

A Path Across Difference:

**an Audiovisual-Linguistic Ethnography of
New Papiamentu Speakers in Bonaire**



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In a world where globalization is reshaping the way we understand mobility, communication, and self-identification, the study of migrants learning and using the language of their host community is of increasing academic interest. The concept 'new speaker' is being used in European minority language communities to study the linguistic niches that these migrants are creating through the use of these languages they learn, questioning traditional concepts such as "native speaker" and "non-native speaker". In this thesis I explore the challenges that New Speakers of Papiamentu experience learning this creole language on the island of Bonaire (Caribbean Netherlands), and the strategies they develop to make pragmatic use of this cultural capital they acquire. This thesis proposes a methodology that draws from Linguistic Ethnography and Visual Anthropology that results in a multimodal thesis which comprises an ethnographic documentary and this article. The documentary portrays how several individuals from different nationalities who are learning Papiamentu navigate Bonaire's multilingual environment using this language. The results of this research suggest that new Papiamentu speakers are actors of social change in Bonaire, as they are creating and expanding a 'contact zone' between Papiamentu first language speakers and new Papiamentu speakers, stimulating new forms of identification, belonging and intercultural communication in the context of a creole language community.

Keywords: Visual-Linguistic Ethnography, multimodality, New speakers, Papiamentu, contact zone.

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1. Introduction

When I walk along the streets of Kralendijk (Coral dam in Dutch) I can visually understand that even if I am thousands of kilometres away from the European Netherlands, this Caribbean island is in many ways connected to that country. Most of the historical buildings around the centre present the typical gable Dutch roofs in the shape of triangles with a pediment at the top. But instead of the brown bricks that one finds in European Dutch houses, Kralendijk's walls are painted in shiny colours as pink, green, blue, and yellow, reflecting the sun and giving them a bright Caribbean character. When one walks around the Netherlands, one can easily hear and recognise which is the main language spoken in the country, Dutch. But Bonaire is different in that sense. When I walk in Bonaire's streets I feel that I'm in a kaleidoscope of languages. At any time, I can easily hear or read Dutch, Spanish, English or Papiamentu. Administration buildings present Dutch and Bonarian flags together with the Dutch administration flag of Belastingdienst. Official signs and indicators are in Dutch, as well as some bar, restaurant and shops signs. Spanish can also be heard between people talking in the street, and can be seen in other restaurants, shop signs and advertisements. English has an important presence in advertisements, especially around the central area of Playa where tourists arrive with cruise ships. Informative signs are written in Dutch, Spanish and Papiamentu. This is the local language, the first language spoken at most Bonarian homes for centuries. It's a creole language that originated as a mix out of the coexistence of Dutch, English, Spanish and Portuguese languages. If I leave behind the most touristic areas of Bonaire, this is the language I hear the most in the streets. Having been myself a migrant in different countries, and being myself always very curious about foreign languages, several questions came to my mind experiencing this linguistic diversity. How do migrants navigate this multilingual situation? How necessary it is for them to learn the local language Papiamentu? What challenges do they face when learning and using the local language? This research focuses on the role that migrants who have learnt Papiamentu play in a multilingual society where they can normally choose to rely on their own first language for communication. Their decision to learn the language Papiamentu may not only influence their sense of identity and belonging, but may also affect Bonarian perspectives on the value and vitality of their own language as it's also being learnt by migrants through other means than intergenerational transmission.



Image 1. Kralendijk's main street.



Image 2. Street signs.

1.1 The roots of Papiamentu in transatlantic slave trade

The Dutch West Indies Company took control of the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao in 1634, which were under Spanish dominance since 1499. They found the islands a strategic point for transatlantic trade, and in 1647 they transformed Curaçao into a slave depot and brought millions of Africans during the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries. Sephardic Jews also came to the island to participate in the slave trade commerce, and they were familiar with the Afro-Portuguese creole that was commonly spoken in the Green Cape coast, also transported to the Caribbean by the arriving slaves. These slaves were prohibited to speak Dutch or to join the Dutch Reformed Church (Pereira, 2010: 88), so their evangelization was carried out by catholic priests who used the slaves' language in their work. This was 'a very unfertile ground for the spread of Dutch but a very fertile ground for the emergence of Papiamentu' (Pereira, 2010: 88). The interlanguage used between the Dutch, the Jews, and the slaves, grew and developed to become a new language. The influence of the surrounding Spanish speaking countries also facilitated 'a lexical expansion and structural borrowing on the base of this language' (Eckkrammer, 2007: 79). In 1770, Aruba and Bonaire were opened for settlement and Papiamentu rapidly spread there as well. In the mid XVIII century, the slave population already outnumbered by far the European descent population on all three islands. In the first half of the XX century, during what Eckkrammer (2007: 75) calls the "oil turn" a wave of Dutch families arrived to the islands from the Netherlands attracted by jobs in the oil refineries. In 1936 the Colonial Council established that all schools that wanted to receive funds from the government had to use Dutch as language of instruction, and most schools followed, leaving the local language in an inferior position. During the revolts of 1969 in Curaçao originated by African descendants who complained of their living and working conditions, the first emancipation movements raised. The *Vito* movement, empowered by a Curaçolean newspaper with this name, claimed for a wider use of Papiamentu, which started to be more used in books, newspapers and magazines on the three islands. In this context, Papiamentu started to function as 'an integrative and defining attribute of a segmented society that searched for a new identity' (Eckkrammer, 2007: 80).

1.2 The language situation in Bonaire

The 10/10/2010 referendum results made Bonaire become a 'special municipality of The Netherlands', giving it a different status than the neighbouring Curaçao and Aruba where Papiamentu is also spoken, who are now autonomous countries within the Kingdom of The Netherlands. After that date migration to Bonaire has increased rapidly, with people from the European Netherlands forming the largest group of migrants. Within the period 2011-2017, 4.300 European Dutch settled in Bonaire (Statistics Netherlands, 2018). The second group is composed by residents of other ABC (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) and BES (Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, Saba) islands (3.300). The third largest group is from South and Central American

countries, consisting of 1800 migrants. This is translated to 28% increase of Bonaire's population in 8 years, from 15.697 inhabitants in 2011, to 20.104 in 2019 (Statista, 2020).

Bax-Piard argues in her 2010 article that because of this increasing immigration wave of European Dutch, 'areas of tension exist between original inhabitants of Bonaire and recently arrived European citizens' (Bax-Piard, 2010: 43). An example of this is a commonly expressed fear that Papiamentu 'will be under great pressure and eventually disappear because of the integration of the island into The Netherlands' (Bax-Piard, 2010:43). In her later 2016 article she expresses the concern that contrary to her expectations, the status of Papiamentu has changed since her first article on this topic. Before 2010, Dutch, English and Papiamentu were official languages in Bonaire. In the language law and regulation agreement for the BES islands (2012) 'Papiamentu is not an official language anymore, although is to be used in education, government and the courts to some extent' (Bax-Piard, 2016: 99). Before 2010 Papiamentu was used in primary school as language of instruction, but since then 'school boards have been pressured to increase proficiency of the Dutch language for children living on the island' (Bax-Piard, 2016: 100), claiming that taking Papiamentu as language of instruction 'would not contribute to educational or professional success in the European Netherlands' (Bax-Piard, 2016: 101). It is also noted from education professionals a 'condescending attitude towards teachers of Papiamentu' from 'newly arrived European Dutch' professionals in the education field, a concern also expressed by teachers of Dutch and English languages. She argues that 'their expertise is appreciated, but they seem to lack intercultural awareness compared to 'old European Dutch arrivals' who settled in Bonaire before 2010' (Bax-Piard, 2016: 102). The author argues that 'there are indications that most of Bonaire inhabitants would like to restore Papiamentu as one of the official languages of Bonaire' (Bax-Piard, 2016:108), and that they are convinced that a key factor that will determine Papiamentu's future is 'the attitude towards the language from students and their parents, particularly the attitudes of the new European Dutch inhabitants' (Bax-Piard, 2016:108).

Statistics from CBS and Census Netherlands Antilles align with Bax-Piard concerns that the language' vitality is decreasing when looking at Papiamentu as the most used language of communication, decreasing a 29% between 1992 and 2017 (from 78% to 60% of the population), while the use of Dutch has increased 126% between these years (from 7,1% to 16,1%). But if we look at the languages that Bonaire residents could speak in 2017, Papiamentu is still spoken by 87% of the population, and a great majority of Bonaire residents can still speak 4 languages. If we compare the 2017 percentage of Bonaire's population who use Papiamentu as their primary language (60%) and those who know the language (87%), we find an indication that 27% of the population are able to speak Papiamentu but use an alternative language more frequently.

Academic debates around Papiamentu have not focused yet on new speakers of this language and their attitudes towards it, and they can be crucial indicators on language vitality as well. It is

of academic relevance to explore the different uses they make of this language, for what purposes, and what kind of reactions they perceive from local Bonarians when using it. I suggest that new speakers of Papiamentu might be an important part of this 27%, (including 'new European Dutch arrivals' and immigrants from other destinations) and it is of academic interest to study their language attitudes and the daily situations in which they design specific strategies to make use of Papiamentu.

2. Methodology

The fieldwork that I carried out in Bonaire had the objective of understanding why migrants whose first language is not Papiamentu learn this creole language, exploring the difficulties they experience to use the language in their daily lives, and the solutions they design to overcome the challenges that may arise. Therefore, this approach can be described as a Linguistic ethnography. It combines 'theoretical and methodological approaches from linguistics and from ethnography, to research social questions which in some way involve language' (Tusting, 2019: 1). According to Rampton, this analytic approach 'can provide precise accounts of meaning-making processes as they happen' by 'adding reflexivity about researcher's role; attention to people's emic perspective; sensitivity to in-depth understandings of particular settings; and openness to complexity, contradiction and reinterpretation over time' (Rampton, 2004: 14). This research also draws from multimodal anthropology, which 'acknowledges the centrality of media production to the everyday life of both anthropologists and our interlocutors' (Collins *et al.*, 2017: 1). As a result, this research incorporates methods from Visual Ethnography on the base of a Linguistic Ethnography, an approach that I suggest calling "Audiovisual-Linguistic Ethnography".

2.1 An Audiovisual-Linguistic Ethnography

This thesis is comprised of an audio-visual (AV) ethnographic documentary and a written thesis. These two components work together to explore new speakers of Papiamentu in Bonaire. The documentary intends to represent the island's language situation through several individuals' experience, while the thesis explores these experiences through in depth analysis in combination with other findings, offering discussion and recommendations. The AV presents a variety of individuals from different nationalities and who speak different languages that explain their challenges and rewards learning and using Papiamentu. It builds on several influences coming from other documentaries that also approach language learning. It connects with Frimberger's film "Speaking your language" (2014), where she portrays several individuals from Scotland in order to show 'the emotional and embodied dimensions manifested through the languages they know' (Frimberger, 2016: 2). She has the wider objective of 'celebrating multilingualism' by exploring 'the richness of our languages, our personal connections to the languages we speak, and the human connections we make through language' (Frimberger, 2016: 4). My documentary also stands for the preservation and encouraging of individual multilingualism, while the main focus remains on how Bonaire's multilingual situation affects new speakers' knowledge and pragmatical use of Papiamentu, and to make the audience understand through their experiences how this multilingual context affects the local language. Another remarkable influence is a video project designed by the Icelandic Broadcasting Company (RUV) called '*Eg tala íslenska með hreim*' (2016) (I talk accented Icelandic) where individuals who have learnt Icelandic talk about the difficulties they face learning and using this language in the context of Icelandic society. The aim of this video is to make evident the different accents of migrants from diverse origins talking in this language in order to make native

Icelandic speakers be patient with accented Icelandic and invite them to use the language with newcomers instead of relying solely in English. Similar to this video's intentionality, my documentary intends to portray an unnoticed phenomena, 'showing the invisible' in order to stimulate change in two ways: by 'asking the film's viewers to recognise the existence of 'hidden' realities; and by encouraging the protagonists to re-appropriate their own history' (Pink, 2004: 122). In this case, migrants who have learnt Papiamentu are portrayed as 'new speakers' of this language for local Bonarians to recognise this reality and actively use their language with new speakers. Montage can be used to explain linguistic phenomena of new language speakers through a combination of ethnographic and audio-visual means, providing a 'technique for evoking the invisible through the orchestration of different perspectives encroaching upon one another' (Suhr and Willerslev, 2013: 4). McLean points that comparativism in montage can evocate the 'limitless potentiality of difference itself' instead of just 'staging encounters across difference' (McLean, 2013: 68). This reflects my intention of showing the differences and similarities between very different profiles of new Papiamentu speakers as they approach a 'contact zone' where these differences become less apparent as they meet local Bonarians and other new speakers through their embodied cultural capital. This is the 'path across difference' that gives title to this thesis, and the reason why my documentary is called 'Bonaire's talen' (Languages of Bonaire). While the title suggests that the focus will be on Bonaire's multilingual situation, the viewer should easily understand its focus on Papiamentu highlighted in between the other languages as the narrative unfolds. The title is in Dutch, firstly, to create debate around the use of language, because although Dutch is Bonaire's official language and the one that has increased in use more rapidly, the most spoken language is still Papiamentu. Secondly, the AV has a special interest of reaching a Dutch audience because the island's status as special municipality of the Netherlands could make European Dutch citizens interested in what the linguistic situation of Bonaire looks like, what can they expect to encounter in the furthest point of the Netherlands, and what do other European Dutch citizens experience when they choose to learn the local language Papiamentu.

