

ARTICLE

## Hybrid Compound Formation in Classical Papiamentu

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### ABSTRACT

Since its genesis, Papiamentu has been influenced by several lexifiers. This study examines etymological patterns of hybrid formation in Classical Papiamentu (CP), mainly focusing on Iberian and Dutch contributions. Studying morphosyntactic functions in hybrid words can reveal typological relations between Creole languages. Thus, this study aims to expand linguistic knowledge about CP and Creole languages in general. The corpus contains sixty-one hybrid compound words from CP, mostly compound nouns and compound verbs, compiled from the *Woordenlijst*, the first Papiamentu vocabulary, printed in 1859. The process of classifying hybrid words is described, and examples are provided. Hybrid etymological patterns are quantified in both anterior and posterior positions. The frequency of etymological patterns is displayed in separate tables for nouns and verbs. The data analysis focuses on morphosyntactic relations between internal components based on etymological occurrences. The compounding syntax of CP is the basis for arguing in favor of a more significant Iberian influence over word formation in CP. Data analysis reveals that Iberian syntactic structures are replicated in hybrid formations even when both components are Dutch loans. The overall prevalence of Iberian lexicon occupying the head position in both compound nouns and compound verbs supports this argument. The results also show a preference for syntactic phrases to link components within a compound.

**Keywords:** Morphology; Syntax; Hybrid Words; Compounding; Word Formation; Papiamentu; Creole Languages

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## 1. Introduction

Papiamentu is a Creole language that shares genetic ties with other Upper Guinea Creoles — spoken mainly in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao (the ABC Islands). Modern Papiamentu (MP) features words of a wide range of etymologies, including Portuguese (PT), Spanish (ES), Dutch (NL), and English (EN)<sup>[1–3]</sup>. Papiamentu, originally a Creole for which Portuguese is the lexifier, underwent a process of relexification to Spanish from the second half of the 17th century<sup>[1, 3]</sup>. Although Portuguese influence can still be found in Papiamentu, especially in its function words, this relexification to Spanish can be attributed to the cultural and commercial proximity of the ABC Islands to Venezuela. Later, this scenario led to various diverging theories on the genesis of the Caribbean language<sup>[1, 4–6]</sup>. Moreover, the Dutch linguistic influence started to become prominent throughout the 19th century, corresponding to the period of Classical Papiamentu (1825–1905)<sup>[7]</sup>.

This article aims to analyze the morphosyntactic processes of hybrid formation in Classical Papiamentu (CP). It investigates hybrid etymological patterns and compares their morphosyntactic aspects. A hybrid word is formed by combining etyma (free or bound morphemes) from at least two languages<sup>[8]</sup>. Therefore, an expression like *DIA DI KWATERTEMPOR* “ember days” is a hybrid because it contains parts from Portuguese/Spanish and Dutch etyma. In contrast, *DIA DI TRES REI* “the Epiphany” contains components only of Portuguese/Spanish etymology and, therefore, is not a hybrid. It was probably incorporated into CP as it is. In addition, the former is an innovative expression in CP, while the latter has nearly identical counterparts in Portuguese/Spanish. Recent literature findings suggested that Portuguese and Spanish contributed extensively to the genesis of Papiamentu<sup>[1–3, 5, 7]</sup>. Given the typological relatedness and high degree of similarity between the two languages, asserting the exact etymology of an Iberian term may not be an objective task. Therefore, Portuguese (PT) and Spanish (ES) etyma may be henceforth referred to as Iberian (IB).

Our source of CP data is the *Woordenlijst der in de landstaal van Curaçao meest gebruikelijke woorden met zamenkomsten* (henceforth *Woordenlijst*), published in 1859<sup>[9]</sup>. The *Woordenlijst* is a compilation of topic-categorized vocabulary lists and daily-use phrases in CP<sup>[10]</sup>; all entries and expressions are written in CP and NL. The data analyzed here

consider morphosyntactic relations between components and attribute them to the language contact situation<sup>[11, 12]</sup>. This study focuses on hybrid compounding. Hence, word-formation processes, such as derivation and inflection, are not contemplated in the analysis. The results allow for a broader understanding of hybrid formation in CP, as they complement previous morphosyntactic studies on the language.

