The Interacting Influences of Spanish and English on the Creole Papiamentu[1]

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1 Introduction

The Spanish gerundive and progressive morpheme *-ndo* is used in modern Papiamentu (PP) (Iberian creole) as a gerundive and progressive morpheme, though it is not found in the early creole. The morpheme appears to be borrowed. I argue that the modern use of *-ndo* in PP is the result of a two-step borrowing process. First, contact with Spanish led to the borrowing of the affix with its gerundive function (used in absolutive clauses). Next, contact with English led to the extension of the morpheme to a progressive function (used in periphrastic progressives) via surface string matching, a process through which bilinguals have been shown to import the pragmatic function of a syntactic construction from one language to another (Prince 1988, Silva-Corvalán 1993). In both steps, *-ndo* is an L1 interference feature of L2 PP speakers, which L1 PP speakers eventually incorporate into their grammars.

Below, I present relevant sociohistorical information, describe Spanish *-ndo* and relevant PP structure, then present results of a real time, quantitative analysis of the affix in PP and Venezuelan Spanish[2] texts supporting my hypothesis.

2 Relevant Sociohistorical Facts

PP is spoken on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, which lie near Venezuela in the Caribbean Ocean. Arawak Indians lived there when the Spanish arrived in 1527. The Dutch took possession in 1634, forcing the Spaniards and most Indians to leave. They took some Indians as slaves on Curaçao, and sent others to Bonaire and Aruba. This change in power did not necessarily lead to a change in language spoken, however, because the Dutch

often preferred to use Spanish or Portuguese or creole Portuguese with conquered peoples, and Dutch amongst themselves (Holm 2000).

The Dutch brought the first West Africans in 1648; at least some probably spoke pidgin Portuguese. Sephardic Jews relocated from Brazil beginning in 1659, probably speaking a regional variety of Portuguese or Spanish. After 1660, Jews played a major role in the administration of slave camps, often trading with Spanish Americans. By the 1680s, the African population equaled the white population. Most slaves did domestic work.

Dutch and Jews learned the emerging creole for contact. Holm (2000) estimates that the creole stabilized on Curaçao around 1700, then spread to Bonaire and Aruba. PP words are attested in Jewish ship names in 1706, and Dutch documents in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the time the creole was fully established in the late 18th century, Dutch missionaries preached in PP.

After slavery was abolished, the islands remained under Dutch control, but later achieved some autonomy. Curaçao and Bonaire now belong to the group of islands called the Netherlands Antilles. Aruba was part of the N.A. until 1986, when it became independent of this group. (It remains under the jurisdiction of the Netherlands.) Today, about 80% of island residents speak PP as a first language[3]. Dutch remains the language of government and education. Spanish is culturally important. Portuguese was used during the early slave trade, but fell out of use by 1800. English has only recently (1915 on Curaçao, 1928 on Aruba) entered the picture on the islands with the introduction of the petroleum industry, and is economically important in oil and tourism. Today, residents speak PP, Dutch, Spanish, and English.

3   Spanish[4] –*ndo*

In Spanish, verb + –*ndo* forms the progressive participle (1). The periphrastic progressive (2) and locative constructions (3) consist of *estar,* 'to be' + verb + –*ndo*. A verb marked by –*ndo* can be used after other auxiliaries[5] ((4) such as *ir* 'to go' or *andar* 'to walk'). Stative verbs are prohibited in these constructions (5) though they are permitted in absolute clauses (6).

(1)a.	*hablar*	+	*-ndo*	→	*hablando*
b.	*decir*	+	*-ndo*	→	*diciendo*
	to speak		GER		speaking

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[3] Others speak Dutch, English, or languages of the Caribbean as a first language.

[4] *-Ndo* is used in Brazilian (but not Iberian) Portuguese. I describe Spanish *-ndo* since Portuguese ceased being spoken before the first attestation of –*ndo* in PP.

[5] See Torres Cacoullos (1999) for the range of auxiliaries in Mexican Spanish.

(2) *Ella está estudiando.*
      she COP study-GER   She is studying.
(3) *Estaba Juan en el desierto bautizando...*   (Mark 1:4)
      COP-IMP John in the desert   baptize-GER
      John was in the desert baptizing…
(4) *Todos te   andan   buscando.*   (Mark 1:37)
      all-pl you walk-3pl look for-GER
      All of them are [walking around] looking for you.
(5) *Ella está queriendo estudiar.*
       she   COP want-GER to study.   She is wanting to study.
(6) *Queriendo estudiar, ella se fué   a la   biblioteca.*
      want-GER   to study she go-PAST to the library.
      Wanting to study, she went to the library.

