Papiamentu, the vernacular of the islands of Curacao, Aruba and Bonaire, Netherlands Antilles, is an Afro-Iberian Creole. It appears to be descended from a Spanish-based Creole once widely used in the circum-Caribbean area, itself showing an Afro-Portuguese substrate, whose existence has recently been posited. Another closely related Afro-Hispanic Creole, Palenquero, is in use in a village in northern Colombia, and there are relics of similar Creoles, now largely extinct, in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and elsewhere.

Dutch elements are also strongly present in Papiamentu alongside the Iberian (Castilian and non-Castilian, the precise origin of the latter still vigorously disputed) lexical and phonological elements. Non-European lexical contributions, on the other hand, are significantly less than in other Creoles of the Western Hemisphere. By contrast, for example, with Sranan, Haitian Creole or Jamaican Creole, the number of African loanwords which have so far been discovered in Papiamentu is limited to around thirty, some of which are obsolescent.

Numerically, English loanwords occupy the third position of importance in the Papiamentu lexicon, after the Iberian and the Dutch elements. Lexical loans showing some degree of creolization or naturalization, whether semantic or phonological, and which may be traced either to English or to the English-affiliated Creoles of the Caribbean (principally Jamaican, as will be demonstrated), number in excess of sixty. Such English loanwords which have become an integral part of the Papiamentu lexicon do not exceed 1% of the total vocabulary of the language, and are, therefore, in no way comparable with the Iberian loans, which constitute some 90% of the total, and the Dutch, which provide the majority of the remainder.

Creolized English loans, adapted to accord with the phonology
of Papiamentu, and often showing minor, or even major, semantic change at, or since, entry into the language, must be distinguished from the numerous technical, sporting and other terms which are borrowed on an *ad hoc* basis by sophisticated speakers. These undergo little or no creolization, and are conscious foreign loans. Just as Papiamentu draws its religious and philosophical vocabulary freely from Spanish, beyond the basic vocabulary used by all speakers of the language, it may be said that, since the establishment of the American-owned oil refinery on Aruba, and the penetration of American and other English-speaking commercial interests into many facets of the commercial life of the islands, a free borrowing of technical terms from English (rather than from Spanish or Dutch) has been accepted by Papiamentu speakers as the normal means of augmenting the technical vocabulary of the vernacular.

Such borrowing is, however, taking place in many parts of the world at the present time, and its occurrence in Curaçao and Aruba is of comparatively minor linguistic interest. Of significantly greater interest, however, is the corpus of partially or wholly creolized English loans. In most cases, native speakers of Papiamentu are unaware of their etymology. Some loans have themselves produced compounds, by affixation, within the morphosyntactic system of the Creole. Another form of creolization noted is change of word class or extension of a particular etymon to an additional class.

As Curaçao served as the leading center of slaving activities in the Caribbean, contact with English-speaking islands was close during the formative years of the language,⁸ a few words of which, in forms recognizably close to their present structure, are recorded from around 1700.⁹ Numerous slaves were shipped from Curaçao to such English-speaking islands as Jamaica, and plantation owners and others came from Jamaica and other islands in the plantation economy of the West Indies to purchase slaves.¹⁰ The Jamaican Creole loans may be assumed to date from the period beginning in 1662, when the slave trade began to dominate the economy of the island. A decline in slaving, and in contacts with other islands through such trade, began in 1713.¹¹

A second historical period which provided circumstances favorable for the accretion of English loans was that of the Napoleonic Wars. After having been in Dutch hands since 1643, Curaçao was occupied by the English in 1800 and until 1803, and from 1807 until 1816. It is, in fact, from the first period of British occupation
that the first recorded use of the name of the language (as 'Papimento') appears. Curacao was restored to The Netherlands in 1816, and is now an autonomous part of the Kingdom. Since around the middle of the nineteenth century, the principal English-speaking country with which the Antilles have maintained contacts has been the United States, and recent borrowings in technical fields are demonstrably of American origin.

As will be demonstrated, many English loanwords have undergone considerable change within Papiamentu, and are frequently no longer prima facie recognizable. This has led previous students of the sources of the Papiamentu lexicon to underestimate both the extent of English contributions and their degree of incorporation into the structure of Papiamentu. Rudolf Lenz, for example, in his classic study, simply omits most of the English loans, as they did not happen to occur in his 2500-word corpus. Indeed, the only truly creolized English loans noted by Lenz were ararú, bek, waf and the pair sap and sapéro.