This study is structured to provide a comprehensive overview of hybrid compound formation in CP. First, the definition of compounding is discussed from a theoretical standpoint, contrasting it with other word-formation processes. Next, the research methodology is presented in Section 2, along with the selection criteria for the formation of the corpus. In Section 3, we outline the hybrid etymological patterns identified in the corpus and analyze the morphosyntactic aspects of hybrid compound nouns and hybrid compound verbs in separate subsections. In Section 4, we extend the discussion on hybrid compound formation in CP by comparing our results to those of a study on word formation in MP. Finally, in Section 5, we summarize our main findings and indicate the limitations of our study.

This section discusses the challenges in establishing a cross-linguistic definition of compounding. We share an overview of how this word-formation process functioned in CP considering the influence of the superstrate. All examples were extracted from the *Woordenlijst*.

*Compounding* is often described as the most productive solution to form words across languages<sup>[13]</sup>. All languages have compound words, which makes compounding a linguistic unrestricted universal. Unlike compounding, word-formation processes such as derivation and inflection are implicational. Dressler<sup>[14]</sup> explains that “if a language has inflection, it also has derivation and compounding, and if a language has derivation, it also has compounding, but not vice-versa”. Defining compounds, however, is, to a certain extent, arguable due to numerous factors. Compounds are often described as two or more words merged to form a new one, although this simple definition does not fully encompass the linguistic implications, such as semantic and morphosyntactic features. There is also a lack of consensus on which of those factors primarily defining compounds, as evidenced by the difficulty of establishing a theoretical approach to compounding<sup>[15]</sup>.

Namely, compounds are formed by at least two otherwise independent components creating one lexeme: i.e., compounds are lexemes combined grammatically to form new words<sup>[14]</sup>. The semantic relationship between elements of a compound also varies greatly. The most prominent ones among compound nouns are resemblance, possession, and composition<sup>[16]</sup>. Nonetheless, attempts to provide a crosslinguistic definition of compounds would not prevail because the morphosyntactic processes that govern the formation of compounds can vary significantly among typological families<sup>[17]</sup>. While Dutch favors right-headed compounding, Iberian languages are mostly left-headed. Another instance of typological variation is the preference for loose

compounds and syntactic phrases in Iberian languages, in contrast with strict compounds in Dutch. Although prototypical compounds are common in Iberian languages, flexible solutions allow more grammatical categories to undergo corresponding inflection patterns.

Lexical loans retain these features in CP with very few exceptions. Examples (1a) and (1b) showcase a preference in CP for maintaining the linear order of the corresponding source language in lexical loans. The syntactic order, however, is shifted in (1c). This may suggest that the two Dutch components in (1c) were fully functional loanwords in CP when the compound was formed.

	CP	MP	NL	ES	PT	EN
(1) a.	AWA BENDITA	awa bendita	wijwater	água bendita	água benta	“holy water”
b.	PREEKSTOEL	prekstul	preekstoel	púlpito	púlpito	“pulpit”
c.	DOOSJI SNEIF	kaha di snuif	snuifdoos	tabaquera	caixa de rapé	“snuff box”

Although this study focuses on the formation of hybrid compound words in CP, we had initially regarded both derivation and inflection as processes resulting in hybrid word formation. Analysis of the database, however, revealed a limited number of hybrid words within the two groups, confirming that compounding allows for greater lexical expansion compared to other word-formation processes. The only instances of inflectional formation found in the database are plural words, which are marked by the inflectional affix -NAN. Regarding derivation, the only productive derivational affixes in CP are -MENTOE and -DOOR. Although both affixes can combine freely with verbs of Dutch and Iberian etymologies<sup>[18]</sup>, only one instance of a hybrid derivative formed by -DOOR was found in the database. Due to this limitation, neither derivation nor inflection are included in the scope of this study.

## 2. Materials and Methods

This section presents the research methodology. We discuss how the corpus was compiled, providing examples of the selection criteria. We also describe how the etymological

analysis was carried out and how the results were presented.