4   Relevant Structure of Papiamentu

From the earliest evidence of the creole, we find preverbal markers of the imperfective—*ta* (from Sp. *esta*) and *tabata* (from Sp. *estaba*). Andersen (1990) analyzes *tabata* as specifically past marked and *ta* as unmarked for time. Both indicate general imperfective aspect, which may include a more specific progressive or habitual interpretation (7-9) (Maurer 1998:162). *Ta* in PP functions beyond Spanish *esta*, however. In the creole, Andersen shows that time of action can be marked at some point in the discourse, after which *ta* indicates agreement with the previously marked time of action. (10) (Andersen 1990). *Ta* and *tabata* also serve as forms of the copula in PP.

(7) *Awor mi **ta**   lesa.*   Now, I am reading/ I read.
      now   I   IMP read   Ahora, estoy leyendo/ yo leo.
(8) *Mi **ta**   lesa tur dia.*   I read every day.
      I   IMP read all day.   Leo todos los días.
(9) *Mi **ta**   traha na postkantor.*   I (regularly) work in the postoffice.
      I   IMP work in postoffice   Trabajo en el correo.
(10) *...tempunan di nos **ta'ata** tempu ku dios ta'ata aki   bou*
      …time-PL   of we IMP-P time   that God IMP-P here   below
          *huntu   ku nos. Tempunan ei   bo **ta**   bai...bo **tin***
          together with us. time-PL   there you IMP go…you have
          ku   risibi   ku djesdos aña, no promé.
          COMP receive with twelve   year not before.
      Our time was the time God was down here with us. Those days you would go…you had to receive (First Communion) at 12, not before.

5   Papiamentu *–ndo* in the Literature

Gerundive *-ndo* is first mentioned in a grammar of PP in 1898 (Evertsz). Formation paradigms are given: *-ando* and *–iendo* surface, depending on the final vowel of the PP verb[6]. Evertsz notes these irregular forms[7]: *ta* 'to be' → *estando, siendo*; *tin* 'to have' → *teniendo*, which are identical to the Spanish gerunds of *estar, ser*, and *tener*. Hoyer (1918) and Lenz (1928) describe *-ndo* as a "recent borrowing" marking only Iberian verbs and occurring in absolute phrases (11). They give additional, Spanish-like, irregular forms, including *por* 'to be able to' → *pudiendo*, *kier* 'to want' → *keriendo*, and *kere* 'to believe' → *kreyendo*. The existence of these irregular *–ndo* forms identical to their Spanish counterparts suggests that they were borrowed as unanalyzed wholes and the affix only later used productively.

In 20th century grammars, authors have repeated that *–ndo* was "recently borrowed", but add the progressive function to the repertoire of the affix. None has noted that progressive *-ndo* used with *ta* or *tabata* (12) is not mentioned in early descriptions[8].

(11) …*i   kantando na bos   altu el a   bolbe kas.*
  …and sing-GER in   voice high he PER return home
  …and, singing in a high voice, returned to his house.
(12) *Nos ta   yegando   fin di aña, kual   ta un temporada konosi*
  we   IMP arrive-GER end of year, which COP a   season   known
     kaminda ta   toka hopi musika di tambu
     which   IMP play much music   of drum.   (92:1)
  We are approaching the end of the year, which is a season known
  for (people) playing lots of drums.

That *–ndo* is borrowed is not in dispute. In dispute is the fact that *–ndo* was borrowed with both its Spanish functions at the same time (gerundive and progressive), a "fact" only implied by recent literature.

