with what Maduro writes in <u>Ensayo</u> (p. 64): " <u>cushinki</u> , <u>cusinchi</u> coxim (port., pron. coshin); <u>cojin</u> (sp.) kussen(tje) (ul.)". In other words: <u>cushinki</u> must be related to <u>cussenkijn</u> . |

B.P. 12.6	kamber	kamer	room,
		M.N. camere	bedroom
		L. CAMERA and	
		CAMARA	

Old Spanish is camera, modern Spanish cámera, in other words, the intertonic Latin vowel was not lost, so that in Spanish the normal development of m'r > mbr (cf. HOMINEM hombre, Pap. homber) did not take place. However, Maduro (Ensayo, p. 87) lists besides "kamer (ul.)" also "(cambra, gay. ant. Old Galician)". The same phenomenon takes place in Du. emmer > Pap. ember "pail, bucket", probably by analogy with kamber. The opposite took place in PLUMBUM > Sp. plomo.

B.P. 12.13	bora	geboord, past part. of <u>boren</u>	drilled
B.P. 12.14	kla	klaar	ready
B.P. 12.17	kashi	kastje	chest of drawers
Awa 13.17	katuna	katoen	cotton or cotton-wool. It is also a shrub.

katunbòm = kapok "kapok"

The equivalent in Dutch of the expression baha na katuna is het hazelpad kiezen, lit. "to choose the hare's path" or: zijn hielen lichten "to take to one's heels". Baha na katuna must

reflect the fact that an animal hides himself under the shrubs.

Awa 13.28 trupa troep flock

Awa 13.28 rondona to surround

It would seem that this verb is based on the Dutch preposition rondom "around". The verb to express rondona would be omringen, lit. "to put a ring (circle) around something", Sp. rodear.

Awa 13.29 beheit commotion

Although this word would point at a derivation from a Dutch word, I could not find a satisfactory explanation for it. Possibilities were: laweit "noise, riot by workmen", now more common: lawaai "noise"; heibel "a brawl, uproar" from Hebrew hēwēl "vanity"; heibei, which in the northern Netherlands means "a fussy, snappish woman", in the southern Netherlands "fuss"¹, now haaiebaai "an aggressive woman". Then, I found in Langedijk (p. 28): zo'n beheeftig ventje "such a fidgety, nervous fellow". Since in seventeenth-century Dutch ee at times became ei (Weijnen, p. 30) and hij heit is low-standard for hij heeft "he has", the West Frisian beheeftig may be a plausible etymon for beheit.

¹N. van Wijk, Franck's Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1912; rpt. 1949), p. 240. De Vries, Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek, p. 244, gives "coarse, quarrelsome woman".

The ee>ei change could also have taken place in the M.N. beheeten "to threaten with something". Furthermore, behept met "afflicted with" was felt to have a connection with hebben "to have" (De Vries) and could be the etymon of beheit, as could heftig "turbulent, boisterous" with the prefix -be. Still another possibility -- and perhaps the most plausible one -- is the adjective heet "hot", in Old North Frankish heit. In other words, beheit would be "a heated debate".

Awa 13.31 warda di polis politiewachtpost police station
 politie pronoun-
 ced:/polisi/

Awa 14.5 hinca hinken to limp, hop
 play at hop-
 scotch

Normally hinca means "to put in, to put under", from Sp. hincar "to thrust, drive, plant".

It appears in this sense in Awa 14.2: El a hinka e dos webunan bòw di su brasa "He stuck the two eggs under his arm". "To hop" is Papiamentu coha from Sp. cojear.

Awa 14.25 wak waken, uitkijken to look
 here: kijken

Masu 15.7 skol school school

Masu 15.9 Tur mainta e mama mester a lanta masha trempan.

Iederen morgen moest de moeder heel vroeg opstaan.

Every morning, the mother had to get up very early.

Spanish haber menester; Portuguese: mister.

Change of word class, which is one of the phenomena of creole languages, but also influenced by Dutch moest(en), past tense of moeten "must".

Masu 15.10 famia familie, orig. family
 pronounced
 /fa'mijə/

Wood lists for familie: famili and contrasts it with /famia/ "family; family, surname".¹ For "surname, family" he lists also "fám -- Du. van, prep., 'of, from'. Unusual development prep. > noun."² However, in Dutch van is in this context considered to be a noun: Wat (Hoe) is zijn van? "What is his last name?" This must stem from the fact that so many Dutch names start with van, indicating origin, which was itself the result of the Napoleonic decree that everyone should have a last name.

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 117.

²Wood, p. 116.

Masu 15.15 un bleki di buscuchi

een biscuitblikje

a biscuit tin

Buscuchi could be from Dutch biscuitje "cookie"
or beschuitje "Dutch rusk". In M.N. beschuit
occurred in the following forms; bischoot,
bischuut, bischot, biscot, bischuyt, buscuut.

Cf. also Sp. bizcocho.

Masu 15.29 pòpchi di botter

poppetjes van flessen gemaakt

dolls made out of bottles

An obsolete word for fles was bottel.

Masu 15.31 merdia middag or afternoon, noon,
's middags at noon

Although derived from Sp. mediodía, the -r- may
be by analogy with Dutch middernacht "midnight".
Cf. Diasabra, Sp. sábado with possible influence
of Du. Zaterdag.

Masu 16.12 skref schreef line drawn with
pencil or chalk,
limit; here:
slit

Masu 16.33 blo bloot only

Dutch bloot has different meanings: adj. bloot
"uncovered, naked"; as adj. and adv. "simple,
simply; sole, solely".

Masu 17.11 skorpión schorpioen scorpion

Although the zoological term in Spanish is escorpión, the usual name is alacrán.

Masu 17.22 welek weerlicht lightning

Masu 17.31 mesla metselaar mason

Masu 18.3 lur loeren to peer, spy

Masu 18.30 awa a skuma het water schuimde the water was foaming

Masu 18.31 sak zakken to sink

Masu 19.13 keshi kaasje cheese (dim.)

Although the dialectal form kees for kaas is very wide-spread, Sp. queso and Port. queijo may have reinforced the /e/.

Masu 19.15 wairu waaier a fan

Maduro indicates that wairu is popular language, whereas waaier is used by cultured speakers of Papiamentu. Waya is the verb "to fan oneself". (Ensayo, p. 130.)

Masu 19.25 stroisto strooistertje flower-girl at a wedding

Cf. strooien "to strew".

Ng. 20.5 krikinan krekels crickets

Du. krekel is onomatopeic. Páp. kriki probably also.

Ng. 21.4 manera saldinchi

als sardientjes (in een blikje)

like sardines (in a tin)

Note the confusion of the liquids -r- and -l-.

This phenomenon takes place in other languages also, cf. Sp. plática from Latin PRACTICAM.¹

Ng. 21.4 stiwa stuwen to stow

Ng. 21.8 haf haven a harbour

Ng. 21.9 kla klaar (in the clearly

sense of

duidelijk)

Ng. 21.10 Sorsaka Zuurzak lit. sour bag

This is the name of a plantation in Curaçao,
laid out before 1725. Sorsaca is a plant,

Anona muricata or sour-sop, zuurzak, cultivated
on the Benedenwindse Eilanden, wild and cultiva-
ted on the Bovenwindse Eilanden. The name of
the fruit zuurzak is a folk-etymological corrup-
tion of Tamil síru-sákkei.

Ng. 22.3 plenchi pleintje a square (dim.)

Ng. 22.4 hadrei gaanderij or a gallery,
galerij verandah

Pap. hadrei is now "a room in a house, the living
room". Galerij comes from Fr. galéries, It.
galleria. De Vries traces it as far back as

¹ Robert K. Spaulding, How Spanish Grew (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1967), p. 96.

Galilea.¹ Gaelderie, with an epenthetic -d- between a liquid and -er-, existed already in M.N., galdery in the seventeenth century.

Gaanderij is a folk-etymological form of galerij, influenced by the verb gaan "to go".

Ng.	22.20	kòki	kok (masc.)	a cook
			kokkin (fem.)	

In the Dutch East Indies the cook was called kokkie also.

Ng.	22.25	jonkuman	jonkman, jongman,	a young man
			jongeman	

Ng.	23.4	span	spannen, here:	to open wide <u>or</u>
			opensperren <u>or</u>	to strain
			inspannen	

Ng.	23.5	huki	hoekje	a corner (dim.)
Pep.	25.21	wal	walgen	to become

				nauseated
Pep.	26.8	keiru	kuieren; in Zea-	to walk, stroll

landic ei > ui is
normal

Pep.	26.32	Su plumanan ta hole masha <u>stinki</u> .
		Zijn veren <u>stinken</u> verschrikkelijk.

His feathers are terribly smelly.

An interesting combination of hole, Sp. oler and stinki, adj. and adv., from Du. verb stinken.

¹De Vries, Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek, p. 181.

Pep. 26.34 gom di palu gom (and not:
houtlijm!) or
hars

Palu means tree, wood, pole.

Pep. 26.34 (maron) kla klaar; here:
licht van kleur,
in casu: licht-
bruin
light-coloured;
here: light
brown

Pep. 27.17 un klòmpi grandi di gom
een grote klomp gom
a big chunk of resin

Pep. 27.32 pa e ankra su kurpa
om zich te verankeren
to anchor himself

Pep. 28.4 sará gesard; past part. pestered
of sarren

Pep. 28.5 un bon sota di bulpes (also spelled bolpees
or bòlpes)
een goede slag met de bullepees
a firm lash with the bull whip

Pep. 28.6 sla slaag (noun of
slaan); pak
slaag

Pep. 28.8 rondo prep., rondom around

Pep.	28.10	dobbel	dubbel; <u>coll. and</u> <u>dial.:</u> dobbel	double
Pep.	28.19	kòwchi	kooitje; <u>regional:</u> <u>or:</u> kouwtje;	cage, parti-
		kouchi	M.N. couwe;	cularly for
			kòwchi di ga-	birds. Also
			linja =	chicken run,
			kippenren	which is the
				case here.
Do.	title	Dolfi	Dolf <u>or</u> Dolph <u>or</u> Dolfje	short for Adolphus
Do.	29.14	garoshi	karosje (kar <u>or</u> wagen)	carriage, cart
Do.	29.15	hanchi	gangetje	alley, street, narrow street
Do.	29.17	drempi	drempel	threshold, doorsill
Do.	29.22	Bon danki.	Wel bedankt. <u>or</u> Goed, dank U.	Thank you very much. <u>or</u> Well, thank you.
Do.	29.23	tantan	tante	aunt
			In Papiamentu it does not necessarily show blood relationship. Cf. Sp. <u>tía María</u> .	
Do.	29.23	Mena	Mina, <u>abbrev. of</u> Wilhelmina	girl's name

Do.	29.24	blo	<u>here:</u> slechts	only
		Blo tofer ku su galinjanan.		
		Ze prutst alleen maar (slechts) met haar kippen.		
		All she does is occupy herself (fuss with) her hens.		
Do.	29.24	tofer	lit. toveren	lit. to practise magic
Do.	29.28	un tiki	een tikje triest	a little sad
		tristu	<u>here:</u> with adj.	
Do.	29.30	ránkanan	ranken (plur.)	stalks
		(plur.)		
Do.	29.31	pampuna	pompoen	squash, pump-
		(<u>Cucurbita</u>		kin
		<u>pepo</u>)		
Do.	29.32	baki	bak (<u>here not</u> a diminutive)	cistern
Do.	30.5	seldu <u>or</u>	selderij <u>or</u>	celery
		selder	selderie	
Do.	30.11	kanika	kanneke, <u>now:</u>	small jug, jar
			kannetje	
		-ke is another suffix for the diminutive. It occurs mainly in dialects, but is extensively used in Flemish. It may be preceded by epenthetic letters where necessary for ease of pronunciation.		
Do.	30.15	bòshinan	bosjes	bunches
		(plur.)		

Do.	30.19	lesa	lezen	to read
Do.	30.28	Pero Pa Chein a wak un chens. Here: <u>wak</u> = Du. <u>afwachten</u> . Translation: However, father (no relationship) Chein was waiting for a chance. Sp. would be <u>esperar</u> .		
Do.	31.31	mespu	mispel	medlar (fruit)
Do.	31.32	garashi	garage	garage
Do.	32.2	banki	bankje	seat, bench
Do.	32.5	ajo	ajo	good-bye, farewell
				Though from <u>adiós</u> , it may have come into Papiamentu from Malay-Portuguese via Dutch (Dutch East Indies).
Do.	32.6	klap	klappen, laten klappen	to crack (a whip)
Do.	32.6	zjwip <u>[sic]</u>	zweep <u>also spel-</u> M.N. swiep <u>led</u> shwiep	whip
				Other M.N. forms were: <u>swepe</u> , <u>zwepe</u> , <u>sweep</u> , <u>swiepe</u> , <u>suepe</u> . Du. verb: <u>zwiepen</u> "to swish, to lash".
Do.	32.6	blachi	blaadje	leaf of a plant

Do.	32.16	ral	raar	odd, strange, rare, unwell and raar
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The -l may well be under influence of Iberian ralo, which came, with interchange of the two liquids -l- and -r- from L. RARUM. Another possibility is that it is a case of dissimilation.

Do.	32.21	pushi	poesje	pussy, cat
Do.	32.28	papa	pap	mush
Do.	32.30	flektunan	vlechten	braids
Do.	32.30	zoja <u>or</u> . . .	zwaaien	to swing, sway, zoya

Some comment is called for with regard to the etymon zwaaien for zoja. The context is: Tantan Mena su dos flektunan tabata zoja bai bini . . . "Aunt Mena's two braids were swaying back and forth." Maduro mentions in Procedencia, II, 56, that Latour thought at first that the origin was to be found in Du. zwaaien, but that, subsequently, he changed his mind. Unfortunately, no indication is given concerning the location of Latour's statement or about his later opinion as to the origin of zoya. Maduro himself gives Sp. arrullar "to lull", claiming that the Spanish -rr- is responsible for the z of zoya.

Jansen lists in his Nederlands Papiaments Handwoordenboek:

"zwaaien - zwaai, bira"; and in his Papiaments Nederlands Handwoordenboek: "zoja - wiegen, schommelen". Maduro states further that the Dutch zwaaien does not have the meaning of "making a child sleep, lulling a child to sleep". Dutch says een kindje wiegen, that is, "to rock in one's arms". Jansen gives for wiegen: Pap. wieg, zoja. Schommelen = to rock. It is noteworthy that a schommelstoel (schommel = swing; stoel = chair) "rocking chair" is stoel di zoja in Curaçao. In Aruba, where we find more Spanish-derived words, it is stoel di rabu lit. "a chair with a tail". "Suja, suja, kindje" is found in a Dutch lullaby.

Do. 33.2 lampi lamp lamp

Do. 33.22 prikichinan parkietjes parakeets

Prikichinan is the plural of prikichi, which came -- with metathesis -- from Du. parkietje.

Do. 33.29 fula voelen to feel

Do. 34.3 rek rekken to stretch

Here: El a rek su kurpa "He stretched his body", that is, "he stretched himself". Papiamentu has no reflexive pronoun. It uses either the personal pronoun or su kurpa. For more on the reflexive see pp. 185-189.

Do.	34.7	minit (pop.)	minuut	minute (time)
		minuut (cult.)		
Do.	34.16	"Bon. Papia <u>numa.</u> "	Could be from Dutch: "Goed. <u>Praat nu maar.</u> "	"Alright. Speak up then."
Do.	35.5	wak	waken, <u>but here:</u> kijken naar	to watch
Do.	35.7	skop bala	de bal schoppen	to kick the ball
Do.	35.11	konenchi	konijntje(s)	rabbit(s) (dim.)
Do.	35.15	flektu	vlechten (<u>this</u> <u>time the</u> <u>verb</u>)	to plait, weave
Do.	35.22	plenchi	pleintje	a square; here: an open space in the woods
Do.	35.25	lagadishi	hagedisje	lizard (dim.)
		Maduro derives it from Sp. <u>lagartija</u> , "wall lizard"; Port. <u>lagartixa</u> (x = /ʃ/) (<u>Ensayo</u> , p. 90). De Vries (<u>Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek</u> , p. 231) is not certain about the etymology of Dutch <u>hagedis</u> . It is a West Germanic word and it may be folk-etymology that has led to a connection with <u>haag</u> "hedge". M.N. was <u>egedis</u> , <u>egetisse</u> , <u>eggedisse</u> , beside <u>hagetisse</u> , which meant "lizard" as well as "witch", "hag" (Du. <u>heks</u>). Wood thinks of a mixed form from <u>hagedisje</u> and Sp. <u>lagartija</u> . He also gives the alternative form <u>ragadiši</u> .		

Still another possibility is that lagadishi originated from el hagedisje, in other words, from the combination of the article and the noun, as is the case in lareina (although one may also find reina) "queen", laria "air", lamán "sea".

Do.	36.7	stropi	stroopje	syrup, treacle here: honey
Do.	36.17	masashi	massage, <u>pro-</u> <u>nounced with</u>	massage Sp. <u>masaje</u>
			/ʒ/	
Do.	36.20	kalbas	kalebas	pumpkin, squash, gourd

The ultimate origin of the word is uncertain.

