

Questions in Papiamentu

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Keywords: Papiamentu, Creole Languages, Question words, Prepositions

0. Introduction

In this paper¹ I describe the multiple uses of interrogative pronouns and adverbs (question words) in Papiamentu, focusing on some secondary uses that have not been described and the difference between words with the “same meaning”. The frequency of question words used together with prepositions will be provided when possible. I also briefly describe the relationship between *ta* (copula/TAM marker/focus marker) and questions.

I utilize the Curaçao spelling for this paper since it is more phonologically accurate than the etymological spelling. All examples using other spellings (including the ones from other pieces of research) have been modified to be consistent with this paper. The use of cursive and bold letters is based on the topics of this paper and is not necessarily present in the original sources. I have also slightly modified the use of punctuation in some examples taken from corpora in order to make them easier to read.

In section 1, I introduce some general facts about word order and questions in Papiamentu. In section 2, I summarize the previous research on Papiamentu questions in general and question words. In section 3, I present my analysis of how question words are used in Papiamentu and I provide data of which prepositions tend to precede which question words. In section 4, I briefly describe how focal *ta* (also known as “emphatic *ta*”) is used in interrogative sentences. In section 5, I present my conclusions.

1. Background knowledge

Papiamentu has an SVO word order in unmarked contexts. For yes/no questions, the word order is the same as in declarative sentences and the only distinction between the two is that questions have a rising pitch on the final syllable and no downdrift (Kouwenberg and Murray 1994: 35). This paper will focus on interrogative pronouns and adverbs which are usually fronted and can be preceded by the so-called “emphatic *ta*” (which also works as the non-past copula and a preverbal marker expressing the imperfective). I will cite some information regarding the interrogative pronouns and adverbs from previous research and attempt to cover most functions/uses of each element, as well as point out which prepositions can control them.

¹ This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP21J10486.

2. Previous research

2.1. Questions in Papiamentu

2.1.1. Interrogative sentences in Papiamentu

Luidens et al (2015: 99) divide interrogative constructions in direct and indirect interrogative sentences. The following (1) and (2) are examples of each type of sentence.

- (1) *Ken a yama mi na mi selular?* (direct type)

who PFV call 1SG at 1SG cellphone

“Who called me to my cellphone?”

(Luidens et al 2015: 99)

- (2) *Mi no sa mas kiko pa mi hasi pa por komplas=é.* (indirect type)

1SG NEG know more what for 1SG do for can please=3SG

“I don’t know what else to do in order to please him/her.”

(Luidens et al 2015: 99)

As it can be seen in (2), Luidens et al (2015: 99) consider the usage of interrogative pronouns and adverbs in subordinate clauses as expressing an indirect question.

Luidens et al (2015: 100) further subdivide direct interrogative sentences into yes/no questions and interrogative sentences with an interrogative pronoun or adverb. Yes/no questions have the same word order as their declarative counterparts. See (3) and (4).

- (3) *E mucha a pasa su eksamen eksitosamente?*

ART.DEF youngster PFV pass 3SG.POSS exam successfully

“Did the young man/woman pass his/her exam successfully?”

(Luidens et al 2015: 100)

- (4) *E mucha a pasa su eksamen eksitosamente.*

ART.DEF youngster PFV pass 3SG.POSS exam successfully

“The young man/woman passed his/her exam successfully.”

(Luidens et al 2015: 100)

In interrogative sentences with an interrogative pronoun or adverb, these question words ask about a specific part of the sentence. See (5)-(7).

- (5) *Ken a yama Buchi na telefon ayera?*

(interrogative pronoun as subject)

who PFV call PN at telephone yesterday

“Who called Buchi by phone yesterday?”

(Luidens et al 2015: 101)

- (6) *Kiko e yùfrou a bisa=bo siman pasá?*

(interrogative pronoun as direct object)

what ART.DEF lady PFV say=2SG week last

“What did the lady tell you last week?”

(Luidens et al 2015: 101)

- (7) *Kon bo por a subi e dak di e kas ei?* (interrogative adverbial)
 how 2SG can PFV lift ART.DEF roof of ART.DEF house there
 “How can you lift the roof of that house?” (Luidens et al 2015: 101)

Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 36) show that a prepositional phrase with a question word can be preposed as in (8).

- (8) *Ta te na unda e bús aki ta bai?*
 COP until at where ART.DEF bus here IPFV go
 “How far does this bus go?”
 (Todd Dandaré (1978), cited in Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 36))

Luidens et al (2015: 101) also point out that “direct” interrogative sentences can be used as rhetorical questions. These types of questions usually express disapproval (9), irritation (10), or orders (11).

- (9) *Bo kabes un ta bon?* (disapproval)
 2SG head NEG COP good
 “Your head isn’t straight?” (Luidens et al 2015: 101)
- (10) *Bo kier a keda keto, por favor?* (irritation)
 2SG want PFV stay quite please
 “Could you be quite, please?” (Luidens et al 2015: 101)
- (11) *Bo por ta asina bon di sali for di akiden?* (order)
 2SG can COP that good of go_out from of here
 “Could you be so good to leave?” (Luidens et al 2015: 101)

According to Luidens et al (2015: 103), all interrogative sentences can be emphasized by the use of *ta*. See (12) and (13).

- (12) *(Ta) Marcia a laga traha un kash=i kushina nobo?*
 FOC PN PFV let work ART.INDEF cupboard=of kitchen new
 “Did Maria get a new kitchen cupboard done?” (Luidens et al 2015: 103)
- (13) *(Ta) ken a yama Buchi na telefon ayera?*
 FOC who PFV call PN at telephone yesterday
 “Who called Buchi by phone yesterday?” (Luidens et al 2015: 103)

Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 35) refer to this use of *ta* as the “copula/focus marker”.

2.1.2. Question words in Papiamentu

As seen in Luidens et al (2015), question words are divided into interrogative pronouns and interrogative adverbs.

According to Departamento di Enseñansa Aruba (2010: 60), interrogative pronouns can be used independently in direct interrogative sentences, or as part of a subordinate phrase in indirect interrogative sentences. The following are the interrogative pronouns in Papiamentu: *ki/kiko* “what”, *kua/kual* “which”, and *ken/kende* “who”².

Interrogative adverbs introduce a sentence whose answer is an adverbial complement (Departamento di Enseñansa Aruba 2010: 29). *Kon* “how”, *kuantu* “how much/how many”, *dikon* “why”, *pakiko* “why”, *pasikiko* “why”, *(na) unda* “where” are provided as examples of interrogative adverbs.