This study’s corpus contains 61 hybrid compound words compiled from a 3005-word database, all extracted from the *Woordenlijst*. A *hybrid compound word* is defined as the combination of free morphemes from at least two languages to form a new semantic unit. In the examples in this section, brackets indicate components are part of the same word and a question mark indicates that the etymon could not be attributed.

The first task was to determine the etymology of all database entries. All terms containing a single or multiple etyma components adapted from a single language were eliminated, even though they might be hybrid in that language. Thus, in (2a), the word ARZOBISPO “archbishop,” a hybrid in ES, is not a hybrid in CP. It does not meet the selection criteria because ARZO is not a morpheme or an independent word in Papiamentu. Moreover, ARZO is not a productive component in CP. The same applies to (2b) KONIJNTSJE “bunny,” as -TSJE is a diminutive suffix in NL but not in Papiamentu. In these cases, both words were incorporated into Papiamentu in their current form.

	CP	Components	Etymology	EN
(2) a.	ARZOBISPO	[[ARZO]+[BISPO]] <sub>ES</sub>	[IB+IB]	“archbishop”
b.	KONIJNTSJE	[KONIJN+TSJE] <sub>NL</sub>	[NL+NL]	“bunny”

The case exemplified in (3) is challenging. The word HOGOTJSE may have the Dutch diminutive suffix -TJSE, but the first part of the word, HOGO, is unknown. In addition, the meaning of this word cannot be related to anything small or diminutive. Given its controversial etymology, the entry was not confirmed as a hybrid and thus was not included in the corpus.

	CP	Components	Etymology	EN
(3)	HOGOTSJE	[?HOGO+TSJE]	[?+NL]	“twins”

The examples in (4) are all hybrid compound words. In (4a), PALOE OLIJFI “olive tree” combines an ES etymon, *palo* “tree,” and an NL etymon, *olijf* “olive.” Although the word *oliva* is found in ES, the written form *olijfi* can be related to the NL form *olijf*, where <ijf> is typically pronounced [ɛjɸ],

	CP	Components	Etymology	EN
(4) a.	PALOE OLIJFI	[PALOE]+[OLIJFI]	IB+NL	“olive tree”
b.	ROM DI LEETSJE	[ROM]+[DI]+[LEETSJE]	NL+DI+IB	“cream”
c.	BIEDA DI KOENOEKOE	[BIEDA]+[DI]+[KOENOEKOE]	IB+DI+?TA	“country life”

### 3. Results

In this section, we examine etymological occurrences in CP hybrid compounds. Hybrid etymological patterns are quantified, then the morphosyntactic aspects are analyzed. Compound nouns and compound verbs are discussed in separate subsections. In the following examples, italics designate the source language. Brackets indicate verb types and isolate internal phrases.

Among the 61 hybrid compounds in the corpus, 30 are compound nouns (49.2%), 30 are compound verbs (49.2%), and one is a compound adjective (1.6%). **Table 1** quantifies hybrid etymological patterns. Parentheses indicate prepositions, which are classified according to their etymology (either IB or NL).

Most hybrid compounds are formed by Iberian and Dutch components only. Two sources<sup>[21, 22]</sup> indicate that the word KOENOEKOE may have a Taino etymon, and we assumed it, knowing that it is controversial. The left-aligned position is occupied by an Iberian component in 50 (81.9%) of all hybrid compounds, with the remaining 11 entries having a Dutch first component (18%). The right-aligned component

similar to MP. Hence, it is a genuine hybrid compound. In (4b), ROM DI LEETSJE “cream” has an NL first component, *room* “cream,” followed by the CP particle *di* and the ES component LEETSJE, from the etymon *leche* “milk.” Adapted from the superstrate, the particle *di* is a Papiamentu linking element that can replace various Iberian prepositions<sup>[19]</sup>. Finally, the expression in (4c) is formed by three parts: BIEDA, from an ES/PT etymon *vida* “life,” the particle *di*, and an unknown etymon KOENOEKOE “country,” controversially attributed to Taino influence. Taino refers to the dominant indigenous group in the Greater Antilles prior to the arrival of the first European settlements. The Taino people are believed to be descendants of Arawakan speakers from the northernmost part of South America<sup>[1, 3, 20]</sup>. Although there is no certainty about its etymology, it is a hybrid formation.

is Dutch in 49 entries (80.3%), Iberian in 10 entries (16.4%), and attributed to Taino in 2 entries (3.3%). Both entries (BIEDA DI KOENOEKOE and HENDE DI KOENOEKOE) containing a Taino etymon share the same component and structure, indicating a less prominent contribution of this language, if any, in forming hybrid compounds in CP. Hence, the etymological distribution of components of hybrid compounds reveals a strong preference for Iberian components in the first position within compounds. It, therefore, also indicates a predominance of Iberian lexicon components functioning as head components.