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[6] Occasionally differs from the Spanish theme vowel due to phonological integration.
[7] Expected forms: *ta* → *tando*; *tin* → *tiniendo*; *por* → *poriendo*; *kier* → *kieriendo*; *kere* → *keriendo*. Consonant final forms take *–iendo*.
[8] The works in question (Wattman, Goilo, Birmingham, Maurer, Munteanu, Howe) are synchronic descriptions of PP grammar. None could be expected to have analyzed this particular affix in diachronic or quantitative detail. Birmingham (1971) specifically refused to evaluate "borrowed" forms, noting that the "whole concept of the present progressive is indeed a [recently] borrowed one…not yet widely favored….[I]t is hardly worth it to belabor the point or to try to make a case for a Hispanic-like present progressive function in PP." (81)

6   Methods

Data are taken from 99 PP texts, of varied genres, dating 1775—1999. I coded every instance of *ta* or *tabata* marking a verb, and noted whether or not the verb was marked by *–ndo*. I also coded verbs marked with *–ndo* in other places (i.e. absolutive clauses, main verbs with auxiliary other than *ta* or *tabata*, etc.). Up to 100 tokens were taken from each text, though some contained more (e.g. Books of Mark, over 400 tokens each). Texts were grouped roughly according to decade for regression analysis. There were 2911 tokens. Of 2911 total clauses, 145 were cases of *–ndo*. Of 1419 main verb imperfective clauses, 52 were *–ndo*-marked progressives.

I compare the PP data with analogous data from 45 Venezuelan Spanish texts of similar genres, dating 1831—1999. This variety is used because of its geographic proximity to the islands. There were 2255 tokens. Of 2255 total clauses, 126 contained *–ndo*. Of 1389 main verb imperfective clauses, 23 were *-ndo*-marked progressives.

Finally, religious materials allow direct comparison of texts. There are two PP translations of the Book of Mark (1865 and 1916). I compare these to a version of the Spanish Bible which was published in 1850.

7   Presentation and Analysis of Data

7.1 Observations from the Early Texts

The earliest texts show no *–ndo* (1775 letter,1776 court testimony, Curaçao). The earliest attestation is found in an 1803 letter from Aruba (13).

(13) …*y   por   Ser   berdad noos ta   firma Ees die noos mismo mano*
       and be able to be true   we   IMP sign this of our   own   hand
             ofresiendo nos hoeramento delantie die triebunal die nos
             offer-GER our oath   in front of tribunal   of   our
             mayor gobierno   Aruba 22de junio 1803
             greatest governer   (Maduro 1991)
       …and for this to be true, we sign this with our own hands, offering
       our oath before the tribunal of our greatest governor.

The next available texts date from the 19th century: 1865 Mark; 1871 Curaçao newspaper; 1882 Catechism (Curaçao); 1892 Catholic prayers; 1916 New Testament Bible. *–Ndo* is found in all but the catechism[9].

None of these early religious works were originally written in PP. The New Testament Bibles could have been translated from Spanish or Dutch. Most Dutch were Protestants, the known Portuguese speakers were Jews, and there were few, if any, English speakers on the islands in the 19th century, so Spanish is the most likely source language for the Catholic texts. The *–ndo* affix was more than likely first used in PP as an interference feature of Spanish-dominant bilinguals.

Unlike the religious texts, the 1871 Curaçao newspaper articles were originally written in PP (not translated) and were more than likely written by PP dominant speakers, or possibly even Dutch dominant speakers (about half of the newspaper articles are written in Dutch and half in PP; none are in Spanish). The *–ndo* examples in the Curaçao newspaper (e.g. (14)) provide evidence that *–ndo* was a productive morpheme used by L1 PP speakers at this time, not simply a Spanish interference feature.

All of the 19th century *–ndo* cases have one important thing in common—none are periphrastic progressives. Other than in absolute clauses, V-*ndo* appears a handful of times in serial constructions with an auxiliary verb other than the copula (e.g. (15)). Thus, while this affix was used productively in PP in the 19th century, periphrastic progressive *-ndo* constructions like those found in Spanish were not in use.

(14) *Toer miembronan tabata presente kitando   doos, koe ta*
        all   member-PL   COP-P present   subtract-GER two, who COP
            miembronan Royer i   Heldewier
            member-PL Royer and Heldewier
        "Koloniale Raad," *Civilisado*, Curaçao newspaper, 7-8-1871, No.2
        All members were present except two: Royer and Heldewier.

(15) …eel a saka soe manoe afoor i a **tokele bisando**: mi kieer
        …he PERF take his hand out and PERF take-it say-GER I want
            pa bo bira limpi
            COMP you become clean.   Mark 1:41
        [Jesus] extended his hand: and taking it, he said: You are clean.

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[9] Römer (1998) mentions the first catechism by Niewindt (1825). The 1882 catechism used here may or may not be the first, but the existence of the earlier work may have influenced the latter such that the lack of *–ndo* in the 1882 text is not due to the lack of *–ndo* in 1882 Curaçao, but to the lack of *–ndo* in 1825 Curaçao.