Kouwenberg and Murray (1994: 36) provide further examples of interrogative adverbs: *ki ora* “when / what time” (lit. which hour), *ki dia* “when / which day” (lit. which day), *ki tempu* “when” (lit. which time), *pa unda* “which way” (lit. for where). They also point out that *kua*, *kual*, and *ki* can be used in an adjectival way (as is shown in the complex adverbs *ki ora*, *ki dia*, and *ki tempu*).

3. Analysis of question words in Papiamentu

This analysis is based on samples of both spoken³ and written⁴ Papiamentu. In order to analyze the relationship between prepositions and question words, separate from the spoken and written samples of data, I have also taken examples from the Papiamentu Corpus from the Leipzig Corpora Collection⁵, which is composed of examples taken from Papiamentu newspapers. Hereafter, the source of the examples will be provided as follows: “Spoken data” for the transcribed data, “Written data” for the collection of news articles from the Curaçaoan newspaper “Èxtra”, and “Corpus data data” for the Papiamentu Corpus from the Leipzig Corpora Collection.

In this paper, I classify question words as in Table 1 below. I will use uppercase to represent a set of question words. Most sets are comprised of only one member but some sets have two or three. Since *ki* “what” can modify nouns unlike *kiko* “what”, these two will be counted separately.

² Question words in Papiamentu might have more than one phonological realization. These realizations will be dealt with in section 3.

³ For the spoken data, I had a native speaker J.C. (Year of birth: 1990; Sex: male; Place of birth: Curaçao; Second language(s): English, Dutch, Spanish) transcribe the dialogs of the show “Djis un tiki love”. “Djis un tiki love” is a television show filmed in Curaçao in 2016, spoken mostly in Papiamentu. The transcription of the whole series (8 episodes in total, each of an average 25 minutes length) consists of approximately 40,000 words.

⁴ For the written data, I collected the articles of five versions of the Curaçaoan newspaper “Èxtra” published in 2019. All the text was converted from image to text using the OCR function on Google Drive. I included only the articles and excluded the subtext below photos (unless they stand as a single article) and commercials (commercials presented as articles were not excluded). This data consists of approximately 121,300 words. Even though “Èxtra” is a newspaper from Curaçao, the news coming from Aruba seem to be written in the Aruban spelling. There are also news from Bonaire, but it is not clear whether their spelling is the Bonairean or the Curaçaoan variety.

⁵ The Leipzig Papiamentu Corpus (https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en?corpusId=pap_newscrawl_2011) consists of materials gathered up until 2011 from Papiamentu Newspapers. This corpus consists of 301,921 sentences, 111,738 types, and 6,183,663 tokens.

Kende “who” has a lower frequency than *ken* “who” and seems to be mainly used in subordinate clauses, therefore these two will also be counted separately. Nevertheless, since both *ki* “what” and *kiko* “what” have many similarities, they will be dealt with in the same section. The same applies to *ken* “who” and *kende* “who”; *ki dia* “when”, *ki ora* “when” and *ki tempu* “when”; as well as *pakiko* “why” (derived from *pa* “for” and *kiko* “what”) and *dikon* “why” (derived from *di* “of” and *kon* “how”).

Table 1: Classification of question words in Papiamentu

Question word	Realizations	Meaning	Noun modifier function
<i>KIKO</i>	<i>kiko</i>	what	no
<i>KI</i>	<i>ki</i>	what	yes
<i>KEN</i>	<i>ken</i>	who	no
<i>KENDE</i>	<i>kende</i>	who	no
<i>KUAL</i>	<i>kua, kual</i>	which	yes
<i>KON</i>	<i>kon</i>	how	no
<i>UNDA</i>	<i>unda</i>	where	no
<i>KI DIA</i>	<i>ki dia</i>	when	no
<i>KI ORA</i>	<i>ki ora</i>	when	no
<i>KI TEMPU</i>	<i>ki tempu</i>	when	no
<i>KUANTU</i>	<i>kuantu</i>	how much, how many	yes
<i>PAKIKO</i>	<i>pakiko, pasikiko</i> ⁶	why	no
<i>DIKON</i>	<i>dikon</i>	why	no

In this paper, I will mainly focus on prepositions that can control phrases (not clauses) and have no other function. I will use the samples of spoken and written data to analyze the general use of each question word and the corpus data to analyze the co-occurrence of those words with prepositions.

I consider *den* “in”, *entre* “among”, *for di/fo’i* “from”, *kontra* “against”, *na* “at”, *over* “about”, *(a)riba* “on/about”, *te* “until”, and *tokante* “about” to be pure prepositions which can only take noun phrases. In addition to these *dilanti* “in front of” can also function as a preposition as in (14), as well as an adverb as in (15). Since these two uses seem to be easily distinguished, I will also deal with their use.

(14) *Un problema ku a inisiá na trùk di pan*

ART.INDEF problem that PFV start at truck of bread

a bin kulminá dilanti Bar Buraku.

PFV come end in_front PN

“A problem that started at a food truck ended up in front of Bar Buraku.” (Corpus data)

⁶ This form derives from the phrase *pa hasi kiko* “to do what”.

- (15) *Un ehèmpel ku a bin dilanti ta*
 ART.INDEF example that PFV come forward COP
e manera ku partido MAN a mira e kaso aktual.
 ART.DEF way that party PN PFV look ART.DEF case current
 “An example that has come forward is the way that the MAN party has looked at the current case.”
 (Corpus data)

While *ku* “with” can also be said to belong to the group of “pure prepositions” (16), it is identical in form to the complementizer *ku* “that” (17) and they can be formally distinguished when preceding the third person singular pronoun *e*, in which case the prepositional *ku* is realized as *kun*, yielding *kun=e* “with him/her”.

- (16) *Kampionato di sòftbòl femenino AA a kontinuá ayera ku 4 partido.*
 championship of softball feminine PN PFV continue yesterday with 4 match
 “Women’s softball championship AA continued yesterday with 4 matches.” (Corpus data)
- (17) *Pero ora nan puntra si bo a tende, bisa nan ku no a tende kaba.*
 but time 3PL ask if 2SG PFV hear say 3PL that NEG PFV hear already
 “But when they ask if you heard, tell them you did not hear yet.” (Corpus data)

As for *di* “of” and *pa* “for”, they can act both as a preposition (18, 20) and as a complementizer (19, 21), and distinguishing both uses is not simple.

