



## TRANSLATORS AS AGENTS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER: EVIDENCE FROM THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU

Courtney Garfield Parkins Ferrón

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DOCTORAL THESIS



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DOCTORAL THESIS

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## **Abstract**

The standardization of a creole language selects, codifies, elaborates and facilitates the acceptance of one creole variety as the standard. But what the process does not have the power to do is prevent its speakers from using, in their creole, lexical items from other languages. For a creole in the process of standardization, there are two kinds of transfer of lexical items. One kind involves the creole generating lexical forms from its historical resources. The other involves transferring lexical forms from languages to which the creole is not related. This double process is the focus of this research. The creole under study is Curaçaoan Papiamentu, which is the Caribbean creole that is the furthest promoted in terms of its standardization, fully official status and use in all domains in its society. It also co-exists with two other official languages, English and Dutch, to which it is not linguistically related.

This research investigates whether professional Papiamentu translators act as agents of lexical transfer into Papiamentu and, if so, also whether they do it in a subservient manner. The research adopts a mixed-methods, multilevel-model approach and is triangulated. The quantitative aspect is based on a questionnaire sample of 205 subjects, that is, 100 Papiamentu translators (51 exclusive translators and 49 translators-and-writers) and 105 Papiamentu non-translators. These were drawn from a total of 275 potential subjects, that is, 125 translators and 150 non-translators, which I assumed to be more or less the entire population of professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers in the country. The sample is analyzed through a set of significance tests. The qualitative aspect develops from an open-ended question in the questionnaire and an interview sample of selected language planning personnel. It also builds on an analysis of selected Papiamentu translated and non-translated texts.

The quantitative results show that in general the translators make more lexical transfers than do the non-translators, and that language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training play important roles in this. The qualitative results show that it is ultimately the official language-planning authorities who carry out, by consensus and not by fiat, the formal admission of all lexical items into Papiamentu. But in the grand scheme of things, what we find is an overlooked involvement of the translators rather than translator subservience, particularly given that this is a process in which the translators are on the “frontline”,



where they pre-empt whatever the language planners ultimately decide. Finally, the fact that some of the language planners themselves are also translators suggests a further connection between translation and the lexical-transfer process, and hence a confirmation of the translators as agents of lexical transfer.

**Keywords**

agency, creole translation, lexical transfer, Papiamentu, Papiamentu translation, sociology of translation

## Certificate of supervision



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October 14, 2014

I hereby certify that the present study TRANSLATORS AS AGENTS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER: EVIDENCE FROM THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURAÇAOAN PAPIAMENTU, presented by **Courtney PARKINS-FERRÓN** for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under the supervision of myself at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

The research and the thesis fulfill all the conditions for the award of an INTERNATIONAL DOCTORATE, in accordance with current Spanish legislation.



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## List of abbreviations

ABC-Islands	Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao Islands
ARL	Army Research Laboratory
BES-Islands	Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba Islands
CELC	Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CRC	Coordinating Research Council
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
EBMT	Example-Based Machine Translation
FALCon	Forward Area Language Converter
FLLA	Former Lexifier Language Acquisition
FPI	<i>Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma</i> (Institute for Language Planning)
ILA	<i>Instituto Lingwistiko Antiano</i> (Caribbean Linguistics Institute)
ISA	International Seabed Authority
KSP	<i>Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu</i> (Papiamentu Standardization Committee)
L1	Source language, native language
L2	Target language, second language
L3	Third language
MAHT	Machine Assisted Human Translation
MC	Mauritian Creole
MEMT	Multi-Engine Machine Translation
MT	Machine translation
OCR	Optimal Character Recognition
OCT	Overseas Country and Territory
OOV	Out-Of-Vocabulary
PDVSA	<i>Petróleos de Venezuela Sociedad Anónima</i> (Venezuela state oil corporation)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RTD	Research and Technological Development
SCL	Society for Caribbean Linguistics
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics (now only called SIL)
SMS	Short Message Service
SSS-Islands	Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten islands
T	Exclusive translator
tW	Translating writer
UBS	United Bible Societies
UNA	University of Curaçao (formerly University of the Netherlands Antilles)
UNCLOS III	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea III
URV	Universitat Rovira i Virgili
W	Non-translator
WMT11	Workshop on Statistical Machine Translation 11

WT	writer/translator
wT	writing translator

## 1. Introduction

I was born and raised in Jamaica, where I began my undergraduate education in Language and Linguistic Studies at the University of the West Indies at Mona. However, that was interrupted when I migrated to the United States. Thereafter, my career in languages continued to unfold but in ways I had not imagined.

Apart from the fact that I had grandparents who came from Cuba, I was always aware that I was bilingual especially because my father, who lived and worked in Cuba when I was a child, would return occasionally and use Spanish at home. I soon realized that I was interested in languages, and at the age of twelve, I committed myself to learning French autodidactically. What I did not know then (and most certainly was not supposed to know) was that I spoke yet another language – Jamaican. But why was I not aware of this?

Briefly, the lack of awareness was due to the fact that I grew up hearing Jamaican Creole being described at best as only a substandard dialect of the English language. At worst, it was described as a corruption of it, and therefore not fit for use in polite or formal domains. Never did I hear it described as a language, let alone one in its own right. In short, it was good for nothing more than such things as telling jokes and “dopi stuari” (ghost stories), for carrying out traditional African religious rituals, folk songs and local theatrical plays, as well as for abusing other people, with verbally colorful insults, when in disagreement with them. Apart from that, it was utterly useless. Or, was it? But that has never stopped me from using it. It has always been the primary language of my house and hence of my heart. To give that up would be to give away everything that was me. For me, it was a question of flexibility, being able to decide when to use Jamaican, English, Spanish or even French for that matter, as at one time or another I had neighbors and playmates from Cuba, Haiti and even Aruba of the former Netherlands Antilles. So, despite not being able to articulate formally then what I felt as a child with respect to Jamaican, I proudly regarded it as an irreplaceable mode of expression.

The fact that Jamaican is a legitimate language came home most clearly when I began traveling as a teenager to other parts of the Caribbean. I discovered first hand that my own English-based creole was not mutually intelligible with some others that were also English-based. In many ways, our grammars differed, as did the contributions from the underlying languages. That led me to conclude that regardless of their status and

long history of severe repression, these creoles had to be distinct authentic languages. That was when I became as concerned as I was curious about the status of all Caribbean creoles. I wanted to help uncover what was useful about these “useless” languages.

Now, my first professional training was in conference interpreting and translation (Spanish and English) at Language Today, Jamaica’s first translation and interpreting institution, against the backdrop of the University of the West Indies, Mona, where foreign language and literature programmes in French, German and Spanish had been available for decades. By that time, and particularly with Jamaica hosting the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III) in 1982 and the establishment of the International Seabed Authority (ISA), an intergovernmental body based in Kingston, Spanish was virtually regarded as the second language of Jamaica and French the third. A part of our news was even read daily in Spanish on the radio, and certain parts of our main daily newspapers appeared in Spanish, while Jamaican was used mostly for some local comic strips and other humoristic writings. However, with my translation training, I began to experiment with translation into Jamaican, despite the fact that the orthography was not standardized at the time. I found the task of translating ideas from English into Jamaican to be as challenging as it was personally rewarding.

Shortly after migrating to the US, I noticed that there was a high demand for Spanish translation and interpreting services. So, when I transferred to Temple University, I completed a dual major Bachelor of Arts degree in Economics and Spanish. But I have never lost my interest in the creoles. Therefore, immediately after my undergraduate studies, I decided to pursue graduate studies in linguistics also at Temple University. My studies took me to the University of Ghana at Legon in Accra, where I completed traveling seminars on African Civilization and African Philosophy. There I learned a great deal about the vestigial survivals of Akan and other West African languages in Jamaican and other Caribbean creoles.

In addition to being an explorer of the creoles, I wanted to be a highly qualified interpreter and translator. So, I heeded the advice of my former translation teachers, which was to build a strong information reserve in a specific discipline so that I would understand not only my source and target languages but also the language of the discipline in which I would translate and interpret. That was my real reason for pursuing studies in economics to the post-graduate level, also at Temple University. So, it is on this grounding in economics, along with the econometrics and statistics I learned, that

the various applications of statistics in my quantitative analysis in this dissertation are based.

Having worked as an administrative assistant in a few law firms in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, I subsequently worked as a freelance translator (Spanish and French) for about two decades and as an interpreter (Spanish, English and Jamaican) in various courts and many legal depositions for about half of that period. And here I must emphasize that I have actually carried out in the tri-state area of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, interpreting assignments for Jamaican and English, a task that is practically unheard of let alone practiced in Jamaica, where I have often heard the court system is lacking in this respect. From this experience, I decided on economics and law for my translation specializations. But my curiosity with respect to how Caribbean creoles survive from day to day has never waned.

By the time I found myself interpreting from and into Jamaican, I became even more interested in investigating Caribbean creole languages, but this time within the discipline of Translation Studies. Hence my translation and interpreting experience became the launching pad for pursuing the doctorate in Translation and Intercultural Studies at URV. Through Translation Studies, I found a way to bring my skill-sets together.

In 2006 I decided to live and work in Berlin, Germany, because I wanted to add German to my repertoire of languages while working as a freelance English language trainer and translator mainly of economics texts. The Ph.D. program at URV, with its limited residential requirements, was a most convenient arrangement for accomplishing this. After much deliberation about the creole on which I would conduct my research, I narrowed it down not to my own but to one that stands out as a positive example in the Caribbean – Curaçaoan Papiamentu. I have explained the reasons for this decision in 1.3.

As I had noticed the profuse attention that Caribbean creoles have received in certain fields of study, such as Linguistics and Comparative Literature, without any mention of translation, I felt that investigation of them within Translation Studies had been insufficient. As is the case with all modern languages, translation is part of the reality of these creoles. In some cases the role of translation is vibrant and the translators' practices frequently lead to unexpected outcomes, even as some of the creoles undergo standardization. In linguistics and literary studies, stories have been told about translators. But the creoles also have their own stories to tell. Therefore, it is

necessary to put their translation practices into focus within Translation Studies and, within that frame, to let the creoles speak for themselves.

### 1.1 Audacious telltale signs of translator agency

Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008: 73), in a literature survey, succinctly remark that

The translator is referred to as a “shadowy presence” (Steiner, quoted in Bassnett 2002: 77), invisible, seldom recognized (Venuti 1995: 1, 17) or anonymous (e.g. Koskinen 2000: 60), modest, self-effacing (Godard 1990 in Hatim 2001: 52) isolated (Risku 2004: 190), unappreciated (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000: 92), passive (Risku 2004: 190) and powerless (Snell-Hornby 2006: 172). (cit. Liu 2011: 1)

The works mentioned attest to the fact that between the many translation scholars and practitioners there is truly no dearth of research and thought on translator agency, understood as a capacity to bring about change. To these can also be added the seminal work of Simeoni (1998), and the valuable contributions of others such as Sager (1994), Cronin (2003), Milton and Bandia (2009), Paloposki (2009), Chesterman (2010), Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010), Pym (2010), Tymoczko ed. (2010), Immonen (2011), Simon (2012) and Buzelin (2014). One striking characteristic of these claims noted by Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) is that of gloom. While the claims themselves are tightly linked to translator agency, they paint a less-than-hopeful picture of the status of translators in general. I accept the depiction as appropriate and true to life in various parts of the world. The research efforts of the claimants suggest this is the case. However, there is at least one translation context that tends to paint quite a different picture of the situation – Curaçao.

On the island of Curaçao, the works and worth of translators and non-translators alike are often celebrated, particularly when collaborative efforts are associated with the promotion of their culture and creole – Papiamentu. The people of Curaçao see their creole as a highly valued medium of their cultural expression. In fact, while conducting my research fieldwork on the island, I was privileged to be invited by the Curaçaoan language planning authorities, the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (Institute for Language Planning – FPI), in February 2012 to the official opening of the *Dia Internashonal di Idioma Materno* (International Day of the Mother Tongue). There I

was able to witness the interaction among the attendees, many of whom were language planners, translators, journalists, poets, novelists, high-school and university teachers, government officials and other professionals. The day's celebration culminated in a well-attended national Papiamentu dictation competition.

Curaçao has consciously promoted its language by declaring and using it as the nation's official first language in every domain of the society. The novelty of these milestones has not worn off. But while the nation promotes its language, many telltale signs of the translator's agency in terms of lexical transfer are visible every day in texts produced in Papiamentu. Witness the normal occurrence of English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in the following texts on public health information.

Figure 1. Example of non-translational lexical transfer in a hospital flyer

---

**Prosedura pa “Upgrading”**


Hospital konosé tres nivel di klas di kamber: 1e, 2e i 3e klas depende di e tipo di seguro.  
Kamber di 1 e klas: ta kamber di 1 persona; kamber di 2e klas: ta akomodá 2-4 persona den un kamber  
Kamber di 3e klas: ta akomodá 6 òf mas pashènt den un kamber/sala.

Si un pashènt ta opta pa un “upgrading” (= drumi den un klas mas haltu ku su seguro ta kubri), ta konta e siguiente regla:


- ▶ mester regla e trámitenan na Departamento di Atmishon.
- ▶ aki ta duna informashon di tarifa i e depósito(‘ down payment’) ku mester paga.
- ▶ ta laga e pashènt òf persona di kontakto firma e formularionan korespondiente.
- ▶ mester paga na Kaha di Departamento Finansiero. Orario: 8 or di mainta - 4 or di atardi.

Kaha na Poliklínika : Orario: 5 or di atardi te 8 or di mainta.

**Tuma nota:** “Upgrading” di klas ta enserá subida den e tarifa di konsulta di e spesialisista médiko.  
E spesialisista su faktura **no** ta inklui den e faktura di Hospital!



1e klas



2e klas

---

Source: St. Elizabeth Hospital, Willemstad, Curaçao

The portion of the text that is relevant here is the following:

Si un pashent ta opta pa un “upgrading” (= drumi den un klas mas haltu ku su seguro ta kubri), ta konta e siguiente regla:

If a patient opts for “upgrading” (that is, to a class higher than that allowed by their insurance), the following rule applies: [my translation].

The English expression “upgrading” appears in the heading of the notice and again in the body, where it is briefly explained. The text continues with the following information:

...aki ta duna informashon di tarifa i e depósito (“down payment”) ku mester paga.



... here is some information on the rate and the deposit (“down payment”) that you must pay. [my translation]

The English expression “down payment” is written in parentheses, apparently suggesting that it is the expression that is used for the preceding Papiamentu lexical item “depósito”.

However, sometimes the transferred lexical items are not explained in the Papiamentu text. Figure 2 shows a non-translational example of this. The text is an extract from a public health flyer about cardiovascular check-ups. The English lexical items “check”, “manager”, “bodyfat”, “gym” and even the abbreviations “BMI” (body mass index) and “ECG” (electrocardiogram) are used without any morphological modification whatsoever. Certainly there are Papiamentu expressions for all these terms and abbreviations. Nevertheless, these are some kinds of lexical transfers that occur frequently in Papiamentu translations and non-translations.

Figure 2. Example of public-health medical non-translation text in Papiamentu

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## **Cardio Check**

Ta organisa un Cardio Check pa Managers kaminda kompanianan ku ta spònsa FK nK por manda nan managers pa un chèkmentu liber di un ofisina di dokter òf hospital. Nos ta chek e.o. peso, BMI, sintura, % di Bodyfat, preshon, glukosa, kolesteròl, ECG i un test di kondishon. Nos profeshonal ku ta traha den kuido di salu manera kardiolognan, enfermeronan ku ta hasi i evalua tur e testnan den un knipi di wowo. For di nos Gym ront Kòrsou tin diferente representante ku ta laga sera konosi ku e arte di MOVE i e matrial, aparatonan mas nobo pa bo skohe bo deporte mas miho. Nan tur ta duna konseho i ta bai kas ku tur e resultado.

---

Source: *Fundashon Kuida Nos Kurason* (Curaçao Heart Foundation) 2009

As this study is grounded in Translation Studies, I will show instances of lexical transfer through translation that seem to attest to the translator’s agency. Figure 3 is an extract from a source text in English along with its Papiamentu translation of

information about the Influenza A H1N1 virus (Figure 4). I have underlined the English lexical items that appear unmodified in the translation exactly as they also appear in the source text. In this instance, however, the transferred items are explained to the reader.

Figure 3. Example of a public-health medical source text in English

# Influenza A [H1N1]

## General Information, Symptoms and prevention

### How do I get infected?

The Influenza A (H1N1) virus has an “airborne” transmission, which means that it exits the body of an infected person while this person is talking but especially when sneezing and coughing.

The virus enters the body of a healthy person through the eyes, the nose and mouth. This will happen when people do not follow hygiene rules when coughing, sneezing or for hand washing.

### What happens then?

The GGD will start the necessary investigations once it's established that we are dealing with a probable case of Influenza A (H1N1).

### What will happen during this investigation?

You can expect:

- a visit at home (or at the hospital if the patient is hospitalized)
- the public health nurse of the GGD, will ask questions as well as explain things to the patient and his/her family.
- take the patient's temperature
- take a nose or throat sample in order to perform the necessary laboratory tests.
- the nurse will dispense the necessary medication after approval by your doctor

The public health nurse will follow up on the patient until his/her recuperation.

**Stop the spread of germs that make you and others sick!**

Source: www.curacao-gov.an (2012)

Figure 4. Example of lexical transfer in the Papiamentu translation of the public-health medical text

# Influenza A [H1N1]

## Informashon general, síntomanan i prevenshon

### Kon mi ta pega ku e virùs?

E virùs di grip ta pega via airu òf lokual ekspertonan ta yama “airborne”. Esaki kemen ku e virùs ta sali for di e kurpa di un hende malu ora e papia pero prinsipalmente ora e ta nister òf tosa.

E virùs ta drenta kurpa di un hende sano via di wowo, nanishi i boka.

Esaki por sosodé por ehèmpel ora no ta sigui reglanan di higiena di tosa i/òf reglanan di laba man.

### Kiko ta pasa e ora ei?

A base di e informashon ku e pashent duna por determiná si ta trata di un kaso posibel di Influènza A (H1N1). Una bes determiná esaki, GGD ta kuminsá ku su trabou di investigashon di e kaso i posibel kontaktonan.

### Kiko esaki a enserá?

Esaki ta enserá:

- un bishita na kas (na hospital si e pashènt ta interná).
- Akinan e “public health nurse” esta e zùster/bruder di GGD, lo hasi pregunta i duna splikashon na pashènt i su famia.
- midi e temperatura i
- tuma un muestra pa e tèst di laboratorio.
- Ademas lo entrega e remedi nesario una bes e dòkter duna su aprobashon.

E public health nurse lo keda vigilá e pashènt su estado di salú te ora ku e bira bon.

**Stòp di plama mikrobio ku ta hasi abo y otronan malu!**

Source: [www.curacao-gov.an](http://www.curacao-gov.an) (2012)

The texts provided above in Figures 1 to 4 are just a few examples of everyday occurrences. It would not be accurate to say that Papiamentu translators adopt a do-as-you-like attitude towards lexical transfer in the practice of their translation profession. I would be hard-pressed to qualify them by the adjectives that Dam and Korning Zethsen (2008) gathered (objectively of course) from the literature. For one thing, the geographical and population size of the island of Curaçao allows it a certain “intimacy” between its general populace and those in leading positions in the private and public

sectors, and also between professionals and non-professionals. The larger a Caribbean territory is, the less likely it is to have this kind of intimacy. Still, the question remains: Why do translators engage in lexical transfer from English? And as minor questions, it would be interesting to learn whether this is done just as much from Dutch, the first official language of the nation, as from Spanish and Portuguese, the last two to which the creole is linguistically related. The present study addresses these questions as well.

## **1.2 The aim of the study**

The frequency with which lexical transfer takes place in Curaçaoan Papiamentu sometimes leads to the transferred lexical items becoming widely and often used in the language. However, their eventual formal admission into the standard creole lexicon ideally takes place only after the careful decisions and approval of the official language-planning authorities. In the long run, what the on-going transfer and the formal admission of lexical items into the creole seem to accomplish together is the maintenance of the language in a continuous process of standardization, which may attest to the agency of the translators and non-translators who assist this process.

To give an idea of the direction of the present study, I will state here my research questions and mention briefly my main research methods. Suspecting that translators act as agents of lexical transfer, I pose the following questions:

- 1) Do creole translators transfer lexical items from an unrelated language into their creole translations?
- 2) Do they do this more than creole non-translators do in their creole texts?
- 3) What is the creole translators' and non-translators' justification for transferring lexical items from an unrelated language into their creole texts?
- 4) How do creole translators assist the lexical transfer process of their creole?

Further, I posit that the factors affecting the lexical transfer process are likely to include language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training.

The study will compare translators with non-translators, which should tell us something about the specificity of translational behavior. Focusing on the difference between translators and non-translators as agents of lexical transfer, the study will show

the way in which both groups find specific solutions to the same kinds of problems they encounter on a day-to-day basis. The subsequent interplay between the translators and the language-planning authorities involves the ultimate determination of which lexical items are admitted into the standard variety of the creole. I suspect that this lexical transfer implies an overlooked involvement of translation in this process, hence the agency of the translators on the “frontline”, where they function as vibrant and possibly innovative users of the lexical items they transfer.

In this study, the transfer of lexical items is from English, a source language to which Papiamentu is not linguistically related.

The main research methods are questionnaires, interviews, and the analysis of translational and non-translational texts. The study involves a total of 205 subjects, that is, 100 Papiamentu translators (51 exclusive translators and 49 translators-and-writers) and 105 Papiamentu non-translators.

### 1.3 Why Papiamentu?

As there are only four Caribbean creoles that are both standardized and official (Papiamentu/u, Haitian Creole, Palenquero, and Islander Creole), I had intended at first to study all four. I conducted a pilot study on Haitian Creole and the three varieties of Papiamentu/u (Aruban Papiamentu, Bonairian Papiamentu and Curaçaoan Papiamentu) only because they are the most frequently promoted in terms of their standardization, fully official status, and use in all domains in their societies. The three islands, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, have concurrently made progress with the standardizing of their language variety and using it in all domains of their society. As they do this, they constantly develop texts and ways to promote and sustain the use of the language. However, I have now opted for Papiamentu and specifically for the Curaçaoan variety, since the amount of time and expense involved in conducting fieldwork on all three varieties posed formidable constraints.

My stay in Curaçao (November and December 2011, and February and March 2012) seemed hardly sufficient even to investigate the standard variety of Papiamentu on this island. When the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* graciously accepted my request to conduct my fieldwork through their institute and gave me a tour of their offices and facilities, it immediately became clear to me that there was abundant information in and about Papiamentu. Thus, I decided that in the interest of the

timeframe for completing this dissertation, it would be wiser for me to focus on one creole variety only, but also to provide an overview of the general situation of the others.

While visiting the island, I had the opportunity to witness free interaction in Papiamentu in all domains of society: in government institutions (workers with customers), politics (politicians with constituents), education (teachers with students), law (lawyers with clients), medicine (doctors, nurses and pharmacists with patients), journalism and the electronic media (journalists and reporters with the masses). Thus, Curaçao serves as an outstanding example where the move to standardize a Caribbean creole and make it official has opened the way for its legitimate acceptance as a mature modern language for much wider use. As such, the language functions as a stable independent medium, fully capable of expression in its standard dialect and orthography, after centuries of undue repression.

#### **1.4 The island country of Curaçao**

Curaçao is an island situated in the southern Caribbean Sea off the coast of Venezuela. Figure 5 shows a rough map of the country. Called *Pais Kòrsou* in Papiamentu, it consists of its main island plus the small uninhabited island of Little Curaçao (*Klein Curaçao*), both of which lie well outside of the hurricane belt. The capital city is Willemstad. The island is about 64 km (40 miles) long, and the total land area is approximately 444 km<sup>2</sup> (171 mi<sup>2</sup>), that is, slightly larger than half of the urban area of Barcelona in Catalonia, or slightly more than twice the size of Washington D.C. Geographically, Curaçao belongs to what is known as the ABC-Islands: Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. These islands were part of the former Netherlands Antilles, or Dutch Antilles, which consisted of six major islands altogether. The other three lie approximately 1,000 km (621 mi) northeast of Curaçao. They are Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten – the SSS-Islands. Figure 6 shows the island of Curaçao in geographic relation to the SSS-Islands and other territories in the Caribbean basin. The people of Curaçao are called Curaçaoans. The population of the country is approximately 147,858 (Central Bureau of Statistics 2011) and consists mostly of African-descendants. Other groups are Asians, Dutch nationals from the Netherlands, Jews, Latin Americans, Lebanese, Portuguese, and other peoples of the Caribbean and South America.

Figure 5. Curaçao Island



Source: World Factbook (2011)

Figure 6. Curaçao in geographic relation to other territories in the Caribbean basin



Source: Caribbean-Direct (2006)

#### 1.4.1 Government

When Curaçao and Sint Maarten took on *status aparte* on 10 October 2010, this act, along with Aruba's from 1 January 1986, signaled the end of the Dutch Antilles. By this

dissolution, Curaçao and Sint Maarten became constituent island countries, each with its own parliament. As such, Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten have become constitutional equal partners with each other and also with the Kingdom of the Netherlands itself. Curaçao has a legal system based on Dutch civil law with some English common law influence. It has full autonomy in its internal affairs, although the Dutch Government is responsible for defense and foreign affairs. As in the case of the other five islands, Curaçao is documented as an overseas country and territory (OCT), a status granted after dissolution and which will hold until at least 2015. Also, the acts of parliament and royal assent of 17 May 2010 made Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba into “special municipalities”, or “public bodies” of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Thus, collectively they are officially and politically called the BES-Islands (that is, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba), or the Caribbean Netherlands (BBC News Latin America & Caribbean 2010; see also Official Gazette of the Kingdom of the Netherlands 2010).

#### *1.4.2 Demographics*

##### *1.4.2.1 Languages*

The three official languages of Curaçao are Papiamentu, Dutch and English. However, owing to the ever-increasing tourism, Spanish is positively tolerated and widely spoken by migrants from Latin America as well as by Curaçaoans themselves. As a result, many Curaçaoans are fluent in Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish.

##### *1.4.2.2 Ethnicities*

Haviser (2004) stresses that Curaçao is not a crucible of cultures but a mosaic of people living together in the same place. The mosaic tiles represent their unique ethnicities united by Curaçao culture. However, not all tiles are equally favored.

Curaçao culture developed through the miscegenation of Africans, Jews, and Europeans, producing a widely racially mixed population. Additionally, the oil refinery established early last century encouraged the influx of many other ethnic groups, with some demanding social positions closer to the Dutch colonials. Thus, a 1949 law was passed requiring Curaçaoans born thereafter to assume their father’s nationality. This forced Curaçaoans of foreign-born parents to assume separate nationalities and gave rise to the expression of privilege, *yu di Kòrsou* (child of Curaçao), which refers only to Black Curaçaoans, to the symbolic exclusion of other Curaçaoans.



Now, of two existing versions of *yu di Kòrsou*, the one considered legitimate requires the father's birth in Curaçao, and an extremist view of it requires that the mother also be a *yu di Kòrsou*. The second version also stresses meaningful participation in Curaçao society, regardless of birthplace or ethnicity. Under severe group crisis, the birth factor nevertheless serves as an apparent mechanism to exclude this second type of *yu di Kòrsou* as needed.

There is a distinction between being a *yu di Kòrsou* and being a member of the broader Curaçao culture group. The former has earlier roots and is relatively exclusive to those of African descent, although some distinctive early White European descendants are also considered *yu di Kòrsou*. The latter includes contributions from all other ethnic groups. However, a Curaçaoan-born *yu di Kòrsou* who has had their early cultural development overseas finds it hard to integrate into the Curaçao culture group (see also Taylor 2008).

#### 1.4.3 Economy

Curaçao is mostly a service economy. The labor force is approximately 62,040 people (2011 estimate): 1.2% in agriculture, 16.9% in industry (primarily petroleum refining and transshipment facilities), and 81.8% in services (mainly financial and also tourism). The country has an unemployment rate of 9.8% (2011 estimate). Imports include crude oil, while exports include petroleum products and foods such as aloe, sorghum, peanuts, vegetables and tropical fruits. The gross domestic product at purchasing power parity (PPP) is approximately US\$3.2 billion (2012 estimate), and the per capita income is about US\$15,000 per year (2004 estimate). The currency used on the island is the Caribbean Guilder, which replaced the Netherlands Antillean Guilder in 2013.

Curaçao has an excellent natural harbor that receives large oil tankers. The Venezuela state oil corporation, *Petróleos de Venezuela Sociedad Anónima* (PDVSA), leases from the government the island's only refinery and thereby supplies most of the island's petroleum needs. Most of the refined products are exported to the United States. As regards imports, Curaçao purchases most of its consumer and capital goods from the US, Brazil, Italy and Mexico. Currently, the government is attempting to diversify its industry and trade and has signed an Association Agreement with the European Union to do business with it.

The island has well-developed infrastructure. However, poor soils and inadequate water supplies hamper the development of agriculture. To sustain itself with fresh water,

the country desalinates and purifies water drawn from the surrounding Caribbean Sea. Also, budgetary problems hinder reform of the health and education systems, while pension system reforms are pending. Nonetheless, the nation attained a milestone when it implemented a new basic health package in 2013 (CIA 2013).

#### 1.4.4 Education

Papiamentu has been the language of instruction in most kindergartens and primary schools in Curaçao since August 2004. The *Kolegio Erasmo*, founded in 1987, was the first Papiamentu-only elementary school. However, the language used as the first medium of instruction in a school depends on each particular school board.

There are several school boards that function together as *De Gezamenlijke Schoolbesturen Op Curacao* (Joint School Boards of Curaçao). One is a public school board, another is Roman Catholic, and the other Protestant, and parents decide which school their children attend. Most of the schools on the island are private. Parents may opt for a Dutch-only school for their children, but there are also bilingual schools. If a school is bilingual, it follows one of two models. In Model 1, all students learn to read and write first in Papiamentu and later in Dutch. In Model 2, all students learn to read and write in Dutch first (*Antilliaans Dagblad*, 28 February 2012: 27). However, in the education system in general, English has been one of the media of instruction since 1983 (see Dijkhoff and Pereira 2010).

Also, although many Curaçaoans travel away to the Netherlands to pursue advanced studies, the main university on the island is the University of Curaçao (formerly University of the Netherlands Antilles – UNA), which offers a wide variety of programs in disciplines from law to engineering to social sciences to medicine. Further, there are other universities that confer degrees in law and medicine. The St. Martinus University School of Medicine in Willemstad was first established in 1842 as the St. Martinus College, the first school of the Netherlands Antilles, and for over 150 years was run by an order of nuns of the Catholic Church, the Sisters of Roosendaal. In the 1990s, the Sisters decided to hand over the institution to a team of professionals with the mission of turning the institution into a medical and health sciences university. The institution was formally chartered in 2000 by the government of the Netherlands Antilles and has a student body of 150 medical students. Also, the Caribbean Medical University was founded in 2007 and is also located in Willemstad. It is approved by the Government of the former Netherlands Antilles and the Government of the Island of

Curaçao. This institution has approximately 250 students. The University of the Dutch Caribbean is also another university with a campus in Willemstad but serves the other Dutch-speaking Caribbean islands as well. The institution has an estimated student population of 375 and grants degrees in business and law.

### **1.5 The demand for translation services in the Caribbean**

To give an idea of the place and need for translation in the Caribbean, I will provide some information about the demand for translation services at the time of the pilot study. Parker (2008) provides estimates for the demand for translation services and the percent share that a given territory has of the market in the Caribbean and the world.

As the main study began in 2009 and Parker's report was published in 2008, it is clear that the data for 2009 were forecasts based on market performance from previous years. It must also be noted here that Parker's estimates are based on modeling of macroeconomic data only. The data in tables 1 and 2 were extracted from Parker's estimates for two groups: Latin America, and North America and the Caribbean. This means that in order to make sure that only the Caribbean proper is represented, I selected only the group of countries that comprised all the islands of the Greater and Lesser Antilles as well as of the continental shelves of the Americas. Therefore, included in this list are Mexico, which has a coastline as well as a political and economic life with the Caribbean; Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama of the eastern continental shelf of North and Central America; and Colombia, French Guiana, Guyana, Suriname and Venezuela of the northern continental shelf of South America.

Table 1 shows each territory according to its geographical location, the theoretical size of the translation market, the percent of their market share in the Caribbean and the world, as well as their rank in the Caribbean. From this table, it can be seen that with a capital of US\$64.28 million, the territories of the eastern continental shelf of North and Central America have roughly 61% of the market for translation services in the Caribbean, followed by those of the northern continental shelf of South America, the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles (which includes Curaçao), and the Bahamas in the northern Caribbean.

Table 2 shows that the total turnover for translation services in the Caribbean is approximately US\$103 million. The median is US\$165,000, and the mean is US\$2.918

million. However, the status of Mexico as an outlier with US\$55.98 million and ranking number 1, with nine other countries (all Spanish-speaking) following behind, is clearly not representative of the Caribbean region. In this table, I have divided the data into quartiles so that the territories can be seen in their proper perspective. Thus, the table shows that although Curaçao's funding of US\$110,000 amounted to 0.1% of the Caribbean market and was negligible on the world market for translation services, the country lies in the interquartile range of funding, falls relatively close to the median (indicated by the dashed line) and ranks 21st in the region. Parker (2008: 152) also indicates that an estimated 94.7% of all translation services in Curaçao are provided in the capital, Willemstad. This estimate aligns with the fact that all of my questionnaire respondents reported Willemstad as their work location although not necessarily their place of residence.

Table 1. Estimated 2009 demand for translation services by Caribbean regions

The Caribbean Region		US\$ (million)	% of the Caribbean	% of the World	Rank in Caribbean
Eastern continental shelf of North / Central America	Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Belize	64.28	61.20	2.41	1
Northern continental shelf of South America	Venezuela, Colombia, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana	28.08	26.73	1.05	2
Greater Antilles	Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Cayman Islands	10.20	9.72	0.37	3
Lesser Antilles	Trinidad & Tobago, Martinique, Barbados, Guadeloupe, Curaçao, Aruba, US Virgin Islands, Antigua & Barbuda, Saint Lucia, Grenada, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, British Virgin Islands, Saint Kitts & Nevis, Dominica, Sint Maarten, Caribbean Netherlands: Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, Saba	2.18	2.07	0.07	4
Northern Caribbean	Bahamas	0.29	0.28	0.01	5
Total		105.03	100.00	3.91	

Source: Parker (2008: 116-154 )

Table 2. Estimated 2009 demand for translation services in the Caribbean (in quartiles)

Territory	US\$ (million)	% of the Caribbean	% of the World	Rank in the Caribbean
Mexico	55.98	53.30	2.09	1
Venezuela	14.22	13.54	0.53	2
Colombia	13.48	12.83	0.50	3
Dominican Republic	3.61	3.44	0.13	4
Puerto Rico	3.14	2.99	0.12	5
Guatemala	2.83	2.69	0.11	6
Costa Rica	2.35	2.24	0.09	7
Cuba	2.16	2.06	0.08	8
Panama	1.23	1.17	0.05	9
Honduras	1.04	0.99	0.04	10
Trinidad and Tobago	0.96	0.91	0.04	11
Nicaragua	0.75	0.71	0.03	12
Haiti	0.66	0.63	0.02	13
Jamaica	0.55	0.52	0.02	14
Bahamas	0.29	0.28	0.01	15
Martinique	0.28	0.27	0.01	16
Barbados	0.23	0.22	0.01	17
Guyana	0.17	0.16	0.01	18
Guadeloupe	0.16	0.15	0.01	19
Suriname	0.14	0.13	0.01	20
Curacao	0.11	0.10	0.00	21
Belize	0.10	0.10	0.00	21
Aruba	0.09	0.09	0.00	23
Cayman Islands	0.08	0.08	0.00	24
French Guiana	0.07	0.07	0.00	25
US Virgin Islands	0.06	0.06	0.00	26
Antigua and Barbuda	0.05	0.05	0.00	27
Saint Lucia	0.05	0.05	0.00	27
Grenada	0.04	0.04	0.00	29
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.04	0.04	0.00	29
British Virgin Islands	0.03	0.03	0.00	31
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.03	0.03	0.00	31
Dominica	0.02	0.02	0.00	33
Other	0.02	0.02	0.00	33
Sint Maarten	0.01	0.01	0.00	35
Caribbean Netherlands	0.00	0.00	0.00	36
Total	105.03	100.00	3.91	
Median	0.165	0.155	0.010	
Mean	2.918	2.778	0.109	

Source: Parker (2008)

## 1.6 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 2 of this dissertation is the literature review, which provides an overview of some early seminal contributions to Caribbean creole studies. It also covers previous research on Translation Studies, Caribbean creole lexical transfer, standardization and translational behavior. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, including the research design and framework of the present study. Chapter 4 presents the

administration and results of the questionnaire used in the study. Chapter 5 presents the administration and the results of the interviews conducted for this research. Chapter 6 covers discussions of the findings, and Chapter 7 presents the conclusion of the study.

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TRANSLATORS AS AGENTS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER  
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DL: T 980-2015

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with previous research that is relevant to the present study. The studies relate to the larger ongoing dialogue in the literature with respect to Caribbean creoles. Additionally, they provide the framework for establishing the importance of the present research. Section 2.2 presents a historical overview of early seminal contributions to Caribbean creole studies. Section 2.3 discusses research on Caribbean creole Translation Studies. Areas of research examined are literary, Biblical, as well as translation research and technological development (RTD). Section 2.4 covers research on Caribbean creole lexical transfer and Section 2.5 deals with research impacting Caribbean creole lexical transfer. Section 2.6 covers research impacting Caribbean creole standardization. Section 2.7 deals with research on translational behavior. This includes research on norms of translation, translation universals and on-going debates about the translator's agency. The chapter ends with a summary of the review.

### 2.2 A historical overview of early seminal contributions to Caribbean creole studies

Caribbean creole languages are relatively young. None of them is more than 500 years old. However, to give an idea of the kinds of studies that were engaged in during the last few centuries, I have decided to mention in this section a few seminal works.

Written studies actually date back only as far as the eighteenth century. As for works from the earliest period when anyone would dare write something about a creole, Cassidy (1996) speaks, with the utmost deference, of the exemplary creole works of researchers such as Pieter Van Dijk and C. L. Schumann. Van Dijk published a glossary of Sranan Tongo in 1778. Another researcher, J. A. Riemer, published a Saramaccan dictionary, *Wörterbuch zur Erlernung der Saramakka-Neger-Sprache* (Dictionary for Learning Saramaccan Negro Language) in 1779. In 1783 Schumann's Sranan-German dictionary, *Neger-Englisches Wörterbuch* (Negro-English Dictionary), was published. Interesting, however, is the fact that Schumann's publication had actually been predated by his translations of portions of the Bible. Still other prominent researchers such as the French naturalist Justin Girod-Chantrons, who published his *Voyage d'un Suisse dans*



*différentes colonies d'Amérique* (Voyage of a Swiss to various colonies of America) in 1785, were particularly observant of the emergence of such issues as the term creole, as much as of the French creole language itself was used in Saint Domingue during his sojourn there.

Later on, two other Sranan dictionaries were published. These were H. C. Focke's 1855 Sranan-Dutch dictionary, *Neger-Engelsch Woordenboek* (Negro-English Dictionary) and H. R. Wullschlägel's 1856 German-Sranan dictionary, *Deutsch-Negerenglisches Wörterbuch* (German - Negro-English Dictionary). In 1914 Schuchardt published a Saramaccan-German dictionary – *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam* (The Language of the Saramaccan Negro in Suriname).

As the present research is grounded in Papiamentu, the works of certain other researchers such as Curaçao's Rodolfo Lenz and Gerrit Jansen, are worth mentioning here. Lenz's book, *El papiamentu: la lengua criolla de Curazao* (Papiamentu: the creole language of Curaçao), was published in 1928. Jansen published two dictionaries: *Diccionario Papiamentu-Hulandés* (Papiamentu-Dutch Dictionary) in 1945 and *Nederlands Papiaments handwoordenboek* (Dutch-Papiamentu Pocket Dictionary) in 1947. I have made reference to Lenz and Jansen in the previous chapter for their seminal works on standard orthographies, the dictionaries they have produced and the many aspects of Papiamentu/o grammar that they have thoroughly described. Certainly, these researchers did not possess the linguistic or translation training that is at the disposal of present-day researchers, but without their dictionaries and other recorded texts, neither linguistics (let alone Caribbean creole studies) nor Caribbean Translation Studies could have come this far.

There was another wave of well-known researchers who were steeped in linguistics and its methods of their time. One such researcher was Suzanne Sylvain, who published her work on Haitian Creole morphology and syntax (*Le créole haïtien: Morphologie et syntaxe*) in 1936. Another was Douglas Taylor, who published his "Structural outline of Caribbean Creole" in 1951. Hall, Jr. published his Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary in 1953 (see Cassidy 1996; Kouwenberg and Murray 1994; Kouwenberg 2008).

Missionaries sent to far-away places tended to be among the first to undertake the tasks of producing grammars and dictionaries, working out orthographies as well as writing down and preserving texts that researchers much later have had the good fortune to have at their disposal (Cassidy 1996).

However, the scholarly interest of creole researchers was not really awakened until the convening of an event commonly referred to as the “Mona Conference”. This was organized by Robert Le Page and was held in Jamaica from 28 March to 4 April 1959 (see Le Page 1961). It was the first formal event that brought together researchers of creole languages, mostly from the Caribbean. During that time, Bailey published two books on Jamaican Creole, in 1962 and 1966. The overwhelming success of the conference led Le Page to organize a much larger one, again in Mona, from 9 to 16 April 1968. Out of the proceedings of both conferences came the 1971 publication of *The Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, edited by Dell Hymes.

Following those three events in the 1970s was a retrospective focus on Van Name’s (1869-1870) notion that there was a contributory connection between the social forces that gave rise to the creoles and the features that they all share. This was the ushering in of creole sociolinguistics as a valid field of study. But as this was taking place, another old interest was awakened – that of the link between the Caribbean creoles and African languages (see Cassidy 1996; Kouwenberg 2008). The focus was no longer narrowly on any one set of languages but on the way in which languages at one point or another have come into contact with each other (Kouwenberg 2008). Thus, with respect to the Caribbean, these events and the ensuing years of further creole studies have shaped the way in which researchers and non-researchers alike have come to think about and deal with the creoles that have been an intrinsic part of Caribbean life for the last few centuries. Such was the early development of creole studies with respect to the region. Caribbean creole Translation Studies, however, came much later to feature in the grand scheme of things.

Now, I have mentioned in the introduction that Caribbean linguists have been on a mission, as it were, to raise awareness of the value of standardizing the creoles. I have also mentioned that matters of bilingualism and standardization have been traditionally dealt with within the context of linguistics and without acknowledgment of the translation that is involved in the process. Despite this trend, it is usually around such circumstances as the need for standardization that much of Caribbean creole Translation Studies emerges. I now turn to discuss previous research in Translation Studies pertinent to the Caribbean creoles.

## 2.3 Caribbean creole Translation Studies

While the present research is concerned only with translation from English into a creole (Curaçaoan Papiamentu), this review covers Translation Studies related to translation both into and from creoles. It is noteworthy here that there is no shortage of such research with respect to the Caribbean creoles. In fact, the more Caribbean creole Translation Studies comes into contact with other disciplines, the more it widens and deepens. Caribbean creoles, particularly those that are either only standardized or both standardized and officialized, are rich in ongoing writing activities. It is easy to find whole texts written in non-creole languages, for example, English, Spanish, Dutch or French, that have been translated into a creole, say Papiamentu/o, Dominican French Creole, Saint Lucian French Creole or even Haitian Creole, and also whole texts written in one of these creoles and translated into some non-creole language. But it is interesting that even in certain milieux and perhaps especially where the creoles are not standardized, the very nature of the creoles as languages in contact has commonly given rise to source texts that are mostly primarily written in some non-creole standard language but with creole woven into them. Such a mix of languages in one and the same text easily makes for complex and complicated challenges in translation, which cannot be met without taking into consideration such factors as the interplay of textures of the languages, cultures, politics or the history involved. The following examples attest to this situation.

### 2.3.1. *Research on literary translation*

In *Contemporary Translation Theories* (2001), Gentzler observes that Translation Studies is becoming ever more connected to cultural and literary studies. Along this same line of thought, Berman (2009) argues that when Comparative Literature is dealt with in connection with translation and Translation Studies, it has the potential to re-energize present-day humanities with ideas. In terms of method and purpose, both Translation Studies and Comparative Literature have deep-rooted similarities. One of these is the method of reasoning by abduction and analogy followed in writing and teaching in Comparative Literature. The benefits derived from a variety of new questions posed within the discipline of Comparative Literature reshape the concept of text and of close reading. Thus, how translation and Translation Studies influence issues

of politics, religion and business with respect to producing and propagating literary writings cannot be overlooked. Similar issues are discussed in Tymoczko ed. (2010).

Cunningham's 2003 article "Beyond translation into chaos: exploring language movement in the French Caribbean" addresses some issues related to postcolonial contexts and pulls into focus the fact that the axle on which the balance of power sits has much to do with matters of "language possession and linguistic insecurities, [and that] translation allows this power to be repositioned" (2003: 61). Sometimes this means creating and enforcing a "form of plurality by refusing to allow one language to dominate another". To begin with, the relationship between postcolonial settings and translation is multifarious. In the light of present-day globalization, it is best dealt with in a global context. Thus, Simon (2012) highlights translation processes that give each language of lesser diffusion a chance to keep its unique identity. However, the possibility of such achievement in the French Caribbean is highly problematic, owing to the "tensions between French – the official language – and Creole – the native spoken language" (Cunningham 2003: 61). It is this type of difficulty that Cunningham examines with an end to seeing how the creole could establish and maintain its unique language specificity. In other words, how can French and the local language, Martinican or Guadeloupian Creole, as the case may be, translate French Caribbean culture? This issue is of great import since, unlike many other postcolonial countries, Guadeloupe and Martinique still have an ongoing relationship with metropolitan France – the colonizer.

Drawing on a few of Patrick Chamoiseau's key works produced between 1986 and 2002, Cunningham examines the movements in literature between French and Martinican Creole in Martinique. She concludes that the nature of the problem with this movement, and hence with the notion of translation that it holds, lies in the fact that in the French Caribbean the islands have continued to share a relationship with the colonizer, giving rise to "a sociolinguistic situation in which the straightforward diglossia of the past has slowly been eroded yet the tensions and loyalties that surround both Creole and French remain unresolved" (Cunningham 2003: 70).

Mühleisen's *Creole Discourse: Exploring prestige formation and change across Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles* (2002) presents research devoted to a variety of matters dealing with creole discourse, from defining language prestige to written representation in creole texts to creole representations in translation. As regards creole representations in translation, some issues dealt with are creole translation as cultural representation, general matters of nonstandard varieties in translation, creole-specific

concerns in translation, strategies to be applied or avoided in translations of creole or Standard English and even Bible translation, which I discuss in the next section. But with particular respect to creole Translation Studies, it is the investigation of the challenges of translating creole that she most discusses and to which I wish to draw attention. The volume covers translation in a context where the source text is written in an English-based creole or in English but has English-creole portions interwoven throughout. The target language, however, is German. In this context she looks at “the meaningful choices that translators have made in their attempts to represent Creole in the German text” (Mühleisen 2002: 235). The issue of how to translate creole presents itself as a dilemma and may well be one reason why Caribbean creoles lack an extensive tradition of translating West Indian literature with creole forms into German. Besides, most of the translations that exist in German have been done by the Swiss (see also Mühleisen 1998). This could be due to other German speakers not being willing to take on the challenges of non-standard varieties in writing. I think this may well be the case, since the Swiss have never abandoned their unique Swiss German, even if others might regard it as inferior to Germany’s Hochdeutsch (Standard German).

Mühleisen (2002) discusses the difficult question of how to translate an Anglo-creolophone texts into a non-creole language such as German. She does not attempt or claim to resolve the problem satisfactorily but instead focuses on the principal role of creole in the source text, on what choices the translator made in the target text, and importantly their global effect in the portrayal of culture. Thus, she shows that translators who have tried to translate any creole literary works into German have tended to employ sociolectal markers as an opportunity to re-evaluate the text, choosing some German regional dialect and/or Germanizing the text as a strategy of domestication or creolizing it as a strategy of foreignization (see also Cimarosti 2013).

Looking at the role of creole in the text is one thing, but there is the need to look at the role of culture as well. The work of Dumontet (2000) illustrates this efficiently. In her article “Possibilité et limites des transferts culturels: le cas des romans *La Reine Soleil levée* de Gérard Étienne et *Texaco* de Patrick Chamoiseau” (2000), Dumontet examines a few problems regarding the transfer of culture. Drawing her references from Étienne’s and Chamoiseau’s works, she carefully analyzes the technicalities involved in the transposition of texts that are charged with issues of otherness. Not infrequently, the predicament intensifies when it calls for strategies that force the translator to decide whether to exoticize or to foreignize the text, sometimes even at the risk of banalizing it.

N’Zengou-Tayo and Wilson (2000) investigate this while also looking at the role that translation plays in the process. They illustrate that this predicament may present itself at the national as well as international level. As far as exoticizing is concerned, the translator’s quandary is often compounded by the grand marketing intentions of forces over which they have no control. By way of efficiently executed critical analysis of the French translation of Edwidge Danticat’s *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, published in 1994 and Patrick Chamoiseau’s *Texaco*, published in 1997, N’Zengou-Tayo and Wilson highlight some rather demanding balancing acts that literary translators confront and carry out. The study points out that the translation of Caribbean literature plays a meaningful role in breaking down the language barriers in the Caribbean and promoting regional integration. It makes the crucial point of the important North-South relationship, given that most publishing houses are found in industrialized countries that had colonial interests in the Caribbean and are engaged in marketing their works to those who have a predilection for seeing the Caribbean only as an exotic location in the Western Hemisphere.

Although neither of the two works analyzed by these researchers was written totally in creole, their rendition called upon the translators’ knowledge of the creole culture, or *créolitude*, expressed in the works. Hence a delicate negotiation of strategies was applied so as to subscribe to being both exotic and faithful to the Caribbean culture in question. Interestingly, this meant translating into creole what might have appeared in the standard (that is, non-creole) language of the source text, if that was more culturally fitting. In addition, Réjouis (2009), herself the translator of Chamoiseau’s *Texaco*, astutely observes in her meta-analytical essay “Object Lessons: Metaphors of Agency in Walter Benjamin’s *The Task of the Translator* and Patrick Chamoiseau’s *Solibo Magnifique*” that both Benjamin and Chamoiseau chose a discipline that metaphorically represented the restitution of their literary objects. On the one hand, Benjamin’s chosen metaphors from the discipline of archeology afford him the chance through translation to find the path of meaning in the original text and use this path to connect the original to its translation. Chamoiseau, on the other hand, chose metaphors from ethnography that are ethically sound and render both the speaker and the object dialogically agentic in translation.

Sumillera (2008) presents a highly interesting analysis of the challenges that three different translators face in their respective Spanish versions of Jean Rhys’ *Wide Sargasso Sea*, published in 1966. The research focuses on the immense linguistic

complexity of the Caribbean and also on how important it is to preserve “in the translation of a postcolonial text the richness, in linguistic terms, of the original” (Sumillera 2008: 26). As often the aim of postcolonial literary works such as Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea* is “to make social and political statements”, the inability to communicate this through the translation could blunt the purpose of the entire work of art (Sumillera 2008: 26). The researcher notes that two of the translations were done in the Peninsular Spanish of Spain and were published there to be read there, while the other was in a dialect of Caribbean / South American Spanish and published in Cuba, to be read there. Sumillera thus identifies what Mühleisen (2002) also observes as a dilemma for German translators of postcolonial literature. That is, the translators were not able to preserve the multi-layered language of Rhys’s work, which involves different forms of English creoles from across the Caribbean. They tended to level out the linguistic complexity of the work to what resembles a single layer of language not at all intended by Rhys (see also Nurminen 2012).

Akai (1997: 166) looks at a different type of Caribbean translation, Indo-Caribbean writings, which she regards as a type of translation, or more specifically, “self-translation”. This type of translation entails rewriting in one language-culture that which has already been expressed in another and applying the same techniques and strategies unavoidably leveraged by translators of the postcolonial world. Akai’s argument is that when postcolonial writers gloss their texts, borrow expressions from other languages, code-switch between languages, transcribe vernacular speech and so on, they are applying the same strategies that translators employ in their work (see also Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2002, 2013). Thus, Akai draws a similarity between postcolonial translation and the writing she describes, claiming that the distinction between West Indian writing and translation is just as blurred as that between a creole and the so-called standard language from which it is derived, say Guadeloupean Creole and Standard French or Jamaican Creole and Standard Jamaican English.

I find this line of argument to be misleading. First of all, Akai does not deal directly with translation as it realistically occurs between the Caribbean creoles and the other languages with which they co-exist in the postcolonial world. Second, her argument about the “blurring” of postcolonial writing and translation and of the creoles and the languages from which they are derived seems unjustified, since it has been found that translations tend to simplify and rationalize texts (Toury 1995), whereas this seems *not* to be true of postcolonial writing. Akai also misses the point that even though

a translator and a non-translator may apply the same strategies in their work, the results that the translator achieves could still differ significantly from that of the non-translator, particularly if the strategies were applied for different reasons.

Buzelin (2000) deals with translation challenges similar to those discussed by Sumillera (2008) and N’Zengou-Tayo and Wilson (2000). Referring to Samuel Selvon’s novel *The Lonely Londoners*, published in 1956/1989, she explains that the entire work was written in Trinidadian English-based Creole. Noting that the language was formerly disdained and not entertained in literary circles, Buzelin adds that the novel has taken on the status of West Indian classic literature but is yet to be translated into French. The challenges for the translator lie in the fact that they would have to recreate the literary dialect in order to destabilize the already existing norms governing the acceptability of the literary polysystem of the French. According to Buzelin (2000: 242), the writer forces the translator to do away with:

des dichotomies traditionnelles et à penser la traduction comme un processus tripartite entre langues-cultures française-anglaise-antillaise. Loin de substituer une dialectique étrangère (Angleterre-Caraïbe) par une dialectique domestique (France-Antilles)... (Buzelin 2000: 242)

traditional dichotomies in order to think translation as a three-part relationship between French, Caribbean (Creole) and English language-cultures. Far from replacing a foreign dialectic (Britain-West Indies) by a domestic dialectic (France-French Caribbean)... (Buzelin 2000: 243)

Thus, the translation may turn out to be a way of derailing the conventional debate and proposing new ways to approach “literary creolization” (Buzelin 2000: 243). Something that is also interesting and which adds to the challenge of translating inter-textual literary works such as Selvon’s is that in his time he was aware of the challenges of translating his work and was even able to suggest how and how not to go about doing it (see also N’Zengou-Tayo 2007; Buzelin and Winer 2009).

The work of Gomille (2008a) focuses on re-defining translation as cultural negotiation, a departure from the traditionally linguistic approach and from a few of its ideological underpinnings. These changes occurred in the wake of the culture concepts of the 1980s and theoretical developments in which translation and things of an in-between nature have practically become synonyms. The interest essentially lies not only



in cultures but also in literatures that have been affected historically by European colonialism. Gomille explains that for hundreds of years the people of colonized nations have been used for carrying out processes of cultural negotiation. This highlights the extended meaning of translation as encountered in recent debates, since it has come to include the whole range of what translation is as a way of analyzing cross-cultural encounters, movements across borders and between cultures, forms, practices, processes of displacement, intracultural and historical change, processes of “re-writing,” and the passage of texts and genres (Gomille 2008b: ix). In her essay in the volume *Cultures of Translation*, Gomille (2008a) focuses on the unique status that Caribbean culture and literature share in this paradigm shift. The definitions of translation today not only take into account the mass migration of people from all over the former Empire during the latter part of the twentieth century, but also that of discourses and texts between the colonizing country and its ex-colonies, that is, the reworking of those texts creatively. This is where rewriting becomes styled as a type of translation itself.

Another example of this shift of paradigm is West-Durán’s “Nancy Morejón: Transculturation, Translation and the poetics of the Caribbean” (2005), which explores the Martinican writer as “an essayist and thinker on transculturation” (2005: 967), as seen in her writings on the renowned Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén and others. West-Duran (2005: 972) sees Morejón’s knowledge and translations of French Caribbean authors such as Césaire, Depestre, Glissant, Loraque and Roumain as a fundamental but frequently ignored element for understanding Caribbean transculturations. Translating Morejón, West-Durán himself stresses the connection between “translation, transculturation and a philosophy of listening” (West-Duran 2005: 973). In addition, he argues that shifting from one language, culture, religion, rhythm and history to another is comparable to translation as a process. Thus, transculturation is seen as “extended translation”, related to the Caribbean in that “[b]ecause of its unique historical configuration, the Caribbean is where translation is put into overdrive, because our transcultured realities exemplify ‘the openness of listening’” (West-Duran 2005: 974).

Veldwachter’s “Simone Schwarz-Bart, Maryse Condé and Raphaël Confiant in English Translation: Texts and Margins” (2009) proposes a translational framework for analyzing how the Francophone works of Caribbean writers such as Simone Schwarz-Bart, Maryse Condé and Raphaël Confiant are recontextualized within the literary system of the Anglophone world. Veldwachter seeks to understand how the cultural dimension is supported and transported via translation over into the new Anglophone

context. The focus here is not on potential imprecisions in the translation but instead on the marketing, reception and interpretation of these authors in a new, culturally different environment. This kind of curiosity is not uncommon when one bears in mind that, in most cases, Caribbean writers with a creole background are generally completely bilingual in the creole and the metropolitan language that is at least one of the standard languages of their region. Thus, for those writers who have an interest in translation, it would be fair to assume that the extent to which they feel the complexity of the cultural and linguistic dimensions of their text as they create it is the same extent to which they also feel the complexity of the translation of it into their non-creole language. That should moreover be the case even before translation of the text takes place. Watts (2000) is similar to Veldwachter (2009) in that he deals with the translation of culture, with specific reference to Aimé Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*. Similar concerns are picked up by Malena (2000, 2003), Marcos (2003), Buzelin (2004) and Izzo (2013).

The research of Jacquemond (1992) and Robinson (1997) focus on the difference in power between cultures, especially between more dominant cultures such as former colonizers and dominated cultures such as former colonies. In broaching some broad areas of comparison, Robinson (1997: 234) claims that “a dominated culture will invariably translate far more of a hegemonic culture than the latter will of the former”. This statement is made under the pretext that:

[t]he translator from a hegemonic culture into a dominated one [...] serves the hegemonic culture in its desire to integrate its cultural products into the dominated culture [...] whereas the translator from a dominated culture into a hegemonic [...] serves the hegemonic culture, but this time not servilely, rather as the “authoritative mediator” (Jacquemond 1992: 156) who helps to convert the dominated culture into something easy for the hegemonic culture to recognize as “other” and inferior.

However, Lang (2000: 23-24) puts this statement in proper perspective by saying that:

[a]lthough the great bulk of biblical translation provides evidence that this tendency can on occasion prevail, adversarial translation of the world canons suggests a variation in Robinson's rule, one due to the special relationship creoles have with hegemonic languages, in particular those languages which are

“metropolitan” to them. Here the dominated culture fights back and selects the “best” within its enemy’s arsenal with which to test itself. At the same time, there is quantitatively much more translation into creole than might normally be the case, since almost all readers of creoles are bilingual in the relevant metropolitan language and have chosen literacy in creole for personal, political, or polemic reasons. Only when (or if) the market for reading in creoles grows to the point that translations from English, French, etc., becomes lucrative will there be a massive influx of translated material into creoles, one which introduces more than specially targeted and prestigious foreign texts. (Lang 2000: 23-24)

Thus, it is clear that one gap in Robinson’s approach is that he justifies the purpose of translation from the point of view of the dominant culture but fails to consider the point of view of the dominated culture.

Garrett’s (2004) Papiamentu-English translation of Elis Juliana’s *Haiku in Papiamentu* is just one example of a translation of a non-Bible work that was originally written in a creole and serves here to attest to Lang’s assertion. The literary productivity of Curaçao is relatively extensive and so are the related translations from Papiamentu into Dutch, English, Spanish and other metropolitan languages. Thus, Lang (2000) explains that between the activity of translating from a Caribbean creole into some other non-creole language (for example, from Sranan Tongo into Dutch) and that of translating from a non-creole into a creole (for example, from Dutch into Sranan Tongo), the latter is the lesser done. Many translators have been more inclined to translate from their creole into some other language that already has a long history of translation and standardization. This means that in creole translation, the creole is often the source language. The handicaps behind the reason for this is that the orthography of many creoles is not standardized, literacy rates in them are abysmally low and these L languages (that is, low languages) struggle in gales of competition against the economically and culturally more powerful metropolitan H languages (that is, high languages). Here, it should be noted that the H languages are those varieties that have the most prestige and used for formal purposes whereas the L languages are those lacking in prestige and mostly used for informal purposes (Ferguson 1959). The implication of this is that where a creole has overcome such handicaps, translation tends to flow into and out of it freely. While this is quite likely generally the case, further research would be needed to confirm both Robinson’s (1997) and Lang’s (2000) claims.

I now turn to creole Bible translation in order to examine the dynamics at work there.

### 2.3.2 *Bible translation research*

Noss, writing in *Current Trends in Scripture Translation: Definitions and Identity* (2005), points out with particular reference to Bible translation that creole languages are often the target not only of acclamation but also of outright contempt. Winedt (2004) explains that despite the fact that many of the oldest extant creole texts include Scripture material, it has been tremendously challenging to move Bible translation forward. Such materials can be found in Papiamentu dating as far back as 1775, in Sranan Tongo and even in the now extinct Negerhollands Creole of the former Danish Virgin Islands (Rupert 2004). Moreover, Winedt (2004) notes that Descriptive Translation Studies as a field augurs well for translation and linguistics concerning the creoles because where Bible translation is concerned, since research on the process of translating and the real use of translations only make for clearer linguistic and translation theories about the creoles. Moreover, he notes that Bible translation offers an opportunity to study creoles systematically, since the very work of translation results in the establishment of databases for further analysis.

Winedt (2007: 57) raises a question about a “trivial” translation problem that had “deeper implications”. The problem is the phrase “Honor your father and mother”, which could also be “Honor your mother and father”. He highlights the situation by drawing on a United Bible Societies Policy Statement on Gender and Translation, which states:

[w]e recognize also that there are many languages for which gender distinction in grammatical forms is not an issue, as the same form serves for both masculine and feminine. However, this feature of language does not necessarily mean that those language groups do not discriminate on the basis of gender in other areas. (UBS 1997 quoted in Winedt 2007: 57)

Winedt observes that in Papiamentu, genders are not differentiated grammatically. However, that does not indicate a way of escape for translators, as they must confront a new challenge – word order. Which should come first, “mother” or “father”? And what does the decided order mean? Winedt (2007) concludes that not only is the question

anything but trivial but also very strongly connected with sociocultural issues. This means that despite what the natural order of the language might dictate, the onus is on the translator to find out what the implications of that particular word order are. In the end, even if the solution is not entirely satisfactory, what is most crucial is that the decision take into consideration all the various sociocultural factors. This may mean including a footnote explaining the implications of the word order.

A number of concerns about Bible translation are expressed in Hazaël-Massieux (1995) as well as and Frank and Frank (1998). Among these concerns are some linguistic and sociolinguistic issues. They raise questions about the connotations of creole, the choice of the original text, the type of translation, problems of implementation of styles and genres in one language or register, the choice of a graphics system and even problems of meaning. Frank (2004) presents a careful analysis with penetrating insight into the cultural dimensions that translators must take into consideration when translating into a creole. For the basis of his discussion, he draws on the 1999 publication of the translation of the New Testament and Selected Psalms (*Tètsemàn Nèf-la épi an pòsyon an liv Samz-la*) into Saint Lucian French Creole (Kwéyòl), which is standardized but not made an official language of Saint Lucia. According to Frank (2004), the study aims at eliminating the cultural gap with respect to translating into a creole a text that was initially meant for a set of readers who were culturally completely different from the one for whom it is now adjusted. He clarifies that for accuracy and proper comprehension, it is crucial that the translator be aware of the differences in language and culture as well as establish a procedure for testing the translation on the target audience in order to see how they understand it. Despite such noble efforts, Mühleisen (2002) makes a compelling argument that while translation can move a language toward modernization, the antiquated expressions of Bible translation are unlikely to be suited to accomplishing this feat.

Nonetheless, the work of Frank and Samuel (2000) discusses quite a few strategies that are applied to make for a translation that is acceptable, accurate and comprehensible. The strategies are also applicable to literary translation, such as that of poetry into creole. Motivated by these strategic considerations and relying heavily on excerpts from the translation of the Saint Lucian French Creole version of the New Testament and Selected Psalms, Frank and Samuel (2000) discuss techniques of translating poetic and figurative language into Kwéyòl, mapping out a set of guiding principles. Thus, when differences in complex structures and expression between the H

and L languages surface and behave in such a way as to defy traditional modes of translation into these younger languages, translators must make important decisions. Thus, Frank and Samuel (2000) suggest that certain translation challenges as may be encountered in, say, the literary realm cannot always be solved by literary techniques alone. They further suggest that the social status of an L language determines neither the full range nor the adequacy of its expression.

Bible translation into a creole language that is still undergoing standardization is also practiced in the Caribbean. Ross (2005) offers the Jamaican Creole translation project as a compelling case study in the challenges of translations into creole. While it is normal for Bible translation to proceed regardless of whether a language has a standardized orthography, in the case of Jamaica there has been close cooperation between Bible translating entities, such as the Bible Society of the West Indies, and the Jamaican Language Unit in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy of the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus. Devonish (2003) points out the importance of selecting as the norm a dialect that is intelligible to all of the speakers of the creole, in order to promote consolidation of the dialect as the standard. He alludes to the situation of Jamaican Creole, where its standardization is in process under the Jamaican Language Unit. Thus, being fully aware of the importance of intelligibility of a dialect among all speakers of the creole, the Bible Society made the decision to choose a Kingston and St. Andrew variety for its 1997 audio-cassette recording *Jamaican Patois Scripture Portions*, a translation of segments of the New Testament into Jamaican Creole. These studies show that there is no lack of translation research or activity with respect to Bible translation into Caribbean creoles.