#### 3.1. Hybrid Compound Nouns

There are 30 hybrid compound nouns in the corpus, 21 of which (70.0%) are headed by an Iberian component. **Table 2** lists the etymological patterns found among hybrid compound nouns.

Regarding their structure, 17 hybrid compound nouns (56.7%) are linked by the particle *di*. They occur in various patterns, with components of Iberian and Dutch etymologies occupying either the anterior or the posterior position, as shown in (5).

**Table 1.** Hybrid compound patterns in the Woordenlijst.

Patterns	Frequency	Rate	CP	EN
IB+NL	34 of 61	55.7%	BIERA HEERS	“to become hoarse”
IB+NL(DEUR/OP/OVER/ROND)	4	6.6%	DOENA OP	“to give up”
IB(SIN)+NL	1	1.6%	SIN STOP	“persistent”
IB+IB+NL	1	1.6%	BIRA MAS HOOPI	“to increase”
IB+IB(DI)+NL(+NL)	8	13.1%	MOETSJA DI SKOOL	“schoolkid”
IB+IB(DI)+TA	2	3.3%	HENDE DI KOENOEKOE	“rural folk,” “farmers”
NL+IB	2	3.3%	CENS TSJIKITOE	“half a cent”
NL+IB(AFOOR/ARIBA)	2	3.3%	STEUN ARIBA	“to lean on”
NL+IB(DI)+IB	6	9.8%	GLAS DI BIENJA	“glass of wine”
NL+IB(DI)+NL	1	1.6%	BOEKI DI LEZA	“textbook”

**Table 2.** Hybrid patterns in compound nouns in the Woordenlijst.

Patterns	Frequency	Rate	CP	EN
IB+NL	11 of 30	36.7%	TEERA VLAK	“plain”
IB+IB(DI)+NL(+NL)	8	26.7%	RAJO DI WEERLICH	“lightning beam”
IB+IB(DI)+TA	2	6.7%	BIEDA DI KOENOEKOE	“rural life”
NL+IB	2	6.7%	LAMOENTSJE DOESJI	“(a type of) lime”
NL+IB(DI)+IB	6	20.0%	BALLA DI HOENGA	“play ball”
NL+IB(DI)+NL	1	3.3%	BOEKI DI LEZA	“textbook”

- (5) ROM DI LEETSJE “cream” NL+IB(DI)+IB noun+prep+noun  
 [[NL noun:head] + [IB(DI)+ IB PP:post-mod [IB(DI) prep:head + IB noun:NP]]]

In (6), the word BOEKI DI LEZA “textbook” has Dutch components in both the left and right positions connected by the particle DI. Although both components were adapted from Dutch, the original right-headed syntactic order was inverted when adapted to CP.

- (6) BOEKI DI LEZA “textbook” NL+IB(DI)+NL noun+prep+noun  
 [[NL noun:head] + [IB(DI)+ NL PP:post-mod [IB(DI) prep:head + NL noun:NP]]]

The use of the particle DI to form compounds resembles that of Iberian languages. Like its Iberian etymon, this element can establish a relationship of possession or association between the head of the noun phrase and the complement of the prepositional phrase licensed by the noun, therefore functioning as a preposition. Many Romance languages resort to such syntactic phrases to attribute characteristics to the head noun while maintaining a degree of separability

between components<sup>[14]</sup>. Compound nouns linked by this preposition, however, cannot be separated without changing their semantic value.

Thirteen open hybrid compound nouns (43.3%) are formed by two juxtaposed components. They can be grouped as noun+noun (seven entries), noun+adjective (five entries), and adjective+noun (one entry).

