

Language use, language attitudes and identity in Curaçao

Ellen-Petra Kester
Utrecht University

This chapter presents the results of 471 questionnaires distributed in Curaçao in order to investigate patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among participants belonging to different age groups and with different parental birthplaces. The results pointed out that the speech community of Curaçao is rather homogeneous. Papiamentu, the mother tongue of the majority of the population, is widely used and attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity are overall very positive. A statistical analysis of the results indicated that the use of Papiamentu by informants with foreign-born parents correlated with positive attitudes toward the language and toward Curaçaoan identity. These findings provide important insights for language policy and planning, particularly in relation to the education system.

Keywords: identity, Curaçao, Papiamentu, language policy, education

Introduction

This chapter reports on the results of a survey that was carried out in 2012 on the island of Curaçao. Curaçao constitutes, together with Aruba and Bonaire, the Leeward islands of the Dutch Caribbean that are situated some 20 to 80 km north of the coast of Venezuela. The majority of the population speak Papiamentu, referred to as Papiamentu in Aruba, as their mother tongue.¹ Papiamentu is a Creole language that was formed during the early phase of colonial settlement, as witnessed by its first written document dating from 1775. The origin of the language is an issue

1. The differences between the two varieties are mainly prominent in their spelling conventions: the orthography of Papiamentu (adopted in Curaçao and Bonaire) is phoneme-based, whereas the spelling of Aruban Papiamentu is based on etymology. The varieties are mutually intelligible and differences have been ignored in publications (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994, pp. 4–5). As this chapter is about Curaçao we will generally refer to the language as Papiamentu.

of extensive scholarly debate, concerning specifically the identification of its main lexifier, Portuguese or Spanish. In the lack of compelling evidence the language is often referred to as an Iberian Creole.² Since the Dutch took possession of Curaçao from Spain in 1634 and after repeated invasions by the British, the island has remained continuously in Dutch hands since 1816, belonging to the Netherlands Antilles (together with Aruba, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba) since 1954.³ In 2010 the Netherlands Antilles were dissolved and Curaçao became an autonomous country under the Dutch crown.

Dutch has been the only officially recognized language for centuries on the ABC-islands, dominating the administrative and educational systems, as well as other formal domains of the public sphere. The islands share a long tradition of *diglossia*, a multilingual situation in which Dutch was used in formal domains for “higher” functions, whereas the role of Papiamentu was reduced to “lower” functions of informal communication. This functional distinction correlated with a difference in prestige between the two languages. However, the sociolinguistic situation on the ABC-islands strongly differs from that of other *diglossic* societies where Creole languages are spoken (Winford, 1985) because Papiamentu is not part of a continuum derived from Dutch.⁴ As Winford (1994, p. 45) points out about creoles that co-exist with unrelated official languages, “...while they do not stand in an egalitarian relationship with the official language, they generally enjoy more prestige than those creoles that are part of a continuum”. In the case of Papiamentu this prestige was further promoted by its recognition as an official language (besides Dutch) in 2003 (in Aruba) and 2007 (in the Netherlands Antilles) and by increasing use of the language in formal domains, such as the government, the media and the education system. Papiamentu has played a prominent role in the Curaçaoan education system since its introduction as a language of instruction in Foundation

2. The influence of Portuguese is explained by the potential presence of a Creole language spoken in the coastal areas of Africa during the slave trade, in which Curaçao played a major role as one of the most important centers of trade for the Dutch West India Company, and to the immigration of Portuguese-speaking Jews from Brazil (after the Dutch lost their territories in 1654). The influence of Spanish can be attributed to intensive language contact in the Caribbean region and massive migration by speakers of Spanish over the course of the past centuries. See Jacobs (2012) for an extensive literature overview.

3. In 1986 Aruba obtained *status aparte*, providing the island with autonomy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

4. The absence of a Creole language derived from Dutch may be explained by the strong segregation between the different communities in Curaçao: Dutch Protestants, Sephardic Jews from Brazil and (former) African slaves. Papiamentu probably obtained a strong position as a fairly neutral *lingua franca* to facilitate mutual communication between the members of the three groups (Carroll, 2015, p. 119).

Based Education (*Enseñansa di Fundeshi*) in 2001 (Severing & Weijer, 2008, p. 251) and as a compulsory subject in secondary education in 1998 (Severing & Weijer, 2010, p. 21).⁵

Few studies have been concerned with the sociolinguistic situation of the ABC-islands so far, in spite of the rather unique status of Papiamentu. The investigation reported on in this chapter presents a detailed quantitative study of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in Curaçao, including a statistical analysis of the data in order to study potential correlations between these phenomena as well as potential differences between informants who belong to different age groups with different parental birthplaces. In the next section we will demonstrate why the study of language use and attitudes toward language and identity on these islands is not only interesting, but also urgent from a societal perspective.

Ideologies and language attitudes in the Dutch Caribbean

Although Papiamentu differs from other Creole languages with respect to its prestige and its use in formal domains, many speakers are ambivalent or negative about its use as a language of instruction in the education system (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010, pp. 240, 244) and strongly prefer students to be submerged in a Dutch-speaking system under the assumption that this policy promotes their proficiency in the language. Knowledge of Dutch is considered important for the local and international job market, as well as for tertiary studies (on the ABC-islands and in the European Netherlands). Notice, however, that for most of the students Dutch is a foreign language they do not encounter outside the classroom and its use as a language of instruction is often argued to be one of the causes of the high failure rates among students throughout the Dutch Caribbean islands. The language of instruction has been an issue of fierce political and societal debate for decades. An in-depth study concerning the actual language use in the communities, as well as attitudes toward language and identity can make a significant contribution to recasting these debates in more scientifically grounded and less polemical terms, which would facilitate the development of a system to better meet the educational needs of Caribbean students (see Faraclas, Kester, & Mijts, 2019 for a case study on the language of instruction in St. Eustatius).