### *2.3.3 Non-literary / non-Bible translation research*

As Translation Studies is not beneficial if it only regards theory and no practice, I have been compelled to look also at the research and technological development aspect of the discipline, about which key literature abounds.

#### *2.3.3.1 Translation research and technological development (RTD)*

Machine translation (MT) has also been impacting Caribbean Creole Translation Studies. Current technological development in this sphere attests to the fact that among the Caribbean creoles, Papiamentu/u and Haitian Creole are two of the most frequently tested with machine translation. Schlesiger, Hernandez and Holland (2001),

commenting on research conducted through the Army Research Laboratory (ARL), report on the value of integrating optimal character recognition (OCR) with machine translation for “non-traditional” languages. By “non-traditional languages” they mean those that tend not to feature among commercial language products and in language learning curricula (where they are often referred to as “less commonly taught languages”). Haitian Creole is one such language. The integration is done using ARL’s Forward Area Language Converter (FALCon) prototype. This is an end-to-end system developed for the U.S. Army and initially designed for focusing on languages for which commercial MT and OCR components were accessible.

However, later on, integration of optical character recognition with machine translation has been applied to languages that have a dire need for databases and that are now building them. Thus, a person without any foreign-language training can convert a foreign-language document, say, a Haitian Creole document, into an approximate English translation. Accordingly, troops in the field can use MT to gist-translate screen-captured documents and separate those considered pertinent for full translation and analysis by a trained linguist, who is thus spared having to deal with irrelevant documents.

As for OCR components of the integration process for low-resource languages like Haitian Creole, the researchers borrowed OCR from languages that share fonts with the languages for which they needed a translation. Despite the fact that this solution is not optimal, it has been investigated for Haitian Creole. For example, tests carried out on Haitian Creole for translation into English and French OCR showed that French OCR presented superior recognition of Haitian-Creole text. Consequently, this solution was applied with adaptive spelling corrections for native document input. This has been extended to experimental integration with Example-Based Machine Translation (EBMT) for Haitian Creole (see also Brown 2011).

The devastating earthquake of January 12, 2010, mainly in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, brought severe underdevelopment to Haiti’s economy, disrupting the lives of the masses. At the same time, the utter urgency for translation there brought new developments in Caribbean Creole Translation Studies. This dire need boosted research on machine translation regarding Caribbean creoles (see Munro 2010; Caragea et al. 2011). Accordingly, research by Gangadharaiyah, Brown and Carbonell (2010a) focuses on the enhancement of this development through EBMT. They tested this form of translation on English-to-Haitian Creole translation, as the latter is a low-resource

language. The term “low resource” refers to so-called minority and endangered languages as they mostly carry either small or no corpora that can be used for computational linguistics (see Littauer 2012). They also tested this with English-to-Chinese and English-to-French translation. In all language pairs, Gangadharaiah et al. (2010a) have been able to show that, as with other corpus-based methods, EBMT necessitates large parallel training data. Then by clustering their data and eliminating “incoherent” points, they succeeded in improving translation quality in EBMT systems while working with small data sets.

In yet another piece of research involving Haitian Creole compared with English and Chinese, Gangadharaiah, Brown and Carbonell (2010b) note that out-of-vocabulary (OOV) words pose a considerable challenge for MT. Out-of vocabulary words are those that are unknown but appear in a given text in the research experiment. The researchers found that for low-resource languages such as Haitian Creole, limitations in the training data boost the frequency of OOV words and significantly reduce translation quality. Thus, the researchers used the EBMT paradigm once again. However, this time they used it not just for treating only stems or synonyms for OOV words, as previous approaches had suggested, but to deal with OOV whole words and rare words as well. They found that the presence of OOV words and rare words in the input sentence prevented the system from finding longer phrasal matches and produced low-quality translations owing to less reliable language model estimates. However, they were able to achieve statistically significant improvements in both the English-to-Chinese and English-to-Haitian translation systems. This should also signal the promising possibility of extension of this research to include other Caribbean creoles, as also indicated in Vandeghinste et al. (2006), Sanjika et al. (2011), Ambati and Vogel (2010), Costa-jussà and Banchs (2011), Hardmeier et al. (2011), Hewavitharana et al. (2011), Hu et al. (2011) and Stymne (2011).

Research by Lewis (2010) outlines how a Microsoft Translator team developed a Haitian Creole statistical machine translation engine in just a few days. The system comprised two Haitian Creole translation systems (Creole to English and English to Creole). It demonstrated that it is possible to build a translation engine of sensible quality around minimal data and in an extremely compressed timeframe, by engaging with the native language community and reducing data sparseness in creative ways. However, despite problems of inconsistent orthography and insufficient parallel training data, Lewis was able to demonstrate that MT can be extremely effective in terms of



performance and efficient in terms of its set-up for use in times of crisis for low-resource languages such as Haitian Creole. Such a set-up essentially involves the involvement of native speakers of the low-resource language (see also Oard and Och 2003).

Carrión Gonzalez and Cartier (2012) present a detailed research project whose aims were to build and maintain a lexicography resource of contemporary Francophone creoles that are still viewed as minority languages, particularly in the Caribbean region. The project involves three steps: 1) the compilation of current lexicography resources, such as Internet lexicons and digitized dictionaries; 2) construction of a corpus for each of the Francophone creoles by using educational, literary and journalistic texts; and 3) dictionary maintenance. The practical results of this project entail the establishing of a lexicographical database, providing explicit variations in these Francophone creoles, as well as assisting with the normalization of the creole orthography. The results include annotated corpora that could be used for further linguistic research and NLP applications.

Much has been taking place with machine translation tested on Haitian Creole. Callison-Burch et al. (2011) report on shared tasks in the Workshop on Statistical Machine Translation (WMT11). These include a translation task, a system combination task and a task for machine translation-evaluation metrics. Using the ranking of these systems to measure the degree to which automatic metrics correlate with human judgments of translation quality for 21 evaluation metrics, the researchers carried out a large-scale manual assessment of machine translation systems and system combination entries. Testing this project on translation from Haitian Creole to English, the researchers observed the translation of SMS messages sent to an emergency response service in the after effects of the January 12, 2010 earthquake in Haitian. They also carried out a pilot “tunable metrics” task to determine whether optimizing a fixed system to different metrics would result in noticeably enhanced translation quality.

Another research project carried out by Frederking et al. (2000) gave rise to the rapid-deployment speech-translation system, the Multi-Engine Machine Translation (MEMT). This system has also been tested on Haitian Creole / English translation. Its purpose is to facilitate communication between lay users across a language barrier, despite the error-prone nature of the current speech and translation technologies. The project is expected to be adaptable to new languages more rapidly than traditional

technologies. Accomplishing these objectives is mainly a function of allowing the users to correct recognition and translation errors interactively.

The above notes show that there is considerable research on Caribbean creoles, among which Haitian Creole features predominantly. But there has been research on some others. The work of Holbrook (2012) looks at the four English-based creoles of Grenada, Guyana, St. Vincent and Tobago. Holbrook classifies these creoles by means of markers of key grammatical characteristics regarded as typical of pidgin and creoles. The classification is worked out according to a scoring system that takes into consideration potential translation problems caused by variations in the mapping of semantic notions. The scoring system then allows measurement of the amount of data compared. The result is a relative score for how intelligible and acceptable literary text-sharing between creoles is. The classification of the creoles serves to determine whether it is possible to take a creole Machine Assisted Human Translation (MAHT) from one language and apply it in another. One of the key implications of this tool is that creole languages could be classified according to historical and sociohistorical events, the distribution of grammatical features among English-based creoles, decreolization, studies in variation, as well as literary development (see also Holbrook 2000). Much more recently, the works of Kuhn et al. (2010), Lewis (2010), Béchara et al. (2012, 2014), Rubino et al. (2012) and Mohagheh, Sarrafzadeh and Mohammadi (2013) have also focused on MEMT and MAHT but more so on digitalizing translation with respect to some of the Caribbean creoles.

## **2.4 Caribbean creole lexical transfer research**

Research on lexical transfer with respect to Caribbean creoles is rather meager and, although particularly useful, it is for the most part not current. In his seminal paper, Wood (1971) presents a brief linguistic history of the emergence of Papiamentu and then thoroughly addresses the various colonial and postcolonial mercantile activities. These activities took place between Curaçao and English-speaking islands as the Napoleonic Wars were raging, thus bringing about the occupation of Curaçao by the Dutch, then the English and then the Dutch again. All these events have given rise to many loanwords in the language. Also, because of the oil refinery owned by the United States on the island of Aruba at the time of the Napoleonic Wars and the increasing influence of American and other English-speaking commercial entities on many aspects

of the commercial life of the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, there was free borrowing of technical terms from English by Papiamentu.

It is interesting that this borrowing occurred from English, even though English is not genetically related to Papiamentu (which is more related to Spanish or Dutch, which was the first official language of the island). The English terms came to gain acceptance by Papiamentu speakers, even as the customary way to expand the technical vocabulary of the language. Wood adds that “[s]uch borrowing is, however, taking place in many parts of the world at the present time and its occurrence in Curaçao and Aruba is of comparatively minor linguistic interest” (1971: 175). That was then. Little did he know that in the next couple of decades, that same occurrence became a major interest not only to linguistics but also to Translation Studies.

With the arrival and on-going development of machine translation, artificial intelligence, translation memory software, translation localization, the increasing daily demands for translation of texts of all sorts via the Internet, which is used for all and sundry reasons, issues of English loanwords in Papiamentu have piqued more than a minor linguistic interest. In fact, it is this recognized gap that the present research seeks to fill within the field of Translation Studies. It is interesting that Wood felt that the corpus of English loan words he researched so carefully was of little import then. Still, it is ironic that the very fact that the borrowing of English by other languages is occurring all over the world is enough to render the occurrence as one of major interest for anything that is affected by language. This is perhaps an indirect way of saying that everything is affected by English, and not only on mere paper, so to speak, but also in our now globalized cyberspace. Wood (1971) discusses the various ways in which English loanwords entered the Papiamentu language, some to the point where their etymology has become so acculturated that their origins are now unrecognizable by Papiamentu native speakers themselves (see also Maduro 1973).

In another work, Wood (1972) focuses on the Hispanization of Papiamentu, and rightly so, since the creole is partly Spanish-based. Since Spanish is the superstrate language to which Papiamentu is most closely related, the process of Hispanization may tentatively be identified as decreolization: “Thus we are faced, in Curaçao, with the decreolizing process which may also be observed, at varying stages of development, in the former British Caribbean (Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana, etc.) and possibly in the French Caribbean (Martinique, Guadeloupe), Hawaii and other parts of the world” (1972: 865). Wood observes that:

[t]he result of [...] identification with Hispanic culture by educated Antillians, native speakers of Papiamentu, has been a wholesale borrowing of Spanish words into Papiamentu, with only a minimum of morphological or phonetic adaptation. Not only Antillians themselves, but Dutch Catholic priests serving in the islands have fostered this tendency. The terminology of the Catholic religion, to which the majority of Antillians adhere, was borrowed from Spanish largely on the initiative of Dutch priests. (1972: 865)

It is interesting that Wood makes special reference to the comment by J. L. Dillard, a linguist himself, that “Lucille Haseth’s paper on translation of news items into Papiamentu [...] rebuked a tendency toward hyper-Hispanization which quite clearly is an urban reality” (1972: 866). The comment, as well as the entire work by Wood (1972), shows the ongoing nature of lexical transfer into Papiamentu, well after the language has been standardized and officialized (see also Andersen 1974).

Allen’s (1992) unpublished Masters dissertation presents a sociolinguistic study of St Lucian French Creole compared with the French Creole of Martinique. Allen examines the process of relexification, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors, language attitudes and an overview of Former Lexifier Language Acquisition (FLLA), a term he coined for the specific context of St Lucia where French, once the official language of the island and the lexifier language of St Lucian Creole was replaced by a competing international language (English) in the nineteenth century. When the contemporary St Lucian seeks to learn French, certain factors facilitate or impede the learning process. FLLA may also apply to other creole contexts that show evidence of a change in the official status of the lexifier language in the past.

In another work, Allen (1993) undertakes a phonological study of loanwords that originate from different varieties of standard and local English and that have now entered the St Lucian and Dominican French creoles. This study re-evaluates the concept of word-borrowing by first defining the situation of St Lucia and Dominica within various contemporary theories of lexification and then analyzing data according to pertinent issues in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Allen examines the extent of the lexical impact of one language on the other as they come into contact. Issues such as code-switching and word-borrowing are discussed. Analyzing a corpus of utterances/sentences containing English loanwords that are found in the recorded writing and speech of French creole speakers of St. Lucian and Dominican, he

concludes that these two French creoles today are not experiencing relexification. What they are undergoing instead is a process called adlexification, that is, lexical borrowing from coexisting adstrate languages. By “adstrate languages” I mean languages in contact and of equal prestige. In the case of Dominican and St. Lucian creoles, the adstrate languages are French and English. The impact of this process gives rise to words that are totally assimilated loanwords, some non-assimilated loanwords and some partially assimilated loanblends in these two French lexified creoles.

Appel and Muysken (2006), in a detailed account of the creole languages of the Caribbean, present a short discussion on the apparent rapid lexical expansion in the early creoles, particularly Sranan, Saramaccan and Papiamentu. Hancock (1980) notes that these were already full-fledged languages and that the rapidity of their lexical expansion corresponded to how urgently the languages needed new lexical items. He speaks of borrowing as one of several processes that play a particularly important role in the lexical expansion of these creoles. Dijkhoff (1993) presents a detailed analysis of Papiamentu phrasal compounding, while Voorhoeve (1981) demonstrates through salient examples the multifunctional use of Sranan (cf. Muysken 2001).

Snow (2000) presents a survey of Caribbean creoles that are in contact with national languages to which they are not lexically related. He discusses why the post-creole continuum model may not be suitable or adequate for explaining the contact-induced language variation and change occurring in this kind of language community. Both Spanish and the English-derived Bastimentos Creole enjoy harmonious contact on the island of Bastimentos in Panama. This co-existence of the two languages suggests a rather stable diglossic relationship. Snow (2000) proposes a discrete diglossic model as an interim option for the study of language variation on the island, as well as for other stable contact milieux where the non-creole language is a non-lexifier of the creole itself.

## **2.5 Research impacting Caribbean creole lexical transfer**

Lexical transfer has always been controversial, particularly in the field of linguistics. A great deal of research devoted to it is specifically related to either machine translation, much of which I have covered in 2.3.3.1, or second-language (L2) and third-language acquisition (L3) and have been instrumental in research on lexical transfer that have come to impact Caribbean creole lexical transfer (see, for example, Ringbom 1983,

2001; Kellerman 1995; Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner 2001; Jin 2003, Lafford et al. 2003; Agustín Llach 2010; Serrander 2011).

According to Ringbom (1983), with respect to the study of lexes, transfer and borrowing are two different concepts. Nonetheless, they are related, and transfer itself is better understood when they are examined together. He explains that borrowing occurs when the search for a certain lexical item in one language, the target language (L2), triggers a lexical item in another language, the source language (L1). Then the triggered item is transferred completely, either modified or unmodified, into the L2. This form of the transferred lexical item in the L2 is moreover one that did not exist in it before. Thus, a new lexical item obtains in the L2. The process of borrowing can be viewed as rather mechanical, as it is merely a matter of searching for lexical items through a process where the degree to which the resulting lexical item in the L2 is formally similar to that in the L1 is highly important (see also Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Haspelmath 2008).

Lexical transfer, on the other hand, has two modes of expression. One mode involves the modification of the range of semantic features of the L2 on the model of an item in the L1. In some cases, this item may be used as an equivalent for the L1 item (Ringbom 1983). As for the other mode of lexical transfer, Ringbom suggests that “translation equivalence is assumed between source language and target language, so that existing lexical items in the target language are combined into compounds or phrases analogical with the source language structure” (1983: 207). However, while there are various kinds of equivalence in Translation Studies, let alone between this discipline and Linguistics, it is important to note here that although Ringbom speaks of translation, his concept of equivalence differs from that proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet in their seminal 1958 work but actually matches the procedure they refer to as calques (see Pym 2009 and 3.8.2.1 for types of lexical transfer in Papiamentu). Here I give two examples directly from Papiamentu. One example of this in Papiamentu is in the expression *minda wòri* for “I’m not worrying” and also in *lebumai* and *lègumai* both meaning “never mind”, which are all syntactic imitations modeled on the English expressions.

In terms of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), what Ringbom (1983) refers to as borrowing and the two modes of lexical transfer are merely different methods, or procedures of translation in the case of written text, even if linguistics chooses not to view them as such. Both do fall within Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1958) seven translation

procedures. These are borrowing, calque, literal translation, transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Thus, Ringbom's (1983) examples of *Autobahn* (expressway) and *Angst* (anxiety, fear) clearly fall under Vinay and Darbelnet's method of borrowing – a form of direct translation (see 3.8.2 for a more detailed discussion of lexical transfer).

From the above-discussed selected works it is clear that much still needs to be done in the area of lexical transfer within Translation Studies. Nonetheless, these are just a few of the research works that have had an impact on research on Caribbean creole lexical transfer, although they come mainly from the discipline of Linguistics.

## 2.6 Research impacting Caribbean creole standardization

The term “standardization” is often misused to mean “language planning” (see Cobarrubias 1983; Deumert 2000; Nahir 2003; Zuckermann 2009). For this reason, Mooneeram (2009: 19), acknowledging that the two terms are not synonymous, states clearly that “standardization requires language-planning at both status and corpus levels to produce a standard language where there had previously been dialects” (see also Kloss 1967, 1969; Christian 1988; Liddicoat 2005; Ferguson 2006; Hornberger 2006). These two levels, along with acquisition planning and prestige planning, comprise the four dimensions of language planning (see also Cooper 1989; Haarmann 1990). In a careful description of how creole languages in general behave, Mooneeram also explains that:

[c]reolization is a natural linguistic process: given the right circumstances, it will occur without any conscious intervention. Standardization is different, apparently requiring [...] the artificiality of the written medium and perhaps also conscious effort on the part of language users. Its effects are paradoxical: on the one hand, a reduction in variation and a fixing of forms; on the other an elaboration of styles and an increase in the possible registers of a language. (Mooneeram 2009: 9)

What is of the essence in this statement is that the process of standardization of a creole requires deliberate intervention. Thus, if Papiamentu language-planning authorities in practice formally admit English lexical items transferred into Papiamentu by translators, this would logically imply a connection between translators and the standardization process. I suspect that this is the case, hence my interest in finding out how the

translators are involved in this process – a curiosity that is in keeping with the observation that seeking to comprehend not just the practice of translation but also the translation practitioners themselves is one of the purposes that Translation Studies serves (Chesterman and Arrojo 2000; Liu 2011).

Apart from Mooneeram's (2009) definition of standardization, a few others are to be encountered in the literature. According to Christian (1988: 195), "[s]tandardization is the process by which one variety of a language takes precedence over other social and regional dialects of a language". Deumert's (2004: 2-3) definition runs as follows:

Standardization is concerned with linguistic forms (corpus planning, i.e. selection and codification) as well as the social and communicative functions of language (status planning, i.e. implementation and elaboration). In addition, standard languages are also discursive projects and standardization processes are typically accompanied by the development of specific discourse practices. These discourses emphasize the desirability of uniformity and correctness in language use, the primacy of writing and the very idea of a national language as the only legitimate language of the speech community [...] / Linguistically-oriented approaches to language standardization have often concentrated on the identification of the regional and/or social dialects which form the phonological, morphological and syntactic basis of a standard language [...] / Language standardization, understood as a process of variant reduction, does not only include deliberate intervention by regulating authorities (such as language societies and academies, individual dictionary and grammar writers and also government institutions; i.e. the imposition of uniformity through authoritative acts), but also processes of cumulative micro-accommodation, levelling and dialect convergence, which are the outcome of the everyday linguistic activities of individuals [...] (Deumert 2004: 2-3)

Wardhaugh (2008: 33) defines standardization as "the process by which a language has been codified in some way. That process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books and dictionaries and possibly a literature." Apart from these researchers, there is also Wiley (2003), who issues a reminder that "[t]he choice of *which language takes precedence* has important societal consequences, as it *confers privilege* upon speakers whose spoken and written dialect conforms closest to the *chosen standard*" (my emphasis). In addition to that, Ferguson (1968: 44) notes that



the variety selected as the standard is thereafter regarded as “supra-dialectal and therefore judged as the ‘best’ form of the language” and that, “[i]n practice, standardization generally involves increasing the uniformity and codification of the norm.”

Einar Haugen (1966) proposes a four-step model of standardization: selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance. The first step, selection, refers to choosing the variety of the language that is to be the standard for the entire speech community. The second step, codification, is the setting in place of a prescriptive orthography, a prescriptive grammar, authorized glossaries, dictionaries and other lexical references. This means that any arbitrary spelling of words in the language would be done away with and the grammar that is to be accepted as the standard would be carefully written and disseminated. The third step, elaboration, is the act of ensuring that speakers freely use the language in all domains where the language is deemed standard. This also means that further preparations would be made to integrate the language into the education curricula so that it would at least be used as one of the media (if not as the only medium) of education. The fourth step, acceptance, refers to efforts to secure the life of the language once the selected variety has eventually been adopted even by a small yet influential part of the population. These are traditionally the steps that creoles are expected to take towards standardization.

However, while this model is, in theory, straightforward enough, research shows that in practice it proves unsuitable for some creoles. For example, Mooneeram (2009: 20-21) explains that the failure of this model in the case of her own Mauritian Creole (MC) has been due to the fact that language standardization “often occurs without the backing of an official linguistic policy [...] Besides, Haugen (1966) refers mostly to European languages and the standardizing processes they went through over many centuries.” This has not been the case for MC, which was expected to undergo standardization in just a matter of a few years. For one, the selection step proved problematic and unattainable as “[a]mbiguities surrounding the variety of MC to be selected (rural/urban, acrolectal/basilectal) remained unresolved” (Mooneeram 2009: 35). Further,

[t]he dialogue between policy-makers and language users, the acceptance factor of their planning was wholly neglected. Changes in relation to the status of MC were unaccompanied by any consideration for, let alone any expertise in, the

process of elaboration, an element of corpus development that is crucial to effective language policy. (Mooneeram 2009: 35)

Thus, there has been tremendous disagreement with respect to the entire language-planning process:

The ideology of nationalism clearly did not convince the majority to accept MC as an official language. In fact, this language programme geared towards linguistic homogeneity and based on the process of achieving a single language for a single people in a single state, was seen as inherently repressive. (Mooneeram 2009: 36)

Since then, there has been a

renewed movement to promote MC, guided by the requirements of economic development and well-being, [which] does not involve a displacement of English and French [which are the media of education and government although not explicitly expressed in the constitution] but relies on a redefinition of the roles of the three main languages [Mauritian Creole, French and English] in use in an attempt at maximizing the benefits of the existing multilingualism. (Mooneeram 2009: 37)

This has been the situation of Mauritian Creole, but there are others, such as Sranan Tongo, the lingua franca of multilingual Suriname, which happens to have at least 19 languages, four of which are creoles and only Dutch as the official language among the entire population of less than half a million people (Lewis, Simons and Fennig eds. 2013). The case for Curaçaoan Papiamentu is however different in that it has surpassed all the stages of the Haugen model to the point of becoming recognized as the first language of the nation. However, its process was not without incident, as it took more than two centuries to achieve.

As awareness of the importance of creole standardization increases, so does research in this area. According to Winedt (2004), in many creole-speaking societies there has been an engrained underestimation of the mother tongue. Especially in cases where the lexifier language coexists with the creole language it has influenced, people tend to see the latter as a substandard form, or even a corruption of the European language. Even so, standardization is advancing, usually appearing first in the form of

Scripture translation. This could perhaps be due to the fact that, by definition, written translation implies standardization, an antidote to a typical problem of oral languages like creoles. The outcome is very often a situation in which Scripture translation legitimizes the creole and points the way towards further standardization.

However, translation is never sufficient to set off full standardization. It is normally a colossal task to convince speakers, first, that their creole is a language in its own right, and second, that as a language, it does lend itself to translation possibilities. Lewis (2006) investigates the notion that translation is possible with languages deemed to be standardized and therefore stable, rather than with creoles that are nonstandardized and exist as creole continua. He argues that as a matter of convention, the notion of language used in Translation Studies is one that assumes both language homogenization and language standardization. This notion explains the development of that assumed context and the part it plays in shaping what has conventionally come to be known as “translation”. Moreover, it challenges the validity of using this type of language context to exclude any language that does not subscribe to the conventional mold of homogeneity and standardization – two notions interpreted to mean stability. Thus, creole languages, including those that are not standardized and that in their daily use slide along continua, are excluded from this context. Since they lack distinct boundaries between their varieties, they do not fit the mold. This also implies that they are not conducive to translation because they are not stable and very often come with the added dimension of intertextuality, as seen in 2.3.1 above with respect to literary translation. This is the notion that Lewis (2006) challenges in his work, where he successfully shows how contexts characterized by this apparent instability might offer new ways of thinking about, reformulating and presenting discourse on translation. This new approach to the discourse on creole translation has now become part of a notion of translation that *includes* creole languages rather than merely deal with how to translate them (see also Lewis 2003).

Siegel (2010) deals with the issues of standardization within the context of language planning and more specifically language in education. He observes that, regardless of the standardization and official recognition of pidgins and creoles as valid languages, there are individuals (educators and even linguists included) who continue to argue that using them in education would be both impractical and detrimental to students. Siegel, however, clarifies that these arguments stem from issues such as lack of standardization, in situations where it is possible for a language to be recognized as

official but not yet standardized. They also result from fear that the creole might hinder accomplishment of their ultimate goal – the acquisition of the standard form of the European official language. Nonetheless, Bartens' (2001: 31-32) study "The rocky road to education in creole" recommends measures for promoting Caribbean creoles, as she believes that they do play an important role in the education domain. She addresses certain problems found in attempts to introduce creole standardization into the education system despite the unfounded fears of educational backwardness that abound among the uninformed. The discussion of standardization in her article reflects the current situation in the Caribbean (see also Devonish 2008).

Even though the Papiamentu/o of Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba has been standardized (since 1984) and officialized (since 2007), it is not exempt from the problems of standardization. It still grapples with education issues at all levels of society. Despite the difficult task of pleasing everybody, the language has made great progress in comparison to many other creole-speaking territories in the Caribbean. Joubert (2001) discusses the early attempts of various organizations to standardize Papiamentu and the outcome of that undertaking. Some of these organizations are the now-defunct *Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu* (KSP), the *Instituto Lingwistiko Antiano* (ILA) and the current *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (Institute for Language Planning). A few of the problems Joubert identifies are the absence of a corpus, variations in lexical items, the size of the task, the responsibilities of the FPI and the lack of individuals specialized in the demands of the task (see also Dijkhoff and Pereira 2010).

With specific reference to Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Pidgin English, Deuber and Hinrichs (2007) investigate the galloping trends in the use of orthography on the Internet (for example, e-mail and discussion forums) by users in these two languages. They draw attention to the widening gap between the arbitrary orthographies in use among speakers. Accordingly, the study concludes that unless there is expert intervention to standardize these languages, the gap may widen between the systems so far recommended by orthography experts such as Cassidy and Le Page (1980), Devonish (1986, 1996, 2008), Cassidy (1993), Sebba (1998a) and that of current users (see also Hinrichs 2004).

However, it is worth mentioning that since the publication of Deuber and Hinrichs (2007), the Jamaican Language Unit at the University of the West Indies at Mona has published *Writing Jamaican the Jamaican Way / Ou fi Rait Jamiekian* (2009)

This work is a step forward since, according to one editorial review of the book, the Jamaican Language Unit was established in September 2002 as a language planning agency founded on the proposal that freedom from any form of discrimination on the grounds of language be included into the Charter of Rights of Jamaica. As a result, the unit was commissioned to tackle issues such as the establishment of a standard orthography for the creole, terminology building (technical and administrative) in the language for proper use by officers across the country, the supervision of countrywide agencies as regards the non-discriminatory provision of services in Jamaican and English, as well as the promotion of positive public awareness as regards the language situation of the nation.

Another study on Caribbean creole standardization that is worth mentioning here is Schieffelin and Doucet's (1994) contribution to the choice of orthography for Haitian Creole, particularly because this language is currently one of two creoles used in all domains in its home territory of Haiti. Amid a post-standardization discussion of cultural categories and the logic behind debates on Haitian Creole orthographical choices, it investigates competing representations of Haitian Creole and the symbolic importance of decisions reached in standardizing a creole orthography. The study is a detailed nationalist discourse taking into consideration the role of language in Haitian identity formation.

In alignment with the work of Schieffelin and Doucet (1994) is that of Mason and Allen (2001), who address the issue of intra-textual inconsistency due to the fact that efforts to standardize languages of lesser diffusion tend to be only partially implemented. Focusing on Haitian Creole, they raise issues about pervasive written lexical variation and certain risks involved in implementing orthographies. The non-technology standards tend to impede attempts concerning writing in the creoles, including localization as well as translation into and from them. These languages are forced to undergo fast standardization processes, usually within a timeframe of only twenty years if not shorter, whereas many of the world's major languages normally go through such processes over a period of several centuries.

Nonetheless, Mason and Allen (2001) note further that standardization of the creoles is essential in today's technologized world. It has a direct impact on such applications such as online dictionaries, glossaries and language spell-checkers, which, by the way, have proven to be extremely useful for communicating clearly in times of emergency. The 2010 earthquake in Haiti is clear evidence of this need and of the fact

that a lack of standardization of the lexicon and not just of the orthography could have serious consequences for the increasing demand for text translation for everyday pressing practical needs with respect to health, law and immigration. Similar concerns about standardization are also discussed by Alleyne (1994), Mason (1999, 2000), Allen and Hogan (2000), Allen (2003) and Faraclas et al. (2010).

Mühleisen (2002: 187-188) discusses the standardization of Caribbean creoles and makes the point that this process serves as a way of encoding the language, thereby establishing its autonomy. With respect to establishing languages that are used in all domains of their speech communities or societies, both standardization and the decision as to which orthography is appropriate are among the most essential aspects. For this reason, careful implementation of these processes is of the greatest import in the negotiation of the creole variety to become the prestige dialect of the creole speech community. Hence, regardless of the evidence of the impartiality of linguists, she stresses that:

it is the perception of autonomy which CELC-languages [Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles] often lack (as mere “variants of English”) after all and which is at stake here. Thus, orthography choice for Creole languages is not a trivial matter and has indeed proved to be the most problematic point in the various attempts of standardizing Creole languages and, particularly (though not exclusively), the CELC languages. (Mühleisen 2002: 187-188)

In all actuality, the cases of Papiamentu in Aruba and Papiamentu in Bonaire and Curaçao attest to this, since the Aruban variety follows an etymological orthography that aligns its appearance more closely with Spanish, while Bonaire and Curaçao adopt a phonemic orthography that does not.

Most, if not all, of the French-based creoles of the Caribbean are standardized. In this regard, the English-based creoles lag behind. However, a few are now standardized. Decker (2000: 4) explains that Belizean Creole has its own literature, including newspapers, dictionary, grammar books and one translated version of the Bible. Standardized since 1999, the language is consistently used on a few radio stations and TV broadcast programs, “in a weekly newspaper column and in the Bible translation project and most anything else that anybody is writing in Belizean Creole. It’s just that not many are writing anything.” Decker further explains that the lack of writing is not uncommon among creole languages. The medium of education and all formal affairs is

essentially English. Thus, progress concerning the written language, though standardized, has not been as fast as expected.

As for the English-based Islander Creole on the Colombian island territories of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, Decker and Keener (2001: 10) explain that orthography workshop groups in 1998 reached a decision to adopt the Belizean Creole orthography on the islands. However, by 2001 there was a “radical shift” to using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to represent the vowels of the language. The language has since been standardized and bilingual and trilingual experiments have been in place in various education programs.

Research on the standardization of the English-based Suriname creoles is thin. Arends (2000: 5) reports that while some 60 percent of Suriname’s population claim Dutch as their mother tongue, Sranan is mother tongue of only about 20 percent. But as Sranan is the lingua franca, it is the only true common language among all Surinamers and is spoken by slightly more than 84 percent of the population. The only official language of Suriname is Dutch. It is the language that is officially allowed as the medium of education; it is the mother tongue of about 60 percent of the population; it is at least understood by approximately 80 percent of the population. Nonetheless, in matters concerning public health, any of the non-official languages may be used for communicating with members of the population. Arends observes that Sranan is frequently used in formal education, as many students beginning their elementary education are not competent in the Dutch language. This is a situation that can be found at least in the lower grades of primary education, especially in the interior of the country (see also CRC 1997; Eersel 1997; Gobardhan-Rambocus 1997). The use of Sranan is common in the electronic media, especially on the more affluent TV and radio stations that run programs in the language (see Morroy, Pengel and Blanker 1994). Nevertheless, the language still has a low status in Suriname’s home affairs. Unfortunately, even Sranan’s wealth of literary traditions and the fact that it has been standardized since a 1986 Resolution have not been able to ward off the woes that a lack of acceptance brings.

## **2.7 Research on translational behavior**

Research on translational behavior has been vibrant in Translation Studies. The present study highlights the translator’s behavior with respect to Papiamentu and English under

a number of extratextual conditions in a place where both languages coexist, where the translators are normally completely bilingual in these languages, and where the official first language is the creole and not Dutch (at least not anymore) or any of the other two European languages (English and Spanish) spoken on the island.

### *2.7.1 The characterization of translational behavior*

The characterization of translational behavior has been controversial in Translation Studies for a long time. Often there is mention in the literature about norms of translation and universals in translation, and the very concepts seem somehow to be elusive even as debates over them move on. In particular, the notion of universals in translation is highly debatable as there are those who believe they exist, others who believe they do not, and others who are still not sure. Malmkjær (2008: 49) explains that there exists a “degree of theoretical tension” between the concepts of norms and universals:

because ‘there is a point in assuming the existence of norms only in situations which allow for different kinds of behaviour’ (Toury 1995: 55). Insofar, therefore, as the notion of the universal in translation theory implies invariable behaviour, the explanatory power of the norm concept is inversely proportioned to that of the concept of the translation universal: The more variable translation behaviour can be assumed to be, the more theoretical power accrues to the norm construct; and the less variable translational behaviour can be assumed to be, the less theoretical power accrues to the norm construct. (Malmkjær 2008: 49)

In much the same way as concepts of norms and universals in translation have been the topics of many an intense debate, so has that of agency, especially since Simeoni in his seminal paper of 1998 raised the question: “What drives the translator’s decisions in practice, and how can this be?”. Simeoni was convinced that

[t]o become a translator in the West today is to agree to becoming nearly fully subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense. Conflicts of authority cannot fail to arise between such masters but, in the end, the higher bidder carries the day. The



translator has become the quintessential servant: efficient, punctual, hardworking, silent and yes, invisible. (1998: 12)

In what follows, I point to some selected research efforts around the concepts of norms, translation universals and the translator's agency.

### 2.7.1.1 Norms of translation

Toury's "The nature and role of norms in Translation Studies" (1980) was the work that paved the way for norms in Translation Studies. For Toury (1995: 54) norms are "socio-cultural constraints [...] described along a scale anchored between two extremes: general, relatively absolute *rules* on the one hand, and pure *idiosyncrasies* on the other" (emphasis in the original). He also refers to these "socio-cultural constraints" as "intersubjective factors" that govern the behavior of all parties in a translational transaction, thus ensuring social order and consistent behavior. These constraints can be intercultural as well as intracultural. This definition implies that norms are acquired through socialization and involve penalties for inconsistent behavior (Toury 54-55).

Hermans (2013: 1) presents a clear overview of the concept, applications and implications of norms as used in Translation Studies. Primarily, he explains that the assumption that the purpose of translation is communicative calls for "some degree of coordination between the participants in the process". The whole notion of norms is intended to provide a better understanding of the factors that influence "the communicative behavior of translators and the interaction between translators and their audiences" (see also Simeoni 1998: 1-2).

Hermans (2013) also notes that current interest in the sociology of translation has now incorporated issues of norms of translation. Hjort (1992) points out that the concept of norms is useful in the social sciences but that there is no uniformity in terminology. Drawing on Toury's (1995: 61) note that "it is norms that determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested by actual translations", Malmkjær (2008: 49) emphasizes that "[n]orms have played a central role in Descriptive Translation Studies". In other words, equivalence is clothed in the substance provided by norms, and norms refer to a regularity in behavior as well as to the mechanism which explains this regularity. The mechanism is psychosocial in nature, "mediates between the individual and the collective [and] generalizing from past experience and allowing projections concerning similar types of situation in the future, norms help to make behavior more predictable" (Hermans 2013:1).

Translation in a social setting involves transactions between several parties who wish to carry out these transactions. The translator is one of the decision-makers in the transaction, and therefore an agent whose actions are not “wholly free” or “predetermined” (ibid: 1). Further, the success is evaluated on the merits of the parties’ ability to coordinate their actions. Herman’s mention of “wholly free” implies that the translator’s behavior is to some degree constrained (ibid: 1). He also states that the translator’s action is not “predetermined”, that is, figured out in advance, one might say (ibid: 1).

Also, in Translation Studies, “[norms] cover the entire range of preferences and permissions, stretching as far as prescriptions at one end and proscriptions at the other” (Hermans 2013: 2). Toury (1995: 54) expresses this in terms of his continuum of rules and idiosyncrasies. Hermans (2013) notes further that in all these manifestations norms help to increase predictability by reducing the risk of a breakdown in communication.

In the practice of translation, norms are only important in decision-making by the translator or other parties in the transaction. Mukařovský (1978: 52 quoted in Hermans 2013: 3), a Czech structuralist, described a work of art as “a complex tangle of norms” as well as a “confrontation of heterogeneous norms” as in the transaction between the audience and the artist, the former might impose on the work of art norms that are different from those followed by the artist.

Mapping this idea on to one of game theory in a seminal paper, Levý (1967) describes translating (as in the case of the Mukařovský’s art work) as a decision-making process in which there is a spectrum of alternatives from which the translator can choose. One extreme end of the spectrum represents total predictability (deemed necessary as may be seen in grammatical issues); the other represents total unpredictability (deemed a matter of personal choice as may be seen in unique personal choices). The first move determines the next, and each successive move is determined by the previous one. However, such descriptions were not taken to be static, as Levý (1969), followed by Popovič (1976), later claimed that two norms determine the translator’s decision making. One was reproductive with the aim of determining how the source text ought to be represented. The other was productive with the aim of ensuring that the target text was well-formed. Further, they claim that the stress on one particular norm differed from one historical period to another and so was the value of the translation. Thus, these Levý and Popovič set these norms as the rudiments upon

which the study of translation would be based. The question is: How do these two norms align with Toury's?

Hermans (2013: 3) observes (and he puts it concisely) that for Toury (1995: 55), who has made the concept of norms a central part of his descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) program, “[n]orms are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence and the wide range of situations they apply to (with the conformity this implies), are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order.” Therefore, as Hermans (2013: 3) points out, Toury's approach is much the same as that of Levý (1969) and Popovič (1976). Thanks to preliminary norms the translator decides what is to be translated. Thanks to initial norms they decide how much of the source text is to be preserved or whether it is more important to produce a well-formed target text. There are also operational norms (matricial norms regulate the macrostructure of the text and textual-linguistic norms regulate the microstructure). All these types of norms are to be found at various stages of the translation process in which they function as instructions for how the translator should perform the translation task.

So far, Levý, Popovič and Toury have adopted an approach that is based on the translator's decision-making. Chesterman's (1997) approach is based not only on translator-translator interaction but also on translator-audience interaction, taking into consideration the contributions that other disciplines make to Translation Studies. His translation-specific technical norms, which correspond to Nord's (1991) constitutive “conventions” of translation, determine what a given community will accept as a legitimate translation. This approach follows two paths: one for product or expectancy norms, the other for production or process norms. Hermans (2013: 4) points out clearly that while there are a plethora of norms that influence translation, only some of them are exclusive to translation. Nonetheless, the concept of norms is important to translation because “it allows a revision of the traditional notion of what constitutes a correct translation”.

Considered from a norm-theoretical point of view, correctness in translation cannot be predetermined but is a matter of compliance with prevailing norms of translation. Recalling here that although Toury (1995: 61) argues for norm-governed equivalence, Hermans (2013: 4) points out that Translation Studies researchers who adhere to the functionalist approaches to translation reject the term “equivalence” as “inappropriate [...] in this context” and that translations can be measured in terms of

their “adequacy” to the context in which they are deployed. This adequacy involves respect for or violation of norms (see also Nord 1997).

On the issue of the applications and implications of norms, Hermans (2013: 4) points out that the concept of norms in Translation Studies has helped to define a context for translation. Additionally, it functions as an instrument for the historical investigation of translation in an era when culture, and not just linguistics, has been identified as essential for understanding translation as a social practice. Earlier theorists saw norms merely as restrictions that facilitated the decision-making process of the translator by ruling out unfavorable alternatives. Later, theorists applied techniques that focused on the interaction between all parties involved in the translation process from beginning to end.

However, there are those who place emphasis on breaking norms and challenging the social structure, just as there are those who take into consideration the “ideological values underpinning social norms” (Hermans 2013: 4). Okyayuz Yener (2010) discusses the challenges of translating Turkish foreign policy from English into Turkish. He explains through an abundance of real-life translation instances how important it is for the translator to consider not only the author’s intention, style and discourse but also how political discourse is constructed and how sensitivity to politics varies from one culture to another. Hence Okyayuz Yener suggests ways in which the translator could deal with these challenges while remaining faithful to “the author, the meaning, the intention, the norms of the publishers, the [target-language] readers and the two diverse political cultures” (ibid: 338). Further, the researcher expresses how this can be achieved without manipulating or censoring the texts or any such related activity, since the actual translatorial process is mainly a matter of “formulating messages, intentions and meanings to the best of the translator’s ability in a juggling act to re-compose a target text suited to norms of translation and target text conventions in the target language and culture” (352).

Irrespective of the emphasis, researchers continue to confront the challenge of determining translation norms, since translations are more than mere translations. Niranjana (1992) notes that translation is discursively determined by a number of factors such as race, religion, sex and economics. In this case, translators are liable to yield to the rules of textual well-formedness according to text types. Another challenge is that norms cannot be observed directly and therefore must be deduced either from what is written about them or from behavior. The risk involved in any case is that

statements with respect to norms may reveal the intentions or attitudes of an individual translator instead of the shared expectations and behavior of the participants in the translation process. Besides, the intentions and attitudes including recurrent behavior (or even patterns of them) may be explainable in a variety of ways. The work of Hsieh (2013) investigates the relationship between the translator and the author as well as the translator's identity during the process of translating religious texts. In this particular instance, the translator was Christian and the foundation of the source text was Buddhism. The researcher shows that adequate training and a strong information reserve concerning the matter to be translated were instrumental for reducing the distracting elements that were present in the translation process. Only so was the translator able to produce the translation despite the difference in religion. Similar concerns are also discussed by Sedighi and Tabrizi (2012) on the types of norms that affect the dubbing of taboos into Persian movies in post-Islamic revolution Iran.

Hermans (2013) points out that Niranjana's (1992) idea that translation is discursively determined by more than one factor has implications for translator training, since such training involves more than merely learning routines. It also entails the acquisition of the knowledge and skills that are needed to produce translations that can be considered adequate. This in turn means the translator must be able to negotiate the demands of the discourses germane to the process, even if this means making a decision to break the norms and to deal with the consequences arising therefrom.

From a cultural and historical perspective, the entire body of translation norms supposedly informs translation poetics. Such a poetics mainly determines what a culture (or part thereof) chooses to translate from outside its own environment, how it will process the source texts, and how the final target texts might be received. This means that the translation poetics of a culture provides an indication of how the culture perceives and defines itself with respect to "otherness" (Hermans 2013: 4). Bolaños Cuéllar's (2010) investigation of translation norms that were applied in the translation of Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* into English, French, German, Portuguese and Russian brings to the fore that the esthetic literary norms of the target languages were able to accommodate the translations of the novel. Besides, those norms were accepted at the start "on the periphery of the corresponding literary polysystems, to use Even-Zohar's (1978/2000) terms" (Bolaños Cuéllar 2010: 145). Munday (2001) notes that the very market success of the novel attests to the acceptance of the norms that were applied.

In short, Hermans (2013: 5) explains that the study of norms is not a normative activity per se. However, those who choose to study the complexes of norms in their historical milieu need also to figure out a way to express them within the context of “our contemporary disciplinary idiom and, more often than not, across natural languages”. He further states that if translation is an activity that is governed by norms, then it must also be true that the scholarly translation of translation that occurs in Translation Studies cannot completely avoid being polluted by its object. This calls into question “the neat separation between object-level and meta-level” (Hermans 2013: 5). In actuality, this is a dilemma with which scholars of translation have found a way to live by becoming more and more self-reflective and holding to the ethical norms that govern professional translating, academic learning and investigation: “The concept of norms has thus gained an unexpected relevance, not just as a tool to unlock translation but as an instrument of disciplinary reflection” (Hermans 2013: 5)

#### *2.7.1.2 Universals of translation*

Malmkjær (2008) notes that the notion of translation universal is not new (see, for example, Toury 1977). The publication of Baker’s (1993) paper “Corpus linguistics and translation studies: Implications and applications” is generally acknowledged as the inspiration for the relatively recent upsurge of interest and debates around the concept (see, for example, Mauranen and Kujamäki, 2004a: 1; Pym 2008). Mauranen (2008: 32) explains that discussion of the influence of one language on another often leads to questions of the possible role of translation in it, of whether translations “smuggle in features from the source language” thereby weakening the specificity of the target language over time, of any special challenges in translating from a dominant language like English into non-dominant ones. Statements by linguistics and translation scholars alike have shown them to hold a traditional view that translations are victims of strong interference. Teubert (1996: 247) argues that instead of representing the language in which they appear, translations present a “mirror image” of the source language. Toury expresses it in the following way:

The second language which may be said to be activated during the attempted production of a translated utterance in a certain target language [...] is not, as a rule, retrieved from the speaker’s ‘knowledge’ but is directly available to him in the source utterance itself. (Toury 1986: 82)

According to Mauranen (2008: 32), “[a] new angle on the language of translations has been opened up by Baker (1993), who suggests that all translations are likely to show certain linguistic characteristics simply by virtue of being translations. She calls these general characteristics ‘translation universals’”. However, this is not new. Levý mentioned this in his work *Umění překladau* (The Art of Translation) (1963/2011). It was then said repeatedly by the Tel Aviv scholars such as Toury and Even Zohar in the 1980s. Mauranen (2008: 35-36) goes on to say that the term “universals” is not used solely to refer to absolute laws. In fact, the majority of the universal characteristics mentioned are general or law-like tendencies, or occurrences that are highly likely (see also Pym 2008).

Prior to the rise in interest in the universals, many scholars had made proposals with respect to characteristics that they thought all translations might share. Baker in her 1993 paper collected some of the proposals that had been made. The list consisted of the most widely-accepted ones: “explicitation”, “simplification”, “conventionalization”, “untypical collocations”, “under-representation of unique target-language items” and “source-language interference” (Mauranen 2008: 38).

The term “explicitation” was first used by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958). This universal suggests that translators tend to express the ideas in the source text explicitly even if that means adding information not to be found in the source text (Mauranen 2008: 38) (see also Pym 2008).

The universal of “simplification” suggests that the language of the target text is expressed in a more simplified way than that of the source text (see Laviosa-Brathwaite 1996). This universal has been the subject of contestation by some scholars. While Eskola (2002) has contested it with respect to syntax, Jantunen (2001, 2004) has contested it with respect to lexis. Mauranen (2008) points out that the findings of her own research on collocations (Mauranen 2000) do not suggest support for the universal of simplification. Tendencies towards untypical lexical combinations suggested a more rather than less expansive use of the target language resources (see also Gellerstam 1996; Pym 2008).

The universal of “conventionalization”, which is sometimes called “conventionality” or “normalization”, may be considered a conservative form of translation. As such, it supposedly steers clear of “margins or periphery and remain safely within the mainstream” (Mauranen 2008: 40). Mauranen (ibid) also notes that this universal may be compared to Toury’s (1995: 268) concept of the “law of growing

standardisation” (also referred to as the law of conversion) where “in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertoremes”. That is, the target-text standards override those of the source-text. This happens when the target-language culture is more prestigious than that of the source language (Pym 2008). To a certain degree, the universal of “conventionalization” overlaps with that of “simplification” in that both tend towards markedly high frequencies of certain lexical items (Mauranen 2008).

The universal of “untypical collocations” suggests that translations show untypical frequencies of textual items (Gellerstam 1996; Laviosa-Brathwaite 1996). However, as untypical as the collocations may be, they also display patterns that diverge from those found in comparable target language non-translations (see Mauranen 2000). Further, in this universal, it is thought that translators employ the resources of the target language more for “what *can* be done rather than what “*typically is done*” (emphasis in the original) (Mauranen 2008: 45).

Tirkkonen-Condit (2004) hypothesizes that in the universal of “under-representation” the characteristics that are unique to the target language are insufficiently represented because they are likewise insufficiently represented in the translator’s mind during the translation activity. This phenomenon is found in both related and unrelated languages (see also Eskola 2000). Further, Malmkjær (2008: 56) observes, this universal corresponds to a return to the concept of interference in the translation process, hence Toury’s (1995: 274-279) law of interference.

The universal of “source-language interference” was first expressed in scientific terms by Toury (1995: 274) when he proposed the “law of interference” as one of two general laws of translation, the other being the law of growing standardization that I have already discussed above. The law of interference suggests that the source text interferes in the target text by default. This happens when the source-language culture is more powerful than that of the target language. Mauranen (2008) notes that interference has had a problematic status, as in the beginning Baker’s definition totally excluded bilingual interference. It has since then been rehabilitated and a few Translation Studies researchers have joined with others in proposing this as a possible universal (see, for example, Laviosa-Brathwaite 1996, Eskola 2004; Mauranen 2004).

The results of these research efforts support the “interference” universal. However, when translations were considered as a whole, the results generally show them to be more similar to each other than to target-language non-translations. This



therefore clearly points to the existence of some independent character that translations possess and that non-translations do not. Such a feature cannot therefore be reduced to the influence of the source language on the target language.

As translation universals are increasingly explored in Translation Studies, objections against them have also arisen both from inside and outside of the discipline. From translation history, there is the research of Tymoczko (1998) who argues strongly against the notion of universals in translation. How could they be conceivable when there is no way of harnessing every translation that has ever existed in any language? Mauranen (2008: 35) accepts this reasoning as indubitably true but quickly adds that access to every translation that has ever existed is not a requirement for postulating “general laws”. Besides, all research fields must accept the fact that access to all the data they will ever need is limited and that the search for generalities is based on what data can be accessed. In fact, with no historical perspective, it would be much more difficult to evaluate that it is possible for the state of affairs of translations with respect to ad hoc texts in any language to have changed drastically. Mauranen (2008) also remarks that there are many languages and countries in which translations have predated domestic texts, giving rise to models for new genres of translations and even linguistic innovations where target languages have experienced such phenomena as lexical gaps (see, for example, Paloposki 2005; Paloposki and Koskinen 2010). Not only is it a challenge to demarcate neatly between a translation and an adaptation but also texts that are strongly influenced by foreign sources, and those utilized in comparable corpus studies are not really possible.

While concerns of this nature clearly impose limitations on the claims made on translation universals, it must be noted that “fuzzy categories and boundaries” are normal encounters for many objects of study in the humanities and social sciences. “In any case, Translation Studies rests on the idea that translations exist and are sufficiently identifiable to warrant research” (Mauranen 2008: 35).

In relation to Baker’s (1993: 234) contribution, Malmkjær (2008: 55) notes that the praiseworthy starting point of Baker’s research was to argue “that translated texts record genuine communicative events and as such are neither inferior nor superior to other communicative events in any language. They are however different”. Subsequently, Baker introduced and defined a set of translation universals as a potentially identifying characteristic of this difference as:

universal features of translation, that is features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems. (Baker 1993: 234)

In an attempt to describe the nature of translation universals, Malmkjær (2008: 55) observes that Baker's initial formulation seems to suggest:

a purely cognitive source and explanation of translation universals, whereas the examples she uses to illustrate what a translation universal might be are strongly suggestive of explanation in terms of the kinds of norms that might guide translational behaviour; at most, it seems to me, the majority of these candidates for universalhood invite explanation in terms of processing ease or diachronicity, rather than in terms of innate aspects of the human cognitive apparatus.

The candidates for the status of translation universal to which Malmkjær (2008: 55) is referring are simplification, explicitation, disambiguation, conventionalization, avoidance of repetition, exaggeration of features of the target language and manifestations of the so-called "third code". Each of these, Baker says:

can be seen as a product of constraints which are inherent in the translation process itself, and this accounts for the fact that they are universal (or at least we assume they are, pending further research). They do not vary across cultures. Other features have been observed to occur consistently in certain types of translation within a particular socio-cultural and historical context. These are the product of norms of translation that represent another type of constraint on translational behaviour. (Baker 1993: 246)

The problem that Malmkjær (2008: 55-56) sees with this is that Baker's explanation seems to need some disambiguation itself, as it goes without saying that there are two senses in which the term "translation process" can be used: 1) to refer to the cognitive or mental process or processes that occur in the minds of translators while they are performing a translation – this includes and concentrates principally on subconscious processing; and 2) to refer to the "variably social, physical and mental" (but excluding subconscious) processes in which the parties of a translation transaction (clients, translators and a variety of implicated others) consciously engage in order to produce a translation. Thus, the contrast to which Baker has alluded by "other features"

that are culture-specific and are the product of normative constraints strongly implies the “cognitive-mental-subliminal understanding” of “process” in the quotation above, as does the reference to translation process as a causal agent hypothesized “rather than” the confrontation of specific linguistic systems, in the description of the features as “linked to the nature of the translation process itself rather than to the confrontation of specific linguistic systems” (Baker 1993: 243).

Earlier I mentioned in 2.7.1.3 that Tirkkonen-Condit’s (2004) research findings represent a return to the idea of interference in the translation process. Among the various contributions to the debate on universals in translation, it is worth mentioning here how Tirkkonen-Condit’s 2004 study was done and what bearing it has on Baker’s contribution to the debate. The study was conducted using the methodology proposed by Baker (1993: 245-246), which may be briefly described as follows:

Take a corpus of translations into L from a large number of languages and compare it with a corpus of texts originally written in L, looking for evidence of feature F. Do this for as many Ls as possible. If it is found, for each pair of translation corpus and non-translation corpus, that evidence for F occurs more frequently in the corpus of translated text, then we will have cause to believe that it does so as a result of the translation process and not because of any relationship between any language pair. We may then be justified in calling F a translation universal.

Notwithstanding the procedure, Malmkjær (2008) remarks that the study contradicts Baker’s understanding of a translation universal as originating from the translation process itself. Baker also seems to miss the implication that, as a result, it has nothing to do with the relationship between the languages or any of the textual systems in the translation process.

Another point of consideration in the debate on universals concerns the findings of Tirkkonen-Condit (2004). According to Malmkjær (2008: 57), the study suggests that researchers had been investigating the subject of influence or interference “from the wrong end of the pole”. She notes that Toury (1995: 275-276) points out interference is an intrinsic part of the translation process. Therefore, given that the production of a translation is based on another text in another language, Toury’s point should essentially hold. Much to the contrary, however, Tirkkonen-Condit’s study suggests that the determining factor of the results of this interference may be the “target pole” perhaps

just as much or even more than does the “source pole”, which researchers have presumed to be the major factor that determines the shape of the translation. Thus, differences between translations into L and texts originally in L are determined just as much, if not entirely, by L’s unique characteristics, instead of just characteristics of the source text language. Malmkjær (2008) considers this research effort to be among the most interesting findings to have issued from the search for translation universals up to the present. She further states that if the concept of the universal is to make any impact on theory in Translation Studies, she thinks that it would serve the interest of the discipline for researchers to take into consideration the findings of Tirkkonen-Condit’s (2004) study when investigating similar phenomena where it is deemed logical to provide a cognitively determined explanation.

In much the same vein as Malmkjær (2008), Pym (2008) presents a detailed discussion of four of the translation universals proposed by Baker (1993) and elaborated in her work of 1996. The four proposals are “explicitation”, “simplification”, “normalization”/“conservatism” and “levelling out”. Pym observes that Baker (1993) in her discussion of the proposals, reduced to a mere nominal listing what Toury (1995) had intended for a thorough thinking through. In works preceding Baker’s (1996) such as Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983), Vanderauwera (1985), Blum-Kulka (1986), Shlesinger (1989) and Toury (1995), all the universals are identified as distinct from each other irrespective of any natural (and therefore acceptable) overlaps between them. Baker (1993) on the other hand, in her attempt to explain the universals as she has listed them, makes no proper distinction between them. Some of the examples she provides even show her arguments to be contradictory in relation to the universals, thus casting a great shadow of doubt on her own understanding of the very universals she has proposed. One example that Pym draws is her attempt to describe “explicitation” which she lists as “an overall tendency to spell things out rather than leave them implicit” (Baker 1996: 180 quoted in Pym 2008). For the universal of “simplification” she tentatively defined it as “the tendency to simplify the language used in translation” and explains that “there is a clear overlap with explicitation” (181-182). However, Pym (2008: 319) argues that if as a universal “simplification” “includes the shortening of sentences”, then this must create a contradiction with the “universal of explicitation, which makes sentences longer”. In the end, Baker’s contribution to the debate on universals turns out to leave too much room for misunderstanding and even a definite misleading of some cornerstone concepts in the theories of translational behaviour.

Apart from his discussion of Baker's treatment of the universals, Pym (2008: 325-326) proposes a unification of the universals. To achieve this, he proposes that "[t]ranslators tend to standardize language or to channel interference because these are two main ways of reducing or transferring communicative risk." But after further exploration (albeit theoretical) of a number of conditions based on the notions of risk and reward with respect to the quest for "cooperation between cultures" that are not equally dominant, or prestigious, Pym (2008: 326) offers a tighter "lawlike formulation [...]": Translators will tend to avoid risk by standardizing language and/or channeling interference, if and when there are no rewards for them to do otherwise". I find this lawlike formulation, which is applicable to an endless number of conditions, particularly interesting especially because the present study investigates translational behavior not only in translators but also non-translators and compares both groups within the context of one language that is historically prestigious (English) in contact with another (Papiamentu) that has fought to be prestigious in its own right and on its own territory. So in this case, there might be special rewards.

Yet another strong objection to the idea of universals in translation comes from House (2008). She suggests several reasons why the search for specific universals in translation is futile, one of which is the irrefutable fact that, because translation is an operation on language, the universals in language also apply to translation. She points to the works of Blum-Kulka (1986), Baker (1993), Laviosa-Brathwaite (1998), Toury (2001), Mauranen and Kujumäki (eds 2004) and even Malmkjær (2005), all of whom support belief in the existence of translation universals.

For her examination of translation universals, House (2008) singles out as candidates the following: "explicitation", "simplification", "disambiguation", "conventionalization", "standardization", "levelling out", "avoidance of repetition", "over- or under-representation of source or target language elements" as well as the general manifestation of a so-called "third code", that is, translation considered as translation in contradistinction to non-translations. House (2008: 10) argues that Blum-Kulka and Toury have relied mostly on case studies and "impressionistic" qualitative work based on informed intuition and "richly contextualized pen and paper analysis". All the other researchers she mentioned have relied on corpus-based qualitative and quantitative work whose methodologies they themselves hold in high esteem. In her estimation, the central theoretical question of "how useful or indeed possible and thus justifiable" the postulating of translation universals are has not been addressed let alone

acknowledged by all researchers in Translation Studies. Thus she presents five reasons for her argument against the existence of universals in translation. I summarize them here.

The first is that “translation is undeniably an act that operates on language”. They are therefore “*not* universals of translation per se, or sui generis universals, but simply universals of language also applying to translation” (House 2008: 11) (emphasis in the original).

The second reason is that translation can only be an act of performance, not an act of competence. Language has the capacity to be both. Thus, she argues that despite the fact that translation involves two linguistic systems, it is not identical with language. It is merely a practical activity that can be explained as an act of performance but not one of competence. The activity is by nature reflected in a language-pair specificity, which cannot be counterbalanced by any corpus-based multi-pair comparisons that may present them as clusters of different pairs. She cites as support the research efforts of Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner 2007 and also Steiner (in press), in which for instance the concept of “explicitation” (which, by the way, she considers to be unclear and far too general, as are all the other universals she mentioned, (see House 2008: 10-11) is thoroughly investigated but within the context of linguistics. In House (2004a) the notion of “explicitness” (or “explicitation”) is deconstructed and House suggests that Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens (2001), Fabricius-Hansen (2002), and Behrens (2003) have thoroughly investigated the concept, again within the context of linguistics, before making any claims to their universality.

The third reason is directionality in translation. She claims that candidates for universality that are suggested for one given translation direction may not be found to be candidates for universality in the opposite direction. House (2004b) demonstrates this with a corpus of translations of children’s books from English into German and German into English in which procedures of explicitation common in translations from English into German cannot be traced in the opposite translation direction (see also House 2006). But even this hypothesis can be refuted, as was recently done in the Hamburg project “Covert Translation” at the German Science Foundation’s Centre on Multilingualism (Baumgarten, House and Probst 2004; Bührig, House and ten Thije 2014). Baumgarten (2007) for instance has demonstrated that the use of the German initial coordinative conjunction “und” (meaning “and”) has increased considerably in German academic discourse under the influence of translations from English over a 25-

year period. She cites this as pointing to a reduction in explicitation with respect to this particular functional category.

The fourth reason is genre specificity. In a project dealing with covert translation, English non-translations were compared with translations from English into German, French, Spanish and comparable texts in these languages with respect to how “subjectivity”, “addressee-orientation” and their linguistic realizations are represented as well as how they change over time under the influence of English as the world’s dominant lingua franca. Her findings show that while there is a tendency for explicitation in the German translations of popular science texts, this is less so for economics texts.

Her fifth and final reason is that the source-text genre and the status of the source text language influence the development of translation. More specifically, House claims that it is important to consider the diachronic development of texts that belong to a certain genre, since translations develop dynamically and may be critically influenced by the status of the language of the source text genre. In turn, this language may influence the nature of the translation text genre as well as the nature of comparable texts in the same genre. She cites as example the findings of the “Covert Translation” project briefly described above. In that project, the use of personal deictics has changed in 25 years in popular science texts, just as the occurrence of modal particles in German translations and German comparable texts during that same period. House ends her discussion against translation universals by challenging Translation Studies researchers to investigate whether the issue of “intervention” by translators in the translation process might also be considered a candidate for universality. Such intervention may be found in the localization of texts for cultural or ethical reasons. House (2008: 16) claims that

“interventions” for ideological, socio-political or ethical reasons, however well-meant they may be in any individual case, are generally risky undertakings. Who is to judge that the interventions are really desirable and that addressees of a translation would not rather be confronted with an equivalent source text? How can we justify well-meant changes to a text made under the auspices of say feminist or post-colonialist thinking from chauvinistic imperialist interventions? We cannot.

She claims to have always argued for “separating linguistic, textual considerations from social ones” (House 2008: 16). How is this possible if language is by nature social and the norms of translations are about decision-making, not only on the part of the translator but also with respect to all others who are party to a translational transaction? House further clarifies that “as a translator (and a translation critic) one must be aware of one’s responsibility to the original author and his or her text and one must use the power one has been given to re-textualise and re-contextualise a given text with discretion. In many – if not most – cases it might be wiser to not intervene at all” (ibid: 16). But, is that not what the translation process as defined in Translation Studies is all about (cf. Okyayuz Yener 2010)?

### *2.7.1.3 Translators’ agency*

Kinnunen and Koskinen ed. (2010) explain that in an intuitive way, the concept of agency appears to be an intrinsic part of the professional roles of translators and interpreters and therefore if one is to understand these roles, attention must be paid to agency. Their express objective was to search beyond the sociological contributions of Bourdieu for new perspectives that might enlighten us on the question of agency within Translation Studies. In a February 2008 symposium called “Translators’ agency”, which took place at the University of Tampere, Kinnunen and Koskinen made an attempt to put together a standard definition of “agency” in Translation Studies. Out of the collective efforts of the participants came the concise definition: the “willingness and ability to act” (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010: 6).

In the entire concept of agency, the aspect of “willingness” “describes a particular internal state and disposition” whose nature is “largely individualistic and psychological” (ibid: 6). This means that any translational transaction in which the translator’s behavior is regarded as morally and ethically conscious, reflective and intentional, is a question of the translator’s willingness. The aspect of “ability” is related to “constraints and issues of power(lessness)” and choice with respect to the actions of all the actors, irrespective of their social status, in a translational transaction (ibid: 6). The aspect of “acting” is a question of “exerting an influence in the lifeworld” (see also Poupaud 2008; Haddadian Moghaddam 2012). The definition of agency proposed by Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010) is the one adopted for the purposes of the present study.

However, a number of other meaningful definitions of agency have been proposed in Translation Studies. Buzelin (2011: 6) notes that in the literature the



concept of agency has more than one definition. She points out three paths of the notion as they are regarded by Sager (1994), Milton and Bandia (2009) and Simeoni (1995). According to Sager (1994: 321), an agent is “a person who is in an intermediary position (i.e. a commissioner, a reviser, an editor, etc.) between a translator and an end user of a translation.” As far as treatment of the Papiamentu language in Curaçao is concerned, this is clear. For many translations done on educational materials, for example, there is a commissioner – the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (Institute for Language Planning). Whenever translation is done there, there are revisers and editors who work between the translator and the end user of the translation. This definition fits that instance of Papiamentu. Milton and Bandia (2009: 1) see an agent of translation as “any entity (a person, an institution, or even a journal) involved in a process of cultural innovation and exchange”. Again, all of these exist in the Curaçaoan Papiamentu context. Simeoni (1995: 452) views an agent as “the ‘subject,’ but socialized. To speak of a translating agent, therefore, suggests that the reference is a ‘voice,’ or a pen (more likely a computer today), inextricably linked to networks of other social agents”. Once again, this definition does fit in the Papiamentu context. Examination of each of these definitions seems to suggest that if each can be applied to one and the same entity while yet in some way different from each other, it must therefore follow that each has a distinct focus.