Several subsequent scholars have failed to recognize the antiquity, as evinced by the degree of creolization, semantic change, the obsolescence of the English etymon, etc., of English loanwords. Van Balen, for example, comments, "De Hollandsche (en andere Europeesche, met name Engelsche) invloeden zijn grootendeels van recente datum, doch met een merkbare neiging tot krachtiger worden, als gevolg van de economische infiltratie sinds de komst van de olievoorspoed." His claim regarding the age of the Dutch loans has been ably refuted by Maduro, but Van Balen errs equally in his assumption of a recent date for the entry of most English loans.

Likewise, another scholar, Latour, plainly fails to recognize many creolized English loans. Those which he cites are still patently English in origin: "De Engelse woorden zijn vrij gering in getal... Al lang hebben burgerrecht: diab, shap, chens, back (alleen als werkwoord: achteruit rijden), tyre, wire, stop, Shilin." Only the Antillian Maduro has, in the past decade, correctly identified many of the more totally assimilated lexical loans, and for the first time significantly raised the total number of known English loanwords. He has also shown that, in the pre-modern period, the sources of English loans must be sought in West Indian especially Jamaican, English, as well as in the standard language. This is true, incidentally, also of the many Dutch loans. In early times, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, these often
came from non-standard Dutch dialects, whereas today they enter from the standard *algemeen beschafd*.

It is hoped that the following glossary of English loanwords in the Afro-Hispanic creole of Curacao, Aruba and Bonaire will prove to be reasonably complete. The author would welcome comments or additions. Only words showing some adaptation to the phonology, morphology or lexicon of Papiamentu have been included. Section 3) lists a sampling of typical transient loans of a technical or modish nature, which show no such adaptation.

**I. GLOSSARY OF TOTALLY OR PARTIALLY CREOLIZED ENGLISH LOANS**

The phonemic transcription used throughout the present study is based upon that of *Wood, 1970,* and *Silva-Fuenzalida, 1952.*

**aranit,** nn. ‘arrowroot’ < Eng. *arrowroot.* One of the few words identified by *Lenz* as being of English origin.

**bek,** adv., vb. ‘back’ < Eng. *back.* This is the English loan of most frequent occurrence in written texts and speech. In normal usage, this is primarily, or solely, an adverb, used in conjunction with certain verbs, mainly of motion, in a manner reminiscent of the separable verbs of Dutch, which consist of a verb and a separable prepositional or adverbial prefix. As has been noted elsewhere by the present author, such constructions in Papiamentu are the result of Dutch syntactic influence; e.g. Pap. *pasa oʃr* ‘pass over, cross’ is a calque of Du. *overgaan* ‘go over, pass over, cross,’ as in Du. *je gaat over* ‘you pass over, cross,’ cf. Pap. *bo ta pasa oʃr.* In this instance, although the lexical loan *bek* is of English origin, some of the verbs with which it is characteristically associated in Papiamentu are reminiscent of certain separable verbs of Dutch. Some degree of calquing may be present in the frequent combinations *bay bek* ‘go back, return’ (influenced by Du. *teruggaan*?), *bini bek* ‘come back, return’ (Du. *terugkomen*?), *dal bek* ‘hit back, hit again’ (a calque of Du. *terugslaan*), *hala bek* ‘pull back’ (Du. *terugtrekken*?), *manda bek* ‘send back, return’ (Du. *terugsturen, terugzenden*?), Such verb phrases are, of course, structurally similar to Eng. *come back, send back,* etc.; but the basic syntactic structure is of Dutch origin and has merely been applied, here, to an English lexical loan, just as, in many other instances, Iberian-derived adverbs (many of them originally prepositions) are used in
similar structures, e.g. *kay adén* 'fall in, collapse.' *bek* is a part, not only of the spoken, but of the written language.20

A single page of a typical popular-legal work21 provides three occurrences:

"Kico lo pasa si e persona cu a worde declara probablemente morto a bini back?" ("What would happen if the person who had been declared presumed dead came back, returned?")

"...nan balor mester worde debolbe na e bek." ("...their value must be returned to him.")

"...e no por pidi su esposo of esposa bek." ("...he cannot seek the return of his husband or wife.")