2.2 Collecting data: researcher's positioning in an Audiovisual-Linguistic Ethnography

My own role in this research became apparent since the arrival moment, because my linguistic background and my research methodology affected my respondent's' linguistic behaviour. In general all informants felt quite nervous about being in front of a camera. To avoid this situation I only settled it for filming formal interviews¹ in our second encounter, when I already explained them the purpose of using the camera in a first informal conversation that I documented only in fieldnotes. I also asked them to always look at me instead of the camera. This relaxed the interviewing atmosphere, and made them think less about the camera's presence to focus more

¹ Table of contents with summarized information about these interviews can be found in Appendix section.

in our conversation, creating informal spontaneous situations and reactions that have been recorded and help me reflect on my positioning and relation to my interlocutors.

The output is also influenced by my negotiations with informants to decide which language was going to be spoken in our conversations, and what language I asked them to respond when the camera was filming. My first language is Spanish, and I also master English, but not Dutch. When I spoke with local Bonarians, they all switched to Spanish during both our informal conversations and recorded interviews. The ones who preferred English because they express themselves more fluidly, they have chosen this language. In this case the camera did not affect the language of our conversations, only the formality of them. But in the case of new Papiamentu speakers, my intention of portraying the language differences between new speakers in the documentary heavily affected our interactions depending on which was their first language, as I asked them to respond through it. This is an intentional choice that allows me using interviews to portray 'unique social episodes in which meaning making and context are interactionally constructed in a situated action' (Perez-Milans, 2015 :3). In the case of Spanish speakers, there was no language difference between informal conversations and recorded conversations, as this is the language we used continuously, and the same applies to English speakers. But in the case of Dutch speakers, it was difficult asking them to speak Dutch to me as this is a language I don't fully master myself. Therefore, we negotiated to use English as interlanguage. This language was used by me to ask questions, and by them to clarify what they have said previously in Dutch in order to keep a coherent rhythm in the questions being asked. Their use of Dutch on camera intends to make the audience familiar with the respondent's linguistic habits, by recreating the 'cognitive and social apprenticeship that is required in order to grasp meaning, beauty and relevance to the social context of the practitioners' (Pink, 2004: 24).

In the fieldwork process I also carried on participant observation and observational filming in two classes of Papiamentu for adults: one more frequented by Spanish speakers which language of instruction was Papiamentu, and another one where classes were taught in Dutch. The objective was double: first, to portray the classes as a turning point in the process of becoming a new Papiamentu speaker; and second, adding another layer of meaning to the audio-visual output, where differences between learners of Papiamentu become visible through the way the classes are performed, but where both groups also share a common goal of becoming Papiamentu speakers. In both classes I first interviewed the respective teachers, and it was them who asked the students first if they agreed with being filmed. I offered them to separate the group in two big tables, offering the possibility of not filming one of the tables in case someone did not want to participate. In both groups, after me addressing them and explaining my research, all of the students in both groups agreed on being filmed and relocated both tables back together.

Finally, a method that connects to the other ones through my own perceptions of the field was taking fieldnotes on a daily basis. I registered my perceptions of the landscape and the visual and auditive linguistic elements that I perceived in my daily life in Bonaire in the form of fieldnotes. This includes drawings of the landscape, mapping of areas where I perceived I could hear more Papiamentu, or more Dutch, or the relation between different street signs written in a variety of languages. I also used fieldnotes to register events related to the research, or specific encounters with people who gave me relevant information about the context but who were not participating in the filming process.

2.3 Ethics

All participants who were filmed always were required to sign an informed consent form before the start of the filming process, allowing the use of recorded images of them for the consecution of this project. This document was presented in Spanish and English and explained the research objectives and what will be the images used for. Another ethical aspect to consider is my observant participation in Papiamentu classes. It is noted by Creese (2015) that many teachers feel uncomfortable with the presence of a researcher in their classes, as they might feel they are inspectors judging their teaching methods. It is therefore a responsibility to 'counter these ubiquitous inspectorial discourses by developing relationships of trust' (Creese, 2015:5). For this reason I also interviewed them about their perceptions on new Papiamentu speakers and their motivations to become teachers, explained them in more detail the academic goals of the project, and showed them some of my field notes. Their agreement was expressed through a specific document signed in the teacher's name, where they gave me permission to film their classes, once after all the students agreed on being filmed.

3. Conceptualizing new speakers of Papiamentu in Bonaire

This research focuses on individuals who have followed a migratory process, are established as residents of Bonaire and have knowledge of the language Papiamentu. Migration has always been a historically shaping pattern in this island. As it rapidly increases over time, it results in the coexistence of people with very diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The concept of superdiversity is suitable to frame the parameters of multilingualism and cultural diversity in contemporary contexts. It's characterised by two forces: 'new and more complex forms of migration, and new and more complex forms of communication and knowledge circulation' (Blommaert, 2013: 5). Blommaert and Rampton argue that rather than working with concepts such as 'homogeneity, stability and bondedness as starting assumptions', central concerns for contemporary study of languages and communication are 'mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding' (Blommaert and Rampton, 2016:24). The authors suggest that instead of following the principles of structural linguistics and putting the research focus on the language Papiamentu as an 'alive' or 'natural' actor in the research setting, 'research instead has to address the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages' (Blommaert and Rampton 2016: 26). The concept of superdiversity allows the understanding of complex situations of cultural diversity in small settings. According to Gumperz, by 'analyzing linguistic phenomena in a defined social universe, the study of language reflects more general norms of behaviour' (Gumperz, 1968: 66). Gumperz designed the conceptualization of the speech community, defined by 'a strict locality principle and by the primary interaction between its members, who share a linguistic repertoire - a set of verbal resources and rules of use' (Argenter, 2011: 45). Using these parameters, the context of Bonaire refers to a coexistence of different speech communities in one same territory: Spanish speakers conform the Spanish speech community, Dutch speakers conform the Dutch speech community, etc. The use of this concept is important because normally speakers of the same language tend to create social groups between them based on their first language. However, this research focuses on individuals who belong to different speech communities and know the language Papiamentu. Although useful for contextualization of Bonaire's multilingual setting, this concept still remains vague for in depth analysis of interactions between individuals from different speech communities. The fact that the majority of Bonaire residents are multilingual also challenges this conception. To solve such scalar dimensions of communication, the concept of community of practice 'is defined by a reciprocal commitment in a common enterprise, in which the same resources are shared and negotiated. The condition of being a member of a community of practices 'is built by participation in the practices that define it, and not by a community of origin' (Argenter, 2011: 46). Through the use of this concept, linguistic ethnography can productively analyse the routinely dimensions of communication, as speakers of different speech communities create groups with common purposes in relation to uses of language. Examples such as participating in a language class or in a language exchange meeting are fertile grounds for this research to

analyse communication between speakers of different speech communities who create communities of practice to learn and use the language Papiamentu on a regular basis.

The core of this research lays on the individual level of communication. A linguistic ethnography allows for an exploration of individuals making use of their acquired languages, to 'see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people's lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms, and to watch processes unfold over time' (Heller, 2008: 250). In order to conceptualize the unit of analysis focused on individuals who have learnt Papiamentu, and with the intention to facilitate cross-cultural analysis of speakers from different speech communities, this research proposes the use of the concept 'new speaker'. They constitute 'a collective who invests in new discourses about language and belonging, who are framed in new conceptualizations about multilingualism, linguistic hybridization, multiple belonging and the commodification of cultural capital' (Pujolar and Subirana, 2011: 59). Jorgensen *et al.* argue that the classic usage of "native speaker" is rooted by the linguistic discipline and relies on essentialist assumptions of romantic nationalism, in which a 'native speaker' 'can claim a number of rights with respect to the "language" of which she or he is a "native speaker". In the other hand, 'non-native speakers can claim "access", "ownership", "legitimacy", etc., depending on the acceptance by others of them "having learnt" the language' (Jorgensen *et al.*, 2011: 31). Blommaert and Rampton notice that sociolinguistics 'have long contested this idealization, regarding it as impossible to reconcile with the facts of linguistic diversity, mixed language and multilingualism' (Blommaert and Rampton, 2016: 25). In the field of linguistics, the 'new speaker' category has been examined under the increasingly contested labels of the 'non-native' or 'second language speaker' (O'Rourke *et al.*, 2015: 2). Further, Doerr ethnographic accounts on "native speaker effects" registered from language revitalization contexts urges us to 'shift our focus from categorizing individuals in terms of their linguistic practices – whether native or non-natives- to investigations of the diverse ways in which individuals relate themselves to such categories and language ideologies' (Doerr, 2009: 17). Following these guidelines, this research's unit of analysis will be two main analytical concepts: the Papiamentu new speakers as research focus, and the first language of informants as analytical framework. The term 'new speaker' will include people from any speech community whose first language is not Papiamentu and have learnt this language. The concept "first language speaker" refers to the more classic labels of "mother tongue" or "native speaker" and points which is the first language that the interlocutor has learnt since childhood and makes him or her be part of one of Bonaire's diverse speech communities. This is a way to include both "native speakers" and "non-native speakers" of languages under a strictly objective linguistic category. It results in the use of the following categories according to the first language spoken by the interlocutors encountered during fieldwork: Papiamentu First Language Speakers (FLS) Dutch FLS, English FLS and Spanish FLS. The use of these categorizations expects to contribute to the academic debate of the usefulness of the new speaker concept, as it 'contradicts the way in which both majorities and minorities have historically used language to legitimize claims to nationhood and cultural authenticity' speaker' (O'Rourke *et al.*, 2015: 2).

In contemporary language education, learning a language is seen as 'intimately interwoven with learning the cultural norms of the community that uses this language' (Palfreyman, 2015: 149). The term 'cultural competence' or 'intercultural competence' refers to a 'key element in language courses, which tries to help students use linguistic forms in adequate ways and take into account non-linguistic aspects of culture (metalinguistic)' (Palfreyman, 2015: 149). This approach could include talking about when interlocutors use and don't use a certain language, the different individual techniques that they design to use it, or the reactions they perceive from others when they use Papiamentu and other languages. The use of an ethnographic documentary intends to evoke the metalinguistic aspects of becoming a new Papiamentu speaker, the personal experiences of individuals learning the language, and their reasons to decide taking this step.