From my point of view, the focus of Sager’s “agent” seems to be overt authority responsible for making corrections, issuing the final word, decrees or edicts. The focus of Milton and Bandia’s “agent” seems to be open exchange of ideas between cultures; while that of Simeoni seems to be the medium of translation, whatever it is, as long as it is socially networked. The challenge is to see which of these definitions is suited to my research questions and hence the variables in my hypotheses. In addition to Simeoni’s (1995) concept of agent, there are his questions about the power of norms on translators, which he raised in his seminal paper published in *Target* in 1998:

What are the forces that make norms such powerful instruments of control as to have all agents, including those in a good position to change them, conform to their diktat? And if the (systemic) subsectors always prevail, what does this say of those who, faced with a plurality of possible decisions in the real time of practice, nearly always opt to go along with existing norms? Are translators just plain submissive? (1998: 7)

Accordingly, he carefully formulates the hypothesis that “translatorial competence may be characterized by conformity to a greater extent than is the competence of other agents active in the cultural field” (1998: 7). That is, among all the competent parties involved in a translation transaction, the translator may be more inclined than any of the other parties to keep to the accepted and expected way of carrying out the translation task. Simeoni’s justification for his questions and hypothesis is well taken, given that he draws on a set of instances which show that literally for ages, translators have not been taken seriously and therefore have generally been relegated to a “lower status” among other professions – hence low wages and even little or no recognition (see, for example, Venuti 1995; Chan 2008; Liu 2011). Citing instances from the Spanish Golden Age up through the age of Dryden to the twenty-first century, Simeoni carefully argues that “[t]ranslators, not unlike the scribes of ancient or premodern civilizations, have always occupied subservient positions among the dominant professions of the cultural sphere” (1998: 7) (see, for example, Trudeau 1992, Jänis 1996). Buzelin (2014) notes that Simeoni’s (1998) arguments are often quoted in the literature of Translation Studies and render Simeoni’s (1998) hypothesis emphatic and provocative. A researcher could find it hard not to take them as a “gentle and implicit invitation to respond: an invitation for translators and translation trainers to question their own attitude to norms and reflect on their own agency, and an invitation for translation scholars to carry more empirical research – which they did” (Buzelin 2014: 65).

Simeoni then ends his discussion with a number of questions in the form of two remarks. He basically acknowledges that the practice of translation has moved on, that it is not carried out in the way it used to be carried out in, say, seventeenth-century Europe. Nonetheless, the “acquired subservience” of the profession has remained. Is it a matter of the translator having to adjust to “different types of norms and making the most of them under widely varying circumstances” (1998: 13)? Could it be that the specific nature of the intellectual activity that occurs in translating as an activity has less to do with language and its use than with actual physical (as opposed to mostly mental) negotiations concerning translation? In other words, does the translator’s acquired subservience have more to do with the specific nature of their intellectual activity of translating than with the specific nature of the physical (as opposed to mostly mental) demands made on them to carry out the translation transaction? And could it be that such demands “prove more and more difficult to sustain”, in that translators are now called upon to do more than the translating they generally have a passion to do (ibid:

14)? Simeoni ends with more questions than answers but is nonetheless convinced that translators continue to behave subserviently, even when they have the power not to do so.

Buzelin (2014) notes that Simeoni (2001) makes it clear that the translator's subservience dates back to Jerome's method of Bible translation. It is a Christian legacy "acting as a call to order never to move too far away from the source. Such a Christian translation ethics served different interests at different times and was therefore secularized even as it was re-appropriated and reproduced in order to become part of a habitus" (Buzelin 2014: 86). This opened up the way for two competing models of translation. These were the Ciceronian Republican model and the Hieronymic model. Simeoni (2001) notes that in the former, there was no real distinction between the authorial or translatorial writing. The textual and linguistic norms that Cicero followed were the same in his writing as in his translating. In the latter model, it was not exactly so: the norms (linguistic and cultural) that Jerome followed at different times were different in his translation from those applied in his writing. According to Simeoni (2001), the eventual internalization of his translation attitude (albeit one of devotion to the text) was the result of his very repetition and conveyance of it under the different purposes it served. Buzelin (2014: 67) notes that Simeoni's (2001) location of

the origins of translator's subservience much deeper and further back in time, in a Christian ethics of translation expressing itself in a posture of extreme respect towards a venerated source [and that] this thesis challenges Venuti's [1995, 1998] explanation of the low socio-economic status of the profession, and historical accounts that regard the Roman tradition represented by Cicero as the cradle of Western translation. On the other hand, it is very much in tune with Douglas Robinson's (1996), and bears the same implications. (Buzelin: 2014: 67)

Further, Buzelin clarifies in this debate that Simeoni's (2001) position is not a call to interpret contemporary theories of translation as synonymous with "simple somatised theology" as seen in Robinson's (1996, xii, quoted in Buzelin 2014: 67) research. Rather it is a call to interpret both Berman's (1995) "neoliteralist ethics of translation as modern expressions of the ancient hieronymic posture". If Simeoni's (2001) thesis is correct, neither Berman's (1995) nor Venuti's (1995) ethics of translation could further be seen as potentially emancipating or revolutionizing (Buzelin 2014: 67).

In acknowledging the hypothesis and findings of Simeoni with respect to the translator's subservience dating back to Jerome's method of translation, Buzelin clarifies that none of this suggests that every translator follows translation norms to the same extent, nor that they do not have the ability to be "creative and cunning in designing translation strategies" (Buzelin 2014: 86). It does not suggest that translators in general are not proud of their profession and are reluctant to promote it nor does it counter the possibility of dissimilarities in translation practices between cultures, nations, historical eras or professional fields. Rather, it affirms that "translators, at least in the West, have internalized the idea that their practice defines itself by its secondariness and in opposition to authorial writing" (2014: 86).

While Simeoni (1995, 1998) has looked at the translator's subservience, others have looked at translators' resistance and even activism. According to Tymoczko (2010b: 6), the interventions of translators can be identified through the modifications they make in their target texts. These interventions include changes in content, textual form, and political tones. Attention is paid to what is not translated in one given context, as that non-translated item is often just as informative as what is translated.

The contributions of the various researchers in Tymoczko ed. (2010) center around the issue of agency, where the translators are viewed as key agents for social change and translations are recorded as vital cultural expressions and not as imitative, peripheral or side-lined productions. Translation is seen as a political, ethical, and ideological exercise, not merely as a perfunctory linguistic transposition of text or a literary art. Even though these essays treat the subject of literary translation, the ideological underpinnings of the progress made in Translation Studies are acknowledged.

In relation to decision-making, Tymoczko (2010b: 8) explains that it is imperative for translators to make choices. Thus, emphasis on the choices and decisions they make was one of the first steps in investigating their agency. There are a few reasons why translators cannot transfer everything in a source text to the target language and text. One is the fact that not all languages share the same shape or even symmetries of culture. Another is that meanings in texts may be both open and under-determined. Also, texts may make contradictory demands that cannot be satisfied all at once. Further, the information load associated with and borne by a source text may be excessive and over-determined. Thus, translation is a metonymic process in which translators make choices and set priorities for their translations in decision-making

processes built on ideological implications (Tymoczko 1999b; Boase-Beier 2006, 2014).

The choices that translators make also create a space for expressing new propositions and theories clearly. They also provide a context of affiliation for both the translator and the translation. The result is that choice in translation inevitably involves values, ethics and responsibility. At the same time, because cultures are heterogeneous and include different perspectives on values and responsibility, translations are always potentially controversial, potentially the subject of conflict and contestation (Tymoczko 2010b: 8).

Tymoczko (2010b: 3), in her contribution “The Space and Time of Activist Translation”, demonstrates through a longitudinal analysis of documented Irish translation that activist translation strategies are very severely deprived of “space, time, history, and political contexts”. She notes that these strategies include those aligned with “revolution and cultural nationalism” and are subject to swift change and also to strict conditions governing their applicability. Her conclusion is therefore that prescriptive recommendations for activist translators and for the activist translation strategies they apply are misplaced.

The work of Baker (2010), “Translation and Activism: Emerging Patterns of Narrative Community”, relates sociological approaches to narrative theory and subsequently uses this framework to evaluate activism carried out by contemporary associations of translators who translate documents that have been silenced by dominant news sources and who interpret for nonprofit organizations that oppose multinationals, globalizing and military interests, in order to promote a more objective transmission of ideas worldwide.

Bastin, Echeverri and Campo in “Translation and Emancipation of Hispanic America” (2010) stress the importance of the role that translation plays in the revolutionary movement that gave rise to the emancipation of the colonies of Spain in the so-called New World. Two other studies that detail the effects of more recent instances of colonialism are Carcelen-Etrada’s “Covert and Overt Ideologies in the Translation of the Bible into Huao Terero” (2010) and Aiu’s “Ne‘e Papa I Ke Ō Mau: Language as an Indicator of Hawaiian Resistance and Power” (2010).

Carcelen-Etrada (2010) presents an analysis of the role of Bible translation in the conciliation of the Huaorani people of the Amazon. Paying close attention to translation identities and resistance to translation, he also examines the role that colonialist

translation played in the subordination of populations as well as the issue of translational resistance in the reactions of the colonized groups.

Aiu (2010) focuses on the colonization of the Hawaiian islands. He defines the role that decision-making in translation has played in the Hawaiian renaissance since the mid-twentieth century. The role defined includes both the decision to translate as well as the refusal to translate and their consequences.

Merkle in “Secret Literary Societies in Late Victorian England” (2010) investigates how translators in England evaded censorship during the second half of the nineteenth century by disseminating their works through secret publishing and distribution networks. This was a way for them to defy the sexual prohibitions of the dominant culture successfully during that era.

Ben-Ari in “Reclaiming the Erotic: Hebrew Translations from 1930 to 1980” (2010) explains that, through translation types ranging from pornography to medical manuals, translators were able to guarantee the erotic a place and a lexis in modern Hebrew and up-and-coming Israeli culture. In so doing, translators were also able to counter the prevailing puritanical ethos in cultural nationalism at a time when the state of Israel was developing.

Baer’s essay “Literary Translation and the Construction of a Soviet Intelligentsia” (2010) covers approximately the same period as Ben-Ari (2010), when translators used Russian translations of Western literary classics to counter the discourses of a number of the most culturally dictatorial policies of the former Soviet Union.

Bandia (2010) discusses the subversion of cultures in the contemporary writings of the former colonies of Africa. Also discussed in his essay “Literary Heteroglossia and Translation: Translating Resistance in Contemporary African Francophone Writing” (2010) are the effective modes of translation for characterizing that subversion.

In “The Resistant Political Translations of Monteiro Lobato” (2010), Milton shows how activism in the translations of José Bento Monteiro Lobato promoted the modernization of Brazil while undermining the policies of the Getúlio Vargas dictatorship between the 1920s and the 1940s. The later dictatorship, which dominated Brazil between the 1960s and 1980s, is the subject of Vieira’s essay “Growing Agency: The Labors of Political Translation” (2010). Vieira gives an account of her own personal experience, exposing foundational events in the formation of the government at a time when she was head translator; she claims her work was instrumental in toppling the power structure.

Haddadian Moghaddam, in his doctoral dissertation *Agency in the translation and production of novels from English in modern Iran* (2012), describes and examines the role of agency in the sociocultural and geopolitical environment of modern Iran with specific reference to the translation as well as the production of novels from English. In his study translators and publishers are taken as the principal translation agents. The study draws largely on Bourdieu's notions of capital, disposition and field, and in part on two principles of the actor-network theory proposed by Bruno Latour. Haddadian Moghaddam's research presents penetrating insight of the translation agents' role, their agency, and also the manner in which they implement it.

## 2.8 Summary

This chapter has presented a review of the literature most closely relevant to the topic of the present study. It began with a historical overview of early seminal contributions to Caribbean creole studies. The selected research of the entire review bears on lexical transfer, standardization and translational behavior, as well as debates about universals of translation and the translator's agency as far as they are related to the Caribbean creoles.

However, the review has shown that very little of the previous research on creole translation has dealt with translation directly, hence one of the reasons for my own research. In exactly the same way that translation has remained unacknowledged in the standardization processes of Caribbean creole languages, it has very much been a side issue in discussions of the development of the creoles. Thus, the research efforts reviewed here show that the creoles are present, but by and large they are not considered important, especially with respect to the progress of their societies, where the focus is on the societies' ability to compete internationally. In short, the general feeling of creole-speaking Caribbean people around the Caribbean is that the creoles are not capable of preparing them for such advancement.

Although these research efforts are insightful and influential not only in Translation Studies but also in other disciplines such as Linguistics, Sociology, Psychology, and Literary Studies, none of them has actually investigated the role of the translator as an agent of lexical transfer as such. Thus, the present study is the first of its kind to investigate this issue, using real data based on questionnaires from translators and non-translators with various backgrounds and professional training, interviews with

language planners and an analysis of real translational and non-translational texts. It is hoped that the results of this study will help to shed some light on a few of the much-debated issues around translational behavior and will possibly contribute to the relevant theories in Translation Studies. I believe that the impact of translation on lexical transfer is both visible and audible but nonetheless ignored. The following chapters will investigate this relationship.



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TRANSLATORS AS AGENTS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER  
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## 3. Research methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

In the human sciences today, there is no shortage of literature on how to tackle empirical research. This is also true for Translation Studies (see, for example, Tirkkonen-Condit 1991; Toury 1995; Berg 2004; Snell-Hornby 2006). Empirical studies often make use of data already available and collected for other purposes. Alternatively, an empirical study may entail collecting information from a large number of individuals, probably by means of a questionnaire. In that case, we may refer to the study as a survey. It may be cross-sectional in that it uses data collected at one time. If it uses data collected over a period, then it is longitudinal. The present study is empirical and cross-sectional, having collected its data from more than 200 subjects in one period. It is built on three levels: a quantitative level based on numerical data collected by questionnaire, a qualitative level that deals with non-numerical data such as the respondents' replies to an open-ended question and other comments from the questionnaire, and non-numerical data collected from interviews conducted with selected language-planning personnel. A second qualitative level deals with the analysis of public-health medical texts translated from English into Curaçaoan Papiamentu alongside their source texts, and other non-translational public-health medical texts written originally in that language.

This chapter presents the methodology of the present research. Section 3.2 runs through the research questions upon which the main issues of this study are based. Section 3.3 presents the research hypotheses and variables to be tested. Section 3.4 gives a definition of the Papiamentu translators and non-translators for the purposes of the present study. Section 3.5 presents a definition of the Papiamentu language planners referred to in this study as the “language gatekeepers” also for the purposes of this study. Section 3.6 proposes a definition of standardization and discusses degrees, types or stages of this process. Section 3.7 discusses Vinay and Darbelnet's methodology for translation. Section 3.8 presents a model illustrating the relation between translation and lexical transfer and how this applies to Papiamentu, as well as some alternatives to lexical transfer in Papiamentu. Section 3.9 discusses the research design adopted for this study. It also outlines the structure of the questionnaire and the interview used for

collecting data for the study. Also the piloting of both the questionnaire and interview is discussed, as are the (non)translational texts collected for analysis. Section 3.10 deals with the framework that guides the research. The chapter ends with a work plan based on the methodology explained.

### **3.2 Research questions**

As mentioned in the Introduction, this research is driven by four questions. I restate them here with respect to Papiamentu:

Do creole translators transfer lexical items from an unrelated language into their creole translations?

Do they do this more than creole non-translators do in their creole texts?

What is the creole translators' and non-translators' justification for transferring foreign lexical items into their creole texts?

How do creole translators assist in the lexical transfer process of their creole?

These questions have not been addressed in previous studies. They are important because in the case of Curaçao there are four languages in synchronic existence – Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish. Although Papiamentu does generate lexical items from its historical resources, mainly Spanish, it also has a tendency to generate new vocabulary, more so from English rather than from Dutch, which has been an official language for even a longer time than English has been. Further, this study is concerned with the fact that translation tends to be seen as a side-issue in Caribbean societies, but in the case of Curaçaoan society it plays a vital role and appears to have an impact on the lexical transfer process of Papiamentu.

### **3.3 Research hypotheses and variables**

#### *3.3.1 Research hypotheses*

The main hypothesis that is to be tested is:

Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators.

I would like to posit that some conditions affecting the lexical transfer process are likely to be language prestige, the sensitivity of a text, employment stability, professional experience and formal training. For the conditions under which the main hypothesis will be tested, I present five sub-hypotheses as follows.

H<sub>1</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the lexifier language is prestigious.

H<sub>2</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the text type is sensitive.

H<sub>3</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have employment stability.

H<sub>4</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have extensive professional experience.

H<sub>5</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have formal training.

What justification is there for the focus on lexical transfer in the present study? I have always felt that translation plays an essential part in the lexical transfer process of the Caribbean creoles. I thought that this should be the case because each creole in the Caribbean essentially co-exists with at least one other language, and translation is carried out from and into some of these creoles. Traditionally, however, lexical transfer has been addressed within the context of linguistics and second-language acquisition, with little or no mention of translation in the process (see, for example, Ringbom 1983, 2001; Lafourcade and Umr 2001; De Angelis 2005; Singleton 2006; Jarvis 2009; Aitchison 2012; Muysken 2012; Cannon 2012; Sánchez-Muñoz 2013; Moattarian 2013). Further, apart from the creole translators who translate texts into their creole, there are the creole writers who also produce original non-translated texts in their creole, which is perhaps ultimately desirable for the promotion of any language, but practically speaking, the fastest way to produce texts needed in the creole is to translate existing ones. Thus, the more disciplines that are translated into a creole, the more

lexical items and terms are built into it. But even though translation may rarely (if ever) be mentioned in the lexical transfer process, it is highly unlikely that the lack of recognition could obliterate its importance. For these reasons, I wanted to investigate the role of the translator in lexical transfer. Hence the focus on lexical transfer and the translator's agency therein.

### *3.3.2 Defining and operationalizing the variables*

As far as the research variables are concerned, I shall endeavor to convey the meaning of each one with sufficient precision, differentiating between those that are dependent and those that are independent, as well as between those that are discrete and those that are continuous. They are: lexical transfer activity by translators and non-translators, language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience, and formal training. In any scientific research, an operational definition is one that is based on the observed characteristics of that which is being defined. Based on this concept, I will now discuss how I have operationalized each of the variables.

#### *3.3.2.1 Lexical transfer activity by translators and non-translators*

The lexical transfer variable refers to the use of any English lexical item in a Papiamentu text for expressing an idea or part thereof, irrespective of whether the lexical item is a quotation of someone's utterance or whether a corresponding Papiamentu lexical item exists. The variable is dependent, discrete and measured by the self-report assessment from the questionnaire respondents with respect to the frequency with which the Papiamentu translators and non-translators transfer lexical items into their Papiamentu translations and non-translations. Thus, on a 5-point Likert scale where 5 = always, 4 = frequently, 3 = occasionally, 2 = rarely, 1 = never, the frequency of the lexical transfer reported by the respondents can be estimated. This will be triangulated with inspection of actual translations and non-translations.

#### *3.3.2.2 Language prestige*

For the purposes of this study, the language prestige variable refers to the way in which the respondents perceived the worth of their creole relative to another language (the source language) that might have some prestige over it with respect to the political and educational life of their society. For example, one respondent might view Papiamentu as a language that is more prestigious than the island's other languages (Dutch, English or

Spanish), whereas another might view it as less prestigious than any of these. This variable is independent, and although it is a naturally continuous variable, it is analyzed here as discrete and was operationalized through a self-report assessment from the questionnaire respondents.

### *3.3.2.3 Text sensitivity*

Like the employment stability variable, the text sensitivity variable was based on several situations. With this variable I wanted to determine whether the survey participant based their decision to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer on the following conditions: 1) the text did not have to meet regulatory requirements, 2) the text was not safety-related, 3) the text was highly academic, and 4) the text was the translator's or the writer's own. Therefore, as in the case of the employment stability variable, if any of these four conditions applied to the participant's translation and/or writing situation they might have felt they could take the liberty to use English expressions in their Papiamentu texts. This text status variable is independent, analyzed as discrete and was measured by self-report assessment from the questionnaire respondents. Thus, on the 5-point Likert scale previously described for the lexical transfer and employment stability variables, I was able to gather data on the frequency of the lexical transfer reported by the respondents.

### *3.3.2.4 Employment stability*

The employment stability variable refers to several situations. I wanted to find out whether the survey participants based their decision to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer on the following conditions: 1) the translation or writing task was not for payment, 2) payment for the translation and/or writing task was guaranteed, 3) assignment of future translation and/or writing tasks was guaranteed, and 4) the end-user's demand for the translation and/or non-translational text was not affected by the use of English expressions in it. Therefore, if any of these four conditions applied to the participant's Papiamentu translation and/or writing situation, the participant might have felt that they could take the liberty of using English expressions in their Papiamentu texts. This employment stability variable is independent, discrete and was measured by self-report responses from the questionnaire. Thus, on a 5-point Likert scale the same as the one mentioned for the lexical transfer variable in 3.3.2.1, I was able to gather data on the frequency of the lexical transfer reported by the questionnaire respondents.

### *3.3.2.5 Professional experience*

The professional experience variable refers to the length of time in years of translation experience of a Papiamentu translator and to the years of writing experience of a Papiamentu non-translator (that is, exclusive writer). However, this variable was accounted for in a two-part response: one part was an expression of the estimated length of time as follows: “less than one year”, “between 1 and 5 years inclusive”, “between 6 and 10 years inclusive”, “between 11 and 15 years inclusive” and “more than 15 years”. The other part expressed the frequency of the translation and/or writing activity in which the respondent had the reported years of experience as follows: “every day”, “once a week”, less than once a week”, “rarely” and “other”. I considered this way of measuring the respondents’ experience as necessary since someone with 15 years of experience who rarely translates is not likely to be comparable to someone who has 15 years of experience and translates every day. Additionally, each level of experience carried a value that ranked the experience, so longer experience received a higher rank. Similarly, with regard to the frequency of the activity generating the experience, the greater the frequency, the higher the value attached to it. This variable is independent, discrete and was operationalized as described above through the self-report assessment from the questionnaire respondents.

### *3.3.2.6 Formal training*

The formal training variable refers to whether or not the questionnaire respondents had had formal training in translation and/or writing. The variable is dichotomous, taking only two values – “yes” and “no” and is therefore also discrete. In the case where the answer was “yes”, the type of training was noted. But for the purpose of counting from the questionnaire who had training, the self-report assessment was represented by a 1 for “yes” or a 0 for “no”.

## **3.4 The Papiamentu translators and non-translators**

For the purposes of this study, a “professional Papiamentu translator” is strictly any individual who for payment expresses the ideas of an English source text in the target language (Papiamentu), thus producing a corresponding written text (a Papiamentu target text) also called a Papiamentu translation. The identity of translator also allows for constraints that include culture, context, the grammar rules of the source and target

languages, their writing conventions and their turns of phrases. This research is restricted to written translation.

I then define a person who writes, publishes or edits for payment. I refer to such a non-translator as an exclusive writer. Like the translator, they allow for constraints that include culture, context, grammar rules, writing conventions and turns of phrases concerning Papiamentu. Thus, the professional Papiamentu writer produces written work originally in Papiamentu, not by way of translation. I refer to this Papiamentu work as a Papiamentu non-translation, or simply Papiamentu writing. It is important to note here that this definition is not limited to authors of books (literary or non-literary) or any texts of a specialized nature but is inclusive of all individuals who, at one time or another for payment, produce some original text in Papiamentu.

On the island of Curaçao I discovered that the Papiamentu translators and “non-translators” actually form two overlapping sets. There are translators who only translate (exclusive translators, here called T), translators who also write non-translations (writing translators, or wT), writers of non-translations who also translate (translating writers, tW), people who produce translations and non-translations on just about an equal level (writers/translators, WT), and people who only engage in producing non-translations (exclusive writers, W). Thus, four groups (T, wT, WT, tW) make up the set of all professional Papiamentu translators on the island. The set of all individuals who do both is (wT, WT and tW). I refer to these as “translators-and-writers”, to avoid confusion with the overarching group of professional “translators and writers” which could be pulled from all five groups (T, wT, WT, tW, W). The common denominator among all five groups of professional Papiamentu translators and non-translators is that they end up producing a Papiamentu (non)translation (see Table 3). Thus, the general distribution of translators and non-translators can be considered as a type of spectrum where exclusive translators are to be found at one end and non-translators at the other. All others can be found more or less fixed at some point between these two extremes. It is important to note that in the case of the translators, “exclusive” denotes that they do not engage in non-translational writing. This does not preclude them from engaging in other occupations or professions concurrently.



Table 3. Types of Papiamentu translators and non-translators

Translators and Non-translators	Symbols	Types	
TRANSLATORS	T	Exclusive translators	Exclusive translators
	wT	Writing translators	Translators- and-writers
	WT	Writers/translators	
	tW	Translating writers	
NON-TRANSLATORS	W	Non-translators	Non-translators

### 3.5 Papiamentu language planners: the “language gatekeepers”

The definition of “language planners” has always depended on the organization or nation involved, as well as their goals. Nevertheless, the definition generally refers to people who engage in making decisions to influence intentionally the functions of a language as deemed necessary for its acquisition and use in effective communication within the territory where the language is used (see, for example, Cobarrubias 1983; Christian 1988; C. Ferguson 1968/1996; Nahir 2003; Wiley 2003; Ferguson 2006; Liddicoat 2009; Baldauf 2012; Liddicoat and Scarino 2013; Baldauf, Chua, and Siew 2013). In the case of Curaçao, making decisions about which language is used, when, where and for what purpose is the function of language planners. This includes decisions about which lexical items are formally admitted into Papiamentu, whether by way of authorized translations, dictionaries, glossaries or any other reference texts.

Because of the decision-making function of Curaçaoan language planners, I also refer to them as the “language gatekeepers”. In effect, their language gatekeeping is an

exercise of authority, even if this authority is only imagined. It is interesting to note that some language gatekeepers are linguists, educators, anthropologists, government policymakers, language planners, translators or strictly writers who perform their gatekeeping functions either permanently or intermittently. Further, it is important to clarify here that while the present research is grounded in Curaçaoan Papiamentu, the official Curaçaoan language planners, that is the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*, have the task of planning all four languages that co-exist on the island. The language planners who were selected for this study were interviewed with respect to translation into Papiamentu, its standardization and the transfer of lexical forms from English into it.

### **3.6 Definition of standardization**

As mentioned in 1.2 and 2.2, standardization is normally dealt with in the context of linguistics. There is no mention of translation at all in the current definitions. All the creoles of the Caribbean co-exist with at least one other language, whether or not they are genealogically related to each other. After the official declaration of a creole as a standardized language, it is usually promoted for more extensive use in its speech community. At this point, the production and propagation of texts in the standardized creole requires new texts in it. However, the production and propagation of texts is often more effectively and efficiently achieved through the translation of existing texts. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, I define standardization as the official acceptance, documentation, propagation and application of lexical items that are transferred through translation or non-translation into the creole as a part of its standard lexicon, irrespective of whether the items are linguistically modified in the process. This standardization process overlaps with, and takes over from, the lexical transfer process at the point where the language-planning authorities make their official decision both to accept and document transferred lexical items as standard in the creole (see Figure 7).

#### *3.6.1 Degree, types or stages of standardization*

Deumert (2000) cautions that not every language is standardized to the same degree. Various kinds or stages of standardization have been identified. As natural languages essentially begin in oral media of communication, there are unstandardized oral languages. There are also partly standardized or unstandardized written languages,

young standard languages, archaic standard languages and mature modern standard languages. Table 4 shows these classifications with a few examples.

Table 4. Degree, types or stages of standardization of languages (based on Cobarrubias 1983: 43-4)

Degree, types or stages of standardization	Description of standardization	Examples of languages
Unstandardized oral language	No writing system has been devised.	Gallah (Ethiopia); Phuthi (Lesotho); Kokoy (Dominica English creole), Mekatelyu (Costa Rica - English creole), Guariguari (Panamanian English creole), and most other Caribbean English creoles
Partly standardized or unstandardized written language	Used mainly in primary education but characterized by high degrees of linguistic variation in the morphological and syntactic system.	Many Native American languages
Young standard language	Used in education and administration but not felt to be fit for use in science and technology at a tertiary or research level.	Basque (France/Spain), Luganda (Uganda), Xhosa (South Africa)
Archaic standard language	Was used widely in pre-industrial times but lacks vocabulary and registers for modern science and technology.	classical Greek, classical Hebrew, Latin
<b>Mature modern standard language</b>	<b>Used in all areas of communication including science and technology at a tertiary level.</b>	<b>Papiamentu</b> , English, Danish, French, German, modern Hebrew, and so on

Since Papiamentu is used in all domains of its society, for all types of communication, even in science and technology at the higher education level, it is classified as a mature modern standard language. In fact, the classification here of Papiamentu is exactly in conformance with the description provided by Mooneeram (2009: 20): “[a] standard language, in sum, is a language whose norms have been codified or regulated through dictionaries and grammatical descriptions, which functions fully and efficiently as a written medium, and whose autonomy from other languages has been guaranteed”.

However, in the case of Curaçao, it is still possible to find certain situations in which either English or Dutch rather than Papiamentu is used at a high level, say in higher education. One reason is that on the island there are university degree programs that cater to local as well as foreign students, who more than likely speak English and not Papiamentu. There are also foreign students from the Netherlands, Belgium or

Suriname, who speak Dutch and English but not Papiamentu. Therefore, these programs are conducted in English or Dutch. Another reason is that certain officials, for example, government officials from the Netherlands, may be working temporarily on the island and do not speak Papiamentu at all. Such situations have nothing to do with the ability of Papiamentu as a language to deal with the situations described. If nothing else, they demonstrate the variety of language situations on the island.

### **3.7 Vinay and Darbelnet's methodology for translation**

In their seminal work, *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais: méthode de traduction*, Vinay and Darbelnet' (1958/2000) present and discuss with copious examples particularly from French and English, two methods of translation from which translators can choose. Here I work from the excerpt translated and published as "A Methodology for Translation" (2000). The two methods are direct (or literal) translation and oblique translation. The former method is practically self-explanatory: the source text can be translated "element by element" because it is based on structurally parallel categories, hence the term "structural parallelism" (84). They list three procedures under the direct translation method: borrowing, calque, and literal translation. The oblique translation method is not so obvious. The source text is based on "parallel concepts", hence the term "metalinguistic parallelisms" (84). They list four procedures under this method: transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation. Each of the seven procedures listed in this order is characterized by a higher level of complexity. I will discuss in 3.8.2.1 their application to Papiamentu.

### **3.8 A model of the relation between translation and lexical transfer**

In this study, I propose a model of the relation between translation and lexical transfer. First, I will explain why a model is needed to relate the variables to each other. Second, I will define what I mean by lexical transfer for the purposes of this study. Third, I will present the standard typologies of lexical transfer with examples from Papiamentu.. Finally, I will discuss the possible connection between translation and lexical transfer.

### *3.8.1 Rationale for the model*

There are several reasons why a model is needed to relate the variables to each other. The first is the very common reason that it can be used to illuminate abstractions. Even my most basic intuition of how the translators and non-translators engage in lexical transfer is not as efficient as a model that would be able to capture the qualitative translational behaviors of considerable interest to the present research.

Second, the model may help to reveal simple to complex questions or complex to simple questions. This means that it could show that a complex question may have a very simple answer or that a simple question may have a very complex answer. The questionnaire alone used in this study will show that some questions were more complex than others and therefore needed to be expressed with multiple parts, even if they generated simple answers. Conversely, some simple questions would generate answers that call for further research.

Third, the model would also be helpful to guide the data collection. Without the model, it would not be clear what data and how much of it should be collected hence what variables should be considered for investigation throughout the study. Further, abstraction through the model helps in the control of the variables for the investigation.

Fourth, the model in the present research serves to explain or reveal phenomena that may not be easily observable in real life. In the context of this research, lexical transfer may be observable, say from Papiamentu texts or speech, but how the observed lexical transfers interact with other conditioning variables, for example, certain aspects of employment stability or even of language prestige, may not be readily observable; however, this may be explainable by the model. I should state here that I consider the proposed model of the relation between translation and lexical transfer to be descriptive-explanatory; I do not insist that it is predictive, even if in parts it may be.

Finally, the model could help in the discovery of new questions. At the beginning of Chapter 1, I mentioned that in many cases the role of (creole) translation is vibrant and that the translator's practices frequently reveal unexpected outcomes. This is where the model would help the researcher to make sense of the problem and unexpected outcomes. Thus, the model is a tool that can provide different ways of thinking about a problem or lead to an experiment that might otherwise not be done. Besides, future experiments will not only increase understanding of the problem but improve the researcher's abilities to model it. It can also provide a way to study complex interactions

in more detail. I should add that unexpected outcomes could lead to new questions and even new variables whose interactions with old ones could in turn lead to new advances. In certain cases, the new questions and advances might become useful for disputing the robustness of existing theory or for deciding whether it should be reported as incompatible with the available research data (see Epstein 2008).

### *3.8.2 Lexical transfer*

The notion of lexical transfer has always been controversial, particularly in the field of linguistics. In the literature, it is clear that not all linguists agree on one definition of transfer. Further, a great deal of research that deals with lexical transfer is specifically related to second-language (L2) and third-language acquisition (L3) (see, for example, Ringbom 1983; Cenoz et al. 2001; Ringbom 2001; Jin 2003; Lafford et al. 2003; Agustín Llach 2010; Serrander 2011; Grosjean 2013; Täckström, McDonald and Nivre 2013; Jaensch 2013).

As mentioned above, Ringbom, in his seminal 1983 paper “Borrowing and lexical transfer”, argues that with respect to the study of lexes, transfer and borrowing are two different concepts. Nonetheless, they are related and transfer itself is better understood when they are examined together. He further explains that borrowing occurs when the search for a certain lexical item in one language, the target language (L2), triggers a lexical item in another language, the source language (L1). Then the triggered item is transferred completely, either modified or unmodified, into the L2. This form of the transferred lexical item in the L2 is moreover one that did not exist in it before. Thus, a new lexical item obtains in the L2. Two examples of this where German is the L1 and English is the L2 are the words *Angst* for “anxiety” and *Autobahn* for the British term “motorway”, or the American “expressway”, “freeway”, or “superhighway”. The process of borrowing can be viewed as rather mechanical, as it is merely a matter of searching for lexical items through a process where the degree to which the resulting lexical item in the L2 is formally similar to that in the L1 is highly important (see also Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Haspelmath 2008).

However, Ringbom (1983) explains that lexical transfer has two modes of expression. One mode involves the modification of the range of semantic features of the L2 on the model of an item in the L1. In some cases, this item may be used as an equivalent for the L1 item. One example is the German use of the already-borrowed French word *chef* for “boss”, “head”, “manager”, or “supervisor”. Hence a German

speaker in Germany has no problem producing the following sentence: My Chef is on holiday (German: *Mein Chef ist im Urlaub*) where the word *Chef* (meaning “cook” in English) resembles the English word “chief”, used mostly colloquially for any person in charge of others. Although the intended meaning is “My boss is on holiday”, speakers unwittingly produce an English sentence meaning My cook is on holiday. Thus, in Germany, every *Chef* is a “boss” and every *Koch* /'kɔx/ a “chef”, or “cook”. But it must be noted that this mode could also involve a shift in the range of semantic features of the L3 after the model of an item in the L2. Here there is the apocryphal example of a Polish student (for whom German is L2 and English the L3) wishing to say “I am a cook” but produces the sentence “I am a cock” since the word “cock” is phonologically and morphologically similar to the German noun *Koch*. The other mode of lexical transfer involves the assumption of translation equivalence between the L1 and the L2. In this case, existing L2 lexical items are combined into compound items or phrases that have a structure similar to that of the L1 (1983: 207). One example of this in Papiamentu is in the expression *no wòri* for “don’t worry”, which is a syntactic imitation modeled on the English expression.

Now, the present study is grounded in Translation Studies, not in second- or third-language acquisition. Therefore, for the purposes of the study and particularly for its research framework, all that is of import with respect to the definition of lexical transfer is the movement of an expression from the source language to the creole target language, regardless of what form it subsequently assumes (Pym 2011: 84). Thus, with respect to the lexical transfer variable of this study, I will use the following definitions of “lexical item” and “lexical transfer”.

For the term “lexical item”, I use the definition provided by Lewis (1997: 95). He defines this as a single word or chain of words that makes up the basic constituents of the vocabulary of a language. While the item is normally understood to express a single meaning, it is not restricted to single words. Further, it is a “natural unit” when translating between languages and also sometimes referred to as a lexical unit, or lexical entry. Thus, lexical items in English may include nouns, such as “hospital”, “box”, “bird”; phrasal verbs, such as “to do away with”, “to look forward to”; “text someone back”; polywords, such as “round the clock” or “upside down”; collocations, such as “garden party”, “abundantly clear”; institutionalized utterances, such as “I’ll pencil that in”, “Go ahead”, “Hold on”, “Had it not been for...”, “Can I help you?”; idioms, such as “not my cup of tea”, “like a bull in a china shop”; sentence frames and heads, such as

“The problem is either... or...”, “This is a matter of...”, or text frames, such as “In this study I examine...”; “Frankly,...”; “Honestly speaking, ...”; “Last but not least, ...”. If and when any such lexical item is transferred to another language, I refer to this movement as a “lexical transfer”, irrespective of whether the lexical item undergoes a linguistic change. The main point is that the target language does not use lexical items from its own resources wholly and solely to render the source language lexical item expression in it. In 3.8.2.1 below I illustrate various types of lexical transfer in Papiamentu.

### *3.8.2.1 Types of lexical transfer in Papiamentu*

There are four common types of lexical transfer, which I have identified in my collection of Papiamentu texts. I will present the types here with examples from English to Papiamentu and according to the standard terminology proposed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000).

The first type of lexical transfer is what I refer to as “unmodified borrowing”, that is, the use of lexical items without any morphological modification whatsoever in Papiamentu texts: for example, the use of the English words “mouthwash”, “stakeholder”, “self-service”, “upgrading”. In the context of translation, these are clearly borrowings by direct translation as Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000) explain this. They note that “borrowing is the simplest of all translation methods” and that translators make use of it from time to time to “create a stylistic effect” such as when they wish to render the flavor of the source language culture into their translated text (ibid: 85). Older borrowings tend to become so engrained in the target language that they are largely no longer recognized as borrowings. Vinay and Darbelnet also explain that this procedure is not stylistic in nature, that it is through translation that many borrowings enter a language, and that translators tend to be interested in newer and newer ones. However, certain borrowings do lose their original semantic properties and become *faux amis*.

The second type is one I refer to as “modified borrowing”, that is, the use or transcription of a lexical item in the form of a morphological translation: for example, *printernan* for “printers” or *power locknan* for “powerlocks”, *playoffnan* for “playoffs”, where the suffix *-nan* is a plural marker in Papiamentu. According to Vinay and Darbelnet (ibid: 85), this type is also a form of borrowing by direct translation. The lexical item is borrowed without any morphological modification except that it is



grammatically marked (in this case, for plurality) in a morphological way according to the grammatical rules of Papiamentu (see Lewis 1997).

The third type is commonly referred to as a morphophonetic translation. According to Vinay and Darbelnet (ibid: 85), this type is also direct translation that is “a special kind of borrowing whereby a language borrows an expression form of another, but then translates literally each of its elements”. The result is a structural parallelism, or “structural calque”, “which introduces a new construction into the language” as seen in the following examples: *bulfait* for “bull fight”, *gazòil* for “gasoil”, or “diesel”, *sanpépr* for “sand-paper” and *buldòk* for “bulldog”. It is evident that these lexical items are orthographically adapted to Papiamentu, and speakers preserve as much as possible of the English pronunciation. The end result is one in which the lexical items have undergone a translation that is morphological, phonetic and phonological all at the same time.

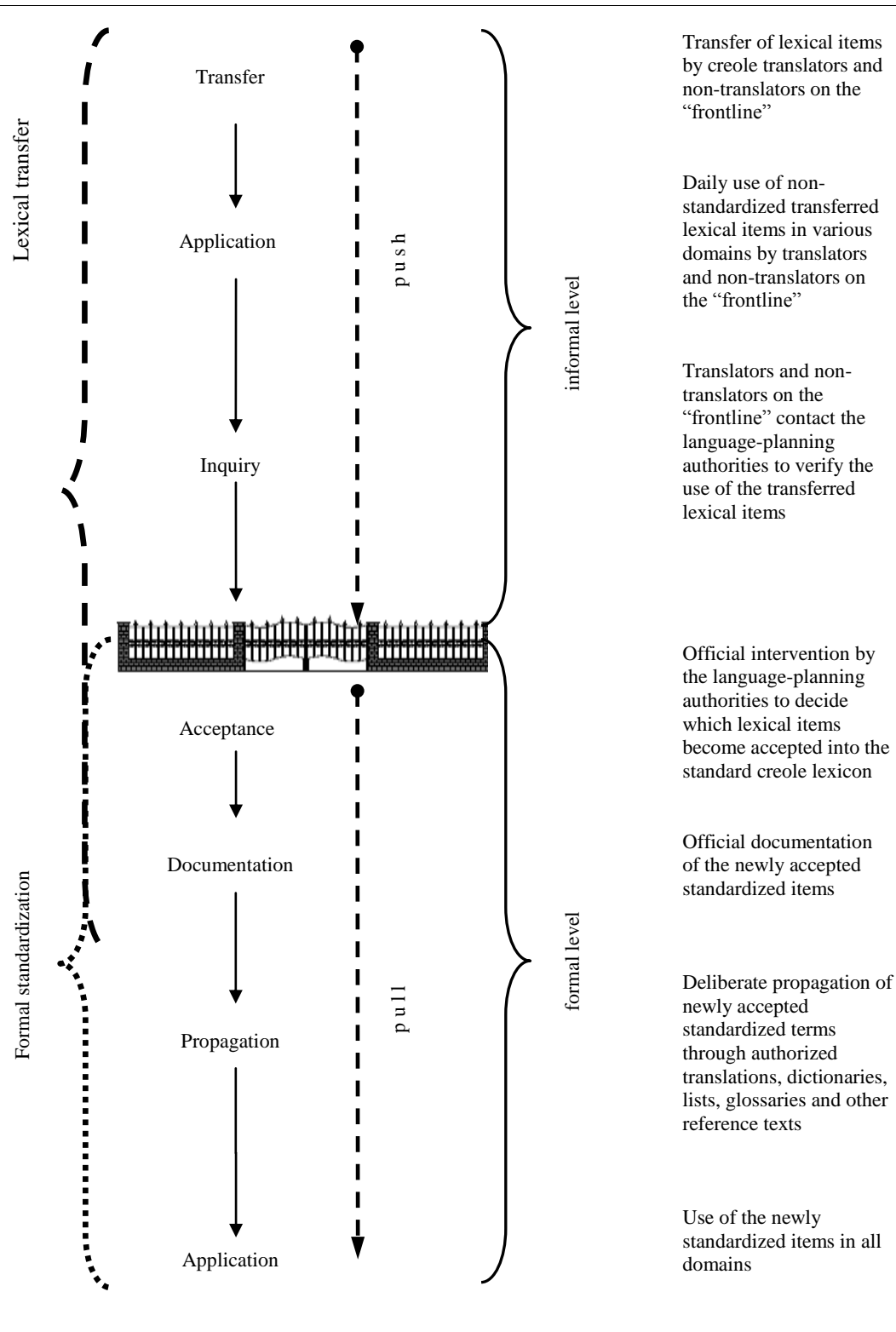
The fourth type is syntactic imitation, another form of direct translation and also a special type of borrowing similar to syntactic imitation except that the calque is lexical. Again, by Vinay and Darbelnet’s (ibid: 85) methodology for translation, “a lexical calque [...] respects the syntactic structure of the TL [target language], whilst introducing a new mode of expression”, as seen in the example of *no wòri* for “don’t worry”, which I mentioned earlier, and *lebumai*, *lègumai*, and *leumai* for “never mind”. Some of these lexical items here given as examples have in fact been in the language for many decades. Nonetheless, they serve to illustrate the different types of lexical transfers that occur from English to Papiamentu. Table 5 illustrates these lexical transfer types (see also Maduro 1966, Wood 1971, FPI 2009).

Table 5. Types of lexical transfer in Papiamentu according to Vinay and Darbelnet's standard methodology for translation

Standard methodology	Source-language input	Target-language output	Lexical-transfer description
Unmodified borrowing	airborne	airborne	No morphological modification
	check	check	
	coronary care	coronary care	
	down payment	down payment	
	gym	gym	
	intensive care	intensive care	
	manager	manager	
	newsletter	newsletter	
	public health nurse	public health nurse	
	rooming in	rooming in	
upgrading	upgrading		
Modified borrowing	playoffs	playoffnan	Morphological translation
	powerlocks	power locknan	
	printers	printerman	
	workshops	workshopnan	
Structural calque	dashboard	dèshbort	Morphophonetic translation
	paperclip	peperklep	
	weak point	wikpòint	
	windshield,	winshil	
Lexical calque	do not worry	no wòri	Syntactic imitation
	never mind	lebumai, lègumai, leumai	
	I'm not worrying	minda wòri	

Figure 7 below shows that the lexical transfer process can involve five steps: transfer, application, inquiry of use, acceptance, and documentation. The last two steps constitute the first two steps of the standardization process, hence there is an overlapping of both processes. In the lexical transfer process, the first step, transfer, is the transfer of lexical items by creole translators and non-translators on the so-called “frontline”. The second step, application, is the daily use of non-standardized transferred items in various domains by “frontline” translators and non-translators. The third step, inquiry of use, refers to the translators’ and non-translators’ contact with the language-planning authorities to verify the use of the lexical items they transfer daily. The fourth step, acceptance, is the language-planning authorities’ official intervention to make their decision concerning the acceptance of transferred lexical items already in use in the creole. The fifth step, documentation, constitutes the language-planning authorities’ official documentation of the accepted transferred lexical items into the standard creole lexicon. This step completes the lexical transfer process (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. A model of the relation between translation and lexical transfer



### 3.8.2.2 Some alternatives to lexical transfer in Papiamentu

Of the many ways to avoid lexical transfers in Papiamentu, four have been identified. They are 1) replacement of the source-language lexical item by a restatement of it in the

target language, 2) replacement of the source-language lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in the target language, 3) replacement of the source-language lexical item by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created along with an explanation in the target language, and 4) ignoring and omitting the source-language lexical item from the target-language text. These alternative solutions will be addressed in Chapter 4, which deals with the questionnaire administration and results.

### *3.8.3 Is there a connection between translation and lexical transfer?*

I view the transfer of lexical items into a creole as occurring in two ways. One way indicates that a creole can be standardized by generating lexical forms from its historical resources, including the languages that are related to it. Since Papiamentu is derived from Spanish and Portuguese, lexical items could be drawn from either of these languages. In this case, the source languages of the lexical items are the “donor languages”, while the creole to which the items are transferred is the “recipient language” (Haspelmath 2008: 46). The second way in which the phenomenon occurs indicates that the creole can also be standardized by transferring lexical forms from other sources such as languages that are not related to it. Again, in the case of Papiamentu, which exists in contact with English and Dutch, to which it is genealogically unrelated, lexical items could be drawn from either of these. Thus, if standardization of a creole means the acceptance, documentation, propagation and application of only lexical items that are generated from the languages to which it is related, then it would mean that the standardization process is only internally driven. In the case of Papiamentu, it would mean only accepting lexical items from Spanish, Portuguese, and/or any other language(s) in its genealogy.

However, with languages in contact this is definitely not the case as there is bound to be lexical transfer, whether or not the source languages of the transferred lexical items are genealogically related to the creole. Still, it is theoretically up to some language-planning authority that is responsible for the standardization of a language to decide what lexical items will be admitted into the standard creole lexicon. While an authoritative body may not control lexical transfer at the informal level, it may do so, at the formal level of communication. It is at this level that the connection between lexical transfer and standardization exists. I therefore suspect that there is not merely a relation but a deliberate overlapping connection between these two processes, involving translators, non-translators, and language planners. As Mooneeram (2009: ix) states,

standardization is not like creolization: the former involves official intervention, whereas the latter is “a natural linguistic process”.

Once a creole has gained sufficient support for standardization in a speech community that has an interest in writing, then standardization as a process tends to unfold with a sense of urgency for texts in the new orthography. Of course, if the orthography predates the standardization process, new texts would only be appearing in what is then a confirmed orthography of the language. The more the language becomes established as a standard language, the greater the urgency there should be for texts to be produced in its standard orthography; and the greater the urgency for texts in its standard orthography, the more the language becomes established as a standard language. It is in this standardization process that those who write and/or translate using the standard orthography either begin or continue to produce more texts in the language.

However, sooner or later it becomes clear that merely writing texts originally in the creole does not initially produce the needed literature fast enough. This is where translation is normally called upon, but this is not necessarily where it first enters the scene, since it might have been there before. Even at that point where it is required to assist officially in textual production, translation still tends to go unmentioned and therefore unacknowledged, despite the fact that one of the fastest ways (if not the fastest) to produce needed texts in the language is to translate existing ones. Thus, it becomes silently clear that very often it is the case that, long before the *dénouement* of the commissioned standardization process, that is, before the official declaration of the standardization of the language, translation might have already been in action on the “frontline”. In fact, some forms of translation even pre-empt or start the ensuing standardization process. One of those forms is Bible translation, even if the goals of those involved in this type of translation are different from those of conventional language-planning authorities.

The fact that translation is not mentioned anywhere in the many definitions of standardization does not minimize the importance of its role in this process. In fact, the emergence, widening and deepening of Translation Studies of Caribbean creole languages increasingly reveals the importance of translation into and from many of the languages whose standardization their speakers continue to defend. Lexical transfer thus becomes a concern in the decision-making process of what to standardize and what not to standardize. Further, lexical transfer is a process that can be carried out by any

speaker (translator or non-translator) of the creole and is part of what I describe as a “push-pull” process.

In the push-pull lexical transfer process, translators and non-translators, on the one hand, engage in transferring lexical items from one language to their creole, using them unofficially. However, the translators and non-translators may eventually come into contact with the language-planning authorities to verify the use of the lexical items they have transferred into the language as they translate or write in the creole. This act constitutes the “push” to have the terms officially accepted into the creole. On the other hand, the language-planning authorities’ intervention to make their decisions as to which of the active transferred lexical items will be accepted into the standard creole lexicon constitutes the “pull”. The “push-pull” process points to a connection between translation and the lexical transfer processes, which in turn would then imply that there is an overlooked involvement of translation (hence of translators) in the lexical transfer process itself. The creole translators would be on the “frontline”, where they possibly function as vibrant and innovative users of the lexical items they transfer into their creole, before the language planners set their rules in place. Thus, the involvement of translators in the on-going standardization process may well pre-empt whatever the language planners ultimately decide, thereby underscoring the importance of the translators in the lexical transfer process.

From the foregoing, this model suggests that there is a connection between lexical transfer and translation because lexical transfer takes place through translation. With this model, I now turn to discuss the design worked out for the entire research.

### **3.9 Research design**

#### *3.9.1 Overview*

According to Cresswell (2007), researchers use designs as procedures for gathering, analyzing, interpreting and propagating the data of their studies. Liu (2011) notes that while there are many ways to conduct research that is objective and based on systematic observation and analysis, the great majority of approaches are either quantitative or qualitative. However, researchers today commonly combine these approaches. The research design of this study is of this latter form – I adopt a mixed-methods approach.

### *3.9.2 Rationale for a mixed-methods approach*

The present research addresses a problem of translation and lexical transfer, which is of interest to translators and non-translators alike. More specifically, in the geographical setting concerning this research, the island country of Curaçao, the research problem is also of particular concern to language planners, educators, and some government officials, all of whom play a role in the standardization and lexical transfer processes. Thus, answers to the research problem essentially depend on the description and cause of the problem itself, as well as on the processes involved in it. The questions underlying the central research issue could therefore be expressed as: What is taking place? (description); Is there an ordered effect? (cause); and Why or how does it occur? (process). According to Creswell (2007), such underpinning questions imply an investigative approach that is both quantitative and qualitative. In this case, I see a mixed-methods approach as more fitting than a mere quantitative or qualitative one, since a mixed-methods approach makes for investigation that is richer and more perceptive than research carried out in only one of these methods (see also Johnson et al. 2004; Liu 2011).

### *3.9.3 Types of mixed-methods design*

Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) have identified approximately 40 different types of mixed-methods designs in the literature. But Creswell (2007) has conveniently condensed them all into four major mixed-methods designs: the Triangulation Design, the Embedded Design, the Explanatory Design, and the Exploratory Design.

The Triangulation Design has, on the one hand, the explicit function to “obtain different but complementary data on the same topic” concurrently and usually with equal weight, so that the researcher can understand the research problem thoroughly (Morse 1991: 122). On the other, it has the implicit function of converging different methods for a more reliable interpretation and reporting of the research findings. Thus, when samples are large and the researcher is interested in observing trends and making generalizations, the Triangulation Design can bring together the different strengths and weaknesses of quantitative methods with those of qualitative methods, in which the population is usually small, and details and in-depth analysis are highly important (Patton 1990). With this design, the researcher can directly compare and contrast

quantitative statistical results with qualitative findings, as well as validate or even expand quantitative results with qualitative data.

The Embedded Design is one in which a single data set does not suffice for the different types of questions asked, and each type of question calls for different types of data. Researchers mostly use this design in an experimental or correlational mode in one or more phases when they need to include qualitative or quantitative data to answer a research question within a highly quantitative or qualitative study. Thus, one set of data is generally supplemental to the other.

The Explanatory Design is a two-phase method design usually having greater weight on the quantitative than the qualitative aspect. The overall purpose of this design is to utilize qualitative data to explain or build upon initial quantitative research results (see Morgan 1998, Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998, Creswell 2007, Liu 2011).

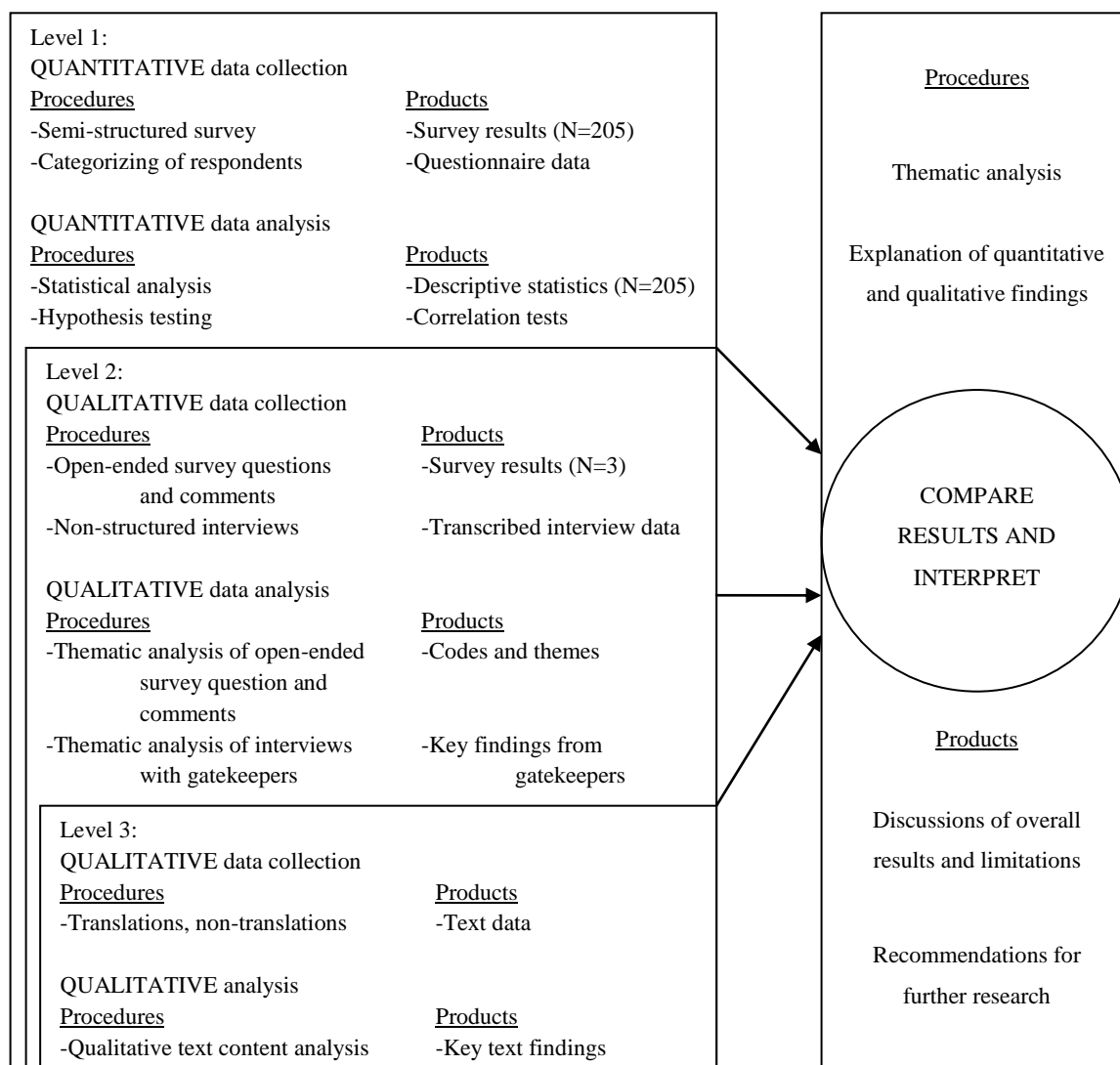
The Exploratory Design begins with the premise that the researcher needs to carry out an exploration of some phenomenon or emergent theory, perhaps because certain measures or instruments are unavailable, the research variables are unknown, or there is no guiding framework or theory. Like the Explanatory Design, this design is conducted in two phases, beginning with, and having greater emphasis on, the qualitative method. The design uses the results of the qualitative method to inform the quantitative method, thus making for an in-depth analysis of the subject explored.

### *3.9.4 Triangulation Design: Multilevel Model*

Apart from being triangulated, the present study is carried out in a multilevel model format. I have adopted this approach for two main reasons. One reason is that the data-gathering methods consist of a combination of questionnaires, interviews and public-health medical texts. The other is that the multilevel model format allows me to investigate concurrently, in one phase and on the same research topic, different levels of analysis that may be either quantitative or qualitative. Figure 8 gives an overview of the Triangulation Design: Multilevel Model adopted for this research.



Figure 8. Triangulation Design: Multilevel Model – steps in the methodology



### 3.9.5 The questionnaire

#### 3.9.5.1 Structure of the questionnaire

The idea of using a questionnaire as a research instrument was at first for the purpose of gathering opinions from the respondents about their practices of transferring English lexical items into Papiamentu and Haitian Creole. The first version of the questionnaire was designed in a semi-structured format. This meant that it had some closed questions (structured) and some open-ended ones (non-structured). The questions were numbered from 1 through 33, with the multiple parts of questions counting as individual questions.

In the entire design, only five questions were open-ended, asking for brief qualitative data about the respondent. These were the questions asking for the name and e-mail address of the respondent, the city where the translation and/or non-translation

activity was carried out, the respondent's main profession, the respondent's main present occupation, and additional comments. All except the question asking for the respondent's contact details were placed at the end of the questionnaire, since they required less concentration for generating a response than the earlier structured questions did. The closed questions were designed either with a drop-down menu or multiple-choice buttons, and most of them were set on a Likert scale, which I shall discuss in 4.2.2. Also, while working through the initial questionnaire, the respondent was optionally able to place comments in a box that I conveniently put at the end of each question. In this way, they did not have to wait for the "Additional comments" box at the end of the questionnaire when they might have forgotten a comment they wanted to make on an earlier question.

The first version of the questionnaire was divided into four sections as described below. Section One asked for information on the respondent's contact details: name and e-mail address, professional activity: translation and/or non-translation and the weight of it, as well as their source and target languages. With respect to the respondent's professional activity, it was important to clarify here that under the non-translation category were subsumed other activities such as publishing and editing. The respondent's answer "I translate professionally" would engage the skip logic function of the online questionnaire directing them to the remaining questions for the creole translators who only translate. The response "I write professionally" directed the respondent only to questions relevant to the non-translators. The response "I translate and write professionally" directed the respondent to questions relevant to those who do both. Also, even though the research focuses on lexical transfer from English as the source language, I was also interested in finding out from what other languages the translators translated.

Section Two asked questions about formal training, professional experience, employment stability, lexical solution types and attitude towards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. In asking for information regarding professional experience, the response categories were 1="Less than one year", 2="1-5 years inclusive", 3="6-10 years inclusive", 4="11-15 years inclusive" and 5="More than 15 years." It is important to note that further along in this section, the questions which asked for the respondent's views on attitudes towards lexical transfer, the responses were set on a Likert scale whose categories are 1="Strongly disagree", 2="Disagree", 3="Indifferent / No opinion", 4="Agree", 5="Strongly agree." For all other questions in this section, the

responses are also set on a Likert scale, but the categories are 1=“Never”, 2=“Rarely”, 3=“Occasionally”, 4=“Frequently” and 5=“Always.”

Section Three asked the respondent to indicate the types of texts on which they worked and also the country location of their target audience.

Section Four collected some more information on the respondent regarding their work location (city), main profession, main present occupation, highest level of education attained, age and sex.

#### *3.9.5.2 Piloting the questionnaire*

Before carrying out the main study, I decided to pilot the questionnaire on a few Caribbean creole translators and non-translators, from October 15 to December 17, 2009. As mentioned in 1.2 above, the focus of the overall research at that time was on investigating whether creole translators transfer lexical items from English into any of the four official creoles of the Caribbean (Papiamentu/o, Haitian Creole, Palenquero and Islander Creole) to a greater extent than creole non-translators do. As mentioned in 3.1, the pilot study was conducted only on Papiamentu/o and Haitian Creole and was only a preparatory investigation; it was not designed to test any of the final research hypotheses. While special attention was being paid to the measurement scales, the pilot was to ensure that all questions were worded clearly; that there was a logical sequence to all of them; that the routing and skip logic function in the software application of the questionnaire online worked correctly; and that there were no missing, unnecessary or overlapping questions.

From a list of the personal contacts I made, I selected 22 potential participants, whom I contacted and directed to the SurveyMonkey Internet link, <http://www.surveymonkey.com>, where I had launched the questionnaires on October 15, 2009. By the end of November 2009, a total of 14 questionnaires were returned valid and complete.

I had a working relationship previously with some of the respondents, and therefore it was easy to contact them by phone or e-mail. All others were essentially contacted either by e-mail or by some other mailing link on their personal or business web site. In all cases, I informed the respondents that because of their engagement with creole translation or non-translation, I had decided to ask for their opinions about this. The actual questionnaire online carried a checkbox beside the statement: “Click here if you agree to participate in this questionnaire”. On checking this box, the participant

gained immediate access to the questionnaire, and I assumed that they had agreed to participate in the survey. However, there was another checkbox adjacent to the statement: “Click here to exit this questionnaire”. This latter checkbox also appeared on every page of the questionnaire, which meant that the participant could exit the questionnaire at any time if they did not wish to complete it. The Internet link and tab would then close immediately and completely. Also, any partial questionnaire would be deleted. As for those who agreed to participate in the survey, none of them was aware of my research hypotheses. Further, I thanked all them for participating in the study. Since this was an initial consultation, no formal release agreement was signed.

The target populations of the pilot study were translators and non-translators working into Caribbean creole languages. The two field samples consisted of translators and non-translators working into one of two creoles: Papiamentu/o or Haitian Creole. The subjects of the survey sample were seven translators and seven non-translators. Among the 14 subjects, there were four Haitian translators, three Haitian non-translators, three Papiamentu/o translators and four Papiamentu/o non-translators. All were native speakers of their creole.

As for the four Haitian translators, two were people with whom I had a working relationship in the past through a translation agency in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, US. I later came into contact with the other two through the Internet – one from ProZ.com and the other from TranslatorsCafe.com. All four resided in the United States.

As regards the three Haitian non-translators, two were writers for the online newspaper *Boston Haitian Reporter*. I contacted them through the web site of the newspaper. The third was a freelancer who did assignments for a publishing house called EducaVision. At the time of the pilot study, all three resided in the United States.

Concerning the three Papiamentu/o translators, I came into contact with the first one through the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL). Another translator respondent worked for the Joshua Project and was a referral from yet another translator respondent who was commissioned by the former Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ethnologue (now only called SIL). I came into contact with the latter through SIL on the Internet. At the time of the pilot study, two translators resided in Curaçao, the other in the United States.

Of the four Papiamentu/o non-translators, two from the newspaper companies *La Prensa* and *Diario Aruba* were contacted through their official web sites on the Internet.

The other two were contacted through their own professional web sites. One of them resided in Aruba, the other two in Curaçao.

Each respondent answered all the questions fully, and I was able to interpret their replies in terms of the information I required for the study. I also asked them to make a note of the length of time it took them to complete the questionnaire. The results showed that the translators were able to do it in an average time of nine minutes; the non-translators did it in an average time of 10 minutes. Therefore, between both groups, the average was 9½ minutes.

I also asked the respondents to comment on the overall format, the ease with which they could complete the questionnaire and on whether there were ambiguities or difficult questions. They commented that they found the Internet medium convenient, but some offered suggestions for one question to be made into two separate ones. That question asked “Do you borrow English expressions into your creole translation (or creole text) because the assignment is not safety-related and did not have to meet regulatory requirements?”. I split this question since it was asking about two different things, that is, “being safety-related” and “meeting regulatory requirement” which are not necessarily synonymous with, or an accompaniment of, each other.

Further, for the sake of clarity in the question that asked: When you borrow an English expression for which you find no corresponding expression in your creole, do you just ignore it?, I changed “... just ignore it ...” to read “... ignore it and therefore leave it completely out of your Papiamentu (or Haitian) translation (or text).”