- (7) KAËNTOERA HEEL “yellow fever” IB+NL noun+adjective  
 [[IB noun:head] + [NL adj:post-mod]]

Six of the seven noun+noun compounds, all of which refer to types of trees, have incorporated the same preposition in MP. This pattern shift, represented as IB+NL > IB+IB(DI)+NL, can be explored in future studies.

- (8) PALOE GRANAAT “pomegranate tree” IB+NL noun+noun  
 [[*IB* noun:head] + [*NL* noun:post-mod]]

CP shaped its compounding syntax after Iberian languages, as evidenced by the overall preference for left-headed compounds. There is only one occurrence of right-head compounding among hybrid nouns. Nonetheless, this

example does not contradict the claim that CP’s syntactic processing can be attributed to its Iberian substrate, because Iberian languages also contain instances of right-headed noun phrases.

- (9) MITAAR DOEBLOEN “half a cent” IB+NL adjective+noun  
 [[*IB* adj:pre-mod] + [*NL* noun:head]]

The component DOEBLOEN was attributed to a Dutch etymon. It was borrowed from Spanish to Dutch and later adapted from Dutch to CP, hence its classification as a Dutch component. In (9), although MITAAR DOEBLOEN “half a cent” is a right-headed compound, the syntactic relation between its components resembles that of its Iberian cognates. CP speakers resorted to word combinations, including hybridisms, to convey ideas that can be expressed with new lexical solutions in MP, probably because MP has undergone a more protracted process of lexical expansion.

### 3.2. Hybrid Compound Verbs

There are 30 hybrid compound verbs in the corpus, as detailed in Table 3. They are regarded as compound verbs because they represent a semantic unit. The decision to consider these entries compound verbs is supported by three main arguments: a) they were notated as one entry, indicating the lexicographers’ intention to denote that such entries convey an inseparable idea; b) the *Woordenlijst* does not suggest an alternative form for such entries in CP; c) and they are, in most cases, translated to Dutch as a single word, implying that they do indeed represent a semantic unit. Some are likely shaped after Dutch compound verbs, which are morphological entities formed by combining a prepositional, adjectival, or nominal first component to a verb stem. Despite their separability, they have the same syntactic properties as regular verbs, such as the ability to combine

with derivational affixes to form nouns, and thus should be regarded as words rather than phrases<sup>[23]</sup>.

The only etymologies found among compound verbs were Iberian and Dutch. Twenty-eight hybrid verbs (93.3%) have an Iberian component as the head of the verb phrase, with the remaining two being headed by a Dutch component. There are no occurrences of right-headed verb phrases in the corpus.

The compound verbs were grouped according to their assumed basic type: transitive (12 entries), transitive phrasal (six entries), intensive (nine entries), and complex transitive (three entries). Since none of the 30 hybrid compound verbs appears in the section of the *Woordenlijst* dedicated to conversational patterns, we could not observe how they would function in a full sentence in CP. Therefore, the following classification is suggestive and based chiefly on the syntactic patterns of their equivalent forms in MP and corresponding translations in Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish.

Twelve verbs present a similar pattern resembling the structure of a transitive verb phrase, with an Iberian base verb occupying the first position and a Dutch noun as the latter component (*IB* verb + *NL* noun). Their syntactic representation would be [[*IB* verb[trans]:head] + [*NL* noun:dO]]. Hence, the examples in (10) may be interpreted as transitive if the nominal component functioned indeed as a direct object. It is plausible to assume that all CP verbs in this group allowed for separability since that is also the case in the examples that are still in use in MP.

	CP	NL	ES	PT	EN
(10) a.	BIESTI ROUW	<i>rouwen</i>	<i>estar de luto</i>	<i>estar de luto</i>	“to grieve”
b.	DOENA BEWIJS	<i>bewijzen</i>	<i>probar</i>	<i>provar</i>	“to prove”
c.	FIA PLAKA	<i>schieten (geld), verpanden</i>	<i>prestar dinero</i>	<i>emprestar dinheiro</i>	“to loan money”
d.	TOKA FLUIT	<i>spelen fluit</i>	<i>tocar flauta</i>	<i>tocar flauta</i>	“to play the flute”