- (18) *Direktor di Fundashon Sedreko*
 director of foundation PN
 “Director of the Sedreko Foundation” (Corpus data)
- (19) *Lorito a topa un hende ku a kaba di yega for di Ulanda (...)*
 Lorito PFV run_into ART.INDEF people that PFV just_done of arrive from PN
 “Lorito ran into a person who had just come from the Netherlands (...)” (Corpus data)
- (20) *Eksepshon pa hende=nan lokal ku ke inisiá un negoshi propio.*
 exception for people=PL local that want start ART.INDEF business own
 “Exception for local people who want to start their own business.” (Corpus data)
- (21) *Sino pa semper keda keto.*
 instead for always stay still
 “But instead to always stay still.” (Corpus data)

The uses of each preposition can be seen in Table 2 below. In this section, I will provide the number of examples of the combinations of the pure prepositions and the prepositional use of *dilanti* with the question words provided in Table 1.

Table 2: Clasification of prepositions in Papiamentu

Preposition	Meaning	Adverbial use	Complementizer use
<i>den</i>	in	no	no
<i>entre</i>	between/among	no	no
<i>for di</i>	from	no	no
<i>kontra</i>	against	no	no
<i>na</i>	at	no	no
<i>te</i>	until	no	no
<i>over</i>	about	no	no
<i>(a)riba</i>	on / about	no	no
<i>tokante</i>	about	no	no
<i>dilanti</i>	in front of	yes	no
<i>ku</i>	with	no	no*
<i>di</i>	of	no	yes
<i>pa</i>	for	no	yes

In each section below, I describe the uses of each question word and by which prepositions they were preceded in the corpus data.

3.1. KIKO and KI “what”

Both *KIKO* and *KI* can be translated as “what”. *KIKO* comes from *ki kos* (lit. what thing). This etymology might be related to the fact that *KIKO* cannot be used as a modifier to a noun while *KI* can. This was seen before in constructions like *KI ORA* “when / what time” where *KI* cannot be replaced by *KIKO* (**kiko ora*).

In my data of spoken Papiamentu, both *KI* and *KIKO* can be seen used as independent interrogative pronouns. See (22) and (23) for examples of *KI* and *KIKO* respectively.

(22) **Ki** bo ke bebe?

what 2SG want drink

“What do you want to drink?”

(Spoken data)

(23) **Kiko** el a bisa=bu?

what 3SG PFV say=2SG

“What did he/she tell you?”

(Spoken data)

While in most cases *KI* and *KIKO* are used to ask about the direct object like (22) and (23), there are some examples of them being used to ask about the subject like (24) and (25).

(24) *Ta ki ta pasa-ndo?*

FOC what IPFV happen-GER

“What is happening?”

(Spoken data)

(25) *Pero kiko a pasa presis?*

but what PFV happen exactly

“But, what happened exactly?”

(Spoken data)

In my written data of Papiamentu, there was not a single example of *KI* being used independently. This coincides with J.C.’s opinion that *KI* being used on its own (i.e. not as a modifier) is restricted to informal registers. It should be noted that nevertheless, the journalistic genre in Papiamentu seems to rarely make use of direct questions, so this analysis might be skewed.

Both *KI* and *KIKO* can be used in a set phrase where the meaning of “what” seems to be lost. See (26).

(26) (...) *anto ki ku ta ki señora mester*

and what that COP what madam need

señora por yama=mi e or=ei libremente.

madam can call=1SG ART.DEF time=there freely

“(...) and in any case, whatever that you need, you can call me freely then.” (Spoken data)

According to J.C., *ki ku ta* (or *kiko ku ta*) is used to mean “in any case”. The second *KI* is used in order to create the phrase *ki señora mester* “whatever you need” (lit. what madam need. *Señora* “madam” functions as a second person pronoun in this context).

Regarding *KI*, this pronoun is homophonous with a reduction of the word *aki* “here”, used sometimes in spoken Papiamentu. The full form *aki* is used in both spoken and written Papiamentu. It is not clear what triggers the use of the reduced form *ki*. See (27).

(27) *E dia=nan ki mi ta topa yen hende di antes.*

ART.DEF day=PL here 1SG IPFV encounter lot people of before

“These days I meet a lot of people from my past.”

(Spoken data)

There were examples of the [preposition + *KIKO*] construction in the corpus data which can be summarized as seen in Table 3.

Table 3: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KIKO*]⁷

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>(a)riba KIKO</i>	104	1.83
<i>na KIKO</i>	30	0.53
<i>den KIKO</i>	23	0.40
<i>tokante KIKO</i>	14	0.25
<i>over KIKO</i>	7	0.12
<i>for di KIKO</i>	3	0.05
<i>entre KIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>te KIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>KIKO (total)</i>	5,668	100.00

KIKO was mostly preceded by *(a)riba* “on/about”. It is remarkable that the prepositions *tokante* and *over* which can both be translated to “about” rarely precede *KIKO*. This difference might be because *(a)riba* still has the spacial meaning of “on” which can be used in a broader context while the other two prepositions can only be used in a very specific, abstract meaning. For example, while *(a)riba* can be seen as synonymous to *tokante* and *over* in (28), the same cannot be said about (29). In the Leipzig Corpus, there were no examples of *basa* “base” being used with *tokante* or *over*, but plenty with *(a)riba*.

(28) *No tabata posibel haña mas detaye riba kiko eksaktamente lo bai hasi awor aki.*

NEG IPFV.PST possible get more detail on what exactly IRR go do now here

“It was not possible to find more details on what exactly will be done right now.”

(Corpus data)

(29) *Basa riba kiko bo ta bisa esaki?*

base on what 2SG IPFV say this

“Based on what do you say this?”

(Corpus data)

While the preposition *na* is usually used to express a place where an action occurs, when preceding *KIKO* it seems to express the dative. It should be noted that Papiamentu does not usually use this preposition for recipients of verbs of giving, nor destinations of verbs of movement. See (30).

(30) *Tur hende a kuminsá buska na kiko e partido aki por a mara Boneiru.*

all people PFV start search at what ART.DEF party here can PFV tie PN

“Everybody started looking to what this party tied Bonaire with.”

(Corpus data)

⁷ The total number of occurrences includes context where the corresponding question word is not preceded by any preposition.

The expression [*den KIKO*] seems to be used in a metaphorical sense not expressing a concrete place but rather an institution or a state, as in example (31).