One respondent commented that they engaged both in translation and non-translation in their creole and therefore found some of the questions to be inapplicable to their situation. I then realized that I had to adjust the questionnaire by using the skip logic feature to accommodate such respondents, even if they engage in both activities to varying extents. For this reason, the question that asked “Do you translate or write professionally in Papiamentu or Haitian Creole?” had to be expanded to include another choice: “I translate and write professionally”.

Where I asked the respondent for the length of time in years of their professional experience, I thought that the question should be more informative if I added an accompanying question asking for the frequency, or weight of the activity. The response categories were 1=“Other”, 2=“Rarely”, 3=“Less than once a week”, 4=“Once a week” and 5=“Daily.”

At the suggestion of one of the Haitian translators, I removed the word “survey” from the invitation e-mail so as to reduce the likelihood of the invitation to participate being mistaken for an invitation to participate in a telemarketing research.

One of the Curaçaoan translators asked about an option for “literary text” to be added to the questionnaire, as this was mostly the type of translation they did. I therefore incorporated this option for translators and non-translators.

I revised my hypotheses to include two more variables – text sensitivity and language prestige – which I found interesting to test. I also added another section to accommodate one open-ended question. Therefore, I needed to add more questions to the questionnaire.

With respect to text sensitivity incorporated later into Section Two, I wanted to know whether the respondent engaged in lexical transfer in their creole because a) the text was not related to safety and therefore not very serious in nature, b) did not have to meet regulation requirements and was therefore less serious in nature, c) was highly academic, or d) because the text was their own. The respondent could choose more than one of these replies.

With respect to language prestige I also added to Section Two, where I wanted to know whether they engaged in lexical transfer because a) they thought that English is more influential than their creole, b) they found no corresponding expression in their creole, c) the English expression is used just as often as the creole one, d) they thought the English expression sounds better than the creole one, e) it makes the creole text clearer, f) it assisted the standardization of the creole lexis, g) speakers do not object to the use of the English expression, and also h) because of the level of influence that their creole has with respect to the educational and political life of their society. The respondent could choose more than one of these replies.

In a set of experiments carried out on Web questionnaires, Reja et al. (2003: 169) emphasize that the main benefit of close-ended questions is to “discover the responses that individuals give spontaneously” whereas that of open-ended questions is to steer clear of the bias that may arise from suggesting responses to participants in a survey. However, one of the findings of their experiments is that in terms of richness of responses, the “respondents restricted themselves with apparent ease to the alternatives offered on the close-ended forms” whereas “open-ended question results in a more diversified set of answers.” With this in mind, I decided that an open-ended question would be beneficial to the study. The question asked, “What factors motivate you to

borrow English expressions from the English texts you translate into Papiamentu? / to borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu writing, publishing or editing?”

Despite the advantage of adding this open-ended question to the questionnaire, Reja et al. (2003: 159) caution that “open-ended questions should be more explicit in their wording (at least for Web surveys, as a self-administered mode of data collection) than close-ended questions, which are more specified with given response alternatives” as they encountered more incidents of “missing data” and “inadequate answers” with open-ended questions than with close-ended ones in their experiments. As a result, all open-ended questions in the post-pilot questionnaire of the present study were carefully worded to lower the edge of such anomalies as those pointed out by Reja et al. (*ibid.*).

After the adjustments to the initial version of the questionnaire, I re-assessed it to make sure that each question gave an adequate range of possible responses. Appendix F shows the distribution of all the questions. The actual questionnaire appears in Appendix B. I concluded that the adjusted questionnaire would be adequate for use as a measurement instrument for the main study. However, it is important to mention here that, at the time of the pilot, I had made no decision on the variety of either of the creoles that I would investigate. While the pilot study involved respondents from the home territories of each creole (Haitian Creole and Papiamentu/o) as well as from the diaspora, I decided post-pilot that the main study would focus on the home territory of Curaçao, not on the diaspora, and therefore would involve respondents only from there, for reasons explained in 1.3 above. With all the modifications to the questionnaire, and with the focus of the research shifted and narrowed, it was therefore reasonable to expect the post-pilot questionnaire, which at this point comprised five sections and a total of 51 questions, to take an estimated time of 25 minutes to complete.

With respect to consent to participate in the post-pilot questionnaire, it is important to note that there was no separate consent form for the participants to sign. The participants were informed about: 1) the purpose and nature of the survey, 2) its voluntary nature, 3) the fact that their replies would be used anonymously, and 4) the person to contact if they had doubts. Because the questionnaire was always administered online, the only way to get the participants to give consent was to have them click a button. By clicking on the button placed beside the statement “Click here if you agree to participate in this questionnaire”, they accepted to participate under the stated conditions. Thus, a click was a signature. Further, at the time of the questionnaire, the Department of English and Germanic Studies at the URV did not have an ethics

committee and as such had no official guidelines. For this reason, I used the guidelines formulated by the Intercultural Studies Group.

### *3.9.6 The interview*

From the beginning of this research, I was interested in finding out how Papiamentu translation interacts with the lexical transfer process of this creole. In other words, do translators transfer from English into Papiamentu lexical items that eventually become a standard part of the creole lexicon? But later I found out that while it would be possible to determine whether translators engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer, such determination would not suffice to answer to this question fully until I could also determine who ultimately decides what lexical items get to be admitted into Papiamentu and also how the authorities make their decisions. These were the questions that led me to adopt a mixed-methods research approach on a multilevel model with a triangulated design of which the interviews with the Papiamentu language planners (the language gatekeepers) and non-gatekeepers are one component.

#### *3.9.6.1 Types of interview formats*

In the literature there can be found research on various types of interview formats. Gall, Borg and Gall (2003) note that there are basically three formats for designing an interview. These are the general interview guide approach, the informal conversational interview approach, and the standardized open-ended interview approach. Turner III (2010) mentions a fourth, referred to as the closed, fixed-response interview approach.

Gall, Borg and Gall (2003) observe that the general interview guide approach is a structured one, but how the questions are potentially posed depends upon the interviewer. However, the general interview allows much flexibility in its make-up. This type of procedure raises questions about inconsistency in the on-the-spot reformulating of questions by the interviewer. For this reason, Turner III (2010) claims that in this kind of procedure it is possible that the interviewee may provide inconsistent answers to one question if it is asked in different ways. Nonetheless, he points out that the advantage of this approach is that the interviewer can make sure that all interviewees provide generally the same kinds of information for the same parts of the interview. In brief, under the general interview guide approach, the interview remains more focused than would be expected under, say, the informal conversational approach. Besides, the



interviewer maintains control of the interview while exercising flexibility where prompted by the participants.

As regards the informal conversational interview approach, Gall, Borg and Gall (2003) note that its purpose is to depend completely on a spur-of-the-moment generation of questions while interacting with the participant naturally. This is usually the case where the interviewer is a participant observer in the process. Turner III (2010) admits using this approach when the intention is to gather greater information about the social settings without using a pre-formulated set of questions. No specific questions are asked along the way, as it is the interaction with the participants upon which the interviewer depends to guide the interview along (McNamara 2009). The lack of structure that makes for flexibility in the process of the interview may be beneficial to a certain setting and may therefore be seen as an advantage. However, Cresswell (2007) notes that there are researchers who regard this approach as not stable or dependable enough and likely to render the eventual data coding complicated.

In the standardized open-ended interview, all participants are asked exactly the same questions. The interview is tightly structured around the questions, which are posed in such a way that interviewees provide open-ended answers (Gall, Borg and Gall 2003). What this open-ended nature of the interview accomplishes is opportunity for the interviewees to provide as much detailed information as they wish. This in turn makes way for the interviewer to follow up with probing questions. This open-ended interview approach is probably the most popular in research studies because it allows the interviewees to respond fully to the questions asked. However, Cresswell (2007) identifies one of its failings as its inherent complication with data coding. On the one hand, it is reasonable to assume that researchers generally strive for fully expressed responses from their interview participants since this makes for information that is rich with qualitative data. On the other hand, the task of extracting similar themes or codes by wading through streams of narrative answers can be overly tedious. However, Gall, Borg and Gall (2003) explain that this process mitigates researcher bias within the study, especially when the researcher has to interview many participants.

Closed-response interview, also referred to as fixed-response interview, is one approach in which the interviewer asks each participant exactly the same questions and requires that they select their responses from one structured list of alternatives. Although this approach is rather inflexible, many researchers consider it useful for

inexperienced interviewers as well as for delving into sensitive subject matters where response rates are low.

### *3.9.6.2 The standardized open-ended interview approach*

I decided that the format best suited to the present study was the standardized open-ended interview. None of the other three was appropriate for this study for several reasons. This study does not involve the researcher as a participant observer. Therefore, the informal conversational interview approach was considered unsuitable. All the questions in the interviews for the present study were carefully worded, to be asked in exactly the same way each time of each participant in order to elicit the same kind of information, hence the avoidance of potentially inconsistent questions that could be due to spontaneous reformulations of them. If a question was not totally understood, it was simply repeated, or its alternatively worded form prepared in advance for this situation might be read out with examples for clarification. But none of the questions was spontaneously rephrased. Besides, I had the chance to follow up with probing questions to elicit complete information in the responses. For this reason, the general interview guide approach was not considered suitable for this study. The closed-response interview approach was also not considered appropriate, as the purpose of the interview was to get full detailed responses. Although Creswell (2007) points out the arduous nature of the data coding after the interview, I considered the benefits of avoiding research bias in the participants' responses far outweigh the tediousness of the eventual processing of the data.

The interview was structured on three of the same independent variables on which the post-pilot questionnaire was also structured. The rationale for this is that questions answered quantitatively and qualitatively on the same variables should serve to facilitate the eventual merging and interpretation of results of the entire research. These variables are language prestige, text sensitivity and employment stability. I also included questions on two other areas – lexical solutions and attitude towards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer – as I considered them logically relevant to be answered in an open-ended interview.

The interview had eight sections, as follows – Section 1: Preliminary information. This section was only intended for collecting some background information on the interview participant if I did not already have that. Such information was the age, highest level of education, main profession, main present occupation, job title and the

name of their organization. Section 2: Opening the interview. This section opens the interview with a general question about the role of the language-planning institute in Curaçao. Section 3: The language planning institute and English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Section 4: Text sensitivity. Section 5: Employment stability. Section 6: Language prestige. Section 7: Attitudes towards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Section 8: Additional comments (see Appendix E).

### *3.9.6.3 Piloting the interview*

On 6 December 2011 I conducted a pilot interview with only one participant in a comfortable office that the FPI graciously allowed me to use at their location. The interview itself consisted of 18 questions and lasted for 36 minutes. This means that I had to make an allowance for approximately 45 minutes to an hour.

The pilot interview was conducted in English. The first problem that I identified was that the questions were too long. The participant agreed that they could easily forget what was asked by the end of the question. Therefore, all questions were revised and made shorter. I also added one more question, asking for additional comments, which constituted Section 8. In the entire revision, I decided that some questions should be accompanied by additional information or explanation that I thought would help the interviewee to understand what was being asked. The participant responded that they found that particularly helpful and that it helped to keep the interview flowing smoothly. I also found asking follow-up questions to be helpful, especially whenever it seemed that the participant had some key information to share. The revised version of the interview questions appears in Appendix E.

### *3.9.6.4 Mitigating the Hawthorne Effect*

Chiesa and Hobbs (2008) explain that the Hawthorne Effect refers to the phenomenon in which participants in an experiment modify their behavior as soon as they become aware that they are being studied. This awareness causes them to react to the social conditions of the information-gathering process instead of to those of the experiment of the study. The ultimate result is a reduction (albeit usually unknowingly on the part of the subjects) in the internal validity of the experiment.

The potential for my interviews to be influenced by the Hawthorne Effect was not a major concern, although from my own observation of all my interview candidates, it was clear that no neutrality was involved. There is no doubt in my mind that they would react differently depending on who the interviewer is and what the interview is about. I

had their cooperation long before I interviewed them. In fact, all of them openly and verbally expressed a certain joy about knowing that their language was being studied by a researcher from outside of their country. But it was also clear that they welcomed the opportunity to be interviewed by someone who is Caribbean like themselves. Thus, along with this attitude came the willingness to participate in the interview, and I assume that this was also partly the reason for the high response rate in the questionnaire survey as well. The fact of the matter is that Curaçaoans are especially proud of their language and at the same time display a decidedly positive awareness and attitude about it and the progress they have made with it over the centuries.

I had to make sure that all important details with respect to the conducting of the interview were understood clearly. Besides, I thought it necessary to make my research intentions clear, since I was aware that certain issues that were likely to evolve from the questions to be asked about Papiamentu standardization could be political in nature and thus controversial. To allay any fears of potential disputes of this nature, I assured each of my participants that all information in the interview would be treated in the strictest of confidence. This assurance was also clearly expressed in the Interview Consent Form that they signed afterwards. Further, after explaining that the purpose of the interview was simply to understand how translation interacts with the lexical transfer process of the language, I made it clear that the research was a Translation Studies endeavor and not one that intends to lend itself to creating controversy on the level of island politics. I also assured the participants that in the end, new research findings with respect to Papiamentu will serve to promote the language even further to the benefit of Curaçaoans everywhere.

### *3.9.7 The (non)translational texts*

Although English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer takes place in all sorts of texts, I limited my investigation to public health medical texts for one important reason. I wanted to conduct this aspect of the research on texts to which any Curaçaoan could relate. Initially, I had thought about the popularity of the use of mobile phones and other related devices. However, I just as soon decided against the use of texts such as mobile phone contracts or mobile phone user manuals since, on second thought, I saw that even if everyone knows how to use a mobile phone, that does not mean that everyone has or needs one.

Then I thought about income tax forms and related instructions under the assumption that all the citizens of the country are obligated to pay income tax. That turned out not to be so. For instance, there are those, such as university students, who could very well participate in my survey but who for a few years may not be exposed to, or have anything to do with, tax forms and instructions. The same instance could apply to an unemployed person who perceivably could be out of work for a few months to a few years. Therefore, I abandoned the idea of using this type of text. Thus, the idea of medical information seemed to be a strong idea.

Hospitals, the *Servisio di Salubridat Publika* (Public Health Department) and other health-related agencies must constantly keep the public aware of certain health facts. I thus thought there had to be, at the disposal of the general public, texts in the form of pamphlets and flyers on public-health medical information. Besides, such texts are normally written in a non-technical way so that the language is simple enough for the general public to be able to read and understand it. These are the types of texts that I selected for this study. They were collected from hospitals, medical laboratories, doctors' offices, the Ministry of Public Health, *Departamento Salu Hubenil* (Department of Youth Health Care), and a few health foundations and agencies.

### **3.10 A descriptive-explanatory framework**

This research framework sets out to determine what variables to measure and what statistical relationships to look for. Realistically, translation and lexical transfer, as I have defined them for the purposes of this research, directly address the research questions and hypotheses. As the present study assesses the translator's agency in lexical transfer, and the linguistic interaction between translation and lexical transfer, my research framework is necessarily interdisciplinary, where the two disciplines are Translation Studies and Linguistics. I see no problem with this interdisciplinary approach, because in the academy, Baker (2005: 279) observes that “[t]he study of translation has gone far beyond the confines of any one discipline and it has become clear that research requirements in this area cannot be catered for by any [one] existing field of study”.

However, it is important to note here that Toury (1995: 2) sounds a note of caution against considering one discipline to be more prestigious than another. He makes reference to the many translation researchers who “still look down on studies

into actual practices and their products, the more so if these studies are properly descriptive.” Therefore, I have attempted to exercise care to ensure that I do not regard or give the impression that the discipline of Linguistics is more prestigious or fashionable than that of Translation Studies, or vice versa. The present research attempts to account for real-world translation practice (in this case, lexical transfer from English to Curaçaoan Papiamentu) as it affects a real-world situation – the on-going standardization process of Curaçaoan Papiamentu. Besides, it proceeds from the main research hypothesis that translators report more lexical transfers than do non-translators, by way of “a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within Translation Studies itself” (see Toury 1995: 3). Further, as the present research consists of both quantitative and qualitative data, a combination of both types of analysis is required hence the mixed-methods approach discussed in 3.9.

This research framework is descriptive. Against the backdrop of the model described in 3.8 illustrating the relation between translation and lexical transfer, it systematically 1) describes and surveys all the data collected from the questionnaires, interviews as well as from the public-health medical translations and non-translational texts, 2) describes the characteristics about the studied phenomenon of lexical transfer from an unrelated lexifier source language, English, into the creole, Papiamentu. This means that all the types of relevant occurrences of lexical transfer gleaned from the texts are described. Thus, the model has guided every aspect of the research, from the formulation of the research questions, the operationalization of the research variables to the results and discussion. The framework also draws attention to certain situations under which Papiamentu translators and non-translators may transfer lexical items from English into Papiamentu. Through hypothesis-testing involving the collected quantitative data, the framework answers the research questions concerning the agents of lexical transfer into creole.

The framework is also explanatory. Against the backdrop of the same model, it seeks plausible reasons for English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer, particularly through translation.

From the foregoing, the analysis of quantitative data (for example, by inferential statistics) and qualitative data (for example, by thematic coding and content analysis) has required very different methodologies. I found the methodologies described here to be appropriate for analyzing the data collected in this study under this descriptive-explanatory framework.

### **3.11 Work plan**

This chapter has discussed the research methodology of the present study. The data collection procedure with respect to questionnaire, interviews and texts took place in Curaçao. The questionnaire data were collected largely for quantitative analysis, excepting one open-ended question about motivating factors for the respondents' lexical transfer. The responses to this question along with comments from them were reserved for qualitative analysis (see Appendix B). Concurrently, I interviewed a sample of three language planners for qualitative analysis. Hypothesis testing concerning the level of lexical transfer into the creole followed. Tests for correlation between lexical transfer and the independent variables of language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training were then carried out. Thematic analysis of the interviews and analysis of the translated and non-translated texts selected were subsequently performed. The details of the interview arrangements and procedures will be discussed in Chapter 5, while discussions on translation universals and the Papiamentu translator's agency will be presented in Chapter 6. The following chapter presents the questionnaire administration and results.

## 4. Questionnaire: administration and results

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the administration and results of the questionnaire instrument used in the present research. Section 4.2 discusses how the questionnaire was administered, and what the response rates were. It also discusses the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. Section 4.3 discusses the respondents' background information. Section 4.4 presents the quantitative analysis of the post-pilot questionnaire responses about the English-to-Papiamentu lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators. The chapter ends with a summary of the whole procedure and its outcome.

### 4.2 Administering the questionnaire, response rates, test of validity and reliability

#### 4.2.1 *Administering the questionnaire*

Following the pilot study with the modified questionnaire, I scheduled two trips to Curaçao: one for the months of November and December 2011 and another for February and March 2012. While I was there, I was able to solicit with great ease respondents for the questionnaire. It was not easy or convenient to determine the total number of professional Papiamentu translators there were on the island. A search on the Internet returned a list of only ten sworn translators registered with the Curaçaoan government. In another search in 2010 on TranslatorsCafe.com, founded in 2002 and with a listing of 140,344 registered users, I found only seven Papiamentu translators. ProZ.com, founded in 1999 and with a listing of 531,527 registered users at the time of my search, mentioned only one creole among its language repertoire – Haitian Creole. Thus, in order to locate Papiamentu translators, I searched for Dutch translators, some of whom were listed as being from the (former) Netherlands Antilles and worked into Papiamentu. About eight Papiamentu translators were found at ProZ.com, although some of them were already among those I had found on Translatorscafe.com. In the end, the search via the Internet was not productive enough: I could only locate a handful of translators.



However, contacting someone without a previous introduction or referral was far less fruitful than making the same kind of contact while on the island. Because I was allowed to conduct my research fieldwork physically from the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (FPI), I came into contact with some of their translators there. They were able to complete my questionnaire on site.

Also, since texts published by the FPI carried the names of the translators and writers, I was able to compile a list of names of potential respondents. This started a snowball effect, and many other contacts came by word-of-mouth as a translator or writer would often ask me, “Have you contacted (name of (non)translator) yet?”. Then they would sometimes pass on or help me locate the contact details of that other person. In all, I was able to draw up a list of 125 translators, and another list of 150 non-translators writing in Papiamentu. I assume that these numbers are close to the actual population of translators and writers working in the language.

That said, despite the overwhelming cooperation of the respondents, there were nonetheless non-responses, incomplete questionnaires and occasionally those who needed to be reminded to participate in the survey (see 4.2.2). As many of these respondents also knew others who did not necessarily work for the FPI, they were able to share their e-mail, web addresses and/or telephone contact details with me. Thereafter, the questionnaire was administered online, and the Papiamentu translators and non-translators who had participated in the pilot study were later re-invited to fill out the post-pilot questionnaire.

#### 4.2.2 Response rates

A significant amount of research effort has been devoted to studying survey response rates and what researchers can do to increase the response rate of their research survey (see Cook et al. 2000, Hayes 2008, Mertens 2010). Realizing the importance of this, I decided that personalizing my e-mail message instead of blindly sending out mass e-mails was essential (see Appendix A). I thought that this was of particular importance for contacts referred by another respondent. Also, I made sure to identify myself, state clearly the purpose of the study, and the amount of time that the questionnaire should take to complete.

To boost the response rate, I also informed the potential respondent that I was on the island at the time when I invited them to participate in the survey, and that I was conducting the survey under the FPI, a government organization that is well known,

trusted and respected on the island. I found this encounter on the island to be particularly helpful for my data gathering. Sending out at most two reminder e-mail messages to a respondent was sometimes enough. Upon talking with a few respondents I needed to remind, I found that they were among those who were most enthusiastic about the study but had other urgent matters to tend to before doing the survey. Thus, for them it was more a matter of time, or priority.

The overall response to the questionnaire was reasonable. Out of 125 translators to whom the questionnaire was sent, 100 (80%) returned it completed. As for the non-translators, 150 were sent the questionnaire, and 105 (70%) returned it completed. Overall, out of a total of 275 people to whom the questionnaire was administered, 205 (75%) returned it completed (Table 6). I assumed that the 275 people were more or less the total population of professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and writers on the island.

Table 6. Questionnaire response rates

Respondents	Administered	Returned completed	Response rates
Translators	125	100	80%
Non-translators	150	105	70%
All	275	205	75%

Further, as mentioned in 3.9.5.2, the questionnaire was always administered online, and therefore, the only way to get the participants to give consent was to have them click the button placed beside the statement “Click here if you agree to participate in this questionnaire”.

#### *4.2.3 Testing the validity and reliability of the questionnaire*

The aim of testing the validity and reliability of the post-pilot questionnaire was to ensure that I was consistently measuring the right values for all the respondents. As regards validity, I found the questions about lexical transfer as a function of employment stability, lexical solution types, language prestige, and attitude to be complex, and as a result, I could not measure them accurately by asking only one question. Therefore, I formulated several questions. The response to each question provided some information on the issue that I was trying to learn about. On a five-point Likert scale, I asked a collection of questions to make sure that I was measuring the

same issue. However, such motivation may be initiated by several factors that might prove confusing to elicit from a one-part question. Thus, I decided that it would be more effective to ask for the required information by structuring the question with multiple related parts. In this way, the respondent could comfortably provide information for each part, and collectively these parts would answer the main question asked.

As regards reliability, I wanted to be sure that each question or set of items would elicit the same responses if the same questions were recast and re-administered to the same respondent. Where the questionnaire relied on collecting responses evaluated on a Likert scale, I used Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) also called a "scale reliability coefficient". It is designed to measure the internal consistency of a test or scale. The resulting coefficient is expressed on a scale from 0 to 1, where 0.7 is generally an accepted reliability coefficient, but lower limits are sometimes found in the literature (see, for example, Tavakol and Dennick 2011). Although all tests of reliability have disadvantages, Cronbach's alpha is the most commonly used measure of reliability, particularly when the items measure different substantive areas within a single construct. Table 7 shows the results of the test with the scale reliability of the post-pilot questionnaire by each of the five categories as they were set on the Likert scales described earlier. For questions on employment stability, text sensitivity, and language prestige, the calculated alphas were respectively 0.9174, 0.7825, and 0.7591. For lexical solution types and lexical-transfer attitude, the alphas were respectively 0.7488 and 0.7813 (Table 7). That each of the alpha levels is above .7 indicates that the variance of the responses to each of the scaled question was wide enough so that it should be sufficiently easy to differentiate respondents. This further indicates that the questionnaire was sufficiently valid and reliable as a measurement instrument for the main study.

Table 7. Scale reliability of survey - Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) statistic

Number of Items	Categories	Cronbach's alpha
4	Employment stability	0.92
4	Text sensitivity	0.78
12	Language prestige	0.76
5	Lexical solution types	0.75
13	Lexical-transfer attitudes	0.78

### 4.3 Respondents' background information

Of the 205 respondents who completed the questionnaire, more than half (104, or 50.7%) reported having a Masters-level education as their highest. Seven (3.4%) reported that they had doctoral-level education. Seventy-nine (38.5%) reported a Bachelors degree as their highest level of education, and only seven (3.4%) had secondary (or high) school as their highest level of education attained. None of the respondents reported having only primary (or elementary) school education. Table 8 shows this distribution.

Additionally, among the six respondents who selected “Other”, Respondent 92 reported that she had a Master of Education in Papiamentu Language. Respondent 41 reported that he is “at a Master’s degree level, but the institute involved does not issue any titles.” Thus, as the survey was a self-report assessment, both respondents 92 and 41 were counted in the “Tertiary/Advanced (Masters degree)” group. Respondent 66 reported that she had a “General Teacher degree (HBS-C, highest locally available) and Spanish Teacher degree (1964).” I thought it was reasonable to assume that this degree was undergraduate university qualification.

Respondent 204 reported having an Associate of Science (AS) degree; Respondent 18 reported having post-secondary qualifications, and Respondent 8 reported having a secondary school teaching certificate in Spanish. One minor shortcoming of the questionnaire design is that it did not have a slot for respondents holding post-secondary education below a Bachelors degree, who could nonetheless be specialized professionals in their field of work. Thus, these last three respondents (204, 18 and 8) were retained in the “Others” group comprising 3.9 % of the total sample (Table 8).

Table 8. Distribution of respondents by education

Highest Level of Education	Education	
	Number	%
Primary school / Elementary school	0	0.0
Secondary school / High school	7	3.4
Tertiary / Advanced (Bachelors degree)	79	38.5
Tertiary / Advanced (Masters degree)	104	50.7
Tertiary / Advanced (Doctoral degree)	7	3.4
Other	8	3.9

Data were also collected regarding the main profession and present main occupation of each respondent at the time of the study. The range of main professions and occupations ran from architecture, education, fine arts, law, medicine, military, sports, translation to writing, where this last-mentioned includes editing, journalism, literary writing and publishing. The profession with the highest number of respondents was education. A total of 50 (24.4%) of them reported that they were trained to teach at the primary, secondary or university levels. Thirty-three (16.1%) of the respondents reported their main profession as engineering. This number and proportion includes respondents for computer technology. Only 29 (14.1%) of all respondents reported their main profession as translation of any kind, and 22 (10.7%) reported their main profession as writing. However, it is important to note that training in a profession does not necessarily mean that it is the respondent's main profession. Of all 205 participants in this survey, a total of 74 (36.1%) had training in writing of some kind, and 42 (20.49%) had training in translation.

With respect to their main present occupation, more than half (116 respondents, or 56.6%) were engaged in writing, that is, editing, journalism, literary or publishing. This is interesting when compared to the 74 (36.1%) trained in writing; it represents the highest number and percentage of respondents reporting the same current main occupation. Translation as a main occupation was reported by 82 (40%) of all respondents. This point is similarly interesting when compared to the 42 (20.5%) who reported having translator training. The difference indicates the extent to which translation is carried out by people who were trained in some field other than in translation itself. This could be indicative of the level of awareness that Curaçaoans have of the role that translation plays in their multilingual society. Education is reported as the present main occupation by 43 (21%) respondents, followed by 24 (11.7%) who reported engineering. It is interesting, though, that while none of the respondents reported being formally trained in language planning, 15 (7.3%) of them reported this as their main occupation at the time of the survey. Almost a quarter of all the respondents reported that they were trained in education, and 21% reported that they were engaged in that field.

Regarding the work location of the respondents, all 205 reported that they conduct all their professional work activity on the island and particularly in Willemstad, the capital. It should be noted that this does not imply that they all reside in the capital. Table 9 provides a distribution of the respondents by main profession, main present

occupation, and work location at the time of the survey. The term “main profession” refers to the vocation, or line of work for which the respondent was trained. The term “main present occupation” refers to the type of employment in which the respondent was mostly engaged on a regular basis when they completed the questionnaire.

Table 9. Distribution of respondents by main profession, main present occupation and work location

Profession and Occupation	Profession		Present occupation	
	Number	%	Number	%
Education (teaching– primary, secondary, higher education)	50	24.4	43	21.0
Engineering (including computer technology)	33	16.1	24	11.7
<b>Translation</b> (including interpreting, localization, revision)	<b>29</b>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>40.0</b>
<b>Writing</b> (including editing, journalism, literary, publishing)	<b>22</b>	<b>10.7</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>56.6</b>
Law and administration/management (public and private)	17	8.3	13	6.3
Language, linguistic and literary studies	15	7.3	12	5.9
Social sciences (including anthropology and social work)	14	6.8	10	4.9
Marketing and advertising (including public relations)	8	3.9	6	2.9
Economics, accountancy, banking and finance	7	3.4	3	1.5
Fine arts (including fashion designing, painting)	6	2.9	5	2.4
Library science (including digital information archiving)	6	2.9	5	2.4
Medicine (including dentistry, nursing, pharmacy)	5	2.4	6	2.9
Sports	5	2.4	4	2.0
Communication (including public relations)	4	2.0	2	1.0
Natural sciences (chemistry, biology, physics)	4	2.0	3	1.5
Theology (religious studies, pastoral work)	4	2.0	1	0.5
Environmental resources management	3	1.5	2	1.0
Military and law enforcement	3	1.5	3	1.5
Architecture (landscape, buildings)	2	1.0	0	0.0
Political science	1	0.5	0	0.0
Risk management and insurance	1	0.5	0	0.0
Language planning	0	0.0	15	7.3
Unemployed/retired	N/A	N/A	7	3.4

Work Location	Work Location	
	Number	%
Willemstad, Curaçao	205	100.0

Table 10 shows that of all the respondents, 98 (47.8%) reported that they were female; the remaining 107 (52.2%) reported they were male. These numbers and proportions further break down into 51 (24.9%) female translators, 49 (23.9%) male translators, 47 (22.9%) female non-translators, and 58 (28.3%) male non-translators. However, because of an overlap in the occupations of some respondents who translate and also write, the total number of respondents can also be broken down into 21 (10.2%) female respondents who only translate, 30 (14.6%) male respondents who also only translate, a total of 77 (37.6%) female who write and exactly the same number and percentage of male respondents who do the same.

A total of 123 (60%) of the respondents reported being  $\leq 45$  years of age. Only 11 (5.4%) of all respondents reported they were over 65 yet actively involved in the advancing of Papiamentu. Table 10 provides a distribution of the respondents by sex and age.

Table 10. Distribution of respondents by sex and age

Sex		
Female	98	47.8%
Male	107	52.2%
Age		
Between 18 and 25 inclusive	20	9.8%
Between 26 and 35 inclusive	48	22.9%
Between 36 and 45 inclusive	55	27.3%
Between 46 and 55 inclusive	46	22.4%
Between 56 and 65	25	12.2%
Over 65	11	5.4%

#### 4.4 Quantitative analysis

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main hypothesis that was to be tested was:

Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators.

The sub-hypotheses for the conditions related to language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training were:

H<sub>1</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the lexifier language is prestigious.

H<sub>2</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the text type is sensitive.

H<sub>3</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have employment stability.

H<sub>4</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have extensive professional experience.

H<sub>5</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have formal training.

#### *4.4.1 Sample characteristics*

A visual inspection of the histograms, normal quantile-quantile (Q-Q) plots, box plots and a D'Agostino-Pearson Omnibus test show that the data for the dependent variable (lexical transfer) were not normally distributed ( $p=0$ ). It should be noted here that in this test, a p-value that suggests normality must be greater than the alpha level of .05. Thus, for the purpose of presenting statistical results for the sample as a whole for each of the sub-hypotheses stated above, I performed a Box-Cox transformation of the data on the dependent variable. In this way, the data set would be at least approximately normally distributed for conducting an analysis of variance test (ANOVA) with the independent variables of language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training. The transformation indicates that  $\lambda=.1$  was the appropriate index for the transformation. Thus, another D'Agostino-Pearson Omnibus test ( $p=.97$ ) subsequent to the transformation suggests that the lexical-transfer data were normally distributed and could then be used for the ANOVA. In the ANOVA test, the main hypothesis was tested on the sample as a whole to determine whether the translators had a greater tendency to make lexical transfers than did the non-translators.

However, although I have used some parametric statistics such as independent sample t-tests for the estimation of the difference between means, and Pearson's correlation tests, it must be noted that they were used only in cases where the data clearly had a normal distribution and lent themselves conveniently to such statistics. Otherwise, the general analysis of the data collected by the questionnaire instrument in this study were computed by non-parametric statistics, since unlike parametric statistics, they do not assume that variables are measured at the interval level or that they are normally distributed. In this study, the responses to questions using a five-point scale were not measured at the interval level because it could not be assumed that the respondents perceived that the intervals between, say, "Never" and "Rarely" or between "Frequently" and "Always", on the prescribed response scale were equal (see, for



example, Long, Feng and Cliff 2003). Therefore, non-parametric tests were more appropriate for analyzing the ordinal and nominal variables collected in this study. Some of these test are Chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) tests, Z tests for comparisons of proportions, Spearman's rank correlation test, Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis test for the comparison of grouped medians (Agresti 2007).

#### *4.4.2 Results of the hypothesis tests*

##### *4.4.2.1 Whole-sample tests*

The results of the inferential statistical tests were computed by SPSS to compare the lexical-transfer activity of the Papiamentu translators and non-translators by language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training. The results are here presented systematically in the order of testing the five sub-hypotheses.

First and foremost, however, I wanted to investigate the differences in the mean lexical-transfer responses in order to see whether the main hypothesis holds in the case of all the translators (T, wT, WT, tW) and non-translators (W) in the sample as a whole. Thus, a single-factor ANOVA run on the lexical-transfer data (normally distributed) suggests that at the .05 level of significance, there are differences between the non-translators and the various types of translators ( $F=5.653$ ,  $p\leq 0.001$ ). This meant that post-hoc tests were necessary to determine what those differences might be and where they might be found. Therefore, four two-tailed two-sample t-tests assuming equal variances were performed. The details related to these tests are presented in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11 shows descriptive statistics of the lexical-transfer responses in the sample as a whole. Table 12 shows the post-hoc results for the ANOVA test related to the multiple comparisons of lexical-transfer response means also in the sample as a whole. Further, the results suggest that at the overall significance level of  $\alpha=.05$  and on the lexical-transfer variable alone, there was a significant number of translators who reported more lexical transfers than did non-translators (W) and that those translators were in large measure the writers/translators (WT) ( $p=0.002$ ). When the tests were conducted for the other types of translators, that is the writing translators (wT) ( $p=0.017$ ), translating writers (tW) ( $p=0.018$ ) and the exclusive translators (T) ( $p=0.584$ ), their p-values suggest that the translators-and-writers, especially the writers/translators (WT), were the most inclined to make lexical transfers in their

(non)translations. It is important to note that the results could only be considered significant when  $p < 0.0125$  for each of the four tests following a Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction that was made in order to keep the overall  $\alpha$  of .05 from increasing with each test performed.

Table 11. Descriptive statistics of the lexical-transfer responses in the sample as a whole

Translators and non-translators	n	Mean*	Median	Minimum	Maximum
WT Writers/translators	16	1.5690	1.5208	1.2083	1.9583
wT Writing translators	16	1.6419	1.6146	1.1458	2.1458
tW Translating writers	17	1.6556	1.7083	1.0833	2.2708
T Exclusive translators	51	1.9608	1.9167	1.2083	3.0417
W Non-translators	105	1.9274	1.9167	1.1667	3.3333
All	205	1.8629	1.8750	1.0833	3.3333

N=205. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing

Table 12. Post-hoc t-tests of multiple comparisons for the ANOVA test of lexical-transfer response means in the sample as a whole

Translators (A)	Non-translators (B)	Mean difference (A-B)	p-value	$p < 0.0125$
Writers/translators	Non-translators	-0.3584	0.0022	yes
Writing translators	Non-translators	-0.2855	0.0168	no
Translating writers	Non-translators	-0.2718	0.0179	no
Exclusive translators	Non-translators	0.0334	0.5844	no

N=205.  $\alpha = 0.0125$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction)

Another ANOVA test run on the sample as a whole shows that at  $\alpha = .05$ , there are significant differences between the lexical-transfer variable and language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training variables ( $F = 218.687$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Five post-hoc tests were subsequently run to determine what these differences may be.

With respect to the post-hoc tests for the ANOVA test of lexical transfer by categories, the results of four tests were significant, indicating that the independent variables have a significant impact on lexical transfer. These were language prestige ( $p < 0.001$ , Pearson's correlation coefficient ( $r_p$ ) = 0.686), text sensitivity ( $p < 0.001$ ,  $r_p = 0.669$ ), employment stability ( $p < 0.001$ ,  $r_p = 0.618$ ), and professional experience ( $p < 0.001$ ,  $r_p = -0.060$ ). In the case of the first three, the results suggest that the lexical transfer variable has a direct correlation with the independent variables. Further, the approximate quantities of the data that can be explained in lexical transfer as a function

of the independent variables are 47% for language prestige, 45% for text sensitivity, 38% for employment stability, and <1% for professional experience.

The results of the test of the relation between lexical transfer and formal training was insignificant ( $p=0.186$ ,  $r_p=-0.010$ ). Nonetheless, they suggest that in the presence of formal training in the sample as a whole, the respondents had an extremely weak tendency towards making lexical transfers into Papiamentu. The Pearson's correlation coefficient of  $-0.010$  indicates this negative correlation between these two variables, and the Pearson's coefficient of determination  $r_p^2=0.000$  indicates that practically none of the variability in the data can be explained in lexical transfer as a function of formal training. However, this apparently negligible result could be due to the binary nature of the formal-training variable in this test (Table 13).

Table 13. Post-hoc tests of multiple comparisons for the ANOVA test of lexical transfer by categories

Dependent variable (A)	Independent variable (B)	p-value	(rp)	( $r_p^2$ )	p<0.01
Lexical transfer	Language prestige	<0.001	0.686	0.471	Yes
Lexical transfer	Text sensitivity	<0.001	0.669	0.448	Yes
Lexical transfer	Employment stability	<0.001	0.618	0.381	Yes
Lexical transfer	Professional experience	<0.001	-0.060	0.004	Yes
Lexical transfer	Formal training	0.186	-0.010	0.000	No

N=205.  $\alpha=0.01$  (Bonferroni correction)

Briefly stated, what I have found for the sample as a whole is the following. With respect to lexical transfer, the differences between the non-translators (W) and the various types of translators (T, wT, WT, tW) are important enough to be investigated. There are translators who reported more lexical transfers than did non-translators. The results suggest that the most predominantly lexis-transferring of these translators are the writers/translators (WT) followed by the writing translators (wT), translating writers (tW), and the exclusive translators (T), with the last-mentioned actually not giving a relation of significance. Also, the differences between the (non)translators' lexical-transfer activity and their notion of the prestige of the lexifier language, how sensitive their texts are, their employment stability, their professional experience and whether or not they have formal training, call for further research. While the strongest impact on lexical transfer seems to be the degree to which either the source or target language is considered prestigious, the weakest seems to be formal training. Thus, a translator or

non-translator with formal training was found to be weakly inclined to make lexical transfers into Papiamentu. The results also show that a higher level of professional experience seemed to result in a lower incidence of lexical transfer. With this preliminary information on lexical transfer reported both by translators and non-translators, and using non-parametric statistics, I proceeded to test the five sub-hypotheses that I have outlined above.

#### *4.4.2.2 Lexical transfer by language prestige (H<sub>1</sub>)*

Could the prestige of the source language (English) or target language (Papiamentu) have any impact on the English-to-Papiamentu lexical-transfer process? I asked the respondents eight questions related to the issue. All 205 respondents answered appropriately. The questions and the formulated sub-hypothesis are as follows:

Q. 17: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think English is seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text?”

Q. 18: ...when you find no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu?”

Q. 19: ...when you think Papiamentu speakers use the English expression at least as frequently as they use the Papiamentu one?”

Q. 20: ...when you think the English expression sounds better than the Papiamentu one?”

Q. 21: ...when you think the English expression does not make the meaning of your Papiamentu text in any way unclear?”

Q. 22: ...when you think the English expression makes the meaning of your Papiamentu text clearer?”

Q. 23: ...when you think the English expression helps to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized?”

Q. 24: ...when you think Papiamentu speakers will not object to the use of the English expression?”

H<sub>1</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the lexifier language is prestigious.

An ANOVA test was conducted on the sample as a whole in order to determine the impact of the prestige of the lexifier language on the lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators. The results were significant ( $F=824.280$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.686, a strong positive association indicating for this sample that the translators and non-translators who considered the source language (English) as more prestigious, were more inclined than those who did not, to use English in their Papiamentu (non)translations. A Pearson's coefficient of determination of 0.471 indicates that about 47% of the variability in the data is explainable as a function of language prestige. The ANOVA test therefore suggests that language prestige plays a meaningful role in lexical transfer. However, further hypothesis testing was required to identify the circumstances under which the respondents had a tendency to make lexical transfers into their Papiamentu (non)translations.

The Kruskal Wallis test was used for testing this sub-hypothesis at  $\alpha=.05$ . The test determines whether a significant difference existed between the ordinal responses of the translators, translators-and-writers and non-translators to the items in the questionnaire. It also assumes that the frequency distributions of the three independent groups of responses (measured on an ordinal scale from 1="Never" to 5="Always") could be meaningfully ranked in an order of magnitude. The null hypothesis was that the grouped median scores for each group of respondents were equal. The grouped median score was the middle point of the ordered responses ranging from 1 to 5 for each group of respondents. The decision rule was to reject the null hypothesis if  $p<0.05$  for the  $\chi^2$  statistic, meaning that one or more of the grouped median scores was significantly greater or less than the others. The Kruskal-Wallis test was two-tailed, or non-directional. The results of the tests at  $\alpha=.05$  and based on the eight questions above are presented below.

When the hypothesis was tested with respect to Q. 17, "Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think English is seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text?", it was found to hold ( $\chi^2=12.50$ ,  $p=.002$ ). The non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.98). The correlation test result was 0.17, a very weak but positive association between the variables. The conclusion was therefore that non-translators were more likely to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer when they thought that English was seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text. The coefficient of determination was 0.0305, which means that a mere 3% of the variability could be

explained in lexical transfer as a function of this particular condition of language prestige.

In testing the hypothesis with respect to Q. 18, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you find no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu?”, the hypothesis was again found to hold ( $\chi^2=17.732$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The exclusive translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.14). The correlation test result was 0.21, a weak positive association between the variables. The coefficient of determination was 0.0432, which means that no more than 4% of the data variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of this particular condition of language prestige. The conclusion was therefore that the exclusive translators were more likely than the other respondents were to use expressions from English when they found no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu.

The hypothesis was also tested with respect to Q. 19, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think Papiamentu speakers use the English expression at least as frequently as they use the Papiamentu one?”, and once again, it was confirmed ( $\chi^2=14.057$  and  $p<0.001$ ). The exclusive translators scored the highest for this question (grouped median=2.58), which meant that they were more inclined to use English expressions in their Papiamentu translations when they thought that Papiamentu speakers use the English expression at least as frequently as they use the Papiamentu one. The correlation coefficient 0.19 indicates a very weak positive relationship between the variables. The coefficient of determination was .0343, which means that only 3% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of this particular condition of language prestige.

The hypothesis was also confirmed when tested with respect to Q. 20, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think the English expression sounds better than the Papiamentu one?”. The result was  $\chi^2=57.737$  and  $p<0.001$ ). The non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.52). The correlation test result was .38, a moderate positive association between the lexical-transfer variable and the language-prestige variable. My conclusion was therefore that the non-translators displayed a greater propensity to use English expressions in their Papiamentu non-translations when they thought that the English expression sounded better than the Papiamentu one. The coefficient of determination was 0.1408, which means that 14% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer by this particular condition of language prestige.

Another test of the hypothesis with respect to Q. 21, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think the English expression does not make the meaning of your Papiamentu text in any way unclear?” was carried out. Again it was confirmed ( $\chi^2=28.192$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=1.70). The correlation test result was 0.26, a weak positive association between the lexical-transfer variable and the language-prestige variable in question. I therefore concluded that the non-translators were more inclined than were the other respondents to use English expressions in their Papiamentu non-translations when they thought the English expression did not make the meaning of their Papiamentu text in any way unclear. The coefficient of determination was .0688, which means that no more than 7% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of this particular condition of language prestige.

After testing the hypothesis with respect to Q. 22, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think the English expression makes the meaning of your Papiamentu text clearer?”, it was found to hold ( $\chi^2=30.915$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Once again, the non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.77). The correlation test result was 0.27, a weak positive association between the lexical-transfer variable and the language-prestige variable. For this reason, I concluded that non-translators were more inclined than were the translators to use English expressions in their Papiamentu non-translations when they thought the English expression made the meaning of their Papiamentu text clearer. The coefficient of determination was 0.0754, which means that just 8% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer by this particular condition of language prestige.

The hypothesis was tested further with respect to Q. 23, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think the English expression helps to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized?”. Again, it was confirmed. The result was  $\chi^2=13.096$  and  $p=.001$ . The non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.73). The correlation test result was 0.18, a very weak but positive association between the lexical-transfer variable and the language-prestige variable. The conclusion was therefore that the non-translators were more inclined than were the translators to use English expressions in their Papiamentu non-translations when they thought the English expression helped to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized. The coefficient of determination was 0.0319, which

means that no more than 3% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of this particular condition of language prestige.

The hypothesis was tested one last time with respect to Q. 24, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you think Papiamentu speakers will not object to the use of the English expressions?”. In this case, it was not confirmed. The result was  $\chi^2=1.947$  and  $p=.378$ ; the responses simply did not vary significantly between the respondents. Therefore, I was not able to draw any statistical conclusion as to whether the respondents used English expressions in their Papiamentu texts when they thought Papiamentu speakers would not object to the use of the English expressions. Table 14 shows the details related to these tests.

Table 14. Comparison of ordinal responses to questions 17 through 24 ( $H_1$ )

Language prestige	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators	Total	$\chi^2$	p	<.00625	Cramér's Phi
Grouped medians (1=Never to 5=Always)								
Q. 17: English seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu	2.53	2.43	2.98	2.73	12.508	.002	Yes	0.17
Q. 18: No corresponding Papiamentu expression found	2.14	1.35	1.43	1.54	17.732	<.001	Yes	0.21
Q. 19: English expression is used just as often as the Papiamentu one	2.58	1.59	1.55	1.75	14.057	.001	Yes	0.19
Q. 20: English expression sounds better than the Papiamentu one	1.31	1.11	2.52	1.69	57.737	<.001	Yes	0.38
Q. 21: English expression does not make the Papiamentu text unclear	1.48	1.04	1.70	1.44	28.192	<.001	Yes	0.26
Q. 22: English expression makes Papiamentu text clearer	2.17	1.43	2.77	2.28	30.915	<.001	Yes	0.27
Q. 23: English expression builds Papiamentu vocabulary and keeps the language standardized	2.00	2.36	2.73	2.46	13.096	.001	Yes	0.18
Q. 24: Papiamentu speakers will not object to the use of English expression	1.33	1.20	1.33	1.30	1.947	.378	No	-

N=205.  $\alpha=.05/8=.00625$  (Bonferroni correction).



In summary, the results of a preliminary test of the sample as a whole suggest that when the (non)translators consider English as more prestigious, they tend to use it more in their Papiamentu (non)translations. The results of further hypothesis testing show, on the one hand, that the non-translators reported making more lexical transfer than did the translators in a number of instances. These are when they, the non-translators, thought that English was seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text, when they thought that the English expression sounded better than the Papiamentu one, when they thought the English expression did not make the meaning of their Papiamentu text in any way unclear, when they thought the English expression made the meaning of their Papiamentu text clearer, and also when they thought the English expression helped to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized.

On the other hand, the exclusive translators were found to report more lexical transfer than were the other respondents when they found no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu and also when they thought that Papiamentu speakers used the English expression at least as frequently as they used the Papiamentu one. There was only one instance for which I could not confirm the hypothesis, since the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents with respect to whether they used English expressions in their Papiamentu texts because they thought Papiamentu speakers would not object to the use of the English expressions.

Thus, in five out of the seven cases that were statistically confirmed, the non-translators were more inclined than were the translators to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. In the other two cases, the exclusive translators were the ones who had a greater inclination to transfer lexical items from English into their translations.

#### *4.4.2.3 Lexical transfer by text sensitivity (H<sub>2</sub>)*

I wanted to know whether the sensitivity of a text could be an influential factor in a translator's or non-translator's decision to use English expressions in their (non)translations. Therefore, I asked the respondents four questions relating to text sensitivity. The sub-hypothesis and questions are:

H<sub>2</sub>: Translators report more making lexical transfers than do non-translators when the text is sensitive.

Q. 13: “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the texts are not safety-related?”

Q. 14: “...when the texts do not have to meet regulatory requirements?”

Q. 15: “...when the texts are highly academic?”

Q. 16: “...when you own the rights to the texts?”

Before testing the hypothesis, I carried out an ANOVA test on the entire sample to determine the impact of text sensitivity on the lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators. The results were significant ( $F=387.804$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The Pearson’s correlation coefficient is 0.669, a strong positive association indicating for this sample that the translators and non-translators who worked on sensitive texts were more inclined to use English in their Papiamentu (non)translations than were those who did not work on sensitive texts. A Pearson’s coefficient of determination of 0.448 indicates that about 45% of the variability in the data is explainable in terms of lexical transfer as a function of employment stability. The ANOVA test therefore suggests that text sensitivity plays a meaningful role in lexical transfer. However, further hypothesis testing was needed to determine the circumstances under which the respondents had a propensity to make lexical transfers into Papiamentu (non)translations.

The Kruskal Wallis test was used for testing the sub-hypothesis at  $\alpha=.05$ . With respect to Q. 13, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the texts are not safety-related?”, the sub-hypothesis was confirmed ( $\chi^2=131.992$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The exclusive translators scored highest (grouped median=1.17) followed by the translators-and-writers (grouped median=1.12) and the non-translators (grouped median=1.09). Therefore, I was able to conclude that the exclusive translators exhibited a greater tendency than did the other respondents to transfer lexical items from English into their Papiamentu translations when the texts were not safety-related. Cramér’s Phi=0.52, which indicates a strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer variable and the text-sensitivity variables. The coefficient of determination is 0.266, which indicates that about 27% of the variability in the data could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of the text not being safety-related.

With respect to Q. 14, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the texts do not have to meet regulatory requirements?”, the sub-hypothesis was confirmed ( $\chi^2=133.838$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The non-translators scored the highest for (grouped median=2.15). I therefore concluded that non-translators exhibited a greater tendency than did the other respondents to transfer lexical items from English into their Papiamentu non-translations when the texts did not have to meet regulatory requirements. Cramér’s Phi=0.57, which indicates a strong positive correlation between the lexical transfer and the text-sensitivity variables. The coefficient of determination is 0.326, which means that about 33% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of the text not having to meet regulatory requirements.

With respect to Q. 15, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the texts are highly academic?”, the sub-hypothesis was once again confirmed ( $\chi^2=108.020$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.71) and the non-translators scored the lowest (grouped median=1.67). Thus, I concluded that translators had a greater tendency than did non-translators to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their Papiamentu texts when the text was highly academic. Cramér’s Phi=0.51, an indication of a strong positive correlation between lexical transfer and the sensitivity of a text. The corresponding coefficient of determination was 0.263, which means that about 26% of the variability in the data could be explained by the sensitivity of a text depending on whether it was highly academic.

When the sub-hypothesis was tested with respect to Q. 16, “Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when you own the rights to the texts?”, it was also confirmed ( $\chi^2=12.828$ ,  $p=.003$ ). The non-translators scored the highest (grouped median=2.07) and the exclusive translators scored the lowest (grouped median=1.38). Therefore, I concluded that non-translators were more likely than were the other respondents to engage in lexical transfer in their Papiamentu texts in situations where they owned the rights to the texts. Cramér’s Phi=0.18, suggesting a very weak but positive correlation between the variables. But with a coefficient of determination of only 0.032, only about 3% of the variability in the data was explainable in terms of lexical transfer as a function of the non-translator’s ownership of the texts. Table 15 below presents the details of the hypothesis test results.

Table 15. Comparison of ordinal responses to questions 13 through 16 (H<sub>2</sub>)

Text sensitivity	Text is safety-related	Text is regulated	Text is highly academic	Text belongs to respondent	
Exclusive translators	1.17	1.17	2.71	1.38	} Grouped medians (1=Never to 5=Always)
Translators- and-writers	1.12	1.09	2.71	1.69	
Non-translators	1.09	2.15	1.12	2.07	
Total	1.12	1.63	1.67	1.75	
$\chi^2$	131.099	133.838	108.020	12.828	
p-value	<.001	<.001	<.001	.003	
p-value <.0125?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Cramér's Phi	.52	.57	.51	.18	
coefficient of determination	.266	.032	.263	.031	

N=205.  $\alpha$ =.0125 (Bonferroni correction).

In summary, the results of a preliminary test of the sample as a whole suggest that the sensitivity of a text influences the (non)translators' decision to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. By further hypothesis testing with respect to lexical transfer in texts that were safety-related, I discovered that the translators (and particularly the exclusive translators) did report making more lexical transfer than did the non-translators. Also, in the case of texts that happened to be highly academic, the translators were more inclined to engage in lexical transfer than were the non-translators. However, when the texts had to meet regulatory requirements, the non-translators were more inclined to engage in lexical transfer and much more so than were the translators. Further, the results of the last test suggest that the non-translators were far more likely than the translators to engage in lexical transfer when they owned the rights to the texts.

#### 4.4.2.4 Lexical transfer by employment stability (H<sub>3</sub>)

I often wondered whether the employment stability of the translators and non-translators had any influence on the lexical-transfer process. Here the sub-hypothesis is:

H<sub>3</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have employment stability.

This sub-hypothesis is based on four questions that I asked the respondents on the questionnaire. They are as follows:

Q. 9: “When you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the task is not for pay?”

Q. 10: “...when payment for the task is guaranteed?”

Q. 11: “...when the assignment of future tasks is guaranteed?”

Q. 12: “...when the end-user’s demand for the written text is not affected by the use of English expressions in it?”

Prior to testing the hypothesis, I performed an ANOVA test on the entire sample to determine the impact of employment stability on the lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators. The results were significant ( $F=263.508$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The Pearson’s correlation coefficient is 0.618, a strong positive association indicating for this sample that the translators and non-translators who had employment stability were more inclined to use English in their Papiamentu (non)translations than were those who did not have employment stability. A Pearson’s coefficient of determination of 0.381 indicates that about 38% of the variability in the data is explainable in terms of lexical transfer as a function of employment stability. The ANOVA test therefore suggests that employment stability plays a meaningful role in lexical transfer. However, further hypothesis testing was needed to determine the circumstances under which the respondents were inclined or averse to making lexical transfers into Papiamentu. I used the Kruskal Wallis test for comparisons of grouped medians for testing the hypothesis in the presence of these conditions.

With respect to Q. 9, “When you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the task is not for pay?”, the null hypothesis was not rejected ( $\chi^2=4.732$ ,  $p=.094$ ) as the results show that the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents. Thus, I was not able to confirm statistically that translators or non-translators had a greater tendency to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations when the task was not for pay.

However, with respect to Q. 10, “When you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when payment for the task is guaranteed?”, the null hypothesis was rejected ( $\chi^2=12.820$ ,  $p=.002$ ). The exclusive translators scored the highest (grouped median=1.27), which indicates that they had a greater inclination than did the other respondents to use English in their translations when payment was guaranteed. Cramér’s Phi=0.18, indicating that there is a very weak

but positive association between the reward and lexical-transfer variables. The coefficient of determination of 0.0313 shows that only 3% of the variability in lexical transfer could be explained as a function of the condition that payment for the translation task was guaranteed.

With respect to Q. 11 and Q. 12, “When you are dealing with a written text, do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu texts when the assignment of future tasks is guaranteed?”, and “...when the end-user’s demand for the written text is not affected by the use of English expressions in it?”, the null hypothesis was not rejected. The test result with respect to Q. 11 was  $\chi^2=3.188$  and  $p=.203$ , and with respect to Q. 12, it was  $\chi^2=3.898$ , and  $p=.136$ . The responses did not vary significantly between the respondents. Table 16 presents the details of these results.

Table 16. Comparison of ordinal responses to questions 9 through 12 ( $H_3$ )

Employment stability	Task is not for pay	Payment is guaranteed	Future tasks are guaranteed	End-user’s demand unaffected	
Exclusive translators	1.24	1.27	1.19	1.46	} Grouped medians (1=Never to 5=Always)
Translators-and-writers	1.10	1.08	1.23	1.21	
Non-translators	1.10	1.09	1.11	1.40	
Total	1.13	1.11	1.16	1.37	
$\chi^2$	4.732	12.820	3.188	3.989	
P-value	.094	.002	.203	.136	
P-value <.0125?	No	Yes	No	No	
Cramér’s Phi	-	0.18	-	-	
Coefficient of determination	-	0.031	-	-	

N=205.  $\alpha=.0125$  (Bonferroni correction).

In summary, the results of a preliminary test of the sample as a whole suggest that employment stability impacts the (non)translators’ decision to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. However, I have not been able to confirm statistically that the translators in general were more inclined than the non-translators to report more lexical transfers when the task was not for pay, payment for the task was guaranteed, the assignment of future tasks was guaranteed or the end-user’s demand for the information was not affected by the use of English expressions in it. What I have been able to suggest is that the exclusive translators were more inclined than all the other respondents to use English expressions in their translations when payment for the translation task was guaranteed.

#### 4.4.2.5 Lexical transfer by professional experience ( $H_4$ )

In 1.2 I posited that professional experience is likely to be one of the factors that affect the lexical-transfer process of Papiamentu standardization. In the questionnaire I asked respondents to indicate their years of experience. They were also asked to specify how often they translated and/or wrote. As mentioned in 4.3.1, the first experience question carries the following response categories: 1=“Less than one year”, 2=“1-5 years inclusive”, 3=“6-10 years inclusive”, 4=“11-15 years inclusive” and 5=“More than 15 years”; for the second, question the categories were 1=“Other”, 2=“Rarely”, 3=“Less than once a week”, 4=“Once a week” and 5=“Daily”. To create an experience index, I mapped the aggregate result of the two questions to a range from 0 to 1. For example, Respondent 170, a male non-translator (W) trained in education, said, “Since I am retired from my newspaper company, they only call me in to work on certain projects that need the help of an experienced editor.” He selected “5=More than 15 years” of experience, but for frequency selected 1=Other.” Therefore, when all the years he worked full-time are counted, his experience index would be  $(5 + 1)/10=0.6$ . Table 17 shows the number and percentage of the respondents who had the indicated years of professional experience. The index for the mean and median years of experience for each group of respondents is also shown.

Table 17. Descriptive statistical distribution of years of professional experience of respondents

Experience in years	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers as translators	Translators-and-writers as writers	Non-translators
<1 year	0 (0.0%)	4 (2.0%)	4 (2.0%)	24 (11.7%)
1-5 years inclusive	12 (5.9%)	19 (9.3%)	15 (7.3%)	26 (12.7%)
6-10 years inclusive	5 (2.4%)	5 (2.4%)	4 (2.0%)	18 (8.8%)
11-15 years inclusive	9 (4.4%)	6 (2.9%)	7 (3.4%)	14 (6.8%)
>15 years	25 (12.2%)	15 (7.3%)	19 (9.3%)	23 (11.2%)
Mean (index)	.829	.741	.761	.718
Median (index)	.90	.70	.80	.70

A closer look at the table shows that among all the translators (T, wT, WT, tW), the translators-and-writers as translators (wT, WT, tW) make up the largest proportion (2%) of respondents with <1 year of professional experience and also comprise 9.3% of them with 1-5 years inclusive. Along with the exclusive translators (T), they share the same proportion (2.4%) of translators with professional experience of 6-10 years inclusive. The exclusive translators make up the largest proportion (4.4%) of translators

with 11-15 years inclusive and with >15 years (12.2%). However, the non-translators surpass the proportion of all other respondents in all the experience categories except the last for >15 years (11.2%). As the mean and median indexes are relatively close, the mean can be trusted to reflect that the average exclusive translator has at least six years of experience with a translation activity frequency of between “Every day” and “Less than once a week”. The means for the remaining respondents (translators-and-writers, and non-translators) suggest that they have at least one year of professional experience and a translation and/or non-translation activity frequency of between “Every day” and “Rarely” inclusive.

The relationships between how often the (non)translators produced (non)translations and their years of professional experience is presented in Table 18.

Table 18. Cross-tabulation of (non)translators and by years of experience and frequency of (non)translation

How many years of professional translation experience do you have?	How often do you translate?					Total
	Every day	Once a week	Less than once a week	Rarely	Other	
Less than 1 year	1	2	1	0	0	4
1-5 years inclusive	16	8	5	0	2	31
6-10 years inclusive	3	6	1	0	0	10
11-15 years inclusive	5	6	4	0	0	15
More than 15 years	24	9	2	5	0	40
Total (N=205)	49	31	13	5	2	100

How many years of professional writing experience do you have?	How often do you write?					Total
	Every day	Once a week	Less than once a week	Rarely	Other	
Less than 1 year	13	8	3	0	0	24
1-5 years inclusive	12	10	3	0	1	26
6-10 years inclusive	7	8	3	0	0	18
11-15 years inclusive	9	3	2	0	0	14
More than 15 years	16	4	1	0	2	23
Total (N=205)	57	33	12	0	3	105

The experience hypothesis (H<sub>4</sub>) concerns the professional-experience variable: I wanted to find out whether professional experience is a factor influencing the lexical-transfer process in Papiamentu standardization. The hypothesis is stated as follows:

H<sub>4</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have extensive professional experience.



Prior to testing this sub-hypothesis, I ran an ANOVA test on the sample as a whole to determine the impact of the translators' and non-translators' years of professional experience in their lexical-transfer activity. At  $\alpha=0.05$ , the result was significant ( $F=614.420$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The Pearson's correlation coefficient is  $-0.017$ , a very weak negative association indicating for this sample that the years of experience of the translators and non-translators taken together are *inversely* correlated with lexical transfer. Thus, the more experience they had, the less they tended to make lexical transfer.

Then, to test the sub-hypothesis, I re-arranged the data of Table 18 so that they reflect the actual categories of years of experience by the types of translators and the non-translators. In this way, the hypothesis could be tested for each type of translator against the non-translators. Table 19 shows the re-arranged data.

Table 19. Cross-tabulation of (non)translators by years of experience

Translators and non-translators	Less than 1 year	1-5 years inclusive	6-10 years inclusive	11-15 years inclusive	more than 15 years	Total
Exclusive translators	0	12	5	9	25	51
Writing translators	0	6	2	1	7	16
Writers/translators	0	6	1	2	7	16
Translating writers	4	7	2	3	1	17
Translators-and-writers	4	19	5	6	15	49
All translators	4	31	10	15	40	100
Non-translators	24	26	18	14	23	105
Total (N=205)	28	57	28	29	63	205

For this hypothesis, I computed independent sample t-tests for the difference between the lexical transfer means of two populations (translators and non-translators) in order to determine whether the mean lexical transfer made by the translators was greater than that of the non-translators. The decision rule was to reject the null hypothesis if  $p<0.05$  for the t-statistic. The advantage of the t-test over, say, the Chi-square test in this case is that it is possible to perform a one-tailed t-test to determine the direction of the significant difference between two means, that is, if one mean was significantly greater or less than the other. The test was chosen since all the statistical conditions were met such that I could use the normal approximation to the binomial distribution, which then allowed me to say that the sampling distribution of the difference between the sampling means was a normal distribution.

Table 20. P-values and t-values for t-tests for comparison of difference between the means of the translators and non-translators

Groups of translators tested against the non-translators (W)	p- and t-values	Less than 1 year	1-5 years inclusive	6-10 years inclusive	11-15 years inclusive	More than 15 years
<b>Exclusive translators</b>	p-value	none	0.393	0.827	0.208	<b>&lt;0.001</b>
(T)	t-value	none	0.273	-0.946	0.816	5.341
<b>All translators</b>	p-value	1.000	0.352	0.946	0.467	<b>0.003</b>
(T, wT, WT, tW)	t-value	-5.051	0.380	-1.610	0.083	2.803
Translators-and-writers	p-value	1.000	0.356	0.944	0.787	0.460
(wT, WT, tW)	t-value	-3.237	0.333	-1.598	-0.799	0.101

N=205. Bonferroni correction  $\alpha: 0.05/12=0.0042$

In the case of the exclusive translators tested against the non-translators, the one-tailed t-test for the estimation of the difference between the means at  $\alpha=.05$  provided sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis when the experience was  $>15$  years of experience. Therefore, I concluded that exclusive translators reported more lexical transfers than did the non-translators only when both groups had more than 15 years of experience ( $t=5.341$ ,  $p<0.001$ , see Table 20).

As I found these results both interesting and unexpected, I wanted to confirm them with a different test. Thus, I decided to test whether the exclusive translators with the same levels of professional experience as the non-translators tended to report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Similar to the case of the t-tests, the data for professional experience were found to meet all the statistical criteria such that I could use the normal approximation to the binomial distribution by which I could claim that the sampling distribution of the difference between the sampling proportions was a normal distribution. A Z test was therefore appropriate for this computation. Like the t-test, the advantage of the Z test over, say, the Chi-square test in this case is that it is possible to perform a one-tailed t-test to determine the direction of the significant difference between two proportions, that is, if one proportion was significantly greater or less than the other. Also, since the independent sample t-tests showed that exclusive translators with  $>15$  years of professional experience reported more lexical transfer than did non-translators, I divided the professional experience between the non-translators and translators into  $\leq 15$  years and  $>15$  years (Table 21).