It is found in Dutch since the sixteenth century, from Fr. calebasse, which came into French from Sp. calabaza in the sixteenth century.¹ It seems most likely that kalbas came into Papiamentu via Dutch.

Do.	36.30	kishiki	onomatope	to tickle
			The Dutch say <u>kiesh-kiesh</u> when tickling a child.	
			The verb is <u>kietelen</u> .	

¹Albert Dauzat, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1938), p. 129.

- Do. 37.8 kinipi this time: knijpen to pinch,
 to knip
- Do. 38.6 sen cent(en) cent or
 or or
 cen geld
 money
- Chi. 39.3 spula spoelen to rinse
- Chi. 39.4 tranké di datu is a phrase which should not go unnoticed. The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen lists "trankeer, omheining . . . van cactuszuilen, waarmee erven en tuinen of akkers worden afgezet", in other words, "a fence formed by a row of cactus plants". The word must be derived from Sp. tranquera "palisade". In commercial documents, written in Dutch, sent from Curaçao to Holland around the year 1700, the words trankeer and trankeeringe are found. The latter is particularly interesting, since it would represent a Spanish word with a Dutch suffix.
- Chi. 39.7 konchi kommetje a small bowl
 or komchi
- Chi. 39.8 un pida súku di klenku
Note di and compare with line 26/27: un pida súku klenku. For absence of di see section on calques, p. 227.
súku is suiker "sugar"; klenku, Du. klinker

"brick". Súku (di) klenku (Jansen spells sucu klinker) is harde bruine suiker in klinkervorm "hard brown sugar in the shape of a brick".

Chi. 39.10 kantu di porta
aan de kant van de deur
at the side of the door

The usual expression is banda di.

Chi. 40.2 kui kooi cage to catch
 also spelled game or a trap
 cui or cíí for birds
Cf. kòwchi "bird cage", once the bird has been caught. In this case the diminutive suffix -tje serves to indicate an actual diminutive.

Chi. 40.18 florin florijn guilder
Chi. 40.30 baki di awa waterbak cistern
Chi. 40.31 ròskam roskammen to curry
Ros already in M.N., variant ors, "horse".
Kammen is "to comb".

Chi. 41.1 keiru kuieren to stroll
Chi. 41.12 hember emmer pail, bucket
For -mb- see kamber, p. 109.
In line 21, the spelling is hèmber. Jansen reserves this for Du. gember, which occurs in Maduro (Ensayo, p. 79) as ehèmber (Zingiber officinalis) "ginger".

- Chi. 41.17 Forti het Fort the Fort
- Chi. 42.1 plenchi di Forti
 het pleintje vóór het Fort
 the square in front of the Fort
- Here plenchi is actually a "square". In Dolfi 35.22 it was an open space in the woods.
- Chi. 42.12 trompèt trumpet
 Maduro believes this word comes from Catalan.
- Chi. 42.13 jama ajo ajo roepen to call good-
 bye, to bid
 farewell
- Ajo was used in the Dutch East Indies and also in Holland, although it comes from Iberian adiós.
- Chi. 43.2 Shon Carlo lo bin buska mi drechi.
 Shon Carlo zal direct naar me komen zoeken.
 Shon Carlo will shortly come to look for me.
- If the assumption that drechi comes from Dutch direct in the sense of onmiddellijk "without delay" is correct, then this is a case of elision rather than addition of a vowel. This would be explained by the fact that direct is often pronounced d'rek in low-standard speech.

Chi. 45.19 I ramanan a sker su pia di karson.

En de takken scheurden zijn broekspijpen.

And the branches tore the legs of his trousers.

Contrast skèr /skér/ = Du. schaar "scissors" with
sker /skér/ = Du. scheur, scheuren "a tear" and
"to tear". In seventeenth-century Dutch ee would,
at times, replace eu (Weijnen, p. 27).

Chi. 45.33 mik mikken to aim

Note: mik riba, Du. mikken op "to aim at". For
comment on riba, see under calques, pp. 172-178.

Chi. 45.34 el a lös e bala

hij lost een schot

he discharged the bullet

Chi. 46.13 pushi-pushi

zo zachtjes als een poesje loopt

as softly as a pussy walks

Reduplication to indicate intensity.

Chi. 46.14 un triki een trucje a little trick

Chi. 47.15 rèspect respect

Klof 50.23 kamper kamperen (root: to be camping
kampeer)

Klof 50.27 dekel deken blanket

Klof 53.26 kuú koeren (onomatope) to coo

Klof 55.26 Spanjonan Spanjolen Spaniards

Nati 57.3 wak bewaken to watch over

Nati 57.14 skèrpi scherp(e) sharp

Nati 58.28 zwai su zwaaien met zijn to wave one's
mannan handen hands

Note that here zwai is used and not zoya or
zoja (see pp. 121-22 under Do. 32.30).

Nati 58.29 Wespen Westpunt West Point
This is a village at the West Point Bay at the
northern tip of Curaçao.

Nati 58.31 kla-kla héél klaar very clearly
Reduplication for intensity.

MM 61.26 master mast mast
already M.N.:

mast and maste

MM 62.4 zoja here: schommelen, to swing, rock,
wiegen, heen en roll
weer zwaaien

. . . e barku a keda zoja riba anker

. . . het schip bleef aan het anker heen en
weer wiegen

. . . the ship was rocking on its anchor

For zoja and zwaaien, see pp. 121-22.

MM 62.11 drif or drijven, to soar
drief dial.:
drieven

MM 64.1 tròshi trosje cable (nautical)
earlier: bunch

MM 64.1 jola jol dinghy, yawl

MM 64.23 . . . i landa bai na e jola.

. . . en hij zwom weg naar de jol.

. . . and he swam away to the dinghy.

Here: na = Du. naar "to, toward". For further comment on na see pp. 168-172.

MM 66.9 vlandam vlammen flames

Vlandam is an interesting plural form. Normally, it would be vlamnan. Cf. apeldam, plural of apel, Du. appel "apple".

MM 66.28/29 rondo di e kandela

rondom het vuur

around the fire

Note Spanish influence in di through analogy with alrededor del fuego.

MM 66.32 pènchi pinnetje or little peg
pennetje

MM 67.15/16 Manuel a realisa ku loke el a mira move . . .

Manuel realiseerde zich, dat wat hij had zien bewegen . . .

Manuel realized that what he had seen moving . . .

The Spanish verb realizar "to accomplish" has not the same meaning as Pap. realisa. Dutch zich realiseren is a reflexive verb. As seen earlier, "bon papiamentu" has no reflexive

pronoun. Further comment on this subject may be found on pp. 185-189.

MM 67.28 varios sorto di flecha
allerlei soorten pijlen
all sorts of arrows

It would seem more likely that Pap. sorto came from Du. soort rather than from Sp. suerte.
However, Portuguese has sorte.

MM 67.29 Manuel a forsa pa
Manuel forceerde zich
Manuel forced himself

Again, absence of a reflexive pronoun.

MM 70.33 bòm di e jola de bodem van de jol the floor of
the dinghy

MM 71.29 nodi nodig necessary

MM 72.23 Spanja Spanje Spain

MM 73.24 kòkchi kokertje an elongated
round case

MM 73.24 kashi kastje cupboard

C. Words with Dutch or Romance etymologies.

Where necessary for the context, a whole sentence may be quoted. Unless indicated otherwise, Spanish will be the Romance source for the words in the following list.

Examples:

M.R. 5.4 Mushe Raton a hanja ku e mester subi un krenchi

Mushe Raton vond, dat hij wat op moest klimmen

Mushe Raton felt that he had to climb somewhat

Mester, Sp. haber menester "to need", ser menester "to be necessary". The noun menester has changed its word class from noun to verb, which is a normal phenomenon in creole languages. No doubt, there is an influence of the Dutch verb moeten "must", more particularly of the past tense moest(en), though one can not ignore the Portuguese mister in this respect either.

M.R. 5.8 The following example strengthens further the suggestion of Dutch influence:

Sigur mester tabatin un den nan

Er moest zeker één van hen zijn

For sure, there must be one of them

	<u>Papiamentu</u>	<u>Dutch</u>	<u>Romance</u>	<u>English</u>
M.R. 5.10	pomada	pommade	pomada	pomade
M.R. 5.15	mama	mama	mamá	mother
M.R. 5.24	koketa	coquet	coqueta (-t pro- nounced)	coquettish

As mentioned on p.104 a few adjectives appear in Papiamentu in the Spanish feminine form.

M.R. 5.1	pikete	piquet	piquete	a fencing term
M.R. 6.6	tristu	triest(e)	triste	sad
M.R. 6.10	hisa	hijsen; <u>dial.:</u>	Fr. hisser Sp. izar <u>and</u> hieschen	to hoist, haul Port. içar

Both De Vries and Dauzat claim that Fr. hisser (sixteenth century) came from Netherlandic.

To this should be added: in its M.N. form, that is, hischen. De Vries quotes "1461".

M.R. 6.24 Mi ta bira persona di alta kategoria.

Dan word ik iemand van goeden stand.

Then I become a member of the upper classes.

Bira is obviously derived from Spanish virar, a nautical term for "to wind, twist". Pap. bira is "to turn, stir, turn over, turn around, become". For the latter, Spanish uses, among others,

another verb with the meaning of "to turn" in order to express the sense of "to become", that is, volverse. However, Pap. bira may well be the result of a reinforcement by the regional past tense of the Dutch verb worden: seventeenth-century and dialectal wier (standard form: werd). Worden is the auxiliary for the passive voice, but as an independent verb it has also the meaning of to become. It should be noted that the verb wieren "to turn, revolve" is found in M.N.

M.R.	7.11	fini	fijn (fien)	fino	fine
B.P.	9.25	hala	halen	halar	to haul, (naut.) pull, rub, massage
B.P.	10.22	ma	maar	mas	but, however As mentioned on p.100, since the <u>-r</u> of the original etymon is often dropped, Dutch derivation, rather than Romance, seems more likely.
B.P.	11.9	un par di	een paar	un par de	a couple of (used in <u>lit.</u> a pair apposition) However, un <u>par di día</u> , Du. <u>een paar dagen</u> "a couple of days" is in Spanish <u>unos días</u> .

Awa	13.28	trupa	troep	tropa	a crowd, multitude flock
Awa	14.2	polis	politie	policía	police
Awa	14.3	warda di polis			
		politie(wacht)post			
		guardia de policía			
		police guard, police station			
Awa	14.7	warda	wachten, <u>also</u> (verb)	guardar	to wait, guard protect keep
			bewaken, bewaren		
Awa	14.24	hiba	heffen (cf. German <u>heben</u>)	llevar	to bring, take, carry
Awa	14.18	skupi	spugen	escupir	to spit
		(verb)	<u>with meta-</u> <u>thesis</u>		
Awa	14.19	skupi	spuug	escupido	spittle
		(noun)	<u>(with meta-</u> <u>thesis)</u>		
Awa	14.26	riska	riskeren	arriesgar	risk, dare
Masu	15.32	súku	suiker	azúcar	sugar
Masu	18.4	ronka	ronken	roncar	to snore

Ng.	20.12	soldá	soldaat	soldado	soldier
Ng.	20.17	ataca	attqueren	atacar	to attack
Ng.	20.18	lanza	lans	lanza	lance
Ng.	21.4	barku	bark	Fr. barque	ship,
				Sp. barco	vessel
					boat
Ng.	22.16	<u>munstra</u>	demonstreren	mostrar	to show
		-n-	through the influence of Dutch.		
Ng.	23.5	saku	zak	saco	sack
Ng.	23.20	kalmu	kalm	calmo	calm
Ng.	23.29	brisa	bries	brisa	breeze
Pep.	25.7/8	Djodji tabatin e mal <u>manía</u>			
		Djodji had de <u>manie</u>			
		Djodji had the bad habit			
		It should be mentioned that Dutch <u>manie</u> is stressed on the last syllable.			
Pep.	27.1	tronkon	tronk	tronco	tree stump
Do.	29.4	síntí	zintuig	sentido	brain, sense
Do.	29.7	porta	poort	Port.	door, gate-
				porta	way
				Sp. puerta	
		The /o/ may be ascribed to Dutch influence of <u>poort</u> or of Sephardic Spanish.			
Do.	29.30	planta	planten	plantar	to plant

Do. 29.32 palu paal palo stick, pole

Sp. palo is "stick, pole, timber, log, wood", but Pap. palu has here the Spanish American meaning "tree". There are many names of trees with palu: palu di seda "cedar tree"; palu di fruta "fruit tree", as well as of objects made out of wood: palu di cortina "curtain rod"; pal'i hilu "bobbin". Figuratively: palu di pia "shin".

Do. 31.27 bolo bolus Port. bôlo cake,
(a special Sp. bollo pastry
kind of
pastry)

Do. 31.34 kwartu kwart or cuarto a quarter
kwartier (of an hour)

Do. 35.34 kalma kalmeren calmar to calm
(verb)

Do. 36.9 na naar Port. na to, toward
For more extensive comments on na see pp. 168-
172.

Do. 37.11 pápa papperig, papa mushy, pasty
pappig
noun: pap

In the combination pápa sodá it is kletsnat,
Sp. empapado "soaking wet (with perspiration)";
otherwise: pápa mohá.

Do.	37.31	ripiti	repeteren	<u>conjugated</u>	to repeat
			<u>or from</u>	<u>form of</u>	
			<u>noun</u>	<u>repetir</u>	
			repetitie		
Do.	38.1	demonstra	demon-	demostrar	to show
			streren		
Do.	38.5	Papa	papa	papá	father
Chi.	39.6	fòrnu	fornuis	Iberian:	stove
				forno	

Beside fòrnu exists fornèshi, which leaves no doubt as to derivation. It is from Dutch fornuisje. Weijnen lists forneyzen for fornui-zen in the seventeenth century.

Chi.	42.5	òrdu	order	orden	order
Chi.	42.22	komando	commando	comando	command
Chi.	42.22	komandant	commandant	comandante	commander
Chi.	43.12	kalkula	calculeren	calcular	to cal- culate
Chi.	44.7	patrujá	patrouil- leren	patrullar	to patrol
Chi.	46.23	lora	Lorre, <u>name</u> <u>for a</u> <u>parrot</u>	loro, Span.-Am.: lora	parrot

Chi.	46.30	bordo	boord	bordo (which itself may have come (from Dutch))	board of ship < Dutch <u>boord</u>
Chi.	47.12	bira loko	gek worden	virar	to become crazy
		(here: <u>bira</u> with adj.)	(wier) See pp. 133-134.		
Klof	50.1	fantasia	fantasie	fantasia	phantasy
			(stress on last syl- lable)		
Klof	51.9	rasca	<u>with meta-</u> <u>thesis of</u> krassen	rascar	to scratch
Klof	52.7	lanternu	lantaren <u>or</u> lantaarn	linterna	lantern
				Old-Sp.: lanterna	
		M.N. <u>lanterne</u> , <u>laterne</u> , <u>latterne</u> , dial. <u>lantèren</u> .			
Klof	52.18	te	thee /te/	té	tea
Klof	54.32	homber	de blanken blanku	los blancos	the white men
Nati	57.1	grupo	groep	grupo	group
MM	64.9	detaje	detail /detaj/	detalle	detail
MM	65.11	boto	boot	bote	boat

MM 67.26 karkó karakol caracol snail

From the context it becomes clear that kuchu trahá di karkó are knives made out of snail-shell.

MM 71.11 kantu kant canto edge,
border

Noteworthy is that here kantu di tera is used for shore line and that kantu di awa is found in Chiku 45.25 to express the same concept.

MM 71.17 senjal signaal senal signal
/sinal/

D. Words adopted via Dutch from another language.

Examples:

Awa title labizhan dame-jeanne Fr. dame- demijohn
jeanne

Masu 15.10 famia familie Fr. famille relatives
(formerly
pronounced
/fa'mijə/)

Do. 32.24 Pai paaai Port. pai daddy
N. van Wijk states that paaai probably developed from M.N. pade (now: peet) "godfather".¹ De Vries is of the opinion that it came from

¹N. van Wijk, Etymologisch Woordenboek, p. 484.

Malayo-Portuguese, most likely via the Dutch East Indies. It exists also in Afrikaans.

MM 71.23 pagai pagaaien Malay: pĕngajoeh paddle
(verb) (noun: (for a
pagaaai) canoe)

De Vries gives as etymon Malay pĕngajoeh.

Corominas lists:

PAGAYA, 'especie de remo', 1884. Del malayo pangáyong, por conducto del holandés y del fr. pagaye, 1686.¹

C.B. van Haeringen comments that older New Netherlandic pangaai was closer to the Malay form.²

MM 71.23 kajuka kajak Eskimo: kayak kayak

E. Words or phrases combining Dutch and Iberian elements.

Examples:

M.R. 5.7 barika-gel or barika-heel

Iberian barriga "belly" plus geel or gel or heel, Du. geel "yellow" gave barika-geel.

The Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen

¹ Joan Corominas, Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana (Madrid: Gredos, 1961).