Nonce borrowings provide evidence of the continuing influence of Spanish. The locative construction in (16) was the only one found in the older texts, and is characteristic of Spanish gerunds. The earliest example of what looks like a periphrastic progressive is found in the 1916 Bible (17).

(16) Spanish   **Estaba** Juan en el desierto **bautizando**...
     PP 1916   Juan **tabata batizándo** den desièrto…
     English   John was in the desert baptizing…   Mark 1:4
(17) …y   e Señor   *tawata trahando huntu   cu   nan…*
     …and the man [Jesus] COP-P   work-GER together with them…
                                                        Mark 16:20

7.2 Real Time, Quantitative Analysis

7.2.1 The Rise of Progressive *-ndo*

Figure 1 shows the increase in periphrastic progressives. There are no cases before 1920; by the 1990s, they comprise 11% of main verb imperfectives.
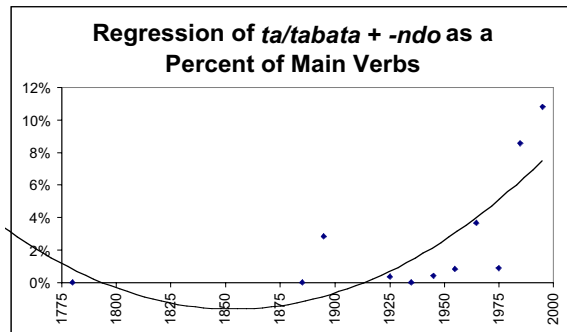
Figure 1. Regression of main verb *–ndo*

7.2.2 Comparison of Spanish and Papiamentu Progressive *-ndo*

I examined Venezuelan Spanish texts to find the frequency of *–ndo* in main verb constructions. While the rate of *estar* + verb + *-ndo* (Figure 2) shows a gradual increase in Spanish, there is a sharp increase in the analogous *ta/tabata* + verb + *-ndo* in PP after 1920. This increase is important for two reasons. First, the rate of *-ndo* progressives in PP becomes dramatically greater than in Spanish, suggesting that something besides Spanish interference is influencing this rate. Second, the increase comes only after contact

with English began in 1915. English progressives take the form copula + verb + -*ing*, which is analogous to the PP *ta/tabata* + verb + -*ndo*. English progressives are used much more frequently than Spanish ones and PP ones at the time contact was introduced, and so could cause the frequency of –*ndo* progressives in PP to increase if speakers relate the English and PP constructions (Prince 1988, Silva-Corvalán 1991).

In contrast, Figure 3 shows that the decline in rate of –*ndo* in absolutive clauses is about the same in Spanish and PP. This use of –*ndo* does not appear to be influenced by English.
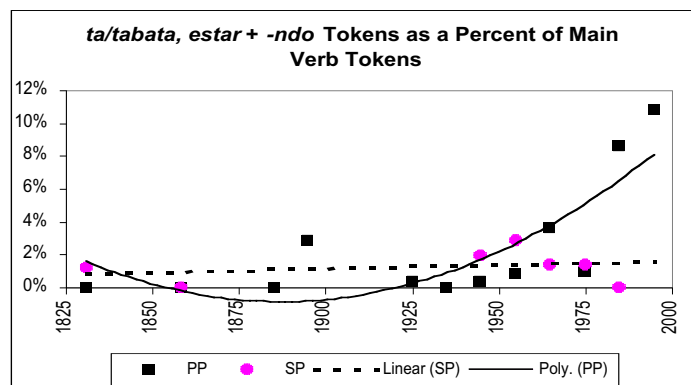
Figure 2. Comparison of *ta/tabata, estar + -ndo* in PP, Venezuelan Spanish
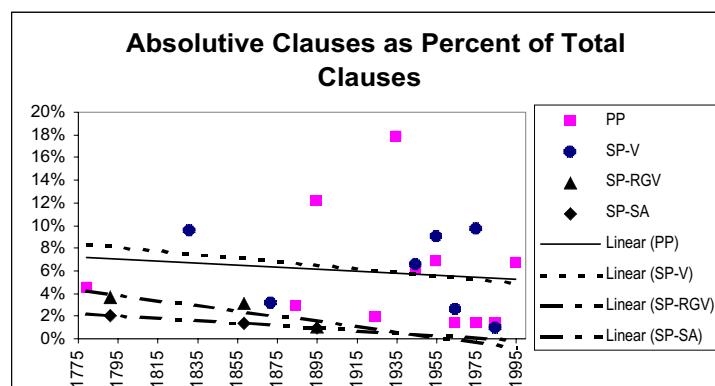
Figure 3. Absolutive –*ndo* in PP, Venezuelan, and *Tejano*[10] Spanish