Other frequent uses noted were *óra e/ a ó/ m' 6f& Aas* "when he returned home," *nos ta bay bek Korsiw* "we are going back to, returning to, Curaçao."

This loanword was found in the speech of all informants, in all socio-economic brackets and geographical areas.

Interestingly, an instance of *bek*, in a somewhat unusual sense, was noted in the speech of a folklore informant in Otrobanda, Curaçao; her idiolect was otherwise almost free of English loans. Speaking of an exploit of Nanzi, the folk-hero spider, she said, "el a hana su kumfnda bek bon," lit. "he got his food back well," not implying that Nanzi had previously had the food, and had now regained it, but that the food was his reward for the exploit described earlier in the narrative. In this sense, semantic development to the sense 'in return' has occurred.

More recently, *oac&* has again been borrowed, in this case as a verb in the technical sense 'to back (of a motor vehicle).’ A nominal compound has been formed in this sense, see 2).

*blok*, nn. 'boot blacking, shoe polish' < Eng. *black* in its compounds *blacking, boot black, boot blacking*. No reference to color is felt by the Papiamentu speaker, and such combinations with a color adjective as *blok prétn* 'black blacking, black shoe polish,' *blok korá* 'red blacking, red shoe polish,' are common.

*blo*, vb. ‘turn up, appear suddenly’ < colloquial Eng. *blow in*. The *in* is lost. This may possibly be borrowed from maritime language. Like *bek*, this was noted from an informant in a folk narrative: *ata nanzi ta blo* "look, Nanzi turns up, appears." To judge from its occurrence in the idiolect of such a speaker, in such a highly traditional narrative, *blo* must be an early borrowing. It is now infrequently heard, and may be obsolescent.
"bloedvin," nn. 'varicose vein, carbuncle' possibly < Eng. *blue vein. Although MADURO posits a Dutch etymology for this, *bloedvin, with a meaning similar to the Papiamentu term, he does not account for the unusual loss of d [t], nor for the highly irregular vowel correspondence, Du. i as against Pap. ey. Influence of Eng. *vein seems probable; indeed, *bloedvin bears a notable resemblance to the English nonce combination *blue vein, although no specialized or established compound in this sense appears to be recorded in English. The occurrence of Pap. f for Eng. v in *vein has a parallel in Pap. fille 'plantation overseer' < Sp. vector.

"boxs," nn. 'post office box' < Eng. box. This is probably a rather recent borrowing. A distinction is now maintained between kaha or bos, both in the sense 'box (container, not P.O. box)' and the technical, precise boxs. More recently, the English sporting term box has produced the sporting noun and verb boxs in Papiamentu, which in turn has given rise to a mixed noun boxsdó (see later).

bonti, nn. 'bundle' < Eng. bunch. Considerably adapted within Papiamentu. Most Papiamentu nouns in -ti are derived from Dutch diminutives in -te, realized in the coastal Dutch dialects, from which many early Papiamentu loanwords are taken, as [ti]. Examples include sinto 'kiss' < Du. dim. zoenje 'little kiss,' bonti 'board, sign' < Du. bordje, and over a hundred others. This has had a general effect upon Papiamentu phonology: loans from other languages originally in [C] or [CV] are generally reflected in Papiamentu as -ti. bonti, stiti and winti are English loans which show this tendency. Although not originally diminutives, such English loanwords, like others from Spanish such as biwi 'worm' < Sp. bicho, may now be labelled quasi-diminutives. bonti refers to a bundle (of wood, clothing, etc.), rather than a bunch of flowers or fruit; this may reflect a non-standard English usage.

capi, nn. 'spade,' capi, vb. 'clear land' < Eng. vb. chop, probably via a Jamaican intermediary. It is noteworthy that Afro-Cuban dialect chop-chapi 'chop' is probably also of Jamaican Creole origin. ESCALANTE suggests 1713–1724 as the period of entry of this loan into Afro-Cuban from Jamaica, and, in view of the gradual decline of the slave-trade between 1713 and 1750 and the resulting decline in Curaçaoan contact with Jamaica, it is likely that capi entered Papiamentu between, or before, the dates mentioned.
tens, nn. 'chance' < Eng. chance; the vowel suggests a North American model. This is a fairly recent loan, probably dating from the turn of the present century. It was not heard by the present author during fieldwork in the kunuku of Curacao and Bonaire, but was noted from Willemstad residents of various socio-economic and racial backgrounds, not all high-prestige dialect speakers. Such phrases as mi ta duna nu un tens "I give, I am giving, you a chance," lo mi tuma e tens "I will the chance take, take the risk," were frequently noted; both may be loan translations of the corresponding English phrases, and the latter probably is. Other senses of Eng. chance are expressed by oportuinidad, kasualidad, and are semantically distinct from tens.