**Table 3.** Hybrid patterns in compound verbs in the Woordenlijst.

Patterns	Frequency	Rate	CP	EN
IB(+IB)+NL	24 of 30	86.7%	BIESTI ROUW	“to grieve,” “to mourn”
IB+NL(DEUR/OP/OVER/ROOND)	4	6.7%	TOEMA OVER	“to take over”
NL+IB(AFOOR/ARIBA)	2	6.7%	SCHRAP AFOOR	“to erase out”

The compound verb structure seems to support inflectional changes to the noun without breaking the semantic unit of the compound verb, following the same separability principles of the superstrate<sup>[24]</sup>. We take MP *toka fluit* “to play (the) flute” as an example. In (11a), MP *toka fluit* does not require the use of the determiner. In (11b), the determiner is used to convey a degree of specificity. The same does not apply to MP *kumpra e fluit* “to buy the flute,” as shown in (11c). As the direct object of other verbs, the nominal component *fluit* “flute” generally follows a determiner. Although grammatical, an utterance like MP *kumpra fluit* “to buy flute” seems to lack context, as shown in (11d).

- (11) a. *Mi por toka fluit.*  
 “I can play (the) flute.”  
 b. *Mi ta toka e fluit.*  
 “I am playing the flute.”  
 c. *Mi a kumpra e fluit.*  
 “I bought the flute.”  
 d. \**Mi a kumpra fluit.*  
 \*“I bought flute.”

Six hybrid compound verbs were grouped as transitive phrasal given their composition (verb+prep). Four of them are headed by an Iberian component, being represented as  $[IB \text{ verb}[\text{trans}][\text{phrasal}]:\text{head} + NL \text{ prep}:\text{prt}]$ . The remaining two are Dutch-headed phrasal verbs, being represented as

$[NL \text{ verb}[\text{trans}][\text{phrasal}]:\text{head} + IB \text{ prep}:\text{prt}]$ .

They are interpreted as transitive since they can license a direct object; however, it is possible that they could also function as intransitive phrasal verbs, as is the case with some MP forms, such as that of (12a). Interestingly, *doena op* “to give up,” “to report” is translated as *opgeven* in the *Woordenlijst*, and as *aangeven* in an MP–NL dictionary<sup>[25]</sup>.

Nine compound verbs can be interpreted as intensive. They are formed by an Iberian base verb occupying the first position and a Dutch adjective functioning as subject predicative (*IB verb + NL adj*). They can be represented as  $[[IB \text{ verb}[\text{intens}]:\text{head}] + [NL \text{ adj}:\text{sP}]]$ .

All examples in (13) showcase Iberian-like syntactic patterns. The use of brackets in (13c) indicates that the use of *STINKI* “stinky” is optional and does not change the meaning, similar to ES *oler (mal)* “to smell (bad).” The use of a Dutch etymon as an optional modifier may suggest that the loanword was adapted to CP at a later stage. The only exception to the verb+adj model is (13d) *BIRA MAS HOOPI* “to increase,” which has an immediate constituent within the adjectival phrase. Thus, it can be represented as  $[[IB \text{ verb}[\text{intens}]:\text{head}] + [IB+NL \text{ AP}:\text{sP} [IB \text{ adv}:\text{pre-mod} + NL \text{ adj}:\text{head}]]]$ . Such syntactic formations are relatively common in Iberian languages, such as PT *ficar mais velho* “to grow older” and ES *volverse más fuerte* “to become stronger.”

- |         |              |                          |                          |                           |                |
|---------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
|         | CP           | NL                       | ES                       | PT                        | EN             |
| (12) a. | DOENA OP     | <i>opgeven</i>           | <i>darse por vencido</i> | <i>dar-se por vencido</i> | “to give up”   |
| b.      | SCHRAP AFOOR | <i>uitschrappen</i>      | <i>borrar</i>            | <i>apagar</i>             | “to erase out” |
| c.      | STEUN ARIBA  | <i>steunen (op iets)</i> | <i>apoyar</i>            | <i>apoiar, sustentar</i>  | “to sustain”   |