Table 21. Comparison of the proportions of non-translators and exclusive translators having equivalent levels of professional experience with respect to English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Professional experience	Engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer		Z	One tailed (p-value)
	Exclusive translators	Non-translators		
≤15 years	26 (.51)	82 (.78)	-3.44	.997
>15 years	25 (.49)	23 (.22)	3.44	<.001

N=205, Pearson's correlation coefficient,  $r_p=.20$ , coefficient of determination,  $r_p^2=.037$ , Bonferroni correction  $\alpha: 0.05/2=0.025$

The one-tailed Z test for the comparison of two proportions (.22 versus .49) provided evidence that at  $\alpha=.025$  (Bonferroni correction), so the hypothesis holds with respect to those with >15 years of experience ( $Z=3.44$ ,  $p=.0003$ ). It does not hold with respect to those with ≤15 years of experience ( $Z=-3.44$ ,  $p=.9997$ ). It should be noted that the  $\alpha=.025$  is a Bonferroni correction ( $0.05/2$ ) to account for the number of comparisons being performed by Z tests. The two comparisons are “exclusive translators against non-translators” and “all translators against non-translators”. The second test is discussed below. Therefore, I concluded that exclusive translators with levels of professional experience equivalent to those of the non-translators did have a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer when their experience was >15 years, but again, not when it was ≤15 years. The Pearson's correlation coefficient of 0.20 indicates a weak positive correlation between professional experience of >15 years and lexical transfer. The coefficient of determination of .037 shows that only 4% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer by professional experience of more than 15 years (see Table 21). The data for the 25 translators with >15 years show that 15 translated on a daily basis. For the 23 non-translators with >15 years of experience, 16 wrote on a daily basis.

When all the translators (T, wT, WT and tW) were grouped together against the non-translators for a second t-test, the result was also significant only when both groups had >15 years of experience ( $t=2.803$ ,  $p=0.003$ ). The fact that this second test turned out to be significant meant that a third test had to be run in order to determine the case of the translators-and-writers (wT, WT and tW). Is it likely that they also reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators only when both groups had extensive experience? Interestingly, the result of the test was not significant for any level of their professional experience. The lowest p-value was 0.356 for experience from one to five years inclusive with  $t=0.333$ . I therefore concluded that the exclusive translators are the

only group of translators who reported more lexical transfers than did the non-translators when both groups had equivalent levels of professional experience albeit beyond 15 years (Table 20). Although the t-test with respect to the group of all the translators (Table 20) yielded a result that appears generally plausible for them, the result according to this study should be regarded as probable only as long as it contains exclusive translators.

Another Z test was conducted to test whether the translators with equivalent levels of professional experience as did the non-translators tended to report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

Table 22. Comparison of the proportions of translators and non-translators having the same level of experience with respect to their English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Professional experience	Engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer		Z	One-tailed (p-value)
	Translators	Non-translators		
≤15 years	60 (.60)	82 (.78)	-2.81	.9975
>15 years	40 (.40)	23 (.22)	2.81	.0025

N=205, Pearson's correlation coefficient,  $r_p=.18$ , coefficient of determination,  $r_p^2=.032$ , Bonferroni correction  $\alpha: 0.05/2=0.025$

The test was one-tailed towards the right because the direction of the difference between the proportions was specified in the research hypothesis. This test for the comparison of two proportions (.40 versus .22) provided evidence that at  $\alpha=.025$  (Bonferroni correction), the hypothesis holds with respect to those with >15 years of experience ( $Z=2.81$ ,  $p=.0025$ ). It does not hold with respect to those with ≤15 years of experience ( $Z=-2.81$ ,  $p=.9975$ ). Therefore, I concluded that the translators with levels of professional experience equivalent to those of the non-translators did have a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer when their experience was >15 years, but again, not when it was ≤15 years (Table 19). The Pearson's correlation coefficient ( $r_p=0.18$ ) indicates a very weak positive correlation between lexical transfer and professional experience of >15 years. The correlation coefficient of determination,  $r_p^2=.032$  accordingly shows that only 3% of the variability could be explained in lexical transfer as a function of professional experience of more than 15 years. Also, the data for the 40 translators with >15 years show that 24 translated every day, and as mentioned before, 16 of the 23 non-translators with >15 years of experience wrote every day.

I was also interested in testing whether the translators with professional experience as both translators and writers reported more lexical transfer in their translations than they did in their non-translations. The number of respondents with experience as both translators and writers was 49. All 49 of them engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their translations and in their writings. Therefore, these data are not consistent with the hypothesis that translators with professional experience as both translators and writers reported more lexical transfer in their translations than they did in their non-translations.

After the hypothesis has been tested for the difference between the lexical-transfer means and proportions of the translators and non-translators, I wanted to test whether a higher level of professional experience of translators was associated with a greater frequency of lexical transfer. The data for professional experience of all 100 translators was organized into four categories. These were  $\leq 15$  years, not every day;  $\leq 15$  years, every day;  $> 15$  years, not every day; and  $> 15$  years, every day. On this data, I performed a Chi-square goodness-of-fit test. The test statistic determines whether there was a difference between the observed frequencies (for example, the frequencies at which different translators reported their tendency to transfer lexical items from English into Papiamentu) and the frequencies expected by random variation. The results of the test were found to be inconsistent with the sub-hypothesis that the more professional experience Papiamentu translators had, the greater their reported tendency to make English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. The  $\chi^2=7.28$ , and  $p=.063$ , which makes it too high since it is greater than the alpha level of .05 (see Table 23).

Table 23. Cross-tabulation of translators by experience and English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Professional translation experience	Translators engaged in lexical transfer	$\chi^2$ Goodness-of-fit	p-value
$\leq 15$ years, not every day	35	7.28	.063
$\leq 15$ years, every day	25		
$> 15$ years, not every day	16		
$> 15$ years, every day	24		
Total (N=100)	100		

$\alpha = 0.05$

From the foregoing, the results of a preliminary test of the sample as a whole suggest that the (non)translators' level of professional experience influences their decision to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. The results

also show that a higher level of professional experience seemed to result in a lower incidence of lexical transfer, although the correlation is extremely weak. However, further statistical tests have shown that when the professional experience of the translators and non-translators is more than 15 years, their tendency to make lexical transfer from English to Papiamentu was greater than when the experience was 15 years or less. But in each case of the tests, the correlation between professional experience and lexical transfer was either weak or very weak though positive, and varying the sample sizes by selecting exclusive translators versus non-translators, and all translators versus the non-translators, did not reveal any case of a high correlation between these variables. I have not been able to establish in a general way and logically by these tests that the more experience the respondent had, whether in a translation or non-translation capacity, the greater their increase in lexical transfer. Nonetheless, it has been logically demonstrated that among the translators and non-translators with more than 15 years of experience, it was the translators, and more specifically the exclusive translators, who showed a greater inclination to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

#### *4.4.2.6 Lexical transfer by formal training (H<sub>5</sub>)*

In 1.2 I posited that formal training is likely to be one of the factors that affect the lexical-transfer process of Papiamentu standardization. I asked respondents to indicate whether they had formal training as translators and/or writers. As already mentioned in 4.3, a total of 74 (36.1%) reported they had training in some form of writing, and 42 (20.5%) reported they had training in translation. Of the 74 who reported having formal training in writing, 49 were non-translators. Of the 42 who reported having formal training in translation, 23 were exclusive translators and 19 were translators-and-writers. Thus, with respect to the formal-training variable, I wanted to test the sub-hypothesis that:

H<sub>5</sub>: Translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have formal training.

However, prior to testing the hypothesis, I conducted an ANOVA test on the entire sample to determine the impact of formal training on the lexical-transfer activity of the translators and non-translators. The results were insignificant ( $F=1.742$ ,  $p=0.188$ ). The Pearson's correlation coefficient is  $-0.010$ , a very weak negative to negligible

association indicating for this sample that the translators and non-translators who had formal training were less inclined to use English in their Papiamentu (non)translations than were those without formal training. I decided to investigate this to see under what circumstances the (non)translators were inclined or disinclined to make lexical transfers into Papiamentu.

For testing the sub-hypothesis, the Chi-square test for association was used. The hypothesis was that a statistically significant association existed between the frequencies of the categories under examination at a level of significance where  $\alpha=.05$ . In the cross-tabulations of the 205 respondents by formal training versus lexical-transfer activity, the observed values are the sum of the lexical-transfer responses of each group.

With respect to lexical transfer by formal training, the first test was carried out on all translators (T, wT, WT, tW) against all non-translators (W). All the translators had formal training as translators, and all the non-translators had formal training as writers. At  $\alpha=.05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=170.935$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The results show that the translators had the higher Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=46.169$ ). That is 27.225 for the exclusive translators and 18.944 for the translators-and-writers. For the non-translators, the value was 39.213. To test the strength of the relationship between the variables, I carried out a Cramér's Phi post-hoc correlation coefficient test. The test statistic, Cramér's Phi=0.671 with  $p<0.001$ , indicates that there is a strong positive correlation between the respondents' formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.450, which indicates the amount of variability that can be explained in lexical transfer by means of formal training is 45%. This test confirms the hypothesis that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators when both groups had formal training (see Table 24). However, to understand the relationship between the variables, as well as between the translators and non-translators, I decided to test the hypothesis further but each time grouping the respondents according to their respective translation or writing status.

Table 24. Cross tabulation of formal training by two types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training			
		No formal training	Exclusive translator	Translator-and-writer	Non-translator
All translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	101.458 (0.186)	44.792 (27.225)	31.167 (18.944)	0 (44.729)
Non-Translators		106.625 (0.163)	0 (23.868)	0 (16.607)	95.750 (39.213)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=170.935$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi =0.671, coefficient of determination=0.450. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

When the respondents were divided into three groups as exclusive translators (T), translators-and-writers as translators (wT, WT, tW), and non-translators (W), at  $\alpha=.05$  a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=331.509$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The translators-and-writers had the highest Chi-square values ( $\chi^2=96.918$ ) followed by the exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=92.325$ ), and the non-translators ( $\chi^2=39.213$ ). To test the strength of the relationship between the variables, I carried out a Cramér's Phi post-hoc correlation coefficient test. The test statistic, Cramér's Phi=0.661 with  $p<0.001$ , indicates that there is a strong positive correlation between the respondents' formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.436, which indicates the amount of variability that can be explained in lexical transfer by means of formal training is about 44%. This test therefore confirms the hypothesis that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators when both groups had formal training (Table 25).

Table 25. Cross tabulation of formal training by three types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training			
		No formal training	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	55.208 (0.003)	44.792 (92.325)	0 (8.206)	0 (25.211)
Translator-and-writers		46.250 (0.347)	0 (9.130)	31.167 (96.918)	0 (19.518)
Non-translators		106.625 (0.163)	0 (23.8678)	0 (16.607)	95.750 (39.213)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=331.509$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.661, coefficient of determination=.436. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).



A significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was also found when the respondents were divided into five groups as exclusive translators (T), writing translators (wT), writers/translators (WT), translating writers (tW) against the non-translators (W) (total  $\chi^2=380.646$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), where all translators-and-writers were counted as translators. In greater detail, it can be seen that the writing translators had the highest Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=96.820$ ), followed by the exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=92.325$ ), the writers/translators ( $\chi^2=42.122$ ), the non-translators ( $\chi^2=39.213$ ), and the translating writers ( $\chi^2=0.712$ ). Thus, except for the translating writers, all the other translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators. The overall Cramér's Phi was 0.578, which indicates a strong positive correlation between the lexical transfer and formal-training variables. The coefficient of determination was 0.334, indicating that about 33% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training. This test also confirms that the hypothesis holds that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators when both groups had formal training (Table 26).

Table 26. Cross tabulation of formal training by five types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training			
		No formal training	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	55.208 (0.003)	44.792 (92.325)	0 (8.206)	0 (25.211)
Writing translators		9.333 (1.616)	0 (3.037)	16.417 (8.206)	0 (6.492)
Writer/translators		13.500 (0.001)	0 (2.924)	11.292 (96.820)	0 (6.250)
Translating writers		23.417 (5.131)	0 (3.170)	3.4583 (0.7118)	0 (6.7768)
Non-translators		106.625 (0.163)	0 (23.868)	0 (16.607)	95.750 (39.213)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=380.646$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.578, coefficient of determination=.334. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

Considering that the translators-and-writers also functioned in a non-translation capacity, I decided to test the hypothesis with respect to their formal training as writers. With respect to lexical transfer by formal training, I tested the hypothesis on two groups – all exclusive translators (T) against all the translators-and-writers (wT, WT, tW) and non-translators (W), referred to in this case as writers (wT, WT, tW, W). All the exclusive translators had formal training as translators, and all the writers had formal training as writers. At  $\alpha=.05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=176.004$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The results suggest

that the exclusive translators had the higher Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=94.081$ ). For all the writers, the value was 12.654, that is 3.874 for the translators-and-writers as writers, and 8.780 for the non-translators. To test the strength of the relationship between the variables, I carried out a Cramér's Phi post-hoc correlation coefficient test. The test statistic, Cramér's Phi=0.677 with  $p<0.001$ , indicates that there is a strong positive correlation between the respondents' formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.458, which indicates the amount of variability that can be explained in terms of lexical transfer by means of formal training is 46%. This test confirms the hypothesis that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators when both groups had formal training (see Table 27). However, to understand the relationship between the variables and between the translators and non-translators, I decided to test the hypothesis further but each time grouping the respondents according to their respective translation or writing status.

Table 27. Cross tabulation of formal training by two types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	No formal training	Formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	55.208 (0.151)	44.792 (94.081)	0 (11.003)	0 (24.935)
Writers		146.000 (0.053)	0 (33.127)	42.250 (3.874)	95.750 (8.780)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=176.004$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi =0.677, coefficient of determination=0.458. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

When the respondents were divided into three groups as exclusive translators (T), translators-and-writers as writers (wT, WT, tW), and non-translators (W), a significant association between the variables was found (total  $\chi^2=370.077$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In this grouping, the translators-and-writers, who were counted as writers, had the highest Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=123.244$ ), which suggests that they reported more lexical transfer than did the other respondents and definitely more than did the non-translators who had the lowest value ( $\chi^2=40.645$ ). The exclusive translators' was 94.081. The Cramér's Phi test statistic was 0.694, which indicates a strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and formal-training variables. The coefficient of determination was 0.482, indicating that about 48% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training (Table 28).

Table 28. Cross tabulation of formal training by three types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training			
		No formal training	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	55.208 (0.151)	44.792 (94.081)	0 (11.003)	0 (24.935)
Translators-and-writers		39.375 (0.270)	0 (9.521)	42.250 (123.244)	0 (20.353)
Non-translators		106.625 (0.003)	0 (23.606)	0 (22.267)	95.750 (40.645)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=370.077$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.694, coefficient of determination=.482. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

The respondents were once again divided into five groups as exclusive translators (T), writing translators (wT), writers/translators (WT), translating writers (tW) against the non-translators (W), again where all the translators-and-writers were counted as writers. Again at  $\alpha=.05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=373.265$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). A closer look at the details for the translators-and-writers shows that altogether they had a Chi-square value of 125.879, which is higher than that of the exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=94.081$ ) and definitely higher than that of the non-translators ( $\chi^2=40.645$ ). Among the translators-and-writers, the writers/translators had the highest value ( $\chi^2=50.739$ ), followed by the translating writers ( $\chi^2=49.351$ ) and the writing translators ( $\chi^2=25.789$ ). The strength of the relationship between the lexical-transfer and formal-training variables was confirmed by the Cramér's Phi correlation coefficient of 0.569, which indicates a strong positive correlation between them. The coefficient of determination was 0.324, which suggests that about 32% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training (Table 29).

Table 29. Cross tabulation of formal training by five types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training			
		No formal training	Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	55.208 (0.151)	44.792 (94.081)	0 (11.003)	0 (24.935)
Writing translators		15.125 (0.084)	0 (3.125)	11.667 (25.789)	0 (6.681)
Writers/translators		10.708 (0.511)	0 (2.965)	14.708 (50.739)	0 (6.338)
Translating writers		13.542 (0.227)	0 (3.431)	15.875 (49.351)	0 (7.335)
Non-translators		106.625 (0.003)	0 (23.606)	0 (22.267)	95.750 (40.645)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=373.265$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.569, coefficient of determination=.324. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

A total of 15 translators-and-writers had had training as both translators and writers. All 15 of them reported they engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in both their translations and non-translations. Therefore, I concluded that Papiamentu translators-and-writers with formal training as both translators and writers did not have a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their translations than in their non-translations.

However, I wanted to know whether the translators-and-writers with formal training in both translation and writing had a greater inclination than those who did not possess both, to use English expressions in their (non)translations. The Fisher's Exact test (right-tailed) was used for this computation to compensate for the low frequency expected values reported in some of the cells in the cross tabulation. A significant p-value (<.001) provided sufficient evidence to conclude that the translators-and-writers with both types of training had a greater tendency than those who did not have formal training in both, to make English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Table 30 shows the details of this test.

Table 30. Cross tabulation of formal training of translators-and-writers by three types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	No formal training in both	Formal training in both		
			Writing translators	Writers/translators	Translating writers
Writing translators	Observed (Expected)	10 (11.10)	6 (1.96)	0 (2.29)	0 (0.65)
Writers/translators		9 (11.10)	0 (1.96)	7 (2.29)	0 (0.65)
Translating writers		15 (11.80)	0 (2.08)	0 (2.43)	2 (0.69)

N=49,  $p < 0.001$ . The Fisher's expected values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha = 0.05/13 = 0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

Having performed these tests on the translators, translators-and-writers, and non-translators all with formal training as translators and/or writers, I decided to perform similar tests on those without any formal training. In this way, I should be able to determine whether the translational and non-translational behavior are the same in the case of no formal training.

With respect to lexical transfer by formal training, the first test was carried out on all translators (T, wT, WT, tW) against all non-translators (W). None of the translators or non-translators had had formal training as translators or writers. At  $\alpha = .05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and lack of formal training was found (total  $\chi^2 = 209.630$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The results suggest that the translators had the higher Chi-square value ( $\chi^2 = 61.668$ ), that is, 33.557 for the exclusive translators and 28.112 for the translators-and-writers. For the non-translators, the value was 43.666. Cramér's Phi post-hoc correlation coefficient test statistic was 0.743 with  $p < 0.001$ , which indicates that there is a very strong positive correlation between the respondents' formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.552, which indicates the amount of variability that can be explained in lexical transfer by means of formal training is about 55%. From this test, I concluded that translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators even when neither of the groups had formal training (see Table 31). However, to understand the relationship between the variables and between the translators and non-translators, as in the case of the translators and non-translators with formal training, I decided to test the hypothesis further by grouping the respondents according to their respective translation or writing status.

Table 31. Cross tabulation of no formal training by two types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
All translators	Observed	75.958 (0.226)	55.208 (33.557)	46.250 (28.112)	0 (49.809)
Non-Translators	( $\chi^2$ )	95.750 (0.198)	0 (29.418)	0 (24.645)	106.625 (43.666)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=209.630$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi =0.743, coefficient of determination=0.552. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

When the respondents were divided into three groups as exclusive translators (T), translators-and-writers as translators (wT, WT, tW), and non-translators (W), At  $\alpha=.05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and no formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=429.209$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). As in the case of the translators-and-writers with formal training these translators-and-writers had the highest Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=143.821$ ) followed by the exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=113.797$ ), and the non-translators ( $\chi^2=43.666$ ). The Cramér's Phi post-hoc correlation coefficient test statistic was 0.752 with  $p<0.001$ . This indicates that there is a very strong positive correlation between the respondents' lack of formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.565, which indicates the amount of variability that can be explained in lexical transfer by means of formal training is about 57%. This test therefore confirms that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators even when neither had formal training (Table 32).

Table 32. Cross tabulation of no formal training by three types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed	44.792 (0.004)	55.208 (113.797)	0 (12.178)	0 (28.075)
Translators-and-writers	( $\chi^2$ )	31.167 (0.420)	0 (11.254)	46.250 (143.821)	0 (21.734)
Non-translators		95.750 (0.198)	0 (29.418)	0 (24.645)	106.625 (43.666)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=429.209$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.752, coefficient of determination=.565. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

A significant association between lexical-transfer activity and no formal training was also found when the respondents were divided into five groups as exclusive

translators (T), writing translators (wT), writers/translators (WT), translating writers (tW) against the non-translators (W) (total  $\chi^2=465.765$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), where all translators-and-writers were counted as translators. Overall, the translators had a higher Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=286.417$ ) than the non-translators ( $\chi^2=43.666$ ). However, when the values are broken down, the order is as follows: translating writers ( $\chi^2=123.986$ ), exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=113.797$ ), non-translators ( $\chi^2=43.666$ ), writers/translators ( $\chi^2=36.386$ ), and writing translators ( $\chi^2=12.249$ ). Thus it is clear that in this case that only the writers/translators and writing translators reported less lexical transfer than the non-translators. The overall Cramér's Phi was 0.639, which indicates a strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and formal-training variables. The coefficient of determination was 0.409, indicating that about 41% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training. I therefore concluded that even when neither the translators nor the non-translators had formal training, the former reported more lexical transfer than the latter (Table 33).

Table 33. Cross tabulation of no formal training by five types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	44.792 (0.004)	55.208 (113.797)	0 (12.178)	0 (28.075)
Writing translators		16.417 (1.958)	0 (3.743)	9.333 (12.249)	0 (7.229)
Writer/translators		11.292 (0.001)	0 (3.604)	13.500 (36.386)	0 (6.960)
Translating writers		3.458 (6.218)	0 (3.907)	23.417 (123.986)	0 (7.545)
Non-translators		95.750 (0.198)	0 (29.418)	0 (24.645)	95.750 (43.666)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=465.765$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.639, coefficient of determination=0.409. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

Again, as in the case of those with formal training, the translators-and-writers also functioned in a non-translation capacity even when they had had no formal training. Therefore, I decided to find out whether a significant association existed between their lexical transfer and their lack of formal training as writers. A test was carried out on the exclusive translators (T) against all translators-and-writers (wT, WT, tW) and the non-translators (W) here referred to as writers (wT, WT, tW, W). The exclusive translators had no formal training as translators just as none of the writers had formal training as

writers. At  $\alpha=.05$ , a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=208.424$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The results suggest that the exclusive translators had the higher Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=115.961$ ). For the writers, the value was 13.388. That is 3.611 for the translators-and-writers and 9.777 for the non-translators. The Cramér's Phi=0.737 with  $p<0.001$ , which indicates that there is a very strong positive correlation between the respondents' lack of formal training and their lexical transfer. Further, the coefficient of determination was 0.543 indicating the amount of variability that can be explained in lexical transfer by means of formal training is about 54%. This test shows the exclusive translators to have reported more lexical transfer than did the writers (see Table 34).

Table 34. Cross tabulation of no formal training by two types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 44.792 (0.166) \\ 138.000 (0.058) \end{array} \right.$	55.208 (115.961)	39.375 (3.611)	0 (27.767)
Writers			0 (40.831)	0 (10.254)	106.625 (9.777)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=208.424$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi =0.737, coefficient of determination=0.543. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

A significant association between the variables was found when the respondents were divided into three groups as exclusive translators (T), translators-and-writers as writers (wT, WT, tW), and non-translators (W) (total  $\chi^2=398.813$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The exclusive translators had the highest Chi-square value ( $\chi^2=115.961$ ), which suggests that they reported more lexical transfer than the other respondents and definitely more than the non-translators, who had the lowest value ( $\chi^2=45.261$ ). The translators-and-writers' was 114.857. The Cramér's Phi test statistic was 0.721, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and formal-training variables. The coefficient of determination was 0.519, indicating that about 52% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training (Table 35).



Table 35. Cross tabulation of no formal training by three types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 44.792 (0.166) \\ 42.250 (0.297) \\ 95.750 (0.004) \end{array} \right.$	55.208 (115.961)	0 (10.254)	0 (27.767)
Translators-and-writers			0 (11.735)	39.375 (114.857)	0 (22.665)
Non-translators			0 (29.096)	0 (20.751)	106.625 (45.261)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=398.813$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.721, coefficient of determination=.519. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

When the respondents were once again divided into five groups as exclusive translators (T), writing translators (wT), writers/translators (WT), translating writers (tW) against the non-translators (W), again where all the translators-and-writers were counted as writers, a significant association between the lexical-transfer activity and formal training was found (total  $\chi^2=402.249$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). A closer look at the details for the translators shows that they had a total Chi-square value of 233.645; the non-translators had 45.261. It is clear that the translators reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators. The translators-and-writers had a Chi-square value of 117.685, which is higher than that of the exclusive translators ( $\chi^2=115.961$ ). Among the translators-and-writers, the writing translators had the highest value ( $\chi^2=55.770$ ), followed by the translating writers ( $\chi^2=36.727$ ) and the writers/translators ( $\chi^2=25.188$ ). The strength of the relationship between the lexical-transfer and no-formal-training variables was confirmed by the Cramér's Phi correlation coefficient of 0.591, which indicates a strong positive correlation between them. The coefficient of determination was 0.349, which suggests that about 35% of the variability in the data could be explained as a function of formal training (Table 36).

Table 36. Cross tabulation of no formal training by five types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical-transfer activity	Frequency	Formal training	No formal training		
			Exclusive translators	Translators-and-writers	Non-translators
Exclusive translators	Observed ( $\chi^2$ )	44.792 (0.166)	55.208 (115.961)	0 (10.254)	0 (27.767)
Writing translators		11.667 (0.093)	0 (3.852)	15.125 (55.770)	0 (7.4392)
Writer/translators		14.708 (0.563)	0 (3.654)	10.708 (25.188)	0 (7.0574)
Translating writers		15.875 (0.250)	0 (4.229)	13.542 (36.727)	0 (8.168)
Non-translators		95.750 (0.004)	0 (29.096)	0 (20.751)	106.625 (45.261)

N=205, Total  $\chi^2=402.249$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Cramér's Phi=0.591, coefficient of determination=.349. The  $\chi^2$  values are found between parentheses.  $\alpha=0.05/13=0.0038$  (Bonferroni correction).

A total of 20 translators-and-writers had had training as neither translators nor writers. All 20 of them reported they engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in both their translations and non-translations. Therefore, I concluded that Papiamentu translators-and-writers with no formal training as translators or writers did not report more English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in their translations than in their non-translations.

So far, the results of a preliminary test of the sample as a whole suggest that formal training influences the (non)translators' decision to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. Further statistical tests of the fifth sub-hypothesis, H<sub>5</sub>, that translators report more lexical transfer than do non-translators when both groups have formal training, have shown that with or without formal training as translators or writers, the translators (including the translators-and-writers counted as translators) reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators. Again, with or without formal training as translators or writers, and when the translators-and-writers were counted as writers, it was the writers (including the non-translators) who reported more lexical transfer than the translators, who in this case were the exclusive translators.

I also discovered that the respondents with formal training as translators and/or writers reported less lexical transfer than did those without formal training as translators and/or writers. Also, there is a strong to very strong association between the formal-training (or no-formal-training) variable and lexical-transfer variable in every case, but these results are always higher for the respondents without formal training and particularly when the translators-and-writers were counted as writers. The tests also

show that whether the respondents had training both in translation and writing, they did not show a greater inclination to use English expressions in their (non)translations. The non-translators with formal training were shown to be the least likely to use English expressions in their non-translations. Thus, the tests suggest that formal training plays an important role in the decision to transfer lexical items from English into their Papiamentu (non)translations. In general, those with formal training tend to do so to a lesser extent than those without formal training.

#### *4.4.3 Further quantitative analysis: Respondents' background information*

I wanted to explore some additional information about the respondents. The purpose of this further analysis was to see whether the respondents' background might have any bearing on their use of English expressions in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations. The additional information concerns a few more independent variables. These are the respondents' age (ordinal), their sex (nominal), education (ordinal), the types of texts they work on (nominal) and their target-audience locations (nominal). Also, as these five variables did not meet the conditions for normal distribution, non-parametric testing methods such as Pearson's Chi-square, Spearman's rho correlation, Kruskal Wallis, and Mann-Whitney U tests were used in the correlation tests.

##### *4.4.3.1 Lexical-transfer solution types*

In the questionnaire I asked the respondents four questions about lexical-transfer solution types that I felt they might apply in their decision to use or not to use English expressions in their translations and non-translations. The questions are as follows.

Q. 29: When you borrow an English expression into your Papiamentu translations or other writings, do you use it just as it is without explaining it in your Papiamentu text?

Q. 30: Do you use it just as it appears and add an explanation to your Papiamentu text?

Q. 31: Do you creolize it, that is, write it with a Papiamentu spelling although the meaning of it may be unclear to your readers?

Q. 32: Do you creolize it and also explain it clearly to your readers?

Table 37 presents a concise classification of these lexical solution types.

Table 37. Types of solutions for lexical transfer

Lexical-transfer solution types	Unmodified morphology	Morphological translation	Morphophonetic translation	Syntactic imitation
Use the English lexical item as it is	x	–	–	–
Use the English lexical item as is along with an explanation	x	–	–	–
Creolize the English lexical item without any explanation	–	x	x	x
Creolize the English lexical item and add an explanation	–	x	x	x

All 205 respondents answered the questions, and the results on the Likert scale (1=Never, 2=Rarely, 3=Occasionally, 4=Frequently, 5=Always) as well as the mean responses were analyzed. A few examples of these lexical solutions are shown here.

Q. 29 asked, “When you borrow an English expression into your Papiamentu translations or other writings, do you use it just as it is without explaining it in your Papiamentu text?”. An example of this type of transfer in the form of unchanged morphology can be found in Figure 9, showing visiting hours from a public flyer from the St. Elizabeth Hospital in Willemstad, Curaçao. The phrases “Intensive Care” and “Coronary Care” can be seen with no morphological change or explanation accompaniment whatsoever, even though the remaining information on the flyer appears in Papiamentu.

Figure 9. Example 1 of lexical-transfer solution – unchanged morphology only (hospital flyer)

**ORARIO DI BISHITA**

**Tur departamento:**   
11.30 – 12.30 or  
17.30 – 19.00 or

**Departamento di Mucha**  
7.00 – 19.00 or (solamente pa mayor)  
otro miembro di famia por bishitá durante  
ora normal di bishita

**Intensive Care**  
18.00-19.00 or

**Coronary Care:**  
11.30 – 12.30 or i 17.30 - 19.00 or

Source: St. Elizabeth Hospital, Willemstad, Curaçao

Figure 10 below shows a flyer also from St. Elizabeth. It also serves to illustrate lexical transfer with no morphological change.

Figure 10. Example 2 of lexical-transfer solution – unchanged morphology only (hospital flyer)

**INFO SKINA**  

**POLI ANESTHESIE**  
Meta : Promé ku un operashon ta bishitá Poli Anesthesie pa hasi e saminashon nesesario. Aki ta haña tur informashon( tin foyeto ku informashon amplio) tokante e prosedura di bo operashon.  
Orario di ofisina: 8 or di mainta te 4 or di atardi.  
**Telefòn: 462-4958 òf 432-1019.**

**Responsabilidad pa pertenensia personal**  
Hospital **no** ta responsabel pa perdida òf ladronisia na pertenensia di pashènt i/òf bishitante. P'e motibu ta rekomendá pa no bin ku pertenensia balioso na Hospital. Na momento di atmishon kada pashènt ta risibi e informashon aki por eskrito i mester firma un formulario.

**Sitionan di Parker**  
Na momento di atmishon na òf salida for di Hospital famia por baha òf buska e pashènt na entrada prinsipal di Hospital.  
Despues mester buska un sitio pa parker.  
Sitio di parker ta kontra di pago na:  
▶ plenchí patras di Pieters Guesthouse, òf na  
▶ lugá di parker na Hamelbergweg.

**Informashon pa pashènt**  
Na bo atmishon lo bo risibi un 'newsletter' ku informashon relevante pa bo estadia na Hospital.

**Yama ku karchi di telefon for di kamber 1e klas**  
Yamadanan for di kamber di 1<sup>e</sup> klas por tuma lugá solamente ku karchi di telefon Tilin.  
Por fabor tene kuenta ku esaki.

Source: St. Elizabeth Hospital, Willemstad, Curaçao

The information reads as follows:

Informashon pa pashènt

Na bo atmishon lo bo risibi un ‘newsletter’ ku informashon relevante pa bo estadia na Hospital.

Information for the patient

Upon your admission, you will receive a ‘newsletter’ with information regarding your stay in the hospital. [my translation]

The word “newsletter” appears in Figure 10 without any morphological change. Figure 11 below is yet another example of unchanged morphology.

Figure 11. Example of public-health medical non-translation text in Papiamentu

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## **Cardio Check**

Ta organisa un Cardio Check pa Managers kaminda kompanianan ku ta spònsor FKKnK por manda nan managers pa un chèkmentu liber di un ofisina di dokter of hospital. Nos ta chek e.o. peso, BMI, sintura, % di Bodyfat, preshon, glukosa, kolesteròl, ECG i un test di kondishon. Nos profeshonal ku ta traha den kuido di salu manera kardiolognan, enfermeronan ku ta hasi i evalua tur e testnan den un knipi di wowo. For di nos Gym ront Kòrsou tin defirente representante ku ta laga sera konosi ku e arte di MOVE i e matrial, aparatonan mas nobo pa bo skohe bo deporte mas miho. Nan tur ta duna konseho i ta bai kas ku tur e resultado.

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Source: *Fundashon Kuida Nos Kurason* (Curaçao Heart Foundation) 2009

Q. 30 asked, “When you borrow an English expression into your Papiamentu translations or other writings, do you use it just as it appears and add an explanation to your Papiamentu text?”. Examples of this kind of lexical-transfer solution can be found in figures 12 and 13. In Figure 12, the information is about sharing hospital rooms with other patients.

Figure 12. Example 1 of lexical-transfer solution – unchanged morphology with accompanying explanation (hospital flyer)



Source: St. Elizabeth Hospital, Willemstad, Curaçao

“ROOMING IN”

“**Rooming-in**” (that is, sharing a room with a patient) is only possible in the:  
children’s ward

Next to a patient who is in first class.... [my translation]

The expression “Rooming In” is used both as the title of the text and afterwards with an accompanying explanation in Papiamentu between parentheses in the body of the text. The same solution is applied in Figure 13, giving information on the procedure for upgrading from one hospital room to another.

Figure 13. Example 2 of lexical-transfer solution – unchanged morphology with accompanying explanation (hospital flyer)

**Prosedura pa “Upgrading”**  
Hospital konosé tres nivel di klas di kamer: 1e, 2e i 3e klas depende di e tipo di seguro.  
Kamber di 1 e klas: ta kamer di 1 persona; kamber di 2e klas: ta akomodá 2-4 persona den un kamer  
Kamber di 3e klas: ta akomodá 6 òf mas pashènt den un kamer/sala.  
Si un pashènt ta opta pa un “upgrading” (= drumi den un klas mas haltu ku su seguro ta kubri), ta konta e siguiente regla:  
▶ mester regla e trámitenan na Departamento di Atmishon.  
▶ aki ta duna informashon di tarifa i e depósito (“down payment”) ku mester paga.  
▶ ta laga e pashènt òf persona di kontakto firma e formularionan korespondiente.  
▶ mester paga na Kaha di Departamento Finansiero. Orario: 8 or di mainta - 4 or di atardi.  
Kaha na Poliklinika : Orario: 5 or di atardi te 8 or di mainta.  
**Tuma nota:** “Upgrading” di klas ta enserá subida den e tarifa di konsulta di e spesialisista médiko.  
E spesialisista su faktura **no** ta inklui den e faktura di Hospital!



1e klas



2e klas

Source: St. Elizabeth Hospital, Willemstad, Curaçao

The text is as follows:

Si un pashent ta opta pa un “upgradiing” (= drumi den un klas mas haltu ku su seguro ta kubri), ta konta e siguiente regla:

If a patient opts for “upgrading” (that is, to a class higher than that allowed by their insurance), the following rule applies: [my translation]

The English expression “upgrading” appears as the heading of the notice and again in the body of it, where it is briefly explained. The text continues with the following information:

...aki ta duna informashon di tarifa i e depósito (“down payment”) ku mester paga.

... here is some information on the tariff and the deposit (“down payment”) that you must pay. [my translation]

It can be seen that the English expression “down payment” is written in parentheses, apparently suggesting that it is the expression that is used for the preceding Papiamentu lexical item *depósito*.

Q. 31 asked, “When you borrow an English expression into your Papiamentu translations or other writings, do you creolize it, that is, write it with a Papiamentu spelling although the meaning of it may be unclear to your readers?”, an example is found in Figure 14, a flyer titled “*Yudaboyu: Yuda mi, yuda bo* (Help your child: Help me to help you)” published by the *Sentro pa sikiatria di Mucha i Hóben* (Psychiatric Center for Children and Young Adults), Barendslaan, Curaçao (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Example 1 of lexical-transfer solution – morphological translation without explanation

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Den mayoria kaso nos ta ofresé guia, sosten i/òf  
informashon na abo komo mayor òf kuidadó tambe...  
Banda di esaki Yudaboyu ta ofresé guia na internat,  
skol i otro instanshanan ku ta traha ku mucha i hóben  
diariamente. Ese por ta den forma di rekapashon,  
workshopnan òf sosten personal.

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Source: *Sentro pa sikiatria di Mucha i Hóben*, Barendslaan, Curaçao



In most cases we provide guidance, support and/or information to you as parents or caregivers... In this respect, Yudaboyu offers guidance in boarding schools, general schools and other situations that children and young adults confront daily. This could take the form of rehabilitation, workshops or personal support.  
[my translation]

In the above text, the transcription of the lexical item *workshopnan* appears in the form of a morphological translation, where the suffix *-nan* is a plural marker in Papiamentu. Although I do not have text examples of lexical transfer in the form of a morphophonetic translation, where the Papiamentu translator's rendition of an English expression appears with a Papiamentu phonetic spelling to convey the English pronunciation through a Papiamentu orthography, examples of this in everyday use are *laiter* for "lighter" (that is, cigarette lighter), *tayer* for "(rubber) tire", *deilait* for "daylight". However, I cannot say here that to Papiamentu speakers, it is always clear that these expressions are lexical transfers from English.<sup>1</sup>

Q. 32 asked, "When you borrow an English expression into your Papiamentu translations or other writings, do you creolize it and also explain it clearly to your readers?" No example of this type of lexical transfer was found in the data.

Table 38 provides data on the four lexical-transfer solution types introduced above. The overall mean is 1.970, and almost half (49%) of all the respondents reported using these solution types. The exclusive translators had the highest mean (2.348) with 18% reporting this tendency, followed by the non-translators (1.543, 16%) and the translators-and-writers (1.807, 10%).

With respect to the solution of using the English lexical item as it is (that is, without any explanation in Papiamentu), the questionnaire responses show that in the sample as a whole, it had the highest mean lexical transfer (2.615) among all the respondents, of whom 68% reported a preference for its use. This suggests that of the four types mentioned in this sample, this is the one that is most frequently applied. Interestingly, when the respondents were divided into exclusive translators, translators-and-writers, and non-translators, it is the non-translators who had the highest lexical-transfer mean and the largest proportion to report a preference for it (2.867, 36%)

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Ithel Brute of the FPI for providing me with these examples.

followed by the exclusive translators (2.353, 18%) and the translators-and-writers (2.347, 15%).

The data on the translators-and-writers were examined to determine how the groups compared with each other. Table 39 shows that when they worked as translators, the translating writers had the highest lexical-transfer solution mean (2.529) and were the largest proportion of those who applied this solution type (22%), followed by the writers/translators (2.438, 18%) and the writing translators (1,938, 16%). The same pattern is observed among them when they are counted as writers (Table 40). In fact, the results show that there is a tendency for the means of the translators-and-writers to be higher when they worked as writers than when they worked as translators (cf. the mean columns of Table 39 with those of Table 40).

Table 38. Lexical-transfer solution types, their means and the proportions of respondents for the sample as a whole. N=205

	All (N=205)		Exclusive translators (n=51)		Translators-and- writers (n=49)		Non-translators (n=105)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Use the English lexical item as it is	2.615	.683	2.353	.176	2.347	.146	2.867	.361
Use the English lexical item as is along with an explanation	2.129	.600	2.824	.224	2.378	.180	1.676	.195
Creolize the English lexical item without any explanation	1.461	.278	1.941	.127	1.174	.034	1.362	.117
Creolize the English lexical item and add an explanation	1.673	.390	2.275	.180	1.327	.054	1.543	.156
Overall means and proportions	1.970	.488	2.348	.177	1.807	.104	1.862	.207

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 39. Lexical-transfer solution types, their means and the proportions of the translators-and-writers as translators.  
 N= 49

Lexical-transfer solution types	All translators-and-writers (N=49)		Writing translators (n=16)		Writers/translators (n=16)		Translating writers (n=17)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Use the English lexical item as it is	2.306	.571	1.938	.163	2.438	.184	2.529	.224
Use the English lexical item as is along with an explanation	2.367	.714	2.438	.224	2.375	.245	2.294	.245
Creolize the English lexical item without any explanation	1.163	.122	1.250	.061	1.125	.020	1.118	.041
Creolize the English lexical item and add an explanation	1.327	.225	1.375	.061	1.375	.082	1.235	.082
Overall means and proportions	1.791	.408	1.750	.127	1.828	.133	1.794	.148

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

With respect to the solution of using the English lexical item as is along with an explanation, the data in Table 38 show that this is the lexical-transfer solution type that was reported as the next most frequently applied. For the sample as a whole, the mean is 2.129, with 60% of all the respondents reporting a preference to apply this type. The exclusive translators had the highest mean and reporting proportion (2.824, 22%). The translators-and-writers had 2.378 and 20%, while the non-translators had 1.676 and 18%.

Again, I wanted to compare the three groups of translators-and-writers as translators and then as writers. Table 39 shows that as translators, the writing translators had the highest mean (2.438), followed by the writers/translators (2.375) and the translating writers (2.295). However, an equal proportion of the last two mentioned (25%) reported a preference for this solution type. Only 22% of the writing translators reported this preference. Table 40 illustrates that, as writers, the translating writers had the highest mean and proportion (2.471, 27%) followed by the writers/translators (2.375, 25%) and the writing translators (2.313, 25%). No difference in means or proportions was observed in the writers/translators in either capacity as translators or writers. The data suggest in a general sense that lexical transfer in their function as writers seems to be higher than in their function as translators.

Table 40. Lexical-transfer solution types, their means and the proportions of the translators-and-writers as writers. N=49

Lexical-transfer solution types	All translators-and-writers (N=49)		Writing translators (n=16)		Writers/translators (n=16)		Translating writers (n=17)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Use the English lexical item as it is	2.388	.612	2.063	.184	2.500	.184	2.588	.245
Use the English lexical item as is along with an explanation	2.388	.755	2.313	.245	2.375	.245	2.471	.265
Creolize the English lexical item without any explanation	1.184	.143	1.250	.061	1.188	.041	1.118	.041
Creolize the English lexical item and add an explanation	1.327	.224	1.375	.061	1.375	.082	1.235	.082
Overall means and proportions	1.822	.434	1.750	.138	1.860	.138	1.853	.158

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

When the entire sample was examined with respect to the solution of creolizing the English lexical item without any explanation, the overall mean is 1.461, with a proportion of 28% of all the respondents using this solution type. The exclusive translators had the highest mean and proportion (1.941, 13%), followed by the non-translators (1.362, 12%) and the translators-and-writers (1.174, 3%), as illustrated in Table 38.

A comparison of the data for the translators-and-writers in Table 39 shows that, when they worked as translators, the writing translators and the writers/translators both had equal means (1.375). The translating writers had a lower mean (1.235). However, 8% of this last group and the writers/translators reported a preference to use this solution type, while about 6% of the writing translators did so. Table 40 reveals that, when they worked as writers, the pattern was similar: the writing translators had the highest mean and reporting proportion (1.250, 6%) followed by the writers/translators (1.188, 4%) and the translating writers (1.118, 4%).

As regards the solution of creolizing the English lexical item and adding an explanation, the sample was examined as a whole. Table 38 shows that the overall mean is 1.673 with 39% of the respondents reporting a preference for this type. This indicates that more of them opted to add an explanation as an accompaniment to the transferred lexical item. The exclusive translators had the highest mean and reporting proportion (2.275, 18%), followed by the non-translators (1.543, 16%) and the translators-and-

writers (1.327, 5%). In this instance, the translators-and-writers, both in their performance as translators and when working as writers, show virtually no difference. Tables 39 and 40 indicate that the writers/translators had a mean and reporting proportion of 1.375 and 8%, the writing translators had 1.375 and 6%, and the translating writers had 1.235 and 8% as translators and as writers.

In summary, the data show that for these four lexical-transfer solution types, and for the sample as a whole, the translators, translators-and-writers, and the non-translators reported a preference to use them at one point or another, although to varying levels. In the entire sample, when it comes to using one or more of these solutions, the exclusive translators had the highest mean, followed by the non-translators and the translators-and-writers.

However, of all the respondents, the non-translators reported the greatest preference to use an English expression without any morphological modification and without adding any explanation in their non-translations. With respect to the remaining solution types of using an English expression as is and also adding an explanation, creolizing an English expression without any explanation, and creolizing an expression and also adding an explanation, the exclusive translators reported the greatest preference to use them. In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use an English expression and add an explanation or to creolize an English expression, let alone add an explanation along with it. Further, the higher means and reporting proportions of the translators-and-writers when they worked as writers suggest that they tended more towards lexical transfer than in their performance as translators. This is especially the case of the writers/translators, followed by the translating writers. The writing translators showed no difference between their function as translator or writer and still had a lower lexical-transfer solution mean than as translators. It must be noted that these results are presented according to the data reported by the respondents with respect to the four questions they were asked about a few lexical-transfer solutions that they use. The results are not meant to imply that these are the only solutions applied in their Papiamentu translation or writing practice.

#### *4.4.3.2 Alternative solution types to lexical transfer*

The remaining four questions elicited responses concerning alternative solution types to lexical transfer. They are as follows:

Q. 33: Do you replace the English expression by restating the idea within the context of the intended readers of your Papiamentu text?

Q. 34: Do you create a self-explanatory word or phrase in Papiamentu for your Papiamentu text instead of using the English expression?

Q. 35: Do you create a word or phrase in Papiamentu along with an explanation of it for your writing instead of using the English expression?

Q. 36: Do you ignore it and therefore leave it completely out of your Papiamentu text?

All 205 respondents answered the questions, and the results on the Likert scale (1=Never, 2=Rarely, 3=Occasionally, 4=Frequently, 5=Always) as well as the mean responses were analyzed. Table 37 presents an overview of the solution types. No example of these solution types was found in any of the research data.

Table 41 provides data on the four lexical-transfer solution types introduced above. The overall mean is 1.970, and almost half (49%) of all the respondents reported using these solution types. The exclusive translators had the highest mean (2.348) with 18% reporting this preference, followed by the non-translators (1.543, 16%) and the translators-and-writers (1.807, 10%).

With respect to the alternative solution of replacing the English lexical item with a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu, the questionnaire responses show that in the sample as a whole it carried the highest mean lexical transfer (2.985) among all the respondents, of whom 82% reported a preference to use this solution type. This suggests that this solution is used more frequently than any other. Interestingly, when the respondents were divided into exclusive translators, translators-and-writers, and non-translators, it is the last-mentioned group that had the highest lexical-transfer mean and proportion (3.200, 46%) followed by the exclusive translators (3.196, 23%) and the translators-and-writers (2.306, 14%). The data on the translators-and-writers were examined to determine how each group compared with the other. Table 42 shows that, when working as translators, the translating writers had the highest lexical-transfer solution mean (2.353) and were the largest proportion of those who used this solution type (22%), followed by the writing translators (2.250, 18%) and the writers/translators (2.250, 16%). The same pattern is observed among them when working as writers (Table 43). The translating writers (2.415, 22%) and the writing translators (2.313,

18%) had a higher alternative solution mean as writers than as translators. The mean for the writers/translators is the same in both capacities (2.250, 16%).

Table 41. Alternative solutions to lexical transfer, their means and the proportions of respondents for the sample as a whole. N=205

Alternative solutions to lexical transfer	All (N=205)		Exclusive translators (n=51)		Translators-and-writers (n=49)		Non-translators (n=105)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Replace the English lexical item by a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu	2.985	.824	3.196	.229	2.306	.137	3.200	.459
Replace the English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu	1.924	.483	2.627	.195	1.561	.068	1.752	.220
Replace the English lexical item by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation	1.732	.400	2.353	.176	1.531	.059	1.524	.166
Ignore and leave the English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text	2.459	.688	1.275	.049	2.490	.180	3.019	.459
Overall means and proportions	2.275	.599	2.363	.162	1.972	.111	2.374	.326

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

With respect to the alternative solution of replacing the English lexical item with a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu, the data in Table 41 show that for the sample as a whole the mean is 1.924, with 48% of all the respondents reporting a preference to use this type. The exclusive translators had the highest mean and proportion (2.627), followed by the non-translators (1.752) and the translators-and-writers (1.561). This solution type was employed most by the non-translators (22%), followed by the exclusive translators (20%) and the translators-and-writers (7%). A comparative examination of the translators-and-writers working as translators shows that the writing translators had the highest mean (1.688), followed by the writers/translators (1.625) and the translating writers (1.412). However, an equal proportion of the last two mentioned (8%) reported a preference to use this solution type. Only 10% of the writing translators reported this preference (Table 42). When working as writers, writing translators and the writers/translators had the same and also

the highest means and reporting proportion (1.688, 10%). The translating writers had 1.294 and 8% (Table 43). No difference in means or proportion was observed in the writing translators in either capacity, as translators or writers. The data suggest in a general sense that translators-and-writers had a greater preference to report these alternative type solutions in their function as writers than as translators.

Table 42. Alternative solutions to lexical transfer, their means and the proportions of the translators-and-writers as translators. N= 49

Alternative solutions to lexical transfer	All translators-and-writers (N=49)		Writing translators (n=16)		Writers/translators (n=16)		Translating writers (n=17)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Replace the English lexical item by a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu	2.286	.571	2.250	.184	2.250	.163	2.353	.224
Replace the English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu	1.571	.265	1.688	.102	1.625	.082	1.412	.082
Replace the English lexical item by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation	1.531	.245	1.688	.102	1.625	.082	1.294	.061
Ignore and leave the English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text	1.980	.469	2.250	.184	1.813	.122	1.882	.163
Overall means and proportions	1.842	.388	1.969	.143	1.828	.112	1.735	.133

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

When the entire sample was examined with respect to the alternative solution of replacing the English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu, the overall mean is 1.732, with a proportion of 40% of all the respondents using this solution type. The exclusive translators had the highest mean and proportion (2.353, 18%) followed by the translators-and-writers (1.531, 6%) and the non-translators (1.524, 17%). These findings are reported in Table 41. A comparison of the data for the translators-and-writers in Table 42 shows that, when reporting as translators, the writing translators had the highest means and reporting proportions (1.688, 10%), followed by the writers/translators (1.625, 8%) and the translating writers (1.294, 6%). Table 43 reveals that, when working as writers, the writing translators and



the writers/translators had the same mean (1.625) but the reporting proportions were different: 10% of the writing translators reported a preference to use this solution type, while only 8% of the translators did. The translating writers had a mean of 1.353 and only 6% of them reported a preference to use this solution type.

Table 43. Alternative solutions to lexical transfer, their means and the proportions of the translators-and-writers as writers. N= 49

Alternative solutions to lexical transfer	All translators-and-writers (N=49)		Writing translators (n=16)		Writers/translators (n=16)		Translating writers (n=17)	
	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion	Mean	Proportion
Replace the English lexical item by a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu	2.327	.571	2.313	.184	2.250	.163	2.412	.224
Replace the English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu	1.551	.286	1.688	.102	1.688	.102	1.294	.082
Replace the English lexical item by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation	1.531	.245	1.625	.102	1.625	.082	1.353	.061
Ignore and leave the English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text	3.000	.735	3.125	.245	2.813	.224	3.059	.265
Overall mean	2.102	.459	2.188	.158	2.094	.143	2.030	.158

Note: The data on the reported means in this table are for reference only and not for parametric testing.

As regards the alternative solution of ignoring and leaving the English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text, the sample was examined as a whole. Table 41 shows that the overall mean is 2.459, with 69% of the respondents reporting a preference to use this type. This solution type is the second most reported by the respondents. The non-translators had the highest mean and reporting proportion (3.019, 46%), followed by the translators-and-writers (2.490, 18%) and the exclusive translators (1.275, 5%). Examination of the translators-and-writers in their performance as translators and as writers revealed varied results, albeit with a similar pattern. Again, the writing translators had the highest mean (3.125), with a reporting rate of 25%. The translating writers had a mean of 3.059 and 27% of them reported a preference to use

this solution type. The writers/translators had a mean of 2.813 and 22% of them reporting a preference to use this type.

In summary, the data show that, for these four alternative solutions to lexical transfer, and for the sample as a whole, the translators, translators-and-writers, and the non-translators reported a preference to use them at some point in time, although to varying levels. In the entire sample, the non-translators had the highest mean, followed by the exclusive translators and the translators-and-writers. However, of all the respondents, the non-translators had the highest mean with respect to replacing an English lexical item with a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu. With respect to the remaining solution types of replacing an English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu, or by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation, the exclusive translators had the highest means. With respect to the solution type of ignoring and leaving an English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text, it was the non-translators again who had the highest mean. In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use any of these alternative solutions. Further, the higher means and reporting proportions of the translators-and-writers as writers suggest that they tended more towards lexical transfer than as translators. This is especially the case of the writing translators, followed by the writers/translators and the translating writers. As in the case of the lexical-transfer solutions discussed in 4.4.3.1, it must be pointed out that these results are presented according to the data reported by the respondents with respect to the four questions they were asked about a few alternatives solutions to lexical transfer. The results are not meant to imply that these are the only solutions applied in their Papiamentu translation or writing practice.

#### *4.4.3.3 Target-audience locations*

Recalling that the island of Curaçao is itself a multilingual society that is historically and governmentally affiliated with another group of islands where English (but not Papiamentu) is one of the official languages, I wanted to investigate whether there was any correlation between the location of the translators' and non-translators' target audience and their English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Thus, the respondents in the survey were asked to indicate the locations of their target audiences. The choices of response were a) Aruba, b) Bonaire, c) Curaçao (the ABC-Islands), d) Saba, e) Sint Eustatius, f) Sint Maarten (the SSS-Islands), g) the Netherlands, and h) "Other."

For the correlation tests, I divided the locations into two groups. The first group comprised the ABC-Islands since Papiamentu and English are official languages there. I refer to this as the Papiamentu-official locations (ABC). The other group consisted of the remaining locations where Papiamentu-speaking populations exist (or may exist) but Papiamentu is not official. The Netherlands is one such country since it has a direct official relationship with all six islands just mentioned. I also placed the “Other” slot in this second group, along with places such as the United States, or Suriname because of their geographical proximity to Curaçao. Further, English may be more widely used in some of these “other” places than in the Papiamentu-official locations. Therefore, I refer to this second group as the non-Papiamentu-official locations (non-ABC). All translators and non-translators reported that they serve at least one area in the Papiamentu-official target-audience locations, even if the area is the home base, Curaçao. That means there was no need to run correlation tests for the proportions of translators and non-translators who served those locations because there is no statistically significant difference between them.

To test the correlation between lexical transfer and non-Papiamentu-official target-audience locations, I conducted several Mann-Whitney U tests at  $\alpha=.05$ . These tests allowed me to see whether there was any difference in the lexical-transfer indexes of the groups of respondents, that is, those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations and those who did not.

The first test was done on all the translators and non-translators in the sample as a whole. An examination of the findings in Table 44 shows that the results of the Mann-Whitney U test applied to the lexical-transfer indexes of the translators and non-translators in the two groups revealed a statistically significant difference at the level of  $\alpha=0.05$  ( $Z=12.188$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The correlation coefficient is 0.851, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean lexical transfer of the translators and non-translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 1.82, while for those who did not serve those locations the mean lexical-transfer index was 1.91. However, the mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 60.50, while the respondents who did not serve those locations had a lexical-transfer mean rank of 43.00. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the translators and non-translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands had a greater tendency to report making lexical transfers in their

Papiamentu translations and non-translations. Those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands, had a greater tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations than did those who did not service those locations. These results correspond to what I would expect because English is more widely used in the non-Papiamentu-official locations than in Aruba, Bonaire or Curaçao.

Table 44. Results of the Mann-Whitney U test to compare the lexical-transfer (whole sample) indexes of the ABC and non-ABC groups

Groups	N	Mean lexical transfer	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p-value	Correlation
ABC	85 (.41)	1.91	43.00	3,655	10,200	12.188	0.000	0.851
non-ABC	120 (.59)	1.82	60.50	7,260				

N=205.  $\alpha=0.05$ . The proportions of the respondents who serviced or did not service a location appear between parentheses.

The second test was done on all the translators. An examination of the findings in Table 45 shows that the results of the Mann Whitney U test applied to the lexical-transfer indexes of the translators in the two groups revealed a statistically significant difference at the level of  $\alpha=0.05$  ( $Z=8.040$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The correlation coefficient is 0.804, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean lexical transfer of the translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 1.76, while for those who did not serve those locations had a mean lexical-transfer index of 1.81. However, the mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 34.50, while the respondents who did not serve those locations had a lexical-transfer mean rank of 16.50. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers in their Papiamentu translations. Those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands, had a greater tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu translations than did those who did not service those locations. These results correspond to what I would expect.

Table 45. Results of the Mann-Whitney U test to compare the translators' lexical-transfer indexes of the ABC and non-ABC groups

Groups	N	Mean lexical transfer	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p-value	Correlation
ABC	32 (.32)	1.81	16.50	528	2,176	8.040	<0.001	0.804
non-ABC	68 (.68)	1.76	34.50	2,346				

N=100.  $\alpha=0.05$ . The proportions of the respondents who serviced or did not service a location appear between parentheses.

The third test was done on the exclusive translators. An examination of the findings in Table 46 shows that the results of the Mann Whitney U test applied to the lexical-transfer indexes of these translators in the two groups revealed a statistically significant difference at the level of  $\alpha=0.05$  ( $Z=6.029$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The correlation coefficient is 0.844, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean lexical transfer of the exclusive translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 1.96, while for those who did not serve those locations had a mean lexical-transfer index of 1.97. However, the mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of the exclusive translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 15.50, while those who did not serve those locations had a lexical-transfer mean rank of 11.00. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the exclusive translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers in their Papiamentu translations. Those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands had a greater tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu translations than did those who did not service those locations. The results correspond to what I would expect.

Table 46. Results of the Mann-Whitney U test to compare the exclusive translators' lexical-transfer indexes of the ABC and non-ABC groups

Groups	N	Mean lexical transfer	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p-value	Correlation
ABC	21 (.41)	1.97	11.00	231	630	6.029	<0.001	0.844
non-ABC	30 (.59)	1.96	15.50	465				

N=51.  $\alpha=0.05$ . The proportions of the respondents who serviced or did not service a location appear between parentheses.

The fourth test was done on the translators-and-writers. An examination of the findings in Table 47 shows that the results of the Mann Whitney U test applied to the lexical-transfer indexes of the translators-and-writers in the two groups revealed a statistically significant difference at the level of  $\alpha=0.05$  ( $Z=5.008$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The correlation coefficient is 0.715, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean lexical transfer of the translators and non-translators who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 1.61, while for those who did not serve those locations had a mean lexical-transfer index of 1.49. The mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 19.50, while the respondents who did not serve those locations had a lexical-transfer mean rank of 6.00. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the translators-and-writers who served the non-Papiamentu-official locations had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers in their Papiamentu (non)translations. Those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations had a greater tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations than did those who did not service those locations. Again, these results correspond to what I would expect.

Table 47. Results of the Mann-Whitney U test to compare the translators-and-writers' lexical-transfer indexes of the ABC and non-ABC groups

Groups	N	Mean lexical transfer	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p-value	Correlation
ABC	11 (.22)	1.49	6.00	66	418	5.008	<0.001	0.715
non-ABC	38 (.78)	1.61	19.50	741				

N=49.  $\alpha=0.05$ . The proportions of the respondents who serviced or did not service a location appear between parentheses.

The fifth and last test was done on the non-translators. An examination of the findings in Table 48 shows that the results of the Mann Whitney U test applied to the lexical-transfer indexes of the non-translators in the two groups revealed a statistically significant difference at the level of  $\alpha=0.05$  ( $Z=5.008$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The correlation coefficient is 0.862, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. The mean lexical transfer of the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 1.89, while for those who did not service those locations had a mean lexical-transfer index of 1.97. The mean rank of the lexical-transfer indexes of those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations was 26.50, while the respondents who did not service those locations had a lexical-transfer mean

rank of 27.00. Thus, examination of the rank averages demonstrates that the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands had a lesser tendency to report lexical transfers in their Papiamentu (non)translations. Those who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations such as Saba, Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, and the Netherlands had a lesser tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu non-translations than did those who did not service these locations. The results in this last test do not correspond to what I would expect. I have always expected the respondents servicing the non-Papiamentu-official locations to report more lexical transfers than those who did not service those areas particularly since English is more widely used there.

Table 48. Results of the Mann-Whitney U test to compare the non-translators' lexical-transfer indexes of the ABC and non-ABC groups

Groups	N	Mean lexical transfer	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p-value	Correlation
ABC	53 (.505)	1.97	27.00	1431	2,756	8.832	0.000	0.862
non-ABC	52 (.495)	1.89	26.50	1378				

N=105.  $\alpha=0.05$ . The proportions of the respondents who serviced or did not service a location appear between parentheses.

Table 49. Mann-Whitney U tests for comparison of the respondents' lexical-transfer tendency in two groups of target-audience locations: non-Papiamentu-official (A) and Papiamentu-official (B)

Respondents	N	Mean rank (A)	Mean rank (B)	Mean rank difference (A - B)	p	p < .01
All	205	60.50	43.00	17.50	<.001	Yes
All Translators	100	34.50	16.50	18.00	<.001	Yes
Translators-and-writers	49	19.50	6.00	13.50	<.001	Yes
Exclusive translators	51	15.50	11.00	4.50	<.001	Yes
Non-translators	105	26.50	27.00	-0.50	<.001	Yes

N=205. Overall  $\alpha=0.05$  (Bonferroni corrected  $\alpha=0.01$ )

In summary, the foregoing tests have confirmed that there is a correlation between the respondents' lexical transfer and the locations of their target audiences. In all of the groups tested above, the association found is very strong and positive. This suggests that the translators who produced Papiamentu translations, and the translators-and-writers who produced Papiamentu (non)translations for audiences in locations where Papiamentu is not an official language had a greater tendency to report their use of English in their Papiamentu texts. From the mean rank differences in Table 49 above,

it is clear that the translators had a greater tendency to use lexical transfer than did the non-translators. More specifically, the translators-and-writers had the highest propensity to use English in their Papiamentu (non)translations, followed by the exclusive translators and the non-translators. However, it must be noted that in a general sense and as a group, the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations tended to be less inclined to use English in their non-translations than were the non-translators who did not service those locations.

#### *4.4.3.4 Text types*

Respondents were asked to select from a pre-arranged list of 18 text types the ones they commonly translated or wrote. The offered selections were advertising, business, computer technology, culture, education, engineering, environment, government, insurance, journalism, legal, literary, medical, religion, scientific, sport, tourism, and other. In order to test for any possible correlation between lexical transfer and text types, I performed a Mann-Whitney U test on the data for each text type, using appropriately the Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction method to the overall p-value ( $\alpha=.05$ ).

The first set of tests was performed on the entire data for the 205 translators and non-translators together. The two groups of respondents in each test comprised those who translated and/or wrote the text types listed here ( $n_1$ ) and those who did not ( $n_2$ ). At  $\alpha=0.05$ , the results of all the tests are statistically significant ( $p<0.001$ ). There are differences in the lexical transfer of the two groups of respondents. With respect to correlation, the effect sizes range from 0.463 (strong) to 0.864 (very strong), which indicates positive correlation between the variables. The tests reveals three text types for which the respondents had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than that reported by those who did not work on them. These are “business” (mean rank=60.5,  $p<0.001$ ), “culture” (mean rank=60.00,  $p<0.001$ ), and “education” (mean rank=58.00,  $p<0.001$ ), in that order. The tests also suggest that there is a correlation between lexical transfer and the remaining text types (from “advertisement” to “other”) ( $p<0.001$ ). However, the respondents who worked on them were less inclined to make lexical transfer into them than were those who did not work on them. Further, the test on the sample as a whole did not suffice to determine the types of respondents (translators and non-translators) who worked on these texts, nor the correlations between lexical transfer and the text types. Therefore, post hoc tests were necessary. From these results, I



concluded that the data provide sufficient evidence that for the group of translators and non-translators in this sample, text types and lexical transfer are strongly correlated in the sense that the degree of lexical transfer that translators and non-translators make in their Papiamentu (non)translations depend on the type of text they translate and/or write. Further, the three text types in which this has been found to be most pervasive across all the respondents in this sample are “business”, “culture” and “education”. Incidentally, the text types that were found under the “other” category were “military”, “maritime”, “agriculture”, “gardening”, “travel”, “spiritual”, “humor”, “automotive” and “museum”. This suggests that these text types possibly form part of the identified influence the translators’ and non-translators’ texts have on English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. Tables 50 and 51 illustrate the results of these tests.