fundesi, nn. 'foundation, basis' < Eng. foundation. Phonological creolization is markedly evident. The ending -si places the word in the rather numerous category of quasi-diminutives, nouns which have, for basically phonological reasons, assumed the ending -si and which are, consequently, thought of by the native speaker, to some extent, as diminutives or affectives. Although Pap. e [e] or ey [ej] are closer, phonetically, to the a of Eng. foundation, they do not occur before -si; cf. Pap. kesi 'cheese' < Du. dial. keesje; pesi 'pimple' < Du. puistje; sosesi 'sausage' < Du. saucijsje. It is clear that the source of this loan is spoken, not written, English. Otherwise, the appearance of foundation would doubtless have led to the adoption of *fundason, in accordance with the regular development of Spanish nouns in -cion. The vowel u [u] of Pap. fundesi is probably caused by analogy with Pap. funda 'found, base, establish.'

gul, nn. 'gale' < Eng. gale. Occurs only in phrase kore gul 'run a gale.' Another loan from maritime English; the verb phrase is clearly a calque of Eng. run a gale; the English origin of gul is identified by MADURO, who does not, however, identify the calque. The vowel correspondence is highly unusual.

grons, brons, nn. 'grunt, a kind of fish, Haemulon sciurus' < Eng. plu. grunts. OED 4:473, "Grunt. A name for American fishes of the genus Haemulon and allied species (as Orthopristis chrysopeterus). So called from the noise they make when taken." One of the earlier OED citations is from Jamaica (1713). MADURO cites grunt in this sense in the Netherlands Leeward Islands (St. Eustatius, St. Maarten, Saba); however, it is widespread elsewhere. This is
one of several examples of the borrowing of an English (or in one case, Dutch) monosyllabic plural in nasal (+ t) + s as a singular, or collective, in Papiamentu; cf. sens, yams hereunder.

jánkro, nn. 'black, esp. from former British West Indies (term of insult)' < Jam. Eng. johnrow.29

jafp, nn. 'job' < Eng. job. A relatively recent loan; the vowel suggests an American model. The final stop is devoiced, as always in Papiamentu, a phonological phenomenon of Dutch origin.30

jérki, yérki, yérki and variants, nn. 'jerked meat' < Eng. (primarily American) jerky, which is largely colloquial and dialectal; probably from sailors' language.

jínja, nn. 'hedgehog' < Jam. Eng. tejáj, the first variant listed by Cassidy & Lépage.31 Final voiced stops do not now occur in Papiamentu. Other instances of loans from an original -g show devoicing; however, it is possible that, rather than being devoiced, a voiced stop, upon borrowing into Papiamentu, might be lost. There are no direct parallels to this, as the languages which have provided Papiamentu with the great majority of its lexicon, Spanish and Dutch, do not themselves permit final voiced stops. However, final [x] of Dutch -ig is regularly lost, cf. Pap. mônídi 'of age' < Du. mondig, jordri 'sad' < Du. verdrietig, etc. An -n- frequently develops before a consonant medially, e.g. nanse-nase 'be born' < Sp. nacer. Generation of an initial palatal through assimilation is paralleled by Pap. svíš-svíši < Sp. sucio, švíši 'elder sister' < Du. zusje, where a palatal is produced by assimilation to its later occurrence in the word.

jis, adv. 'just, merely; right now, immediately, at once' < Eng. just. This has been extended semantically to the sense 'immediately, at once,' which is also conveyed in Papiamentu by umbé (< un wes < Sp. una vez). This semantic development may be based upon the temporal sense of Eng. just now. In its other senses, typical phrases are jis un drópīt 'just a drop,' jis un florím 'just one guilder.' The word is typical of low-prestige urban Papiamentu. In kunúku (country) usage and the literary language expressions such as un florím so 'one guilder only, just one guilder' would be preferred.
jónki, nn. 'piece, lump (primarily of food, esp. meat)'< an obsolete sense of Eng. junk. OED 5:632, 'Junk. 2. A piece or lump of anything; a chunk.' This sense of Eng. junk is now obsolete, but still recorded, dialectally, in Jam. Eng., by CASSIDY & LEPAGE: "(In Std Engl. today, 'chunk' would be used in the senses below.) 2. A large piece or lump, esp of meat."32 The Papiamentu word may alternatively have been borrowed from standard English when junk was current in this sense; or from Jamaican English then or at a later date.