- |         |                |                     |                             |                          |                    |
|---------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|         | CP             | NL                  | ES                          | PT                       | EN                 |
| (13) a. | BIERA HEERS    | <i>schor worden</i> | <i>quedarse ronco</i>       | <i>ficar rouco</i>       | “to become hoarse” |
| b.      | KEDA STOM      | <i>verstommen</i>   | <i>quedarse en silencio</i> | <i>ficar em silêncio</i> | “to keep quiet”    |
| c.      | HOLÉ (STINKI)  | <i>stinken</i>      | <i>oler (mal)</i>           | <i>cheirar mal</i>       | “to smell (bad)”   |
| d.      | BIRA MAS HOOPI | <i>vermeerderen</i> | <i>aumentar</i>             | <i>aumentar</i>          | “to increase”      |

Three other compound verbs are also formed by an Iberian base verb and a Dutch adjective (*IB* verb + *NL* adj), but they were grouped as complex transitive because the right component seems to modify the object. Following this interpretation, their syntactic representation is [[*IB* verb[complex]:head] + [NP:dO] + [*NL* adj:oP]].

In (14), *HACI/HASI* “to make” is used as a light verb in a range of contexts to convey a causative relation. Therefore, we assume that it licenses a direct object in the above examples. To support this claim, we present a different use of the same base verb in CP.

	CP	NL	ES	PT	EN
(14)	a. HACI GELIJK	<i>gelijk maken</i>	<i>igualar</i>	<i>tornal igual</i>	“to make alike”
	b. HACI SKERPI	<i>scherpen</i>	<i>esmerilar; afilar</i>	<i>amolar; afiar</i>	“to sharpen”
	c. HASI LOS	<i>oplossen</i>	<i>disolver</i>	<i>dissolver</i>	“to dissolve”

The example in (15) was extracted from the section of everyday conversation of the *Woordenlijst* (p. 107). *HASI VLEK* “to smudge” is formed by a verb and a noun, like its Dutch translation. The verb phrase is not listed in the dictionary section, however, suggesting it should be regarded as a verb phrase rather than a compound verb.

- (15) MIERA PA NO HASI VLEK DEN BO SKRIFT.  
 “Be careful not to smudge your writing.”  
*Pas op om geen vlekken op uw schrift te maken.*

#### 4. Discussion

The analysis of the data focused on the two main groups: compound nouns and compound verbs. While the former featured a higher degree of variety in terms of etymological and syntactic patterns, the latter comprised mostly the same structures.

The morphosyntactic analysis of hybrid compounds evidenced that the compounding syntax of CP resembles that of

Iberian languages, favoring left-headed compounds. Iberian components occupy the left position in 50 of the 61 hybrid compounds, indicating a predominance of Iberian lexicon functioning as head components.

There is a prevalence of hybrid compound nouns linked by the particle *di*. Similar to Romance languages<sup>[14]</sup>, CP resorts to such syntactic phrases to attribute characteristics to the head noun while maintaining a degree of separability between components. Compound nouns linked by *di*, however, cannot be separated without altering their semantic value. In the compound noun *boek di leza* “textbook,” with Dutch etyma in both the left and right positions, the linear order of Dutch loans is shifted to recreate the same syntactic pattern found in Iberian languages.

An MP study<sup>[26]</sup> reached similar results; the influence of NL in hybrid words, however, is more expansive (see **Table 4**). Of a 930-word corpus, 38 were classified as hybrids. ES/PT and NL etyma were presented in 30 words each, stressing the joint influence of Dutch and Iberian loans in the 20th century on sports, economy, tech, and politics.

**Table 4.** Hybrid words and etyma languages and fields. Adapted from Bandeira, 2013: 71.

Languages	Total	Sport	Economy	Technology	Politics
ES–NL	11	3	2	5	1
NL–ES/PT	10	1	2	7	-
NL–EN	6	6	-	-	-
ES–EN	4	4	-	-	-
EN–ES/PT	2	2	-	-	-
Others	5	3	1	1	-

In this MP study<sup>[2]</sup>, two loanword strategies are listed in addition to all phonetic adaptation strategies: (a) etyma from one language only, as exemplified by *mashin di stensil*

“mimeograph machine” from the NL *stencil machine*, and (b) etyma from two languages, such as *mashin di kose* “sewing machine” from NL etymon *machine* and ES etymon *coser*,



linked by the particle *DI*. Therefore, MP retained a strategy applied in CP loanword incorporation with innovation (the use of the particle *DI*) and the favored syntactic order of its Iberian counterpart.