Table 50. Mean lexical transfer of all respondents by text types. Descriptive statistics

Text Types	n1 (treated these texts)	n2 (did not treat these texts)	Mean (n1)*	Mean (n2)*	Mean rank (n1)	Mean rank (n2)
<b>Business</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>1.83</b>	<b>1.87</b>	<b>60.50</b>	<b>43.00</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>1.84</b>	<b>1.87</b>	<b>60.00</b>	<b>43.50</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>1.94</b>	<b>58.00</b>	<b>45.50</b>
Advertisement	101	104	1.83	1.87	51.00	52.50
Journalism	91	114	1.82	1.88	46.00	57.50
Government	79	126	1.78	1.90	40.00	63.50
Tourism	78	127	1.84	1.86	39.50	64.00
Computer technology	74	131	1.88	1.84	37.50	66.00
Environment	51	154	1.87	1.85	26.00	77.50
Literary	49	156	1.76	1.88	25.00	78.50
Religious	47	158	1.94	1.83	24.00	79.50
Scientific	41	164	1.84	1.86	21.00	82.50
Sports	40	165	1.90	1.84	20.50	83.00
Legal	34	171	1.86	1.85	17.50	86.00
Medical	31	174	1.91	1.84	16.00	87.50
Engineering	27	178	1.89	1.85	14.00	89.50
Insurance	26	179	1.86	1.85	13.50	90.00
Other	16	189	2.07	1.84	8.50	95.00

N=205. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 51. Multiple comparisons of all the respondents' lexical transfer across text types. Mann-Whitney U tests

Text Types	Mean rank difference (n1- n2)	p-value	Effect size	p< $\alpha$
<b>Business</b>	<b>17.50</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.851</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>16.50</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.853</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>12.50</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.857</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Advertisement	-1.50	<0.001	0.864	Yes
Journalism	-11.50	<0.001	0.858	Yes
Government	-23.50	<0.001	0.841	Yes
Tourism	-24.50	<0.001	0.839	Yes
Computer technology	-28.50	<0.001	0.830	Yes
Environment	-51.50	<0.001	0.747	Yes
Literary	-53.50	<0.001	0.737	Yes
Religious	-55.50	<0.001	0.726	Yes
Scientific	-61.50	<0.001	0.691	Yes
Sports	-62.50	<0.001	0.685	Yes
Legal	-68.50	<0.001	0.643	Yes
Medical	-71.50	<0.001	0.619	Yes
Engineering	-75.50	<0.001	0.584	Yes
Insurance	-76.50	<0.001	0.858	Yes
Other	-86.50	<0.001	0.463	Yes

$\alpha=0.0028$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction).

The second set of tests was performed on the data for all 100 translators in the sample. Again, the two groups of respondents in each test comprised those who worked on the text types listed here ( $n_1$ ) and those who did not ( $n_2$ ). At  $\alpha=0.05$ , the results of all the tests are statistically significant ( $p<0.001$ ). There are differences in the lexical transfer of the two groups of respondents. With respect to correlation, the effect sizes range from 0.468 (strong) to 0.862 (very strong), which indicates positive correlation between the variables. The tests reveals five text types for which the translators had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than that reported by those who did not work on them. These are “education” (mean rank=36.5,  $p<0.001$ ), “business” (mean rank=35.5,  $p<0.001$ ), “culture” (mean rank=33.0,  $p<0.001$ ), “advertisement” (mean rank=30.5,  $p<0.001$ ), and “journalism” (mean rank=25.5,  $p<0.001$ ), in that order. As in the tests on the sample as a whole, these tests also suggest that there is a correlation between lexical transfer and the remaining text types (from “tourism” to “other”) ( $p<0.001$ ). However, the translators who worked on them were less inclined to make lexical transfer into them than were those who did not. I therefore concluded that the data provide sufficient evidence that, for the group of translators in this sample, text types and lexical transfer are strongly correlated. Tables 52 and 53 illustrate the results of these tests.

Table 52. Descriptive statistics – Mean lexical transfer of the translators by text types

Text Types	n1	n2	Mean (n1)*	Mean (n2)*	Mean rank (n1)	Mean rank (n2)
<b>Education</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1.78</b>	<b>1.76</b>	<b>36.500</b>	<b>14.500</b>
<b>Business</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>1.75</b>	<b>34.500</b>	<b>16.500</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>1.83</b>	<b>1.67</b>	<b>33.000</b>	<b>1.675</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>1.78</b>	<b>1.76</b>	<b>30.500</b>	<b>20.500</b>
<b>Journalism</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>1.83</b>	<b>1.72</b>	<b>25.500</b>	<b>25.500</b>
Tourism	43	57	1.85	1.72	22.000	29.000
Computer technology	34	66	1.76	1.78	17.500	33.500
Environment	29	71	1.85	1.75	15.000	36.000
Religion	27	73	1.92	1.72	14.000	37.000
Scientific	24	76	1.81	1.76	12.500	38.500
Legal	23	77	1.93	1.73	12.000	39.000
Literary	21	79	1.80	1.77	11.000	40.000
Insurance	19	81	1.89	1.75	10.000	41.000
Government	38	62	1.72	1.81	9.882	31.500
Sports	17	83	1.93	1.74	9.000	42.000
Medical	16	84	1.94	1.74	8.500	42.500
Engineering	13	87	1.80	1.77	7.000	44.000
Other	8	92	2.07	1.75	4.500	46.500

N=100. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 53. Mann-Whitney U tests – Multiple comparisons of the translators’ lexical transfer across text types

Text Types	Mean rank difference (n1- n2)	p-value	Effect size	p< $\alpha$
<b>Culture</b>	<b>31.325</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.774</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>22.000</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.804</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Business</b>	<b>18.000</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.822</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>10.000</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.844</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Journalism</b>	<b>0.000</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.862</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Tourism	-7.000	<0.001	0.853	Yes
Computer technology	-16.000	<0.001	0.816	Yes
Environment	-21.000	<0.001	0.782	Yes
Government	-21.618	<0.001	0.765	Yes
Religion	-23.000	<0.001	0.736	Yes
Scientific	-26.000	<0.001	0.725	Yes
Legal	-27.000	<0.001	0.702	Yes
Literary	-29.000	<0.001	0.862	Yes
Insurance	-31.000	<0.001	0.837	Yes
Sports	-33.000	<0.001	0.647	Yes
Medical	-34.000	<0.001	0.632	Yes
Engineering	-37.000	<0.001	0.580	Yes
Other	-42.000	<0.001	0.468	Yes

$\alpha=0.0028$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction).

The third set of tests was performed on the data for the 51 exclusive translators. At  $\alpha=0.05$ , all tests but one are statistically significant ( $p<0.001$ ). There are differences in the lexical transfer of the two groups of respondents but not in the case of “computer technology” (mean rank=3.917,  $p=0.071$ ). With respect to correlation, the effect sizes for the results that are statistically significant range from 0.590 (strong) to 0.857 (very

strong), which indicates positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and text-type variables. The tests reveal six text types for which the respondents had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than the tendency reported by those who did not work on them. These are “education” (mean rank=20.92,  $p<0.001$ ), “culture” (mean rank=18.00,  $p<0.001$ ), “business” (mean rank=17.00,  $p<0.001$ ), “advertisement” (mean rank=16.50,  $p<0.001$ ), and “tourism” (mean rank=14.00,  $p<0.001$ ), and “journalism” (mean rank=13.50,  $p<0.001$ ), all in that order. A correlation was also found between lexical transfer and the remaining text types (from “medical” to “engineering”) ( $p<0.001$ ). However, the respondents who worked on these text types were less inclined to make lexical transfer into them than those who did not. I therefore concluded that the data provide sufficient evidence that for the group of exclusive translators in this sample, text types (excepting that of “computer technology”) and lexical transfer are strongly correlated. The results of these tests are illustrated in Tables 54 and 55.

Table 54. Mean lexical transfer of the exclusive translators by text types – Descriptive statistics

Text Types	n1	n2	Mean (n1)*	Mean (n2)*	Mean rank (n1)	Mean rank (n2)
Computer technology	18	33	1.89	2.00	20.92	17.00
<b>Education</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1.91</b>	<b>2.12</b>	<b>20.00</b>	<b>6.50</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1.98</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>18.00</b>	<b>8.50</b>
<b>Business</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2.02</b>	<b>1.86</b>	<b>17.00</b>	<b>9.50</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1.95</b>	<b>1.99</b>	<b>16.50</b>	<b>10.00</b>
<b>Tourism</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>2.02</b>	<b>1.89</b>	<b>14.00</b>	<b>12.50</b>
<b>Journalism</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2.05</b>	<b>1.87</b>	<b>13.50</b>	<b>13.00</b>
Medical	20	31	1.94	1.98	10.50	16.00
Environment	18	33	1.94	1.97	9.50	17.00
Religion	18	33	2.01	1.94	9.50	17.00
Legal	17	34	1.94	1.97	9.00	17.50
Government	16	35	1.81	2.03	8.50	18.00
Insurance	16	35	1.93	1.98	8.50	18.00
Other	7	44	2.11	1.94	8.50	22.50
Scientific	13	38	1.95	1.97	7.00	19.50
Sports	11	40	1.99	1.96	6.00	20.50
Literary	9	42	2.05	1.94	5.00	21.50
Engineering	8	43	1.88	1.98	4.50	22.00

N=51. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 55. Mann-Whitney U tests – Multiple comparisons of the exclusive translators’ lexical transfer across text types

Text Types	Mean rank difference (n1- n2)	p-value	Effect size	p< $\alpha$
Computer technology	3.9	0.071	0.253	No
<b>Education</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.728</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.796</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Business</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.820</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.829</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Tourism</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.856</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Journalism</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.857</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Medical	-5.5	<0.001	0.837	Yes
Environment	-7.5	<0.001	0.820	Yes
Religious	-7.5	<0.001	0.820	Yes
Legal	-8.5	<0.001	0.809	Yes
Government	-9.5	<0.001	0.796	Yes
Insurance	-9.5	<0.001	0.796	Yes
Scientific	-12.5	<0.001	0.748	Yes
Other	-14.0	<0.001	0.590	Yes
Sports	-14.5	<0.001	0.706	Yes
Literary	-16.5	<0.001	0.654	Yes
Engineering	-17.5	<0.001	0.624	Yes

$\alpha=0.0033$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction).

The fourth set of tests was performed on the data for the 49 translators-and-writers. At  $\alpha=0.05$ , the results of all but two tests are statistically significant ( $p<0.001$ ). There are differences in the lexical transfer of the two groups of respondents but not in the case of “insurance” (mean rank=-21.50,  $p=0.004$ ) and “other” (mean rank=23.50,  $p<0.0897$ ). With respect to correlation, the effect sizes for the results that are statistically significant range from 0.519 (strong) to 0.857 (very strong), which indicates positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and text-type variables. The tests reveal four text types for which the translators-and-writers had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than did those who did not work on them. These are “business” (mean rank=18.00,  $p<0.001$ ), “education” (mean rank=17.00,  $p<0.001$ ), “culture” (mean rank=15.50,  $p<0.001$ ), and “advertisement” (mean rank=16.50,  $p<0.001$ ), all in this order. A correlation is also found between lexical transfer and the remaining text types (from “journalism” to “engineering”) ( $p<0.001$ ). However, the respondents who worked on these text types were less inclined to make lexical transfer into them than were those who did not. I therefore conclude that the data provide sufficient evidence that for the group of translators-and-writers in this sample, text types (excepting that of “computer technology” and “other”) and lexical transfer are strongly correlated. The results of these tests are illustrated in Tables 56 and 57.

Table 56. Descriptive statistics – Mean lexical transfer of the translators-and-writers by text types

Text Types	n1	n2	Mean (n1)*	Mean (n2)*	Mean rank (n1)	Mean rank (n2)
<b>Business</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1.57</b>	<b>1.60</b>	<b>18.000</b>	<b>7.500</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1.62</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>17.000</b>	<b>8.500</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1.65</b>	<b>1.47</b>	<b>15.500</b>	<b>10.000</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1.59</b>	<b>1.56</b>	<b>14.500</b>	<b>11.000</b>
Journalism	24	25	1.59	1.57	12.500	13.000
Government	22	27	1.65	1.52	11.500	14.000
Computer technology	16	33	1.61	1.56	8.500	17.000
Tourism	16	33	1.56	1.59	8.500	17.000
Literary	12	37	1.62	1.57	6.500	9.865
Environment	11	38	1.69	1.55	6.000	19.500
Scientific	11	38	1.65	1.56	6.000	19.500
Religion	9	40	1.75	1.54	5.000	20.500
Medical	7	42	1.80	1.54	4.000	21.500
Legal	6	43	1.89	1.54	3.500	22.000
Sports	6	43	1.82	1.55	3.500	22.000
Engineering	5	44	1.66	1.57	3.000	22.500
Insurance	3	46	1.71	1.57	2.000	23.500
Other	1	48	1.79	1.58	1.000	24.500

N=49. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 57. Mann-Whitney U tests – Multiple comparisons of the translators-and-writers' lexical transfer across text types

Text Types	Mean rank difference (n1- n2)	p-value	Effect size	p< $\alpha$
<b>Business</b>	<b>10.500</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.775</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>8.500</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.804</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Culture</b>	<b>5.500</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.835</b>	<b>Yes</b>
<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>3.500</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.849</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Journalism	-0.500	<0.001	0.857	Yes
Government	-2.500	<0.001	0.853	Yes
Literary	-3.365	<0.001	0.737	Yes
Computer technology	-8.500	<0.001	0.804	Yes
Tourism	-8.500	<0.001	0.804	Yes
Environment	-13.500	<0.001	0.715	Yes
Scientific	-13.500	<0.001	0.715	Yes
Religion	-15.500	<0.001	0.664	Yes
Medical	-17.500	<0.001	0.600	Yes
Legal	-18.500	<0.001	0.562	Yes
Sports	-18.500	<0.001	0.562	Yes
Engineering	-19.500	<0.001	0.519	Yes
Insurance	-21.500	0.0040	0.411	No
Other	-23.500	0.0897	0.242	No

$\alpha=0.0033$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction).

The fifth and final set of tests was performed on the data for all 105 non-translators. At  $\alpha=0.05$ , the results of all the tests are statistically significant ( $p<0.001$ ). There are differences in the lexical transfer of the two groups of respondents. With

respect to correlation, the effect sizes range from 0.430 (strong) to 0.862 (very strong), which indicates positive correlation between the lexical transfer and text-type variables. The tests reveal that “culture” text type is the only one for which the non-translators had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than did those who did not work on it (mean rank=27.5,  $p<0.001$ , size effect=0.862). A correlation is also found between lexical transfer and the remaining text types (from “business” to “insurance”) ( $p<0.001$ ). However, the non-translators who worked on these text types were less inclined to make lexical transfer into them than were those who did not. I therefore concluded that the data provide sufficient evidence that, for the group of non-translators in this sample, text types and lexical transfer are strongly correlated. The results of these tests are illustrated in Tables 58 and 59.

Table 58. Descriptive statistics – Mean lexical transfer of the non-translators by text types

Text Types	n1	n2	Mean (n1)*	Mean (n2)*	Mean rank (n1)	Mean rank (n2)
<b>Culture</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>1.86</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>26.0</b>
Business	52	53	1.89	1.97	26.5	27.0
Education	43	62	1.79	2.02	22.0	31.5
Advertisement	41	64	1.91	1.94	21.0	32.5
Government	41	64	1.83	1.99	21.0	32.5
Journalism	41	64	1.82	2.00	21.0	32.5
Computer technology	40	65	1.98	1.90	20.5	33.0
Tourism	35	70	1.83	1.98	18.0	35.5
Literary	28	77	1.74	2.00	14.5	39.0
Sports	23	82	1.89	1.94	12.0	41.5
Environment	22	83	1.90	1.94	11.5	42.0
Religion	20	85	1.96	1.92	10.5	43.0
Scientific	17	88	1.87	1.94	9.0	44.5
Medical	15	90	1.88	1.94	8.0	45.5
Engineering	14	91	1.97	1.92	7.5	46.0
Legal	11	94	1.73	1.95	6.0	47.5
Other	8	97	2.07	1.92	4.5	49.0
Insurance	7	98	1.78	1.94	4.0	49.5

N=105. \*For reference only and not for parametric testing.

Table 59. Mann-Whitney U tests – Multiple comparisons of the non-translators' lexical transfer across text types

Text Types	Mean rank difference (n1- n2)	p-value	Effect size	p< $\alpha$
<b>Culture</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>&lt;0.001</b>	<b>0.862</b>	<b>Yes</b>
Business	-0.5	<0.001	0.862	Yes
Education	-9.5	<0.001	0.848	Yes
Advertisement	-11.5	<0.001	0.841	Yes
Government	-11.5	<0.001	0.841	Yes
Journalism	-11.5	<0.001	0.841	Yes
Computer technology	-12.5	<0.001	0.837	Yes
Tourism	-17.5	<0.001	0.813	Yes
Literary	-24.5	<0.001	0.762	Yes
Sports	-29.5	<0.001	0.713	Yes
Environment	-30.5	<0.001	0.702	Yes
Religion	-32.5	<0.001	0.677	Yes
Scientific	-35.5	<0.001	0.635	Yes
Medical	-37.5	<0.001	0.603	Yes
Engineering	-38.5	<0.001	0.586	Yes
Legal	-41.5	<0.001	0.528	Yes
Other	-44.5	<0.001	0.457	Yes
Insurance	-45.5	<0.001	0.430	Yes

$\alpha=0.0034$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction).

Following the correlation tests, I organized the overall results in the order of the correlation between lexical-transfer and text-type variables for each test set that was carried out on the groups of translators and non-translators (Table 60). In this way, the data present a substantive picture of the correlational position of the text type among the translators and non-translators. The table also shows the proportion of translators and translators who worked on the text types ( $n_1$ ), and those who did not ( $n_2$ ), the means of the lexical transfers reported by the translators and the non-translators for the text types on which they worked and also for who did not work on those text types. It should be noted that the data displayed in the table are for text types for which the translators and non-translators demonstrated a greater tendency to engage in lexical transfer than did the other respondents.



Table 60. Order of correlation between lexical transfer and text types, mean lexical transfer by test sets

Types of respondents	Text Types	n <sub>1</sub>	n <sub>2</sub>	Mean lexical transfer (n <sub>1</sub> )	Mean lexical transfer (n <sub>2</sub> )	Correlation coefficient
<u>Test set 1:</u> All (N=205)	Education	.72	.28	1.78	1.76	0.857
	Culture	.58	.42	1.84	1.87	0.853
	Business	.59	.41	1.83	1.88	0.851
<u>Test set 2:</u> All translators (n=100)	Journalism	.50	.50	1.83	1.72	0.862
	Advertisement	.60	.40	1.78	1.76	0.844
	Business	.68	.32	1.79	1.75	0.822
	Education	.56	.44	1.79	1.94	0.804
<u>Test set 3:</u> Exclusive translators (n=51)	Culture	.65	.35	1.83	1.67	0.774
	Journalism	.51	.49	2.05	1.87	0.857
	Tourism	.53	.47	2.02	1.89	0.856
	Advertisement	.63	.37	1.95	1.99	0.829
	Business	.65	.35	2.02	1.86	0.820
	Culture	.69	.31	1.98	1.92	0.796
<u>Test set 4:</u> Translators- and-writers (n=49)	Education	.76	.24	1.91	2.12	0.728
	Advertisement	.57	.43	1.59	1.56	0.849
	Culture	.61	.39	1.65	1.47	0.835
	Education	.67	.33	1.62	1.50	0.804
<u>Test set 5:</u> Non- translators (n=105)	Business	.71	.29	1.57	1.60	0.775
	Culture	.49	.51	1.86	2.00	0.862

Number of text types: 18. All p-values were <.001. Overall  $\alpha=0.05$  (Holm-Bonferroni Step-down correction was  $\alpha=.00335$  at most). The proportions of (non)translators who worked on the indicated text type appear under column n<sub>1</sub>. The proportions for those who did not appear under column n<sub>2</sub>.

In summary, the five test sets confirm that the text types that the translators and non-translators translated and/or wrote are related to their lexical-transfer practice. The results of the first test set on the entire sample reveals that “education”, followed by “culture” and “business”, are the three major text types that translators and non-translators translated and/or wrote and into which they had a greater tendency to make lexical transfers than did the other respondents.

The results of the second test set on all translators as a group indicate that “journalism” is the text type that has the highest positive correlation with lexical transfer. This is followed by “advertisement”, “business”, “education” and “culture”.

The results of the third test set on the exclusive translators shows “journalism” as the leading text type for lexical transfer among them just as it is so among all the translators. However, this group also translates “tourism” text types, which does not

seem to feature particularly high among any other group. The results also show that the other prominent text types they translate are “advertisement”, “business”, “culture” and “education” in that order.

The results of the fourth test set show that the translators-and-writers reported a greater tendency to make lexical transfers mostly into “advertisement” text types. The results suggest this text type as having the highest correlation among all the respondents in the sample. The other text types are “culture”, “education” and “business” in that order.

The results of the fifth and last test set indicate only the “culture” text type as the one for which the non-translators had the greatest tendency to use lexical transfers. The non-translators are also the respondents with the highest propensity to use lexical transfer with this text type. Further, the correlation pattern found in the entire sample allows us to deduce that most of the lexical transfer reported for “culture” text types can be attributed to the non-translators. Similarly, most of the lexical transfer reported for “business” text types can be attributed to the exclusive translators. Also, most of the lexical transfer reported for “education” text types can be attributed to the translators-and-writers. This suggests that the lexical transfer reported for these more prominent text types can be attributed to the translators more so than to the non-translators.

#### *4.4.3.5 Sex*

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they were male or female. Ninety-eight reported they were female; 107 reported they were male. To test whether the sex of the respondents correlated with their lexical-transfer activity, I performed two Kruskal-Wallis tests on the sample as a whole. In the first test (Test 1), the translators-and-writers were counted as translators. In the other (Test 2), they were counted as writers just in the event that they behaved differently in their translation capacity from the way they would in their non-translation capacity as far as lexical transfer was concerned. The test statistic for Test 1 ( $H=461.106$ ) was higher than that for Test 2 ( $H=454.003$ ), which suggests that the degree of lexical transfer was higher in the translators-and-writers when working as translators than as writers. In both tests the results were significant at  $\alpha=0.05$  with  $p<0.001$ . A Bonferroni correction adjusts the level of significance to  $\alpha=0.025$  for each test. From the results of these tests I concluded that the data provide sufficient evidence that there is a difference between the sex variable and the lexical-transfer variable (Table 61).

Table 61. Kruskal-Wallis test results for influence of sex on lexical transfer (entire sample)

Respondents		Tests	H	p-value
98 Female	107 Male	1*	461.106	<.001
98 Female	107 Male	2**	454.003	<.001

N=205.  $\alpha=0.025$  (Bonferroni correction). \*translators-and-writers counted as translators,

\*\*translators-and-writers counted as writers

To further investigate these differences, I carried out two Mann-Whitney post hoc tests (two-tailed). The results of the post hoc test for Test 1 were significant ( $U=10,486$ ;  $p<0.001$ ) at the overall  $\alpha=.05$ . With respect to correlation, the effect size for the results is 0.863, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and sex variables. The mean rank for the female respondents is 49.50 and 54.00 for the male respondents. Further, the mean rank difference of -4.50 suggests that the female respondents were less inclined to make lexical transfer than were the male respondents when working as translators. I therefore conclude that there is a correlation between the sex and the lexical-transfer variables and that the male respondents had a higher propensity to make lexical transfers than did the female respondents. In the post hoc test for Test 2, the results were also significant ( $U=10,259$ ;  $p<0.001$ ) at  $\alpha=.05$ ). With respect to correlation, the effect size for the results is 0.826, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and sex variables. The mean rank of the female respondents is 49.50 and 52.96 for the male respondents. Also, the mean rank difference of -3.46 suggests that the female respondents again were less inclined to make lexical transfer than were the male respondents when working as writers. Therefore, from these data for this sample as a whole, I concluded that there is a correlation between the sex and lexical-transfer variables, irrespective of whether the respondents were working as translators or writers. The male respondents had a higher propensity to make lexical transfers than did the female respondents (Table 62).

Table 62. Post hoc tests (Batch 1) for Mann-Whitney U tests: Multiple comparisons of lexical transfer by the respondents' sex

Tests	Female respondents (A)	Male respondents (B)	Mean rank (A)	Mean rank (B)	Mean rank difference (A-B)	U	Effect size	p-value	<.001
1	98 Female *	107 Male*	49.50	54.00	-4.50	10486	0.863	<.001	Yes
2	98 Female**	107 Male**	49.50	52.96	-3.46	10259	0.826	<.001	Yes

N=205.  $\alpha=0.025$  (Bonferroni correction). \*translators-and-writers counted as translators, \*\*translators-and-writers counted as writers

Having established that sex does play a role in lexical transfer, at least in this sample, I decided to carry out further post hoc tests on the respondents in the various groupings by using the Mann-Whitney U test. This allowed me to identify the group(s) that had the highest concentration of lexical transfer. Thus, a total of 69 additional multiple-comparison tests were conducted in the order of sex and the types of (non)translators. The types of (non)translators for the comparisons were exclusive translators, non-translators, translators-and-writers (writing translators, writers/translators, translating writers) as translators and then as writers.

The tests show that irrespective of whether a translator-and-writer functions as a translator or writer, there is no statistically significant difference between the results for the two groups. The tests involved the female exclusive translators against the male exclusive translators, writing translators, writer/translators, translating writers and non-translators. The results were all statistically significant at  $\alpha=0.05$ . The female exclusive translators had a mean rank of 11.00 ( $p<0.001$ ). For the male translators-and-writers, the results were writing translator (mean rank=4.00,  $p<0.001$ ), writer/translator (mean rank=4.00,  $p<0.001$ ), and translating writer (mean rank=3.00,  $p<0.001$ ). The mean rank difference of 8 (between the female exclusive translators compared with the male translating writers) and of 7 (between the female exclusive translators compared with the male writing translators and male writers/translators) suggest that the female exclusive translators had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than did the male translators-and-writers. With respect to correlation, the effect sizes for the results between the female exclusive translators and the male translators-and-writers, that is, male writing translators, writer/translator, and translating writer, are 0.737 (very strong), 0.737 (very strong) and 0.670 (strong), respectively. This indicates a strong to very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and the sex variables. A correlation is also found between lexical-transfer and sex variables when the female

exclusive translators were compared with the male non-translators (mean rank=29.50,  $p<0.001$ , effect size=0.760) and with the male exclusive translators (mean rank=15.50,  $p<0.001$ , effect size=0.844). However, the female exclusive translators were less inclined to make lexical transfer than were the male non-translators and male exclusive translators. The strongest correlation found between the lexical-transfer and sex variables is between the female exclusive translators and the male exclusive translators. But the male non-translators are found to have the highest concentration of lexical transfer, followed by the male exclusive translators and the female exclusive translators. I therefore concluded that for the group of female exclusive translators compared with the groups of male translators-and-writers, male non-translators and male exclusive translators, the data provide sufficient evidence that sex and lexical transfer are at least strongly correlated. The results of these tests are illustrated in Table 63.

Table 63. Post hoc tests (Batch 2) for Mann-Whitney U tests: Multiple comparisons of lexical transfer by the respondents' sex

Female respondent (A)	Male respondent (B)	Mean rank (A)	Mean rank (B)	Mean rank difference (A-B)	Test statistic (U)	Effect size	p-value	<.001
Exclusive translator	Non-translator	11.00	29.50	-18.50	1218	0.760	<.001	Yes
Exclusive translator	Exclusive translator	11.00	15.50	-4.50	630	0.844	<.001	Yes
Exclusive translator	Writing translator, writer/translator	11.00	4.00	7.00	147	0.737	<.001	Yes
Exclusive translator	Translating writer	11.00	3.00	8.00	105	0.670	<.001	Yes

$\alpha=0.001$  (Bonferroni correction).

The female translators-and-writers in separate groups, as female writing translators, writer/translators and translating writers, are tested against the other types of male (non)translators. All the results were significant except in the case of the female writing translators and writers/translators versus the male translating writers ( $p=0.003$ ) and also in the case of the female translating writers versus the male translating writers ( $p=0.002$ ). It is important to bear in mind here that the Bonferroni correction adjusts the level of significance to  $\alpha=0.05/69=0.001$  for each post hoc test while the overall  $\alpha$  remains 0.05. The female translating writers had a mean rank of 6.50 ( $p<0.001$ ) while the male writing translators had a mean rank of 4.00 ( $p<0.001$ ). The mean rank difference of 2.50 suggests that the female translating writers had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than did the male writing translators. With respect to correlation,

the effect size for these results is 0.814, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and the sex variables.

The female writing translators and writers/translators had a mean rank of 5.00 ( $p < 0.001$ ) while the male writing translators and writers/translators had a mean rank of 4.00 ( $p < 0.001$ ). The mean rank difference of 1.00 suggests that the female writing translators and writers/translators had a greater tendency to report lexical transfers than did the male writing translators and writers/translators. With respect to correlation, the effect size for these results is 0.834, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and the sex variables.

A correlation is also found between lexical-transfer and sex variables when the female writing translators and writers/translators were compared with the male exclusive translators (mean rank=15.50,  $p < 0.001$ , effect size=0.721) and with the male non-translators (mean rank=29.50,  $p < 0.001$ , effect size=0.586) and also when the female translating writers were compared with the male non-translators. However, the female writing translators and writers/translators were less inclined to make lexical transfer than were the male exclusive translators and the male non-translators. This is suggested by the mean rank difference of -10.50 and -24.50. Similarly, the female translating writers were less inclined to make lexical transfers than were the male non-translators. This is suggested by the mean rank difference of -23.00.

The strongest correlation found between the lexical-transfer and sex variables is between the female writing translators and writers/translators when compared with the male writing translators and writers/translators (0.834). But the male non-translators are found to have the highest concentration of lexical transfer followed by the male exclusive translators, and the female translators-and-writers. I therefore concluded that for the group of female translators-and-writers compared with male respondents, the data provide sufficient evidence that sex and lexical transfer are strongly to very strongly correlated. The results of these tests are illustrated in Table 64.

Table 64. Post hoc tests (Batch 3) for Mann-Whitney U tests: Multiple comparisons of lexical transfer by sex

Female respondent (A)	Male respondent (B)	Mean rank (A)	Mean rank (B)	Mean rank difference (A-B)	U	Effect size	p- value	<.001
Writing translator, writer/translator	Exclusive translator	5.00	15.50	-10.50	270	0.721	<.001	Yes
Writing translator, writer/translator	Writing translator, writer/translator	5.00	4.00	1.00	63	0.834	<.001	Yes
Writing translator, writer/translator	Translating writer	5.00	3.00	2.00	45	0.802	.003	No
Writing translator, writer/translator	Non-translator	5.00	29.50	-24.50	522	0.586	<.001	Yes
Translating writer	Exclusive translator	6.50	15.50	-9.00	360	0.773	<.001	Yes
Translating writer	Writing translator	6.50	4.00	2.50	84	0.814	<.001	Yes
Translating writer	Translating writer	6.50	3.00	3.50	60	0.767	.002	No
Translating writer	Non-translator	6.50	29.50	-23.00	696	0.648	<.001	Yes

The female translators were tested against the groups of male translators, male non-translators, and male translators-and-writers and non-translators. The female non-translators and translators-and-writers were also tested against the male translators-and-writers. The results were all significant ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Table 65. Post hoc tests (Batch 4) for Mann-Whitney U tests: Multiple comparisons of lexical transfer by sex

Female respondent (A)	Male respondent (B)	Mean rank (A)	Mean rank (B)	Mean rank difference (A-B)	U	Effect size	p- value	<.001
All translators	All translators	26.00	25.00	1.00	2499	0.862	<.001	Yes
All translators	Non-translators	26.00	29.50	-3.50	2958	0.860	<.001	Yes
All translators	Translators-and-writers	26.00	10.00	16.00	969	0.765	<.001	Yes
Non- translators	Translators-and-writers	24.00	10.00	14.00	893	0.778	<.001	Yes
Translators-and- writers	Translators-and-writers	15.50	10.00	5.50	570	0.835	<.001	Yes

The respondents were also tested in groups of all female translators against all male translators. The results were statistically significant ( $U=2499$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ): the female translators had a higher mean rank (26.00) than the male translators in general (25.00); the effect size is 0.862, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the lexical-transfer and sex variables. In the test with all female translators against all male non-translators, the results turned out statistically significant ( $U=2958$ ,

$p < 0.001$ ): the male non-translators had the highest mean rank (29.50) among all the respondents; the effect size is 0.860, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. In the test of all female translators against all male translators-and-writers, the results were also statistically significant ( $U=969$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ): the male translators-and-writers had a lower mean rank (10.00); the effect size is 0.765, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. Another test with all the female non-translators against all male translators also turned out statistically significant ( $U=893$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ): the female non-translators had a higher mean rank (24.00) than the male translators (10.00); the size effect is 0.778, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables. In one last test with all female translators-and-writers against all male translators-and-writers, the results also turned out statistically significant ( $U=570$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ): the female translators-and-writers had a higher mean rank (15.50); the effect size is 0.835, which indicates a very strong positive correlation between the variables.

From these data, I concluded that there is sufficient evidence that the lexical-transfer and sex variables are correlated. While the strongest correlation between the lexical-transfer and sex variables is found when all the female translators are compared with all the male translators, the highest concentration of lexical transfer is found in the group of male non-translators, followed by the female translators, the male translators, the female non-translators, the female translators-and-writers and the male translators-and-writers.

In summary, the findings show that there is a correlation between the sex variable and the lexical-transfer variable. No statistically significant difference was found between men and women among the translators-and-writers as translators and translators-and-writers as writers. Of all the various groups of respondents divided according to non-translators, types of translators and sex, the male non-translators displayed the greatest inclination to use English in their Papiamentu texts.

However, the male non-translators were not the only group to have a greater tendency to make lexical transfers than another group. The female non-translators were also found to be more inclined than the male exclusive translators, writing translators and translating writers. The female exclusive translators were also found to be more inclined than the male translators-and-writers to make lexical transfers to their Papiamentu translations. Also in this respect, the female translators-and-writers were found to have a greater inclination to make lexical transfer than were the male



translators-and-writers, and the female non-translators were found to more inclined to make lexical transfer than were the male translators-and-writers.

#### 4.4.3.6 Age

A question that the respondents were asked on the questionnaire was their age. The categories were 1) 18-25 inclusive, 2) 26-35 inclusive, 3) 36-45 inclusive, 4) 46-55, 5) 56-65, and 6) over 65. The relationship between age and lexical transfer for the sample as a whole was tested using an ANOVA test. The result was significant ( $F=743.928$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The findings suggest that the relationship between the two variables is significant enough to be worthy of study. The Pearson's correlation coefficient however is  $-0.008$ , which indicates an extremely weak to negligible negative relationship between the two variables, and the coefficient of determination is  $0.00006$ , a negligible number that indicates that practically none of the variation in the data is explainable in lexical transfer as a function of the age of the respondents. Nevertheless, the results suggest in a general sense that the older a (non)translator is, the less they tend to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. For this reason, I wanted to test the hypothesis on the non-translators and the different types of translators to see whether it holds in all cases.

A Spearman's rank order correlation test was conducted for the respondents in the following groups: translators, exclusive translators, translators-and-writers as translators, translators-and-writers as writers, all translators, and non-translators. Altogether 11 tests were carried out using the Bonferroni correction of the level of significance ( $\alpha=.05/11=0.0045$ ). Thus, at this adjusted  $\alpha$  level, a significant correlation was found between the lexical transfer and age variables in two cases. In one case, it was the translators-and-writers as translators with  $p=0.004$  and the Spearman's correlation coefficient ( $\rho_s$ )= $0.373$ , which indicates a moderate positive correlation between the variables. The other case also concerns the writing translators with  $p=0.002$  and  $\rho_s=0.677$ , which indicates a strong correlation between the variables. The coefficient of determination for them as translators is  $0.139$ , which indicates that approximately 14% of the variation in the data could be explained in lexical transfer as dependent on the age of the respondents. In the case where the respondents functioned as writers, the coefficient of determination is  $0.458$ , which indicates that almost 46% of the variation in the data could be explained in lexical transfer by age. Table 66 shows the results of the tests.

Table 66. Spearman's rank order correlation test for the influence of age on lexical transfer

Respondents	n	Mean†	Median	Lexical transfer			
				Mean rank	correlation	p	p<0.0045
Translators-and-writers*	49	1.580	1.542	24.218	0.373	0.004	Yes
Writing translators	16	1.609	1.604	8.225	0.612	0.006	No
Writers/translators	16	1.549	1.500	8.283	0.521	0.019	No
Translating writers	17	1.581	1.583	8.946	0.176	0.250	No
Translators-and-writers**	49	1.666	1.625	24.255	0.266	0.032	No
Writing translators	16	1.675	1.646	8.396	0.677	0.002	Yes
Writers/translators	16	1.589	1.542	8.234	0.309	0.122	No
Translating writers	17	1.730	1.792	8.750	0.206	0.214	No
Translators	100	1.774	1.771	49.425	0.144	0.077	No
Exclusive translators	51	1.961	1.917	25.477	-0.191	0.089	No
Non-translators	105	1.927	1.917	51.980	-0.029	0.383	No

N=205.  $\alpha=.0045$  (Bonferroni correction). † For reference only and not for parametric testing. \* as translators.

\*\*as writers

Despite the fact that the results for the remaining tests are not significant, two of them suggest a negative correlation between the variables. Those tests were performed on the exclusive translators and non-translators. The results suggest that the older an exclusive translator or a non-translator was, the less likely they were to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. In all the other cases, the results suggest that the older the respondents were, the more likely they were to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations.

Earlier, in 4.4.2.5, we saw the results of the tests of the fourth sub-hypothesis ( $H_4$ ) that translators report more lexical transfers than do the non-translators when both groups have extensive professional experience. We saw that there is a significant positive correlation between lexical transfer and years of experience beyond 15 years. Since experience in general is commensurate with age, I decided to investigate whether the respondents' age (like experience) had any influence on their lexical-transfer activity when their professional experience was >15 years. I carried out a Chi-square test at  $\alpha=.05$  in which the subjects were divided into translators and non-translators. No significant correlation was found ( $\chi^2=8.282$ ,  $p=0.141$ ) between the variables. In a similar Chi-square test with the respondents divided into exclusive translators, translators-and-writers, and non-translators, no significant correlation was found ( $\chi^2=22.438$ ,  $p=0.013$ ) between the variables.

However, as with the Z tests of  $H_4$  for the comparison of two proportions (translators and non-translators) with respect to the professional-experience variable to determine whether the difference between them was zero, I carried out the same kind of test with respect to the age variable. The two populations involved were again the translators and the non-translators. No significant correlation was found between the variables. In the previous testing of  $H_4$  at the  $\alpha$  level of .0045, the cross-tabulation consisted of translators and non-translators divided into  $\leq 15$  years and  $> 15$  years. The categories of frequency of translation were collapsed into “Every day” and “Not every day”. Accordingly, I divided the respondents by their corresponding Z-test proportions into age categories of  $\leq 25$  years versus  $> 25$  years;  $\leq 35$  years versus  $> 35$  years;  $\leq 45$  years versus  $> 45$  years, and so on as illustrated in Table 67, where the proportions appear between parentheses. Still, no significant correlation was found. Although the results are insignificant, I wanted to see whether there was an observable pattern that might in some way align with the professional-experience variable, but no clear pattern was found.

Table 67. Cross-tabulation of translators and non-translators by age and English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Age	Translators		Non-translators		Z	One-tailed p-value; $\alpha=0.01$
<25	6	(.06)	14	(.13)	-0.101	0.077
>25	94	(.94)	91	(.87)	0.101	0.923
<35	24	(.24)	43	(.41)	-0.223	0.010
>35	76	(.76)	62	(.59)	0.223	0.990
<45	52	(.52)	71	(.68)	-0.204	0.023
>45	48	(.48)	34	(.32)	0.204	0.977
<55	80	(.80)	89	(.85)	-0.064	0.370
>55	20	(.20)	16	(.15)	0.064	0.630
<65	94	(.94)	100	(.95)	-0.017	0.694
>65	6	(.06)	5	(.05)	0.017	0.306

N=205.  $\alpha=0.01$  (Bonferroni correction).

These tests on the age variable for correlation with the lexical-transfer variable when the respondents professional experience was more than 15 years have shown that at  $\alpha=0.05$  there is no significant correlation between them. Nonetheless, the sample shows that there were 60 respondents with  $> 15$  years of professional experience. Understandably, none of them could come from the first age category of 18-25 years inclusive. Thus, the logical point where the age variable could be mapped on to the  $> 15$ -

years category of the experience variable in terms of correlation would be from the second age category of 26-35 inclusive, thus producing the collapsed categories of  $\leq 25$  years and  $>25$  years. However, the modal age category for both translators and non-translators with  $>15$  years of professional experience is 46-55 years inclusive.

#### *4.4.3.7 Education*

Respondents were asked to indicate their highest level of education attained. The categories were “primary”, “secondary”, “Bachelors”, “Masters”, “Doctorate”, and “Other.” All 205 respondents answered the question appropriately. None of them indicated primary education as their highest level.

Among the exclusive translators, only three reported secondary education as their highest. Nineteen reported a Bachelors degree, 20 reported a Masters, and four reported a Doctorate as their highest level. There were only four who reported “Other”. Respondent 18, a formally-trained translator and interpreter, reported he had a “post-secondary” level education but did not specify further, while Respondent 8, a formally-trained translator and teacher of Spanish, reported she had a “secondary school teaching certificate in Spanish”.

Among the translators-and-writers, 18 respondents reported a Bachelors as their highest level. Thirty reported a Masters, and one reported a Doctorate as their highest level.

Among the non-translators, only four reported secondary education as their highest level. There were 43 who reported a Bachelors, 55 a Masters and two a Doctorate. Only one respondent, 204, a non-translator, reported “Other” and specified that she had an Associate of Science (AS) degree. In each group and also collectively, the Masters-level education was the mode. A total of 106 (51.7%) of all the respondents reported having a Masters degree.

The relationship between the respondents’ education and their reporting of lexical transfer was computed using the Spearman’s rank correlation (2-tailed) test. When the test was run on the sample as a whole, the result was clearly statistically insignificant at  $\alpha=0.05$  (Spearman’s rho ( $\rho_s$ )=-0.165,  $p=0.009$ ). The data do not provide sufficient evidence that education and lexical transfer are related. The Spearman’s rho, albeit insignificant, suggests a very weak negative association between the variables. This would imply that the more education a respondent had, the less inclined they would be to make lexical transfers. Further tests were performed on the data, using the same

method, but all of them yielded statistically insignificant results, just as could be expected from the whole-sample test. Also, all of the results but one indicated a negative correlation between the variables, as if to say that the more educated a respondent was, the more inclined they were to use English expressions in their Papiamentu texts. That was the case of the writing translators ( $\rho_s=0.308$ ,  $p=0.123$ ). The results of these tests are shown in Table 68.

Table 68. Cross-tabulation of sex by four types of lexical-transfer activity

Lexical transfer activity	Spearman's rho	Mean response*	Education mean rank	Lexical-transfer mean rank	p	p<0.0063
Whole sample	-0.165	1.86	61.40	101.87	0.009	No
Exclusive translators	-0.064	1.96	18.10	25.81	0.327	No
Translators-and-writers	-0.037	1.62	14.08	25.36	0.400	No
Writing translators	0.308	1.64	5.55	9.15	0.123	No
Writers/translators	-0.494	1.57	4.80	9.50	0.026	No
Translating writers	-0.077	1.66	5.29	9.65	0.384	No
All translators	-0.118	1.80	31.79	50.39	0.121	No
Non-translators	-0.181	1.93	30.50	52.08	0.032	No

. N=205,  $\alpha=.0063$  (Bonferroni correction). \*For reference only and not for parametric testing

From the above tests for correlation between the education and lexical-transfer variables, I was not able to confirm that education and lexical transfer are significantly correlated. However, except in the case of the writing translators, the Spearman's rho suggested a very weak (-0.037) to moderate (-0.494) negative correlation between the variables. This would suggest that the more education a respondent had, the less inclined they would be to make lexical transfers.

#### 4.4.3.8 Analysis of open-ended question

I asked the respondents "What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions from the English texts you translate into Papiamentu?" / "What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu writing, publishing or editing?". From their responses I found seven factors or reasons that were the ones most reported for their lexical transfer practice. Table 69 shows the number and percentage of respondents by types of (non)translators who reported these reasons.

Table 69. Responses to the open-ended question – the respondents’ comments on their motivation to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

Respondents reasons for English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer	Exclusive translators n=51	Translators- and-writers n=49	Non- translators n=105	All translators n=100	All non- translators n=105	All respondents N=205
Variety of expressions / flexibility for clarity	28 (.55)	19 (.39)	24 (.23)	47 (.47)	24 (.23)	71 (.35)
Wider readership / popularity on the Internet	6 (.12)	14 (.29)	27 (.26)	20 (.20)	27 (.26)	47 (.23)
Globalization /Internet technology	6 (.12)	14 (.29)	27 (.26)	20 (.20)	27 (.26)	47 (.23)
Client satisfaction / employment stability	13 (.25)	4 (.08)	3 (.03)	17 (.17)	3 (.03)	20 (.10)
Lack or disuse of specialized terms	6 (.12)	4 (.08)	16 (.15)	10 (.10)	16 (.15)	26 (.13)
The status of Papiamentu as an official language	1 (.02)	3 (.06)	6 (.06)	4 (.04)	6 (.06)	10 (.05)
Consumer appeal / marketing	3 (.06)	0 (.00)	9 (.09)	3 (.03)	9 (.09)	12 (.06)
Nothing	3 (.06)	7 (.14)	15 (.14)	10 (.10)	15 (.14)	25 (.12)

The table shows that variety of expressions / flexibility for clarity was the most reported reason for using English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. More than half of all the exclusive translators (55%) reported this as a reason, followed by 23% of the non-translators and 19% of the translators-and-writers. This means that while a little less than a quarter (23%) of all the non-translators reported this as a reason, nearly half of all the translators (47%) did. For all the respondents, the proportion of those gave this as a reason for their lexical transfer practice is 35%.

The reason that was least reported was consumer appeal / marketing, with only 3% of all the translators (and that was only the exclusive translators) and 9% of all the non-translators. None of the translators-and-writers gave this as a reason. In total, only about 12% of all the respondents reported this as a reason.

Wider readership / popularity on the Internet, and globalization / Internet technology were reported as reasons for lexical transfer, and the proportion was found to be slightly higher for the non-translators (27%) than that for the translators (26%). This was also the case for the lack or disuse of specialized terms: 15% for the non-translators and 10% for the translators, and the status of Papiamentu as an official language: 6% for the non-translators and 4% for the translators. That means only about

10% of all respondents reported the last-mentioned as a reason for making lexical transfers.

Among all the respondents, 12% reported that they were not motivated at all to use any form of English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations. That means that they did not engage in lexical transfer whatsoever. The proportions are 6% of exclusive translators and 14% of the translators-and-writers, which means 20% of all the translators and 14% of all the non-translators.

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter has presented the administration and results of the questionnaire and quantitative analysis arising from it. The first hypothesis that translators report making more lexical transfers than do non-translators when the lexifier language is prestigious has been confirmed for two conditions. The exclusive translators reported more lexical transfer than did the other respondents, when they found no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu and also when they thought that Papiamentu speakers used the English expression at least as frequently as they used the Papiamentu one.

However, the non-translators reported more lexical transfers for four conditions, that is, when they thought that English was seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text, that the English expression sounded better than the Papiamentu one, that the English expression did not make the meaning of their Papiamentu text in any way unclear or made it clearer, and also when they thought that the English expression helped to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized. The hypothesis did not hold with respect to whether they used English expressions in their Papiamentu texts because they thought Papiamentu speakers would not object to the use of the English expressions; the responses did not vary significantly between the respondents.

The second hypothesis, that translators report more lexical transfers than do the non-translators when the text type is sensitive, has been confirmed for two conditions. One is the case when the text type was safety-related. In this case, the exclusive translators had the greatest tendency to report lexical transfers. The other is the case when the text type happened to be highly academic. However, when the text types had to meet regulatory requirements, the non-translators reported more lexical transfers than

did the translators. Further, the results have shown that the non-translators were far more likely to report lexical transfers when they owned the rights to the texts.

The third hypothesis, that translators report more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have employment stability, has been confirmed except for the case when payment for the translation task was guaranteed. However, it was specifically the exclusive translators who had the greatest tendency to report lexical transfer in this case. I have not been able to confirm statistically that the translators were more inclined than the non-translators to report more lexical transfers when the task was not for pay, payment for the task was guaranteed, the assignment of future tasks was guaranteed or the end-user's demand for the information was not affected by the use of English expressions in it.

For the fourth hypothesis, that translators report more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have extensive professional experience, the results have shown that when the professional experience of the translators and non-translators was more than 15 years, their tendency to report lexical transfer was greater than when it was 15 years or less. Among the translators and non-translators with more than 15 years of experience, it was the translators, and more specifically the exclusive translators, who reported more lexical transfers.

The fifth hypothesis, that translators report more lexical transfers than do non-translators when both groups have formal training, has been confirmed. The results have shown that this is the case not only when both groups had formal training but also when neither of them had any formal training. However, when the translators-and-writers were counted as writers with or without formal training, it was the writers (including the non-translators) who reported more lexical transfers than the translators, who in this case were only the exclusive translators. Respondents with formal training reported less lexical transfer than did those without formal training. The tests also show that whether or not the respondents had both types of training (translation and writing), they did not show a greater inclination to report more lexical transfers in their Papiamentu texts. The translators with formal training were the most likely to report lexical transfers. Finally, the tests suggest that formal training does play an important role in the respondents' decision to transfer lexical items from English into their Papiamentu (non)translations, and in general those with formal training tended to do so to a lesser extent than those without any.



As regards certain variables based on respondents' background information, the correlation test results varied. With respect to the lexical solution types, the data have shown that for the four lexical-transfer solution types, the non-translators reported the greatest tendency to use an English expression without any morphological modification and without adding any explanation in their non-translations. With respect to the remaining solution types of using an English expression as is and adding an explanation along with it, creolizing an English expression without any explanation, and creolizing an expression and adding an explanation along with it, the exclusive translators reported the greatest tendency to use these solutions. In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use an English expression and add an explanation or to creolize an English expression let alone to add an explanation along with it.

The results for the alternative solutions to lexical transfer have shown that the non-translators had the greatest tendency to replace an English lexical item by a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu. With respect to the remaining solution types of replacing an English lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu, or by a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation, the exclusive translators were the most inclined to use these solutions. With respect to the solution type of ignoring and leaving an English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text, it was the non-translators again who were most inclined to use it. In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use any of these alternative solutions.

An association is found between the respondents' lexical transfer and their reported target-audience locations. The translators and non-translators who produced Papiamentu translations and non-translations for audiences in locations where Papiamentu is not an official language reported more lexical transfers than did those who did not service those locations. Further, in this case, the translators (especially the translators-and-writers) reported more lexical transfer than did the non-translators. However, it must be noted that in a general sense and as a group, the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations tended to report less lexical transfers than did the non-translators who did not service those locations.

The results of the test sets for the various text types have confirmed that there is an association between them and the translators' and non-translators' lexical-transfer practice. "Education", "culture" and "business" are the three major text types that translators and non-translators translated and/or wrote and for which they reported the

most lexical transfers than did any other respondent. The results show that for all translators as a group, “journalism” is the text type for which the most lexical transfers were reported. For the exclusive translators it is also “journalism”. For the translators-and-writers, the most prominent text type is “advertisement”. For the non-translators it is only the “culture” text type. The non-translators are also the respondents with the highest correlation point for lexical transfer into this text type. Further, looking at the correlation pattern in the entire sample, it can be deduced that most of the lexical transfer reported for “culture” text types can be attributed to the non-translators. Similarly, most of the lexical transfer reported for “business” text types can be attributed to the exclusive translators. Also, most of the lexical transfer reported for “education” text types can be attributed to the translators-and-writers.

With respect to the respondents’ sex, the male respondents reported more lexical transfers than the female respondents in general. The female non-translators reported more lexical transfers than the male exclusive translators, writing translators, translating writers and non-translators. The female exclusive translators reported more lexical transfers than did the male translators-and-writers. Also in this respect, the female translators-and-writers reported more lexical transfers than the male translators-and-writers, and the female non-translators did so more than the male translators.

In relation to the respondents’ age and lexical-transfer practice, the results show a correlation in the case of the translators-and-writers as translators and the writing translators as writers. The results suggest that the older such respondents were, the more inclined they were to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. As insignificant as all other test results were, those of the tests performed on the exclusive translators and on the non-translators suggest that the older such respondents were, the less likely they were to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations.

I did not find education to be significantly related to lexical transfer. This means that there is no evidence that the more educated translators reported more lexical transfer than did the less educated non-translators at least in this study. However, the correlation test on education, statistically insignificant though it was, suggests that the more educated a respondent is, the less inclined they might be to report lexical transfers.

As for the reasons that the respondents gave for their lexical transfer practice, their comments suggest that the translators more than the non-translators thought that using English in their Papiamentu texts allowed them variety of expressions and flexibility for textual clarity. Readership, globalization, client satisfaction, lack of

specialized terminology and even the status of the language were also reported as playing a part in motivating the respondents to make lexical transfers. While consumer appeal / marketing was the least reported as reason for lexical transfer, there were those who reported no motivating factor since they claimed they did not engage in lexical transfer at all.

## 5. Interviews: administration and results

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the following issues:

- a) The role of the FPI with respect to the ongoing standardization of Papiamentu
- b) The Papiamentu language gatekeepers' involvement in, and attitude towards, English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer
- c) The extent to which the Papiamentu language gatekeepers see Papiamentu as prestigious with respect to the other languages on the island
- d) The role of text sensitivity and employment stability in lexical transfer.

Language planners (or gatekeepers) working at the FPI were interviewed on these issues. Section 5.2 covers the preparation for the interviews. This involves the selecting the participants and drafting the interview schedule. Section 5.3 reports the response rates. Section 5.4 deals with how the interviews were conducted. Section 5.5 deals with the qualitative analysis of the interviews. The chapter ends with a summary of these qualitative results and underscores the areas for discussion in the following chapter.

### 5.2 Preparation for the interviews

#### 5.2.1 *Selecting the participants*

The interview participants were essentially individuals who had been involved in official language-planning efforts to promote the Papiamentu language in Curaçao, underway since 1984, the official year of standardization of the Papiamentu language (see Müllner 2004). People who had never been involved in any part of the language planning process were excluded from the sample. This purposive sampling identified six potential subjects, five of whom were contacted through the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*. Two subjects did not work for the organization: one of the five who were contacted through it, and the sixth. In the end, the sixth person was not available for an interview, even though they had expressed a desire to be interviewed. The interview of the first subject, an FPI employee, was a pilot and was not counted among the final ones. Therefore, out of five available subjects, I decided on three for

interviews because I thought it would be more appropriate to focus on the FPI and therefore only the interviewees who represent it. All three interviewees are taken to be “gatekeepers” of the Papiamentu language, irrespective of what their main profession or main present occupation might be.

### *5.2.2 Drafting the interview schedule*

An interview schedule was necessary as not all of the potential participants were full-time workers at the FPI, where I was based most of the time during my research fieldwork. I was informed that some personnel were only called in occasionally when certain projects needed their expertise and there were pressing deadlines. Various time slots were suggested through a range of dates when I was available on the island for the interviews. For two of the participants who worked in the offices of the FPI, all arrangements to participate were verbal since it was more convenient and efficient to do so. The other participant outside of the FPI offices was e-mailed an invitation along with a consent form that they were to sign to indicate their acceptance to participate in the interview (see Appendices D and E). Once all the participants had responded and we had agreed on a particular date, time and place for the interview, the interview schedule was closed.

## **5.3 Response rates**

Out of five invitations extended to potential interview participants, three responded and were interviewed. This does not include the pilot interview. With a response rate of three out of five, the sample was appropriate for the study, particularly since the individuals selected were willing, able and available to provide the information needed for the study.

## **5.4 Conducting the interviews**

All three interviews were conducted between 6 December 2011 and 29 February 2012 in Willemstad, Curaçao. Of the three, two took place at the FPI; the other took place at the participant’s residence. In all three situations, both the interviewer and the interviewee made sure that the setting was comfortable and with as little distraction as possible.

Of the three interviewees, two were senior officials at the FPI. Also, one interviewee was involved in Papiamentu lexicography, two were university lecturers, two were experienced translators, but all three were experienced book developers at the FPI, having written their own or prepared official publications. All of them had specialized or worked in some way in Papiamentu language planning for a considerable time. Therefore, they had had the opportunity to witness as well as to be instrumental in Papiamentu language change and in the development of its formal and informal functions.

Before the actual interview began, I explained its purpose, even though I had already made this clear in the letter of invitation. Then I addressed the terms of confidentiality so that the participant was assured that they could feel free to share their views openly and comfortably at any time during the interview, where their anonymity would be preserved. At this juncture, it was also important to remind them that the interview would be digitally audio recorded and to be sure that I had their permission to do so. In each interview, we (interviewer and participant) agreed on that and also that the confidentiality extended beyond the interview. I also explained how the data would be used in the research and that I would keep them abreast of the results when they became available. All these conditions are expressed in an Interview Consent form, which each participant signed. At that point I verified that I had all the general information about the participant and could therefore carry out the interviews.

The format of the interview was a simple face-to-face meeting in which I would ask the participant pre-formulated open-ended questions and seek answers that were as complete as possible. The participant was told that in the event the question was not clear to them, a rephrased alternative of it would be read to them, and examples that had already been worked out may follow the question for greater clarity. Also explained to the participant was that the entire interview comprised of 20 questions and was expected to take approximately 45 minutes to an hour. As each participant had been in contact with me before the interview: we had already exchanged contact details so that they knew how to get in touch with me after the interview if they needed to. At this point I asked the participant whether they had any questions before we started with the interview.

Each interview was recorded by two identical portable digital dictaphones set to run the moment the interview began. They were occasionally checked to make sure that they were functioning properly despite the fact that I still made notes of any details that

should not be missed. Since I did not have to make a note of every response in the interview, there was greater interaction between interviewer and participant (see, for example, Turner III 2010). This was one of the reasons for using two recording devices. The questions were asked one at a time, each time eliciting one piece of information, even though the participant was often able to answer the questions and provide additional relevant information. In general, every effort was made to keep the interview on track from beginning to end. Two of the interviewees were interviewed in English. The other was interviewed in Spanish because the interviewee had expressed a preference for that language. I then informed that interviewee that the parts to be cited would be translated into English by me.

## **5.5 Qualitative analysis of the interviews**

### *5.5.1 The interviewees' background*

The three interviewees, to whom I have given the fictitious names Kyu, Val and Nat, had been working for the FPI up to the time of the interviews.

Kyu has doctoral-level education and had been a published language planner and university lecturer for more than 20 years at the time of the interview. He has extensive experience in book development and publication, especially of school textbooks at all levels of the nation's education system but also of other advanced academic literature. The interview took place in English on 7 December 2011 in Willemstad, Curaçao.

Val has a Master's-level education, is also a published language planner, a Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish translator, had taught in the high school system for more than 25 years and at the University of Curaçao for more than 15 years up at the time of the interview. He also has extensive experience in book development and publication, especially where school textbooks at all levels are concerned. The interview took place in Spanish on 7 December 2011 in Willemstad, Curaçao.

Nat had focused more on orthography and lexicography, with an involvement of more than 15 years at the time of the interview. Prior to her language planning engagement, she had worked as a Spanish teacher and translator of Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish. She also continues to assist with important language-planning projects at the FPI. The interview with Nat took place in English on 27 February 2012 in Willemstad, Curaçao.

All three interviewees had been highly committed to the promotion of Papiamentu even before the formation of the FPI and had much to say about translation and lexification with respect to the Papiamentu language in standardization.

### *5.5.2 The role of the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*

When asked about the role of the FPI in relation to the standardization process of Papiamentu, Nat explained that there was a special commission for standardizing Papiamentu (*Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu* or KSP) which was part of the ILA (*Instituto Lingwistiko Antiano*) – a language institute established in 1984 by the central government of the former Dutch Antilles. Although she thinks it was not officially dismantled, she says that it no longer exists. Nat said that she was also a part of that commission and the reason for the cessation was that later the local government had a different view than that of the central government and wanted to establish a language academy. Later the FPI was born. Further, the regard by the public for the authority of the FPI with respect to the use of Papiamentu is evident:

[...] this *Fundashon* is officially a government office. We are dealing with the official Papiamentu, let me say [...] we decide here [at the FPI] what is correct Papiamentu because it is the only official government office. [...] So, what we decide here is like, that is it ... and people see it like that too because they consider that what's [...] in here [the *Buki di oro* (the *Golden Book*)] is official, even if it is not “officially officialized”. (Nat)

The *Buki di oro* basically shows how to spell, pronounce and punctuate in Papiamentu and it also consists of a list of words that have been collected in the language. Nat spoke at length about this book: “... somebody [at the FPI] told me that if you read this, it doesn't mean that it [the content] is official. But it is considered an official book. So, what is in here is what people take as the norm” – a norm that the FPI has not refuted or denied the general populace, since the book does contain a list of words that were standardized by the former KSP, in addition to new lexical items added by the FPI itself.

However, with the FPI not having ever officially declared the *Buki di oro* as the representation of standardized Papiamentu, since orthography alone is not standardization, it appears that the book has been made the norm by the people



themselves. For them, the *Buki di oro* is more than just the “Bible” of Curaçaoan Papiamentu orthography. It also helps people to keep to the standard dialect. Nat pointed out that there are many who still disagree with a number of the entries in it, and in times of strong disagreements the FPI is sometimes forced to intervene to make their own choices concerning certain entries in order to uphold what has already been established as Standard Papiamentu. In this case, the FPI is at least as strict as it is expected to be in its interventions and decision-making with respect to lexical controversy. But the FPI realizes that in a second edition it has to consider all the words that some people so strongly oppose. To stress this point, Nat said,

We had to make the choice of what you say because... in languages like Papiamentu, there was a period when some people were using different words until they were standardized and officialized. So, there is no more of “This one living in this part of Curaçao says this, and that one living in that part says that...”. So, if this book says, for instance, *altu* [tall], and people say *haltu* [tall], and [...] the FPI don’t put *haltu* here in this book, it means *haltu* is out; it’s correctly *altu* now. And as you can understand a lot of people don’t agree with everything that’s in it... [E]ven the linguists themselves don’t [always] agree, but you have to make the choice. And so it is. (Nat)

When I asked her in a follow-up question whether people ceased to use the non-standard *haltu* form once they have learned the correct form is *altu*, she shook her head to indicate that the people do not desist from using *haltu*.

Despite ongoing disagreements about what should or should not be standard in Papiamentu, all three interviewees agree that the FPI’s primary role is planning the four major languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish) used on the island. At the core of this planning is national education. With respect to Papiamentu, Kyu and Val emphasized this:

[o]fficially, it is not written anywhere that we should do anything about standardization [...] [T]he Minister [of Education and Culture of the Dutch Antilles] passed the [law] in 2007 about the official languages [...]. That’s Mrs. Omayra Leeflang, who also signed the *Buki di oro* [...]. She was a teacher. So, [...] she worked on a textbook [...] full of methods for secondary education, for domestic science schools, for lower professional education [and] primary

education in Papiamentu. [...] I think that's why she had a feeling for how to deal with Papiamentu [...]. So, she asked us [the FPI], and she put it in the law that passed [...], to be the one deciding about the spelling. [S]he fixed it for her reasons, and then she gave us the charge [...] to publish the *Buki di oro*, [...] and to revise it. So, then we combined the two things: orthography and standardization. And we don't say it as such in our introduction, but that's what we wanted to do [...]. (Kyu)

The work of standardization is not finished. It is something continuous. Here we produce and publish books in Papiamentu, and of course we choose the words that we wish to use in the books [...] these books are used in schools, and because of that, the words used in these books perform the role of standardization as a consequence... (Val)

Val's response implies at least two things: one is that the textbooks that are distributed and used in the schools indirectly perform the role of standardization simply because standardization itself is a part of education. The second is that standardization materializes by consensus rather than by the FPI decreeing directly what lexical items are standard in Papiamentu. Later on in the interview with Kyu, this point was reiterated. Val went on to say:

[w]e're not telling people [directly] "This is how it is! These are the words you should use!" The Foundation plans. [...] people say "But they appear in the method of *Mosaiko* [a set of secondary school textbooks]! ..." Of course people say, "If it comes from FPI, then ... it is accepted"... they draw that conclusion. (Val)

### *5.5.3 English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer*

As regards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer, I wanted to know how the language gatekeepers acquire the lexical items and how they decide what English expressions should or should not be admitted into the Papiamentu lexicon. Val responded that the English expressions come "[f]rom television programs [...] magazines about fashion, but mostly from television and American movies". This seems to suggest that print and electronic journalism and entertainment play a role. Kyu commented on a more formal way of acquiring the lexical items they work on: they (the FPI) use a database that also

serves as an official “Spelling Checker”, generically called the *kontrografia*.<sup>2</sup> Since it existed from the time of the defunct *Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu*, Kyu said that in designing a way to keep the orthography uniform, “we used the list of the Spelling Checker [...] which was composed by someone [who is] not a linguist [but] a computer person.” With an assistant and a special computer formula, he looked at already-established English dictionaries “because they wanted to have everything that was already fixed in dictionaries, [...] older ones and newer ones for the Spelling Checker”. Kyu also mentioned another database with only specialized terminologies, which was created by a colleague at the FPI. With the help of her database,

she finds solutions for, let’s say, [...] for legal text. She had a lot of legal text at the beginning. It was difficult, but she sought solutions, and when she got solutions, she wrote them down, and that was later on the *Banku di Palabra* [Word Bank]. We filled up the [data]base we had with other words, and that was the common base we used for the first draft of the *Buki di oro* which should be the official one... (Kyu)

With respect to the ways of dealing with foreign lexical items that are currently in frequent use in Papiamentu, and by that I mean specifically how the FPI goes about deciding which English lexical items to admit as a part of Standard Papiamentu and which to reject, Nat responded that “it’s not about admitting or rejecting. It is a matter of which lexical items we can write according to the Papiamentu orthography and which ones we can keep as they are in English”. She added that although the decision is often difficult, one of the criteria for such a decision is the length of time that a given lexical item has been in use in Papiamentu. If it has been used in the language for a relatively long time (some have been in the language for many decades), then “it has been creolized”. She explained what she meant by “creolized”: “for me creolizing is accepting and adapting a word in our way of word formation and writing”. However, she added, “but I accept the foreign word as borrowed if we really don’t have other words.” For example, Nat said that there are certain words such as “manager”, that “[s]ome people want to use [...] and write [...] in our way [*mènedjer*], but it seems so

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<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Lucille Berry-Haseth for explaining the use of this term created by the *Komishon Standarisashon di Papiamentu* (Papiamentu Standardization Committee – KSP).

strange! So, we say “manager”, keep it in English and put it in quotation marks!” She also stressed that

not everybody agrees with this [English] way of writing the word, and they dispute it. Therefore, in translating and writing in Papiamentu, respect for the reason for the choice made by people from the general population is just as important as the decision of the FPI, although there is not a strict rule about adopting or adapting foreign words into Papiamentu [...]. There are some words like [...] “never mind”. “Never mind” is not “never mind”! We say *lebumai*. It is completely changed, creolized! Nobody even thinks that this comes from English! So, on a word like *lebumai* everybody has agreed it’s Papiamentu. But I can tell you that for a word like “manager”, some people like to write it as *mènedjer*, [and] in the long run, we have got to make a decision. And officially, everybody looks to us here and asks, “What do you say [for such and such a word]?”. (Nat)

I should point out here that for the English lexical item “never mind”, I have come across several Papiamentu variants that are all in current use: *leumai*, *lebumai*, *lègumai* and so on, although only *lebumai* is listed in the 2009 edition of the *Buki di oro*, which is the one that was available in publication at the time of the interviews. However, Nat explained that

The reason why *never mind* became *lebumai* or *lègumai* I think has to do with the time it entered the language. There were no groups dealing with standardization of the language. So, people pronounced it as they could and their children took it over. If *manager* had been introduced in that time, probably it would have ended up as *mènedjer*, *mèndjer* then *mèndji*. My grandparents used the expression *No mèndji!* coming from the English expression “Don’t mention!”, but it’s not used anymore. (Nat)

Nat also explained that although standardizing the language is not what the FPI was originally officially commissioned to do, it fulfills this role because people are looking to it for solutions. There is no other government institution to execute this function. With respect to newspapers, she said that

... some papers in Papiamentu... use the official [orthography] rules, and some of them don't! Another thing I want to tell you: A lot of people teach Papiamentu [...]. When they are teaching [it], they see to it that they don't use foreign words. But when they speak among each other [...], they mix them [the languages]... a lot! So, they don't necessarily practice what they preach! (Nat)

This comment implies that the FPI, as a gatekeeping institution, at least expects teachers of Papiamentu and others who write professionally in the language (such as journalists and translators) to make every effort to avoid the transfer of lexical items into Papiamentu as much as possible, particularly where the lexical item is not already a part of the language, or to use Nat's word, "creolized".