In this chapter we adopt the theoretical framework of Baker (1992) in the footsteps of Garrett (2008) who developed a questionnaire that served as a starting point for the survey reported on in this chapter. Baker (1992, p. 11) adopted one

5. In Aruba Papiamentu is used as a language of instruction in Kindergarten and in special needs education. It is taught as a subject in secondary education (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

of his working definitions from Ajzen (1988, p. 4), who defined an attitude as “a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event”. Research on language attitudes is concerned with dispositions to specific language varieties. In the case of Garrett’s questionnaire language attitudes are measured by evaluating the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities. These activities are related to *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation, a terminology Baker (1992, p. 31) adopted from Gardner and Lambert’s (1972) model to study the role of language attitudes in second language acquisition. In this model instrumental motivation is defined as “a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language”, whereas integrative motivation corresponds to “a desire to be like representative members of the other language community” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14).

Garrett (2008) adopted the notion of identity from Tajfel and Turner’s (1986) Social Identity Theory, assuming that social identity is not straightforwardly determined by group membership, as “individuals must first internalize their group membership as an aspect of their self-concept” (p. 28). The self-concept produced by this process of self-identification can be measured as a function of the strength of one’s identity in a certain situation (p. 28). Garrett focused on the dual identity of her Curaçaoan informants as Antilleans and citizens of the Netherlands in relation to their language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu, as her central goal was to investigate how identity, language attitudes and language use are interrelated (p. 32).⁶

Literature overview

Garrett’s (2008) survey was carried out in 2002 among 125 participants. The results indicated that the population of Curaçao was pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural. Garrett’s informants adopted multiple identities, feeling equally comfortable with their identity as Antilleans and as citizens of the Netherlands, the younger generations in particular. The informants expressed a high valorization of Papiamentu and an extended use of the language at school, at work and with strangers, especially younger generations and informants of lower levels of education. Garrett concluded from these survey results that Curaçao was in a transition from a diglossic society to a pluri-lingual society.

Kester (2011) presented the results of the second survey, which was realized in February of 2010 in Curaçao, among high school students. The analysis of the

6. As Curaçao was part of the Netherlands Antilles at the time (until October 10, 2010), Garrett referred to the *Antillean* identity of the participants in her survey.

results from the 365 questionnaires showed that the tendencies observed by Garrett (2008) had been preserved or further increased. Students were very happy with their Antillean identity and the use of Papiamentu had increased over the years, particularly in formal domains (at school, at work, with strangers). In particular students of lower levels of education used Papiamentu more frequently and considered the language more important for instrumental purposes such as education and the job market. As observed in Kester (2011), the slightly lower importance attributed to Papiamentu by students of higher levels of education may be explained by a more international orientation, as well as their intention to study abroad.

An important study that was carried out in Aruba focusing on Papiamentu from the perspective of language maintenance, language shift and language death was reported on in Carroll (2009, 2015). The language situation on the two islands is different, however, as English and Spanish are more prominent in Aruba compared to Curaçao due to extensive immigration over the course of the last century.⁷

Interviews with Aruban education stakeholders revealed that “Papiamentu is a stable language not in danger of language shift” (Carroll, 2015, p. 120). According to Carroll’s informants Papiamentu has been a marker of national identity, as it served to distinguish the local population from foreigners (pp. 120–127). Moreover, the role of the language as a marker of identity was reinforced after each immigration wave, in response to resistance against immigrants and the languages they spoke (p. 128). Nevertheless Carroll mentions “...an undercurrent of unease and anxiety and even inferiority concerning Spanish, English and Dutch in relation to Papiamentu” (p. 120), concluding from his investigation that English and Spanish are a more significant threat to Papiamentu than Dutch in present-day Aruba (p. 130). These results illustrate the complexity of the local language situation and the strong position of Papiamentu, tendencies that were also signaled by Garrett (2008) and Kester (2011) with respect to Papiamentu in Curaçao.

7.

	Aruba, 2000	Curaçao, 2001
Papiamentu	69.4	80.3
Spanish	13.2	4.6
Dutch	6.1	9.3
English	8.1	3.5

*Languages most spoken in the household in percentages
(Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba and Curaçao).*

Research questions and hypotheses

The survey discussed in this chapter aims at studying the correlation between language use and attitudes toward language and identity more closely in the context of Curaçao, by means of a statistical analysis of quantitative data and taking into account potential differences between age groups and groups of different descent (defined in terms of parental birthplace). The central research questions were formulated as follows:

1. What are the patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among speakers of Papiamentu in Curaçao?
2. Are potential differences related to different characteristics concerning the age and parental birthplaces of the participants?
3. Are there statistical correlations between the patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in accordance with characteristics of age and parental birthplace?

The following hypotheses were formulated based on previous findings of Garrett (2008) and Kester (2011):

1. Young adults speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language as compared to mature adults;
2. Informants with native-born parents speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language and toward their Curaçaoan identity as compared to informants with foreign-born parents;
3. Frequent use of Papiamentu correlates with positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity.

Methodology

The questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of four parts, involving (i) statements about the Curaçaoan and Dutch identity of the informants; (ii) statements about the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities; (iii) questions concerning the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch in different domains and with different interlocutors; (iv) questions about demographic characteristics of the informants (see Appendix C).

The questionnaire was distributed in 2012 by students in the Master's program of Education at the University of Curaçao, in order to realize a course assignment

for the author. As the MA-students work as teachers of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish in secondary education, they all distributed the questionnaires in one of their classes and, additionally, among 10 individual informants aged over 40. In order to respect the privacy of the informants and facilitate data processing, the questionnaire only addressed whether the informant and his/her parents were born in Curaçao or elsewhere, without further request to specify particular birthplaces. The questionnaire was translated from English into Papiamentu, in order to avoid potential comprehension problems among the elderly. The part of the questionnaire that addressed language use was expanded to include English and Spanish and questions were added concerning the frequency of language use with specific interlocutors. Data from the paper copies of the questionnaires were entered into an electronic database.