MADURO33 claims that the word must originally have been *jónk, with accretion of final -i through the frequent occurrence of the unstressed variant of di 'of', i, between *jónk and the following noun, e.g. jónk i kárni (or jónki kárni) 'piece of meat' (< *

jónk di kárni), jónk i kési 'piece of cheese' (< *jónk di kési). This is, indeed, a possible explanation, not merely of the -i on jónki, but of numerous Papiamentu words in -nki and, generally, in nasal + stop + i. Similar examples of nouns expressive of quantity, occurring in phrases similar to the above, lend credence to this theory, e.g. klómpi 'lump', thus, < Du. klomp through regular occurrence in such phrases as *klomp i óro 'lump of gold' (*klomp di óro) > modern Pap. klómpi óro, in careful speech klómpi di óro.

Nevertheless, this explanation, though plausible, is not definitive. All Dutch nouns in nasal + k add final -i in Papiamentu, as do most in nasal + any stop. Many of these do not, unlike the quantifiers, occur in contexts followed by di 'of' plus another noun, e.g. báinki 'bench; bank' < Du. bank. They do, however, occur in Dutch as common diminutives, adding -je in standard Dutch. In the Dutch coastal dialects from which the earlier Dutch lexical loans in Papiamentu are drawn, this diminutive suffix is consistently realized as -[i], e.g. Du. dial. ['baŋki], stand. Du. bankje 'little bench,' etc. Bearing in mind the great frequency of borrowing of Dutch diminutive nouns in Papiamentu, producing such typical final syllables as -ët, -êt, -i, the theory of the assimilation of the unstressed variant of the morpheme /di/ shows some weakness. Many of the nouns which themselves may be used to demonstrate the latter theory, could well have been borrowed in originally diminutive form, e.g. klómpi perhaps < Du. dim. klómpje 'little lump'.

klop, nn. 'truncheon, club, stick.' MADURO34 claims a derivation from Eng. club. Phonetically, this is, indeed, possible. The same vowel correspondence occurs, for example, in grons, above, and
devoicing of the final stop is automatic. However, an alternative etymology is at least equally plausible, and the etymon in such a case is almost identical phonetically: Du. kloppen, vb. 'knock, tap.' Or, here as elsewhere in Papiamentu, mutual reinforcement of two similar loans may be at work.

konkl, vb. 'knock together, bump.' MADURO\(^3\) suggests Jam. Eng. kunk, in the same meaning, cited from CASSIDY.\(^3\) Final -l, however, remains unexplained. Perhaps an independent onomatopoeic invention.

lagumáy, interj. 'never mind' < Eng. never mind; possibly a conscious deformation thereof, jocularly used by a few sophisticated speakers, perhaps with overtones of lagé bay 'let it (him) go' in the sense 'it does not matter, forget it.' Probably an ephemeral loan, and only heard among a few highly sophisticated urban speakers.

lapistin, nn. whetstone < obsolescent Eng. lapstone, cf. MADURO.\(^3\) Epenthetic vowel as in selig 'sail-thread' < Du. zeilgaren.

maniwal, nn. 'medusa, Portuguese man-of-war' < Eng. (Portuguese) man-of-war. Correctly identified by MADURO.\(^3\) The change of final liquid is a frequent characteristic of Papiamentu, cf. dol 'yolk' < Du. dial. dor.

muf, vb. 'move' < Eng. move. Probably a rather recent loan, but now widely heard, at least in urban usage. Pap. move < Sp. mover is also current, and, while no semantic distinction could be discerned between the two, muf is the lower-prestige form. Like the voiced stops, Pap. /v/ does not occur finally. This is again the result of Dutch phonological influence.

nek, vb. 'nag, tease, torment' < Eng. nag.\(^3\) Cf. the vowel of bek < back, Final -k through devoicing of final stops.

norvéji, nn., adj. 'Norwegian' < Eng. Norwegian. The only Papiamentu nationality name showing English influence (except for possible reinforcement of čínés 'Chinese'). Note final palatal + i, cf. the many words in -ti, ść.