² C.B. van Haeringen, Franck's Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, Supplement, 1936.

refers from this word to suikerdiefje, lit.

"little sugar thief" (Coereba flaveola) and gives as second name: Yellow breast. This may well be the bird's name on the English-speaking Bovenwindse Eilanden.

Pep. 25.17 oló stinki

Sp. olor "smell" plus a form of the Dutch verb stinken, possibly the gerund stinkend "stinking". Oló is here a noun; stinki an adjective. Cf. 26.32: Su plumanan ta hole masha stinki, where hole is a verb, Sp. oler "to smell", and stinki and adverb.

Do. 37.16 "Kon bo ke men?"

Combination of Spanish: — ¿Qué quieres decir? and Du. "Hoe meen je (dat)?" "What do you mean?"

Chi. 41.10 tas será

Du. tas(ch) "handbag, briefcase" and Sp. cerrado "closed, locked", in other words, "a bag with a lock".

Chi. 41.24 hopi be

Dutch derived hopi "many" and Sp. veces, "many times, often".

F. Calques.

The calques on Dutch in Ora Solo Baha may be divided into two sub-categories:

- i) lexical calques; ii) syntactic calques.

Calques that could be based on Dutch or Spanish form are not included.

i) Lexical Calques.

Examples:

Intr. Nos komo mucha
line 5 Wij als kinderen
 We as children

M.R. 5.4 manera
 op de manier van
 like (adv.)

M.R. 5.11 banda
 Since banda has numerous meanings, it
 will be dealt with under a special
 heading of its own. See pp. 164-166.

M.R. 5.25 Mushe Raton a kinipi e dams un wowo.
 Mushe Raton gaf de dame een knipoogje.
 Mushe Raton winked at the lady.

M.R. 6.3 Ma e pára di misa a traha un kara masha frepostu.
Maar de kanarie trok een heel vrijpostig gezicht.
But the canary pulled a very insolent face.

M.R. 6.4/5 B'a mirami pa kende loko?
Zag jij mij voor gek aan?
Did you take me for a fool?

M.R. 6.15 E blenchi a grita hari.
De colibrie gilde van het lachen.
The humming bird screamed with laughter.

M.R. 6.22 T'esei ta mi kuki.
Dat is voor mij gesneden koek.
That is my cup of tea.
lit. That is my cookie.

M.R. 7.2 sera kabes
de hoofden aaneensluiten, Sp. cerrar
now: de hoofden bij elkaar steken
to get together in order to scheme

M.R. 7.3 Kestion ku tin.....
De kwestie is.....
De zaak ligt zo, dat.....
En zo.....
Hoe het zij.
lit. The question (case) is that.
And, therefore.
Whatever the case may be.

M.R. 7.9 Su dianan siguiente

This is an idiomatic expression which is difficult to explain. It is in itself not a calque on De volgende dagen "the following days", but may have been influenced by the Dutch expression op zijn ouden dag "in his old age", lit. "old days".

M.R. 7.16 morto kansá

doodmoe

dead tired

M.R. 7.19 pa pon'e traha mata su kurpa

om hem zich te laten doodwerken

to have him work himself to death

M.R. 7.21 Mushe Raton a sinti e palabranan kórtta te den su alma.

Mushe Raton voelde de woorden tot in zijn ziel snijden.

Mushe Raton felt the words cut into his soul.

M.R. 8.4 Mushe Raton i e dams raton a kasa su mes manise.

Mushe Raton and juffrouw Muis zijn nog den volgenden dag getrouwed.

Mushe Raton and Miss Mouse got married the very next day.

The very day may be translated into Dutch by de eigenste dag. For the use of mes in Papiamentu for the reflexive and, hence, cases where Spanish would have propio see under mes

pp.185-189. It should be noted that su mes here is not the equivalent of -se in Spanish casarse. For su see M.R. 7.9, p. 145.

M.R. 8.5/6 te dia di awe
tot op den dag van heden
until today

B.P. 10.10 e barika-hel a bati ala
het suikerdiefje heeft zijn vleugels uitgeslagen
the yellow breast spread its wings

B.P. 10.26 te jena su barika jen-jen
tot buikje-vullens toe
until her belly was full
lit. until filling her belly full-full

B.P. 11.3 Bas Pipi a dal un gritu hari.
Bas Pipi gilde van het lachen.
Bas Pipi screamed with laughter.
Bas Pipi went into screams of laughter.

B.P. 11.20 "Bosnan sa kiko."
"Weten jullie wàt."
"You know what."

B.P. 11.27/28 Un kentura a dal mi abòw.
Koorts heeft me neergeslagen.
A fever has struck me down.

- B.P. 12.8 a basha kansjon
 stortte liedjes uit
 poured out songs
- B.P. 12.20 jama danki
 dank-je roepen
 to call out "thank you"
- B.P. 12.26/27 te su dedenan a hasi dwe
 tot zijn vingers pijn deden
 until his fingers hurt
- B.P. 12.28 Nan a . . . pasa un pleizi di grita
 Zij hadden een geweldig (lit. schreeuwend)
 pleizier,
 They had a marvellous time
 lit. They had a shouting fun

 Dutch om van te schreeuwen, Pap. di grita
 "to shout about" is used to express the
 sense of excessive(ly), awful(ly), for
 example, een schreeuwend onrecht "a flagrant
 injustice"; schreeuwend duur "outrageously
 expensive".
- Awa 13.26 . . . di kita sombre, lit. om je petje (hoed)
 voor af te nemen, in other words, something
 for which you show respect (to take off your
 hat for). Figuratively, something great,

impressive. Here:

un zundrá di kita sombre
een geweldige scheldpartij
a violent brawl

Masu 16.1 tramerdia (tras + mediodia)

in den namiddag
in the afternoon

Masu 16.15 e chubatu di kabritu

de geitebok (lit. de bok van de geiten)
he-goat; (lit. the buck of the goats)

Kabritu is one of the non-Dutch words which appeared in the commercial reports from around the year 1700. It was made into kabriet, Iberian cabrita "little she-kid". There are about twenty words in Papiamentu which show a difference in the gender of a person or animal, and chubatu "buck" and kabritu "goat" are an example of this. In other cases the gender is expressed by addition of some other words, such as homber "man", muhé "woman", hembra "female", chubatu, machu "male".¹

¹ E.R. Goilo, Papiaments Leerboek (Aruba, N.A.: De Wit, 1968), p. 79.

Masu 17.8 Mi nomber ta Cristalina.

Mijn naam is Cristalina.

My name is Cristalina.

This can also be expressed by Mi jama Cristalina,

Du. ik heet Cristalina. If jama (also spelled yama) means "to call", ta has to be added.

Mi jama Klaas = Ik heet Klaas "I am called Claus", whereas Mi ta jama Klaas = I am calling Claus.

Masu 17.22 manera welek

als de bliksem (het weerlicht)

like lightning

Masu 18.27 dal un grita

een kreet slaken (slaken is a cognate of slaan)

to shout

Masu 19.24 Tur hende a kome nan barika jen.

Iedereen at zijn buikje vol.

Everyone ate as much as he could.

Ng. 20.4 Tabatin un friw ta korta.

Het was snijdend koud.

It was bitter (lit. cutting) cold.

Ta + infinitive is used to replace the present participle.

Ng. 20.26 koh'é presu
 nam haar gevangen (cf. also prijsmaken)
 made her prisoner

Ng. 20.28/29 Nunka mas Malí a tende algu di su mama.
 Nooit heeft Malí meer iets van haar moeder
 gehoord.
 Malí has never heard anything any more from
 her mother.

This is a case where there is no double
negative in the Papiamentu sentence. This
is, no doubt, due to modern Dutch influence.
On the other hand, it should be mentioned
that in seventeenth-century Dutch there was
also a double negative beside the single
one (Weijneñ, p. 77).

Ng. 20.31 hopi dia largu
 vele dagen lang (and not: vele lange dagen)
 many a day (and not: many long days)

 See also below, Pep. 26.23.

Ng. 22.33 kamber grandi
 de grote kamer
 living room

Ng. 23.21 luna
 maan(d) (and not Sp. mes)
 month

Pep. 26.15 drecha mi koló

om mijn kleur recht te zetten

in order to make my colour right

Pep. 26.23 un ora largu

een uur lang (not een lang uur)

one hour long, that is, for the duration of
an hour (not one long hour). Cf. Ng. 22.33
above.

Pep. 27.15 el a bati ala bai

hij vloog klapwiekend weg

he flew away, flapping his wings

For bai see syntactic calques, p. 223.

Pep. 27.16 manera hende loko

op de manier van een gek

like a madman

Pep. 27.25 hamber a but'ē bai lew

May be: hij viel flauw van den honger

he fainted for hunger

However, from the context it is obvious that the rooster died of hunger. This makes the calque all the more interesting, since it shows a confusion of Du. vergaan /vər'xa:n/ with stress on the last syllable, which means "to perish", with Dutch vergaan, with stress on the first syllable, /'vərxa:n/ "to go far".

- Pep. 27.25/26 den un ratu di ora
in den tijd van een uur or in een uur tijds
tijds is a genitive
in an hour's time
- Do. 29.21 "Kon ta ku tur hende?"
"Hoe is het met iedereen?"
"How is everyone?"
lit. "How is it with everyone?"
- Do. 29.27 maske ta un dos dia
al is het maar een paar dagen
even if it is for a couple of days
maske = although, Sp. aunque. However, this
would not seem to fit into the context. It
is possible that misschien, dialectal
misskien "perhaps, possibly" exerted some
influence here.
- Do. 30.28 wak un chens
naar een kans uitkijken
here: zijn kans afwachten
to wait for a chance to await a chance
- Do. 31.17 Dolfi no por a pega sonjo drechi.
Dolfi kon de slaap niet direct vatten.
Dolfi could not immediately fall asleep.
pegar is klemmen "to clasp, get a hold of,
to grip". De slaap vatten is lit. "to
grasp sleep". For drechi see p. 127, Chi. 43.2.

Do. 32.2 dilanti den e garoshi
vóór in den wagen
in the front of the cart

Do. 32.21 Mena a sali bin kontra nan, ku kacho ku pushi
su tras.

Mina kwam naar buiten om hen tegemoet te komen
met de hond en de kat achter haar aan.

Mena came out in order to meet them with the
dog and the cat following in the rear.

bin kontra = tegenkomen or: tegemoetkomen.

bin = to come; kontra -- lit. against. Tegen-
komen gives in the first person: ik kom tegen,
and tegemoetkomen: ik kom tegemoet, both mean
"to meet". However, the first is "to meet by
chance", the second "to meet on purpose in
order to greet or welcome a person or to speak
to him".

Su tras is itself not a complete calque:
achter comes before haar (su) and only aan
comes after haar (su). However, Nan ta kamma
su tras would be: Zij lopen haar achterna. In
other words, achterna comes behind haar (su).
An example of this appears later in this study,
in Ng. 20.25/26: un di e soldánan a kore su
tras, Du. één van de soldaten rende haar
achterna "one of the soldiers ran after her"
(see p. 219).

Do. 33.12 "Bati'e aden. . ."

"Sla het naar binnen. . ."

"Stuff it down. . ."

Do. 33.29 tur dos

allebei

both

Do. 34.29 bo a dal e klabu riba su kabes

je hebt de spijker op de kop geslagen

you have hit the nail on the head

Do. 35.2 nos di nos banda

wij van onze kant

we for our part

Do. 35.3 "Kiko asina?"

"Wat dan zo al?"

"Like what?"

Do. 37.9 rondo di e palu

rondom de boom

around the tree

Instead of rondom de boom lopen Dutch would now use: om de boom heen lopen, both meaning "to walk around the tree". Maduro suspects influence from Catalan rodó. Rondom is still current with a slightly different meaning.

Chi. 39.12 tanta grandi

oud-tante lit. groot(e) tante

great-aunt

Great-aunt is Du. oud-tante, lit. old-aunt.

Pap. tanta grandi, lit. grote tante, must be
by analogy with Du. grootmoeder "grand-mother".

In Van Dam's Dutch-Spanish dictionary oudje is
given as abuelito (-a), viejecito (-a).

Chi. 41.25 . . .ku jama Klaas

. . .die Klaas heet

. . .whose name is Klaas

Chi. 44.31 kore kabai

paardrijden

to go on horseback (to ride a horse)

Cf. Sp. cabalgar.

Chi. 42.12 supla alarma

alarm blazen

to sound the alarm (lit. to blow the alarm)

Chi. 43.4 nos mester para kla

wij moeten klaarstaan

we have to be (stand) ready

The calque is based upon the word order in the
conjugated form, for instance, wij staan klaar.

More about this will be said in the section on
separable verbs, p. 218.

Chi. 43.23 hanja ᄂᆞᆮ디
order krijgen om
to get the order to

In Dutch krijgen "to get" and vinden "to find" may, in certain expressions, be interchanged:
Ik heb het niet kunnen krijgen (when shopping)
"I was unable to get it" is often heard instead of Ik heb het niet kunnen vinden.

Chi. 43.28 e garoshi a para ketu
de wagen bleef stilstaan
the wagon stopped

This is a case of tautology, since para by itself is already stilstaan "stand still", "to stop" and ketu is also stil.

Chi. 44.21 Chiku a kunsumi te bira furioso
Chiku at zich op van woede
Chiku was consumed by fury (anger)
Dutch consumeren = to eat
Note: no reflexive in this sentence.
For comments on the reflexive see pp. 185-189.

Chi. 46.11 Chiku por a hari te lora bow
Chiku kon wel omrollen van het lachen
Chiku could have rolled over from laughter
om is here omver, that is, landing on the ground, which is reflected by bow "down".

Chi. 46.10 hala bai pariba

gaan optrekken (or oprukken)

to push on to, to move to

Halar is normally trekken in its transitive meaning "to pull something up". Note: pariba.

Chi. 46.33 pero e biaha aki

maar deze reis

but this time, lit. "this journey"

Modern Dutch is maar deze (dit) keer, maar dit maal. Reis in this sense is still found in dictionaries from the nineteen-fifties.

Chi. 46.34 kaminda grandi

de grote weg

highway

Chi. 47.5 "Pero kiko a para ku e Fransesnan?"

"Maar wat is er met de Fransen gebeurd?"

"But what happened to the Frenchmen?"

Para should not be confused with pasa, Sp. pasar, Du. passeren, although the sentence could be translated by "Wat is den Fransen gepasseerd?" However, the calque is on the phrase te staan komen, which means, among other things, "to result in", although ku reflects the met in gebeurd met.

Chi. 47.10 e komandant a bin kontra nan dos
de commandant kwam hen beiden tegemoet
the commander came out to meet the two of them

For bin kontra see Do. 32.21, p. 153.

Note also: nan dos, Du. hen beiden, lit. "them two", where Spanish would have los dos.

Chi. 47.14 dia mi bira grandi
als ik groot word
when I grow up (lit. become big)

Spanish would have engrandecer or crecer
dia = when, that is, the day when
ora = when, that is, the hour when

Klo. 49.3 vakansi grandi
grote vacantie
summer holidays (for schools) lit. great holidays

Klo. 50.22 grandinan (noun, plural)
grote mensen = volwassenen; here: ouders
grown-ups, adults (groot = great)
here: parents

Grandi may also mean grootje, colloquial for
grootmoeder "grand-mother"; also Du. oudje,
diminutive of oud, Pap. bieu "old, an old person"
or "little old grandmother". Grandi also
"grandparents". See also Klof 55.26, p. 161.

Klof 51.9 piedra tabata blo lora
de stenen bleven maar (= slechts) rollen
the stones did nothing but roll

Klof 51.14 asina tantu
zó zeer
so much

Although asina itself figures in older forms of Spanish and in dialects, the phrase asina tantu would seem to be a calque on Dutch zó zeer.

Klof 51.21 i a wak ariba
en keek op (= naar boven)
and looked up

Klof 51.22 Nan no por hole ku nos ta aki bow.
Zij kunnen niet ruiken (figuratively), dat wij hier beneden zijn.
They cannot smell that we are down here.

Klof 52.6 nan a bati pan ku keshi
zij sloegen brood met kaas naar binnen
they gulped down bread and cheese

Klof 52.17 pa siguransa
voor alle zekerheid
to be certain

Klof 52.25/26 nan a bira lomba

zij zijn teruggekeerd

they turned back

Bira < Sp. virar "to twist", Du. keren (root: keer) "to turn"; lomba, Iberian lomo "back"; Du. rug. Sp. volverse de espaldas. In other words, zij keerden naar de rugkant "they turned to the back".

In Klof 52.24/25, the calque is less clear:

e muchanan a bira lomba pa bai

de jongens keerden zich om om weg te gaan

the boys turned around in order to leave

terugkeren = to return to a spot at a certain distance; omkeren = to turn around on the spot.

Klof 52.26 un flecha a ronka pasa

een pijl snorde voorbij

an arrow whizzed by

Du. snorren is related to snorken "to snore".

Another word for snorken is ronken "to snore, to drone".