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[10]SP-V is Venezuelan data in absolutives per total clauses. SP-RGV and SP-SA are dialects of *Tejano* Spanish (Rio Grande Valley, San Antonio) (Martínez 2000), in

7.3 Observations from the 20ᵗʰ Century Texts

7.3.1 The Integration of *–ndo* into the Grammar of Papiamentu

The PP periphrastic progressive construction is composed of a preverbal marker (*ta* or *tabata*) and a verb marked by *–ndo*. Certain verbs cannot be marked by *ta*, some are optionally marked by *ta*, and others must be marked by *ta* (or another preverbal marker). Only verbs that can be marked by *ta* can appear in a periphrastic progressive in PP. Thus, a PP stative verb that takes *ta* could be found with *–ndo* even though such a case would be un-grammatical in Spanish. Finding such cases should be possible since *ta* and *esta* are not exactly equal. Though they are rare, we do find them (18, 19). In these examples, PP allows stative *live* and *keep* to take *-ndo*, while Span-ish would express these with the present indicative.

> (18) *Konsiderando ku   nos **ta   bibando** den un mundo kaminda notisia*
>   consider-GER that we IMP live-GER in a world   where   news,
>   *propaganda material i   pelikula i   novela konstantamente ta*
>   propaganda   and movie and novel constantly   IMP
>   *influensha nos mente…*
>   influence   our thought…   (96:14)
> Considering that we live in a world where news, propaganda, mov-
> ies, and books constantly influence our thoughts…
>
> (19) *A medida ku sentro di Otrobanda **ta   kedando**   kla,   Selikor,…*
>   while   center of Otrobanda IMP keep-GER clean, Selikor, …
>   *mester kuminsá krea   e   sirkunstansha pa nos sentro di*
>   should begin   create the circumstance for our center of
>   *siudat por haña   un bisto mas higieniko i   keda limpi*
>   city be able become obvious more hygenic and keep clean
>   *per*manentemente
>   permanently   (31:154)
> While the center of Otrobanda is keeping clean, Selikor …should
> begin creating a way for our downtown to become noticeably
> cleaner and keep clean permanently.

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number of absolutes per narrative. Regression slopes can be compared, but not actual values.

7.3.2 The Influence of English

Further evidence of borrowing from English is found in the form of nonce-borrowings of surface word strings that could only have come from English (20). Spanish uses an infinitive here.

    (20) *Pero aseptando   e   chens pa bai pariba ta   grandi.*
        but   accept-GER the risk   of go there   COP great.
        *Pero aceptando la oportunidad para ir ariba está grande.
        But accepting the risk of going there [to jail] is a big deal.

7.4 Analysis and Discussion

The *–ndo* affix was probably introduced by Spanish-dominant bilinguals, who used the form when speaking and writing PP. They only added the morpheme to Iberian verbs. They would have used the affix as in the most common Spanish usage, absolute clauses, and in the speech styles and genres in which it was typically used in Spanish.

    Both the irregular gerund forms reported in the literature and the texts in which they appear support this hypothesis. First, recall that stative verbs in Spanish can take *–ndo* in absolute clauses, but not in progressive cases. The irregular forms found are all statives—'to be', 'to have', 'to be able to', 'to want', 'to believe'.   Since none of these can take progressive *–ndo* in Spanish, the Spanish speakers who first used the affix in PP would not have used them in the context of a periphrastic progressive. Thus, *-ndo* was clearly used in absolute clauses at the time the irregular forms were first borrowed into PP. Second, Álvarez (1995) notes that *-ndo* absolute clauses are used frequently in legal and administrative Spanish[11]. The first attested *–ndo* in PP is found in a document with some legal weight—a letter signed by individuals swearing to the veracity of its contents—which is just where we would expect to find a token.

    The interference hypothesis is also supported by the work of Prince and Pintzuk (2000), who showed that bilingual speakers do not seem to have full control of items in closed lexical classes (i.e. functional items) in their L2, as evidenced by the fact that closed class items from the L1 surface when they speak their L2, but not vice versa. The *–ndo* affix discussed here is a functional morpheme in Spanish, so should be considered a closed class item. As such, we can expect it to have surfaced in the PP of L1 Spanish speakers.