This MP study<sup>[2]</sup> also shows that new hybrids can be created by combining two etyma without a connective particle, as in *karchi kòra* “red card” from NL *kaart* and PT *corado*. Hence, CP and MP morphological processes show-

case a similar pattern of compound noun formation: a noun followed by a modifier, which may or may not be linked to the noun by a particle. The increasing influence of Dutch and English loans in MP is a significant distinguishing factor between the two variants, as evidenced by the results shown above. Moreover, MP has resorted to a greater range of lexical borrowings.

	MP		Etymology	EN
(16) a.	<i>bùs chikí</i>	[bùs]+[chikí]	NL+ES	“minibus”
b.	<i>wega di floret</i>	[wega]+[di]+[floret]	ES+IB(DI)+EN	“fencing”
c.	<i>hür di edifisio</i>	[hür]+[di]+[edifisio]	NL+IB(DI)+IB	“household insurance”

Like their nominal counterparts, CP hybrid compound verbs also shape their syntactic properties mainly from the Iberian superstrate. We adopted a flexible approach to classifying compound verbs, considering the influence of the lexifiers and the lexicographic criteria of the *Woordenlijst*. Although we argue for the semantic unit of these compound verbs, their use in coordination with nominal complements implicates the creation of internal syntactic structures.

The main challenge in grouping CP hybrid compound verbs was that we could not observe how they were used in the language. Hence, we assumed their type based on their internal components, MP equivalents, and corresponding translations.

The central aspect diverging from Iberian syntax was the occurrence of phrasal verbs, which are more commonly used in Germanic languages. Iberian languages do have phrasal verbs, but they tend to be more verb-framed<sup>[27]</sup>. Although the occurrence of phrasal verbs in CP cannot be entirely attributed to the Dutch influence, the incidence of Dutch-headed phrasal verbs in this group suggests a more substantial contribution of Dutch to this type of construction compared with other verbal structures.

## 5. Conclusions

This study aimed to examine morphosyntactic aspects of hybrid formation in CP. Hybrid etymological patterns were described, and the results were cross-referenced with a morphosyntactic analysis of internal components. Due to the number of hybrid entries in other groups within the

corpus, we focused on compounding. The syntactic relations between components laid the foundation for the argument that there is a strong Iberian influence on word formation in CP.

Along with the introduction, we presented some theoretical foundations of word formation processes. The methodology and corpus were discussed in a separate section, followed by an analysis of etymological patterns and morphosyntactic features in hybrid compound words.

The main findings are summarized as:

- CP tends to replicate the compounding syntax of Iberian languages.
- The Iberian syntactic structure is preferred even when it implies shifting the linear order of Dutch loans.
- Most compound words in CP are left-headed.
- Iberian components tend to occupy the left position within a component.
- Iberian and Dutch components account for most hybrid compounds in CP, with the most frequent etymological pattern being IB+NL.

Future research may compare hybrid occurrences in CP and MP to reveal aspects of the diachronic transformation of word-formation strategies. One aspect to be studied is the shift in the group of compound nouns to which the *DI* particle was added in the transition to MP. Furthermore, quantifying etymological patterns would allow such strategies to be compared cross-linguistically. Future studies may also analyze the same phenomena in other Creole languages from a different diachronic perspective.

## Author Contributions

G.A.d.A. devised and supervised this project. G.M. compiled the corpus used in this study and conducted the analysis. The initial draft was written by G.M. Both authors contributed to the final revision and editing of the manuscript.

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Information about data is available upon request.

## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## List of Abbreviations

AP	adjective phrase
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
CP	Classical Papiamentu
dO	direct object
EN	English
ES	Spanish
MP	Modern Papiamentu
IB	Iberian
intens	intensive
NL	Dutch
NP	noun phrase
oP	object predicative
PT	Portuguese
post-mod	post-modifier
pre-mod	pre-modifier
prep	preposition
prt	particle
sP	subject predicative
TA	Taino
trans	transitive

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