škles, nn. 'hogfish, Hypoplectrus unicolor' < Eng. hogfish. GED
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5:325, "Hogfish. 4. Also applied to other kinds of fish, esp. the West Indian Lachnolaemus maximus or suillus, having 14 dorsal spines...." However, non-English influence is also present, as -ifes is the regular morpheme in several compound fish names borrowed from Dutch -vis 'fish' compounds. Dutch short i regularly > Pap. je/; k here again through devoicing of syllable-final stops.

pen, vb. 'pin' < Eng. pin. Used especially of pinning the upper of a shoe to the last.\(^{40}\)

piki, nn. 'pickax, pick' < Eng. pick. MADURO\(^{41}\) correctly cites this etymology, without, however, explaining -i. However, cf. diki 'thick' < Du. dik; réki 'rack, roost' < Du. rek; and the verb piki 'pick, pick up' probably < Du. pikken.

polis, nn. 'policeman; smoked herring, bloater' < Eng. police (perhaps in its colloquial and non-standard sense 'policeman'). Refers, not to the police force as a unit, which is consistently, in Papiamentu, polisia < Sp. policia, but to the individual. Papiamentu borrows philosophical concepts and abstracts, as well as formal titles of social institutions, freely from Spanish. Dutch and to some extent English, on the other hand, are frequent sources of vocabulary of a less formal or abstract nature. This distinction is evident in polisia 'police force,' the abstract concept, as opposed to polis, the individual member of that force, with whom the average Antillian has dealings.

The figurative use 'smoked herring, bloater' cited by MADURO and called by him 'gemeenzaam,'\(^{42}\) may be due to a perceived resemblance between the smoked fish and the nineteenth-century uniformed policeman.

ponké, nn. 'a kind of Antillian cake' < Venezuelan Sp. ponqué which < Eng. pancake or possibly poundcake. The term is used only on Aruba\(^{43}\) where Spanish influences, primarily from Venezuela, are somewhat stronger than on Curaçao.

prisón, nn. 'prison,' possibly < Eng. prison. LENZ\(^{44}\) assigns to prisón a Portuguese origin, prisão, which is indeed phonologically possible, but adds "también se puede pensar en f. [= francés] prison." In general, LENZ was too eager to assign to Portuguese all possibly Iberian loans not patently Castilian in phonology.
Eng. *prison* with stress-shift under influence of Sp. *prisión* or the many Papiamentu nouns in -ón, cannot be ruled out.

*pudín*, nn. ‘pudding’ either < Sp. *pudín* which < Eng. *pudding*, or directly < Eng. *pudding* but under influence of Sp. *pudín*; cf. *silín* in the latter case. Unstressed Du. Eng. -ing are otherwise lost or reduced, cf. *fordíp* ‘floor, story’ < Du. *verdieping*.

*réfri*, nn. ‘referee, umpire’ < Eng. *referee*. A sporting term borrowed in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and showing the characteristic disyllabic structure of numerous creolized Papiamentu words, with loss, here, of unstressed medial syllable. Cf. *mésldá* ‘mason’ < Du. *metselaar*, *kana* ‘walk’ < Sp. *caminar*.

*sanpépr*, nn. ‘sand-paper’ < Eng. *sand-paper*. Note stress-shift.

*sens*, *sen*, nn. ‘cent; (colloquially) money’ < Eng. plu. *cents*. As in *grons* and *yams*, a singular (or collective) is derived from a monosyllable in nasal (+ t) + s. Cf. also *dams* ‘girl’ < Du. plu *dames* ‘ladies.’ Derivation from obsolescent Du. *cents* ‘cents’ is also possible (now more usually *cent*, *centen*). In colloquial, low-prestige Papiamentu, *sens*, *sen* has taken on the sense ‘money,’ which in standard Papiamentu is *pláka*. *Sens* is doubtless the older variant, while *sen*, which was indentified by several informants as a lower-prestige form, shows loss of final -s, a prime characteristic of such social dialects both in Papiamentu and in the Spanish of the circum-Caribbean area and elsewhere.