Klof 52.27 tur dos

allebei

both

- Klof 52.27 morto spantá
doodsbang
frightened to death
- Klof 52.27/28 Ku rosea tur kortiku
Helemaal buiten adem
lit. met zijn adem helemaal kort
completely out of breath
- Klof 52.32 halando rosea pisá
zwaar ademhalend
breathing heavily
- Klof 53.6 saka un kareda
een weg nemen
to take a road
- Klof 53.15 kla pa tira
klaar om te schieten
ready to shoot
- Klof 55.16 un par di klompi chiki
een paar kleine klompjes
a pair of small little chunks
- Klof 55.26 su biewnan
zijn ouders or grootouders
his parents or grandparents

Klof 56.1 e muchanan a tuma despedida
 de jongens namen afscheid
 the boys said good-bye

Nati 57.4 hanja sedu
 dorst krijgen
 to get thirsty
For hanja = Du. krijgen see Chi. 43.23, p. 156.

Nati 57.13 ku rabia den nan bista
 met woede in hun gezicht
 with an expression of anger on their faces
Confusion of Sp. vista "sight" with Du.
gezicht "sight, face".

Nati 58.8 te aindá
 tot nog toe; nog steeds
 still

Nati 59.18/19 Nati a ganj'e kara sekú
 Nati loog tegen hem met een droog gezicht
 Nati was lying to him with a poker face
 lit. a dry face

MM : 64.5 bon na sonjo

wel in slaap

sound asleep

MM 64.8 falsu

vals

mean

MM 64.23 el a sera djente

hij sloot zijn kiezen op elkaar (also klemde)

he closed his mouth tight

MM 64.32 disididu

gedecideerd (adv.)

decidedly

MM 65.10 Manuel su kurason tabata bati te den su garganta

Manuel zijn hart klopte hem in de keel

Manuel's heart was in his mouth
lit. beat him in his throat

MM 67.6 no a dura muchu ku. . .

het duurde niet lang, totdat

it did not take long until. . .

MM 67.25/26 parti paden

binnengedeelte (or: binnenkant)

the inside

MM 69.8 saku di karson

broekzak

pocket (in trousers)

MM 73.16 bon bòw

goed onder

well under

A number of lexical calques appear so frequently in the pages of Ora Solo Baha that it is desirable to list them under separate headings. In this way, more justice can be done to nuances of meaning.

Banda (di).

This preposition has been taken from one of the meanings of the Spanish noun banda "bank, border, edge", used, however, in the extended sense of "neighbourhood", Du. buurt, that is, the part within the borders. It may indicate place and direction: in de buurt van = naast "beside, near, next to" or time: omstreeks "around", composed of om "around" plus streek "region", hence an extension of buurt, plus the genitive -s. For naast cf. zijn naaste "one's neighbour".

Examples:

M.R. 5.11 Mushe Raton a. . .bai para banda di baki di awa.

Mushe Raton ging naast de waterbak staan.

Mushe Raton put himself beside the cistern.

B.P. 12.3 Bas Pipi tabata pará banda di bentana.

Bas Pipi stond in de buurt van het raam.

Bas Pipi was standing near the window.

Chi. 40.15 e tabata sinta banda di pos
hij zat naast de put
he was sitting beside the well

Klof 49.19 banda di Ascension
in de buurt van Ascencion (a former plantation)
near Ascencion

Banda (di) may also be used with a personal pronoun or as
an adverb.

Examples:

B.P. 12.30 banda di dje
naast hem
near him

Nati 57.20 pará banda di dje
naast hem staande
standing beside him

B.P. 9.5 Tur hende ei banda tabata konose Bas Pipi.
Iedereen in die buurt kende Bas Pipi.
Everyone in that neighbourhood knew Bas Pipi.

Chi. 46.19 den un kweba ei banda
in een hol daar in de buurt
in a cave near there

Nati 59.33 banda di seru di San Kristof
in de buurt van de San Kristof berg
near the San Kristof mountain

In indication of time:

Masu 16.6 banda di dies or di mainta
omstreeks tien uur in den morgen
around ten o'clock in the morning

B.P. 12.14 banda di atardi
omstreeks den namiddag
around the afternoon

At times, banda may mean kant "side". Nos di nos banda,
Du. wij, van onze kant "we for our part".

Klof 49.16 Indjanan a bringa na banda di Spanjonan.
De Indianen vochten aan de kant van de
Spanjaarden.
The Indians fought on the side of the Spanish.

Wood's statement concerning the prepositions "in" and "on", that is, that in Papiamentu there is a three-way distinction, /den/ "inside", /na/ "in" and /riba/ "on"¹ does not seem to be supported by Lauffer's use of the various prepositions. The following may be said about them.

Den "in, inside" came from Iberian dentro "inside, within". However, Dutch in "in, inside" may have had a reinforcing

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 60.

influence. It is even possible that standard expressions such as in den beginne "in the beginning" or in den dienst van "in the service of", where den is actually the accusative masculine singular of the definite article de, played a rôle. In some cases, Pap. den has the meaning of por dentro "inwardly".

Examples of den used in the sense of "into", Du. in or binnen, both of which may also be placed after the noun, are the following:

Nati 59.1 Shon a laga tirami den pos.

De Shon liet me in de put gooien.

The Shon had me thrown into the pit.

Nati 59.19/20 ta den mondi mi mester a bai

ik moest het bos binnen (or in) gaan

I had to enter the woods

MM 65.7 kai den awa

in het water vallen

to fall into the water

Compare, however, na awa in MM 69.6:

. . . tira e karni. . . na awa

. . . het vlees. . . in het water te gooien

. . . throw the meat. . . into the water

Other examples could be quoted to show that in the stories in Ora Solo Baha, den and na are interchanged in certain expressions, and where den does not have the meaning of "inside",

but rather "on": den tera, Du. op den grond "on the ground" (Klof 53.1); a kai den dek, Du. viel op het dek "on the deck" (MM 69.11); den bòm di e jola "on the bottom of the dinghy"

It should be mentioned here that in seventeenth-century Dutch in was sometimes also used with verbs of motion instead of aan or naar "to".¹

Na.

Pap. na is taken from Port. na = em "in, at" plus a, the feminine singular definite article. However, it must have been reinforced by Dutch naar or naar. . . toe "to, into, on, toward", sometimes with the meanings of "from, after, at"; also aan. . . bij, naar. . . beneden "onto"; tot. . . aan, tot. . . op "as far as, until". It should be noted that in the seventeenth century Du. na "after" and naar were used indiscriminately.²

Goilo states in his Papiaments Leerboek that the Dutch preposition naar remains untranslated in most cases. His examples are:

Mi ta bai cas.	Ik ga naar huis.
Mi ta bai cine.	Ik ga naar de bioscoop.
Mi ta bai stad cu auto	Ik rijd naar de stad.
Mi ta bula bai Amsterdam.	Ik vlieg naar Amsterdam.
Mi ta bai (mi) trabou.	Ik ga naar mijn werk.
Mi ta bai ariba.	Ik ga naar boven.
Mi ta bai abou.	Ik ga naar beneden.

¹Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 105.

²Weijnen, p. 103.

The translation of these sentences is:

I am going home.
I am going to the movies.
I am driving to town (or downtown).
I am going to my job.
I am going upstairs.
I am going downstairs.

Goilo goes on to say that naar is translated by na chiefly when it means "toward a thing". His examples:

Mi ta bai na porta.	Ik ga naar de deur.
Mi ta bai na bentana.	Ik ga naar het raam.
Mi ta bai (na) borchi.	Ik ga naar het bord.

Translated:

I am going to the door.
I am going to the window.
I am going to the blackboard.

He further states that with parts of a house, naar is translated by den. His examples:

Mi ta bai den mi kamber.	Ik ga naar mijn kamer.
Mi ta bai den cushina.	Ik ga naar de keuken.
Mi ta bai den banu.	Ik ga naar de badkamer.

Translation:

I am going to my room.
I am going to the kitchen.
I am going to the bathroom.

When naar indicates "to a person" it is translated by cerca (Goilo's spelling):

Mi ta bai cerca Meneer B.	Ik ga naar Mijnheer B. toe.
Mi ta bai (na) (cerca)	Ik ga naar de dokter.
dokter.	

Translation:

I am going to Mr. B.
I am going to the doctor.¹

Examples of na in Papiamentu with the value of Dutch
naar in Ora Solo Bahá are:

Chi. 44.19 Chiku a sinti kla kon rabia a subi na su kabes.

Chiku voelde duidelijk, hoe boosheid naar zijn hoofd stieg.

Chiku felt clearly how anger went up to his head.

Chi. 46.25 korjendo di un punta na otro
van het ene punt naar het andere rennend
running from one point to the other

Klof 54.9 el a hisa man na laria
hij lichtte zijn handen op naar de hemel
he lifted his hands up to the sky

Klof 55.19 Nan a hiba e Indjam na nan tentnan
Zij brachten den Indiaan naar hun tenten.
They brought the Indian to their tents.

MM 70.32 Nan a landa bai na e jola.
Zij zwommen weg naar de jol.
They swam off to their dinghy.

¹ Goilo, Papiaments Leerboek, 5th ed., p. 44.

Naar in the sense of tot "to":

Do. 36.9 E palabrua a dirigi palabra na e lagadishinan.
De uil richtte zijn woorden tot de hagedissen.
The owl addressed his words to the lizards.

Naar in the sense of "into":

M.R. 6.7 Mushe Raton a sinti kon lagrima a hera di
basha na su wowo
Mushe Raton voelde, hoe tranen bijna tot in
zijn ogen opkwamen.
Mushe Raton felt that tears almost welled
into his eyes.

Naar in the sense of "onto":

Klof 54.26 e Indjan a kai drumi boka bow na swela
de Indiaan is met zijn gezicht naar beneden
op de grond gaan liggen
the Indian went to lie down on the ground
with his face down
Note that naar beneden is here expressed by
abow and op by na.

Naar with the meaning of aan, bij. . . aan.

MM 66.11 el a pone su dos man na boka
hij zette zijn twee handen aan zijn mond
cf. bracht zijn twee handen naar zijn mond
he put both his hands to his mouth

Do. 35.19 nan a jega na un seru
zij kwamen bij een berg aan
they arrived at a mountain

MM 69.7 Ora el a jega na e karabela. . .

Toen hij bij de karavel aankwam. . .

When he arrived at the caravel. . .

In the two foregoing examples the meaning of
jega has been reinforced by na.

Naar in the sense of tot aan, tot op "as far as, until":

Ng. 21.10 te na e asiento

tot aan de asiento

as far as the asiento

Chi. 45.4 te na ora reinforced by te

tot op het uur

until the hour

Riba.

Pap. riba is derived from Spanish arriba "above, high, on high". However, it has adopted the meaning of Dutch op and in "on" and "in". Occasionally it kept the original Spanish meaning. Examples:

op

Intr. * sinta riba stupi
line 2/3 op de stoep zitten
 to sit on the perch

B.P. 12.17 nan a keda drumi riba kashi

zij zijn blijven slapen op het kastje

they stayed (overnight) sleeping on the chest

Do. 33.34 Compare:

Dolfi a kai drumi pechu ariba;

Dolfi ging met zijn borst naar boven liggen,

in other words: op zijn rug;

Dolfi lay down with his chest up,

that is, on his back;

and:

riba su pechu, which would mean op zijn borst
"on his chest" (in other words: with his back
up).

Do. 34.29 a dal e klabu riba su kabes
sloeg de spijker op de kop
he hit the nail on the head

Do. 37.2 a kargu'e riba e paniweri
legden hem op de brancard
put him on the stretcher

Chi. 40.9 pa e sinta riba dje
om er op te zitten
to sit on it (i.e., the horse)

Chi. 42.14 el a keda manera kos pegá riba e banki
hij bleef als vastgeplakt op de bank zitten
he remained seated on the bench as if glued
to it

Klof 55.23 i sigui biba riba kósta di Venezuela
en bleef op de kust van Venezuela wonen
and continued to live on the coast of Venezuela

MM 70.30 riba dek
op het dek also: aan dek
on deck

At other times, one may find den dek.

Ng. 23.2 gatiando riba man ku pia
op handen en voeten sluipend
crawling on all four

Figuratively:

Klof 50.30 nan a sali riba kaminda
zij zijn op weg gegaan
they got under way

Klof 51.1 no tabatin muchu trafiko riba kaja
er was niet veel verkeer op straat
Note not op de straat
there was not much traffic in the street

Klof 53.9 lastrando riba nan barika
op hun buik kruipend
crawling on their bellies

Direction:

M.B. 17.5 i a bai para riba muraja
en hij ging staan op de muur
and he went to stand on the wall

Chi. 42.23 a sali riba plenchi
is op het pleintje naar buiten gekomen
came out onto the square

Chi. 43.19 pon'e riba un garoshi
en zetten hem op een kar
and put him on a wagon

Chi. 45.9 subi riba e kabai
op het paard te gaan zitten
to mount the horse

Chi. 45.32 el a pone drumi e skopèt riba e baranka
hij legde het geweer op de rots neer
he put the gun on a rock

Nati 58.17 a subi para riba un baranka
zij zijn op een rots gaan staan
they put themselves on a rock

MM 67.8 buta nan man riba su kabes
legden hun handen op zijn hoofd
put their hands on his head

In time expressions:

M.R. 5.1 riba un bon dia
 op een goeden dag
 lit. on a good day

B.P. 11.7 riba e mesun dia
 op denzelfden dag

Miscellaneous:

B.P. 10.5 sinta riba mi bentana
 lit. zittend op mijn raam
 raam must be raamkozijn "window sill" here
 sitting on my window (sill)

An interesting phenomenon is its use in the following phrases:

Pep. 25.7 tabatin rabia riba
 hij was boos op
 he was angry with

Chi. 43.10 su bista a kai riba e kaha grandi
 zijn oog viel op de grote kist
 his eye fell upon the large chest

Chi. 44.14 . . . a tira riba nan
 . . . schoot op hen
 . . . fired at them

Chi. 46.4 el a mik riba

hij mikte op

he aimed at

Klof 51.14 e ambiente stranjo a traha asina tantu riba
e dos amigunan, ku. . .

de vreemde atmosphere heeft zodanig op de
twee vrienden ingewerkt, dat. . .

the strange atmosphere had such an impact on
the two friends that. . .

Klof 54.7/8 el a mira e dos skopetnan dirigi riba dje

hij zag de twee geweren op zich gericht

he saw the two guns directed towards him

MM 68.8 munstrando riba e pos

wijzende op de put

pointing at the well

With the sense of Du. over "over, about"

Do. 30.8 Dolfi a papia riba baimentu

Dolfi sprak over het gaan

Dolfi talked about going

Chi. 48.7 El a pasa man riba e kabai su klina

Hij liet zijn hand gaan over de manen van
het paard

He passed his hand over the manes of the horse

Nati 58.29 te nan a pasa riba Wespen
totdat zij over Westpunt vlogen
until they flew over Westpoint

The following usage is interesting:

Awa 14.16 El a pensa riba kos tristu
Hij dacht aan iets treurigs
He thought about something sad.

Spanish would have pensó en "thought about".
Span. en = Du. op, in, Pap. riba. Hence the
quoted phrase with pensa riba. Spanish pensar
de "to think of, have an opinion of" is Dutch
denken over. However, Dullaert wrote in 1657:
eer dat ik op te landen dacht, which would now
be eer ik aan landen dacht "before I was thinking
of landing" (Weijnen, p. 84). One may conclude
from this example that there may well have been
reinforcement from seventeenth-century Dutch in
the case of pensa riba.

Ng. 20.7 Su sintí a pasa riba tur e amargura. . .
Haar gedachten gingen over alle bittere
dingen. . .
Her mind went over all bitter experiences. . .

Serka.

Spanish cerca "near, close by, nigh" has taken on a different meaning in Papiamentu serka (also spelled cerca), namely that of Dutch bij "at, with", probably because cerca is in Dutch vlak bij "close by". Serka may also mean naar "to, toward".

Examples:

Do. 29.27 bo ta bin pasa un dos dia serka nos
jij komt een paar dagen bij ons doorbrengen
you will come to spend a few days with us

Do. 32.22 Dolfi a bin serka nos
Dolfi is naar ons toegekomen or: bij ons gekomen
Dolfi has come to us

Do. 37.13 "Nos ta ban serka tantan Mena?"
"Gaan we naar tante Mina?"
"Are we going to Aunt Mina?"

Do. 38.3 Dolfi a bolbe serka su hendenan
Dolfi is bij zijn familie teruggekomen
Dolfi has returned to his family

Chi. 43.34 e no a keda serka e kabai
hij is niet bij de paarden gebleven
he did not stay with the horses

Nati 58.7 Djowili a jega serka Nati

Djowili is bij Nati aangekomen

Djowili came to Nati

Jega is here used with serka, since Nati is a person. In MM 69.7 (p. 172) jega is used with na because of karabela "the caravel".

However, serka has, at times, also the Spanish meaning of "close by", Du. vlak bij, dichtbij, dichterbij.

For di, also spelled foi or fo'i.

The Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië mentions this as possibly from an "Indian" source.¹ Although it was more likely derived from Port. fora, Sp. fuera de "out of, outside of, besides, in addition to", the Papiamentu phrase for di is used far more in the sense of Dutch van . . af; van . . uit; respectively vanaf, vanuit, which were for a long time not accepted as correct Dutch; van . . af aan; van . . op; van . . weg; uit "from . . down; out of . . .; from . . on; from . . up; away . . from, from", in other words, in the meaning of Spanish de or desde.

¹Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië, p. 548.

Examples:

Chi. 45.26/27 el a baha for di kabai
hij kwam van het paard af
he came down from the horse

Chi. 42.29 for di awe marduga
vandaag, van den vroegen morgen af aan
today, from daybreak on

Chi. 39.11 for di seis or di mainta
van zes uur in den morgen af aan
from six o'clock in the morning on

M.R. 6.26 for di ora ku
van het uur, dat. . . af aan
from the time that he entered on

B.P. 11.16 for di sink'or
van vijf uur af
from five o'clock on

Klof 51.33 for di den laria
van de lucht uit
from the sky

Klof 53.11 for di direkshon
vanuit de richting
from the direction

Chi. 43.16 for di swela

van de grond op

from the ground (up)

Pep. 26.13 for di mi kurpa

van mij weg

away from me

Nati 57.24 for di e luga aki

van deze plek weg

away from this spot

Masu 15.14 for di e shon su kas

uit de Shon zijn huis

from the Shon's house

Chi. 39.6 for di den fòrnu

uit het fornuis

out of the stove

Chi. 39.2 e lanta for di sonjo

hij staat op uit zijn slaap

he gets up from his sleep

Pep. 28.5 . . . lastra Djodji for di den awa

. . . haalde Djodji uit het water

. . . dragged Djodji from the water

Klof 54.3 nan a bula sali for di rama
zij zijn van tussen de takken uit te
voorschijn gesprongen
they jumped forth from among the branches

MM 71.16 el a mira . . . sali for di e mangelnan
hij zag . . . uit de amandelbomen steken
he saw . . . come out from among the almond
trees

Indications of time and parts of the day form another group worth mentioning separately. In Ora Solo Baha the following may be found:

Masu 16.1 tramerdia (tras + mediodía)
in den namiddag
in the afternoon

Masu 16.2 te kwat'or di atardi
tot vier uur in den middag
until four o'clock in the afternoon

The context is interesting. The complete sentence reads: Anto tramerdia nan ta drumi te kwat'or di atardi.

Do. 31.34 Kwartu pasá di un
Kwart over één
At a quarter past one

Note: no preposition before kwartu and kwart.

- Chi. 41.6 tur Diaweps mainta
iederden Donderdagmorgen
every Thursday morning
- Klof 50.30 Dialuna mainta tempran
Maandagmorgen vroeg
early Monday morning
- Klof 51.5 banda di och'or di mainta
omstreeks acht uur 's morgens
or: omstreeks acht uur in den morgen
around eight o'clock in the morning
- Klof 53.18/19 Un tres kwartu di ora despwes
Een drie kwartier later
Three quarters of an hour later
- Note un = Du. een "a" before tres, and also
the use of the singular in Dutch kwartier
after drie "three". After a numeral no
plural ending is necessary in Papiamentu,
unless the numeral is preceded by the
definite article or a possessive adjective.
It can, therefore, not be determined here
whether kwartu is in the singular or the
plural.
- Klof 56.1 Diasabra mainta
Zaterdagmorgen
Saturday morning

Klof 59.15 Banda di un or di merdia

Omstreeks één uur 's middags

At about one o'clock in the afternoon

Note here merdia not tramerdia. Dutch varies also between 's middags and namiddags.

Nati 59.17 awe mainta

hedenmorgen

this morning

MM 62.1 mitar di sinku

half vijf

half past four

In contrast to the Spanish method of indicating time for example, las ocho "eight o'clock", Dutch uses the singular, acht uur and not uren. One may wonder whether this accounts for Pap. or instead of ora, which is singular and under certain circumstances also plural.

Mes.

Papiamentu mes is derived from Iberian mesmo or mismo. Papiamentu does not differ from the contributing languages Dutch and Spanish in that the pronouns are the same for the direct object, indirect object and the reflexive in the first and second persons singular and plural. However, there is a difference in the third person singular and plural, where Dutch has zich and Spanish se for both

singular and plural. Papiamentu has four possibilities for expressing the third person reflexive, that is, by

- 1) kurpa "body" preceded by the possessive adjective;
- 2) e (singular) and nan (plural);
- 3) e mes (singular) and nan mes (plural);
- 4) su mes (singular).

The following comments may be made concerning the above:

1) Maduro considers the use of kurpa preceded by the possessive adjective the purest way to express reflexivity in all persons singular and plural.¹ An example from Ora Solo Bahá is the following:

Pep. 27.17 pa e ankra su kurpa
om zich te veranker
in order to anchor himself

2) This use of the direct and indirect object pronoun for the reflexive as well was also a feature of seventeenth-century Dutch (Weijnen, p. 49), so that this could be a case where Dutch exerted an influence on Papiamentu. A West Frisian never uses zich in speech, but says Hij wast 'm "he washes himself" (Langedijk, p. 83).

3) The addition of mes to the pronoun is becoming more frequent and in places where Spanish would not add mismo. I consider this, therefore, a calque on the Dutch use of the

¹ Maduro, Bon Papiamentu, pp. 7-8; Observacion- i Apuntenan tocante El papiamento: la lengua criolla de Curazao (Santiago de Chile, 1928) di Dr. Rodolfo Lenz (Corsou: n.p., 1967), pp. 12-17; and Papiamentu: Errornan di Diccion i Traducción (Corsou: n.p., 1966), passim.

personal pronoun plus zelf, where zelf does not necessarily serve to indicate emphasis. This may be confirmed by the fact that in seventeenth-century Dutch forms like sijn selve(n), zijn zelf, syn eigen selven, sy selven appear for the third person reflexive, beside sick, sigs, sichs. In the second person one may find dijn selven "yourself" (Weijnen, p. 49). In the southern part of The Netherlands or in the speech of older or uneducated people this would be the possessive adjective plus eigen, lit. "own". This may account for the fact that Papiamentu applies mes also in cases where Spanish would have propio.

4) The above-mentioned use of eigen may also explain why in the third person singular su mes, no doubt a calque on zijn eigen, z'n eigen, exists beside e mes and is more frequently used than the latter.

Often, the concept of reflexivity is not expressed at all, for example:

Chi. 44.21 Chiku a kunsumi te bira furioso
Chiku at zich op van woede
lit. Chiku ate himself to the point of getting
furious

Certain verbs which are now reflexive in Dutch were not so in the seventeenth century. For example: vermaken, now zich vermaken "to amuse oneself" and verblijden, now zich verblijden "to rejoice" (Weijnen, p. 74). This phenomenon could have been of influence on Papiamentu.

In other instances, reflexivity is expressed by circumlocutions, such as bisti paña "to dress (oneself); kita paña "to undress (oneself)", whose equivalents in Dutch and Spanish are reflexive.

Mes further assumes the meaning of Dutch zelfs, nog and zelfs nog "even", "still", "the very".

Examples taken from Ora Solo Bahá are the following:

M.R. 6.16/17 . . . rebaha mi mes

. . . mijzelf vernederen

. . . lower myself

Nati 60.1 Nati a mara su mes

Nati bond zichzelf vast

Nati tied himself

M.R. 8.3/4 su mes manise

nog den volgenden morgen

the very next morning

Awa 13.6 Ta nada mes . . .

. . . zelfs niets

not even a thing

Masu 18.13 masha duru mes

zelfs nog harder

even louder

Pep. 28.3 i a basha poko gritu masha mahos mes
en hij stootte enkele zelfs nog lelijker
kreten uit
and he uttered a few still uglier cries

Chi. 40.12 su mes kabai
zijn eigen paard
his own horse

Papiamentu does not follow the Spanish pattern of verb + reflexive pronoun for the reciprocal reflexive, but uses otro to express reciprocity. Although this could have been taken from the Spanish uno(s) a otro(s), which is added only for clarification or emphasis, it is far more likely that otro is a calque on Dutch elkaar = elkander (elk + ander) "each other".

Examples:

Klof 50.21 Nan a priminti otro
Zij beloofden elkaar
They promised each other

MM 73.11 E dos amigunan a keda mira otro
De twee vrienden bleven elkaar aankijken
The two friends kept looking at each other

The assumption that otro is a calque on elkaar is confirmed by MM 73.12: sin papia ku otro, Du. zonder met elkaar te praten "without talking to each other"; and MM 65.13: tras di otro, Du. achter elkaar "one after the other".

It is debatable whether the demonstrative adjectives and pronouns are a calque on Dutch. The adjectives are, with buki "book": e buki aki, e buki ei and e buki aya "this book", "that book" and "yonder book". The Dutch emphatic forms are dit boek hier, dat boek daar and dat boek ginder. Since this threefold distinction is common to both Dutch and Iberian, e.g. Spanish aquí (acá), ahí, allí (allá), the Dutch usage may have acted as a reinforcement. The demonstrative pronouns are esaki, esei, esaya;¹ Dutch deze or dit (hier), die or dat (daar) and die or dat (ginder) "this one", "that one", "that one yonder". Again, the Dutch forms may be considered a reinforcement. However, the demonstratives enter into phrases such as ei fo, aki den, pa eseis = pesei, den eseis, ei banda, which definitely appear to be calques on Dutch daarbuiten "out there"; hierbinnen "in here"; daarom, daarover "for that reason, because of it"; daarop = op dat ogenblik "at that moment"; daarbij, daar in de buurt "in that neighbourhood". Ei is used not only for daar, Sp. allá, but also for Dutch er, in its meaning "there" (unstressed).

Esun ku is comparable to Dutch degene, die or diegene, die "he who", "she who", "those who", "the one who". Degene is formed from de plus gene "the" + "yonder one".

¹The derivation of the Papiamentu forms is as follows: eikahí, aya (aja)callá, esei either from e plus ei with connecting -s-, or from es, an older form of the demonstrative pronoun, plus ei. Likewise esun(e) plus -s- plus un, or es plus un.

Examples:

M.R. 5.13 den esei
daarop
on that moment

M.R. 5.19 djei = den ei
daarop
thereupon

M.R. 6.22 T'esei ta mi kuki
Dat is voor mij gesneden koek
That is my cookie

M.R. 7.17 ei bow
daar beneden
down there

B.P. 9.5 ei banda
daar in de buurt
in that neighbourhood

Do. 35.20 ei tras
daarachter
behind it

Do. 35.22 ei den
daarin
therein

Chi. 42.34 aki den

hierbinnen

in here

Chi. 43.1 ei fo

daarbuiten

out there

Chi. 45.19 pesei = pa eseai

daarover lit. over dat

about that

Chi. 46.4 ei tras

daarachter

behind it lit. behind there

Chi. 48.1 pa e kabai ei

voor dat paard daar

for that horse there

Chi. 48.4 p'e mucha aki (p'e = pa e)

voor dezen jongen hier

for this boy here

Klof 49.25 pesei

daarom

for that reason

Klof 51.19 aki bow

hier beneden

down here

Klof 51.10 ei

daar

there

MM 62.17 nan sa kaba ku nos t'ei (= ta ei)

zij weten al, dat we er zijn

they know already that we are there

Nati 57.23 esun ku kome sálu

degene die zout eet

the one who eats salt

The adverbs paden; pafo and patras are, no doubt, calques on Dutch naar binnen; naar buiten and naar achteren.

Examples:

MM 71.4 bai paden

naar binnen gaan

to go inside

Chi. 44.23 sali pafo

kwam naar buiten

came outside

MM 72.31 mas patras

verder naar achteren

farther behind

Patras may be found as a preposition as well:

Do. 32.3 E saku . . . a bai patras den garoshi
De zak . . . ging achter in de wagen
The bag . . . went into the back of the cart

and paden occurs as the adjectival part of a compound noun
in:

MM 67.25/26 ku nan parti paden kòrá
met hun rode binnengedeelte
with their red inside

ii) Syntactic Calques.

The subject of syntactic calques forms possibly the most challenging part of this study because an attempt will be made to show that certain of the features considered generally to be characteristics of pidgin or creole languages as a result of simplification may, in the case of Papiamentu, very well be due to Dutch influence, especially seventeenth-century Dutch.

The syntactic calques may be categorized as follows:

1. Omission of the Definite Article.

One of the characteristics listed by Hall is the use of nouns without definite or indefinite article.¹ Goilo states in his Papiaments Leerboek that the definite article e has a very demonstrative meaning and is used only when it is absolutely necessary to indicate a definite person or object. If one says e buki, e mesa, e stul, one is referring to a specific book, table or chair. For that reason the definite article e is omitted in many cases or replaced by un. He gives the following examples:

De vrouw is de gezellin van de man.

Muhé ta compañera di homber or Un muhé ta compañera di un homber.

De koning van Engeland.

Rey di Inglaterra.

¹Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 8.

But: E rey cu a muri na afia. . . .
De koning, die in het jaar . . . gestorven is.
De pauw is een mooie vogel. ¹
Un pauwis ta un para bunita.

In West Frisian, one of the contributing dialects, the phenomenon of the indefinite article's replacing the definite article in statements of general fact occurs as well. Langedijk gives the following example: Een koe is 'n herkauwend dier, Dutch De koe is een herkauwend dier "the cow is a ruminating animal" (p. 129).

Marguerite Saint-Jacques writes the following about the omission of the definite article in Guyanese:

In Guyanese, nouns do not have to be accompanied by a determinant like the definite article for French and therefore may occur in the utterance without any determination, for instance /zozó šaté/ 'birds sang'. In the absence of any determinant, the noun standing alone expresses a generic concept or an undetermined plurality and it corresponds to French des. However, when a determinant is used, it will have a greater precision than in French le, la; French la femme could mean either 'any woman' or 'a certain woman'; in Guyanese /fam-a/ always points to a specific woman 'the one about whom I speak'. Therefore, /a/ in Guyanese stands between the definite article and the demonstrative.²

However, in the case of Papiamentu, a comparison may be made with seventeenth-century Dutch usage in the omission of the definite article. Weijnen offers the following examples. The definite article is often lacking before a proper noun

¹ Goilo, Papiaments Leerboek, p. 15.

² Marguerite Saint-Jacques Fauquenoy, "Guyanese: A French Creole," pp. 33-34.

preceded by an adjective, e.g. stercken Samson "strong Samson"; with nouns which indicate that something is unique in its kind, e.g. alle deelen van Christenheit "all parts of Christiandom" (in Hooft, Brieven); onder maen "under the moon"; in hemel "in the sky". The definite article is further omitted, if the nouns are sufficiently defined from the context: die vinger op den mont leijt "who lays his finger on his mouth"; naer stadt "to town"; op strand "on the beach". Some of these examples show that English does not always add the definite article either, whereas modern Dutch does. One of the authors of the period, Six, omits the article before the name of the river Mansannares; Coster writes voor aer, modern Dutch voor den ander "for the other". Other authors, too, leave out the article before ander. Another case where the definite article is omitted is with single nouns which represent an office, rank or position. Weijnen gives the example: Rechtschapen vaendrigh moet en wil by 't vaendel sterven. "the righteous ensign must and will die by the banner". On the other hand, Bredero does use the definite article before a proper noun. It also stands before a class-noun plus proper name: De Keyzer Geta "the emperor Geta".¹

Other than the examples from Goilo quoted on p. 195, the absence of a definite article may be found in the section

¹Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 70.

on na, pp. 168-172 of this study, e.g. bai cine, na porta, na bentana, den cushina, na laria, na swela, unless one would consider the definite article to be included in na, as it is in Portuguese na.

In some cases Lauffer leaves out the definite article with rank, even if a specific person is referred to. In others he adds it.

Examples:

Chi. 48.1 gobernador a puntra
 de gouverneur vroeg.
 the governor asked

Chi. 48.9/10 Gobernador ku komandant
 De gouverneur en de kommandant
 The governor and the commander

Chi. 44.25 el a bisa e komandant
 hij zei tegen den komandant
 he said to the commander

2. Omission of the indefinite article before otro.

Lauffer writes in Ora Solo Baha sometimes otro and sometimes un otro for "another". The former is Spanish, the latter Dutch usage, een ander.

Examples:

Chi. 46.6 tras di otro baranka
achter een andere rots
behind another rock

but

Chi. 46.5 di un otro frances
van een andere Fransman
of another Frenchman

One may wonder whether in the following example the absence of the definite article in seventeenth-century Dutch before ander influenced Papiamentu:

Chi. 46.25 di un punta na otro, where modern Dutch would have:
van het eene punt naar het andere (note first het)
from one point to the other

3. The Use of the Possessive Adjective.

Another feature which Papiamentu has in common with Dutch is that instead of using the definite article with parts of the body and articles of clothing, as is usual in Spanish, it takes the possessive adjective.