The statistical analysis

The data were analyzed with SPSS. A principal component analysis (PCA), with Varimax rotation abstracting factors with Eigen value higher than 1, was conducted on each part of the questionnaire, except for part (iii) about language use. A reliability test, the Cronbach's Alpha, was executed for each cluster of items in a component. In addition to the factor scores, the average scores of the cluster of items were computed. The factor scores were analyzed for statistical differences with a GLM univariate ANOVA comparing groups of age, birthplace and the interaction of age x birthplace. The GLM univariate ANOVA was carried out by means of a bootstrapping method because of unequal group sizes and because the homogeneity assumptions regarding the variances were not always met. The results reported on in the following sections are based on the bootstrapped Parameter Estimates (z-scores) and their significances.⁸ The results of the questions addressing language use (part (iii) of the questionnaire) were analyzed by grouping speech partners together and computing an average score on these domains per language. Subsequently, the scores were compared using a bootstrapped multivariate ANOVA with age and birthplace as fixed factors. The effect size (η_p^2) of the non-bootstrapped version is provided in Figure 1, as effect size cannot be bootstrapped. Single items corresponding to nominal data were analyzed by means of a Kruskal-Wallis test in the case of the interlocutor 'stranger' for all languages and 'friends' in the case of Papiamentu.

8. Parameter estimates were used instead of the F-test results because the F-test results cannot be bootstrapped by SPSS.

Results

Informants

The questionnaire was filled-out by 592 informants. A sample of 471 questionnaires was selected for the analysis, as we excluded the copies of the informants who were not born in Curaçao ($N = 54$) and those that were incomplete with respect to the birthplaces of the informant and/or his/her parents ($N = 7$). We also excluded the questionnaires that contained over 10% missing values in the results of parts 1–3 ($N = 22$) and those containing ambiguous results in part 4 ($N = 38$). Table 1 illustrates the remaining number of participants according to their different age groups and parental birthplaces.

Table 1. Number of participants belonging to different categories of age groups and parental birthplaces, including Means, Standard Deviations and totals

Age	Parental birthplace					
	Curaçao			Elsewhere		
	<i>n</i>	mean _{age}	sd _{age}	<i>n</i>	mean _{age}	sd _{age}
Young adults	253	18	2	56	18	3
Mature adults	106	54	10	56	55	11
Total	359	29	17	112	36	20

The category of young adults consists of informants who were born after 1987 (< 25 years old); the mature adults were born before 1980 (>32 years old).⁹ Notice that the mature adults finished secondary education (long) before 2001, the year when Papiamentu was integrated into the education system, whereas the young adults (mean age = 18) were mainly educated in the renewed system. As education levels were very diverse across the sample, this variable was not included in the analysis.

Language use

The questionnaire addressed language use in Curaçao in two ways. First, participants indicated their use of Dutch and Papiamentu in various domains (e.g., at home with family, at work with colleagues). Second, they indicated the frequency

9. Originally the students were instructed to consult participants of different age groups, facilitating a comparison between high school students (< 20 years old, born after 1992) and adults (> 40 years old, born before 1972). As some of the informants ($N = 29$) were born between 1972 and 1989, we decided to include their questionnaires for further analysis, categorizing the ones born before 1981 as mature adults and those born after 1986 as young adults. No participants

of speaking Papiamentu, Dutch, English, Spanish or another language with different interlocutors (e.g., father, friends).¹⁰

The use of Dutch and Papiamentu

Tables 2 and 3 present the use of Papiamentu and Dutch in different domains by both age groups.¹¹ Overall, Papiamentu is very frequently used -much more frequently than Dutch- especially at home, with friends and (among young adults) with fellow students. Dutch is only used frequently at school to communicate with teachers, but in combination with Papiamentu, as indicated by the category 'both equally'. This result is rather surprising in view of the fact that Dutch is the dominant language of instruction in the school system, especially in secondary education.

Table 2. The use of Dutch versus Papiamentu in different domains by *young adults* whose parents were born in Curaçao (CB) or elsewhere (EB) (in valid percentages excluding missing values)

	Young adults	(Mostly) Dutch		Both equally		(Mostly) Papiamentu	
		CB	EB	CB	EB	CB	EB
		1	at home with your family	0.4%	7.6%	13.4%	13.2%
2	at work with colleagues	3.6%	5.1%	34.0%	46.2%	62.3%	48.7%
3	at work with your boss	6.7%	21.6%	40.8%	35.1%	52.6%	43.2%
4	at school with your fellow students	0.8%	1.8%	24.5%	20.0%	74.7%	78.2%
5	at school with your teachers	11.1%	10.9%	67.6%	65.5%	21.4%	23.7%
6	with your friends	0.4%	0.0%	21.1%	23.6%	78.5%	76.3%
7	with strangers	2.4%	3.6%	42.0%	29.1%	55.6%	67.3%

10. For the ease of exposition the results of the analysis concerning the use of 'another language' are not included in this chapter, but as a general observation we point out that the results in this category were much lower than those corresponding to the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish.

11. Tables 2 and 3 are based on a five-point scale, ranging from 'only Dutch' to 'only Papiamentu'. For the ease of exposition the categories 'only Dutch' and 'mostly Dutch' were combined, as well as 'mostly Papiamentu' and 'only Papiamentu', resulting in the three-point scales presented in

Table 3. The use of Dutch versus Papiamentu in different domains by *mature adults* whose parents were born in Curaçao (CB) or elsewhere (EB) (in valid percentages excluding missing values)

Mature adults	(Mostly) Dutch		Both equally		(Mostly) Papiamentu	
	CB	EB	CB	EB	CB	EB
1 at home with your family	3.8%	5.6%	14.3%	22.2%	81.9%	72.2%
2 at work with colleagues	2.9%	1.8%	39.4%	58.2%	57.7%	40.0%
3 at work with your boss	10.9%	11.0%	40.6%	45.5%	48.5%	43.7%
4 at school with your fellow students	4.2%	4.2%	36.5%	46.8%	59.4%	48.9%
5 at school with your teachers	14.1%	20.9%	48.9%	58.3%	37.0%	20.9%
6 with your friends	0.9%	5.4%	26.4%	37.5%	72.7%	57.1%
7 with strangers	2.9%	3.7%	41.0%	46.3%	56.2%	50.0%

A Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was performed to prepare these data for further analysis. The PCA found one component that was abstracted for analysis, with a high reliability as measured with the Cronbach's Alpha (.809). An average score on all seven situations was computed for each participant, as presented in Table 4. The univariate ANOVA test found no statistically significant differences in the factor scores comparing differences in age ($z = 0.927, p = .344$), or origin (measured by parental birthplace: $z = 1.117, p = .269$) nor interaction effects between characteristics of age and parental birthplace ($z = 0.374, p = .696$). These results indicate that the speech community of Curaçao is very homogeneous.