- (31) *Segun Carlos Monk, gobièrnu tin derechi di skohe*
 according_to PN government have right of choose
den kiko i kua proyekto e ta partisipá finansieramente.
 in what and which project 3SG IPFV participate financially
 “According to Carlos Monk, the government has a right to choose in what and which projects it participates financially.” (Corpus data)

The expression [*for di KIKO*] can be used in a metaphorical sense. It seems that prepositions with a spatial meaning are highly unlikely to be used with their literal sense when preceding *KIKO*. See (32).

- (32) *Lòs for di kiko tur hende ta pensa di*
 separate from what all people IPFV think of
e dia aki un kos ta sigur: (...)
 ART.DEF day here ART.INDEF thing COP sure
 “Apart of everything that everybody thinks about this day one thing is sure: (...)” (Corpus data)

Concerning the [preposition + *KI*] construction, the examples taken from the corpus data can be summarized as seen in Table 4.

Table 4: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KI*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>den KI</i>	87	5.85
<i>na KI</i>	35	2.35
<i>(a)riba KI</i>	15	1.01
<i>te KI</i>	4	0.27
<i>for di KI</i>	3	0.20
<i>over KI</i>	1	0.06
<i>entre KI</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KI</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KI</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KI</i>	0	0.00
<i>KI (total)</i>	1,487	100.00

Since in spoken Papiamentu *KI* seems to be used almost exclusively as a noun modifier, the prepositions it takes are determined by the noun it modifies. Thus yielding results that are

strikingly different from *KIKO*. (33) is an example of an NP containing *KI* preceded by a preposition.

- (33) *Gobièrnu mester indiká klaramente den ki direkshon kier bai ku ADC.*
 government must show clearly in what direction want go with PN
 “The government must show clearly in what direction they want to go with ADC.”
 (Corpus data)

The fact that *KI* is used as a noun modifier also means that the prepositions preceding it can express a literal spatial meaning as in (34). Prepositions preceding *KI* can have a metaphorical meaning as well.

- (34) *No ta konosí riba ki boto òf di*
 NEG COP know.PSTPTCP on what boat or of
ki nashonalidat e persona=nan abordo ta.
 what nationality ART.DEF people=PL onboard COP
 “It is not known on what boat or of what nationality the people onboard are.” (Corpus data)

3.2. *KEN* and *KENDE* “who”

Both *KEN* and *KENDE* mean “who” in questions. In most examples in my spoken data set of Papiamentu, *KEN* and *KENDE* are used to ask about the subject (35) but there are some instances where it is used to ask about the object (36) or a noun governed by a preposition (37). It should be noted that in the spoken variety of Curaçaoan Papiamentu *KENDE* seems not to be used since there was not a single example in the spoken data. J.C. also pointed out that *KENDE* is rarely used in the Curaçaoan dialect.

- (35) *Ken ta bai hasi un kos asina ku un hende?*
 who IPFV go do ART.INDEF thing like_this with ART.INDEF person
 “Who goes and does a thing like this with somebody?” (Spoken data)
- (36) *Pero ta ken b=a bèl anto?*
 but FOC who 2SG=PFV call then
 “But who did you call then?” (Spoken data)
- (37) *Ku ken bo kemen, Sharlon?*
 with who 2SG mean PN
 “With whom do you mean, Sharlon?” (Spoken data)

Just like *KI* and *KIKO*, *KEN* can be used in a set phrase with *ku ta* to mean “anybody”, as in (38).

(38) *E no ta sali ku ken ku ta.*

3SG NEG IPFV go_out with who that COP

“He/she does not go out with anybody.”

(Spoken data)

There were some examples of *KENDE* being used in the written data which seem to be used to create non-restrictive relative clauses. See example (39).

(39) *Curry kende a partisipá na seis okashon den wega di tur strea=nan (...)*

PN who PFV participate at 6 time in game of all star=PL

“Curry, who participated six times in the game of all stars (...)”

(Written data)

Regarding the [preposition + *KEN*] construction, the number of examples can be summarized as seen in Table 5.

Table 5: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KEN*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>(a)riba KEN</i>	21	1.05
<i>na KEN</i>	18	0.90
<i>kontra KEN</i>	16	0.80
<i>for di KEN</i>	6	0.30
<i>den KEN</i>	2	0.10
<i>tokante KEN</i>	2	0.10
<i>te KEN</i>	1	0.05
<i>over KEN</i>	1	0.05
<i>entre KEN</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KEN</i>	0	0.00
<i>KEN (total)</i>	1,994	100.00

KEN contrasts with *KI* and *KIKO* because while it takes prepositions much more rarely, it takes almost all possible types of prepositions. It is worth mentioning that [*na KEN*] is used as a dative expression as in (40).

(40) *Un suplika ta bai na ken ku por a mira*

ART.INDEF request IPFV go at who that can PFV see

moveshon sospechoso di un persona (...)

movement suspicious of ART.INDEF person

“A request goes to anyone who could have seen suspicious movements of a person (...)”

(Corpus data)

KEN can also be preceded by *for di* “by”, expressing the meaning “from whom” as in (41). Or it can also create a larger NP where *KEN* modifies another noun preceded by the possessive third-person *su* (42).

- (41) *No ta interesa=mi for di ken nan a kumpr=é òf unda nan a pone.*
 NEG IPFV concern=1SG from who 3PL PFV buy=3SG or were 3PL PFV put
 “I do not care from whom they bought it or where they put it.” (Corpus data)
- (42) *For di ken i riba ken su kustia nos kier sak=é?*
 from who and on who 3SG.POSS pocket 1PL want take=3SG
 “Out of whose and from whose expense do we want to take it?” (Corpus data)

In Table 6, I present the data regarding the number of occurrences of the [preposition + *KENDE*] construction.

Table 6: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KENDE*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>na KENDE</i>	19	1.01
<i>(a)riba KENDE</i>	4	0.21
<i>den KENDE</i>	1	0.05
<i>kontra KENDE</i>	1	0.05
<i>entre KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>for di KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>te KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>over KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KENDE</i>	0	0.00
<i>KENDE (total)</i>	1,881	100.00

KENDE seems to take prepositions even more sparsely than *KEN*. Only the [*na KENDE*] construction seems somewhat common. It should be pointed out that most examples of [*na KENDE*] seem to be used to introduce a relative clause as in (43).