Still on the manner in which the FPI deals with lexical transfer, she explains by way of an example from Dutch. Although the source language is not English, it serves to draw attention to a frequent practice of the FPI:

... like the term "leap year"... We had to translate it. *Schrikkeljaar*. The Dutch say *schrikkeljaar*. *Schrikkel* [has] something to do with "jumping", "to frighten". The Spanish language says *bisiesto*. But then we checked not English but French and Portuguese, and they use the word *bissextile* and *bissexta* because it comes from the Latin *bis sextum*.<sup>3</sup> So, some of us at the FPI decided on *bisèksto*, but in the end, that decision was overridden, and *bisiesto* was chosen. I don't agree with that because Spanish is the only one that deviates from the word *bis sextum* that it comes from. I don't think we have to follow Spanish but follow the rest... see where it comes from down the line. (Nat)

The example illustrates one way in which the FPI examines the root of a word in order to decide on the final form of the word. In the end, the Spanish form of the word was assumed without any morphological modification. This is unlike the case of *lebumai* from the English "never mind" mentioned earlier, which apparently entered the language in a natural process of syntactic imitation thereby becoming a lexical calque (see Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000). The example also illustrates the agency (hence

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<sup>3</sup> *Bis sextum* literally means "twice the sixth" and refers to the counting of the 24<sup>th</sup> February twice as the 6<sup>th</sup> day before the 1<sup>st</sup> March. In this way, the month of February in the Roman calendar would have 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, ..., 20, 21, 22, 23, **24, 24**, 25, 26, 27, 28 every 4 years.

the power) of the FPI to decide on the acceptance of new lexical items into Papiamentu, albeit after much controversial debate:

But still there are people here that like to follow the Spanish line. I don't agree with that. [...] And sometimes [for] some words, we talk with the elderly, people who know the real word in Papiamentu, that may not be used anymore because sometimes we want to relive that. And not everybody is happy with that. [...] They might say [the word] is too uncommon or too old fashioned. It's not easy. But this is how we sometimes get our feedback from the public on words that we debate over for days or weeks! (Nat)

In keeping with the “leap year” example, Nat explained that because Papiamentu is derived from Spanish and Portuguese, they would most likely search for a word in Spanish for one that does not exist in Papiamentu and adapt it to Papiamentu before attempting to adapt an English or Dutch word to Papiamentu. Portuguese was not stressed, probably because of the greater felt presence of Spanish more than Portuguese in Curaçao. Interestingly, Nat does not acknowledge any real advantage to admitting English lexical items into written Papiamentu.

However, during the interview, Nat pointed out the influence that English has on the island, not only on Papiamentu but also on Dutch and Spanish, especially concerning motor vehicle parts. *Dèshbort* comes from English into Papiamentu, as does whatever has to do with computers: “Even in Spanish I come across words that come from English, such as “minimum”... And these are some of the ways English comes into Papiamentu these days.”

Val said that what they have done is to choose between variants of a word because there are formal and informal variants. They choose the variants that are the most frequently used. Val gave the example of the lexical items *preokupa* and *wòri*, which are synonyms. The decision is to choose the word that is more frequently used and which offers more possibilities for lexical derivation according to the Papiamentu grammatical structure. “For example, if we choose *preokupa*, it's because we can derive *preokupashon* from it. So, we choose *preokupa*, and not *wòri* because we cannot make a derivation from *wòri*”. Val offered another example, the English lexical item “sport”, which I myself often see in Papiamentu newspapers, and the Spanish *deporte*. Val said “from *deporte* there are many possibilities for derivation: *deportista*, *deportivo*, but not from ‘sport’ [...] In this case, we choose *deporte* and not ‘sport’.” This means that the

choice in these cases is a matter of how productive a lexical item is within the grammatical framework of Papiamentu. Val added that the lexical item *wòri* does appear in their dictionaries because their dictionaries do not only contain standardized words: “They also include non-standardized words, uncommon words, archaic words.”

Kyu mentioned the importance of dealing with lexical transfer because in preparing the *Buki di oro* they had to decide whether they should choose the English word “manager” over *gerente* or “screen” over *pantaya*, because “if you leave out “screen”, that’s the way we want to say that we don’t use “screen” in Papiamentu. That’s our way to standardize...” In the end they opted for *pantaya*. Kyu also said that in Information Technology (IT) and also in computer technology, both the English word “keyboard” and the Spanish-derived *teklado* are used in Papiamentu. So are the English words “mouse” and the Spanish-derived *raton* when referring to these computer accessories.

However, he/she added that at “some moment, you have to make a choice. Sometimes, we couldn’t make the choice.” The members of the former Papiamentu Standardization Commission that made the decisions regarding the building of the Papiamentu lexis were not only linguists but also Papiamentu native speakers themselves. For this reason, he emphasized that they would follow their linguistic criteria, such as searching for variants of the words in question, the etymology, productivity, and so on. Then they would look within the Commission for solutions according to the expert opinions and even their feelings as native speakers, since they were also native speakers. He also said that saying now they should inquire among a score of other native speakers outside of the commission is not any more valid than inquiring from within because

we had very highly educated native speakers who also, being linguists, know and can give an ear to [...] other opinions and on other levels. So, you know what they say in the streets; you know what they say at home; you know what they say in Bandabou [the western part of Curaçao]; you know what they say in Bandariba [the eastern part of Curaçao], and now you have to choose maybe not what you said at home but what you think should be better for Papiamentu, using the criteria...; is it still used or is it an archaic word? All those things you have to consider. [...] This was also a deed of standardization. (Kyu)

When I asked the language planners whether they think that translation into Papiamentu encourages standardization of the language and vice versa, Nat responded that

[O]ut of translation comes a lot of discussion, some heated discussions, some eye-opening discussions, and in the end, all of the discussions help us to see where we are going, where we are not going, as well as where we don't want to go. I believe translation does that. We see it for ourselves at the FPI as some of us like myself also translate. So, when it comes to making decisions about what goes into our *Buki di oro*, we look at our writing experience, our translation experience and even our teaching experience... (Nat)

Val said, “Yes, I think so. I get calls many times from people asking me what words we translators use for this or that concept in Papiamentu. For instance, how will we translate “the coronation of Willem Alexander” (our Dutch King) in Papiamentu? I gave some options then.”

It was not likely that I would complete the interviews without learning about the need for terminology in Papiamentu. On this point, Nat said,

[S]ome words, you have to create... Most of the time you create them and make them into Papiamentu. For example, they have special words in Dutch for types of flies or ants. And then when you look, you only find the scientific word. But sometimes it's a name you cannot even pronounce...! We have to learn them, and we do manage to do so. (Nat)

Val's response on the matter is that “new words in the area of technology mostly enter Papiamentu from English. This is one factor why I have to accept them in Papiamentu. Sometimes they are adapted to the sound system, where possible.” Some additional examples of such Anglicisms are *freim* (“frame”), *kòmputer* (“computer”), *lèptòp* (“laptop”) and *CD-rom*. It is clear that English has become the lingua franca for Information Technology and that the need for new terminologies continues to rise.

#### *5.5.4 The gatekeepers' attitude towards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer*

With respect to the gatekeepers' overall attitude towards English lexical transfer in Papiamentu from English, Nat's response was one of disapproval:



[w]e have come a long way with our language, but we still have a long way to go. Therefore, we need to make sure that we continue to work as much as possible to build into it all that it needs to function everywhere on its own and not as if it is not an independent language. It is true that we cannot prevent foreign words from coming into the language, but I am convinced that there is no need to bring foreign words into it just for the sake of doing so. (Nat)

On the other hand, Val's and Kyu's overall attitude revealed room for more flexibility. Val said, "I use an English word in Papiamentu when I speak and only when I don't have a Papiamentu for the concept I need to express at that moment." He said "my approach to language is practical..." and that he accepts English lexical items in Papiamentu if necessary. Recalling that Val is both an experienced translator as well as an official language planner, one can see that his approach is not really different from that of many of the translators outside of the FPI, who do not function in an official gatekeeping capacity.

However, the main difference between the two types of translators is that a translator like Val has a direct say in, and can therefore influence, the decisions that the FPI makes with respect to English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. For the translator outside of the FPI this is not the case. But because the FPI operates with a certain level of flexibility in that it is open to the input of the people (including Papiamentu translators), translators, like anyone else who calls the FPI for solutions, may justify to the FPI their use of controversial lexical items in the same way that they call to inquire as to the correct ones to use in Standard Papiamentu.

Kyu explained that if people approach the FPI with a particular notion about an expression that they think we should not use

[...] we're very flexible. We listen to [the] arguments, and say "It's all right." We write it down, and for [the] next edition we take it into consideration. The commission will look at it and say, "All right, just write it as this. No problem."  
(Kyu)

Kyu said that they do not argue too much because Papiamentu is always the other person's language too. Therefore, they could be right. People can insist on a particular word or feature of a word, and "we should do it too because we are describing the language. But at this stage, we should prescribe sometimes." He thinks that the FPI

should do it for the sake of the teachers because if the government definitively means to have Papiamentu in school and use it as the educational medium, “there is no other way. But [we] are very careful in saying to Papiamentu speakers what they should say [...]. Knowing that we are also native speakers, this is already a common way of saying without dispute we’ll take that word into consideration...” Kyu added that they are willing to take into consideration certain lexical items proposed to the FPI as there are already dictionaries, old and new, that carry some of those variants. It must also be borne in mind that the dictionaries, including those with variants for certain lexical entries, are not necessarily produced by the FPI. This suggests that translators who assist in the efforts to produce such dictionaries function in the capacity of a type of unofficial gatekeeper, since such efforts also represent a form of gatekeeping and what is recorded in dictionaries do also become a form of standardization, albeit unofficial.

In revisiting briefly Nat’s lexical transfer example of “leap year” that went from Dutch to Spanish to Papiamentu in 5.5.3, I should point out here that in such an instance, all three interviewees mentioned that the last language from which they would take a lexical item is Dutch. The first is Spanish, then English, which because of its international status falls somewhere in the middle. Nat stressed that they wouldn’t follow Dutch because the language is “too far away” from Papiamentu. By “too far away” she was referring at least to the linguistic structure and function of the Dutch language. I say “at least” here because it must be borne in mind that English and Dutch are linguistically related, yet when choosing between these two languages, Papiamentu speakers generally opt to make lexical transfers from English, often citing reasons with deep roots in anti-colonialism, an issue that clearly overlaps with the issue of language prestige.

#### *5.5.5 Language prestige*

When I asked about the extent to which they see Papiamentu as prestigious on the island, in comparison with the other languages, Nat responded that the use of Papiamentu on the island has always depended on who is being addressed. As long as the audience is Papiamentu-speaking, it is Papiamentu that is the language of communication. She also pointed out that there has always been tremendous debate about the choice of language for schools, but people have had the choice of a Dutch-language school and a Papiamentu-language school, which gradually turned into a mixed-language (Papiamentu and Dutch) school: “[N]owadays, the young people are

using a lot of English when they speak. If you had asked me this one year ago, I would have said English is not so commonly used, and ... I would have said Spanish.” The Spanish language was coming into Papiamentu extremely fast and has taken root as one of the languages in use on the island:

[...] then comes a period of Papiamentu stabilizing, and then again we have an influx of a lot of Spanish people. But lately, in the last years, I have noticed that the young people use a lot of English words. I think it is influence from the Internet. There is a lot of influence from English. We don't have English-speaking people coming in, but we have the Internet and everything will be related to computers, and [...] sometimes I hear young people talking on TV. Even if they are not talking about computer things, they use a lot of English words. (Nat)

Nat spoke as though the impact of Spanish were inescapable. So much of the language is relatively easy to adapt to Papiamentu. Therefore there are those who like to use Spanish but not because they feel that Spanish is more prestigious than Papiamentu. She offers the example of the word *ainda* (“still”, “yet”). This is a word that comes from Portuguese and which they have always heard from their mothers and grandmothers. But now many people say *aún*, which is Spanish for “still”, “yet”: “We did not grow up with *aún*. But now it's the big thing because we have a lot of people from Santo Domingo, from Colombia. And maybe they are using it in the [Papiamentu] language, and then because the Papiamentu speakers understand this, they just do it too.”

Also, Nat brought my attention to another language situation, which involves the clergy:

We have a lot of priests from Spanish-speaking countries. I don't know if more people [will] agree with me, but another focus is the priests who come here. When they preach, they use Papiamentu. But then when they cannot come up with real Papiamentu words, they use their language, and people take it. Like *entronar* [enthroned]. Last week somebody called and asked if *entronar* is a correct Papiamentu word. But it means they hear it from the priest! (Nat)

Nevertheless, Nat admitted to not “feeling any social pressure to use English at all in my Papiamentu. I strongly discourage it but not because I believe that it is wrong

to mix languages or to use foreign words in Papiamentu. I do it to promote correct Papiamentu and [for] the stability of the language.” She claimed that if people use something else, “our language will never get the chance to grow.”

She also mentioned that in the early days for anything that had to do with standardization of Papiamentu, government support was sometimes lacking. There were just not enough efforts made to standardize Papiamentu. Therefore, everything must be done to promote the language now while they have the chance. She also stresses that this also concerns national respect not only for the FPI but also for the *Buki di oro* that it has produced and published.

Further on in the interview with her I discovered that amid the efforts to standardize the language and to produce texts in it, there seems to be a different effect of translation upon Papiamentu with respect to English religious texts translated into Papiamentu. But while she could not verify whether translators working outside of the FPI are partly responsible for English expressions coming into Papiamentu, she pointed to the influence of the clergy on their congregations. Where translation of religious songs is concerned, she did not notice any lexical transfer but a phenomenon that she referred to as the “English way of translating”. I gathered that what she meant by that was that the Papiamentu target text had an English “feel” to it, a result that is easily achievable by direct translation, of which literal translation is one form (see Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000):

What I can say is... religious groups [...] take English songs, and they translate them into Papiamentu. They don't use the English words; that's okay. But they use the English *way* of saying things. You see, when you sing a song in Papiamentu, it's not a real Papiamentu ... it's not the real way we translate; it's translated literally producing an unreal Papiamentu, not the way we say things. Sometimes even if the words are Papiamentu words, it's like you are reading English. When they are praying they say for instance: *Yama riba Spiritu*. It's a translation for “Call upon the Holy Spirit”. Indeed “call” is *yama* and “upon” is *riba*, but *yama riba* means nothing! A correct translation would be *Invoká Spiritu Santu*. You don't even need two words! (Nat)

Nat's observation is valid and worthy of investigation. In fact, the issue could be looked at from the angle of activist translation, as discussed by Tymoczko ed. (2010), who notes that translators are viewed as key agents for social change and translations

are recorded as vital cultural expressions and not as imitative, peripheral or side-lined productions. Also, as translation is seen as a political, ethical, and ideological exercise, not merely as a perfunctory linguistic transposition of text, it is always in order to question the motives of the translators. In fact, in such cases it is important to explore the context of the translations, that is, to find out who did the translations, how, when, why and where they did them, whether the type of translation that Nat has described could be intentional and also what the gains, if any, could be. Nat also said that there are some translators who translate in this way from English into Papiamentu. However, with respect to writers, she said that that should not be the case since they would write originally in Papiamentu. Further,

most of the writers that write in Papiamentu [...] don't translate. They write, and what translation there is, from what I know, is most of the time from this office [FPI]. But I saw a couple of years ago there was a group that has translated a lot of books for school. They have done it on their own. Yeah! They never asked for anything from us. They did it because they noticed that there was not enough materials for school. But then, the Papiamentu! Who checked them [the translations]? I have gone through one or two, not really read them, but... I don't like it. But... I cannot remember the English influence. It's only the translation is probably not accurate. A lot of people think translating is easy. So, they read all that lay there for so many years, and they find out literally that's not the way we say it. (Nat)

As for Val and Kyu, they mentioned that Papiamentu is now a subject in the secondary school, and it is an academic major at the University of Curaçao. It is possible to pursue a Bachelors degree and a Masters degree in Papiamentu education and in Papiamentu language studies. Neither Val nor Kyu mentioned that they experience any pressure whatsoever to accept English words into Papiamentu. However, the pressure seems to come more from the decisions that they have to make with respect to lexical items that are generated from Papiamentu's own historical resources and which may be in dispute, especially because of existing variants of the items. Both remarked that some areas such as medicine and law, which in large measure are still dealt with mostly in Dutch, now favor English more than Dutch mainly for social and historical reasons. Although the general consensus of Papiamentu speakers is to promote Papiamentu with pride, the FPI is a planning agency for the four major

languages on the island, and it still has the responsibility to promote all four languages for the right purposes and in the appropriate contexts.

While it is said that most of the information concerning law and medicine is in Dutch, it must be understood that this is not because Dutch is regarded by the general population as being more prestigious than Papiamentu. It is more because the body of information in such disciplines is not yet completely available in Papiamentu. It takes time. Irrespective of what exists in Dutch on the island, Papiamentu is the official first language on the island. All three official languages are equally prestigious in theory. However, people have their opinions, choices and preferences for one language over another, and they are entitled to that.

#### *5.5.6 Text sensitivity*

Nat pointed out that where the text happens to be one that is highly technical, terms must sometimes be built. However, this is a matter also of consulting with specialists in the field involved: “As I mentioned before, the automobile sector uses a lot of English for the parts of motor vehicles. Computer specialists do the same. We have to build some of these terminologies.” A great deal of medical language appears in English or Dutch, particularly if the text is highly scientific, and as such, these texts are sensitive. The preferred language of publication is generally English:

And sometimes some foreign words end up staying in the language not because we don't have a way to express them in Papiamentu, but perhaps because they might have been used by the researcher for a specific effect. We respect that and we make our [lexical-transfer] decisions with this in mind. (Nat)

With respect to texts such as warning signs visible in workplaces, Nat pointed out that practicality is key and that it has always depended on who needs the signs: “I think that would be an issue for the management of the establishment. I would not be surprised if several languages are used for such situations, and probably it should be that way. I'm not against using other languages. We Curaçaoans are a multilingual people.”

Making particular reference to how medical texts are handled in Papiamentu for the general public, Val also confirmed that “in the medical field, nearly everything is written in Dutch”. Still, there are a great deal of medical texts available in Papiamentu, many of which contain terminologies that are taken directly from Spanish. Are they

concerned about this extensive lexical transfer? Val remarked that he is not worried, as there are occasions when a client needs to have their medical records translated from Dutch to, say, Spanish for a trip to Colombia or Venezuela for medical treatment, which suggests that such lexical transfers are to be expected. These destinations are also quite common for medical purposes. As regards English, he stated that she has no special concern about the frequency of English medical terminologies used in Papiamentu. This does not imply that he agrees with the use of all of them. After all, it is the FPI, which he is a part of, that will ultimately decide what can be written according to Papiamentu orthography and also what it (the FPI) will allow without morphological modifications in Standard Papiamentu.

#### *5.5.7 Employment stability*

All three interviewers agreed that the interview questions about employment stability play absolutely no role in the decision-making process of the FPI with relation to lexical transfer in Papiamentu. None of the decisions made by the FPI is ever based on any kind of financial reward, nor do their job positions depend on the outcome of the decision-making process. The questions are therefore irrelevant and even unthinkable, they say.

### **5.6 Summary**

The responses have been informative with respect to the ways in which the language gatekeepers of the FPI function and deal with English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

As regards the role of the FPI as the language planning institution of the government, and with specific relation to Papiamentu, the interviews reveal that there is national recognition and respect for the institution itself and also for what comes out of it. I found that the notion of standardization was particularly tied to all levels of national education. Despite disagreements, whether from within or outside of the FPI, the interview responses suggest that the institution has managed to cope pragmatically with the challenges that come with raising and maintaining the standards of Papiamentu.

One thing that was clear among all three interviewees is that the first and foremost objective of the FPI is to plan the four major languages on the island. Part of that planning is the ongoing standardization of Papiamentu while it is in constant contact with the other three languages in one and the same geographical space. In this

case, lexical transfer is unavoidable. But the approach that the FPI has adopted is comparable to an acrobat walking a tight rope: it has decided to make itself approachable by the general public, and has carefully chosen to oscillate between being flexible in dealing with suggestions from the public concerning the appropriateness of lexical items while managing to be strict and straightforwardly decisive in moments of intense dispute.

Further, within the context of the present research, such a tight rope becomes highly significant when the interviews reveal that some of the language planners who are behind the decision-making process are translators themselves. Thus, with respect to English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer, it becomes clear that the decisions are not made only by linguists and educators, as I myself had thought at one time, but also by professional translators. This finding is interesting because, on the one hand, such translators understand what it means to engage in a translational transaction both on the outside in the general public, where many translators are “frontliners” who can only go as far as up to the “gate(keepers)”. This constitutes the “push” aspect of the lexical-transfer process.

On the other hand, those who are a part of the FPI’s decision-making are privileged to go beyond the “gate”. This is the “pull” aspect of the lexical transfer process. I referred to both parts together as the “push-pull” process in 3.8.3, where I raised the question of the connection between translation and lexical transfer. Now that I have ascertained that translators are among the language planners, as is the case of my interview participants Nat and Val, who are veteran translators and still active up to the time they were interviewed, I believe I can safely assume that at least some of these translators do act as agents of lexical transfer. This higher-level involvement of the translators in the FPI underscores the importance of the translators in the lexical transfer process.

With respect to language prestige, none of the concerns expressed appeared threatening to the existence of Papiamentu or to translation from or into it. The responses of the language gatekeepers suggest that the multilingual character of the nation is accepted and regarded with pride in light of the fact that they are one of the smallest nations in the Caribbean, with one of the largest creole language success stories. The matter of when any of the languages on the island is considered prestigious seems generally to be a question of who is addressing whom, at the core of which is the purpose of the language chosen in a given situation. With particular respect to lexical



transfer, the reason to opt for items from Spanish rather than from English is very often a matter of linguistic practicality, even though English may be generally desired because of its international nature. Nonetheless, the attempts to distance Dutch from Papiamentu have not always been due to linguistic incongruence between the languages but very often also due to anti-colonial sentiments.

The issue of text sensitivity was tied to the need for terminology building. The interviewees appeared to be very understanding in this regard, acknowledging the fact that even though the FPI must fulfill its primary purpose of planning all the languages on the island even as it promotes Papiamentu as the official first language, it must demonstrate it understands the multilingual character of the nation, and the importance of making its decisions by consensus. I found that employment stability was reported as playing no role in the planners' decision-making.

The following chapter will discuss these findings in relation to the existing literature on translators' agency and lexical transfer. I will look at the areas of divergence from the theoretical arguments and how they affect the exercise of lexical transfer through translation. The discussion will also explore the results of the quantitative data analysis in the context of the proposed conceptual framework presented in Chapter 3, with the objective of evaluating the fit of the model to the translators' agency.

## 6. Discussion

### 6.1 Introduction

The above investigation uses a theoretical framework that suggests translators act as agents of lexical transfer. The lexical-transfer process itself consists of five steps: transfer, application, inquiry of use, acceptance and documentation. The first three steps make up an informal “push” aspect. The last two steps make up part of a formal “pull” aspect. All five steps apply to translators and non-translators alike as agents of lexical transfer.

The theoretical framework also suggests that the translators’ lexical-transfer practice is influenced by factors including language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience and formal training. The findings examined in the two previous chapters have underscored those factors but have also provided some interesting details about translators’ agency within the general population and at the language-planning level. The findings have also highlighted divergence from some concepts of the translator’s agency, especially with respect to the issue of subservience.

In this chapter I will discuss those findings and how they confirm, diverge or add to the existing literature. Section 6.2 discusses the merging and interpreting of the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study. This includes the factors that have been found to influence lexical transfer. Also discussed is the typology of the translators and non-translators. The chapter ends with a summary of the discussion.

### 6.2 Merging and interpreting the quantitative and qualitative findings

The mixed-methods methodology approach, with its multilevel-model triangulation design, has proven to be suitable for the research. Using questionnaires, interviews and public-health medical texts, I have been able to collect and investigate quantitative and qualitative data for the study based on the research questions and hypotheses elaborated in Chapter 3. The following sections present the discussions of the research findings of the merged quantitative and qualitative data.

### 6.2.1 *Factors of lexical transfer*

In this study, ten factors were proposed as influencing the lexical-transfer practice of translators and non-translators. The first five were initially suggested at the beginning of the study. They are language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience, and formal training. The remaining five were suggested upon further analysis. They are target-audience locations, sex, text types, age and education. Not all ten were found to be statistically significant in their correlations with reported lexical transfer, at least in the sample of this study. Nonetheless, the results from both quantitative and qualitative analyses taken together are instructive for my research questions.

In order to appreciate the agency of the Papiamentu translators and non-translators but especially of the former, it is important to keep four things in mind in this discussion: 1) Kinnunen and Koskinen's (2010) concise definition of agency as the "willingness and ability to act"; 2) Simeoni's (1995: 452) view of an agent as "the 'subject', but socialized [...] a 'voice,' or a pen (more likely a computer today), inextricably linked to networks of other social agents"; 3) Simeoni's (1998) notion of the translator as subservient, whereupon he carefully formulates the hypothesis that "translatorial competence may be characterized by conformity to a greater extent than is the competence of other agents active in the cultural field" (1998: 7) – that is, among all the competent parties involved in a translation transaction, the translator may be more inclined than any of the other parties to keep to the accepted and expected way of carrying out the translation task –; and 4) Toury's (2000: 267-279) "law of growing standardization" and "law of interference". I will examine these ideas in the context of my quantitative and qualitative findings.

#### 6.2.1.1 *Language prestige*

The general finding for language prestige is that translators, more specifically exclusive translators, reported more lexical transfers than did the other respondents when they found no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu and also when they thought that Papiamentu speakers used the English expression at least as frequently as they used the Papiamentu one. The non-translators reported more lexical transfers than did the translators when they thought that English was seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text, that the English expression sounded better than the Papiamentu one, that the English expression did not make the meaning of

their Papiamentu text in any way unclear or made it clearer, and also when they thought that the English expression helped to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized. Some of the comments by the translators and non-translators are worth noting in this regard.

Respondent 12, a male exclusive translator trained in landscape architecture, said that “prestige is not always so clear from field to field. It all depends on the purpose of the text, who the audience is and who is talking.” This comment seems to suggest that the choice of language in a given situation or text should not be taken to be necessarily synonymous with prestige, as there are valid reasons for the choice and may have nothing to do with prestige. This comment actually aligns with an interview response by one of the language gatekeepers, who is also a veteran translator, that the use of Papiamentu on the island has always depended on who is being addressed. As long as the audience is Papiamentu-speaking, Papiamentu is the language of communication.

Respondent 150, a female non-translator who works in text production, said “[i]t is not so much about being ‘prestigious’ [as] it is about the words being internationally established and accepted to contribute to a good understanding.” She acknowledged that transferred lexical items could enhance textual meaning and that attention should be paid to this potential rather than merely to which language is more prestigious.

One comment by Respondent 35, a female exclusive translator formally trained in translation, was that “a lot of expressions are in English. If I use them, it would only be because the client prefers that I do so.” She also said that in all other circumstances, “I translate the expressions by consulting the origin of the word. This means even if I have to go to the Spanish or Latin or [...] Portuguese, I will not stop till I find out the root of the word to give a proper translation. In many cases, taking the Spanish expression and making it Papiamentu does the job.”

The idea of going “through” Spanish is common among Papiamentu translators, and their explanation is always that Papiamentu is closer to Spanish than it is to Dutch or English. While linguistically correct, this also highlights the question of how English expressions continue to penetrate and remain in Papiamentu. Again, Respondent 35’s response aligns with what one language planner said they do in their translation practice. In 5.5.3 the language planner explained with an example of going from the Dutch expression *schrikkeljaar* (“leap year”) to French *bissextile* to Portuguese *bissexto* to Latin *bis sextum* to Spanish *bisiesto* before ultimately deciding on the last-mentioned, even though it is not an English lexical transfer. What is crucial to note here is that this

is a practice of Papiamentu translators even if they are also language planners, and it attests to their agency in lexical transfer.

According to the model of the relation between translation and lexical transfer that I proposed in Chapter 3, Respondent 35's comment places her in the "transfer" and "application" steps of the lexical-transfer process. The language planner's response places them at least on the "acceptance" and "documentation" (official gatekeeping) steps.

Respondent 62, a female writer/translator formally trained in translation, said, "[j]ust because I cannot find a corresponding expression in Papiamentu, it does not mean that the expression does not exist." She further said "[i]f I cannot find an appropriate expression, I consult with my colleagues or contact the university language department or even call the language planning institute here on the island." The language planners themselves have mentioned that they get calls of this kind from time to time and have indicated that it is sometimes out of these calls that suggestions emerge for the compilation of words that find their way into the *Buki di oro*, for example. This comment points to the resourceful nature and the level of determination to steer clear of lexical transfer. Also, the translators' method of finding solutions by networking with colleagues and even with the formal authorities aligns with Simeoni's (1995: 452) view of an agent as "the 'subject', but socialized [...] inextricably linked to networks of other social agents"

Respondent 197, a female non-translator who is trained in secondary education, commented on why she uses English in her Papiamentu text: "I use English in my Papiamentu, but not because I cannot find a Papiamentu expression." She claimed that because she is often around many English-speaking family members from St. Maarten, "the English expressions just come out automatically. I more easily go between English and Papiamentu than between Papiamentu and Dutch." This comment is very important for further analysis because it implies a possible correlation between the location of the target audience and the lexical transfer of the translators and non-translators, which I have been able to confirm.

Respondent 200 is a female non-translator and trained teacher of Spanish and English who also writes about Curaçao on the Internet. She commented that "[i]f speakers use an English expression at least as frequently as the Papiamentu one, then I am going to use the Papiamentu one." Her comment suggests that she resorts to lexical transfer only when she deems it necessary.

Respondent 161, a male non-translator and trained journalist, said, “I ditch any English expression that is used at least as frequently as its Papiamentu counterpart, in an effort to promote my language.” This non-translator makes all efforts not to use any English expressions in his Papiamentu non-translations. In light of what I now know about the language planners from their interview responses, I find this approach to be somewhat drastic. I would expect the planners to exercise flexibility and discretion in such a decision-making process because in their interviews they made it clear that they are aware that English is the lingua franca of IT and they provided as examples of their tolerance such expressions as “keyboard” and *teklado*, “mouse” and *raton* being used side by side.

Respondent 107, a female non-translator whose main profession is pharmaceutical sales but who is also trained in medical journalism, said, “[i]f the English expression makes the text clearer, and it sounds better than the Papiamentu expression, then I will use it, but I might still write the Papiamentu expression alongside the English. I don’t borrow arbitrarily.”

Clarifying the situation even further is Respondent 150: “Not that it [the transferred English expression] makes the meaning of my Papiamentu text clearer, but it makes the meaning of that particular word [that is, the English expression] clearer.” This comment shows another reason why a respondent may use an English expression in their text. I would not have expected such a use of lexical transfer. The effect of it seems to be two-way, since in some cases the expression is expected to make the text clearer. In this case, however, the respondent claims that the effect is to make the English expression itself clearer to the target audience. Thus it is evident that this non-translator uses her text pedagogically to teach some English. It is also an indication that she knows exactly what she wishes to achieve with the text and sets out to achieve it.

Respondent 93, a female writing translator formally trained in translation, said “I think the English expression makes the text clearer [...] when Papiamentu speakers are more accustomed to seeing [...] the English expression than the Papiamentu expression.” She mentioned the automobile industry as an example of high-frequency use of English terms. She said that if these expressions should be translated into Papiamentu, “it might take time to be sure what part of the car we are talking about! It is more normal to find the parts of a vehicle in English, although the words may be written in the Papiamentu way sometimes.” The language planners referred to this when they explained that the words they keep in Papiamentu sometimes have to do with which

ones they can write according to their Papiamentu orthography. Thus, when translators continue to use English expressions they know readers are accustomed to seeing and using, the expressions sometimes reach a point where they become rooted in the language. Thereafter it may no longer be reasonable to overlook them to create Papiamentu expressions just for the sake of replacing them.

Respondent 91, a male writing translator with training in business management, said he very often has to use an English expression if it is the expression that most people use in the field that he is translating into. He often ends up treating the text in the way in which he thinks the readers or clients expect him to do so: “What would be the sense in using expressions they are not accustomed to seeing or using if they are not the ones used in their field?”, he asked.

Respondent 100, a female translating writer and trained teacher, said that some fields are just made up of numerous English expressions. She claims that it is inevitable to use them if that is what people have been using for years: “Sometimes people have been using them for so long that they don’t even realize that the terms came from English. At that point, the terms don’t seem like English anymore. So, I don’t feel like I am borrowing.” I recall thanking Nat, one of the language planners at the end of the interview, and she responded in Papiamentu with *No mènndji!*, which she immediately commented on that it was only in recent years that she found out that this Papiamentu expression is originally from the English “Don’t mention it!” (see also 5.6). This is clearly a syntactic imitation of English or, in Vinay and Darbelnet’s (1958/2000: 85) terms, it is “a lexical calque [that] respects the syntactic structure of the TL [target language], whilst introducing a new mode of expression.”

Respondent 51, a female exclusive translator, said “I believe that some English expressions help to build the vocabulary of Papiamentu, but I think this applies to those expressions that have been in the language for a long time and have become a standard part of the language.” She attributed to the Internet the frequency of use of English expressions in Papiamentu: “[u]nfortunately, I think it is also true for expressions coming into the language through the Internet. They are used often even if they are not officially accepted into the language.”

Respondent 26, a male exclusive translator formally trained in translation, said that he only uses an English expression if the [readers] are familiar with it, use and prefer it for their marketing or other business purposes. But he also mentioned that that was “up to the client, not to me.” Also, he said that if the expression came from a field

that was replete with English terms, and the target audience would not recognize the Papiamentu terms if they were to be used, then he might use the English terms, “but I would use [them] only if the client prefers that. Otherwise, I would prefer to translate the terms into Papiamentu and let Papiamentu speakers get exposed to them and learn them.” This translator sees choices, and whatever the decision he makes, he tries to ensure that he respects the client’s wishes.

The foregoing comments serve as indications that serious consideration of the target audience and/or the client is of the essence in the translators’ and non-translators’ decision to use English expressions in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations. Toury (1995: 267-274), in his discussion of his proposed “law of growing standardization” (also referred to as the law of conversion), says “in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertories”. However, some of the comments by the translators and non-translators above suggest that this does not necessarily hold. In the general case of the translators, the finding was that when the English expression was used at least as often as the Papiamentu one, the translators opted for the English one. Clearly, they did not act like this because they thought that English was more prestigious than Papiamentu. The non-translators did. This means that the translators’ reason for using English in their Papiamentu translations had to be other than that proposed by Toury’s law of growing standardization. Also, Toury’s (1995: 274) “law of interference” suggests that the source text interferes in the target text by default. This happens when the source-language culture is more powerful than that of the target language. Again, my quantitative and qualitative findings with respect to language prestige have shown that this is not necessarily the case. Some of the translators clearly state that they steer clear of lexical transfer when they translate from English into Papiamentu. Some have even indicated that their decision to use English in their translations has to do with the request of their clients to whom they render their services rather than with one language being more prestigious than the other. This point about respecting the client’s wishes in the translational transaction leads to Simeoni’s (1995, 1998) argument about the translator being subservient.

Buzelin’s (2014: 86) observation about Simeoni’s hypothesis and findings with respect to the translator’s subservience dating back to Jerome’s method of translation is instructive in this regard. She sounds a note of caution that, as provocative as Simeoni’s hypothesis and findings may be, they do not suggest that every translator follows



translation norms to the same extent, nor that they do not have the ability to be “creative and cunning in designing translation strategies”. They do not suggest that translators in general are not proud of their profession and are reluctant to promote it nor do they counter the possibility of dissimilarities in translation practices between cultures, nations, historical eras or professional fields. Rather, they affirm that “translators, at least in the West, have internalized the idea that their practice defines itself by its secondariness and in opposition to authorial writing” (see also Pym 2011). Understanding this, I can now say something in response to Simeoni’s (1998: 7) hypothesis and also to the questions he raises about the power of norms over translators:

What are the forces that make norms such powerful instruments of control as to have all agents, including those in a good position to change them, conform to their *diktat*? And if the (systemic) subsectors always prevail, what does this say of those who, faced with a plurality of possible decisions in the real time of practice, nearly always opt to go along with existing norms? Are translators just plain submissive? (1998: 7)

Once the Papiamentu translators have come to terms with certain realities of their existence, especially the multilingual character of their country, with the blatant need for specialized-terminology building in the language, with the fact that they are not in a position to wait for the needed specialized terminology to become available, with the place of English in international marketing, and with the fact that their translations serve purposes that go beyond the text “exerting an influence in the lifeworld” (Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010: 6), it becomes evident that they can justify English expressions in their translations. In other words, they are not averse to breaking “existing norms”; they certainly do not present themselves as being “plain submissive”.

Finally, the responses by the translators and non-translators have shown that they mostly operate in the “transfer” and “application” steps, but also in some cases in the “inquiry of use” step of the “push” aspect of the theoretical model I have proposed. The language planners essentially function in the “acceptance” and “documentation” steps of the “pull” aspect of the model. Further, the fact that some of the language planners are also translators attests to the connection between translation and the lexical-transfer process of Papiamentu. These are instances of agency acted out willingly by the Papiamentu translators and non-translators because they are able to do so, and because they understand the importance of their lexical-transfer practice.

### *6.2.1.2 Text sensitivity*

According to my findings, the translators reported more lexical transfers than did the non-translators when the text type was safety-related and when it happened to be highly academic. However, when the text types had to meet regulatory requirements, the non-translators reported more lexical transfers than did the translators. Further, the results have shown that the non-translators were far more likely to report lexical transfers when they owned the rights to the texts. Some comments in support of my findings are worth noting.

Respondent 134, a male non-translator trained in journalism and business administration, said that he sometimes uses an English expression in his Papiamentu text because the text is safety-related if that expression is the one that the reader is accustomed to reading and using. But he also stated, “I don't do this all the time as there are cases in which it is the Papiamentu expression that the reader is more accustomed to seeing and using.”

A comment from one female translating writer, Respondent 79, who is trained in translation and journalism, was that whenever the text was safety-related, she tended to use English expressions because those expressions might be used more than the Papiamentu expressions. Thus, the idea of using the foreign expression was also “to make sure that the reader understood the text quickly (if in a danger zone) by reading the words he or she is more likely to recognize because they know, hear and use it more than they might use the Papiamentu one.” This comment aligns with the response from one language planner who said “my approach to language is practical...” and to the response of another planner who said “[...] we're flexible. We listen to [the] arguments [...] write [them] down, and [...] take [them] into consideration”. Further, the comment by Respondent 79 clearly shows that she is not against using English expressions in her translations where she thinks it is practical to do so. This indicates that the mere existence of Papiamentu expressions does not guarantee (nor should it) a mechanical use of them in the Papiamentu (non)translations (see for example Okyayuz Yener 2010).

Respondent 107, a female non-translator trained in pharmaceutical sales, said that whenever she had to post some important notice in Papiamentu in the newspaper, she found that if it was related to some workplace that had a hazardous environment, she sometimes had to write it up using an English word or phrase because it was one that was used, understood and more quickly recognized by the workers. She also said “we

must bear in mind that some of these workers are not native Papiamentu speakers but [people] who have learnt the language when they came here [to Curaçao] to live and work. They come into an environment where they may only have heard the English expression for a certain thing and therefore become used to that.” The respondent also commented that it is often in an attempt “to accommodate and promote diversity that the language is treated in this way.” It is also clear that this non-translator is not against English lexical transfer.

One comment by Respondent 69, a female translating writer who was trained in secondary education, is worth mentioning. She said that she was inclined to use English expressions when translating a text that was safety-related if and only if the audience was more likely to know the English term better than the Papiamentu term. However, she added that she “would still include the Papiamentu term. So, I would not say that I borrowed any English terms into my Papiamentu text because it was not safety-related; I borrowed because it *was* safety-related, and the English expression was the better-known expression” (respondent’s emphasis).

One of my findings was that when the text did *not* have to satisfy any regulatory conditions, a non-translator producing it was more likely than a translator to use English expressions in it. It is interesting that the non-translator produces a text for which there is no source text and must therefore, on the one hand, “think up” an English expression and further decide whether or not to use it. The translator, on the other hand, sees an English expression that is already created or is set in the source text and must decide whether or not to transfer it to the target text.

It is understandable that any text that must meet regulatory requirements should receive special attention, no matter whether it is to be produced by a non-translator or translator. Hence in the case of the translators, translators-and-writers and non-translators, I expected a low level of lexical transfer. Further, as preoccupation with safety of any kind is particularly a worldwide concern, I expected to see a significant correlation between lexical-transfer and safety-related variables. However, it is important to keep in mind that none of these tests suggests that the (non)translators engaged irrationally in lexical transfer, despite safety requirements concerning their texts, but that the differences in their responses were just not statistically significant. On the other hand, it may well be the case that a text that is safety-related might “require” expressions from another language (hence lexical transfer) depending on the language situation of the target audience.

Respondent 104, a female non-translator trained in domestic science and writing, and who also writes for the hospitality industry, commented that “[w]hether or not the text is safety-related, [...] I may need to use an English expression if that is what the reader understands first or immediately. In situations of possible hazard, we cannot put purity of language before practicality.” I myself have also learned about this from some people, such as factory workers from South America or some other English-speaking parts of the Caribbean, who despite having some knowledge of Papiamentu nonetheless communicate to some extent with their supervisors on the job in their own language or code-mix the languages because it is easier for them, and they know that their supervisors will understand what they are saying. My quantitative findings clearly attest to this practice as they indicate that there is a place for lexical transfer within the use of Papiamentu. Even the language planners admit “we’re very flexible” (Kyu), and in some cases foreign lexical items end up as a permanent part of Papiamentu not because Papiamentu lacks a way to express them “but because perhaps they might have been used by the researcher for a specific effect. We respect that and we make our [lexical-transfer] decisions with this in mind” (Nat).

Now, it is unimaginable that any translation or non-translation that is related to safety could be given over to irrational lexical transfer. Safety is just as much a concern of any translator as it is of any non-translator, which is as it should be; ethically speaking, one cannot economize on safety. With respect to lexical transfer in a text that must meet regulatory requirements, the non-translators were more inclined to engage in lexical transfer much more so than were the translators. Still, one female writing translator, Respondent 90, who is trained in communication science and currently works in writing and translation, said, “[i]t depends on the seriousness of the text. I try not to do this [that is, lexical transfer] for academic or educational texts”.

Respondent 101, a female non-translator and university lecturer of anthropology and also trained in writing, pointed out that “the academic level of the text” determines the extent to which she will use English expressions in it because such expressions help to “build up the text”. She also gave the example of the use of the word “gender” (*género* in Papiamentu) in anthropology and explained that the English term had become acceptable terminology in that discipline and at the academic level is not translated in Papiamentu.

Also, Respondent 51, a female exclusive translator trained in primary education, said, “[a]s for academic texts, my use of English expressions would only be because

they are common [...] in the literature of that discipline and understood across languages.” This last comment was shared by a number of other respondents.

Respondent 131, a female non-translator, trained economist and writer, commented that “[w]hen the text belongs to me, I feel freer to use any expression I like but only to the extent that I feel that it is absolutely necessary for making a point.” There are also translators who admit to the same practice although to a far lesser extent than the non-translators.

Respondent 35, a formally-trained female exclusive translator and teacher, said, “[i]f the text belongs to me, I can do whatever I want.” However, she also said that she would sometimes try to “explain the idea in Papiamentu”.

The case of text sensitivity, like that of language prestige, also points to the agency of Papiamentu translators in lexical transfer. I would have expected that the sensitivity of a text would lead a translator to refrain from using any foreign lexical items let alone English in their translations. In this way, they would be on the safe side where their decision not to make any lexical transfers would make all parties in the translational transaction happy, in line with Toury’s (1995: 274) “law of growing standardization”. Not so at all! I found a few of the comments rather bold, as the respondents took opposite positions and were still able to justify their actions. For example, I found the comments of Respondents 107 and 69 were particularly interesting because they emphasized that the safety nature of the text was the reason they engaged in lexical transfer. I would say that by their firm comments, the translators have demonstrated their agency in lexical transfer.

### *6.2.1.3 Employment stability*

I was able to confirm that the translators reported more lexical transfers than did the non-translators when both groups had employment stability, except for the case in which payment for the (non)translation task was guaranteed. I have not been able to confirm statistically that the translators were more inclined than the non-translators to report more lexical transfers when the task was not for pay, payment for the task was guaranteed, the assignment of future tasks was guaranteed, or the end-user’s demand for the information was not affected by the use of English expressions in it. A few comments by some of the respondents on this issue are worth noting.

A female exclusive translator, Respondent 15, who had formal training as a translator and interpreter, said, “I have my own translating business, and honestly

speaking, I always get some sense of greater translation freedom when payment is guaranteed.” She hastened to add, however, that this does not mean that she just uses as many English words as she feels like using, but that she does not feel any pressure to use a word that she thinks is appropriate: “If I am still to be paid for the job after translating it and know that I might face criticism, I think I am more likely not to use any English expressions in my translation”. She explained that she finds that in some cases when she forces herself to use Papiamentu expressions where she would normally use an English expression, the text would then contain Papiamentu words that many “Papiamentu speakers do not use or have never heard of though they exist! And one time I had a situation in which a client asked me to replace a few Papiamentu expressions with English!”

Yet another comment that is worth noting here is from Respondent 51, a female exclusive translator trained as a primary-school teacher, who said, “I do my translations from my heart and not because of the payment I get for it. ... [T]here have been times when I have done translations without charging for them. If I were to borrow English expressions into my translation because I am not paid for my translations, those translations would be identical to the original texts!”

In general, these comments by the translators help provide a better understanding of the context and challenges that these Papiamentu translators confront. They also align with the responses of the language planners I interviewed. All three agreed that employment stability plays no role whatsoever in the decision-making process of FPI with relation to lexical transfer in Papiamentu.

However, I cannot lose sight of how translators are generally perceived. In reflecting on the thought that in this world money is associated with power, I recall Chan’s paper “Why are Most Translators Underpaid?” (2005). I also recall that Snell-Hornby (2006: 172) refers to translators as powerless. Thus, without knowing anything about translators and their work situation in general on the island of Curaçao, and with what I gather in general about translators from these citations, I would have expected to find translators, perhaps even more than non-translators, who would have agreed that money is in fact power and that they have neither. No such confirmation came forth, and my questions were even deemed by some to be unthinkable. In any case, my findings have shown that employment stability does influence the lexical transfer carried out by the translators.

#### 6.2.1.4 Professional experience

My findings are that when the experience of the respondents was more than 15 years, their tendency to report lexical transfer was greater than when their experience was 15 years or less. Among those with more than 15 years of experience, the translators, and more specifically the exclusive translators (51 in total), reported more lexical transfers. Therefore, I decided to examine the types of professions that they had and also the types of texts that they worked on.

Table 70 illustrates the types of professions of the 25 exclusive translators with >15years experience and of the 26 with ≤15 years experience.

Table 70. Main profession(s) of the exclusive translators by years of professional experience

Main profession	Main profession
≤15 years professional experience	>15 years professional experience
Accountancy	Anthropology
Business management	Computer technology
Education	Economics
Engineering (2)	Education (primary, secondary) (2)
Fashion designing	Engineering (electronics) (2)
History	Graduate studies
Interpreting (2)	Hotel management
Journalism	Interpreting (2)
Medicine (physician, pharmacist)	Journalism (senior writer)
Military	Land surveying
Pastoring	Landscape architecture
Peace and Development Studies	Law enforcement
Teaching (3)	Marine biology
Translation (10)	Retail merchandising
Web technology, design	Social work
	Statistician
	Teaching (6)
	Translation (3)

Table 71 shows the difference in the percentage of exclusive translators by their main professions and according to their years of experience. A sum of professional experience of less than or equal to 15 years is marked as period 1 ( $t_1$ ) while experience of >15 years is marked as period 2 ( $t_2$ ). Among 11 of the 26 exclusive translators (that is, 42.3%) with ≤15 years of experience there are a variety of professions, including accountancy, fashion designing, history, journalism and management. However, the most pursued single profession is translation, with 10 (38.5%) translators, followed by

teaching (3; 11.5%), and interpreting, engineering and medicine (2; 7.7% of each). Among 13 (52%) of the 25 exclusive translators with >15 years of experience there is also a variety of professions, including anthropology, computer technology, hotel management, land surveying and law enforcement. However, the most pursued profession is teaching, with six translators (24%), followed by translation (4; 16%) and then by interpreting and engineering (2; 8% of each).

Table 71. Difference in percentage of exclusive translators by their main profession(s) between periods of professional experience:  $t_1$ :  $\leq 15$  years,  $t_2$ :  $>15$  years

Main profession	$t_1 \leq 15$ years	$t_2 > 15$ years	$t_2 - t_1$
Translation	10 (38.5%)	4 (16.0%)	-22.5%
Teaching	3 (11.5%)	6 (24.0%)	12.5%
Interpreting	2 (7.7%)	2 (8.0%)	0.3%
Engineering	2 (7.7%)	2 (8.0%)	0.3%
Medicine	2 (7.7%)	0 (0.0%)	-7.7%
Others	11 (42.3%)	13 (52.0%)	9.7%

For this sample, the results suggest that for the group of exclusive translators, there are 22.5% fewer of those with formal training in translation and >15 years of experience than those with formal training in translation and  $\leq 15$  years. However, among those who are trained teachers, there are 12.5% more with >15 years of experience than those with  $\leq 15$  years. In the entire group, there is a higher percentage of those who are trained teachers with >15 years of experience than those who are trained translators with the same amount of experience. With respect to the the translators trained as interpreters or engineers with >15 years of experience, the there are only 0.3% more of them than those who have  $\leq 15$  years. With respect to the miscellaneous professions, there are 9.7% more translators with >15 years of experience than there are those with  $\leq 15$  years.

Table 72 illustrates that those with >15 years worked mostly on educational texts (that is, 80% of the exclusive translators), followed by culture (76%), business (72%), advertising (68%), tourism and journalism (56% of each), while those with  $\leq 15$  years worked mostly on educational texts (73%), followed by culture (62%), business (58%) and advertising (58%). I have given the proportions for the text types on which more than 50% of each group worked. That is, the group with >15 years and the other with  $\leq 15$  years. In general, more of those with >15 years experience worked on all the types



of texts listed in this table. In general, the group of exclusive translators is maintained mostly by people from professions other than teaching or translation.

Table 72. Text types of the exclusive translators by years of professional experience

Text types for Exclusive translators	>15 years		Text types for Exclusive translators	≤15 years	
	n	Frequency		n	Frequency
Education	20	.80	Education	19	.73
Culture	19	.76	Culture	16	.62
Business	18	.72	Business	15	.58
Advertising	17	.68	Advertising	15	.58
Tourism	14	.56	Tourism	13	.50
Journalism	14	.56	Journalism	12	.46
Environmental	12	.48	Religion	10	.38
Medical	12	.48	Medical	8	.31
Computer technology	11	.44	Legal	8	.31
Government	11	.44	Computer technology	7	.27
Insurance	9	.36	Insurance	7	.27
Legal	9	.36	Environmental	6	.23
Sports	9	.36	Government	5	.19
Religion	8	.32	Scientific	5	.19
Scientific	8	.32	Engineering	4	.15
Literary	6	.24	Other	4	.15
Engineering	4	.16	Literary	3	.12
Other	3	.12	Sports	2	.08

In brief, the main finding about professional experience is that among all the respondents, translators with more than 15 years of experience had the greatest tendency to report lexical transfer. Among them, teaching is the most pursued profession, and those trained in it reported a tendency to remain in translation for more than 15 years.

#### 6.2.1.5 Formal training

My findings have shown that the translators reported making more lexical transfers than did the non-translators, not only when both groups had formal training but also when neither of them had any formal training. Respondents with formal training reported less lexical transfer than did those without formal training. The tests also show those who had both types of training (that is, in translation and writing) did not show a greater tendency to report lexical transfer than those with only one type of training. Finally, the tests suggest that formal training does play an important role in the respondents' decision to transfer lexical items from English into their Papiamentu (non)translations,

and in general, those with formal training tended to do so to a lesser extent than those without any.

Also, whether or not the translators have formal training in translation, their level of lexical transfer, hence their agency, is nonetheless higher than that of the non-translators. The reduction in lexical transfer as formal training is acquired seems to reflect a certain level of conformity to norms that are less in favor of lexical transfer, but the fact that the translators' lexical transfer is higher than that of the non-translators seems to suggest that the translators were less inclined to keep to the accepted way of carrying out their translation tasks than were the non-translators their non-translational tasks. Hence, it seems that Simeoni's hypothesis that "translatorial competence may be characterized by conformity to a greater extent than is the competence of other agents active in the cultural field" (1998: 7) does not hold under my quantitative findings. But one question remains: Does Toury's (1995: 274) "law of interference" hold up under my data, where Simeoni's did not?

My data on formal training do not directly address the tenets of Toury's law of interference. His law suggests that the source text interferes in the target text by default when the culture of the source language (English) is more powerful than that of the culture of the target language (Papiamentu). As discussed earlier in 4.4.3.3, the Netherlands, Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten are examples of locations, where English is more widely-used than Papiamentu. There the culture of English is more dominant than that of Papiamentu. My research findings show that the translators and non-translators who serviced those non-Papiamentu-official locations had a greater tendency to report they used English expressions in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations than did those who did not service them (see 6.2.1.6). Further, this group with the greater tendency included formally-trained translators and non-translators who, despite their training, engaged in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

Based on these circumstances, I concluded that Toury's law of interference does hold within the context of formal training.

#### *6.2.1.6 Target-audience locations*

I found out that the locations of the target audiences of the translators and non-translators play a role in lexical transfer. The translators (especially the translators-and-writers) who serviced the locations where Papiamentu was not an official language

(such as Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten, Suriname and the Netherlands), reported more lexical transfer than did the translators who serviced only Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba. However, the non-translators who serviced the non-Papiamentu-official locations tended to report fewer lexical transfers than did the non-translators who did not. Comments by a few respondents support these results.

Earlier in discussing the findings with respect to language prestige in 6.2.1.1, I mentioned the importance of Respondent 197's comment on target-audience locations. Respondent 197 is a female non-translator who is trained in secondary education and works mostly on cultural text types. She said, "I use English in my Papiamentu, but not because I cannot find a Papiamentu expression." She reported that because she is often around many English-speaking family members from St. Maarten, "the English expressions just come out automatically. I more easily go between English and Papiamentu than between Papiamentu and Dutch." This is a comment I myself often heard from Curaçaoans while I was in Curaçao; it was made by my informants in their everyday life, especially by those who reported they have relatives in Suriname, Saba, Sint Eustatius and Sint Maarten.

Respondent 74, a male translating writer trained in physics, reported that he easily goes between English and Papiamentu because his parents were from Sint Eustatius and Curaçao, and he spent most of his childhood in Sint Eustatius, where English is mostly spoken, not Papiamentu. Therefore, when he cannot find a suitable Papiamentu expression, he tends to "find one in English rather than take one from Spanish, because I don't speak Spanish well." Understandably, the farther away one goes from the Papiamentu-official target audience locations, the more another language is likely to be used in the target-audience locations where Papiamentu happens not to be official, even if there are pockets of Papiamentu native speakers who use Papiamentu there.

The foregoing results and comments by the respondents suggest that this increase in lexical transfer among the translators may be due to the fact that the texts that the translators and non-translators produce are for audiences who are away from Curaçao, beyond the jurisdiction (or sphere of influence) of the language planners. Further, Dutch and English, not Papiamentu, are the languages promoted in those non-Papiamentu-official locations, so the purpose of the texts the respondents produced in Papiamentu is not likely to be to promote Papiamentu there. However, with respect to the translators, the question remains as to whether they act subserviently in this instance. Since my

findings show that they did engage voluntarily in more lexical transfer in the non-Papiamentu-official locations than they would in Curaçao, I can say that they have acted as agents of lexical transfer. In this case, Kinnunen and Koskinen's (2010) definition of agency as the "willingness and ability to act" is adhered to. But what about Simeoni's (1995: 452)?

The results show that the translators have engaged in more lexical transfer than those who only serviced the Curaçaoan target audience. This suggests that the translators servicing the locations away from Curaçao are most likely all to follow each other in their increased use of English in their Papiamentu translations rather than try not to use any English expressions at all. Further, clients and end-users in those locations are more likely to appreciate the use of English lexical items in their texts than Papiamentu lexical items that are not as common in their locations. This further suggests that a translational transaction for those locations is likely to be such that the translator as an agent of lexical transfer is still "the 'subject', but socialized [...] inextricably linked to networks of other social agents", including their clients, end-users and other translators. Does this make them subservient? I think not. Each translator will have their own justifiable reason for using lexical transfer in their translations for these locations away from the sphere of influence of the language planners in Curaçao. If they felt a considerable degree of freedom to engage in lexical transfer in the Curaçaoan context, they ought to feel even freer in these distant locations, as their comments above suggest. Also, the mere fact that the translators' uses of English lexical items in their translations coincide with requests from their clients or end-users does not mean that the translators are subservient. They might have acted no differently without their clients' or end-users' requests.

What about Toury's (1995: 267-279) "law of interference", which suggests that the source text interferes in the target text by default? I think this may very well be the case in these non-Papiamentu-official target-audience locations because, whether or not English is an official language there, it may be regarded as more prestigious than Papiamentu. As mentioned earlier, in Sint Maarten, Saba and Sint Eustatius, and the continental Netherlands, Papiamentu is spoken by native speakers who live there, but English is more widely used and enjoys more prestige than does Papiamentu. Evidence for this can be found in Dijkhoff, Kouwenberg and Tjon Sie Fat (2006) who observe that despite the fact that, theoretically, the majority language of the ABC is Papiamentu/o and of the SSS is Dutch, in practice the household language with the

highest number of speakers on any of the islands is either Papiamentu/o or English. These results expressed in percentages of each island’s population appear in two shaded groups (the SSS- and ABC-Islands) of Table 73. Further, of these same shaded groups (but perhaps not the same estimates), one could even say that in public the most widely used language in the ABC-Islands is Papiamentu/o while for the SSS it is English. Dijkhoff et al. (2006) also note that the populations of the SSS-Islands are composed mostly of speakers of English, not speakers of Papiamentu/o (see also the 2000 census by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Aruba). In this case, the culture of the source language (English) is in fact more powerful than that of the target language (Papiamentu). Nonetheless, I think the interference of English in Papiamentu in the non-Papiamentu-official locations is in fact “desired interference” on the part of the translators acting as agents of lexical transfer.

Table 73. Home languages (in percentages of households), from Dijkhoff et al. 2006: 2106 (modified)

Island groups	Islands	Papiamentu/o	English	Dutch	Spanish
SSS-Islands	Saba	5.5	<b>89.0</b>	2.0	4.4
	Sint Eustatius	1.6	<b>84.1</b>	4.3	5.5
	Sint Maarten	2.3	<b>64.0</b>	4.2	14.8
ABC-Islands	Aruba	<b>69.4</b>	9.0	6.1	13.2
	Bonaire	<b>72.3</b>	4.0	10.4	11.4
	Curaçao	<b>80.3</b>	3.5	9.3	4.6

#### 6.2.1.7 Sex

With respect to the respondents’ sex, the female respondents reported making more lexical transfers than the male respondents in general, despite the fact that the male non-translators had the highest mean lexical transfer rank of all and also that the male exclusive translators had a higher rank than their female counterparts. However, among all translators-and-writers, the females reported more lexical transfers than the males. Also, the female non-translators reported more lexical transfers than all the male translators. The female exclusive translators reported more lexical transfers than did the male translators-and-writers.

It is not exactly clear at this point why the male non-translators should score the highest among all the respondents in lexical transfer. Perhaps the results are less informative than they could have been if the proportion of, say, the translators-and-

writers had been much larger than those of this survey and also other types of questions directly related to such a phenomenon had been asked.

#### *6.2.1.8 Text types*

The results of the tests for the various text types have confirmed that there is an association between them and the translators' and non-translators' lexical-transfer practice. "Culture", "business" and "education" are the three major text types that translators and non-translators translated and/or wrote and for which they reported the most lexical transfers. The results show that for all translators as a group, "journalism" is the text type for which the most lexical transfers were reported. For the exclusive translators it is also "journalism". For the translators-and-writers, the most prominent text type is "advertisements". For the non-translators it is only the "culture" text type. The non-translators are also the respondents with the highest correlation point for lexical transfer into this text type. Further, looking at the correlation pattern in the entire sample, it can be deduced that most of the lexical transfer reported for "culture" text types can be attributed to the non-translators. Similarly, most of the lexical transfer reported for "business" text types can be attributed to the exclusive translators. Also, most of the lexical transfer reported for "education" text types can be attributed to the translators-and-writers.

One respondent's comment is worth noting. Respondent 93, a female writing translator formally trained in translation, whom I mentioned earlier in 6.2.1.1 in my discussion of language prestige, commented, "I think the English expression makes the text clearer [...] when Papiamentu speakers are more accustomed to seeing [...] the English expression than the Papiamentu expression." The respondent mentioned the automobile industry as an example of high-frequency use of English terminologies. She even commented that if these expressions should be translated into Papiamentu, "it might take time to be sure what part of the car we are talking about! It is more normal to find the parts of a vehicle in English although the words may be written in the Papiamentu way sometimes" – a response that clearly points to high-frequency lexical transfer. In any event, the results show that "culture" text types had the greatest influence on the respondents' lexical transfer for the whole sample.

The text type chosen for illustrating lexical transfer in this study was public health. The main reason for this was to use a text type to which everyone in the Curaçaoan population is expected to have access. Health has not featured high on the

list of dominant text types in any of the statistical tests, but this is not surprising since I found out from one of the language planners and also through some of the comments of the translators and non-translators that medical texts mostly appear in Dutch or English. Nonetheless, this text type has served to bring to light a few types of lexical transfer that are practiced by Papiamentu translators and non-translators.

#### *6.2.1.9 Age*

With respect to the respondents' age and lexical-transfer practice, I found a statistically significant correlation in only two cases, both of which are among the translators-and-writers. One case is the translators-and-writers as translators. The other is the writing translators as writers, for whom the correlation between the age and lexical-transfer variables was stronger. The results suggest that the older such respondents were, the more inclined they were to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. All other correlation tests for the other groups of translators and non-translators were statistically insignificant. In spite of that, it is interesting to note that two of those tests, that is, the one performed on the exclusive translators and the other on the non-translators, indicate negative correlations between the age and lexical-transfer variables and therefore suggest that the older such respondents were, the less likely they were to use English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations.

Further, my attempt to find a clear correlation between the respondents' age and their lexical-transfer activity when their professional experience was >15 years was not fruitful: none was found from any of the tests. Recalling that in the case of the exclusive translators, those with >15 years of experience were more inclined to make lexical transfers, I decided to examine whether that would correspond to the results of their age and lexical transfer. I found that in the case of their professional experience, the correlation was 0.20, a very weak yet positive correlation, which suggests nonetheless that the more experience the exclusive translator had, the more inclined they were to make lexical transfers. In the case of their age, the correlation was -0.191, a very weak negative correlation, but of the same magnitude as that of the experience variable, which suggests that the older they were, the less inclined they were to make lexical transfers. However, in this case the result was not statistically significant, and even appears somewhat contradictory. One possible reason could be that with respect to age, a respondent with >15 years of experience could still not be statistically old enough in terms of age. Thus, there could be no contradiction.