Table 4. Average scores on seven items regarding the use of Dutch versus Papiamentu among groups of different ages and descent. The scores were based on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = only Dutch and 5 = only Papiamentu

Age	Component Dutch versus Papiamentu								
	Parental birthplace								
	Curaçao			Elsewhere			Total		
	<i>n</i>	mean	sd	<i>n</i>	mean	sd	<i>n</i>	mean	sd
Young adults	253	3.93	0.57	56	3.84	0.66	309	3.91	0.59
Mature adults	106	3.75	0.59	56	3.55	0.65	162	3.68	0.62
Total	359	3.88	0.58	112	3.70	0.67			

Proportion of language use

In order to investigate language use and potential correlations with the age and descent of the participants more closely, the questionnaire also contained questions to investigate *if* and *to what extent* the informants speak Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch with different interlocutors on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = little use, 5 = frequent use). The absence of a score was interpreted as the absence of language use, encoded in the dataset as 0.

The results in Table 5 illustrate that Papiamentu was used by a large part of the informants (up to 94%) with their parents, friends, fellow students and strangers, whereas the use of Dutch was especially frequent in contact with teachers (63%). The percentages of the use of English and Spanish were generally much lower than those corresponding to the use of Papiamentu. The relatively low percentages in the categories of language use with children were due to the fact that not all of the informants had children.

Table 5. Percentages regarding the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish with different interlocutors

	Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish
Mother	91%	21%	20%	14%
Father	87%	18%	16%	13%
Sister	75%	17%	14%	10%
Brother	76%	15%	13%	9%
Children	39%	13%	7%	6%
Friends	94%	35%	30%	21%
Fellow students	88%	30%	20%	16%
Teacher	74%	63%	30%	23%
Colleagues	71%	29%	17%	13%
Boss	55%	29%	14%	11%
Strangers	88%	45%	38%	23%

Table 6 presents the results with respect to the frequency of the use of Papiamentu, English, Spanish and Dutch. Due to the low scores in the use of Dutch, English and Spanish, the results of different categories of interlocutors were combined in order to facilitate the statistical analysis. The domain ‘within the family’, corresponds to mother, father, brother, sister. The category ‘children’ was excluded from the analysis, because not all participants had children. The domain ‘outside the family’ includes friends, fellow students, teacher, colleagues and boss.¹²

12. Notice that certain questionnaires ($N = 34$) were excluded from the analysis corresponding to Table 6, due to misinterpretation of the question, as the respondents marked the use of certain languages by means of a cross, without specifying the proportion of its use by numbers 1–5.

Table 6. Average scores for language use in different domains by informants of different age groups and with different parental birthplaces, including Means and Standard Deviations (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use)

	Parental birthplace				Age groups			
	Curaçao (<i>n</i> = 341)		Elsewhere (<i>n</i> = 96)		Young adults (<i>n</i> = 290)		Mature adults (<i>n</i> = 147)	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Papiamentu								
Within family	4.14	1.11	3.29	1.73	3.85	1.22	4.17	1.48
Boss/teacher	2.92	1.66	2.77	1.64	2.79	1.55	3.07	1.83
Colleagues/fellow students	3.82	1.43	3.60	1.68	3.76	1.41	3.80	1.64
Friends	4.51	1.23	4.13	1.64	4.44	1.30	4.41	1.42
Strangers	3.99	1.75	3.64	1.93	3.88	1.80	3.98	1.78
Dutch								
Within the family	0.48	0.92	0.60	1.20	0.63	1.07	0.26	0.76
Outside the family	1.26	1.28	1.31	1.32	1.21	1.24	1.38	1.37
Strangers	1.54	1.91	1.29	1.86	1.34	1.87	1.77	1.94
English								
Within the family	0.37	0.78	0.56	1.19	0.57	1.00	0.11	0.49
Outside the family	0.68	1.04	0.49	0.87	0.81	1.11	0.28	0.65
Strangers	1.15	1.69	1.14	1.92	1.19	1.79	1.05	1.64
Spanish								
Within the family	0.22	0.60	0.30	0.91	0.30	0.73	0.13	0.57
Outside the family	0.43	0.81	0.22	0.52	0.50	0.86	0.14	0.41
Strangers	0.98	1.59	0.50	1.18	0.86	1.56	0.89	1.44

A statistical analysis of the data provides the following results concerning the frequency of the use of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish based on a comparison between groups of different age and descent.

Use of Papiamentu

The frequency of the use of Papiamentu varied in accordance with parental birthplaces, as participants whose parents were born in Curaçao spoke Papiamentu more often. The differences were statistically significant for talking within the family ($z = 4.0623$, $p = .001$), with friends ($H(1) = 5.63$, $p = .018$) and with strangers ($H(1) = 1.98$, $p = .046$). The difference measured in the use of Papiamentu within the family had a medium effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0,096$). There were no statistically significant differences between the two age groups with respect to their use of Papiamentu.

Use of Dutch

A statistically significant difference was found between participants whose parents were born in Curaçao and those with at least one foreign-born parent concerning their use of Dutch within the family ($z = 2.6393, p = .011$), as the second group spoke Dutch more frequently at home, although the effect size was rather small ($\eta_p^2 = 0,010$). A potential explanation for this is that these results may have been obtained from members of migrant families from the European Netherlands. Additionally, a statistically significant difference was found between age groups: mature adults used Dutch more often with strangers than young adults ($H(1) = 4.86, p = .027$). Presumably, these differences between the two age groups reflect the traditional *diglossic* language situation of the past, when Dutch played a much more prominent role in formal domains.

Use of English

A statistically significant difference was found between the two age groups with respect to the use of English, within the family ($z = 3.4427, p = .002$) as well as outside the family ($z = 3.0078, p = .005$). In both cases, young adults speak English slightly more often than mature adults. The first domain (within the family) corresponds to a medium effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0,084$) and the second domain (outside the family) to a medium to small effect size ($\eta_p^2 = 0,046$). The difference between the two age groups may be explained by the increasing importance of English as a global phenomenon, promoted by its massive use on the Internet and social media. A similar explanation may account for the more frequent use of English at home by young adults. It is unlikely that these results come from members of migrant families, as the contrast is not related to differences in parental birthplaces and all of our informants were born in Curaçao. Hence, future research should investigate the use of English at home more closely, especially among younger generations.