In order to understand language as immaterial heritage that individuals acquire, I follow Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital, which can be presented in three ways: as economic capital, cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu 1986: 47). Cultural capital can be found in different states: in the "incorporated" state, as long-term provisions in the body and/or in the mind; or in the "object" state in the form of cultural goods (books, drawings, dictionaries, machines...) (Bourdieu 1986: 47). In this research I will focus on the incorporated cultural capital, which Bourdieu defined as "external wealth converted into *habitus*", an integral part of the person. Bourdieu refers to *habitus* as an external form of cultural capital incorporated in us that becomes what makes us "socially". When Bourdieu speaks of *habitus* he refers to each of the ways in which we define ourselves individually as "who we are": if we have certain books, if we know languages, or what preferences we have towards certain aspects of society. Bourdieu refers to the "unique" spirit of each person that is configured through their *habitus*. This research will explore how individuals make use of Papiamentu as cultural capital in their daily life in Bonaire, and how this affects their sense of identity and belonging. This Audio-visual Linguistic ethnography takes the shape of a research on identity formation and negotiation of new Papiamentu speakers in Bonaire. From this view, 'identities should be understood as shifting rather than stable and subject to contingencies of time and space.' (Pérez-Milans, 2016: 272). Concerning Bonaire's multilingual context and the multilingualism of interlocutors as a key element for identity formation and negotiation, the analysis will also consider their use of the other languages they know. The concept of linguistic repertoire can be understood as cultural capital that individuals 'construct and mobilise while positioning themselves and others in ways that have consequences for access to different social space, symbolic resources and materialities throughout the course of their life trajectories' (Perez-Milans, 2016: 87). A research on identity will also incorporate explorations on how individuals relate themselves emotionally and sensorially to the languages that form part of their linguistic repertoire, what Jorgensen *et al.* (2011) call language affiliation.

Papiamentu, like other minority European languages such as Catalan, Gaelic, Breton, Frisian, Corsican and Basque, is developing 'within contemporary networks of varied linguistic practices,

acquiring features associated with new speakers' (Hornsby, 2017: 101). For new Papiamentu speakers, the language has also been transmitted to them 'in alternative ways other than intergenerational transmission' (Hornsby, 2017: 101). The results of this research will present the strategies that new Papiamentu speakers design and the opportunities they find to make use of this language with Papiamentu FLS and other new speakers, and this will be framed as 'contact zone'. The concept is borrowed from Mary Louise Pratt 'to refer to social spaces where cultures, meet, clash and grapple with each other' (Pratt, 1991:34). This is a concept also used by Helm and Dabre to 'subvert power dynamics in which language learners, refugees and migrants are positioned as defective or ineffective communicators of a target language' (Helm and Dabre, 2018: 145).

4. Papiamentu speakers

4.1 Papiamentu First Language speakers on Bonaire

During fieldwork I had the opportunity to interview four individuals whose first language is Papiamentu and are professionally related to language teaching and mentoring. Their perceptions about the language and the new speakers' situation contributes to an expertise position to be contrasted with those who are learning the language. The interviews involve Marie, a speech therapist at Forma school, Dedricht, Papiamentu teacher in the same school, Mina, Papiamentu teacher and director at Motivisati school for Dutch FLS, and Elsmarie, a language tutor that offers individual conversation courses.

A common perception on all Papiamentu FLS is that they consider the islanders' multilingualism as a precious gift, a generally spread ability to communicate in several languages, normally Papiamentu, Spanish, Dutch and English. Bonaire inhabitants are able to rapidly switch between these languages in one same conversation, a feature called "code-switch", a juxtaposition of features associated with different languages when both participants of the conversation understand this juxtaposition as such (Auer, 1995: 116). According to Eckkramer, code switching is a 'popular linguistic device to creatively interact in the multilingual setting' and 'applies as an identity-building element of Antillean society' (Eckkramer, 2007: 82). This is something that I experienced myself in conversations with them. My first contact with Mina, Dedricht and Elsmarie were first in English through social media. Once we met in person, they immediately established the face to face conversation in Spanish, my first language. After our meeting, some of them would text me in English again, while still greeting and saying goodbye in Spanish. My conversation with Marie was at all times in English, as this was the language shared between ourselves, and our Dutch companion. Therefore, language use in Bonaire always becomes a negotiation between interlocutors and an act of spontaneous creativity. The AV also intends to evoke this code-switching common to Papiamentu FLS and new speakers by highlighting the name of the language being spoken on top of the subtitles when a language switch happens. This may also help the audience that is not familiar to some of the languages to understand these shifts.

Their opinions on the learning, or lack of, of Papiamentu by migrants varied greatly. Elsmarie was the most critical, stating that every migrant should be obligated by law to learn the language in order to acquire a residency permit. She points that the government is not enforcing its use enough and there should be more linguistic legislation to protect the local language from losing vitality. Mina points that is a matter of respect to learn the local language if someone is establishing permanently in the island, and learning it can help migrants establish more meaningful relationships with the local population. Marie points to the fact that the amount of people interested in learning Papiamentu is increasing day by day as immigration grows, and the possibilities to learn the language are also expanding. The most positive is Dedricht, who

thinks that newcomers who arrive to the island are more interested in the language Papiamentu than locals' who have it as their first language. The locals' perception on their own language vitality is something the four have in common. They think that because of the influence of international languages such as Spanish, English, or Dutch and the intensification of mobility worldwide, Bonarians attach emotionally to other languages with more international influence than Papiamentu. This linguistic phenomena has been noticed since the 70's by the author Prins-Winkel, who called it a '*negatief linguïstisch normbeeld*', a negative attitude towards their own language, which according to Pereira can still be observed today in the three Papiamentu-speaking islands (Pereira, 2010:90). Marie points that young Bonarian kids talking between them in English is becoming more and more common. Young adults who come back from studying in the Netherlands want to show that their language fluency has improved abroad and decide to use more Dutch than Papiamentu in their daily routines. This results in speakers losing an emotional connection to their first language and contributes to explain the Bonarian habit of adapting to their interlocutors' first language, as they want to practice the other languages in their linguistic repertoire. The four interlocutors coincide that people who learn Papiamentu and want to practice it find it very hard to establish situations in which they can use it, and this is a problem for which they assume responsibility as Papiamentu first language speakers.

4.2 New Papiamentu speakers: challenges and strategies for language use

In the following three sections new speakers of Papiamentu will be introduced according to their first language, starting with Spanish FLS, Dutch FLS, and English FLS. In these sections data will be analysed and put in common between informants that belong to each of the categories.

4.2.1 Spanish First-Language speakers

This sample includes Conchita, a Spanish citizen who has lived for 32 years in Bonaire, Carolina, Venezuelan citizen resident for 16 years, and Isamar and Elicier (Isa&Eli) Venezuelan citizens who have lived four years in the island. The sample can be representative of Spanish FLS because these informants have lived in the island for three different periods of time. It can help contextualize the linguistic situation that recently arrived migrants face, compared to how long term residents have experienced changes happening in the island since they encountered the language Papiamentu in their arrival.

Conchita had her first encounter with the Papiamentu language in Barcelona. In the company she was working for, she met who today is her husband, Albert, from Aruba. After marrying in Aruba they decided to settle in Bonaire in order to open a wine and liquor distribution business. She points that when she arrived to the island, she was one of the first Spanish migrants, and locals completely embraced her and helped her to pick up on Papiamentu quickly. She has always felt welcome to this island. Her husband has always been her main support to learn and

practice Papiamentu. He developed strategies to create opportunities for her to practice the language, for example leaving her alone in the store when local Bonarians were coming, and practicing the language at home correcting her mistakes. Conchita's investment in the language has resulted in her stating that 'she feels Bonarian' mainly because this is the language she uses the most in her daily life, and sometimes she even thinks in this language rather than Spanish. Papiamentu has become a cornerstone of Conchita's cultural capital and plays an important role defining her identity and sense of belonging. She explains that when she travels to Barcelona and speaks Catalan (her second language), she mixes Papiamentu words in her speech involuntarily, and this raises her interlocutor's curiosity. Her Catalan friends also notice a peculiar intonation in her Catalan that she recognises as a "Papiamentu melody" that she has taken from the Caribbean. She notices that by the time she arrived to Bonaire, it was common that everyone would first approach her in Papiamentu, and once they realized her Spanish background, they would almost immediately switch to Spanish. But after 2010 it is every time more common that people speak to her directly in Dutch, a language she does not master for long conversations. And this doesn't only apply to European Dutch migrants approaching her, but also Papiamentu FLS. She has learnt key words and phrases in Dutch related to her business, so she is able to help European Dutch clients in this language. However, she can't express in this language fluently for longer meaningful conversations. All these years navigating Bonaire's multilingual context have helped her develop her intercultural competence, which results in her making partial use of a language that she doesn't fully master to achieve meaning in specific circumstances. This points to Conchita having adopted the Bonarian habit of code-switching: trying to adapt to her interlocutors' first language. She acknowledges that by the time she arrived she "felt safe" with her knowledge of Papiamentu for daily life interactions, but nowadays is becoming a necessity to also incorporate the Dutch language to her linguistic repertoire. On one hand, her linguistic affiliation with the Papiamentu language points to an emotional connection that contributes to an enrichment of her individual identity and sense of belonging to the Bonarian community that even affects her Catalan identity positively. On the other hand, her desire to learn the Dutch language has only appeared in recent years and is directed to a more pragmatical goal. It is derived from socio-political changes in Bonaire that have made the Dutch language' presence more prominent and necessary for daily life communication on the island.

Carolina moved to Bonaire in 2004. Although she found Papiamentu a very peculiar and intriguing language that reminded her of her own first language, she didn't find herself in the necessity to learn it, as she could have meaningful conversations in Spanish with everyone she encountered. But one day she decided to foster a kid from the Watapana school during weekends and holidays because he didn't have a family. The kid was her first experience with Papiamentu, her first teacher. He didn't know any Spanish, so any communication they had would have to be in Papiamentu. She decided to take a step forward and started going to church on Sundays, in order to hear speech in Papiamentu weekly. Afterwards she started studying the Bonarian culture and history reading books in Papiamentu. For a Spanish speaker,

Papiamentu is very easy to read and understand, but very hard to write it and speak it properly, she remarked. The more she read, the more intrigued and passionate she became about Papiamentu. She started volunteering in several cultural institutions and attending group meetings where they would recite local legends and stories in this language. She finally took the decision of attending to Papiamentu classes, and that was her final step to become a new Papiamentu speaker. During our meeting, Carolina shows me the mistakes she used to make in her exercises and dictates, pointing how proud she feels today for overcoming such difficulties. These mistakes are part of the construction of her cultural capital and proof of her determination to embrace the local language. Carolina was invited to join Akademia Papiamentu, the foundation in charge of maintaining Papiamentu's vitality, updating its orthography, and organizing classes for new residents. To this invitation she replied: "My Papiamentu is not good enough to join this". But what the organizers looked for was not her language proficiency, but her willingness to learn and her emotional connection to the creole language. Her linguistic affiliation with Papiamentu has been built within an extended period of time and through her determination to belong to the Bonarian community. She refers to other Latin Americans who decide not to learn the language, and points to two different perceptions of the language between them: those who simply rely on Spanish for comfort, and those who explicitly say that Papiamentu is an ugly deformation of Spanish and they don't wish to learn it. Carolina recognises that she used to belong to the first group, but she also positions herself in opposition to those who undervalue the language's prestige. She finds herself an example of the usefulness of Papiamentu, because she uses it as interlanguage with her Belgian boyfriend. This is the only language they have in common and the one they use for communication. Carolina's life trajectory has made her shift roles, from a Venezuelan migrant without much interest in learning Papiamentu, to an intercultural mediator and language activist, a link between the Papiamentu speech community and the Spanish speech community.