Examples:

M.R. 5.19 pa mi penja mi kabei
om mijn haar te kammen
in order to comb my hair

Awa 14.2 el a hinka e dos webunan bòw di su brasa
hij stopte de twee eieren onder zijn arm
he stuck the two eggs under his arm

Pep. 27.31 i a span su pianan
en strekte zijn poten
and stretched his legs

Chi. 40.29 habri su kurason
zijn hart open te leggen
to open up his heart

Nati 58.18 nan a span nan brasanan
zij strekten hun armen uit
they stretched out their arms

Chi. 45.18 i ramanan a sker su pia di karson
en de takken scheurden zijn broekspijpen
and the branches tore the legs of his trousers

4. The adverb.

There are three kinds of adverb of manner in Papiamentu:

1) those that are taken over in the exact form in which they appear in Spanish, that is, formed on the feminine form of the adjective, which does not exist in Papiamentu, plus -mente. Examples from Ora Solo Baha are: MM 65.24: rápidamente; MM 66.19: unikamente; B.P. 10.30: libremente and in B.P. 11.3: libramente.

2) those which are constructed with circumlocutions, which is also Dutch and Spanish usage: Pap. cu cariño; Du. met liefde; Sp. con cariño."lovingly".

3) In most instances, Papiamentu follows the Dutch example where adverbs have the same form as the corresponding adjective. In a few idiomatic expressions Dutch has wel and Papiamentu the adjectival form bon.

An interesting feature of the Papiamentu adverb is that, as in Dutch, it may take the diminutive form. In Dutch one finds flauwtjes "faintly", stilletjes "quietly", in Chi.46.18: a kuminsa bira sukuritu "it began to get a little dark".

Examples from Ora Solo Bahá are:

Nati 57.14/15 E punta . . . a buta e bestianan su pia sangra masha mahos.

De punt . . . deed de poten van de koeien heel lelijk bloeden.

The point . . . made the legs of the cows bleed very badly.

Nati 57.15/16 Dolo a buta e bakanan grita teribel tristu.

De pijn deed de koeien vreselijk treurig loeien.

The pain made the cows low terribly sadly.

Examples of adverbs and adverbial phrases of place and time may be found on pp. 183-185 and 191-194.

5. Genitive marker after nouns.

Papiamentu has two ways of indicating possession. One is the use of su "his" and nan "their" after the noun denoting the possessor. This is a calque on colloquial Dutch z'n (zijn) for the masculine singular and hun for the masculine plural, d'r (haar) "her" for both feminine singular and plural. For instance, de pastoer z'n koe "the priest's cow", lit. "the priest his cow"; de pastoors hun koeien "the priests' cows", lit. "the priests their cows". One

may even hear de pastoors d'r koeien. The same phenomenon occurred in seventeenth-century Dutch.

Both in colloquial Dutch and Papiamentu this use of the genitive particle is permitted when the possessor is animate. Su and nan may also be used in this fashion after pronouns and other parts of speech denoting that group.

Examples:

B.P. 11.8 den Bas Pipi su kurá
 op Bas Pipi z'n erf
 in Bas Pipi's yard

Masu 15.14 Mi shon su kasá
 Mevrouw d'r man
 Mylady's husband

MM 67.6 Manuel su kurason
 Manuel z'n hart
 Manuel's heart

Lauffer seems to use su instead of nan for the third person plural, which would indicate an influence from the Spanish possessive adjective for the third person singular and plural: su. The following is an example of this.

Chi. 43.23/24 e Fransesnan su intenshon
 de Fransen hun bedoeling
 the Frenchmen's intention

B.P. 10.16 e pará su kansjon
de vogel z'n lied
the bird's song

Chi. 46.5 eseí su skopet
die z'n geweer
his (with emphasis) gun

MM 64.30 e eseinan su klaridad
die d'r helderheid
the clarity of those

Klof 50.26 Kada uno su bisikleta
Ieder z'n fiets
Each one's bicycle

The second way in which Papiamentu may indicate possession is by di.

Examples:

Pep. 26.29 un amigu di mi
een vriend van mij
a friend of mine

in which di mi is a calque on Dutch van mij,
cf. Sp. un amigo mío, but also un amigo de él.

Masu 17.11 un kría di nos
een bediende van ons
a servant of ours

Cf. Sp. un criado nuestro

Chi. 48.25 e kabes di su kabai

het hoofd van zijn paard

the head of his horse

Ng. 20.27 tur e kasnan di su tata

alle huizen van haar vader

all of her father's houses

In other words, a construction which exists both in Dutch and in Spanish. Du. also al haar vader's huizen. The question arises whether this construction was made necessary by the presence of tur in this case.

6. The Use of ki in Exclamations.

Lenz quotes two exclamatory sentences:

Ki un distancia denter estado di bida di nan dos!

-; Cuánta distancia entre el estado de vida de ellos dos!

and

Frits a yega kas, ma den ki un estado!

-Frederico llegó a su casa, pero ¡en qué estado!

Lenz adds this observation:

Aquí se trata probablemente de una imitación sintáctica de una frase holandesa, correspondiente al inglés what a state.¹

¹ Lenz, El papiamento, p. 165.

The Dutch translation of these sentences would be: Wat een verschil in (lit. afstand tussen) de stand van hen beiden "What a difference in status between the two of them!" and Frits kwam thuis, maar in wat voor een toestand! "Fred came home, but in what a state!" Wood cites these examples and gives the following comment about the latter:

The model is clearly Du. wat een toestand. Such a combination of "what" and the indefinite article would be impossible in Spanish; contrast Sp. ¡en qué estado!¹

Although in the sentence from Mushe Raton (6.16/17) Ki mishi ami aki rebaha mi mes i kasa ku un ladron (which has to be translated freely as Wat zou ik me met een dief inlaten en me vernederen door met hem te trouwen! "Why would I get involved with a thief and lower myself by marrying him!") ki is not followed by the indefinite article, one may wonder whether it is another case of Dutch influence in an exclamatory sentence. Two observations should be made here:
1) in the consulted copy of Lenz, El papiamento, a written note in the margin said poco corriente, which may explain why the sentence quoted above is the only example found in Ora Solo Baha; and 2) Lenz did not know Dutch, but based his interpretations on his knowledge of German and English. In Ora Solo Baha all other exclamatory sentences are introduced by esta, e.g. M.R. 6.12: Ai, esta un angel bunita. "Oh, what a beautiful angel!"

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," pp. 66-67.

7. Pa.

For the use of pa under Dutch influence, Wood gives the example "/ta tahá pa huma/ 'no smoking, it is forbidden to smoke' Du. verboden te roken.¹ Verboden te roken is short for Het is verboden om te roken. Pa serves here as the linking element between the two verb forms. Wood contrasts this with Spanish se prohíbe fumar, es [sic] prohibido fumar.²

In the examples which Lenz gives for pa (which he calls a preposition) where it stands for Spanish para que, the Dutch meaning is om te "to, in order to". He writes further:

La frase con pa expresa la idea del juicio apodíctico que en español se indica por el uso del subjuntivo. Es notable que esta construcción del infinitivo con pa corresponde exactamente al uso de los infinitivos en las lenguas germánicas [sic] con las preposiciones to en inglés, te en holandés, zu en alemán, que indican la dirección, el fin del verbo gramaticalmente dominante.³

It should be kept in mind that, in the seventeenth century, Dutch knew the use of a preposition before an infinitive without the interpolation of te, as is required now. Weijnen states that the group om + infinitive is particularly frequent in writings of that period.⁴ This

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 64.

²Wood, p. 64.

³Lenz, El papiamento, p. 181.

⁴Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 83.

may explain the fact that in Papiamentu pa is not followed by ku (as in Sp. para que) and that pa is present before infinitives in the first place, since Spanish has in such cases simply the infinitive. The pa-construction may, therefore, justifiably be ascribed to Dutch influence.

That pa governs a subjunctive may be concluded from the fact that the verb following is not preceded by ta. Dutch opdat = pa may be used with the subjunctive.

Among the examples taken from Ora Solo Baha there are also a number where pa is Du. zodat "so that", the meaning of which is only slightly different from opdat.

The difference in usage in Papiamentu and Spanish is that pa with a finite verb may be used -- and, indeed, is far more frequent in Ora Solo Baha than with an infinitive -- even when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are the same. Although ta does not appear in subjunctive forms -- since ta is in essence the Spanish está of the progressive tense, which is only very rarely used in the subjunctive -- the finite verb can still be distinguished from the infinitive by the presence of the personal pronoun, Dutch allows both constructions: Ik ga naar huis om nog wat te lezen "I am going home (in order) to still read a little bit" and Ik ga naar huis, zodat (or opdat) ik nog wat kan lezen "I am going home, so that I will still be able to read a little bit". It is, therefore, again quite possible to see in the Papiamentu use of pa an influence from Dutch.

Pa and ku may both appear after ke "to want" and other verbs which take the subjunctive, such as propone "to

propose", in order to introduce the subordinate clause. In other words, pa may take the meaning of "that" in such cases.

From the more than eighty examples from Ora Solo Bahá the following may suffice. (It should be noted that in Papiamentu the subjunctive exists in the present tense only.)

- Klof 55.17 Ademas ta duru pa molestia e Indjan su sintimentu.
Bovendien is het hard om de Indiaan's gevoelens te kwetsen.
Besides, it is cruel to hurt the Indian's feelings.
- MM 63.13/14 Ojeda lo sali . . . , pa bai deskubri
Ojeda zal . . . uitvaren om te gaan ont-dekken
Ojeda will go out . . . in order to discover. . . .
- MM 67.20/21 Menatao a kombida Manuel pa bai mira kas di su tata.
Menatao heeft Manuel uitgenodigd om het huis van zijn vader te gaan bekijken.
Menatao invited Manuel to go to look at his father's house.
- MM 62.18 Ban tera anto pa mos mira.
Laten wij dan aan land gaan, opdat we kunnen gaan kijken.
Let us go ashore then in order that we can have a look.

- MM 63.9 Manuel a keda ketu, pa Juan Luis no rabia
mas ku ne
Manuel hield zich stil, opdat Juan Luis
niet nog bozer op hem zou worden
Manuel kept quiet, so that Juan Luis would
not be still angrier with him
- MM 63.19 i pidi'e pa bai ku ne
en vroeg hem met hem mee te gaan
or: om met hem mee te gaan
and asked him to come along with him
- MM 69.14 pa e por kore bai skonde
zodat (opdat) hij zich zou kunnen verschuilen
in order that he would be able to hide himself
- Nati 57.29 ku ta masha difisil pa kome kuminda sin sálu
dat het erg moeilijk is om voedsel te eten
zonder zout
that it is very hard to eat food without salt
- Do. 37.24 Pa Chein no ke pa bo bolbe bira mankaron
Pa Chein will niet, dat jij weer mank wordt
Pa Chein does not want you to get lame again
- MM 62.6/7 Vespucci a propone pa nan drent'e, pa hanja . . .
Vespucci stelde voor, dat zij hem zouden
binnengaan om . . . te vinden
Vespucci proposed to enter it (the inlet)
in order to find . . .

8. Ta.

Ta is the verb "to be". It is used before most verbs in the present tense. Such an indicator is very common in creole languages. It is obvious that Pap. ta is derived from Iberian estar, used to form the progressive tense. It was, therefore, heard frequently by those who were exposed to Iberian speech. This origin may be shown by the fact that certain verbs do not take ta, such as ta itself, tin "to have", por "to be able to", sa or sabi "to know how", conocé "to know", that is, "to be acquainted with", mester "must", ke "to want". Papiamentu differs from Spanish in that ta is followed by the infinitive, rather than by the present participle. It should be added here that Dutch has to use circumlocutions for the progressive tense and that the combination of the verb zijn "to be" plus a present participle is rare. Está llorando has to be translated by hij is aan het huilen "he is crying", cf. Portuguese estar a chorar "to be crying".

Dutch-derived verbs and dal do not have a present participle. The progressive tense is little used in Papiamentu and mostly replaced by other forms, e.g. by the simple tense or by a phrase of na plus noun formed on the verb in question plus -mentu. Goilo gives the following examples; Mi yiu a bini cas na yoramentu "My son came home crying"; Nos a pasa brug na cantamentu "We crossed the bridge singing" (Goilo, p. 95). In order to express

emphasis, that is, to imply "I am eating at this very moment", one can use the progressive tense: Mi ta comiendo, but also Ta come mi ta come. In this construction ta is added to verbs with which it normally is not used, e.g. ta ke mi ke, ta mester mi mester. Mi a han'é skirbiendo may also be expressed by Mi a han'é ta skirbi (which could well be under the influence of Dutch Ik vond hem aan het schrijven) "I found him writing".¹ Perhaps the same may be true of Do. 29.16 ta den jega "he is arriving".

There are other uses of ta where Dutch influence is more evident. One of them is ta for Du. er is, er zijn "there is", "there are", Sp. hay.

Awa 13.6 Ta nada mes. . .

Er is zelfs niets. . .

There is not even a thing. . .

Ta may also indicate emphasis, probably as a calque on Dutch Het is . . ., e.g. Het is niet mijn òòm maar mijn tante, die verhuizen wil, shortened to: Niet mijn òòm maar mijn tante wil verhuizen "(It is) not my uncle but my aunt (who) wants to move".

Examples from Ora Solo Bahá:

Awa 13.24 Ta mi amigu totèki a regala mi nan.

Het is mijn vriendin de bòòmhagedis, die ze mij gegeven heeft.
(Mijn vriendin de bòòmhagedis. . .)

My friend the tree lizard has given them to me.

¹These examples are taken from Goilo, p. 95.

Pep. 25.9 Sigun Peperin ta e so tabatin drechi di
kanta kokojoko. . . .

Volgens Peperin was hij de enige, die het recht had te kraaien. . . .

According to Peperin, he was the only one who had the right to crow. . . .

Ghi. 47.26/27 Ta e mucha aki a skapa nos tur.

Het is deze jongen, die ons allen gered heeft.

It is this boy who has saved us all.

It should be noted that Papiamentu omits the ku, die "who".

The inverted form is het is used in Dutch to place emphasis in a question. For example: Is het mòrgen of overmorgen, dat de boot vertrekt? "Is it to-morrow or the day after to-morrow that the boat is leaving?" and Is het niet zo, dat mussen uit Europa zijn gekomen? "Isn't it that sparrows have come from Europe?" In Papiamentu the inversion of subject and verb does not take place in questions, as it does in Dutch. In cases where the sentence does not start with an interrogative, interrogation has to be indicated by intonation or the question has to be introduced by ta, following the Dutch pattern of a sentence with emphasis, even where Dutch would not have it. The combination of ta plus interrogative may also be found.

Examples:

Awa. 13.21 "Unda b'a sali ku webu?"

"Waar ben je met de eieren vandaan gekomen?"

"Where did you come from with the eggs?"

Nati 59.16 "Ta unda b'a hinka bo kurpa?"

"Waar had je je verborgen?"

"Where did you hide yourself?"

Klof 55.15 "Ta kwantu or. . .?"

"Hoe laat. . .?"

"At what time. . .?"

Ng. 22.24 "Ta ken ta Ngano?"

"Wie is Ngano?"

"Who is Ngano?"

Ta appears also in indirect questions:

MM 67.34/ Manuel su lenga a kishiki pa puntra Menatao
68.1 ta unda nan ta hanja oro.

Manuel's tong was geprikkeld om Menatao
te vragen, waar zij goud vonden.

Manuel's tongue was itching to ask Menatao
where they found gold.

Papiamentu uses ta plus infinitive where Spanish would
have the present participle or que + a finite verb and Dutch
the infinitive.

Example:

M.R. 7.17 Den eseí el a tende dos trupial . . . ta
bisa . . .

Op dat ogenblik hoorde hij twee troepialen
. . . zeggen . . .

At that moment he heard two troopials . . .
saying . . .

Spanish: Entonces entendí dos trupiales . . .
diciendo (or: que decían) . . .

9. The reflexive.

For comments on the reflexive see pp. 185-189.

10. The passive voice.

Maduro devotes a chapter in Bon Papiamentu to the wrong use of the passive voice and states that Papiamentu adheres to the active form (pp. 43-45).

Wood writes:

The passive voice is formed with the auxiliaries /wórdú/-/wórde/ or /ser/, which are not distinguished semantically. Most speakers appear to use both indiscriminately; some conservative speakers, mainly in country districts, use no passive at all, and both forms appear to be the result of comparatively recent literary influences, probably during the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹

Goilo mentions the usage with worde, from Du. worden and ser, from Iberian languages (Papiaments Leerboek, p. 114).

There are no examples of worde (more often spelled wordu, rarely wordo) or ser in the passive voice in Ora Solo Baha.

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," pp. 71-72.

It should be kept in mind that Dutch and the Romance languages which have contributed to the formation of Papiamentu prefer to avoid the use of the passive voice.

Ferraz writes in "African Influences on Principense Creole" (p. 11):

Westermann and Bryan (1952) /i.e. D. Westermann and M.A. Bryan, The Languages of West Africa (Oxford: University Press, 1952/ state that the passive voice does not occur in the Kwa languages. In Principense likewise there is no passive transformation.

As Marguerite Saint-Jacques points out, the absence of the passive voice is also a characteristic of Guyanese and other French creole dialects.¹

11. Laga.

Although laga is derived from Iberian largar "to loosen, slacken, let go, set free, leave", it must have been reinforced by Dutch laten "let, allow, have or make someone do something, cause to be, leave", Sp. dejar.