*sleák*, vb. ‘mete out, pay out (rope)’ < Eng. *slack*. Another maritime loan.

*smóksi*, nn. ‘tuxedo, dinner jacket’ < Eng. *smoking* (jacket) via Du. *smoking*. On loss of final unstressed -ng cf. examples cited under *pudín*, above.

*snéldi*, nn. ‘short line of metal, nylon, etc., used to fasten a fish-hook to a fishing rod.’48 < Amer. Eng. *snell*. *OED* 9:316, “Snell. U.S. [of obscure origin]. A short line of gut or horsehair by which a fish-hook is attached to a longer line.” The first printed use cited by *OED* is 1895; but the use of *snéldi*, with characteristic diminutive suffix added within Papiamentu, is well established and may well date from an earlier period.
snök, adj. ‘tight, tightly fastened’ < Eng. snug. MADURO⁴⁵ cites ser e snök ‘tie him up, fasten him tightly’.

stîći, vb. ‘stitch’ < Eng. stitch. As has been observed under bûncï, the Dutch diminutives which entered Papiamentu in -ci had a general phonological effect in the language; hence, most English and other borrowings originally in -[ê], whether nouns or not, appear in Papiamentu as -ci, cf. bûncï, winëci.

stop, vb. ‘stop (esp. of a motor vehicle)’ < Eng. stop. The vowel shows possible Dutch influence; contrast sap < (Am.) Eng. shop. Interchangeable with the traditional verb para but confined, unlike it, largely to urban use.

šap, nn. ‘tavern (on Curacao); grocery store, tavern (on Aruba)’ < Eng. shop; the vowel indicates a probable American English model. Probably an old loanword, as a compound by affixation has already been produced in Papiamentu, šapero (see under), and šap has undergone semantic change in the basic meaning ‘tavern,’ the only one current upon both islands; in this sense it may be based upon English grog shop. Cf. Curaçaoan tyënda ‘shop, store, grocery store.’

șilin, nn. ‘shilling’ < Eng. shilling, possibly influenced in stress and vowel quality by Sp. chelín ‘shilling’; the stress pattern may be additionally reinforced by the common florin ‘guilder.’

șobil, vb. ‘shuffle (cards, dominoes)’ < Eng. shuffle. Possibly influenced by Eng. shovel?

tîya, nn. ‘tire (on motor vehicle)’ < Eng. tire. The expression flat tire is borrowed intact on Aruba, as flat täya; on Curaçao, however, täya abòwu is heard, literally ‘tire down.’⁴⁶

tolpen, nn. ‘rowlock, oarlock’ < obsolescent Eng. tholepin. MADURO⁴⁷ identifies this etymology. Also döl < Du. dol.

törëyn, nn. ‘tureen, large bowl. esp. for soup’ < Eng. tureen. MADURO⁴⁸ calls the English derivation probable but cites Du. Fr. terrine also. However, the French loan is rare in Dutch and the English is closer phonologically.
vb. 'tow' < Eng. *tow*. Another loan in a maritime semantic area. The diphthong may be from an English dialect which shows a similar diphthong in tow, or influenced by Du. *tow* 'rope' in such semantically related phrases as *op sleeptouw nemen* 'take in tow.'

trem, vb. 'distribute load (on ship), stow (cargo); control, keep in check' < Eng. *trim* in its maritime senses. Still primarily maritime in Papiamentu, but MADURO cites a non-literary, figurative use in *su padrás a la trem e* 'his stepfather controls him, keeps him in check,' a good example of colorful, imaginative Antillian language and an interesting semantic development.

waf, nn. 'dock, wharf' < Eng. *wharf*. Cf. loss of postvocalic r in tóya, wóya. Like these, waf may be borrowed from one of the many varieties of English which shows no liquid postvocically for /r/, such as Southeastern British, Eastern New England, Southern U.S. or West Indian. A derivation from Du. *werf* 'shipbuilding yard' is phonologically unlikely (cf. /er/ 'paint' < Du. *verven*), but the influence of Du. *haven* < Pap. *haf* 'harbor,' or rather, mutual influence between haf and waf < *wharf*, which are frequently found in combination as *waf i haf*, cannot be ruled out.

wóya, nn. 'wire (generally of metal)' < Eng. Cf. *tóya*. A semantic distinction between three senses all subsumed, in Dutch, by draad 'thread; string; wire' is maintained in Papiamentu, through the adoption of one loanword from each of three languages: wóya 'wire, metal wire'; hilu 'thread, yarn' < Sp. *hilos*; and draat 'thread' < Du. *draad*.

winci, nn. 'winch, capstan' < Eng. *winch*. Cf. bonci, stići. Another loan in the field of seamanship.

yams, nn. 'yam' < Eng. plu. *yams*. Although the word yam is originally of African origin, final s here points to an English intermediary. Another singular (collective) borrowing of a monosyllable in nasal + s, cf. sens etc.