- (43) *Fanny Bonifacia na kende e torneo a wòrdu dediká!*
 PN at who ART.DEF tournament PFV PASS dedicate.PSTPTCP
 “Fanny Bonifacia, to whom the tournament was dedicated!” (Corpus data)

3.3. *KUAL* “which (one)”

Both *kua* and *kual* can be translated as “which” or “which one” and can be used to modify a noun or on its own. In my spoken data of Papiamentu, most examples were of *kua* modifying a noun but there were three examples of *kua* being used independently (44). In two of those examples,

kua is used as the subject while in the third example it is used in the set phrase *kua di nan* “which one of them” (45).

- (44) *Kua ta esun ultimo ku e ta saka?*
 which COP the_one last that 3SG IPFV take_out
 “Which is the last one he takes?” (Spoken data)
- (45) *Ken ta'ta na bùrt ayera, Alexander òf Bryan? Kua di nan?*
 who COP.PST at turn yesterday PN or PN which of them
 “Who was at the turn yesterday, Alexander or Bryan? Which one of them?” (Spoken data)

There was not a single example of the form *kual* used in the spoken data. On the other hand, the form *kual* seems to be preferred over *kua* in written Papiamentu. In my set of written data *kual* is used roughly three times more than *kua*. See (46).

- (46) *Un trein na Pakistan, kual a registrá un eksploshon*
 ART.INDEF train at PN which PFV register ART.INDEF explosion
na bordo a tarda 20 minüt pa para.
 at board PFV take 20 minute for stop
 “A train in Pakistan, which had registered an explosion onboard, took 20 minutes to stop.”
 (Written data)

The data regarding the prepositional phrases with *KUAL* is provided in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KUAL*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>den KUAL</i>	1,064	18.09
<i>(a)riba KUAL</i>	247	4.20
<i>entre KUAL</i>	147	2.50
<i>na KUAL</i>	138	2.35
<i>for di KUAL</i>	114	1.94
<i>kontra KUAL</i>	12	0.20
<i>tokante KUAL</i>	2	0.03
<i>te KUAL</i>	1	0.02
<i>over KUAL</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KUAL</i>	0	0.00
<i>KUAL (total)</i>	5,881	100.00

KUAL seems to be used in a set expression with the meaning of “in which” when preceded by *den* as in (47). It should be noted that because *KUAL* can act as a noun modifier, the preposition might have scope over the whole noun phrase as in (48).

- (47) *Revisá e manera den kua bo ta bai realisá bo plan=nan.*
 check ART.DEF way in which 2SG IPFV go make 2SG plan=PL
 “Check the way in which you are going to make your plans.” (Corpus data)
- (48) *Tambe a keda stipulá den kua área ta pèrmití pa kue masbangu.*
 also PFV stay stipulate.PSTPTCP in which area COP allowed for take masbangu
 “Also it was stipulated in which area it is allowed to catch masbangu (type of fish).”
 (Corpus data)

Entre “among/between” precedes *KUAL* in many examples probably because this question word implies the existence of other alternatives to it. See (49).

- (49) *Maria ta anotá dos kareda entre kual un hit*
 PN IPFV score two run among which ART.INDEF hit
di Betrand Peters ku a empuhá dos kareda.
 of PN that PFV push two run
 “Maria scores two runs among which a hit from Betrand Peters that pushed two runs.”
 (Corpus data)

According to J.C., in some cases, [*na KUAL*] can be replaced by [*den KUAL*] without any changes in meaning. For example, in (50), using [*den KUAL*] is also possible.

- (50) *E promé kampionato internashonal na kua nos*
 ART.DEF first championship international at which 1PL
selekshon=nan femenino i maskulino a partisipá
 selection=PL female and male PFV participate
tabata durante e Juegos C.A.C. na Caracas, Venezuela.
 COP.PST during ART.DEF games PN at PN PN
 “The first international championship at which our female and male selection teams participated was during the Juegos C.A.C. in Caracas, Venezuela.”
 (Corpus data)

Similarly, J.C. stated that [*den KUA*] could be replaced by [*riba KUA*] in (51), although not by [*na KUA*] interestingly.

- (51) *E fayó atministrativo ta, ku riba*
 ART.DEF mistake administrative COP that on
e papel den kua ta registrá e number=nan ganadó,
 ART.DEF paper in which IPFV register ART.DEF number=PL winning
no a koregí esun di e sorteo pasá.
 NEG PFV correct that of ART.DEF raffle past
 “The administrative mistake is that on the paper on which the winning numbers are
 registered, those from the last raffle were not corrected.” (Corpus data)

3.4. *KON* “how”

KON can be translated as “how”. It usually asks the way an action is done (52) but it can also modify an adjective (53).

- (52) *Anto kon mi por sa ku ta un hende ku mi no tin gana di wak?*
 and how 1SG can know that COP ART.INDEF people that 1SG NEG have wish of watch
 “And how can I know that it is a person who I do not want to see?” (Spoken data)
- (53) *E ta dependé di kon largu nos por hasi=é.*
 3SG IPFV depend of how long 1PL can make=3SG
 “It depends on how long we can make it.” (Spoken data)

The speaker can also show that s/he does not understand what s/he is being told by repeating the previous sentence or part of it after *KON* (54).

- (54) *Kon ken? Christopher.*
 how who PN
 “What do you mean by who? Christopher.” (Spoken data)

With regards to the [preposition + *KON*] construction, the examples taken from the corpus data can be summarized as seen in Table 8.

Table 8: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KON*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
(a)riba <i>KON</i>	68	1.05
te <i>KON</i>	47	0.73
den <i>KON</i>	12	0.19
tokante <i>KON</i>	8	0.12
na <i>KON</i>	6	0.09
entre <i>KON</i>	0	0.00
for di <i>KON</i>	0	0.00
kontra <i>KON</i>	0	0.00
over <i>KON</i>	0	0.00
dilanti <i>KON</i>	0	0.00
<i>KON</i> (total)	6,470	100.00

When preceded by prepositions, *KON* is part of a headless subordinate clause (55). This contrasts with interrogative pronouns, which become heads of the subordinate clause.

- (55) *Durante e reunion na Bonaire entre otro*
 during ART.DEF reunion at PN among other
lo diskutí tokante [kon por hisa e partisipashon
 IRR discuss about how can raise ART.DEF participation
aktivo di e pais=nan den region].
 active of ART.DEF country=PL in region
 “During the reunion in Bonaire among other thing it will be discussed about how to raise the active participation of the countries in the region.” (Corpus data)

The [*te KON*] construction seems to be used exclusively in the expression *te kon leu* “how far / to what extent”. See (56).