The use of laga as auxiliary of the imperative is a calque on the Dutch imperative for the first person plural: laten wij + verb "let us" + verb, and further on expressions such as laat me. . . "let me. . ."; laat hem. . . "let him. . ."; laat ons. . . "let us. . ."; laat hen (for persons) laat ze (for objects). . . "let them. . .". The form with laga exists beside the one used for the

¹ "Guyanese: A French Creole," p. 34.

second person only, i.e. the verb without ta and, in certain cases, a change in stress in the verb.

Dutch influence is also apparent in laga bay, Du. laten gaan, laten varen "to let go"; laga kay, Du. laten vallen "to let fall, to drop"; laga para, Du. laten staan "to leave standing".

Examples:

M.R. 6.13 Lagami dedika

Laat mij wijden

Let me dedicate

B.P. 11.20 Laga nos pasa

Laten wij door . . . gaan

Let us go through

Masu 18.10 Lagami bai

Laat me gaan

Let me go

This is an example of both the imperative and the combination of laga and bai.

Chi. 47.26 Lagami bisabo

Laat me U zeggen

Let me tell you

MM 63.8 Laga di ta sonja lantá

Laat af van dagdromen

Laat dagdromen varen

Stop day-dreaming

- MM 71.34 Menatao a laga su garganta bai
Menatao liet zijn (= Joselito's) keel gaan (los)
Menatao let go of his (= Joselito's) throat
- Nati 59.1 Ata Shon a laga tirami den pos.
Zie hoe de Shon me in de put heeft laten gooien.
See how the Shon has had me thrown into the pit.
- Masu 18.11 Ami lagabo bai?
Ik je laten gaan?
Me, let you go?

12. Separable Verbs.

A clear indication of Dutch influence on Papiamentu is found in the calques on the phenomenon of the Dutch separable verbs. These are compound verbs consisting of a preposition or an adjective serving as a prefix to the infinitive of a root-verb, e.g. neerleggen "to put down"; doodslaan "to beat to death"; klaarmaken "to make ready".

In the simple tenses the preposition or adjective comes after the verb, disconnected, thus playing the rôle of an adverb; in the compound tenses it precedes the verb with which it is connected, in this case, with the prefix of the past participle, i.e. ge-. In other words, neerleggen gives in the present tense ik leg neer; imperfect: ik legde neer; perfect: ik heb neergelegd; future: ik zal neerleggen. For doodslaan these forms would be: ik sla dood, ik sloeg dood, ik heb doodgeslagen, ik zal doodslaan.

For klaarmaken: ik maak klaar, ik maakte klaar, ik heb klaargemaakt, ik zal klaarmaken. In Papiamentu the root-verb is always placed first.

In a subordinate clause the prefix has the same place as with the infinitive: Ik hoor, dat je altijd vroeg opstaat "I hear that you are always up early." In cases where there is a compound tense in the subordinate clause, there are two possibilities: 1) Ik hoor, dat je vroeg bent opgestaan or 2) Ik hoor, dat je vroeg op bent gestaan "I hear that you got up early."

The number of words or syllables that may come between the root-verb and the separable prefix is more restricted in Papiamentu than in Dutch. However, some of the examples from Ora Solo Bahá show that the occurrence of a separation by more than two or three syllables is more frequent than Wood claims.¹

The following examples show the separable prefix as found in Ora Solo Bahá.

a) Calques on Dutch verbs consisting of a preposition plus root-verb.

Do. 33.1 Dolfi a wak rondò di e komedor.

Dolfi keek de kamer rond.

Dolfi looked around in the room.

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 59.

- B.P. 11.20 Laga nos pasa den jalusi bai paden.
Laten wij door de jalouzie naar binnengaan.
Let us go inside through the Venetian blinds.
- Do. 33.24/25 Pa Chein ta butabo aki bow un ratu.
Pa Chein zet je hier een poosje neer.
Pa Chein is putting you down here for a while.
- Chi. 43.15 Dos sòldá a kamna jega serka.
Twee soldaten zijn naderbijgekomen.
or: Twee soldaten kwamen naderbij.
Two soldiers approached.
- Ng. 20.25/26 un . . . a kore su tras
één . . . rende haar achterna
one . . . ran after her
The infinitive is achternaren. Contrast
this with the following:
- M.R. 7.26/27 Mushe Raton a bira i topa ku un dams raton
pará su tras.
Mushe Raton keerde zich om en botste op tegen
een muizendame, die achter hem stond.
Mushe Raton turned around and collided with
a lady mouse who was standing behind him.
There is no such verb as achterstaan.
Hence, achter is here a preposition.

b) Calques on Dutch verbs consisting of an adjective plus root-verb.

Klof 52.17/18 i a pone nan machete kla
en legden hun machete klaar
and put their machete in readiness

Chi. 41.1 pa. . . nan hanja nan kabai kla
zodat zij hun paarden klaar zouden vinden
in order that they may find their horses
ready

Chi. 45.4 Te na ora ku francesnan tir'e mata
Totdat de Fransen hem doodschieten
Until the French shoot and kill him

Nati 59.5 Solo ta kimabo mata
De zon brandt je dood
The sun scorches you to death

MM 70.17 pa tira tur e porkonan mata
om al die zwijnen dood te schieten
in order to shoot and kill all those swine

Chi. 44.22 El a dal e tapa di e kaha habri
Hij sloeg de deksel van de kist open
He threw the lid of the chest open

Masu 18.22 Om Dani a korta barika di Masu Boro habri
Oom Dani sneed Masu Boro's buik open
Uncle Dani cut Masu Boro's belly open

Masu 16.30 Michi a kier a dal porta di patras habri

Michi zou de achterdeur hebben willen
openslaan

Michi would have liked to throw the
backdoor open

c) Calques on Dutch doen and laten.

Although they do not fall into the category of separable verbs, there are other instances in Papiamentu of a separation in verb phrases which does not exist in Spanish, but is a calque on the groups of the Dutch verbs doen and laten, in the sense of "to make" and "to let", plus infinitive. The following examples may be found in Ora Solo Bahá:

B.P. 9.22 Bas Pipi a laga su mashin para

Bas Pipi liet zijn machine stoppen

Bas Pipi let his machine stop

Pep. 27.6 Solo a buta su plumanan lombra

De zon deed zijn veren glanzen

The sun made his feathers shine

Nati 57.14/15 . . . a buta e bestianan su pia sangra

. . . deed de beesten hun poten bloeden

. . . made the animals' legs bleed

MM 68.19 Vlandam . . . a buta e klòmpinan di oro
lombra

De vlammen deden de klompjes goud glanzen

The flames . . . made the chunks of gold
shine

13. Change in word-class.

In earlier parts of this study cases were cited of words changing their word-class when adopted into Papiamentu, e.g. the Papiamentu verb mester from the Spanish noun menester; the Papiamentu indefinite numeral hopi from the Dutch noun hoop; sunchi from the noun zoentje which also became a verb. This phenomenon falls into the category which Hall describes as "the passage of a word from one part of speech to another, without any suffix or other formal outward indication of the change in form-class. In English we can use many words as nouns, verbs, or adjectives: we can fall in a faint, we can faint, or we can feel faint."¹

Hall makes a distinction in the phenomenon of class-change as may be seen from a further statement:

In a number of instances pidgins and creoles show a drastic restructuring of various words, in their assignment to different functions from those they had in the languages from which they came: compare the split of English give into two separate words in Sranan, /gí(bi)/ "give", stressed, as a verb, and /gi/ "to, for", unstressed, as a preposition. . . . These are the same type of structural shift that we find in the history of "normal" full-sized languages, as when the Old English noun dún "hill" became Modern English down (adverb). . . .²

A very large group to which this statement may be applied in Papiamentu is the verb which has taken on the rôle of an

¹Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 65.

²Hall, pp. 79-80.

adverb. For that reason, it may be considered an extension of the separable verb construction, and thus a case of Dutch influence.

There is a considerable number of these verbs in Ora Solo Baha. They are:

bai "to go" for "away", Du. weg

baha "to go down" for "down", Du. naar beneden

bini "to come" for "toward", e.g., nan a kore bini,

Du. zij zijn komen aanrennen, that is, "they came running to . . .";

bira "to turn" for "back", as in bira wak "to look back", Du. omkijken;

bolbe "to return" for "again", Du. weer;

drei "to turn" for "back", e.g., "to look back", Du. om or achterom;

drenta "to enter" for "into", Du. binnen, de . . . in;

drumi "to lie" for "down", Du. neer; for context see

Chi. 45.32, p. 225;

jega "to arrive" for "at", Du. aan;

lanta "to lift up", "to get up" for "upward", Du. op;

para "to stop" for "still" in "to stand still", Du. stil;

pasa "to pass through" for "through", Du. door;

sali "to go out" for "outside", Du. buiten;

subi "to mount, climb, go up" for "on" or "onto", Du. aan, as in the example from Chi. 46.29, p. 226.

Examples:

M.R. 6.17 e blenchi a bula bai
het blinkertje is weggevlogen or: vloog weg
the colibri flew away

Masu 18.29 el a kore baha
hij rende naar beneden
he ran down

Masu 18.14 nan a kore bini
zij zijn komen aanrennen
they came running (to)

Klof 54.5 E Indjan a bira wak tur dos
De Indiaan keek naar hen beiden om
The Indian looked back at both of them

Masu 17.14 mi ta bolbe bira e mucha muhe
word ik weer het meisje
I become again the girl

M.R. 5.20 sin sikiera drei mira
zonder zelfs maar om te kijken
without even looking back

Awa 14.25 sin drei wak patras
zonder achterom te kijken
without looking back

This is an interesting example. There are two adverbials, one a verb: drei, the other a genuine adverb: patras.

Awa 13.14 el a bula drenta e nèshi
hij vloog het nestje in (or: binnen)
he flew into the nest

Chi. 45.32 el a pone e skopèt drumi
hij legde het geweer neer
he put the gun down

Klof 51.4 nan a bin jega na Klof
zij kwamen bij de Klof aan
they arrived at the Klof

Do. 31.22 Dolfi a bula lanta
Dolfje sprong op
Dolfi jumped up

Masu 17.18 Lanta para.
Sta op! or: Opstaan!
Get up!

Note the different word order. This may be due to the fact that there is an imperative involved here.

Chi. 46.12 e francesnan a bai para
de Fransen zijn gaan stil staan
the Frenchmen stopped

Masu 17.24 nan a bula pasa den e buraku
zij zijn door het gat gevlogen
they flew through the hole

B.P. 12.23 el a sali bai

hij is uitgegaan

he went out

Note word order: sali precedes bai

Do. 36.11 lagadishinan a kore sali

de hagedisjes zijn weggerend

the wall lizards ran away

This time, sali follows kore

Chi. 46.29 nan tur a kore subi bordo

zij renden allemaal aan boord

they all ran aboard

A borderline case would seem to be the phrase kai sintu, in which kai is "to fall" and sintu "to sit". The verb sintu has, in this case, taken on the adverbial meaning neer "down", so that kai sintu becomes neerzitten or neer-vallen (in a chair). (See also p. 240.)

14. Omission of linking elements.

Various phenomena in Papiamentu fall under this heading:

a) Apposition of nouns.

In his Pidgin and Creole Languages, Hall lists as one of the characteristics of all pidginized English "the juxtaposition of two nouns without the preposition of or

any possessive suffix (Justice Peace)."¹ Later, referring to pidgins and creoles in general, he writes:

In their origin many of these constructions are the result of the omission of certain linking elements, particularly prepositions, which are present in the corresponding phrase-types of the European language on which the pidgin or creole is based.²

Papiamentu knows both constructions, one with the linking preposition di (Iberian de), the other without di, as a calque on the Dutch structure of apposition of nouns. That it is due to the latter may be best seen from the combination un tiki + noun, since, as seen in the lexical part of this study, it is derived from Dutch een tikje "a bit of" plus noun. Een tikje plus adverb is "slightly" (e.g. MM 68.3: un tiki nervioso, een tikje nerveus "slightly nervous"). However, apposition also occurs with pida, een stukje "a piece of", "a bit of".

Examples:

Masu 16.1 e tiki kuminda
 het beetje eten
 the little bit of food

B.P. 10.20 kome pida bakoba
 een stukje bacove eten
 to eat a piece of bacove (kind of banana)

Note absence of un before pida.

¹Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 8.

²Hall, p. 74.

Chi. 39.8 pida súku (without indefinite article)
een stukje suiker
a bit of sugar

Chi. 39.26 un pida súku (with indefinite article)
een stukje suiker
a bit of sugar

B.P. 9.2 e pida kurá
het stukje erf
the little bit of yard

Papiamentu does not follow the Dutch example in all instances. Dutch has apposition with words indicating quantity (see the above) and for containers: een glas water "a glass of water"; een doosje lucifers "a box of matches"; een trommeltje biscuitjes "a tin of cookies". In Ora Solo Baha the last two are un doshi di lusafè and un bleki di buscuchi. And, as far as an expression of quantity or shape is concerned, in MM 67.34, MM 68.17 and 19 we find klòmpi di oro, where Dutch would have klompjes goud "chunks of gold".

b) Place of the personal pronoun.

The subject, whether noun or pronoun, always precedes the verb, in contrast with both Dutch and Spanish, where variations are possible or, at times, obligatory. Only the particle lo, which indicates the future, is placed before the unstressed personal pronouns of the first, second and third

person singular: mi, bo and e. In most cases it comes after the stressed ones ami, abo, and e (when it is emphasized), while it may be placed before or after the personal pronouns of the first, second and third person plural: nos, boso and nan. Lo is probably derived from Iberian logo "afterwards, later", although an interesting alternative etymology is found in Fokker:

Niettemin blijft het aannemelik, dat het karaïbisch een zekere invloed op de nieuwe taal gehad heeft. Zo - om enkele punten te noemen, want de juiste grenzen der verschillende invloeden vast te stellen, lijkt me ondoenlik - zal de vorming der presens-, futuur-, en perfekt-vormen wel naar 't model van 't in die taal gebruikelijke geschied zijn: nl. door het bezigen van een eenlettergrepig partikel. Men zegt b.v. lo nos papia, wij zullen spreken; lo é bini prontoe? zal hij (zij) spoedig komen? Dit lo is vermoedelik identiek met het lo van 't negerhollands van Sint Tomas, door Professor Hesseling in 't aangehaalde werk vermeld, nl. hollands loop in de zin van gaan (frans je vais le dire, ik zal 't zeggen, sp. va a llover, het gaat regenen).¹

In Papiamentu the direct and indirect object follow the verb and where the two are combined the indirect object precedes the direct one. This applies to nouns and pronouns alike.

As far as the single use of either direct or indirect object pronoun is concerned, Papiamentu usage in all tenses is similar to the Dutch in the simple tenses. In Ora Solo Baha the following examples occur for the direct object pronoun:

¹A.A. Fokker, "Het Papiamento of Basterd-Spaans der West-Indiese Eilanden," Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal-en Letterkunde, 33 (1914), p. 62.

Pep. 28.16 mi ta vendebo
 ik verkoop je
 I am selling you

In the perfect tense this would be: ik heb je verkocht; in the future: ik zal je verkopen; in other words, in Dutch the personal object pronoun follows right after the auxiliary verb. In Papiamentu it also follows the main verb in these cases.

Pep. 26.13/14 E krus grandi . . . ta spanta nan.
 Het grote kruis . . . maakt hen bang.
 The big cross . . . scares them.

Pep. 28.12 Buchi Albu a . . . mar'e ku kadena.
 Buchi Albu bond hem vast met een ketting.
 Buchi Albu . . . tied him with a chain.

For the indirect object pronoun:

Nati 57.29 su mama a bis'e
 zijn moeder vertelde hem
 his mother told him

Nati 58.11 loke mi bisabo
 wat ik je zeg
 what I am telling you

Although Wood feels that the phenomenon of the personal pronoun following the verb is a case of Dutch influence¹, it should be kept in mind that in older forms of Spanish the object pronoun could also follow the finite verb. Another possible explanation for the pronoun following the verb may be that, if ta is indeed the Spanish está of the progressive form, mi ta bisabo is the equivalent of Spanish estoy diciéndole. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that in Spanish the object pronouns also follow the affirmative imperative and the infinitive. In Dutch they follow the affirmative and negative imperative, but they precede the infinitive.

As for the combination of direct and indirect object pronoun, normally the sequence in Dutch is direct + indirect. However, in order to put stress on the indirect object, or what comes after it, it may be placed first and also when the subordinate expresses a cause or purpose. For example, ik geef het je "I am giving it to you"; ik geef je het nu "I am giving it to you now" or ik geef je het, omdat je het nodig hebt "I am giving it to you because you need it". Stress may also be indicated by the preposition aan "to", in which case the indirect object, again, has to come second. The reversed order is very seldom used with the third person singular masculine hem "him". Pap. E ta dun'élé,

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 68.