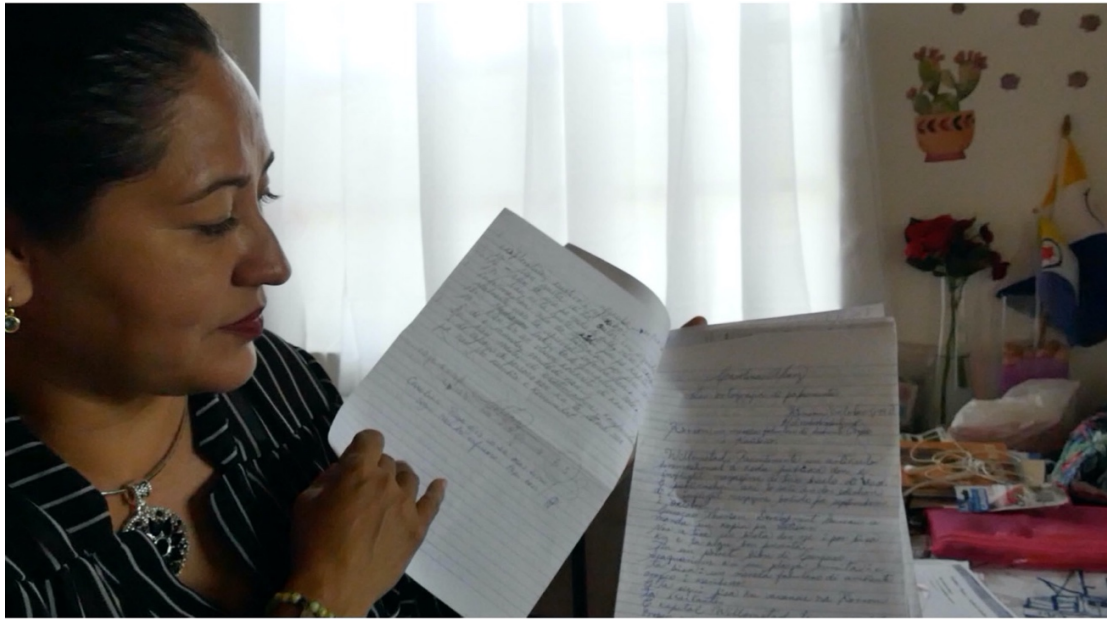


Image 3. Carolina shows her first assignments in Papiamentu.



Image 4. Carolina shows a picture of the day she entered Akademia Papiamentu.

Isamar and Elicier (Isa&Eli) came to Bonaire through an invitation to run a shoe store business. Everything worked out well at the beginning but an important struggle happened that risked their stay in Bonaire. They were kindly helped by Bonarians, who helped them get out of this situation and granted their stay in the island. “Bonarians are angels for us” remarks Isa, “We thank God he put them in our way”. They think they least they can do to compensate such kindness is learning the local language, in order for them to establish more meaningful relationships with Papiamentu FLS, while respecting and getting involved in the culture that has embraced them. During the week they spend all day in the shop, and during weekends they do tours for visitors, so they have no material time to attend classes. But they have two books to study it by themselves, and they usually ask their closest Bonarian friends to carry on small conversations in Papiamentu. They are also working in perfecting their English in order to be able to improve their guided tours and answer questions from tourists. Furthermore, they have the objective of learning Dutch after learning Papiamentu, because in order to obtain permanent residence they need to pass an exam in this language. In order to cover expectations and be at the forefront of daily situations that happen to them, they have no other choice than becoming multilingual. Isa&Eli represent a situation that many newly arrived Spanish FLS face. They feel the need to increase their cultural capital with the languages most spoken in Bonaire in order to have the tools to navigate Bonaire’s superdiverse context. For this reason they have to make important decisions and organize the order in which they will incorporate new languages to their linguistic repertoire on a long term basis. Their social relations with local Bonarians make them prioritize learning Papiamentu before Dutch and English, but this decision doesn’t eliminate the necessity of learning the other two languages as well.

The strategies designed by each informant vary depending on their life trajectories and specific events that had an impact on their perspective concerning the language Papiamentu. While Carolina and Isa&Eli had to find a way by themselves to learn the language and find specific situations in which they could hear it and later on, speak it, Conchita’s situation differs from the others, because she is married to a Papiamentu FLS and this created a fertile ground for her to incorporate the language faster. Isamar and Elicier can’t express in this language fluently yet, but they keep trying to use greetings and short expressions, and they seek for help from Papiamentu FLS to be able to incorporate the language in their linguistic repertoire. What they all coincide, is that Papiamentu can be sometimes confusing, because they can recognise in it some words that are exactly the same as Spanish, while others look like “deformations” of the language, which makes them mix words from both languages in their speech.

4.2.2 Dutch First-Language speakers

This sample includes Thomas, who has lived 27 years in Bonaire, Philip, resident for 11 years, and Gerjanne, who arrived to the island 4 years ago. While Gerjanne and Philip were met in informal situations and their experiences were later explored through a filmed interview,

Thomas experiences were only registered in the form of fieldnotes, because our short encounter was only one day before he left for holidays.

Thomas was my host at the hotel I was living during fieldwork, and he also introduced me to his wife, born and raised in Bonaire. Thomas parents were from Indonesia and The Netherlands. Since a very young age he masters Dutch, Spanish, German, English, and Indonesian. He has a strong linguistic affiliation to languages since a young age. So when he moved to Bonaire it wasn't difficult to learn Papiamentu thanks to his Spanish background. He points that during the 'old days' most Dutch residents, if not all, were fluent in Papiamentu. Some of them even spoke it at home. In his eyes, the Dutch migrant profile was more centred in a lifestyle change, an interest in "becoming Caribbean", while nowadays Dutch migration is highly focused on opening businesses related to tourism while slowly bringing the European Dutch culture into the island. Papiamentu is the language he uses at home and in his daily life when he's not approaching tourists or friends who don't speak the language. His use of language is always pragmatical, he responds in the language they approach him, and code-switching has been a common habit in his life trajectory.

Philip and his wife arrived to Bonaire for a holiday eleven years ago. He remarks the kindness and friendliness of Bonarians, the warm welcomes and the spontaneous conversations in the street. He started to feel home shortly after his first arrival. They decided to move to Bonaire and run a bed and breakfast, that they named after a local bird in the Papiamentu language. After one and a half year living there, they decided it was a matter of respect to really engage with the local language, even if they could easily rely on Dutch for any kind of communication. They looked for a good educator and this way they found Mina. They were very happy with these courses, because apart from classes, Mina also brought them to several cultural activities involving cooking, making music, dancing, and historical activities. This made them connect to the language in a more practical way. After Philip ended the advance course, one day he went to the garage. The man in charge couldn't speak Dutch, only Papiamentu. This was his first real life conversation. He realized he could understand almost everything he was saying but it was hard for him to reply, he couldn't find all the right words he needed. At one point he started mixing Dutch, Spanish, Papiamentu and English in one same phrase. It was a strange conversation but they could understand each other in the end. They ended up laughing a lot at the situation and becoming friends. Since then he tries to use the language every day. Philip's willingness to learn Papiamentu comes from a desire to increase his cultural capital and adapt to the community where he decided to settle. More than a necessity, his decision came out of curiosity and as a way to show respect to the local community. He found it easy to rely on Dutch for daily interactions and learning the language became more of a personal challenge. Mina's classes had a central role in making him see the usefulness of the language to better understand the local culture, and the positive reactions he perceived from local Bonarians made him increase his linguistic affiliation towards Papiamentu and his willingness to use it on a daily basis.

Gerjanne is an anthropologist and language lover, and she always likes to meet new cultures and languages. She lived in Uruguay for some months, and she understood that there was no other choice for her than learning Spanish, and she did it 'in no time'. Later on, she carried on fieldwork in Nicaragua, and had to learn the Miskitu language to be able to research an indigenous community. She knows how important language is to get full access to a community, so for her it was obvious she was going to learn Papiamentu when moving to Bonaire. Her studies and life trajectory makes her hold a strong intercultural competence that makes it easier for her to learn new languages. She points that the more languages you learn, the easier you understand how languages are constructed. She started online courses of Papiamentu before arriving, and once she arrived she signed up for a language class. Her previous knowledge of Spanish helped her a lot, she felt that she didn't start learning it from zero. However, every time she finds a new person there is a crucial moment of doubt: 'What language am I going to use?' She finds herself in a luxury position, because she is fluent in the four main languages spoken on the island. She can always choose which language she is going to use from her diverse linguistic repertoire. What she finds hard is to use Papiamentu naturally. People always approach her in Dutch, and she has to make her interlocutor understand that she is learning and wants to keep practicing it. Sometimes she feels negative reactions from Papiamentu FLS: "Why do you speak Papiamentu to me? I can speak Dutch". She notices that some locals feel that if she uses Papiamentu, she is undervaluing them. Local Bonarians like to use Dutch on a daily basis, because it is a language they learn at school and want to put into practice. But in the other hand, this is making people who learn Papiamentu have a difficult time to practice the language. Following her passion for languages she created the language exchange platform "*Taalmaatjes*" (Language mates), with the objective of connecting different speech communities on the island and making individuals lose their fear to speak new languages. She expected it to be a Dutch-Papiamentu or Spanish-Papiamentu exchange, but this didn't work because locals already speak these languages. Therefore, she switched it into a Dutch-Spanish platform, which is now receiving a lot of requests from Spanish and Dutch FLS migrants. Gerjanne expresses an equal linguistic affiliation to all the languages she masters, and she points how happy she is to be able to use the four of them on a daily basis. However, her intercultural competence makes her aware of the importance of using the local language, and she puts an effort to use Papiamentu as much as possible in her daily routine. This results in nearly all her interactions with Papiamentu FLS starting with a language negotiation. Her easiness to navigate the multilingual setting has resulted in a form of linguistic activism that is not addressed to the use of Papiamentu, but the other languages spoken in the island. She praises linguistic diversity and highlights that what she likes the most about Bonaire is its superdiverse situation.

All informants within this category had the knowledge of Spanish before learning Papiamentu, and they agree that this helped them to start learning the language. Their first language Dutch makes it easy for them to do any task they need to in Bonaire, administration, education, and even daily conversations are normally addressed in this language. Papiamentu for them becomes a personal challenge and a cornerstone to deepen into the local culture. Thomas

points on two very different kinds of migrants, the “previous 2010” migrants who have a lifestyle change as their migration objective, and the migrant profile more focused in business-making who brings his Dutch culture to the island and is not interested in the local culture. However, Philip’s case stands out of this categorization because his main objective was precisely a lifestyle change, and the bed and breakfast business -named in Papiamentu to honour the local culture- was a way to make a living in the island and feel auto-sufficient. Dutch FLS present a similar situation to Spanish FLS: it is hard for them to create situations in which they can use the language. It is also more difficult for them to use any other language than Dutch in their conversations, because most locals expect to practice this language with them constantly.

4.2.3 English First-Language speakers

Susan started coming to Bonaire as a dive tourist back in 1989. The once-in-a-year trips started to become six month trips. She worked in the US to make money for her Bonaire trips. At one point she decided to move there permanently. She signed up for Papiamentu classes immediately, in a group with four other Americans. When she arrived to the island she had a solid base of Spanish, and at the beginning she carried on two language conversations. She would talk in Spanish, and would ask her interlocutor to reply in Papiamentu. Over the years, her Papiamentu started to become stronger, and she gradually lost her ability to speak Spanish. Now she runs an internet blog in which she translates articles from Papiamentu to English, and creates calendars of cultural events happening in Bonaire for visitors and newcomers who don’t know Papiamentu. Susan makes use of her cultural capital to facilitate access to people who don’t speak the language to have opportunities to participate in the local culture. In her case Spanish has been replaced for Papiamentu in her linguistic repertoire, a shift in her cultural capital that occurred by not using Spanish regularly and a conscious effort on focusing more on Papiamentu in order to improve her fluency.

Xiomara was raised in Sint Nicholaas, the English speaking part of Aruba. Her parents were from Dominican Republic and Sint Maarten, so they used English for communication. When she was 8 years old they all moved to Curaçao. There she learnt Papiamentu very quickly, as she was surrounded by Papiamentu on a daily basis. She studied to become a teacher and specialized in special education. She met her Bonarian husband in Curaçao, and they both agreed on talking Papiamentu between them and to their kids. When they moved to Bonaire she was asked by several institutions to teach Papiamentu, and she has spent many years changing from one school to another. She never said no to any request, because she knew there was a lack of professionals teaching the language in the island. This made her realize that Papiamentu really needed a “push”, more efforts from institutions and individuals to enforce its vitality. At one point she decided she wanted to leave the educational system and create her own teaching business. Attending to the main languages spoken in the island, she created a method to learn Papiamentu in English, Spanish and Dutch, called “Papia Papiamentu ku mi” (Speak Papiamentu with me). She started giving language classes for English and Dutch

speakers, being language examiner in Mina's Motivisati school and developer of a literacy program in Papiamentu for Bonarian citizens who have difficulties reading and writing their own first language. Xiomara makes use of her cultural capital to fully dedicate her time to increase the use of this language between Papiamentu FLS and new speakers. She even expects to dedicate her retirement to this task. She expresses the most vivid emotional connection to this language between all informants, and her activism is proof of this enthusiasm. Xiomara and Mina are working together to design a radio program that will speak directly to the different nations on the island, translating Papiamentu to English, Dutch and Spanish. Further, she is creating a touristic attraction in her back garden, designed for tourists and newcomers to get their first "touch" of Papiamentu. She created a selfie stand for tourists to spread a visual image of the language and designing merchandising with her logo "I love Papiamentu" for them to purchase. This will result in 'The Bonaire Language Museum', a cultural attraction in which visitors can explore the words coming from different languages that have composed the language Papiamentu. Xiomara thinks that because her first language is used in many other nations worldwide, she developed a stronger feeling towards the Papiamentu language than to her first language English. After she learnt French, Spanish, and Dutch, she realized how this creole language is an hybrid form of these European languages. This is what gives Papiamentu a special and unique character and she is determined to defend its prestige and vitality not only in Bonaire, but in the three Papiamentu-speaking islands.