Use of Spanish

A statistically significant difference was found between the two age groups in the domain 'outside the family' ($z = 2.4708, p = .016$), as young adults used Spanish more often than mature adults, although the difference was very small ($\eta_p^2 = 0,028$). Furthermore, a statistically significant difference was found between informants of different descent, as participants whose parents were born in Curaçao used Spanish more often with strangers ($H(1) = 8.35, p = .004$). Both findings may point at the importance of Spanish as a second language, as some young informants employed Spanish outside the family and not at home. Informants of local origin used Spanish more often with strangers, as compared to informants with at least one foreign-born parent, suggesting that they had acquired the language as a second language by mere exposure to it on the island and/or in the school system.

Language attitudes: The importance of Papiamentu

The second part of the questionnaire was designed to investigate language attitudes toward Papiamentu by evaluating its importance in carrying out 20 different activities. The PCA resulted in four components that were abstracted for analysis. All components had a high reliability as measured with the Cronbach's Alpha (see Appendix A). The first component, referred to as 'achievements' included items such as 'getting a job', 'becoming smarter' and 'passing exams'. The second component, termed 'socializing', contained items such as 'talking to friends in school' and 'being accepted in the community'. The third component, represented by 'leisure', comprised items such as 'making friends', 'singing' and 'going shopping'. The fourth component referred to as 'literacy' included 'reading' and 'writing'. Table 7 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 7. Average scores on clusters of items regarding the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out different activities, according to age and descent, including Standard Deviations. The results correspond to a scale from 1 to 4 (1 = important, 4 = unimportant)

		Parental birthplace				Age groups			
		Curaçao (<i>n</i> = 359)		Elsewhere (<i>n</i> = 112)		Young adults (<i>n</i> = 309)		Mature adults (<i>n</i> = 162)	
		mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
1	Achievements	1.99	0.75	2.10	0.88	1.88	0.67	2.27	0.92
2	Socializing	1.82	0.65	1.89	0.80	1.79	0.57	1.91	0.88
3	Leisure	2.13	0.69	2.24	0.79	2.10	0.59	2.28	0.90
4	Literacy	1.67	0.84	1.83	1.00	1.60	0.72	1.90	1.11

Age

A statistically significant difference between the age groups was attested in the results of the first component ($z = 2.136, p = .042$), as young adults found Papiamentu more important than mature adults in carrying out activities related to achievements. Another statistically significant difference was found between the age groups with respect to the results of component 4 ($z = 2.535, p = .017$) indicating that young adults found Papiamentu more important for reading and writing than mature adults. No statistically significant difference was found between young adults and mature adults concerning component 2 ($z = 0.115, p = .902$) and component 3 ($z = 0.327, p = .746$), that is, Papiamentu was considered equally (un)important by speakers of different age groups for activities related to socializing and leisure. Hence, the different evaluations corresponding to different age groups with respect to the importance of Papiamentu were limited to instrumental functions

(C1) and literacy (C4). Presumably this contrast is related to the increasing role of Papiamentu in formal domains, particularly in the school system.

Parental birthplace

A statistically significant difference between the two groups of different descent was found in the results for component 4 ('literacy', $z = 2.116$, $p = .035$), as participants with native-born parents found Papiamentu more important for reading and writing than participants with at least one parent who was born elsewhere. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups regarding the results of component 1 ('achievements', $z = 0.255$, $p = .797$), component 2 ('socializing', $z = 0.347$, $p = .902$) and component 3 ('leisure', $z = 0.602$, $p = .546$). These results corroborate the overall importance attributed to Papiamentu as well as the homogeneity of the community in this respect. The lower importance assigned to Papiamentu for reading and writing by informants of (partially) foreign descent may be explained by the fact that they are probably more internationally oriented. Future research should take a closer look at the use and importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing, as literacy may be relevant for instrumental purposes (studies, job market) as well as for integrative purposes related to leisure activities and socializing (Internet, social media). Yet, the statistically significant contrast is not reflected by the results of these other components (C2, C3).

Interaction effect age and descent

An interaction effect was found in the results of component 4 ('literacy') when age and descent were compared ($z = 2.353$, $p = .025$). As shown in Figure 1, participants with at least one foreign-born parent belonging to the older age group found Papiamentu less important for reading and writing, whereas participants of local descent belonging to the older age group found Papiamentu slightly more important for reading and writing.

Again, we point out that the importance and use of Papiamentu for reading and writing should be investigated more closely in future studies. We hypothesize that older informants who have at least one foreign-born parent evaluated Papiamentu as less important for reading and writing due to their personal experiences, as they were raised in a *diglossic* community in which Papiamentu played a marginal role in formal domains. Moreover, in their current situation the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing may be limited because their professional field is international. These circumstances may be different for local families.

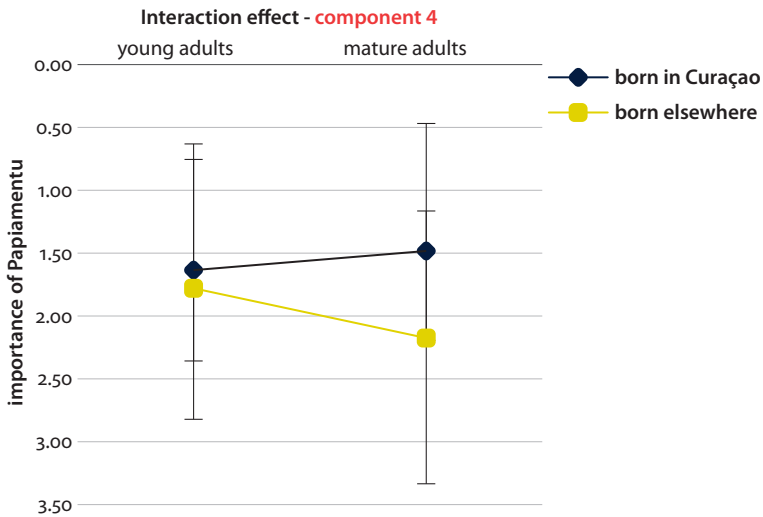


Figure 1. Interaction effect in the results evaluating the importance of Papiamentu (1 = important, 4 = unimportant) for reading and writing (component 4) comparing characteristics of age x descent

Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity

The third part of the questionnaire contained 5 items concerning attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity.¹³ The scores of the two items that were formulated negatively were reversed in order to facilitate the comparison of all the items based on one single scale. The PCA found two components that were abstracted for analysis (see Appendix B). The first component was submitted to statistical analysis, based on its reliability (Cronbach's Alpha: .624). The second component was not submitted to further statistical analysis due to a low reliability score on Cronbach's Alpha test (.428). As average scores were lower than 2, the different groups were generally rather positive about their Curaçaoan identity, as illustrated in Table 8.