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[11] Spanish progressive *–ndo* is used more frequently in casual speech.

Spanish-dominant bilinguals would have held a high social status. Their introduction of the affix may have been copied by members of lower social classes for prestige purposes, in change from above fashion. It would also have been copied by the children of Spanish-dominant bilinguals, simply because that is the variety of PP that they heard. Once L1 PP speakers began to use –*ndo* productively, we can say that it changed from being an interference feature of the Spanish speakers to a borrowing for PP speakers.

It is difficult to say for certain when –*ndo* first began to be used by PP speakers, but we can use existing information to pinpoint the time frame. Integration had already occurred by the time of the publication of the Curaçao newspaper (1871). The first example is found in 1803[12], so we can suppose that integration occurred some time in the first half of the 19th century.

The affix has been in use in PP since 1803 and PP speakers have been bilingual in Spanish and Dutch since before that time. Dutch has no progressive morphology. In Spanish, –*ndo* has both gerundive and progressive functions, but periphrastic progressive constructions do not appear in PP until the 20th century.

In 1915, English entered the contact picture with the introduction of the petroleum industry in Curaçao. In cases of Spanish-English contact, it has been reported that English dominant bilinguals overuse the Spanish periphrastic progressive (e.g. Floyd 1978, Klein 1980). At the time when English speakers arrived on the islands, auxiliary + verb + -*ndo* was an infrequently used, though possible construction (15). I argue that PP-English bilinguals began to use the periphrastic progressive construction in PP after identifying it with the analogous English construction (copula + verb + -*ndo*) via the kind of surface string matching reported in Prince (1988) . This construction is more frequent in English than Spanish, and thus more salient. If English had not entered the contact picture, PP speakers may not have picked up the elusive Spanish periphrastic progressive.

English-dominant bilinguals first used *ta/tabata* + verb + -*ndo* as a periphrastic progressive, but PP-dominant speakers (children of the English speakers and others) have now adopted the construction. Once speakers

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[12] Additional evidence may require a slight revision of the early boundary on integration on Aruba. No –*ndo* was found in the 1775 and 1776 texts. Both were only a few lines long each, and both were written by Curaçao residents. –*Ndo* examples were found in 1871 Curaçao texts, so the 1800-1850 integration period is certainly reasonable for Curaçao, assuming that the absence of –*ndo* in these texts is indicative of its overall absence from the language at that time. The 1803 example came from an Aruba resident, in the earliest available Aruba text. We have no way of confirming that –*ndo* was not in use on Aruba before 1803. My estimate of the time of integration conservatively assumes that –*ndo* was not used in Aruba before 1803.

identified it with the English progressive construction, they began to use it more and more frequently, eventually surpassing the rate at which progressive *-ndo* is used in Spanish.

8   Summary, Conclusions, and Future Work

To summarize, when an inflectional morpheme is borrowed, its grammatical function may also be borrowed. Where a morpheme has more than one function in a language, it is not the case that all functions are borrowed with the morpheme. Here, English and Spanish have similar surface strings for the periphrastic progressive, but English uses this construction more frequently than Spanish, making it more salient. Contact with Spanish provided the morpheme, but surface string matching with the English progressive lead to the increase in use of periphrastic progressives, as indicated by the fact that this increase occurred only after English was introduced into the contact situation. Thus, the present state of *–ndo* in PP can only be explained by referencing the successive influences of Spanish and then English on the creole. The saliency of the borrowed item in the source language, time of contact, and nonce borrowings together explain how this borrowing took place.

Further work with *–ndo* is needed. Current data show that *-ndo* is used more frequently on Aruba and in newspapers (as opposed to other islands and genres), suggesting regional and possibly social and/or stylistic variation, but spoken data and ethnographic observations are needed to understand the variation. In addition, there is some debate in the literature about the degree to which the use of Spanish morphemes like *–ndo* is indicative of the overall hispanization of the creole. It is wrong to say that PP is undergoing heavy decreolization as there is no evidence of a continuum of lects from PP to Spanish. However, it is possible that there are regional, social, and/or stylistic varieties of the creole which are more or less 'hispanized', in other words, which show more or less influence from Spanish. These can also be better understood through spoken data and ethnography.

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