Image 5. Xiomara stands in front of her signboard at her backyard.



Image 6. Xiomara and I attend the radio program about Papiamentu at Radio Bròkès.

4.3 The 'contact zone'

The contact zone understood in ideological terms refers to social practices involving individual efforts made by new speakers to carry on conversations in Papiamentu. In pragmatic terms it refers to physical spaces where group activities are carried on to promote the use of this language, such as language classes. Also several individuals who can be described as language activists are creating activities and initiatives that intend to expand this contact zone and make more people involved in using Papiamentu for communication.

When most interlocutors encounter the language Papiamentu, they recognise in the language features of their own first languages. This specially applies to Spanish FLS, but also to Dutch and English FLS who have learnt the Spanish language. Creole languages have developed through the combination of several languages and for this reason 'it is possible for others who do not belong to the creole group/category to identify with a creole cultural representation since traces of their own respective culture may be identified as being part of it' (Knorr, 2018:18). Even for Conchita or Susan who have been living in the island and using Papiamentu for 30 years, the mixing of languages in one same conversation is still frequent. Jorgensen *et al.* (2011) call this phenomena polylinguaging: 'the use of features associated with different languages even when speakers know only few features associated with these languages' (Jorgensen *et al.*, 2011: 33). Communication with Papiamentu FLS becomes a creative act in which new speakers make a full use of their linguistic repertoire in order to reach meaning when they don't know specific words in Papiamentu that they need to use. According to Helm and Dabre, the contact zone term applied to language learners 'normally involve participants in translanguaging conversations in which all their linguistic resources are brought into play' (Helm and Dabre, 2018: 144). Carolina has shown that Papiamentu can also function as interlanguage between new speakers, as she uses it with her Belgian boyfriend on a daily basis. New speakers' decisions to learn and use the language involve specific events during their life trajectories that affected their identity and sense of belonging, and this belonging is built through their daily experiences and the reactions they perceive from their interlocutors. Isa & Eli and Philip express a gratitude feeling towards Bonarians that they translate in an effort to learn the language. Conchita, Gerjanne and Susan emphasize on learning Papiamentu as a new perspective to understand the local community. As pointed by Norton and Toohey, language learners 'have complex identities, which change across time and space, and which are constructed on the basis of the socially given, and the individually struggled-for' (Norton and Toley, 2011: 420). Gerjanne and Susan point that they perceived very few negative reactions from Pap1LS, but these very few can be very unmotivating when you're trying to learn a language and this can hold you back. For Carolina it was a pride to be invited to join Akademia Papiamentu, although she felt her Papiamentu was not good enough for joining such task. But the organizers pointed to her language affiliation towards the language as key element for her participation. In the case of Gerjanne, her use of Papiamentu occasionally resulted in a negative reaction from Papiamentu FLS, as they relate her Dutch origin to using the Dutch language in

conversations. They thought she was undervaluing their linguistic capacities. Research involving new speakers seek to ask 'to what extent new speakers may see themselves and/or be seen by others as legitimate participants in the speech communities' (O'Rourke *et al.*: 2015: 9).

Referring to group activities established as communities of practice, language classes become a turning point on the process of becoming a new speaker. They are the door to formally acquire this cultural capital and understand the metalinguistic norms and values that surround the use of language. Participant observation at Forma and Motivisati inform that classes are designed in various forms according to the languages most spoken in Bonaire. Forma's classes are taught in Papiamentu, and students are generally from Spanish speaking countries, but they also include other FLS such as Tahitian or Jamaican. Papiamentu becomes the target language but also the interlanguage for communication, although specific clarifications can be in English or Spanish. In Motivisati, the beginners course is taught in Dutch, with Papiamentu as target language. Only in the advanced and conversation courses Papiamentu is the language of instruction. Norton and Toohey remark that 'language learning is a social process in which culturally and historically situated participants engage in culturally-valued activities, using cultural tools, developing the sorts of behaviours required for participation' (Norton and Tooley, 2011: 419). In these communities of practice focused on language acquisition, the teacher becomes the students' link to the Papiamentu speech community and a guidance on how to use metalinguistic aspects of culture adequately. Students also create different engagements between them and develop relationships that grow from their original common interest of learning the target language Papiamentu. Several individuals who initially don't know each other procedurally acquire the target language by using it between them, following structured patterns established by the teacher, who possesses the cultural capital they seek to obtain. The classes can therefore be seen as a site where teachers and students are engaged in identity negotiation (Norton and Toohey, 2011:428).

Individuals as Carolina, Gerjanne and Xiomara have developed activism initiatives that relate to expand the social space of the contact zone, praising inclusion and intercultural communication as key elements. Carolina's emotional approach for Papiamentu has made her become a language advisor for others who are learning the language, and her commitment with Papiamentu has made her form part of Akademia Papiamentu. Gerjanne intended to create a language exchange platform to connect Papiamentu FLS and Dutch FLS, but it ended up becoming a Spanish-Dutch exchange based on the requests she received. In a context of superdiversity, the contact zone can also be referred to communities of practice based on acquiring and practicing other languages being spoken in the island in order to promote contact between members of different speech communities. Xiomara describes herself as Papiamentu activist, as she intends to leave the educational system and dedicate her retirement to fully develop her project concerning the promotion of Papiamentu in different areas. Her involvement with the language and her willingness to participate in the documentary explaining everything in

detail made me decide to use her figure as the “cultural mediator” or “interpreter” of the documentary. Her role is to expose her position about new speakers, but also to get the audience to know insights of the Papiamentu language and navigate through the topics that new speakers talk about in their interviews. The interpreter ‘is a character in the film who translates for the others in a professional capacity, (Serban, 2012:43). Interpreters in film have ‘a mediating role between the other characters on screen, while at the same time translating for the audience of the film’ (serban, 2012: 45), for this reason Xiomara appears at the beginning, middle and ending of the AV. The interpreter becomes a ‘language teacher’, giving the audience the tools to manage on their own (Serban, 2012:46).

5 Concluding remarks

The case of Xiomara especially contributes to the debate of the “native speaker” concept, as Papiamentu is not her “native language”, but she has full mastery of Papiamentu and she points that she is recognised by the community as a “native speaker”, to the point that she can teach it to others. Further, she promotes its use between new speakers and wants Papiamentu FLS or “native speakers” to fully embrace it with pride. This aligns with O’Rourke’s considerations that ‘the native speaker was much an abstraction of ‘the nation’, ‘the people’, or ‘the language’, concepts that were mobilized to produce social imaginaries rather than to describe social realities’ (O’Rourke *et al.*, 2015:8). Research has shown how individuals as Xiomara, Conchita or Thomas master the language Papiamentu for a very long time and are now very fluent in their speech. But they recognise their origin, their first language, and their memories migrating and acquiring the creole language as turning points of their life trajectories. Conchita’s Antillean family highlight her unique ‘Spanish from Spain’ accent in Papiamentu and praise her ability to speak it fluently. Isa&Eli find learning the language as a sign of gratitude and commitment towards the local community. As Kramsch states, learning a language doesn’t mean that one wants to ‘become’ a ‘native speaker’: ‘the pleasure of annexing a foreign language does not primarily consist in identifying with flesh-and-blood native-speaking nationals. It derives rather from the unique personal experience of incarnating oneself in another’ (Kramsch, 1997: 364). The focus has to be on the individual level, on the experiences and negotiations that make people align with certain groups through their linguistic repertoire. Research on language use in Bonaire could therefore be described as kaleidoscopic in nature, as there exist ‘multiple ways that social actors construct and negotiate their sense of ownership in relation to the language and the community of speakers to which they wish to belong’ (O’Rourke and Pujolar, 2013:61). However, in between the differences on new speakers profiles, common patterns arise: Papiamentu FLS’ reactions on their use of the language and new speakers’ first perceptions about Papiamentu are similar between those who share a similar linguistic repertoire. Those who have dedicated a big investment in learning Papiamentu note the appreciation of their effort from Papiamentu FLS, and they highlight an enrichment of their cultural capital that positively affects their daily routine. In cases such as Conchita or Carolina, they even mention that “they feel Bonarian”. Conchita says this because she even thinks in Papiamentu and has lived more years in Bonaire than she did in Barcelona. Therefore, the amount of time living in the island and using the language in daily interactions is a key element for identity construction.

The concept of contact zone results useful in the study of new speakers, and it is suggested that it expands through individual motivations to increase cultural capital. Individuals making use of the language also affect Papiamentu FLS perceptions on their own language’s vitality. New speakers consist of a new group that challenges the traditional conceptions of “non-native speaker” and group belonging, and this could contribute to a more positive perception of the language as its increasingly being used by newcomers on the island. The documentary can be

a medium that helps reach a wider non-academic audience and a form of activism for language revitalization. It intends to make this 'contact zone' more visible and expose the doors that Papiamentu opens in the eyes of its new speakers.

Territoriality seems to be an important topic in language use in Bonaire, as it is 'a powerful means upon which linguistic ideologies and feelings of belonging continue to be informed' (O'rourke and Pujolar, 2015: 148). Papiamentu FLS tend to identify new speakers' nationality and first language in their accents to decide which language is going to be used in conversations. Bonaire's special status as 'special municipality' of The Netherlands also contributes to different discourses of territoriality. Many new speakers find that this political status has benefited Bonaire's infrastructure over the years. Another common perception is the increase on the use of the Dutch language in the island's daily life while the use of Papiamentu slowly decreases as its speakers' loose interest on their own language. Informants who work in client service point to some negative reactions from European Dutch citizens when they couldn't communicate in Dutch properly, stating that "Bonaire is The Netherlands", so they should be able to speak Dutch to them.

This research has shown that the concept of new speaker is useful in language research in superdiversity settings. Although the concept was designed for European minority language contexts, it is of use on other latitudes that present complex multilingual situations. A recommendation that comes out of this research is that Bonaire's political situation as a special municipality of The Netherlands could position the language Papiamentu in a similar framework as other European minority languages such as Catalan, Basque, Corsican or Frisian, where specific linguistic policy has been designed to protect and maintain the language vitality according to the European law of regional languages. This research lays in a close position with Bax-Piard's suggestion that 'anchoring Papiamentu in European law as a regional language could offer Papiamentu more protection and opportunities for development, thus putting a brake on current trends toward eventual endangerment' (Bax-Piard, 2016: 109). Papiamentu has been formed out of four European languages, and nowadays speakers of these European languages find themselves navigating new ways of identity and belonging that stand out of conceptions of 'pure' or 'homogeneous' language use. 'Polylinguaging' and 'code switching' are linguistic patterns that are common to Papiamentu FLS and to new Papiamentu speakers as well. Therefore, mixedness, hybridity and multiple belonging are features that characterize new speakers' experiences in Bonaire's multicultural environment. The survival and future development of Papiamentu is not only in the hands of its first speakers anymore. New speakers of Papiamentu are actors of social change in the island of Bonaire. They represent a new layer in the history of a Caribbean language that has survived the horrors of slavery to flourish as a communication form between people from different cultures that share a common space. New speakers can contribute to improve first speakers' appreciation of their own first language and increase awareness on its vitality. If more activism forms develop from individual or institutional initiatives and speakers from different nationalities keep cooperating as it

happened in the past, Papiamentu may become a cornerstone in future anthropological studies of intercultural communication. If we focus on the contact zone, the speakers' nationality and their first language is not of central relevance. What matters most is that new speakers of Papiamentu are drawing a path across difference.