13. For reasons of space we will not analyze the results concerning Dutch citizenship and potential correlations with language use and language attitudes in this chapter.

Table 8. Average scores on clusters of items regarding attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity, according to age and parental birthplace, including Standard Deviations. The results correspond to a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly agree=positive, 5 = strongly disagree=negative)

	Parental birthplace				Age			
	Curaçao (<i>n</i> = 359)		Elsewhere (<i>n</i> = 112)		Young adults (<i>n</i> = 309)		Mature adults (<i>n</i> = 162)	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity	1,56	0,60	1,89	0,80	1,63	0,68	1,66	0,67

Further statistical comparisons were made between groups of different ages and descent.

Age

No statistically significant differences were attested between the age groups concerning their attitudes toward their Curaçaoan identity ($z = 1.039, p = .292$), which indicates that the community is homogeneous in this respect.

Parental birthplace

A statistically significant difference was found between the groups with different parental birthplaces and their attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity ($z = 2.277, p = .024$). Participants with native-born parents were more positive or outspoken toward their Curaçaoan identity than those with at least one foreign-born parent. Presumably, this result can be explained by the interpretation of the scores, as two of the three statements actually measured to what extent the informants considered themselves to be Curaçaoan and identify with other Curaçaoans. It is not surprising that informants with at least one foreign-born parent evaluated their identity differently from the ones with two native-born parents.

Interaction effects: Parental birthplace, the use of Papiamentu and attitudes regarding language and Curaçaoan identity

Finally, a statistical analysis was conducted in order to investigate potential interaction effects between language use, language attitudes, identity and parental birthplace. More precisely, the ultimate goal was to investigate whether the results concerning the use of Papiamentu and parental birthplace correlated with positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity. A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to investigate potential correlations.

The multivariate test showed that the combination of language use and parental birthplace were related to attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity and Papiamentu (Wilk's Lambda $p = 0.010$). More specifically, the ANOVA test revealed an interaction effect of the use of Papiamentu and parental birthplace on attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity ($F(16, 365) = 3.058, p = 0.000, \eta_p^2 = 0.129$) and on opinions concerning the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing ($F(16, 365) = 1.826, p = 0.027, \eta_p^2 = 0.081$), but not concerning the importance of Papiamentu for the other three components presented in the previous section ('achievements', 'socializing' and 'leisure').

The interaction effect between the use of Papiamentu, parental birthplace and Curaçaoan identity is illustrated in Figure 2. More use of Papiamentu correlated with increasingly positive attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity. This effect was stronger among participants with at least one foreign-born parent, than among those with native-born parents, presumably because the use of Papiamentu and positive evaluations with respect to Curaçaoan identity were widely shared among native-born families, whereas they develop over time among migrant families.

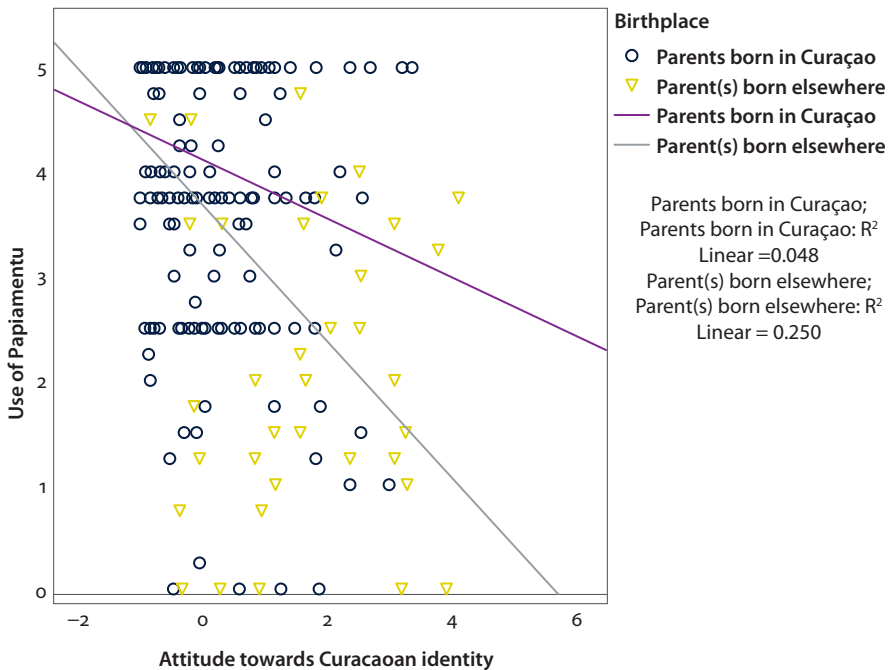


Figure 2. Interaction effect between use of Papiamentu (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use), attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity (1 = positive, 4 = negative) and parental birthplace based on average *factor* scores (not average scores)

Figure 3 illustrates the interaction effect between the use of Papiamentu, parental birthplace and the importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing. There was no effect between the importance attributed to Papiamentu for reading and writing and the use of Papiamentu for participants with native-born parents. For the participants with at least one foreign-born parent, however, a more frequent use of Papiamentu was related to evaluating Papiamentu as more important for reading and writing. Again, the difference may be explained by the fact that informants of native-born parents shared a frequent use of Papiamentu and considered the language important for literacy, whereas these two aspects develop over time in the attitudes of migrants.