Du. Hij geeft het hem or Hij geeft het aan hem "He gives it to him". Pap. E ta duna nan é, Du. Hij geeft het hun or Hij geeft het aan hen "He gives it to them". The last example was chosen, since the third person plural pronoun is the only instance where there is a difference between the Dutch direct object, i.e., the accusative hen "them" and the indirect object, i.e., the dative hun, often replaced by aan hen "to them".

An example of the construction indirect + direct object pronoun taken from Ora Solo Bahá is:

Awa 13.24 . . . a regala mi nan
. . . heeft ze me gegeven or gaf ze me
. . . has given them to me

In the construction verb + indirect object pronoun + direct object noun Papiamentu and Dutch follow a pattern similar to that for the single use of the direct object and of the indirect object, in other words, the sequence is the same, but the position differs in the compound tenses.

Examples:

Do. 35.12 . . . i a duna nan komando
. . . en gaf hun het commando
or: en heeft hun het commando gegeven
. . . and gave them orders

Chi. 48.3 Nos ta regal'e e kabai
Wij geven hem het paard
We are giving him the horse

c) Omission of a linking element with the indirect object noun.

The absence in Papiamentu of a preposition equivalent to the Spanish a to introduce the indirect object noun cannot be ascribed, or at least not solely, to pidginization or creolization because Dutch follows the same construction. The phenomenon may, therefore, considered to be a calque on the latter. It should be added, though, that in the last decades the concept of the dative in this case and others has been felt less strongly than in the past, so that Dutch may add prepositions, such as aan or tegen "to" with certain verbs as well.

Examples of different verbs + indirect object noun without a taken from Ora Solo Baha are:

Do. 33.16 Chein a bisa Mena

Chein zei Mina (or: tegen)

Chein said to Mina

M.R. 7.28 el a konta e dams raton

hij vertelde juffrouw Muis (or: aan)

he told Miss Mouse

Do. 32.12 A parse Dolfi ku

Het kwam Dolfi voor, dat

It seemed to Dolfi that

Masu 15.20 ku nada no ta pasa e muchanan
dat den kinderen niets overkomt
that nothing happens to the children

Do. 31.29 el a priminti Polin
hij beloofde Pauline (or: aan Pauline)
he promised Pauline

Do. 37.12 el a puntra Dolfi
hij vroeg Dolfi (or: aan Dolfi)
he asked Dolfi

d) Lack of linking element with the group indirect object noun + direct object noun.

As mentioned above, in Papiamentu the distinction between indirect and direct object in a sentence is made by word order, which is on the whole stricter in Papiamentu than in either Spanish or Dutch. The indirect object precedes the direct one. Where both are nouns, there is the same sequence in Dutch, although prepositions may be added to the indirect object noun in Dutch. If this is done, the sequence becomes verb + direct object + preposition + indirect object. Because of the fixed word-order in Papiamentu there is no need for an indicator of the indirect object.

Examples:

Awa 14.20 e polis a entrega e totolika su dos webunan
de politieagent overhandigde het steenduifje
haar twee eieren

the policeman handed the rock-dove her two
eggs

Chi. 41.12 pa e duna e kabai awa
zodat hij den paarden water kon geven
or:
zodat hij water aan de paarden kon geven
in order that he may give water to the horses

e) Lack of personal a.

An equivalent to the Spanish personal a is superfluous in Papiamentu because the strict word-order of subject + verb + direct object determines clearly the subject and object of the verb. It is the flexible word sequence in Spanish that made the introduction of the personal a necessary. In connection with the subject + verb + direct object construction, it should be mentioned that Papiamentu does not observe the inversion of subject and verb which must take place in Dutch when the main clause begins with a word or phrase other than the subject. Otherwise subject + verb + direct object applies.

Examples:

Chi. 46.27 pa spanta e Fransesnan
om de Fransen bang te maken
in order to scare the French

Chi. 47.4 pa bai juda su amigu Chiku
om zijn vriend Chiku te gaan helpen
in order to go and help his friend Chiku

f) Lack of a linking element with verbs.

Hall (Melanesian Pidgin English, p. 38) makes the following observations on the absence of a linking element with verbs in pidgin and creole languages:

Combination of clauses into utterances of more than one clause is effected by the following means:
. . . PARATAXIS, which is the most common means of joining clauses in compound sentences. Under this heading may be listed: 1. Juxtaposition of successive clauses, without the use of introductory words. . . .

Examples of this may be found in

Do. 37.3/4 nan a plama e paniweri na pida-pida,
disparse den mondi

zij namen de brancard uit elkaar en
verdwenen in het bos

they took the stretcher apart and
disappeared in the woods

MM 72.14 Manuel a bolbe na bordi di e karabela,
bai drumi

Manuel ging terug aan boord van het karavel
en ging slapen

Manuel returned on board the caravel and
went to sleep

In Pidgin and Creole Languages (p. 78) Hall also points out that "often, several verbs occur in a series, each as the complement of the preceding one. . . ."

Examples:

Do. 36.32/33 bo ta lanta kamna su dilanti
sta jij op en loopt voor hem uit
you get up and walk in front of him

Do. 37.1'2 E konenchinan a kargu'e riba e paniweri,
bolbe bai but'e bow di e palu
De konijntjes laadden hem op de brancard
en legden hem weer neer onder de boom.
The rabbits loaded him on the stretcher
and put him under the tree again.

and further "often a verb is followed by another verb that serves as a complement of purpose, result, or condition. . . ." (Hall, p. 78).

Examples:

Do. 32.21 Mena a sali bin kontra nan
Mina kwam naar buiten om hen tegemoet te komen
Mina came outside (in order) to meet them

MM 69.13 Joselito a kore bin weta
Joselito kwam aanrennen om te zien
Joselito came running (in order) to see

The above examples could be ascribed to creolization, since the phenomenon which they represent cannot be found in any of the European contributing languages. However, there are other instances where one finds a linking element in the Iberian languages, but not in Dutch. Such cases are either calques on Dutch or a dual application of a

non-European and European language construction. Examples are given in the following section.

g) Lack of linking element with auxiliary verbs of motion.

The semantic content of these VERB + VERB combinations, however, is often of markedly non-European type, reflecting the substratum of African (Melanesian, etc.) speakers. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in the Central American creoles, which have a common West African substratum, and in which there is a common semantic pattern in the use of verbs of motion followed directly by verbal complements (Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. 77).

Papiamentu has this construction too. However, this may not necessarily be due to a West African substratum or creolization because the Dutch language shows the same characteristic.

The auxiliary verbs of motion can be divided into two groups: a) verbs indicating the beginning of an action, and b) verbs indicating continued action. Into the first category fall bai "to go" and bini "to come", followed by an infinitive, whereas Spanish inserts the preposition a.

In Ora Solo Baha there are around thirty instances of groups with bai + infinitive and approximately fifteen for bini + infinitive. The following examples will suffice:

M.R. 5.11 i a bai para
en ging staan
and he went and stood

Nati 58.33 Nati, bin jüda bo mama

Nati, kom je moeder helpen

Nati, come and help your mother

As far as seventeenth-century Dutch is concerned, Vondel (1587-1679) sometimes omitted te with beginnen "to begin", Pap. kuminsa. Examples with the verb kuminsa from Ora Solo Baha are:

M.R. 7.15 Mushe Raton a kuminsa bira flaku

Mushe Raton begon mager te worden

Mushe Raton began to be thin

Do. 32.1 Dolfi a kuminsa kanta

Dolfi begon te zingen

Dolfi began to sing

Wood places the verb sali, Du. uitkomen, uitgaan "to leave, to go out" in this category as well. He gives the example "/el a sali báy ksyru/ 'he went out (to go) for a walk'; cf. Du. ...te gaan kuieren."¹ There is no example in Ora Solo Baha of this use of the verb. As a matter of fact, the Dutch idiom for the phrase quoted is Hij ging uit kuieren, so that sali would rather belong to the category of a verb used as an adverb (see Section 13). Cf. also Pep. 26.8: Peperin a bai kamna keiru, Peperin is gaan (lopen) kuieren "Peperin went for a stroll".

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 62.

Another verb which Wood includes in this group is kay "to fall" in the phrase kay sintu. He writes:

/káy sintu/; cf. Du. gaan zitten. This is misunderstood by Lenz, 171-172, who mistranslated (/el/) /a káy sintu/ "(he) sat down" as "se sentó de golpe". Actually, just as Du. gaan zitten corresponds to Eng. "sit down" not "go and sit down", /káy sintu/ has no content implying violent or precipitate action, and none of the sense of "fall" of Sp. caer, the etymon of /káy/, remains. Lenz' phrase is based, structurally upon Du. (hij) ging zitten.¹

The first part of this interpretation is correct. However, as far as the reference to "to fall" is concerned, it must be noted that Dutch has the idiom in or op, een stoel neervallen (depending on whether one refers to an armchair or a straight one). Neervallen refers to the way in which one sits down and does not indicate an incipient action. In M.R. 7.16 el a kai sintu bòw di un watapana "he sat down under a watapana", Mushe Raton did so when he was exhausted. Again, in Klof 51.10, Ei nan a kai sintu "There they sat down", it happened when they were bon kansa "very tired". Do. 33.34, Dolfi a kai drumi, Dolfi ging liggen (not slapen "to sleep") "Dolfi lay down" may be a borderline case. One could wonder whether kai indicates the beginning of an action. It is more likely a case of a verb used as an adverb, i.e. kai has the meaning of neer "down". "Dolfi lay down" could be obsolete Dolfi legde zich neer. Ging could also be

¹Wood, "Papiamentu," p. 62.

translated into Papiamentu as a bini. For the sake of comparison, the following phrase may be quoted from Pep. 26.5: Peperin a bai sinta den un palu di watapana, Peperin ging in een watapana boom zitten "Peperin went to sit down in a watapana tree". (He had to go there first.)

Although the lack of a linking element points to Dutch influence on the verb + verb construction, one should not forget the Portuguese phrase foi ver, where this kind of juxtaposition also takes place.

The two verbs denoting continued action, keda and sigi are calques on the Dutch verb blijven, which takes the infinitive without a linking element. In Spanish, quedar as well as seguir are followed by participles. Cf. Pap. e keda sinta, Du. hij blijft zitten, Sp. queda sentado "he remains seated"; Pap. e sigi grita, Du. hij blijft schreeuwen, Sp. sigue gritando "he continues (keeps on) shouting".

Examples from Ora Solo Bahá:

B.P. 11.33 Bo ta keda drumi

Blijft U maar liggen

Remain lying down

B.P. 12.33 e famia di barika-hel a keda biba

het gezin van de barika-hel is
blijven wonen

the family of the barika-hel kept on
living . . .

B.P. 9.18/19 Bas Pipi a sigui kanta
Bas Pipi bleef doorzingen
Bas Pipi went on singing

The meaning of blijven is often
reinforced by door.

Besides keda and sigui (sigi) one should mention sinta, Du. zitten "to sit"; para, Du. staan "to stand"; drumi, Du. liggen "to lie"; kamna, Du. lopen "to walk" as verbs indicating continued action. They are calques on Dutch zitten, staan, liggen, lopen plus the infinitive, for example: zitten eten, staan praten, liggen lezen, lopen denken. In the simple tenses one has to add te, for example, hij zit te denken "he sits thinking"; hij lag te slapen "he lay sleeping". It should be noted that in the seventeenth century the verbs lopen, gaan, zitten and komen "to walk", "to go", "to sit" and "to come" were, at times, not preceded by te.¹

Examples from Ora Solo Bahá:

M.R. 7.23 kaminda e por sinta jora e so
waar hij alleen kon zitten huilen
where he could sit by himself crying

Masu 17.12 m'a para hari
bleef ik staan lachen
I stood laughing

¹Weijnen, Zeventiende-eeuwse Taal, p. 81.

MM 73.6 E spanjonan a kamna weta

De Spanjaarden hebben lopen kijken

The Spanish walked looking

h) Other verbs which do not require a linking element in Dutch and Papiamentu.

There are other verbs in Dutch which are used in juxtaposition with their dependent verb in the compound tenses. Two of these are modal auxiliaries: hoeven and durven. Niet hoeven is Pap. no mester "need not"; durven is Pap. riska, tribi "to dare".

Example:

Awa 14.26 nunka mas Mushe Raton a riska horta

Mushe Raton heeft nooit meer durven stelen

Mushe Raton has never dared to steel again

Already in the seventeenth century, leren, Pap. sinja: "to teach" and "to learn" was found without te (Weijnen, p. 83) to connect it with the dependent verb. This is still the case in present-day Dutch. An interesting feature of sinja is that, like Dutch leren, it has both the meaning of "to teach" and "to learn", whereas in Spanish there are two words: enseñar, from which sinja was derived, and aprender.

Example:

Do. 30.19 e mama tabata sinja Dolfi

zijn moeder leerde Dolfi lezen

his mother taught Dolfi to read

Another such verb is helpen, Pap. juda.

Examples:

Nati 59.22 Nati a juda su mama kamna bai kas
Nati hielp zijn moeder naar huis lopen
Nati helped his mother to walk home

MM 63.16 pa judami kushiná
om mij te helpen koken
to help me cook

MM 64.31 a jud'e mira
hielp hem zien
helped him to see

MM 72.20 pa juda karga
om te helpen dragen
to help carry

In studies on creole languages one may often find the phenomenon of series of verbs without linking elements being ascribed to creolization. In the case of Papiamentu it would seem to be, in many instances, the result of Dutch influence. Three examples chosen at random, one from Papiamentu and the others from Dutch, show that both languages have such series, albeit as the outcome of different structural norms. Papiamentu: MM 69.14/15, pa e por kore bai skonde "In order to be able to run away and hide himself", Du. om weg te kunnen rennen en zich te verschuilen. In Dutch, there would be nothing artificial

in a series of verbs in the infinitive without linking element in a sentence like this: Hij zou mogen blijven zitten kijken "He would be allowed to remain seated looking". Somewhat unusual, but still acceptable, would be: Ik zou jou wel eens willen zien durven blijven zitten kijken "I would like to see you daring to remain seated looking".

CONCLUSION

From this study it is apparent that the Dutch elements in Papiamentu reflect earlier stages of the Dutch language as well as present-day Dutch. This is illustrated by the form in which Dutch words appear in the landstaal, but even more clearly by the calques on Dutch, which may be due to the fact that the Dutch on Curaçao, who were not native speakers of Spanish or Portuguese, wanted to address the Indians, their servants, and subsequently the inhabitants of Iberian background on the islands, in those languages and, inevitably, had frequent recourse to literal translations from Dutch.

Furthermore, it has become evident that certain features of Papiamentu, ascribed by linguists to phenomena of creole languages, find their counterparts in present-day Dutch or in the idiom of the seventeenth century. Dutch dialectal influences have also had their impact on Papiamentu. At times, Dutch influence has reinforced Spanish usage or creole features.

From the analysis of the lexicon it has been seen that adoptions from Dutch concern all areas of the language, not only modern technical terms, but basic items of vocabulary, such as parts of the body, household utensils, vegetables, spices, wind directions, flora and fauna, some professions and trades, administration and military affairs.

Various estimates of Dutch influence have been put forward. In 1914, Fokker stated that at least 9% of Papiamentu words were Dutch ("Het Papiamentoe of Basterd-Spaans der West-Indische Eilanden," p. 54). From the statistics given by Lenz in 1928 for the words analyzed in El Papiamento (pp. 259-60) one may conclude that they represent 35.5% of the total number of words examined in that study. Maduro stated that 28% of the words studied in his Ensayo pa yega na un Ortografia uniforme pa nos Papiamentu (1953, p. 134) were of Dutch origin. Hall (Pidgin and Creole Languages, 1966, p. 99) refers to the 25 per cent or more of Papiamentu words from Dutch.

This study has been concerned with the present-day language as used by a recognized contemporary author, Pierre Antoine Lauffer, in a collection of short stories. As an indication of his usage of the language a running word count was made of two of the stories in Ora Solo Bahá: "Mushe Raton" and "Bas Pipi ku e barika-hel". Not included in the calculation were the articles (definite or indefinite), personal pronouns (subject, direct or indirect object), possessive adjectives and proper nouns. All other words were included as often as they occurred. The results of this count are as follows:

"Mushe Raton" contains 872 running words from all etymons. The contributions from Dutch number 196 or 22.5%. The following break-down may be made:

66 adoptions from Dutch
26 from either Dutch or Iberian
104 calques on Dutch, i.e., 11 words
 31 phrases
 62 syntactic calques

For "Bas Pipi i su barika-hel" those figures are:
1270 running words from all etymons, of which 267 or 21% were Dutch contributions, namely:

78 adoptions from Dutch
21 from either Dutch or Iberian
168 calques on Dutch, i.e., 20 words
 45 phrases
 103 syntactic calques

The two stories together contain 2142 etymons other than the exceptions mentioned; they have 463 Dutch contributions, so that the average percentage would be 21.5%.

As may be seen from the present study, Papiamentu remains essentially a Romance language with the bulk of its vocabulary from Iberian sources. Nonetheless, Dutch

contributions have affected all aspects of the language and it would be difficult -- because of the nature of these contributions -- to compose any communication without recourse to them.

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