II. INTERNAL DERIVATIVES FROM ENGLISH ROOTS WITHIN PAPIAMENTU

bekmén, nn. 'backing, reversing (of motor vehicle)', from bek plus the very productive substantivizing suffix -mén denoting an action, the progression of an action, or the result thereof; cf.
the name of the language itself, Ƿeworthy, talk' + mên'. ߠig during 'fight, fighting' < vb. bringa, etc. bekmente is either a spontaneous formation within Papiamentu or a calque of Eng. backing.

boksdo, nn. 'boxer' < vb. boks plus productive agent suffix dô (hypercorrect and archaic dô<); cf. yax'dó 'hunter, huntsman' < yax 'hunt' < Du. jagen, a probable calque of Du. jager as is boksdo of Eng. boxer.

mußmentu, nn. 'movement (physical only), act of moving' < muj, q.v. Cf. bekmente. ߠso mêméntu 'movement (physical and metaphorical, e.g. political movement)' < Sp. movimiento or a calque thereof. Here, as elsewhere, the Hispanic loan, although partially physical in reference, has a metaphorical, philosophical sense, while the Germanic loan is purely concrete and physical. ߠoo mêméntu may either have formed spontaneously in Papiamentu with the highly productive substantivizing suffix -mên', or be based upon Eng. movement or already existing Pap. mêméntu.

skarsidd, nn. 'scarcity.' Not a direct lexical loan, but may show English influence. It consists of Pap. skars, adj. 'scarce' < Du. schaars + abstract substantivizing morpheme -idd < Sp. -idad. However, Eng. scarcity may have been the model; contrast Sp. escasez 'scarcity.'

sàpêro, nn. 'tavern owner, bartender; (Aruba only) grocer, grocery store keeper' < sap, q.v. This diminutive was noted by LENZ. The suffix -êro < Sp. -ero, denoting a tradesman, occurs in another Germanic/Iberian mixed noun, blekêro 'tinsmith' < bleki 'tin' < Du. dim. blikje.

III. RECENT BORROWINGS OF TECHNICAL AND MODISH VOCABULARY

Such loanwords are largely unassimilated; they include okay, and on Aruba such items as pay day. LENZ, for example, noted brandy, whiskey, ice-cream. The following typical loans were noted in a road-safety guide: side-car, trailer, motor-cycle, brake, bright, dim (both of headlights), spot-light, muffer, shaft, speed (technical only, = gear), shift, park, gearbox, truck.
Notes

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22. Maduro, Antoine J., 1966. Procedencia di palabraan Papiamentu i otro anotacionman. J. Corsou, p. 15.

23. Wood, 1970, op. cit., p. 55.

24. Escalante, Aquilas, 1964. El Negro en Colombia. Monografías Sociológicas [Bogotá] 18, p. 54.

25. Hartog, 1967, op. cit., p. 36.

26. Wood, 1970, op. cit., p. 45.

27. Maduro, 1966, Procedencia I, p. 36.

28. Maduro, 1966, Procedencia I, p. 35.

29. Maduro, 1966, Procedencia I, p. 28.
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30 WOOD, 1970, op. cit., p. 46.
31 CASSIDY & LePage, 1967, op. cit., p. 223.
32 CASSIDY & LePage, 1967, op. cit., p. 254.
33 MADURO, 1966, Procedencia I, p. 28.
34 MADURO, ANTOINE J., 1967, Proverbio-, refran-, dicho- i expressionnan Papiamentu i nan nification na uanlánés. Corsou, p. 74.
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37 MADURO, 1966, Procedencia I, p. 39.
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45 LATOUR, 1936, op. cit., p. 394.
46 MADURO, 1966, Procedencia II, p. 42.
47 MADURO, 1966, Procedencia II, p. 43.
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