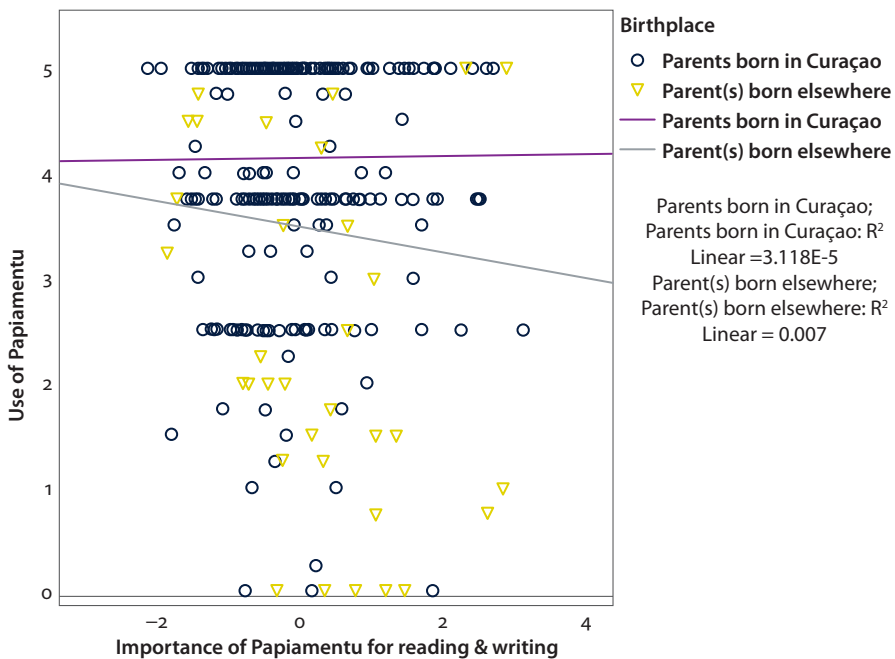


Figure 3. Interaction effect between use of Papiamentu (0 = no use, 5 = frequent use), importance of Papiamentu for reading and writing (1 = important, 4 = unimportant) and parental birthplace based on average *factor* scores (not average scores)

Discussion

As the results of the survey pointed out, patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity were rather homogeneous among the informants. Differences in language use and attitudes were related to differences in parental birthplace (native-born as opposed to foreign-born) rather than to different age groups.

For the sake of convenience, the hypotheses formulated previously are repeated below, in connection to the findings.

1. Young adults speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language as compared to mature adults. The first hypothesis was not fully corroborated, as we found no statistically significant differences between the age groups and their use of Papiamentu (Tables 5 and 6). Notice, however, that young informants found Papiamentu more important for activities related to achievements, as well as for reading and writing (components 1 and 4 in Table 7). These results may be explained by the increasing importance of Papiamentu in the education system (since its introduction as a language of instruction in the *Enseñansa di Fundeshi* in 2001) and for the local job market.
2. Informants with native-born parents speak Papiamentu more frequently and share more positive attitudes toward the language and toward their Curaçaoan identity as compared to informants with foreign-born parents. The second hypothesis was corroborated to a certain extent, as informants with native-born parents spoke Papiamentu more frequently (Table 6), considered Papiamentu more important for reading and writing (component 4 in Table 7) and were more positive with respect to their Curaçaoan identity (Table 8) than informants with at least one foreign-born parent. It is remarkable that no other statistically significant differences were found between the informants of different descent with respect to the importance of Papiamentu for activities corresponding to the other components of achievements (component 1), socializing (component 2) and leisure activities (component 3). These findings corroborate the overall importance attributed to Papiamentu within the Curaçaoan society. An interaction effect was found when age and descent were compared, because participants belonging to the older age group with at least one foreign-born parent found Papiamentu less important for reading and writing, whereas participants belonging to the older age group of local descent found Papiamentu slightly more important for reading and writing. We assume that older informants who have at least one foreign-born parent evaluated Papiamentu as less important for reading and writing due to their upbringing in a *diglossic* community and the limited importance of Papiamentu in their current professional lives.

3. Frequent use of Papiamentu correlates with positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity. The third hypothesis was corroborated, as frequent use of Papiamentu correlated with positive attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity (Figure 2) and with considering Papiamentu important for reading and writing (Figure 3). These interaction effects were stronger among informants with at least one foreign-born parent, as compared to informants with native-born parents, suggesting that an increasing use of Papiamentu as well as positive attitudes toward the language may develop among migrants over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented and analyzed the results of 471 questionnaires which were distributed in 2012 on the island of Curaçao in order to study its language situation. More specifically, the goal of the survey was to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the patterns of language use, language attitudes and identity among speakers of Papiamentu in Curaçao?
2. Are potential differences related to different characteristics concerning the age and parental birthplaces of the participants?
3. Are there statistical correlations between the patterns of language use and attitudes toward language and identity in accordance with characteristics of age and parental birthplace?

As a general conclusion the results pointed out that the speech community of Curaçao is rather homogeneous. Papiamentu is widely used by the different groups of informants and the use of Dutch, English and Spanish is very limited. Attitudes toward Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity are overall very positive. Younger informants tend to evaluate Papiamentu as more important in carrying out activities related to achievements (education, job market) and reading and writing, probably due to the fact that they were educated in a system that uses Papiamentu partially as a language of instruction. Informants of local descent use Papiamentu more frequently and evaluate the language as more important, but only for reading and writing. A statistical analysis of the data indicated a correlation between the use of Papiamentu, positive attitudes toward the language and Curaçaoan identity among informants with foreign-born parents. This correlation suggests that Papiamentu is a strong identity marker that develops among migrants over time.

These findings corroborate the vitality of the language observed in Severing and Weijer (2010), its exceptional prestige in comparison to other Creole languages

(Winford, 1994) and its important role as an identity marker, as signaled in work by Carroll (2009, 2015) about Aruban Papiamentu. The results of this study can make an important contribution to activities related to language policy and planning in the Dutch Caribbean. The frequent use of Papiamentu and specifically its importance for ‘achievements’ in education and the job market in connection to its status as a marker of local identity among informants of different descent strongly argue in favor of expanding the role of Papiamentu in the education system.