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7. APPENDIX

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Note: Codes in tables indicate the location of this information within the transcriptions. (Con.TC.2) Indicates: Conchita TimeCode2, the second time code written in transcriptions, (Sus.TC.13) indicates: Susan, TimeCode13.

PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS	Initial interest for Bonaire	First perceptions on Papiamentu	Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers	Views of Bonaire's past	Use of Dutch	Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu	Identity
<p>Carolina</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Venezuelan - Spanish FLS - 16 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish - Papiamentu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Met a Bonarian in Venezuela (Car.[filmcode] T.C 2) - Became a couple with Bonarian (Car.TC.2) - First visit in 2003 for new years eve (Discovered Pagara firework tradition) (Car.TC.3) - First time abroad was in Bonaire – impressed by landscape, culture, tranquility and a very small population (Car.TC.4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strange language, very fast. She feels strange. (Car.TC.4) - No necessity to learn it because everyone speaks Spanish. (Car.TC.4) - With the years this perception changes. (Car.TC.5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When you see it written looks similar to Spanish, the difference is in pronunciation (Car.TC.12) - Papiamentu includes many Spanish words that don't change, makes it easier for Spa.1LS (Car. TC.13) - Some words change in orthography but not the sound (casa-kas) (Car.TC.13) - Papiamentu has less pronouns than other languages (Car.TC.40) - Accents are the most difficult (Car.TC.55) - Writing numbers very difficult (Car.TC.65) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First only speaks in Spanish with everyone (Car.TC.5) - Former contact between Venezuela and Bonaire, hospital convenes (lack of specialists) / This has changed for political reasons (Car.TC.6) - No need to worry about Papiamentu, everyone spoke Spanish, although not so well. Some people speak very good Spanish like her ex. (Car.TC.7) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Their first reaction to Latinos - they aren't able to pronounce "sch" (Car.TC.17) - Her ex made her repeat these words to laugh at her. This motivated her to improve (Car.TC.18) - They ask her from which Latin American country she's from because her accent (Car.TC.18) - She's been invited to join the main language institution in Bonaire to promote the use of language between Latinos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kid as first motivation, after starting to speak wants to know how to write, deepen into it (Car.TC.13) - Starts to practice cultural activities (Car.TC14) - Culture as primordial step towards interest for the language (Car.TC.14) - Songs motivate her (Car.TC14) - Visiting Rincón, friendly inhabitants. Made her feel that she belonged there (Car.TC14) - Once you know you live here you have to respect the local culture. Know what to do and what not to do. (Car.TC.15) - Some people find it an ugly and unnecessary language she does not identify with them (Car.TC15) - She feels she has to earn respect from the locals by respecting their language and integrating in the community. Reciprocity. (Car.TC.16) - The long time living here + cultural involucrate =makes her feel Bonarian (Car.TC.24) - The more culture she knows, the more her heart is filled, the more she wants to perfectionate her Papiamentu (Car.TC.30) - 13. She feels proud of being part of Akadernia Papiamentu, remember the photo event as a key moment of her life. (Car.TC.61). - Now this is her home = more involucrate with language and culture = maintain and respect their values. (Car.TC.5)

PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS	Initial interest for Bonaire	First perceptions on Papiamentu	Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers	Views of Bonaire's past	Use of Dutch	Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu	Identity
<p>Conchita</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish - Spanish FLS - 32 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish - Catalan - English - Papiamentu - Dutch 	<p>-Arrived to work for 2 years in husband's business – wine shop (Con.TC.1)</p> <p>-Attracted by Caribbean, she was 23 (Con.TC.12)</p>	<p>- Communicated with everyone in Spanish or English (Con.TC.2)</p> <p>- Felt no difference between Papiamentu of Aruba and Bonaire, now she does (Con.TC.3)</p> <p>- Seemed friendly, comical, easy to understand (Con.TC.4)</p> <p>- Committed lots of mistakes from mixing the languages she knows (Con.TC.4)</p>	<p>- Aruba's Papiamentu is much easier for Spaniards. Rincon people are the hardest to understand. She felt nervous when Rincon clients came in (Con.TC.35)</p> <p>- Spanish as safe area if she couldn't communicate her thoughts in Papiamentu (Con.TC.36)</p> <p>- Aruba's Papiamentu is more similar to Spanish (Con.TC.37)</p> <p>- Confusion comes out of the mixing of words of different languages. But that's why even if you mix people understand you (con.TC.38)</p> <p>- If you sit on a table depends on the people sitting, you can end up using 4 languages in one conversation (Con.TC.40).</p> <p>- Locals speak some broken Spanish but still all Spanish speakers understand them (Con.TC.48)</p>	<p>- 30 years ago she didn't feel necessity to learn Dutch, now she does. She felt safe enough with Papiamentu (Con.TC.8)</p> <p>- After 10/10/10 increasing importance of Dutch (Con.TC.8)</p> <p>- Significant development since 2010, more population (Con.TC.16)</p> <p>- Locals of 3 islands say Bonaire is like the other 2 were 20 years ago (Con.TC.17)</p> <p>- 20 years ago nearly no shops, no stock, no hospitals (Con.TC.17)</p> <p>- She wouldn't like it to become as touristic as Aruba (Con.TC.18)</p> <p>- When they arrived there were donkeys in the airport landing place (Con.TC.35)</p> <p>- Immigration brought people from many areas and form groups according to their language and</p>	<p>- She has learnt basic words about her business to communicate with Dutch clients (Con.TC.9)</p> <p>- She can have small conversations about what she sells but not express herself fluently. More comfortable with Papiamentu. (Con.TC.9)</p> <p>- She feels she should know more Dutch, she wishes she learnt it before, but has no time now (Con.TC.18)</p> <p>- All documentation is in Dutch, husband has been helping her (Con.TC.19)</p> <p>- She used English for communication with Dutch (Con.TC.19)</p> <p>- Learning Dutch is a much more difficult task than learning Papiamentu. She needs classes, while not for Papiamentu. (Con.TC.33)</p>	<p>- Found a peculiar accent on her (Con.TC.4)</p> <p>- People were nice and grateful (Con.TC.4)</p> <p>- They switched to Spanish to make her feel better (Con.TC.4)</p> <p>- She mixes Spanish words with Papiamentu but people still understand you (Con.TC.5)</p> <p>- Locals and Dutch use to address her directly in Dutch and she has to negotiate the conversation language. Physical Dutch appearance. (Con.TC.14)</p> <p>- Happiness, satisfaction, they feel very comfortable when she tries. They welcome you, they appreciate it (Con.TC.15)</p> <p>- People speak Spanish to her as form of respect, she negotiates to speak Papiamentu so she can improve. Courtesy. They like to demonstrate they can speak Spanish. (Con.TC.28)</p> <p>- Locals were so surprised and cheerful of her proficiency on the language (Con.TC.32)</p>	<p>- Came for two years but slowly felt home and decided to stay, people were embracing her to stay. "Bonaire invites you to stay" (Con.TC.11)</p> <p>- She has lived longer in Bonaire than Barcelona, she feels Bonarian.</p> <p>- When she goes to Barcelona she mixes Catalan and Papiamentu (Con.TC.21)</p> <p>- She has a singing-like accent, people say (Con.TC.21)</p> <p>- People in Barcelona are curious for her to teach them some Papiamentu (Con.TC.21)</p> <p>- You end up not speaking any of the languages 100%, you mix. Bad habit. (Con.TC.22)</p> <p>- Even if you mix everyone understands each other. Comical. (Con.TC.22)</p> <p>- When she leaves the island she has to explain where the island is, and what Papiamentu is. Exotic touch (Con.TC.25).</p> <p>- She loves the community feeling of the small island. People gossip about her being very good at the language (Con.TC.30)</p> <p>- Her niece always talks with her friends about how good she is in Papiamentu, and remarks her very peculiar accent as a positive thing, a very personal touch (Con.TC.31)</p> <p>- For a Spanish speaker is not difficult to learn it (Con.TC.33)</p> <p>- It was a nice experience to learn it, like "a walk" (Con.TC.33)</p> <p>- The afford to understand the language is recognised by locals universally, for any language you learn (Con.TC.48)</p> <p>- When you learn the language, you feel home (Con.TC.51)</p>

			nationality (Con. TC.49)			- She thinks in Papiamentu, that's why she feels Bonarian too, feels integrated. Sometimes expresses herself better in Papiamentu than in Spanish. Very comfortable with it (Con. TC.52.)	
PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS	Initial interest for Bonaire	First perceptions on Papiamentu	Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers	Views of Bonaire's past	Use of Dutch	Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu	Identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Venezuelan - Spanish FLS - 4 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spanish - English - Papiamentu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Christian radio from Bonaire heard in Venezuela (Isa.TC.1) - Business invitation from family member in the island. Came for a first visit first. Fell in love with the tranquility and absence of traffic and infrastructure. (Isa.TC.2) - They compare busy Caracas with calm Bonaire (Isa.TC.5) - Better prices than Aruba and Curaçao. Less crime. (Isa.TC.7) - Came to the island with jobs ready (Isa.TC.12) - Used to beach environment (Isa.TC.18) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comical. (Isa.TC.21) - Can identify their own language in Papiamentu. Shock. (Isa.TC.21) - Felt like a challenge, they love the mixing aspect (Isa.TC.23) - The use of K letters is curious to them because C doesn't exist in the language, although it does in the Aruban version (Isa.TC.54) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bonarians have helped them stabilize in the island and they want to be thankful with them by learning their language (Isa.TC.23) - People speak very fast and is hard to understand (Isa.TC.23, 28) - For Spanish speakers sometimes feel like they're doing mistakes in Spanish when speaking Papiamentu. - Feels like correcting them. One has to adapt to it. (Isa.TC.28) - Papiamentu is a necessity to live in the island, a base to communicate in all three islands (Isa.TC.30). - Afraid to face a new language and use it, stress feeling. Facing the unknown (Isa.TC.23) - Latin Americans normally don't feel the necessity of learning the language because locals are multilingual, advantage for Spanish speakers (Isa.TC.32) - Easier to hear and read than to speak it (Isa.TC.41) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Now they're focus on Papiamentu but Dutch is also a necessity to get their residence permit (pass exam) (Isa.TC.32,34) - Papiamentu is a priority, they leave Dutch for later (ISA.TC.32) - Thanks to technology they use google translate for Dutch communication with doctors, education (Isa.TC.37, 38) - When you call the doctor they ask if you need translation (Isa.TC.38) - They speak English with Dutch (Isa.TC.49) - Most of their clients are rather Latinos or Bonarians but very few European Dutch (Isa.TC.49) - They use only greetings with Dutch clients (Isa.TC.50) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When they don't understand them they ask them to speak slowly and they gladly do decrease the "revolutions" (Isa.TC.29) - People responding you in Spanish slow the learning process (Isa.TC.44) - Clients come in and directly talk Papiamentu and they do their best to follow at least the beginning of the conversation. Sometimes they keep speaking Papiamentu and they respond Spanish (Isa.TC.46) - They understand everything they ask because getting used of the selling routine (Isa.TC.46) - They never have trouble with using Spanish, they rather help you with your mistaken Papiamentu (Isa.TC.48) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impacted that locals speak 4 languages. Clients surprise you in any language. You need to be multilingual, be prepared to cover expectations. (Isa.TC.24) - They want to incorporate Papiamentu in their register to honour the local population (Isa.TC.25) - They had a turbulent beginning and Bonarians helped them to remain in the island, they call them "angels that god has put in their way" (Isa.TC.26) - Feels like a restart of yourself to internalize a new language (Isa.TC.41) - As an adult one doesn't want to be mistaken when speaking (Isa.TC.29)