- (56) *Nos mester wak te kon leu nos ta yega ku e asunto aki.*
 1PL must watch until how far 1PL IPFV arrive with ART.DEF issue here
 “We must watch to how far we can get with this issue.” (Corpus data)

3.5. *UNDA* “where”

UNDA means “where”. (57) is an example of *UNDA* in a direct question.

- (57) *Unda bo outo ta?*
 where 2SG car COP
 “Where is your car?” (Spoken data)

While *UNDA* can be used as a relative adverb, this use is quite formal and not common in casual conversations, where *kaminda* is preferred. Example (58) is from the written data of Papiamentu, while example (59) is from the spoken data, showing the difference in registers.

- (58) (...) *Island Fest, unda nos tur hunto por demonstra*
 PN where 1PL all together can show
e ambiente kaluroso uniko ku Aruba tin (...)
 ART.DEF ambience warm unique that PN have
 “(...) Island Fest, where we all together can show the warm and unique ambience Aruba has
 (...)” (Written data)
- (59) *Bai fo=i kaminda b=a sali.*
 go from=of where 2SG=PFV go_out
 “Leave from where you came from.” (Spoken data)

According to J.C., it is possible to say something to the effect of "Where is here?" to ask where one is (60). This suggests that *UNDA* can function not only as an adverb but also as a pronoun since it occupies the syntactic spot of the subject.

- (60) *Unda akinan ta?*
 where here COP
 “Where am I/Where are we? (Lit. Where here is?)” (Provided by J.C.)

Regarding the [preposition + *UNDA*] construction, the number of examples can be summarized as seen in Table 9.

Table 9: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *UNDA*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>na UNDA</i>	1,013	22.75
<i>for di UNDA</i>	68	1.53
<i>te UNDA</i>	19	0.43
<i>(a)riba UNDA</i>	5	0.11
<i>den UNDA</i>	2	0.04
<i>dilanti UNDA</i>	1	0.02
<i>entre UNDA</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra UNDA</i>	0	0.00
<i>over UNDA</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante UNDA</i>	0	0.00
<i>UNDA (total)</i>	4,453	100.00

UNDA seems to be preceded by the preposition *na* in approximately one in five cases, suggesting that this *na* is probably in the process of grammaticalization in this form. This could

be expected when compared to other question words like *DIKON* and *PAKIKO* which are formed by the grammaticalization of a [preposition + question word] construction. See (61).

- (61) *Ta importante pa un persona sa di unda*
 COP important for ART.INDEF person know of where
el a bin pa e por definí ta na unda e ke bai.
 3SG PFV come for 3SG can define FOC at where 3SG want go
 “It is important for a person to know from where s/he has come and to define where s/he wants to go.” (Corpus data)

UNDA can be preceded by *for di* to mean “from where” as in (62). It should be noted that this meaning can be expressed without *for di* in some contexts as in (63).

- (62) *Ta for di unda nos krudo ta bini anto?*
 FOC from where 1PL raw (petrol) IPFV come then
 “Where does our petrol come from then?” (Corpus data)
- (63) *Na unda b=a saka esaki?*
 at where 2SG=PFV take this
 “Where did you get this from? / Where did you find this?” (Spoken data)

3.6. *KI DIA*, *KI ORA* and *KI TEMPUS*

KI DIA, *KI ORA*, and *KI TEMPUS* can all be translated to “when”. *KI TEMPUS* seems to be rarely used since no example was found in either the spoken or the written data. There does not seem to be a noticeable difference in the use of *KI DIA* and *KI ORA*. See (64) and (65).

- (64) *Hey, ki dia mi ta haña un chèns di papia ku bo?*
 hey what day 1SG IPFV get ART.INDEF chance of speak with you
 “Hey, when will I get a chance to speak with you?” (Spoken data)
- (65) *Vincent sa ku ki ora ku mi graba,*
 PN know that what time that 1SG record
e tin ku laga mi na pas pa mi por hasi mi kos.
 3SG have that let 1SG at peace for 1SG can do 1SG thing
 “Vincent knows that when I am recording he has to let me at peace for me to be able to do my thing.” (Written data)

Below in Tables 10, 11, and 12, I present the data regarding the prepositional phrases with each question word.

Table 10: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KI DIA*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>te KI DIA</i>	15	4.05
<i>for di KI DIA</i>	4	1.08
<i>(a)riba KI DIA</i>	1	0.27
<i>den KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>entre KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>na KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>over KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KI DIA</i>	0	0.00
<i>KI DIA (total)</i>	370	100.00

Table 11: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KI ORA*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>na KI ORA</i>	2	0.85
<i>te KI ORA</i>	1	0.43
<i>den KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>entre KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>for di KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>over KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>(a)riba KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KI ORA</i>	0	0.00
<i>KI ORA (total)</i>	235	100.00

Table 12: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KI TEMPUS*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>den KI TEMPUS</i>	1	16.67
<i>for di KI TEMPUS</i>	1	16.67
<i>entre KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>na KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>te KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>over KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>(a)riba KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KI TEMPUS</i>	0	0.00
<i>KI TEMPUS (total)</i>	6	100.00

While *KI DIA* and *KI ORA* have a couple of hundred examples, it is clear that *KI TEMPUS* is rarely used in Papiamentu, even at the scale of a Corpus. This suggests that *KI TEMPUS* might be better analyzed as a normal noun phrase headed by *KI*, rather than a grammaticalized question word.

The use of the prepositions *te* “until” (66) and *for di* “from” (67) with question words expressing time can be expected.

- (66) *Ta for di ki dia un partido di oposishon a profilá*
 FOC from what day ART.INDEF party of opposition PFV look_like
komo un alternativa real di gobernashon?
 as ART.INDEF alternative real of governance
 “From when did the opposition party present itself as a real alternative of governance?”
 (Corpus data)

- (67) (...) *kuanto turista ta bisita nos nightclub=nan*
 how_many tourist IPFV visit 1PL nightclub=PL
i te ki ora nan ta keda einan.
 and until what time 3PL IPFV stay there
 “(...) how many tourists visit our nightclubs and until what time they stay there.”
 (Corpus data)

What is surprising is the use of the preposition *na* “at”. According to J.C. this use is emphatic and does not change the meaning of the phrase (i.e. it can be omitted). See (68).