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Appendix A. Importance of Papiamentu

Table A. The components concerning the importance of Papiamentu, their factor loadings and percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component

Label	Question: How important is Papiamentu to...	C1	C2	C3	C4
	become smarter	0.761	0.164	0.304	0.169
	get a job	0.755	0.256	0.143	0.188
	pass exams	0.746	0.168	0.060	0.257
	earn plenty of money	0.573	-0.056	0.522	0.046
	play sports	0.546	0.224	0.379	0.023
	raise children*	0.493	0.472	0.094	0.332
	talk to people out of school	0.126	0.772	0.316	-0.05
	talk to friends in school	0.147	0.772	0.338	-0.012
	talk to teachers in school	0.370	0.585	0.177	0.234
	be accepted in the community*	0.429	0.583	0.176	0.139
	live in Curaçao	0.035	0.536	-0.098	0.312
	make phone calls	0.106	0.499	0.445	0.241
	sing	0.007	0.233	0.702	0.192
	be liked	0.444	0.132	0.582	0.013
	watch television/video	0.246	0.084	0.552	0.386
	make friends	0.269	0.319	0.531	0.132
	go to church/chapel	0.388	0.269	0.494	0.107
	go shopping*	0.246	0.425	0.435	0.134
	read	0.212	0.145	0.212	0.866
	write	0.235	0.168	0.228	0.852
	Percentage of variance explained	18%	16%	15%	11%
	Cronbach's alpha	.840	.814	.780	.892

* This item loads reasonably high on more than one component. This will be considered in the factor scores abstracted for each participant.

Appendix B. Attitudes toward Curaçaoan identity

Table B. The components concerning Curaçaoan identity, their factor loadings and percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component

Label	Question	C1	C2
	I'm happy to be a Curaçaoan	0.862	0.208
	I identify with other Curaçaoans	0.665	-0.298
	I consider myself to be Curaçaoan	0.840	0.210
	I tend to hide the fact that I'm Curaçaoan (reversed)	0.154	0.777
	I feel held back because I'm Curaçaoan (reversed)	-0.030	0.763
	Percentage of variance explained	38%	27%
	Cronbach's alpha	.624	.428

Appendix C. Questionnaire

Kuestionario

E kuestionario akí ta relashoná ku e programa di Master of Education di Universidat di Kòrsou. E studiantenan tin ku prepará un ensayo ku ta forma parti di un kurso riba kontakto entre diferente idioma ku e studiante ta sigui serka señora dr. Ellen-Petra Kester di Universidat di Utrecht.

E kuestionario ta trata bo opinion riba importansia i uso di papiamentu i e identidat dòbel komo yu di Kòrsou i siudadano hulandes. Nos ta pidi pa kontestá tur pregunta sinseramente. No tin kontesta korekto òf inkorekto; ta trata únikamente di bo opinion personal. E kuestionario ta anónimo i lo trata tur informashon konfidensialmente. Si tin interes pa e temanan di e kuestionario òf e resultadonan di e investigashon por tuma kontakto ku señora Kester atraves di ellenpetrakester@gmail.com.

Masha danki pa bo kooperashon!

Parti 1

Aki bou ta presentá ponensia tokante identidat komo yu di Kòrsou i siudadano hulandes. Por fabor, indiká si bo ta di akuerdo òf na desakuuerdo ku e ponensianan, markando bo kontesta ku un sírku.

KA	= Kompletamente di akuerdo	(marka KA)
DA	= Di akuerdo	(marka DA)
NE	= Neutral, ni di akuerdo, ni na desakuuerdo	(marka NE)
ND	= Na desakuuerdo	(marka ND)
KD	= Kompletamente na desakuuerdo	(marka KD)

Mi ta un persona ku....

1. tin difikultat pa bisa ku mi ta un siudadano hulandes.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
2. ta sinti lasonan fuerte ku Hulanda.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
3. tin e tendensia di skonde e echo ku mi ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
4. ta kontentu di ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
5. ta identifiká su mes ku otro yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
6. ta konsiderá tin e echo di ta siudadano hulandes importante.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
7. tin bèrgwensa pa e echo ku mi ta un siudadano hulandes.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
8. ta konsiderá mi mes un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
9. ta sinti ku ta tene mi abou pasó mi ta un yu di Kòrsou.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD
10. ta kritiko relashoná ku Hulanda.	KA	DA	NE	ND	KD

Parti 2

Kon importante òf no importante papiamentu ta pa e siguiente situashonnan? Por favor, marka bo kontesta ku un krus den e hòki.

PA HENDE:	Importante	Basta importante	Poko importante	No importante
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				

Parti 3

Kua idioma bo ta usa den e siguiente situashonnan?

- SH = Solamente hulandes
 PH = Prinsipalmente hulandes
 TD = Tur dos meskos
 PP = Prinsipalmente papiamentu
 SP = Solamente papiamentu

1.	Na bo kas ku bo famia	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
2.	Na trabou ku bo koleganan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
3.	Na trabou ku e hefe	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
4.	Na skol ku bo kompañeronan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
5.	Na skol ku bo dosentenan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
6.	Ku bo amigunan	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP
7.	Ku hende deskonosí	SH	PH	TD	PP	SP

Kua idioma bo ta usa diariamente ora bo ta papia ku ...

(Pone un sifra entre 1 i 5 den e hòki ku bo skohe. 5 ke men hopi. 1 ke men tiki. Ta posibel pa usa e mes sifra mas ku un biaha.)

	Papiamentu	Hulandes	Ingles	Spañó	Otro idioma
bo mama					
bo tata					
bo ruman muhénan					
bo ruman hòmbènan					
bo yunan					
bo amigunan					
bo kompañeronan di klas					
bo dosente					
bo koleganan					
bo hefe di trabou					
hende desconosí					

Parti 4

Por favor, kontestá e preguntanan akí òf marka e kontesta korekto ku un sírkulo.

1. Aña di nasimentu: _____
2. Sekso: hòmber muhé
3. Bo a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò
4. Bo mama a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò
5. Bo tata a nase na Kòrsou? Sí Nò

Pa studiante

6. Edukashon: VSBO SBO HAVO VWO
7. Klas: _____

Pa hende grandi

8. Nivel edukativo: BO VSBO HAVO SBO VWO HBO WO

Masha danki pa bo kooperashon!

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