<p>PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS</p>	<p>Initial interest for Bonaire</p>	<p>First perceptions on Papiamentu</p>	<p>Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers</p>	<p>Views of Bonaire's past</p>	<p>Use of Dutch</p>	<p>Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu</p>	<p>Identity</p>
<p>Susan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EEUU - English FLS - 28 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - English - Spanish - Italian - Papiamentu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Came with a Scuba Club as dive tourist, started making trips every six months, stays became longer and after 2.5 years decided to relocate (Sus.TC.2) - This is the place she wanted to be, in love with the island landscape and fauna and subaquatic environment (Sus.TC.3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She could understand a lot of the language with Spanish background (Sus.TC.4) - If someone spoke Pap to her Spanish came out without thinking (Sus.TC5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - For Spanish speakers the "transition" is easier (Sus.TC.9) - European Dutch who speak many languages is not a hard transition either (Sus.TC.9) - Some people refuse to learn because they aren't good in languages and don't learn it even after 20 years living here (Sus.TC.9) - Still is the preferred language of the locals, what they speak at home (Sus.TC.12) - Many want to preserve Papiamentu because a small population in the world speaks it (Sus.TC.12) - Others feel is so limited and is more important to learn languages that can be of use around the world (Sus.TC.12) - In Curaçao she feels they speak a lot faster, hard for her to follow (Sus.TC.14) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 30 years ago she hardly ever heard Dutch. It was official language in documents but not in the street. Dutch citizens almost all spoke Papiamentu fluently (Sus.Tc.8) - 30 years ago you heard Papiamentu Spanish and English mostly (Sus.TC.8) - Increase of the different languages that can be heard in the island over the years. Bonaire "has been discovered (Sus.TC.19) - When she came all tourist came from USA Canada or Holland (Sus.TC.19) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2010 and the years prior, huge influx of Dutch resident and Dutch becomes stable language, now heard constantly (Sus.TC.8) - Street signs written in Papiamentu but also reflect the influence of Dutch and other nations in Bonaire history (Sus.TC.16) 	<p>At the beginning was hard for her to use the language, found some situations in which locals answered "I have no time for this" and switched to English, making her feel her afford was being undervalued, showing no patience (Diary)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Surprised by her loss of Spanish, she really has to think to speak it now (Sus.TC.6) - After the years she can notice the differences between Papiamentu in the three islands (Sus.TC.13) - If she goes to the other two islands she can also be understood in Papiamentu (Sus.TC.16) - She learnt Italian years ago, her dad never understood why she learns such language. She spent years making him understand how the languages she learn enrich her spirit and wisdom. Her dad got sick in Italy and couldn't communicate with the doctor, she managed the situation and her dad finally understood (Diary)
<p>PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS</p>	<p>Initial interest for Bonaire</p>	<p>First perceptions on Papiamentu</p>	<p>Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers</p>	<p>Views of Bonaire's past</p>	<p>Use of Dutch</p>	<p>Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu</p>	<p>Identity</p>
<p>Gerjanne</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The islands are known in NL. She did a presentation of the islands in primary school (Ger.TC.3) - Came because his boyfriend father lives here. Never bent before, came to live right away. Originally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Heard it first when living in NL through Aruban friend. Sounded nice (Ger.TC.9) - When she first arrived she recognised a lot of vocabulary with her Spanish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Everyone speaks for languages so they easily switch and they don't encourage newcomers to learn the language (Ger.TC.32) - Their multilingualism from locals leads to their language having less urgency (Ger.TC.32) 	<p>-</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Every time she uses Papiamentu they respond in Dutch. Constant negotiation to use Papiamentu (Diary) - If she has a bad day or is tired can simply rely on Dutch and feel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Moment of doubt when meeting someone knew, which language to use? (Ger.TC.19) - People who see you struggle answer in Dutch(Ger.TC.20) - Sometimes people respond indignant, they say they can speak Dutch, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She is a language lover, learnt Miskitu during fieldwork in Nicaragua, she understands how important language is (Ger.TC12) - Learnt Spanish in South America because he had no other choice to communicate, that opened so many doors and friendships. It was obvious she

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dutch - Dutch FLS - 4 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dutch - Spanish - English - Papiamentu - Miskitu 	<p>thought it could be boring (Ger.TC.3)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lived in other places of the world, she likes other cultures. She could always go back home. She ended up staying (Ger.TC.5) 	<p>background and her online courses (Diary)</p>	<p>There are enough possibilities in the island to learn the language and to practice it, you have to push yourself a bit (Ger.TC.33)</p> <p>No urgency to speak it, as a communication mean maybe doesn't have a long live anymore, no pressure being put. But if we see it like identity, history, maybe Papiamentu will get a revival. (Ger.TC.38)</p> <p>Not the language of opportunities today (Ger.TC.38)</p>		<p>comfortable Luxury position. (Ger.TC.27)</p>	<p>they feel she undervalues them (Ger.TC.21)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Talk Papiamentu they answer Dutch, keeps happening, let's leave it there(Ger.TC.23) - Everyone has a good intention but people are used to a Dutch face and speak Dutch (Ger.TC.23) - In most cases people react really positively when she tries (Ger.TC.33) - Some exceptions are discouraging, and its easy to focus on that, it can be unmotivating when you're learning (Ger.TC.34) 	<p>would learn Papiamentu (Ger.TC.12)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She likes how many languages are spoken in Bonaire. Uses 4 languages she knows everyday (Ger.TC.10) - Language comes with new ways of looking at the world (Ger.TC.12) - When you learn more languages it becomes easier to decode languages, how are constructed. Brain makes new connections. (Ger.TC.15) - Choosing which language to speak is a luxury position for her (Ger.TC.27) - She would be very sad if Papiamentu would get extinct she hopes it will get a revival if more people are interested in it (Ger.TC.38)
<p>PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS</p>	<p>Initial interest for Bonaire</p>	<p>First perceptions on Papiamentu</p>	<p>Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers</p>	<p>Views of Bonaire's past</p>	<p>Use of Dutch</p>	<p>Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu</p>	<p>Identity</p>
<p>Phillip</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dutch - Dutch FLS - 9 years in Bonaire <p>Speaks:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Came as diving tourist. First step in Bonaire he immediately felt home. Very warm feeling - Started coming yearly and it became less diving and more enjoying the island itself and meeting local people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Very difficult language. They didn't know Spanish yet. Once he learnt Spanish Papiamentu became easier to understand. (Phi.Tc.6) - Sounded very Caribbean when hearing it, sounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tendency of Bonarians to speak their interlocutors language, and tendency of newcomers to rely on the languages they already know. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First days in the island they were surprised how much Dutch you can hear. They could easily manage daily life situations. Also using English. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First conversation was after the advanced course, in a garage. The man couldn't speak Dutch, so it was very difficult for him to communicate. It was a 30 min conversation, but it became a nice first experience. This motivated him to speak it more. He could understand everything he said but 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - After 1.5 years living in the island and knowing locals they found it a sign of respect to speak the local language. Bonarians are really sweet people. - They gave their bed and breakfast a Papiamentu name based on a bird, to incorporate Bonarian culture to their business.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dutch - Spanish - English - Papiamentu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Came to do something by themselves, they opened a bed and breakfast. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - very nice and melodic (Phi.TC.8) 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - needed more words to communicate, but he could express himself. 	
PAPIAMENTU NEW SPEAKERS	Initial interest for Bonaire	First perceptions on Papiamentu	Papiamentu in the eyes of new speakers	Views of Bonaire's past	Use of Dutch	Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when new speaker uses Papiamentu	Identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Xiomara - Aruban (Dutch) - English FLS - 25 years in Bonaire - Speaks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - English - Papiamentu - Spanish - French - Dutch 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Born in English speaking region of Aruba. Late moved to Curaçao. Met her Bonarian husband and agreed on settle there at some point (Xio.TC.1,4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People tell her that have been 15 years on the island but they don't know where to go learning it - If the government is so pro language they have to show them the way to learn it since they arrive to the island (Xio.TC.28) - There are not enough resources and professionals to teach (Xio.TC.28) - Legislation to make Dutch people working in government they have to do a course in Papiamentu, condition in the contract. But this is only a small percentage of foreigners - Dutch people being able to speak their language keeps them on a really low level to engage with the language (Xio.Tc.26) - Spanish speakers combine Spanish with Papiamentu all the time, but everyone in the island will still understand them. But at some point they need to know the right structures and correct speaking (Xio.TC.27) - All languages have to be respected and Papiamentu ponives with them and that's fine but more focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educational system is all in Dutch. In special education more Papiamentu. Papiamentu for ages 1-5, from year 6 is strictly Dutch (Xio.TC.21) - Organizations start to create schools for Dutch speaking kids, private. Majority are parents who come to Bonaire for 1-2 years and don't want their kids to do class in Papiamentu. But some of them remain in the island and don't know Papiamentu. (Xio.TC.22) - They called her to do Papiamentu class in this school, she couldn't say no because she wants the language to be learnt by them and few specialists (Xio.TC.24) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - All people in island can speak Dutch. If someone Dutch speak Papiamentu they answer Dutch. It's a gift they have but not positive for promoting Papiamentu. Not done on purpose. (Xio.TC.27) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Speaks English with family in Aruba and St Maarten but Papiamentu at home (Xio.TC.4) - Her mum said she would become a teacher since she was 3 because she corrected her sister's reading (Xio.TC.7) - In special education she realized how much patience she had (Xio.TC.7) - She's a person that likes a good challenge (Xio.TC.9) - They moved soon to Bonaire so their kids wouldn't be too attached to Curaçao emotionally (Xio.TC.10) - She became teacher for special education, has been called by 3 different schools during 20 years, continuously changing because she was the best specialist in special education, she always accepted the changes (Xio.TC.12) - She was asked to develop the literacy department of Forma while being teacher (Xio.TC.14) - In 2008 receives call to educate Dutch commissioners in Papiamentu before the incorporation of the island to the NL (Xio.TC.15) - She wants to leave educational system and fulfil her dream promoting Papiamentu (Xio.TC.38) - Her family has a business making background she is the only