- (68) *Kuanto i na ki ora nos departamento=nan tabata sa algo?*
 how_much and at what time 1PL department=PL IPFV.PST know something
 “How much and at what time our departments came to know something?” (Corpus data)

3.7. KUANTU “how much / how many”

KUANTU means “how much” (69) or “how many” (70) depending on whether there is a following noun, and whether that noun is countable or uncountable.

- (69) *Bo sa kuantu m=a warda p=e kos aki?*
 2SG know how_much 1SG=PFV wait for=ART.DEF thing here
 “Do you know how much I’ve waited for this?” (Spoken data)
- (70) *M=a perde konteo di kuantu be m=a saka.*
 1SG=PFV lost count of how_many times 1SG=PFV take_out
 “I’ve lost count of how many times I’ve taken it out.” (Spoken data)

Regarding the [preposition + *KUANTU*] construction, the number of examples can be summarized as seen below in Table 13.

Table 13: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *KUANTU*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>den KUANTU</i>	5	0.97
<i>na KUANTU</i>	3	0.58
<i>(a)riba KUANTU</i>	2	0.39
<i>te KUANTU</i>	1	0.19
<i>entre KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>for di KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>over KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>tokante KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti KUANTU</i>	0	0.00
<i>KUANTU (total)</i>	513	100.00

Since *KUANTU* can be used to modify nouns, some of the prepositional phrases have scope over the whole noun phrase (71). Nevertheless, there are a few examples where *KUANTU* is part of a headless clause (72).

(71) *Cijntje a dediká hopi atenshon na kuantu desaroyo*

PN PFV dedicate many attention at how_much developement

a tuma lugá den nos tráfiiko último aña=nan.

PFV take place in 1PL traffic last year=PL

“Cijntje dedicated a lot of attention to how much developement took place in our traffic in the last years.”

(Corpus data)

(72) *E problema no ta sinta den kuantu ta*

ART.DEF problem NEG IPFV sit in how_much IPFV

alkansá e tòp i kuantu ta keda den bòòm (...)

reach ART.DEF top and how_much IPFV stay in bottom

“The problem does not lie on how much you reach the top and how much you stay in the bottom (...)”

(Corpus data)

3.8. *PAKIKO* and *DIKON*

Both *PAKIKO* and *DIKON* can be translated as “why”. In my spoken data of Papiamentu, *DIKON* seems to be roughly four times more than *PAKIKO*. While not as extreme, the tendency of *DIKON* being used more frequently than *PAKIKO* also applies to written Papiamentu. See (73) and (74).

(73) (...) **dikon** *b=a bini?*

why 2SG=PFV come

“(...) why did you come?”

(Spoken data)

(74) **Pakiko** *bo tin ku stres tantu asina?*

why 2SG have that stress that_much like_this

“Why do you have to stress yourself that much?”

(Spoken data)

There is no apparent difference between the meaning or use of *PAKIKO* and *DIKON*.

Below in Tables 14 and 15, I present the data regarding the prepositional phrases with *PAKIKO* and *DIKON*, respectively.

Table 14: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *PAKIKO*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>tokante PAKIKO</i>	1	0.13
<i>den PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>entre PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>for di PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>na PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>te PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>over PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>(a)riba PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti PAKIKO</i>	0	0.00
PAKIKO (total)	799	100.00

Table 15: Number of occurrences of [preposition + *DIKON*]

Expression	Number of occurrences	Percentage
<i>(a)riba DIKON</i>	3	0.39
<i>over DIKON</i>	1	0.13
<i>tokante DIKON</i>	1	0.13
<i>den DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>entre DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>for di DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>kontra DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>na DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>te DIKON</i>	0	0.00
<i>dilanti DIKON</i>	0	0.00
DIKON (total)	773	100.00

For both *PAKIKO* and *DIKON*, there were only examples of prepositions with the meaning of “about” preceding them. These prepositions have scope over the whole headless clause. See (75) and (76).

- (75) *Pero tin hopi pregunta tokante pakiko Gobierno=nan*
but have many question about why government=PL
no a aktuá tokante kriminalidat, edukashon, i etc.
NEG PFV act about crime education and etc
“But there are many questions regarding why governments have not acted on crime,
education, etc.” (Corpus data)
- (76) *E kampaña komo tal ta mas riba alternativa=nan den*
ART.DEF campaign as such COP more about alternative=PL in
gubernashon ku e ta riba dikon gobièrnu a kai (...)
governance that 3SG COP about how government PFV fall
“The campaign as such is come about the alternatives in governance that about how the
government had fallen (...)” (Corpus data)

4. *Ta* and interrogative sentences

The so-called emphatic *ta* could be found in some of the interrogative sentences in the spoken data of Papiamentu. What seems remarkable is the fact that this *ta* can be used even when there is no verb. This can be seen in (77) and (78).

- (77) *Ta ken?*
FOC who
“Who?” (Spoken data)
- (78) *Ta kiko anto?*
FOC what then
“What then?” (Spoken data)

While one might think that *ta* is being used as the copula in those two examples, it should be noted that phrases with the copula following the interrogative pronoun without any complements, i.e. **Ken ta? *Kiko ta anto?* were considered ungrammatical by J.C. Only in full sentences can *ta* be used after the interrogative pronoun, whether as the copula (79) or as the imperfective marker (80).

- (79) *Kiko ta e problema anto?*
what COP ART.DEF problem then
“What’s the problem then?” (Provided by J.C.)
- (80) *Ta ken ta bai kumpra pan?*
FOC who COP go buy bread
“Who is going to buy bread?” (Provided by J.C.)

According to J.C., in full sentences, using *ta* before the interrogative pronoun is “correct”, while not using it is “either slang or showing the person talking is angry”. While the expressions “correct” and “slang” may reflect a prescriptive view which is not relevant to the description of the use of *ta*, the idea that the lack of *ta* implies anger is in contrast with the description of it as “emphatic”. Therefore, it might be possible to see this use of *ta* not just as expressing focus but also as an unmarked expression in questions with interrogative pronouns (and maybe adverbs?). Nevertheless, this may also change according to the register used and the dialect of the speaker.

While this use of focal *ta* is usually seen as different from the copula, there are some examples where an impersonal use of *ta* at the beginning of the sentence is present in a question and it seems hard to distinguish both uses. Nevertheless, only the impersonal use of *ta* seems to be able to conjugate in its past form *tabata*. This can be used as a test to distinguish both uses of the copula. See (81) and (82) for examples of the copula being used at the beginning of a sentence in the non-past and past form respectively.

- (81) **Ta** dor ku bo no a bai date ku bo mener di skol?
 COP because 2SG NEG PFV go date with 2SG sir of school
 “Is it because you did not date with your teacher from school?” (Spoken data)
- (82) **Tabata** dor ku bo no a bai date ku bo mener di skol?
 COP.PST because 2SG NEG PFV go date with 2SG sir of school
 “Was it because you did not date with your teacher from school?” Spoken data)

5. Summary

While question words (interrogative pronouns and adverbs) have been described in previous pieces of research, the difference in meaning between similar expressions, as well as the prepositions that tend to precede them were not. Some of these differences might be general while some seem to be according to register. Further dialectal differences might be worth analyzing.

The characterization of *unda* as an adverb seems to be insufficient since it can also act as a pronoun. Previous research on question words seems to be influenced by the description of those types of words in European languages. Nevertheless, Papiamentu word classes seem to be much more flexible compared to European languages. This is shown by the fact that some words like *(a)riba* “on” and *dilanti* “in front of” can function as prepositions when preceding nouns in some contexts, but also as adverbs/nouns when used with *di*, yielding *(a)riba di* “on top of” and *dilanti di* “in front of”. These uses need to be explored in further depth in order to understand how word classes function in Papiamentu.

The co-occurrence of prepositions with question words does not seem to be clearly connected to whether those words are more pronominal or adverbial. It is worth noting that question words which etymologically contain a preposition (i.e. *dikon* “why” and *pakiko* “why”) seem to only be preceded by prepositions meaning “about”, which have scope over the whole subordinate *clasu*.

This might be seen as proof that despite the high degree of grammaticalization of these words, native speakers might still perceive them as containing a preposition already, therefore avoiding double prepositions when possible. This is also supported by the fact that when spelling these words are sometimes separated into their components (i.e. *di kon* and *pa kiko*). Nevertheless, this might be due to the meaning of these questions words (i.e. “why”) in a subordinate clause being easily associated with prepositions meaning “about”. Prepositions with a spatial meaning may just be semantically incompatible.

The use of focal *ta* in questions is different from the canonical use of the copula in its position and its inability to conjugate into past form. The fact that the focal *ta* can be used when there is no main verb shines a light on how this marker of information structure can be considered to be a different word than the copula.

Abbreviations

1	First-person	IRR	Irrealis	DEF	Definite	PN	Proper noun
2	Second-person	NEG	Negative	FOC	Focus	POSS	Possessive
3	Third-person	PASS	Passive	GER	Gerund	PST	Past
ART	Article	PFV	Perfective	INDEF	Indefinite	PTCP	Participle
COP	Copula	PL	Plural	IPFV	Imperfective	SG	Singular

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パピアメント語における疑問文について

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キーワード：パピアメント語、クレオール、疑問詞、前置詞

本稿ではパピアメント語の疑問文の特徴を詳細に述べる。主に疑問詞に焦点を当て、それぞれの意味と用法に関して考察した。疑問詞は先行研究では「疑問代名詞」と「疑問副詞」に分類されている。扱った疑問代名詞は **kiko** 「何」、**ki** 「何／何の」、**ken** 「誰」、**kende** 「誰」、**kual** 「どれ／どの」である。扱った疑問副詞は **kon** 「どうやって・どのくらい」、**unda** 「どこ」、**ki dia** 「いつ」、**ki ora** 「いつ」、**ki tempu** 「いつ」、**kuanu** 「どれくらい／いくつ」、**pakiko** 「なぜ」、**dikon** 「なぜ」である。

さらに、コーパスから例を収集して前置詞句における疑問詞の出現とその意味を記述した。**den** 「に／で」、**entre** 「の間」、**for di** 「から」、**kontra** 「に対して」、**na** 「に／で」、**te** 「まで」、**over** 「について」、**(a)riba** 「の上／について」、**tokante** 「について」、**dilanti** 「の前」が導入する前置詞句における疑問詞の出現数および、コーパスにおけるその疑問詞全例に対する出現頻度も挙げている。前置詞 **ku** 「と共に／をもって」、**di** 「の」、**pa** 「のために」は補文標識と同形であり、その2つを分けることが容易でないため対象外とした。

この調査で明らかになった点としては、以下の点が挙げられる。

- 1) 単独で用いられる疑問詞と名詞修飾に用いられる疑問詞の前置詞句での出現には大きな差異が見られることがある。それは、名詞修飾用法の場合、修飾される名詞が主要部となり、それによって支配できる前置詞が決まるためである。
- 2) 疑問詞を含む前置詞句が慣用句となる場合は結果に予想しにくい偏りが現れることがある。例えば前置詞 **te** 「まで」と **kon** 「どうやって・どのくらい」が “**te kon leu**” 「どこまで・どの程度まで」という慣用句をなし、その前置詞と疑問詞の組み合わせの例がもっぱらこの慣用句の形で現れる。
- 3) 2)と類似して、[前置詞 + 疑問詞] の組み合わせが1つの塊としてふるまい、文法化の過渡的な段階になっているような例が見つかった。それは **na** 「に／で」と **unda** 「どこ」の組み合わせである。これはもはや新しい疑問詞の誕生としてもとらえうる。この過程は前置詞と疑問詞の組み合わせを語源とする疑問詞に類似しているかもしれない。**pakiko** 「なぜ」(**pa** 「のために」+ **kiko** 「何」、**dikon** 「なぜ」(**di** 「の」+ **kon** 「どうやって・どのくらい」)はこの種の疑問詞である。これらの疑問詞は、場所を表す前置詞に支配される例がなかったことから、母語話者の認識では前置詞の意味が疑問詞には残っており前置詞が二重に現れにくいということを反映しているかもしれない。
- 4) 先行研究では疑問詞の品詞は「疑問代名詞」と「疑問副詞」に分類されているが、その分類の基準は、疑問文に対して想定される叙述文の現れ方にのみ基づいているようである。**unda** が代名詞として用いられる用法を取り上げ、出現の仕方を観察して疑問詞の品

詞を問い直す必要性にも言及している。

最後に、疑問文によく見られる焦点標識の **ta** の現れ方、およびその同形のコンピュータ・**TAM** 標識との相違点について述べた。焦点標識の **ta** は同形のコンピュータ・**TAM** 標識と異なる統語的位置を占める、不変化詞であることが明らかになった。