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - on the local language is needed (Xio.TC.29) - Tourists don't even know what is the language spoken in the island, any touristic attractions about language (Xio.TC.29) - Is such an easy language to learn concerning spelling and grammar, in her knowledge of learning 4 languages (Xio.TC.56) - It's too beautiful to just let go. 'I believe in it' - One of the few creole languages that has survived extinction, mother tongue day is essential to keep it alive (Xio.TC. - New speakers contribute by doing their utmost to be able to learn the basics, giving vitality (Xio.TC.72) - Language museum concept to name her attraction will enhance the project because people can see things of the language (Xio.TC.76) 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - teacher and wants to be entrepreneur too (Xio.Tc.39) - At one point in 2009 she decides to stop working for so many schools and do something for herself. Her accountant helped her decide (Xio.TC.44) - She can describe herself as Papiamentu activist (Xio.TC.67) - She expects the documentary to make Antilleans in NL to get more conscious on maintaining their own language alive and pass it to their kids and grandkids (Xio.TC.71)
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INFORMANT	STRATEGIES TO LEARN AND USE PAPIAMENTU
<p>CAROLINA</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First motivation: kid from a special education school. = He didn't speak Spanish. (Car. TC.8). - Communication with kid was difficult. She started to care for him (Car. TC.9) - Kid laughed at her because she pronounced wrong. This made her motivate to give more emphasis (Car. TC.9) - Communication with adults fine in Spanish but not with the kid (Car. TC.10) - He started to come for longer periods of time (Car. TC.11) <p>1. <u>Went to church to listen speeches in Papiamentu</u> (Car. TC.19)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 1.1 She won't say amen to something she doesn't understand (Car. TC.19) o 1.2 A lady from 'Movimiento Renovacion Carismatica' started to teach her orations in Papiamentu (Car. TC.20) o 1.3 Through the Bible, organizations and church on Sunday she starts to understand it better (Car. TC.20) <p>2. Started independent studies about history and culture of Bonaire in Papiamentu</p> <p>3. Started to read newspapers in the language and watch local news through a local friend suggestion. (Car. TC.21)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 3.1 She stated relating words to each other and give them meaning (Car. TC.21) <p>4. Started volunteering in Fujukubo cultural association (Car. TC.22)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 4.1 Fascinated about Boin Antoin stories. (Car. TC.22) o 4.2 History of Papiamentu in slavery, she gets fascinated and involucrate deeper. "A feeling is born in her heart" (Car. TC.23) o 4.3 Feels like a travel through the culture that has adopted her (Car. TC.24) o 4.4 Cultural walks through Bonaire, learning names of trees (Car. TC.25) o 4.5 She found the association in newspaper advertising (Car. TC.26) o 4.6 Locals ask her how will she participate digitilizing photos without speaking Papiamentu. She insists on her willingness to participate. (Car. TC.27) o 4.7 Volunteer in cemetery, cultural walk about history (Car. TC.28) o 4.8 Papiamentu starts to become a joy as she deepens into cultural aspects (Car. TC.29) <p>5. She started working in institute that cooperates between Venezuela and Bonaire (Car. TC.31)</p> <p>6. Her networking through cultural institutions provoke that Geraldine Dammers calls her to be part of Akademia Papiamentu. (Car. TC.32)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 6.1 She says her Papiamentu is not good enough, they still want her to be member (Car. TC.32) o 6.2 She promotes learning Papiamentu in the Latino community (Car. TC.34) o 6.3 Foundation has to create a plan to get funding from institutions (Car. TC.36) o 6.4 Organizes classes groups according to their first languages, for any nationality/ groups of nationalities (Car. TC.37) o 6.5 Importance of teacher being able to speak students' language (Car. TC.39) o 6.6 Both languages are spoken until students gets enough knowledge to speak by himself (Car. TC.41) o 6.7 There are always concerns when you learn a language, it depends on your interest (Car. TC.41) <p>7. Started using it in the streets without classes to start relating words. Then she goes to a course and a very strict teacher helped her a lot (Car. TC.42=</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 7.1 Teacher says they will only speak Papiamentu (Car. TC.42). o 7.2 Many students left these classes, they felt stress (Car. TC.43) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 7.3 Its about opening your mind and heart, learn from mistakes (Car. TC.44) ▪ 7.4 She feels the teacher wants her to know by heart so she increases efforts (Car. TC.45) o 7.5 Now she feels it by heart and wants to fight to preserve it o 7.6 Biggest challenge is to make local Bonarians appreciate their language (Car. TC.46) <p>8. She started to focus on orthography. Speaking is easy but challenge is to write it properly (Car. TC.47)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 10.1 Same happens with Spanish, you can speak it but write wrong (Car. TC.46, 57). o 10.2 Importance of making good use of the language. <p>9. Key is to keep ourselves busy with courses and cultural activities (Car. TC.47)</p> <p>10. She uses it with her Belgian boyfriend always (Car. TC.48, 52).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o 12.1 He lives 25 years here and was surprised by her fluency telling stories (Car. TC.54) o 12.2 She helped him perfection his orthography, she's very methodical (Car. TC.56). <p>10. She keeps and reviews her first dictates in the language to see her mistakes (Car. TC.63)</p>

CONCHITA	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reading newspaper, listening people, tries few short conversations (Con. TC.3) 2. Never went to class, tried to use it at work writing emails first. Started to give importance to the language (Con. TC.6) 3. Uses it at home. Sometimes conversations with husband and kids, but tries to keep Spanish with them. More Papiamentu with her husband. Sometimes Spanish(Con. TC.10) 4. She ends up mixing languages in one conversation (Con. TC. 10) 5. Husband was her Papiamentu teacher. Explaining and correcting her, leaving her alone in the shop (Con. TC.10) 6. Leaving the shame aside, he encourages her (Con. TC.10) 7. In the shop she perfected her Papiamentu and her English. Importance of practicing (Con. TC.11) 8. Uses it everyday constantly. At gym at the morning, in her job, in the shops, the bank, offices. (Con. TC. 13) 9. She uses Spanish with Italian friends, if there are local Bonarians in the spot they all use Papiamentu (Con. TC.24) 10. Locals speak fast, in the shop she asked them to speak slower or repeat words to her (Con. TC.27) 11. She learnt in 6 months. 12. She knew all prices of items of the shop in Papiamentu, when something else came up she felt nervous, but her husband encouraged her to loose fear (Con. TC.32) 13. Their kids have learnt all the 4 languages because they are surrounded by them(Con. TC. 44) 14. Americans feel fascinated by the island multilingualism (Con: TC.45)
ISA AND ELI	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. With time, your ears "tune" and start to understand what they say (Isa. TC.23) 2. They send short messages in Papiamentu between friends who also learn it (Isa. TC.39) 3. Not able for a fluid conversation yet, no time to go to class because they have two jobs. Isa is still afraid to respond in Papiamentu although she understands what they say (Isa. TC.39). 4. They have two books of exercises to practice on their free time (Isa. TC.41) 5. They ask for orientation to Bonarian friends (Isa. TC.42) 6. They always try the basics, greetings, asking for how is the day or the week with close friends (Isa. TC. 43) 7. When they go too fast and get lost they switch to Spanish (Isa. TC.43)
SUSAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Her Spanish became less fluent while her learnt Papiamentu became stronger (Sus. TC. 1) - Started with two language conversations Spanish-Papiamentu (Sus. TC.5) - When Papiamentu got better she couldn't communicate right in Spanish anymore (Sus. TC.6) - Immediately signed up for a group class with other 4 Americans (Sus. TC. 7) - Took 6 months group classes and private classes for 1,5 years (Sus. TC.7) - Took her 2 years to carry on a conversation. (Sus. TC.7) - She wouldn't say she's fluent but conversant (Sus. TC.7) - Doesn't see TV in Papiamentu. It's hard to read a book in Papiamentu for her. She reads the newspaper and speaks it almost daily (Sus. TC. 11) - She doesn't know many newcomers but people who lived here a long time like her (Sus. TC. 10) - She created the blog "Bonaire insider" as an online tourism blog. She translates Papiamentu to English for newcomers and visitors who don't speak Papiamentu get to know events and important information of the island (Sus. TC.20) - She's asked to translate Papiamentu to English and correct English texts for locals (Sus. TC.21)
GERJANNE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tried to learn it online before coming to Bonaire. Tried to use Papiamentu from the beginning (Ger. TC. 10) - Because she knew Spanish it made it easier to learn Papiamentu. Many words of Spanish in the language (Ger. TC.15) - Started private lessons on the basis of the online courses immediately. 20 lessons, really determined. After that she reads newspapers, listening radio, bring it to practice. You learn by using it (Ger. TC.16) - She has to say that she's not undervaluing them by using Papiamentu, she has to point that she wants to practice because she's learning (Ger. TC.21) - She told her colleagues on her new working place she wanted to use Papiamentu with them. They liked the idea (Ger. TC.23) - Uses Papiamentu work related mostly. (Ger. TC.25) - If she has to talk to a Chinese she has to do it in Papiamentu (Ger. TC.26)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Taalmaatje language platform to connect people in the island with different backgrounds. Language exchange. She noticed lots of language barriers in Latin Americans. Vulnerability in the job markets, kids having problems with Dutch homework(Ger. TC.35) - It was a Papiamentu-Dutch exchange but they were not interested because locals already know Dutch. So she did Spanish-Dutch to connect Latin Americans and Dutch and that really worked. Latin Americans need Dutch and Dutch want Spanish (Diary) - Bring people in contact with each other, language to reach a bigger goal, realize connection and collaboration in the island (Ger. TC.35) - You can not only learn from a book at class. Practicing is scary and difficult so with the platform she pushes people to practice, equivalent exchange (Ger. TC.36) - Help people go beyond their own shame feeling. Become more vulnerable. (Ger. TC.36)
PHILIP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They knew basic words before starting to learn it. Everyone greet each other here so they started with greetings. - They decided they really wanted to learn it so they look for the best education possible, and found Mina. - Mina taught them a lot of things about culture together with the language so this motivated them further. Kitchen, music, dances, history. - He mixed English, Spanish and Papiamentu in first conversations and still he does. - Learning language is like getting your driver's licence, you get it officially but then you only learn it when you use it a lot.
XIOMARA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Learn: Raised in Curaçao, surrounded by Papiamentu, learnt it quickly when she was 8. Their parents could also speak the language(Xio. TC.2) - Learnt by hearing the kids, repeating, quick to pick up (Xio. TC.7) - Did academy to become a teacher. Later specialized in Special education. Worked 12 years in Curaçao (Xio. TC.3) - Kids always spoken Papiamentu at home. Decision with husband. They will learn English from TV and daily hearing it (Xio. TC.5) - USE: She tried to sell her merchandising of Papiamentu in the tourist office but doesn't work (Xio. TC.28) - She notices all her materials are black and white copies, she wants to create something nice. She started Dutch-Papiamentu method. Majority of migrants are Dutch. She detects a hole in the market. She also starts a conversation course on main topics (Xio. TC.42) - She has to consider the other languages in the island. She can't please every language but decides to go for the most spoken: Spanish and Dutch. Creates the method in 2 more languages. (Xio. TC.42) - In Aruba use of Spanish is increasing the most, in 2019 she also creates the method books in 2 levels in 3 languages for the Aruban version of Papiamentu (Xio. TC.44) - Creates touristic attraction for tourist to get to know the language. They can learn words, take selfies, eat her specialty, taste a drink. She adds more layers than only language to make them interested (Xio. TC.46) - Tries to promote it by giving vouchers in the hotels (Xio. TC.45) - She would love to retire designing her learning methods for migrants for the 3 islands and promoting the language for tourists (Xio. TC.49) - She would love to the classes outside to relate Papiamentu to nature with a nice atmosphere (Xio. TC.52) - She's really bad with internet and promoting her business online, although she is great in "mouth to mouth, people knowing her (Xio. TC.58) - She slowly but surely wants to continue with the other islands with this task. She can't find promotion of the language in any of the three (Xio. TC.60) - She wants the patent of her food "lunchi sañe" as a key element of the attraction, tourist always look for local food (Xio. TC.60) - Printed TSHIRTS as a uniform for local Bonarrians to embrace their language for Mother tongue day (Xio. TC.59) - She works together with Mina as a team, although they work separated. She uses her methods. Then she examines Mina's students (Diary) - Adding "dushi" to papiamentu enforces its positive feeling she wants to transmit (Xio. TC.65) - Radio program to connect nations of the island to the language by translating to the main languages spoken right away (Xio. TC.66)

NEW PAPIAMENTU SPEAKER INFORMANTS	Carolina	Conchita	Isa & Eli	Susan	Xiomara	Philip	Gerjanne
Years in Bonaire	16	33	4	28	25	9	4
Nationality	Venezuelan	Spanish	Venezuelan	EEUU	Aruban(Dutch)	Dutch	Dutch
First language	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	English	English	Dutch	Dutch
Language most used in Bonaire	Papiamentu	Papiamentu	Spanish	English/Pap	Papiamentu	Dutch	Dutch
Attended Papiamentu classes	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
Considers him/herself fluent in Papiamentu	YES	YES	NO, still learning.	Considers herself "conversant" but not fluent.	YES	NO	YES
Papiamentu affects their sense of identity and belonging	YES -Activism -Speaks daily with Belgian boyfriend -Feels Bonarian	YES -Her sons are Papiamentu FLS -Thinks in Papiamentu -Feels Bonarian	YES -They want to honour locals and truly belong by learning it	YES -speaks it at home - translates PAP for newcomers	YES -Activism -Speaks it at home from decision with husband	YES - Bonaire is actual home, he never felt this in NL	YES - Activism - Life trajectory of learning several languages
Reactions from Papiamentu FLS when using Papiamentu	Positive	Positive	Positive	Generally positive, very few exceptions	Positive	Positive	Generally positive, few exceptions
Negative reactions about language use	Her ex-boyfriend would make her say difficult words to laugh at her accent.	From Dutch citizens because she couldn't communicate in Dutch.	From Dutch citizens because they couldn't communicate in Dutch	Some locals showed no patience with her when she wasn't fluent enough in Papiamentu.	Latin Americans, Dutch and North American long term residents in Bonaire refusing to learn Papiamentu.	No	PapJLS felt she undervalued them by not using Dutch.
Finds Dutch necessary for daily life	YES	YES	YES	YES	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked
Finds Papiamentu necessary for daily life	Not initially. Came with time	Not initially. Came with time	Not initially. Came with time.	YES	Not asked.	Not initially. Came with time	YES
Finds 10/10/10 a turning point for Bonaire daily life	YES	YES		YES	YES		