#### *6.2.1.10 Education*

I did not find education to be related to lexical transfer. This means that, statistically, the more educated translators did not report more lexical transfers than did the less educated non-translators, at least in the sample of this study. However, the correlation test on education, statistically insignificant though it was, suggests that the more educated a respondent was, the less inclined they might be to report lexical transfers. In one sense this aligns with the correlation case of the formal training and lexical transfer variables. If I may regard formal training as a form of education in this case, then it makes sense that with formal training, the translators, although not only they, were less inclined to make lexical transfers.

#### *6.2.2 Standard typology of lexical transfer*

##### *6.2.2.1 Lexical solution types*

As regards variables based on the respondents' background information, the correlation test results varied. With respect to the lexical solution types that the translators and non-translators use in their (non)translations, and I proposed a few in 3.8.2.1 according to Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/2000: 85) terminology. They are 1) unmodified borrowing: no morphological modification, 2) modified borrowing: morphological translation, 3) structural calque: morphophonetic translation, and 4) lexical calque: syntactic imitation. As can be seen, all four fall under two categories of Vinay and Darbelnet's typology for "direct translation": "borrowing" and "calque".

In my findings, the non-translators reported the greatest tendency to use "unmodified borrowing" without including an explanation of the borrowed expression. The exclusive translators reported the greatest tendency to use "unmodified borrowing" too, but including an explanation, "modified borrowing" without including an explanation, and also with an explanation". In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use "modified borrowing", let alone to include an explanation of it. In this regard, I turn to a few of the respondents' comments, which I find helpful for clarifying the use of these solutions.

##### *1) Unmodified borrowing: no morphological modification*

With respect to the lexical solution type in which a respondent may make a lexical transfer without modifying its morphology or adding an explanation of it, Respondent 195, a male non-translator who writes for a computer software company, said:



“Sometimes I think it is best to just leave the English word in the text as it is.” Respondent 203, a female non-translator trained and working in the dramatic arts, commented that,

although creolization is one way to make reading the language easy while dealing with foreign words, it must be done correctly. I don’t like to do it because I find it difficult and technical and fear that my readers might not understand what I want to say. Creolizing [...] some English word can be catastrophic and yield absolutely unreadable [words]. Better to use [the expressions] as they are in the language or forget about them. (Respondent 203)

Respondent 196, a female non-translator trained as a computer software developer said, “If I creolize an English word, I am almost sure that my readers will have difficulty recognizing what I wrote. I just don’t do it. [...] I prefer to use the English expressions just as they are.” These are just two comments by respondents who have used unmodified borrowing in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations.

However, there are some respondents who opt to use an unmodified morphology and include an accompanying explanation of the borrowed expression. Respondent 21, a male exclusive translator with training in international relations and interpreting, said, “I usually write the [English] expression in italics followed by an explanation in [Papiamentu] between brackets.”

Respondent 66, a female translator/writer with formal training in translation, said, “[w]ith my years of experience translating, I have always been able to find a way to express an idea in Papiamentu without borrowing a foreign expression. I might however use an English expression if I am quoting and still put a Papiamentu translation of the quotation.” Her comment aligns with the results of the data that exclusive translators tend to use this solution.

## 2) *Modified borrowing: morphological translation*

None of the respondents made any comment about morphological translation. However, the results of the quantitative data analysis as well as analysis of the public health texts have shown that some respondents, especially the exclusive translators in this study, have used this solution. In fact, the solution is quite common for noun phrases, which in general are known to lend themselves easily to the suffix plural marker *-nan*, as in “newsletter” which becomes *newsletternan*, or “manager”, which becomes

*managernan*. Sometimes the lexical item is transferred into Papiamentu with its English plural marker, as seen in the case of the noun phrase *managers* in the public health target text of Figure 12, although this last practice is a form of modified borrowing.

### 3) *Structural calque: morphophonetic translation*

Some respondents preferred to use lexical transfer by creolizing the English expression without including any explanation of it. Respondent 21 said, “If [the foreign expression] is in French, I tend to creolize the French expression, that is, write it with a creole spelling.” He clearly has different solution types that he adopts for different languages. Understandably, Papiamentu is derived from Romance languages, and therefore it is often much more convenient to creolize an expression from one of those languages than from a Germanic language like English or Dutch. He also reported that “[i]f the meaning is still unclear, I’ll likely offer an explanation as well.”

The comment by Respondent 134, a male non-translator and trained journalist working in the print media, underscores these points by explaining that “creolizing an [English] expression can produce horrendous results – words that readers don’t even recognize and which would have been better borrowed without any changes whatsoever. [...] Spanish is much better and easier to adapt to the language. But I leave that to the proper linguistic authorities.” As morphophonetic translation can pose a challenge to (non)translators, many refuse to use it.

Respondent 29, a male exclusive translator with formal training in translation, expressed an idea similar to Respondent 134’s. Respondent 29 emphasized that

terminology is a big problem with certain texts, and what makes matters worse is that [...] we are always made to choose whether to borrow from Dutch or Spanish. Dutch words are often more easily understood while Spanish is favored by the linguistic elite because of its being more compatible with our language’s overall structure. I don’t favor creolizing words of Germanic origin. The result is often barely readable and there’s no added value in doing so. In the case of Spanish, the spelling transition is smoother, but you often risk ending up with text that is only understood by readers who also know some Spanish (which, needless to say, defeats the purpose). (Respondent 29)

Respondent 14, a male exclusive translator trained as an agricultural engineer, insists, “I’m not really in favor of any form of creolization. I’d rather explain the

meaning.” This is indeed understandable because, even in speaking with one of the language planners I interviewed, Nat, I discovered that a major concern is how the lexical item is received by Papiamentu speakers. The language planner said,

there are some English [...] terms that have been in Papiamentu for ages. Some of them appear as is, without any changes. Others have been creolized and we are accustomed to seeing and using them that way. These don’t make texts difficult to read. But trying to creolize some new English or other foreign words that are unrecognizable by Papiamentu speakers is definitely not something that I do or recommend. Better to translate the word or explain it. The word can always be explained or translated. (Nat)

This is the stance of this experienced FPI language planner, which suggests that it takes a great deal of confidence to coin a word!

#### 4) *Lexical calque: syntactic imitation*

With respect to lexical calque, which is the creolization of an English expression by syntactic imitation of English, Respondent 11, a female exclusive translator and trained marine biologist, said that

the expression *no wòri* [“don’t worry”] is not difficult to read because we are used to it now. But if someone writes another expression that we have never before seen written in Papiamentu orthography, it might be difficult to read. [...] Our first instinct is to reject the strange Papiamentu spelling of a word we might better understand written in its normal English spelling. So, it seems that it is better to keep some expressions in English as they are and others to write according to the Papiamentu orthography. But it takes time to get people used to the new look of words! (Respondent 11)

Beginning with the Papiamentu expression *no wòri*, a syntactic imitation of the English expression “don’t worry”, Respondent 11 has concisely explained a general sentiment of Papiamentu speakers towards the “new look of words” (see 3.8.2.1). Thus, while many Papiamentu speakers have no qualms about using and accepting English expressions in their text or in Papiamentu in general, what lexical items look and sound like when written in their language is of high importance to them. In other words,

however they are written and pronounced, they should never make a Papiamentu text difficult to read.

According to Respondent 153, a male non-translator and computer programmer, “[c]reolizing words can make the reading difficult or easy. It depends on how it is done, but I think that language experts do it better and that should probably be left to them. I find it hard to do.” This comment explains why some of the respondents preferred to use English lexical items without making any changes to them.

Respondent 104, a female non-translator who writes for the hospitality industry, reported that creolizing an expression

has to be done properly if my text is to read right and easily. For now, that is the work of linguists. I wish I could do it easily, but come to think of it, it’s not something I do in Dutch or English. So, to do it in Papiamentu because the language is coming into its own seems frightening to me since I don’t have the expertise to do it. (Respondent 104)

Respondent 95, a female writing translator and management information systems worker, reported that she took seriously all their options concerning lexical transfer of English expressions to their Papiamentu (non)translations:

Before I decide to creolize a word, I have to think about whether my readers will recognize it or how they will react to it. This can be stressful, and if I do it wrong, then my translation might not be good. So, consulting with linguists, other experienced translators and even the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* is very helpful. (Respondent 95)

The dilemma is clear: while the language is still undergoing standardization of its lexis, many who produce translations or non-translations in it become concerned about the proper way to write the language using its standardized orthography, and even more concerned about representing in it English expressions that have been used mostly orally in it in recent times.

#### *6.2.2.2 Alternative solution types*

From time to time, translators and non-translators for various reasons opt to use solutions other than lexical transfer. The types I have proposed are those I have listed in my questionnaire (see Appendix B). They are 1) replacement of the source-language

lexical item by a restatement of it, 2) replacement of the source-language lexical item by a self-explanatory lexical item, 3) replacement of the source-language lexical item by a non-self-explanatory lexical item, and 4) ignoring and omitting the source-language lexical item. I have combined comments for Solution types 2 and 3, since the details of the comments overlap.

So far, the results for the alternative solutions have shown that the non-translators had the greatest tendency to replace an English lexical item with a restatement of the idea in Papiamentu. With respect to the solution types of replacing an English lexical item with a self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu, or with a non-self-explanatory lexical item created in Papiamentu but with an explanation, the exclusive translators were the most inclined to use these solutions. With respect to the solution type of ignoring and leaving an English lexical item completely out of the Papiamentu text, the non-translators again were more inclined to use it. In a general sense, the translators-and-writers were the least inclined to use any of these alternative type solutions.

*1) Replacement of the source-language lexical item with a restatement of it*

The exact question that the respondents were asked was: “When you borrow an English expression for which you find no corresponding Papiamentu expression, do you replace it with restating the idea within the context of the intended readers of your Papiamentu translation/text?”. The following comments by the respondents show how they deal with such a situation.

Respondent 89, a female writing translator working in translation, localization and journalism, said, “[w]here you mention “replace”, I would rather say “translate” because I would translate the English expression into Papiamentu rather than just express the idea in Papiamentu. Even whenever I am creating a text in Papiamentu, I will translate to Papiamentu the English expression that comes to my mind.” This writing translator makes a clear distinction between what seems to be paraphrasing the idea of an English lexical item and translating it. Her preference is to translate the English lexical item.

Respondent 56, a male writer/translator trained as a Spanish teacher and working as a lexicographer, said emphatically, “I only use English expressions in my Papiamentu texts if that is what the clients want. But even so, I may still put a translation of the

expression. And if not, at least I will put the English expression between inverted commas.”

Respondent 75, a female translating writer trained in computer information science, said:

I can call the *Fundashon pa Planifikasion di Idioma* to inquire about an appropriate expression or consult with other translators and writers or even our dictionaries. I can also check the history of the word to see whether it exists in Spanish, Latin or Portuguese and see how I can adapt what I find to Papiamentu. But I will not do any adaptation until I am sure that the expression will not appear strange to my readers. (Respondent 75)

Respondent 149, a female non-translator trained as a computer engineer, said, “[s]ome academic articles tend to use some English expressions that are just a part of their field. I keep them whenever I see them even if I put a corresponding Papiamentu expression beside such expressions.”

2) and 3) *Replacement of the source-language lexical item with a newly-coined lexical item*

For this alternative solution, the exact question that the respondents were asked was: “When you borrow an English expression for which you find no corresponding Papiamentu expression, do you replace it with a self-explanatory word or phrase that you create in Papiamentu for your translation/text?”. The question for the other alternative solution was: “When you borrow an English expression for which you find no corresponding Papiamentu expression, do you replace it with a word or phrase, which you create in Papiamentu along with an explanation of it for your translation/text? Such an explanation may be a footnote, endnote or translator’s note.” Only three respondents reported on these solution types. Their comments are as follows.

Respondent 186, a female non-translator and computer graphic artist, said, “I don’t creolize anything, I don’t create any words or rephrase anything. All the words I need to use are already either in Papiamentu or in English. I know how to write Papiamentu, so I just write in the language and use the words that are already there for the names of things, whether or not these words are in English.”

Respondent 57, a male writer/translator trained in computer science, said “I don't like the idea of creating a word or creolizing one because I believe we have the Institute for Language Planning to do that for us. So, I consult them when I am in doubt.”

Respondent 97, a male writing translator with training in business administration, reported, “I have never felt the need to create a word or to creolize anything. I leave that to the authorities who write the rules which they publish for us to go by.”

#### 4) *Ignoring and omitting the source-language lexical item*

Respondent 20, a female exclusive translator trained in management, said, “I am not afraid to ignore the expression if I feel that the point or idea has already been made and would be understood clearly without it.” I find this comment reasonable, as there should be no real need to include an English expression in the target text if the idea is completely clear without it. However, I also think that such a decision to ignore the English lexical item depends on whether it is a high-risk or low-risk expression.

Respondent 11, a trained female exclusive translator and marine biologist, said, “[s]ometimes I do omit an English expression. [...] Just because somebody makes a quotation, it does not mean that I have to keep the quotation in the original language. [...] If I feel it is important to keep the quotation, then I will put it between parentheses and still translate it because I feel I must show that I am not keeping the quotation because it was not translatable into Papiamentu.”

Respondent 71, a male translating writer with training in computer science, said, “I occasionally ignore an English expression if I can find another way to express the idea without it. I leave creolizing expressions up to the linguists at the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*.”

Respondent 62, a female writer/translator and journalist, said, “I ignore the expression because I find that in many cases, I am able to leave a foreign expression out of my translation without any loss of clarity in the idea. As for my writing in Papiamentu, I just abandon the idea of using the English expression as long as I can find a way to express the same idea in other Papiamentu words. If not, I just consult my colleagues till we find a solution without having to use any English expressions.”

In relation to lexical transfer, the respondents' comments seem to suggest that unmodified borrowing without any explanation of the lexical item is the solution type that the respondents use most freely. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000: 5) clearly state that “borrowing is the simplest of all translation methods” to use. On the other hand, the

solution types that the respondents seem most reluctant to use are the alternatives to lexical transfer: replacing an English lexical item with a word that they create in Papiamentu whether or not the newly-coined expression is self-explanatory. In this case, it is understandable that acceptance of the expression by the target audience is of major concern to the (non)translators.

### *6.2.3 Typology of the Papiamentu translators and non-translators*

During the data-gathering for this study, it became clear that the population of translators and non-translators on the island of Curaçao was not as cut-and-dried as it initially appeared. So far, I have referred to them as exclusive translators (T), writing translators (wT), writers/translators (WT), translating writers (tW), and non-translators (W). However, after analyzing the quantitative data and particularly the qualitative data based on the one open-ended question in 3.9.5, a new image of this population of translators and non-translators has emerged.

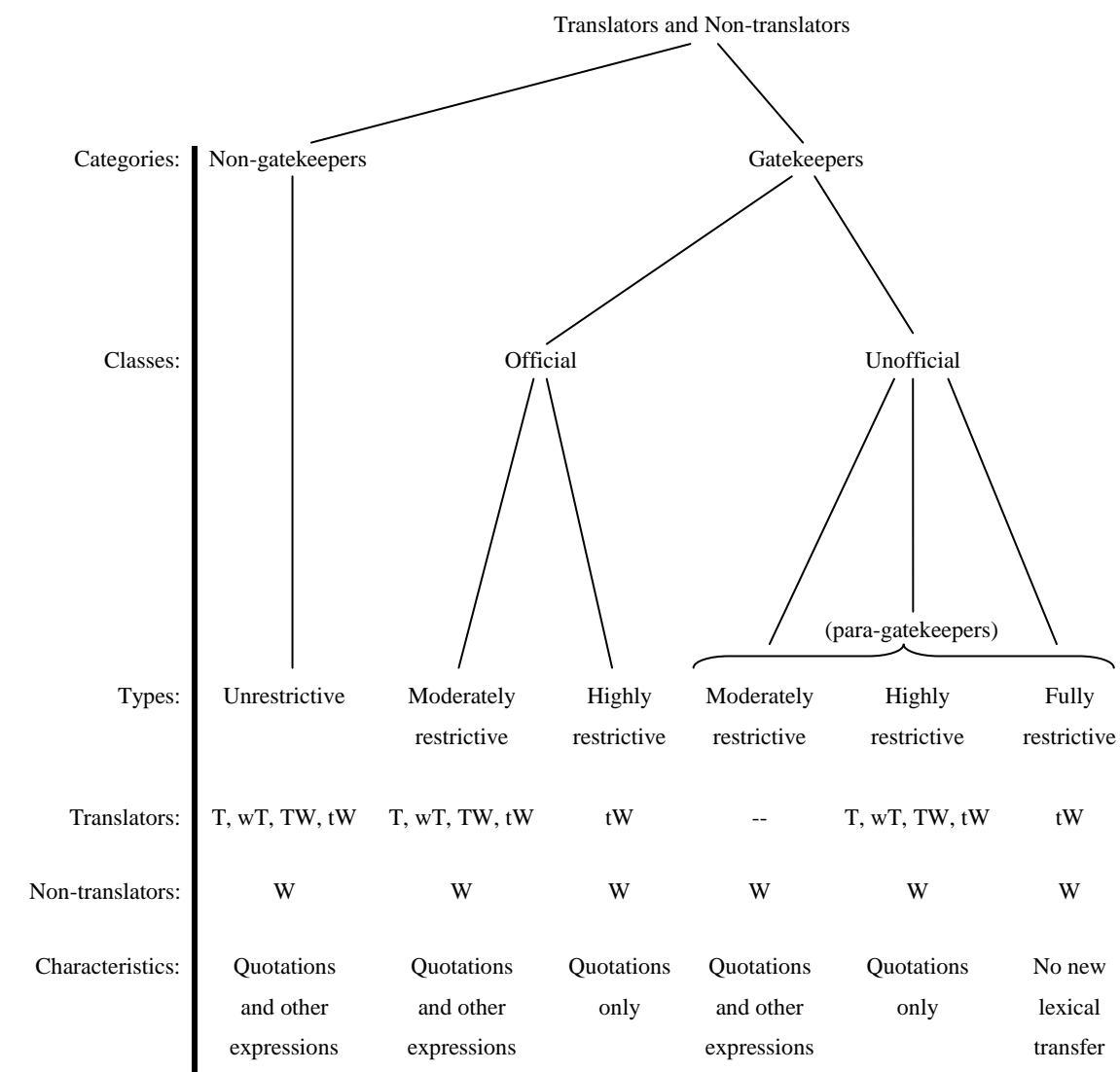
As this research is concerned with whether translators and non-translators are agents of lexical transfer with respect to Curaçaoan Papiamentu, I decided to investigate on a qualitative level how the lexical-transfer process works. In 3.8 I set out a model of the relation between lexical transfer and translation. The model clearly shows that the overlap of the standardization and lexical-transfer processes is where official intervention by the language-planning authorities decides which lexical items become accepted into the standard Papiamentu lexicon. This suggests that there is a type of “gatekeeping” function carried out by the authorities (see 3.5). This function has led to the fine-tuning of the type images of the translators and non-translators that participated in this study. To do this, all of the translators and non-translators may initially be put into one of two categories: non-gatekeepers and gatekeepers. Figure 15 illustrates these two categories of translators and non-translators in greater detail.

It is important to point out here that these categories are not to be taken as mutually exclusive, as it is possible (and sometimes actually the case) for a translator or non-translator to operate in the function of non-gatekeeper and in another instance as a gatekeeper. In fact, it came to my attention that some translators and non-translators tend to say “we” when they refer to the FPI and are present at the physical location, and use “they” when they are away from the physical location. From my observation, such (non)translators tend to be those who have done work for the FPI in the past or intermittently, are not officially a part of the FPI and, according to the present study,



may be regarded as unofficial gatekeepers. On the other hand, I found that those who are officially a part of the FPI spoke of it in the first person plural at all times. I was able to observe this among some of the language planners (official gatekeepers) both on and off location.

Figure 15. Types of translators and non-translators



### 6.2.3.1 The gatekeeper

This study has identified two classes of gatekeepers. These are the official gatekeeper and the unofficial gatekeeper. I also refer to the latter as para-gatekeepers because they normally function unofficially (of their own volition) as keepers of the language,

forbidding and restricting the use of English expressions in Papiamentu as much as they can.

*The official gatekeeper*

There are two types of official gatekeepers: the moderately restrictive and the highly restrictive. The moderately-restrictive official gatekeeper may be an exclusive translator, a translator-and-writer, or a non-translator. However, while they may engage in lexical transfer of certain expressions and verbatim quotations in English, they tend to do so moderately in that they transfer English expressions that they (the FPI) have officially recognized as part of Standard Papiamentu and those for which they have tolerated perhaps because no formal decision has yet been made concerning them. The highly-restrictive official gatekeeper is somewhat different. They are characterized by their use of verbatim quotations only. This means that they do not engage in any form of lexical transfer except to quote someone word for word. This study has identified only translating writers and non-translators as highly-restrictive official gatekeepers. It is important to mention here that other types of highly-restrictive official gatekeeping (non)translators may exist, but that this study has not identified any.

*The unofficial gatekeeper (para-gatekeeper)*

Three types of unofficial gatekeeper, or para-gatekeeper have been identified. These are the moderately restrictive, the highly restrictive, and the fully restrictive. All three types function independently of the FPI, that is, they are not a part of the FPI. The moderately-restrictive gatekeepers are characterized by their use of verbatim quotations and other expressions such as those that the FPI has tolerated perhaps because no formal decision has yet been made concerning them. This study has found only non-translators acting in this capacity. Again, the study does not rule out the possibility that there may be other types of (non)translators who act in this capacity, but the research sample did not include any others. With respect to the highly-restrictive unofficial gatekeeper, all five types of (non)translators were found. This para-gatekeeper is characterized by the fact that their lexical transfer is restricted to the use of quotations. The difference between the highly-restrictive unofficial gatekeeper and the highly-restrictive official gatekeeper is that the latter is a part of the FPI; the former is not. The fully-restrictive unofficial gatekeeper does not engage in any form of lexical transfer except for the use of transferred English lexical items that have been in the language for a long time, that is, before the official standardization of the language in 1984 (see Müllner 2004).

### 6.2.3.2 *The non-gatekeeper*

This study defines only one type of non-gatekeeper, that is, the (unrestrictive) non-gatekeeper. According to my findings, the non-gatekeeper may be an exclusive translator, a translator-and-writer or even a non-translator, as in the case of the official gatekeeper. They are particularly characterized by the fact that they freely use quotations and other expressions from English into their Papiamentu translations and non-translations. In other words, they have no qualms about using English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations.

As the non-gatekeepers are the ones who are most likely to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer, I decided to investigate the kinds of professional backgrounds they had as well as the types of text that they worked on. Table 74 illustrates their main professions according to types of (non)translators.

Table 74. Main profession(s) of the non-gatekeepers

Main professions	
Exclusive translators	Non-translators
Computer technology	Advertising
Graduate studies	Anthropology (3)
International relations and peace studies	Banking
Business administration	Business administration (3)
Marine biology	Communications (2)
Medicine (physician, pharmacist) (2)	Computer engineering (3)
Military	Computer graphic arts
Retail merchandising	Computer information science (4)
Teaching (English, French, Spanish) (3)	Computer programming (3)
Translation (5)	Computer sciences
Interpreting (2)	Computer software development (3)
Web technology and design	Computer software engineering (2)
	Dietetics
Writers/translators	Domestic Science
Business administration	Economics
Computer science	Engineering
Teaching (language)	Environmental resources control
Translation (3)	Finance (2)
	Graduate studies
Writing translators	Hospitality management (2)
Political science	Jewelry designing
Translation	Journalism (3)
	Language and literature (2)
Translating writers	Linguistics
Communication	Management information systems
Computer information science	Marketing (5)
Environmental resources management	Public administration
Journalism (2)	Social work (4)
Social work	Sociology
Translation (2)	Sports education (4)
	Teaching (5)
	Technical writing

Table 75 shows the percentage of translators and non-translators as non-gatekeepers by their main professions. The three most pursued professions among the non-translators who performed in a non-gatekeeping capacity are computer science and technology professions (16.2%), teaching and marketing (4.76%). For the translators, they are translation (11%), teaching (5%) and computer science and technology professions (3%). However, the most striking finding is the range of professions of the non-gatekeepers and the fact that non-gatekeeping as well as gatekeeping can come with almost any professional background.

Table 75. Percentage of translators and non-translators as non-gatekeepers by their main profession(s)

Main professions	Translators		Non-translators		
	n	Frequency	n	Frequency	
Translation	11	11.0%	Computer	17	16.2%
Teaching	5	5.0%	Teaching	5	4.76%
Computer	3	3.0%	Marketing	5	4.76%
Business administration	2	2.0%	Social work	4	3.8%
Journalism	2	2.0%	Sports education	4	3.8%
Interpreting	2	2.0%	Business administration	3	2.9%
Medicine	2	2.0%	Journalism	3	2.9%
Social work	1	1.0%	Anthropology	3	2.9%
Communication	1	1.0%	Banking and finance	3	2.9%
Marketing	0	0.0%	Linguistics, language and literature	3	2.9%
Sports education	0	0.0%	Communication	2	1.9%
Anthropology	0	0.0%	Hospitality management	2	1.9%
Banking and finance	0	0.0%	Translation	0	0.0%
Linguistics, language and literature	0	0.0%	Interpreting	0	0.0%
Hospitality management	0	0.0%	Medicine	0	0.0%
Other	8	8.0%	Other	12	11.4%

Percentages are of the total number of translators (100) and non-translators (105).

In relation to the types of texts the non-gatekeepers worked on, I found that both translators and non-translators share the same text types on which they worked the most but not in the same proportions. For the non-translators, these are business (27%), culture (26%), computer technology (25%), advertising (23%), journalism, tourism and government (17%) and education (15%). For the translators, these are education (24%), business and culture (21%), journalism (19%), advertising (16%), tourism (15%), government (12%) and computer technology (10%) (Table 76).

These findings have helped to clarify the position of the respondents who have reported about their English-to-Papiamentu lexical-transfer dilemma. The lack or disuse of specialized terminology in computer technology has often been reported as requiring the use of lexical transfer or other solutions. It also makes sense that professionals in marketing and computer science and technology have an interest in working on computer-related and marketing texts types in these field. The same applies to the translators whose leading text type is education and teaching ranks among their three leading professions.

The results of the data show that, as I had proposed, non-gatekeepers may be any of the types of (non)translators: exclusive translator, translators-and-writers or non-translators. The data also suggest that a fair amount of the lexical transfer that occurs is carried out by non-gatekeepers with professional training not only in translation but also in computer science and technology, teaching, marketing, social work, sports education and a variety of other professions.

Table 76. Text types of the non-gatekeepers

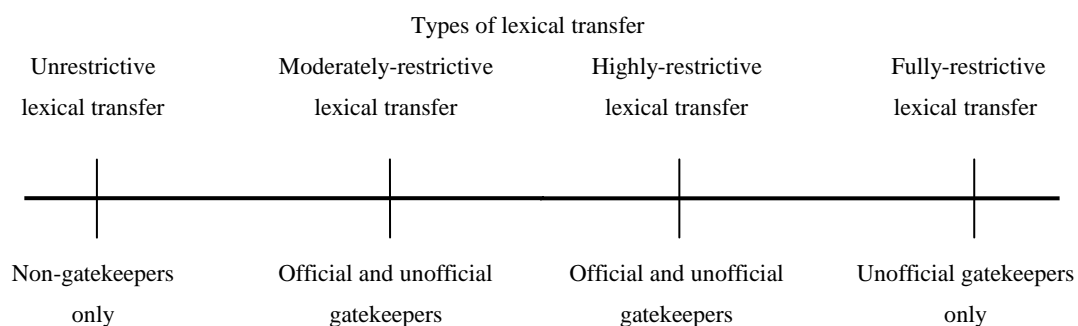
Text types for Translators	n	Frequency	Text types for Non-translators	n	Frequency
Education	24	.24	Business	28	.27
Business	21	.21	Culture	26	.25
Culture	21	.21	Computer technology	25	.24
Journalism	19	.19	Advertising	23	.22
Advertising	16	.16	Journalism	18	.17
Tourism	15	.15	Tourism	18	.17
Government	12	.12	Government	18	.17
Computer technology	11	.11	Education	16	.15
Environmental	10	.10	Sports	13	.12
Medical	10	.10	Environmental	12	.11
Religion	7	.07	Engineering	10	.10
Scientific	7	.07	Religion	9	.09
Legal	5	.05	Scientific	8	.08
Other	5	.05	Other	7	.07
Insurance	4	.04	Literary	7	.07
Sports	4	.04	Medical	6	.06
Engineering	3	.03	Legal	4	.04
Literary	3	.03	Insurance	2	.02

### 6.2.3.3 *The categories and classes of gatekeepers and non-gatekeepers*

From the foregoing typology of translators and non-translators, I have categorized and classified the gatekeepers and non-gatekeepers. Figure 18 shows the types of lexical transfer in which the gatekeepers and non-gatekeepers engage. The extreme left end of the spectrum represents unrestrictive lexical transfer found only in the non-gatekeepers. The extreme right end represents fully-restrictive lexical transfer found only in unofficial gatekeepers. The section of the spectrum closer to the extreme left end represents the moderately-restrictive lexical transfer found in the official and unofficial gatekeepers. The section closer to the extreme right end represents highly-restrictive

lexical transfer found also in the official and unofficial gatekeepers. Thus, the unofficial gatekeepers turn out to be more extreme in their lexical-transfer practices than the official gatekeepers. This is not a finding that I would have expected to find, knowing that the only legitimate language-planning authority is the FPI, which, according to the response of one of the language gatekeepers, also has been given the “...charge [...] to publish the *Buki di oro*, [...] and to revise it”. The interview data themselves show the general attitude of the language gatekeepers to be a careful balance between flexibility and strict decisiveness, which supports the categories and classes of gatekeepers and non-gatekeepers elaborated in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Categories and classes of gatekeepers and non-gatekeepers



#### 6.2.4 Comments from the open-ended question on motivation for lexical transfer

After the quantitative analysis of the responses to the open-ended question, I examined the details of each comment. The question asked, “What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions from the English texts you translate into Papiamentu?” The comments suggest that the translators more than the non-translators found the use of English in their Papiamentu texts helpful for providing them with a variety of expressions and flexibility for textual clarity. Other reasons for making transfers from English to Papiamentu were readership, globalization, client satisfaction, lack of specialized terminology, the status of the language, and consumer appeal, with the last-mentioned being the least reported. None of the responses with respect to these reasons gleaned from the respondents’ comments referred to formal training or professional experience but instead had to do with language prestige, text sensitivity and employment stability. Although the findings of the present study suggest that language

prestige is a major influence in lexical transfer, there are not many comments with respect to it on the open-ended question .

I now turn to some of the comments by the translators and non-translators.

#### *6.2.4.1 The translators' comments*

Respondent 9, who is a male exclusive translator and trained electronics engineer, commented that what motivates him is “translations that are technical [...] the use of unused vocabulary seems to be a matter of how exposed my readers (and even I) are to them and also whether we feel they sound good enough to use for my readers!” This response seems to suggest that when it comes to texts of a technical nature for which the corresponding Papiamentu expressions are unpopular and unappealing to the ears, English will be considered the better alternative.

Looking at the comment of Respondent 26, a male exclusive translator with formal training as a translator, I find it interesting that what motivates him is also what draws attention to the matter of language perception. What he claims is important for him is “doing whatever it takes to make whomever is going to read my translations understand [them]. However, I strive to avoid putting my language in a lower position as if to demonstrate that it is not able to express what the other languages on the island can.” From this comment one can see the delicate balance between lexical transfer for the sake of clarity and the desire not to compromise the status of Papiamentu, which, after all, is the official first language of the entire nation of Curaçao.

Respondent 28, a female exclusive translator with formal training as an educator and translator, commented that “finding the right expressions for what I want to say” is what motivates her to use English in her Papiamentu translations. She further commented that “[s]ometimes I can find the Papiamentu expressions but if the text is not formal, I will use what people use which may be mostly some English expression. If the text is formal in nature, then I will use a Papiamentu expression, and if I cannot find one, I will consult my colleagues until we come up with one”. She admits to using more English in her translation the less formal the text is. In other words, the more formal the text is, the less lexical transfer she engages in. This is quite the opposite of the comment by Respondent 38, a male exclusive translator and trained anthropologist. He said that:

[t]he more technical the text is, the more I am motivated to reach for some foreign expression. If the expression fits better but is Dutch, I use it. If it is



English, I use it. I use whatever fits best, in my opinion, for the audience I am translating for. So, the search for what I feel fits the translation best according to the audience is what motivates me to use an English expression in my translations. (Respondent 38)

Thus, the comments show that there are translators who feel that the more “serious” the text is, the more suitable it is to use some English expression in it. Others feel that the more “serious” it is, the less English should appear in it. Clearly, these are opposing but valid views. Again, along the same line of thought as Respondent 38 is Respondent 46, a male exclusive translator and trained high school teacher of Spanish, who commented that:

[t]he fact that the languages are in contact and are undergoing a natural process of change makes me feel free to use English in my Papiamentu from time to time. Where I feel that mixing English into my Papiamentu will be appreciated by my audience, I have no problem using English. However, that depends on the nature of my text. So, [...] the nature of my text determines whether I will use any English in my text and how much of it. I often write texts dealing with humor, so there is a lot of room for using English. (Respondent 46)

His motivation is driven by the nature of the text he translates and who his readers are. Still, there are translators who feel strongly that Papiamentu is in no way less prestigious than any other language. Such individuals also have no qualms pointing out why they do not engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer.

Respondent 52, a retired but active writer/translator with formal training in translation, radio journalism and creative writing, reported “[n]othing motivates me to use English expressions in my Papiamentu translations. I use them only when I am quoting someone. What I can say is that I strive through my lack of use of them to show that Papiamentu can express anything without the help of another language.” This is another valid argument in defence of the expressiveness of Papiamentu.

Respondent 44, a male exclusive translator and computer technologist by profession, commented on what motivates him to use English in his translation. He said, “I just use an English expression if I cannot find one in Papiamentu and the English one is the one that everyone uses and understands. But often I can go to Spanish and find one which I can adapt to Papiamentu. In practice, this is what I would do before going

to English unless people use the English commonly.” It is interesting that he pointed out a strategy he uses to solve his lexical problem. While he might use some English expression in his translations, such a choice depends on how well-known the expression is among his readers. Otherwise, the strategy is to find the corresponding expression in Spanish and adapt it to Papiamentu. This is not surprising, as I have come to find out that this is a common approach and is particularly followed because, after all, English is not related to Papiamentu and as such does not lend itself to lexical adaptation as easily as Spanish does.

#### *6.2.4.2 The non-translators' comments*

Of the 105 non-translators, only 93 responded to the open-ended question, “What factors motivate you to borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu writing, publishing or editing?”. However, as in the case of the translators, there were non-translators who gave an irrelevant answer, or one that was at least not really useful. There were six such non-translators in the study. A few examples of their responses are as follows:

Respondent 176, student: “where I grew up, you can hear all the four languages together. But in a way Aruba is more Americanized than Curaçao.”

Respondent 179, trained in marketing and advertising: “I want to write good Papiamentu.”

Respondent 202, trained teacher of Spanish and French: “I want to be able to use my language well. I want to be able to speak it, read it, write it correctly and pass that on to the upcoming generations.”

While Respondent 176 may be reporting their own real experience concerning Papiamentu, the response is irrelevant to the question and even to the study at large since the language situation of Aruba falls outside the confines of the present research. Both respondents 179 and 202 gave a similar response concerning their goal of writing well in the language, but they fail to mention what motivates them to use English in their writing of the language, if at all they do engage in any form of lexical transfer. Therefore, I have also stricken these comments from the analysis.

Respondent 158, a male non-translator trained as a social worker, said that “the need to meet the expectation of [his] readers” motivated him to make lexical transfer in

his Papiamentu texts. He also said, “the Internet is also another motivator - Papiamentu on the Internet has quite a bit of English vocabulary because that is how people use the language.”

Nonetheless, like the translators, some non-translators also express concern over clarity, that is, “just the desire to express myself as clearly as possible using the language that my readers expect to read,” commented Respondent 156, a male non-translator who has training in sports education. Others like Respondent 161, a male non-translator with training in journalism, reported that his motivation comes from “my readers’ appreciation of unlimited expression.” Yet another respondent, 155, a male non-translator trained in desktop publishing, explained how he goes about meeting the expectations of his readers. He said that “the Internet is a big motivating factor. I go there to see what kind of language my readers use. That gives me an idea of how to gauge my writing style to meet their reading expectations. I do not write the way they speak; I just pay attention to their choice of words or vocabulary. Then I know what I can use and what I cannot.”

Like the translators, the non-translators also shared concerns about a lack of specialized expressions in Papiamentu to deal with the constantly developing technologies in many fields. In this regard, Respondent 159, a male non-translator and journalist, reported that “the lack of availability of Papiamentu vocabulary for some specialized terms and also the fact that when there are, most people might not know them or even use them. I don’t want my text not to be read because I use an unusual term. My texts mean money to me and the company I work for!”

However, while some respondents indicate that their income depends on how they write for their audience, that is, with or without using English expressions in their texts, others report that they have no choice but to use English expressions in their texts. For example, Respondent 194, a male non-translator and trained social worker said:

What motivates me to use English expressions in my Papiamentu text is the absence of specialized vocabulary for the types of text that I have to deal with. I happen to be in computers and the automotive fields, two of which happen also not to have enough Papiamentu words for things. Nevertheless, I do use English expressions automatically and don’t feel inconvenienced by it except that English spellings are arbitrary, and as a writer going between Papiamentu and English, I must be careful that I write correctly. (Respondent 194)

Respondent 14, a female non-translator trained in computer information systems, emphatically stated, “the Internet, the Internet, the Internet! Everything is about globalization. We are flooded with expressions from the manufacturers of the things we buy because we feel we need them. So, we also buy into using their terminologies.” But one respondent, a female non-translator trained in marketing, explained how she made use of lexical transfer:

While I advocate for us to invest in learning good Papiamentu, I find that in the field of advertising, we tend to do crazy things to get people’s attention. This is basically what motivates me to use English in my texts. So, it is just one of those fields that is serious but at the same time you cannot take it seriously when it comes to our crazy use of language. It is for a reason. (Respondent 147)

The foregoing are just some of the comments by the respondents providing reasons for their lexical transfer. Although they are ideological, the opinions do help to explain how the translators and writers approach some lexical problems in their (non)translations. That is, they indicate what they think of their approach. In short, their comments offer meaningful insight into their behavior as translators and non-translators as agents of lexical transfer.

### **6.3 Summary**

This chapter has discussed the data that emerged from the research to examine differences in the behavior of the Papiamentu translators and non-translators in order to determine how the translators in particular function as agents of lexical transfer.

A number of hypotheses were tested against a number of conditions and the results were interpreted and compared with a few prominent theories issuing from key works including Toury (1995), Simeoni (1995, 1998), and Kinnunen and Koskinen (2010). In the discussion, it is clear that translators do indeed act as agents of lexical transfer. The data from the questionnaires, interviews and public-health medical texts support this main finding.

The two most revealing findings are:

1) Some language planners as decision makers are also translators themselves, and as such, they are part of the lexical transfer process. With specific reference to this process, they have indicated the importance of being strict in the decisions they must

make while yet being flexible enough to accommodate the contributions of the general population since Papiamentu belongs to them as well. This finding further confirms the connection between translation and the lexical transfer process.

2) Despite the age-old notion that translators are subservient (Simeoni 1995, 1998), it cannot be generally assumed that all translators behave in a submissive manner. Buzelin (2011) makes this clear as she points to Simeoni's provocative arguments and the merits of his hypothesis. In clarifying the lexical-transfer behavior of the Curaçaoan professional Papiamentu translators, I have been able to show that instances of lexical transfer need not be interpreted as instances of subservience. Occasionally theories make for generalizations that fall short of considering important aspects of the reality of other translators in unsuspected places. I am convinced that Curaçao is one of those unsuspected places where the focus of the national language planning authorities on the strict monitoring of the Papiamentu language in on-going standardization does not "tie the hands" of the translators. Instead, it collaborates with them as it does with the general population, thus giving way to lexical transfer by consensus rather than by fiat.

The present research also opens the way for new ways to look at lexical transfer, as well as at the status of translators in general. While the present study does not seek to be dismissive of the fact that there are translators who act subserviently in their professional practice, it serves to point out that such an assumption does not apply to all translators everywhere. In keeping with this point, I should add that I found the comments of the translators and non-translators themselves to be very helpful in understanding better their attitude to the lexical transfer of English expressions in their Papiamentu (non)translations.

The results of the data have led to a typology of professional Papiamentu translators in Curaçao, which aligns with the model elaborated in the methodology chapter. The model was intended to illustrate a connection between lexical transfer and translation. The data and the research findings confirm the validity of the model as it relates to the Curaçaoan translation context. The following chapter will further summarize the findings in light of the original aims and purpose of this study.

## 7. Conclusion

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes my research in accordance with the questions, hypotheses and objectives set out in the introduction. Section 7.2 presents some theoretical implications of the research. Section 7.3 discusses the limitations of the study. Section 7.4 closes with a discussion of implications for future research.

### 7.2 Theoretical implications

At the beginning of this work I set out to determine whether and how professional Curaçaoan Papiamentu translators and non-translators, but more specifically the former, act as agents of lexical transfer when they deal with the dilemma of using English lexical items in their Papiamentu translations and non-translations. The research has shown that the addition of new lexical items to Papiamentu cannot be attributed only to non-translators working in the language. Papiamentu translators report being also partly responsible for adding new lexical items to the language. Hence they, like the non-translators, act as agents of lexical transfer.

Focusing on the difference between translators and non-translators as agents of lexical transfer, the research has revealed the way in which both translators and non-translators find specific solutions to the same kinds of problems they encounter daily. The subsequent interplay between the translators, the writers and the language-planning authorities leads to the ultimate determination of what lexical items are accepted, with or without any morphological modification, into standard Papiamentu. This lexical transfer implies an overlooked involvement of translation in this process, hence the agency of the translators on the “frontline”, where they indeed function as vibrant and in some cases as innovative users of the English lexical items they transfer into Papiamentu.

On the quantitative side, while this study does not claim that the findings are exhaustive, it does suggest that language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, length of professional experience and formal training play meaningful roles in the translators’ and non-translators’ decision to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer. It is important to note here that while employment stability does not play a role

in how the FPI deals with lexical transfer, it is found to play a role in the some (non)translators' treatment of it. Further analysis has also shown that other factors such as target-audience locations, sex, text types and education are related to lexical transfer.

On the qualitative side of this study, the recurrent concerns of the translators and non-translators are: variety of expression, wider readership, globalization, client satisfaction, lack of specialized terms, the status of Papiamentu as an official language, and consumer appeal. Each of these relates to at least one of my hypothesized factors of influence on lexical transfer: language prestige, text sensitivity, employment stability, professional experience, and formal training, even though they do so in an overlapping fashion.

The study shows that in some cases, translators and non-translators claim to deliver authentic Papiamentu to their target audiences even though they may sometimes use English expressions in their Papiamentu texts in order to meet their target audience's expectations or their client's requests. Some translators and non-translators also appear to be governed by the "invisible eyes" of the wider readership they seek, particularly on the Internet. They engage in the task of "feeling out" carefully the expectations of their readers to make sure that they can reach and keep them. This often involves the free use of language that their readers themselves use and expect to read. Therefore, in a wholesale fashion, such translators and non-translators may end up giving in to the use of English in their Papiamentu texts. My research shows that this is a form of agency, but one that does not necessarily spell subservience, as Simeoni (1995, 1998) might have supposed.

There are valid instances in which such agency is desired by the translators and indeed appreciated by them. One instance of this is target-audience locations where the promoted language is that of the transferred lexical items (English) rather than the target language of the translation or non-translation (Papiamentu) (see Toury 1995). Other instances where such agency is desired, appreciated, considered normal and outshines the notion of subservience are those involving writing and translating advertisements or humor. In such cases, marketing, which by its very nature must appeal to its consumers, tends to be unapologetically steeped in the use of English expressions in Papiamentu translations and non-translations, at least in the context of Curaçaoan Papiamentu. Recall Respondent 46, a male exclusive translator and trained high school teacher of Spanish, who said, "the nature of my text determines whether I will use any English in

my text and how much of it. I often write texts dealing with humor, so there is a lot of room for using English.”

In the end, two things must be borne in mind. One is that those who transferred lexical items through their translations and non-translations were willing and able to carry out that action (see Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010). If not, they resorted to various alternative solutions. The other is that my research shows that more than three quarters (77%) of all the translators and 96% of the non-translators had training in a profession other than translation or writing. Further, nearly three quarters of the translators (71%) and more than half of the non-translators (56%) practice another profession alongside their translation or writing (see Section 4.3). It is therefore not likely that the majority of these respondents, in particular the translators, practice their translation in the frame of a subservience that is peculiar to translation. The overall results of this research point to a persistent need for a more profound understanding of the role of translators as agents who seek to achieve what they consider to be a worthwhile end as far as their translation practice is concerned.

Of all the arguments for or against the use of English lexical items in Papiamentu texts, the one that seems to be most commonly voiced by the respondents is that many English terms for certain goods come from the Internet and are widely used in the country. They also often mention that many of these English terms have no corresponding terms in Papiamentu or, if they do, they tend to fall into disuse. These include terms in some tertiary-level academic texts, for automobile spare parts, pharmaceutical products, and electronic equipment such as laptop computers, flatscreen televisions, mobile phones, iPads, and digital cameras. Additionally, it is interesting that many translators and non-translators talked about the Internet as though it were a “physical place” where they cater to their devoted target readers and clients. And it is also a “place” where many translators and non-translators inevitably meet and deal with the dilemma of lexical transfer, and where I also met a number of them.

Considering both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the study, the research has made a contribution to expanding our understanding of the differences between the practices of translators and non-translators. My examination of these encompasses how lexical problems are dealt with both inside and outside of the language-planning sphere. The research has made some surprising revelations that are important for informing existing theories about how translators behave in their various capacities. One example of this is their heterogeneous function as gatekeepers and/or



non-gatekeepers at the same time, as they are also exclusive translators, writing translators, writers/translators or translating writers.

Finally, the research has contributed to the general body of literature on Translation Studies with an end to advancing the scholarly discussion on the agency of translators. It is my hope that Translation Studies in general, Caribbean creole studies, and Papiamentu – a language of lesser diffusion – have all benefited from this discussion of translators as agents of lexical transfer. This is not to say that the results are exhaustive or necessarily generalizable to all language situations, as neither translation nor lexical transfer occurs in a vacuum. The research itself attests to the fact that a variety of factors must be taken into consideration, but at the very least it reveals that lexical transfer is not synonymous with subservience just because a translator is working or that translators are subservient or invisible (see Simeoni 1995, 1998; Venuti 1995). In Caribbean creole situations, these translators are doing with their creole something that had never been done before and that was even thought infeasible. I am referring here to translating into a creole that has made its way to the position of official first language of its speakers and territory. Today they are lauded for their achievements.

### **7.3 Implications for policy and practice**

The present research has shown that Papiamentu translators and non-translators engage in lexical transfer for various reasons. In some cases, the use of lexical transfer is associated with the non-existence of corresponding terminology in the target language. In other cases, it is not. However, a lack of terminology in specific fields does persist. One such field is medicine. Another is Information Technology, whose lingua franca is English. Thus, as English becomes the lingua franca for more and more fields, evidence of the need for new specialized terminology in Papiamentu also increases. Accordingly, there is a dire need for Papiamentu terminologists, which is not to say that this would put an end to lexical transfer. That is neither the desired result of terminology building nor the implication of any suggestion here for policy and practice. However, it is my belief that every mature modern language should strive to build its standard lexis formally, even if this means borrowing, which all languages do.

Cabré Castellví (2012) emphasizes that in the relation between terminology and translation, as well as between their theory and practice, one of the functions of

terminology is to provide translators and writers with cognitive knowledge. In turn, it is this knowledge that determines the degree to which it becomes easier for a language to develop the technical terminology needed and for translators and non-translators alike to find them when they need them. Although Papiamentu translators have not explicitly asked for anything in order to deal with lexical transfer in their translation practice, the responses of the participants to the questionnaire indirectly express the gap that exists between what they rely on in their translation practice and what they wish they had. For example, some participants spoke of the pervasive borrowing of computer technology terms from English and wished they had the corresponding terms in Papiamentu or that the existing Papiamentu ones that have fallen into desuetude had not. The general sentiments in this regard point to the lexical solutions to which they resort. Based on this, I would like to make a few recommendations to the FPI and qualified Papiamentu-speaking professionals inside and outside of Curaçao, who have an interest in promoting Papiamentu (see also Parkins-Ferrón 2012):

1. Support and expand existing initiatives designed to create new terminology in specific fields in Papiamentu, such as the *Banko di Palabra* project at the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*.
2. Make the compilation of specialized glossaries a part of university courses in terminology training, disseminate them on the Internet and enable them to be constantly updated through various forums where users can a) post comments about particular issues or topics, b) reply to other users' postings in order to service the need for new terminologies in as many fields as possible, for example, computer technology, automotive technology, software development, medicine and law.
3. Develop more training courses in technical translation for law, medicine, economics, computer technology, engineering, and so forth. These courses need not all be degree or diploma courses as short seminars, webinars, modules and certification courses can also be highly effective.
4. Organize professionals (biologists, biology teachers, lab technologists, chemists, chemistry teachers, computer scientists, IT specialists and so forth) into groups to work out and standardize specialized terminologies in their fields.
5. Set up a terminologists' association.
6. Set up a translators' association where translators can come together to discuss their translation practices and employment, network, develop professional

support, and work on technical issues.

7. Develop special requirements to make medical and legal texts available at least in Papiamentu at the national level and at least bilingually in Papiamentu and Dutch at the centralized level in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Such requirements should take into consideration matters of language prestige and text sensitivity.

#### **7.4 Limitations of the study**

If I had to do this study all over again, I think I would modify the methodology further by conducting the interviews and questionnaires sequentially. I would begin with interviews around my initial questions. The model would still be multilevel, but I would not conduct the interviews and questionnaires concurrently or even begin with the pilot questionnaire. I found that once I started the interview process, I was gathering relevant additional data that enabled me to clarify other ideas related to the post-pilot questionnaire. Those additional ideas could have been tested in the pilot had it not been done long before the interviews. It was not always possible to get in touch a second time with some of the questionnaire respondents, who I thought might have been instrumental in assisting me with the clarifications I needed. I think that would have been a better approach because in this particular study, I had constant access to the interview participants but not to the questionnaire participants. Therefore, I would do interviews first, then questionnaires, followed by a second or third interview with the same participants to close the “circle” of questions and doubts.

Another limitation of the research is that after completing the hypothesis tests, I discovered a few questions that I was not able to answer. Therefore, I did some further quantitative analysis but still found no answer to these questions. A few of the questions have to do with the professional experience of the respondents. In the questionnaire, I asked the respondents to indicate their years of experience. The options I presented to them were only range-selective, that is, they could only select 1) less than one year, 2) between 1 and 5 years inclusive, 3) between 6 and 10 years inclusive, 4) between 11 and 15 years inclusive, and 5) more than 15 years. These options did not allow me to know the exact years of experience of any of the respondents. Thus, my statistical analysis was forced to rely only on these ranges. I would have liked to know how the results might have differed had I worked with data for the exact years of experience of each

respondent. I suspect it would have been convenient to determine more precisely how years of experience correlate with lexical transfer. The unanswered questions are as follows:

1. Why is it that translators with equivalent levels of professional experience as do the non-translators did have a greater tendency to engage in English-to-Papiamentu when their experience was  $>15$  years but not when it was  $\leq 15$  years? I had expected that as translators became more experienced in their professional practice, they would have engaged less in lexical transfer, especially because they would have acquired enough experience 1) to apply alternative solutions to lexical transfer, 2) to show that translation into a growing language such as Papiamentu is possible without involving lexical transfer.
2. Why could I not confirm statistically that the translators in general were more inclined than the non-translators to use English expressions in their Papiamentu texts when the task was not for pay, the assignment of future tasks was guaranteed, or the end-user's demand for the information was not affected by the use of English expressions? Whatever the reason for engaging in lexical transfer, I had expected clearly statistically significant test results with respect to factors of employment stability, because in my informal communication with the translators, their response was always one of surprise that one could imagine that their professional practice could be profit-driven.
3. Why could I not confirm statistically that age is correlated with lexical transfer when the respondents' professional experience was  $>15$  years? I had expected to see such a correlation, since age and experience are in general everyday life commensurate.
4. Why could I not confirm statistically that the more education that at least the non-translators and the translators-and-writers had, the greater their tendency to lexical transfer? I had expected statistically significant test results because at least in the case of the non-translators, their education mean rank was much higher than for the exclusive translators for whom the results were statistically

confirmed. In the case of the translators-and-writers, their education mean rank was closer to that of the exclusive translators?

5. Why is it that the exclusive translators were not the ones most prominent to engage in English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer in the tests for association between the translators and non-translators lexical transfer and the locations of their target audiences? In this case it was the non-translators, followed by the translators-and-writers, and the exclusive translators. I had expected the exclusive translators to be the most prominent since the data on lexical solutions show the exclusive translators to be the leading ones to apply the lexical solutions followed by the non-translators and then the translators-and-writers.
6. It is not clear why tests concerning “computer technology” among the exclusive translators, as well as tests including “automotive” text types (under the “other” category) among the translators-and-writers, turn out to be insignificant. According to a number of responses in the questionnaire, respondents often found themselves resorting to English terms for automobile parts. Therefore, with respect to “computer technology” and “automotive”, I would have expected to see test results that were statistically significant.

None of these questions could be answered by the interviews or public-health medical texts used in this study. I have therefore concluded that they should be left for further research.

Finally, because the study deals with lexical transfer, which is a dynamic notion in that it is about the movement or transfer of a lexical item from one language to another, a longitudinal study might have been better for testing the theoretical framework, especially with the model outlined in the methodology. However, the financial and time constraints of doctoral research made this too ambitious and impractical, since the necessary data were not readily available. Therefore, a longitudinal study could be an extension of the present research. Despite not having the luxury of such a dimension, the results of the entire research have hopefully been sufficiently informative. Table 77 offers a snapshot of borrowed terms in use at the time of my survey. I refer to that time as Period 1 for which there are inputs and outputs. In a longitudinal study, Period 1 would be followed by at least one other period whose input

would be the output of the previous period. In this way, the evolution of the (non)translators' lexical transfer practice and their agency could be tracked and analyzed in a continuous fashion. From this approach it can be seen that use of this snapshot would involve a completely different kind of research.

Table 77. Snapshot of various borrowed lexical terms in use at the time of the survey according to Vinay and Darbelnet's standard methodology for translation

Standard methodology (Lexical transfer type)	Source-language input (Period 1) →	Target-language output (Period 1)→	Target-language input (Period 2) →	Target-language output (Period 2)
Unmodified borrowing (No morphological modification)	airborne	airborne	airborne	?
	BMI	BMI	BMI	?
	bodyfat	bodyfat	bodyfat	?
	CD-rom	CD-rom	CD-rom	?
	check	check	check	?
	coronary care	coronary care	coronary care	?
	deposit	deposit	deposit	?
	digital camera	digital camera	digital camera	?
	down payment	down payment	down payment	?
	ECG	ECG	ECG	?
	flatscreen TV	flatscreen TV	flatscreen TV	?
	gender	gender	gender	?
	gym	gym	gym	?
	intensive care	intensive care	intensive care	?
	iPad	iPad	iPad	?
	keyboard	keyboard	keyboard	?
	manager	manager	manager	?
	mobile phone	mobile phone	mobile phone	?
mouse	mouse	mouse	?	
newsletter	newsletter	newsletter	?	
public health nurse	public health nurse	public health nurse	?	
rooming in	rooming in	rooming in	?	
screen	screen	screen	?	
upgrading	upgrading	upgrading	?	
Modified borrowing (Morphological translation)	playoffs	playoffnan	playoffnan	?
	powerlocks	power locknan	power locknan	?
	printers	printernan	printernan	?
	workshops	workshopnan	workshopnan	?
Structural calque (Morphophonetic translation)	computer	kòmpiuter	kòmpiuter	?
	dashboard	dèshbort	dèshbort	?
	daylight	deilait	deilait	?
	frame	freim	freim	?
	laptop	lèptòp	lèptòp	?
	lighter	laiter	laiter	?
	paperclip	peperklep	peperklep	?
	sandpaper	sanpépr	sanpépr	?
	tire	tayer	tayer	?
	weak point	wikpòint	wikpòint	?
windshield,	winshil	winshil	?	
Lexical calque (Syntactic imitation)	do not worry	no wòri	no wòri	?
	I'm not worrying	mindà wòri	mindà wòri	?
	never mind	lebumai, lègumai, leumai	lebumai, lègumai, leumai	?

## **7.5 Recommendations for future research**

In terms of recommendations for future research, the first idea that comes to mind is that of refinement of the research. The second is replication. As this research is triangulated with questionnaire, interview and textual data, it can be refined and replicated.

The idea of refinement is to use data on the Papiamentu translators' and non-translators' exact years of professional experience, not just on whether their professional experience is less than, equal to or greater than 15 years.

A second idea, as mentioned, is to replicate the study in a longitudinal manner. In this way, the translators' agency occurring over a period of 20, 30 or more years could be investigated.

The study could also be replicated with other creoles within and outside of the Caribbean to determine whether there is potential for generalization of the findings. The final alternative for replication would be to do so with other non-creole languages of lesser diffusion and in a setting that is at least bilingual with a high level of translation activity. It should be interesting to know whether my findings are limited to creoles or to other languages of lesser diffusion.

Finally, I made some recommendations for policy and practice earlier with respect to terminology (see also Parkins-Ferrón 2012). From the point of view of future research, it must be made clear that this is extremely important, since the need for Papiamentu terminologists increases daily. In pointing out the importance of terminology for building the lexicon of a language, Cabré Castellví (2012) clarifies that terminology and translation are not synonymous and that specialized translation has a deep need for terminology (see also L'Homme et al 2003). All languages change, and lexical or terminological adjustment is a part of that process, sometimes voluntary and other times involuntary. On this note, as I continue to do research in Translation Studies and practice the beautiful yet often controversial profession of translation, I now conclude this research with yet another recommendation for further research, that is, to study Papiamentu terminology and Papiamentu translation – for what we do not study, we cannot understand properly.

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
TRANSLATORS AS AGENTS OF LEXICAL TRANSFER  
Courtney G. Parkins-Ferrón  
DL: T 980-2015

## Appendixes

### *Appendix A: Invitation message to Papiamentu questionnaire respondents*

Dear (title and name),

I'm a doctoral student in Translation and Intercultural Studies, who has been conducting research fieldwork on Papiamentu mainly at the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* located at Jan Noorduynweg 32B. As I have noticed from your interesting work that you may be engaged in Papiamentu translation and/or writing, I've decided to ask you for your opinion by way of a questionnaire.

I do understand that you have an extremely busy schedule, but I would greatly appreciate your input in my research.

The following link takes you directly to the questionnaire: [Papiamentu questionnaire](#)

Thanks in advance for your kind participation.

Sincerely,  
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Alternative link to the questionnaire: <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/papiamentu>

### **Dissertation title:**

Translators as Agents of Lexical Transfer: Evidence from the standardization of Curaçaoan Papiamentu

## *Appendix B: Questionnaire*

Thanks for accepting to participate in this survey!

The purpose of this study is to determine how creole translators and writers deal with foreign expressions in their creole texts. The questionnaire should take about 20 minutes to complete. All your responses will be treated as confidential, and you'll receive the final results of the survey once the data have been processed.

Researcher's contact information

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### INSTRUCTION

Please answer the following questions. You may add comments in the box provided at the end of each question or at the end of the questionnaire itself.

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_ E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you translate or write professionally in Papiamentu? "Professionally" here means for pay. The term "write" includes the activities of editing and publishing.

I translate professionally.

I write professionally.

I translate and write professionally.

3. Into which creole do you translate, write, publish or edit texts professionally?

	TRANSLATE	WRITE, PUBLISH, EDIT
	_____	_____
Papiamentu	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Papiamentu (from Bonaire)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Papiamentu (from Curaçao)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If "Other", please specify	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	_____	_____

4. From what language do you translate? (You may make more than one selection)

- Dutch  
 English  
 French  
 Spanish  
 Portuguese  
 Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5. Which do you do more, TRANSLATING or NON-TRANSLATING WORK? Bear in mind that non-translating work here refers to writing and also to publishing and editing.

- I do more Papiamentu translating than non-translating work.  
 I do more Papiamentu non-translating work than translating.  
 I do just as much Papiamentu translating as non-translating work.

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

#### FORMAL TRAINING

6. Do you have any professional training as a translator, writer, publisher or editor?

	TRANSLATION TRAINING	WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING TRAINING
Yes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If "Yes", please specify the type of translation and/or writing, publishing or editing training you have. \_\_\_\_\_

#### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

7. How many years of professional translation and writing, publishing or editing experience do you have?

	TRANSLATION	WRITING
less than 1	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
between 1 and 5 inclusive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
between 6 and 10 inclusive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
between 11 and 15 inclusive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
more than 15	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. How often do you write (including publish, edit) and translate texts?

	Everyday	Once a week	Less than once a week	Rarely	Other
TRANSLATION	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
WRITING/PUBLISHING/EDITING	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you selected "Other", please specify. \_\_\_\_\_

#### EMPLOYMENT STABILITY

Do you borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu text because ...

	TRANSLATION	WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING
9. your task is not for pay?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
10. payment for your task is guaranteed?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
11. the assignment of future tasks is guaranteed?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
12. the end-user's demand for the information is not affected by the use of the English expressions?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

TEXT SENSITIVITY

13. Do you borrow expressions from English into your Papiamentu text because ...

the text is not safety-related?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always	<input type="checkbox"/> Always
	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently
	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally
	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely
	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Never

14. the text does not have to meet regulatory requirements?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always	<input type="checkbox"/> Always
	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently
	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally
	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely
	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Never

15. the text is highly academic. Examples of such a text are professional journal articles, textbooks and scientific magazines?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always	<input type="checkbox"/> Always
	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently
	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally
	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely
	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Never

16. you own the rights to the text?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always	<input type="checkbox"/> Always
	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently
	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally	<input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally
	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely	<input type="checkbox"/> Rarely
	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

LANGUAGE PRESTIGE

17. Do you borrow expressions from English into Papiamentu because English is seen as more prestigious than Papiamentu with respect to the nature of the text? For example, English might be more prestigious for texts about banking or computers while Papiamentu might be seen as more prestigious than English for texts about education and politics.

Always       Frequently       Occasionally       Rarely       Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

18. Do you borrow expressions from English when you are translating from it into Papiamentu because you find no corresponding expressions in Papiamentu?

Always       Frequently       Occasionally       Rarely       Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_



When you are dealing with a text, do you borrow any English expression into your Papiamentu text because you think ...

	TRANSLATION	WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING
19. Papiamentu speakers use the English expression at least as frequently as they use the Papiamentu one?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
20. the English expression sounds better than the Papiamentu one?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
21. the English expression does not make the meaning of your Papiamentu text in any way unclear?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
22. The English expression makes the meaning of your Papiamentu text clearer?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
23. the English expression helps to build up the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
24. Papiamentu speakers will not object to the use of the English expression?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

25. With respect to the educational and political life of Curaçao, do you agree that Papiamentu is seen as ...  
 more prestigious than the other languages used on the island

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

26. just as prestigious as the other languages used on the island?

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

27. less prestigious than the other languages used on the island?

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

28. not prestigious at all?

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

#### LEXICAL SOLUTIONS

When you borrow an English expression for which you find no corresponding Papiamentu expression, do you ...

	TRANSLATION	WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING
29. use it just as it is without explaining it in your Papiamentu text?	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
30. use it just as it is and add an explanation to your Papiamentu text? Such an explanation may be a footnote, endnote or a note by the translator, author, publisher or editor.	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never
31. creolize it, that is, write it with a Papiamentu spelling, so that it looks and sounds like Papiamentu although it may be unclear in meaning to your readers? <u>Example</u> : “push-pin board” (prikbord) could be creolized as “pushpinbort”.	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

*Appendixes*

32. creolize it and also explain it clearly to your readers? Example: If someone decided to create the word “pushpinbort” in Papiamentu for the English word “push-pin board”, they might also explain in Papiamentu that it means “notice board”.

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Always       | <input type="checkbox"/> Always       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   | <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       | <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never        | <input type="checkbox"/> Never        |

33. replace it by restating the idea you wish to express within the context of the intended readers of your Papiamentu text?

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Always       | <input type="checkbox"/> Always       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   | <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       | <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never        | <input type="checkbox"/> Never        |

34. create a self-explanatory word or phrase in Papiamentu for your Papiamentu text instead of using the English word or phrase?

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Always       | <input type="checkbox"/> Always       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   | <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       | <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never        | <input type="checkbox"/> Never        |

35. create a word or phrase in Papiamentu along with an explanation of it for your writing instead of using the English word or phrase? Such an explanation may be a footnote, endnote or a note by the translator, author, publisher or editor.

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Always       | <input type="checkbox"/> Always       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   | <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       | <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never        | <input type="checkbox"/> Never        |

36. ignore it and therefore leave it completely out of your Papiamentu text?

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Always       | <input type="checkbox"/> Always       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   | <input type="checkbox"/> Frequently   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally | <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       | <input type="checkbox"/> Rarely       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Never        | <input type="checkbox"/> Never        |

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LEXICAL TRANSFER IN PAPIAMENTU

37. Have you observed Papiamentu speakers objecting to the use of English expressions in written Papiamentu?

- Always       Frequently       Occasionally       Rarely       Never

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

38. Do you agree that borrowing English expressions and using them...

with some degree of creolization in Papiamentu translation or other Papiamentu writing helps to build the Papiamentu vocabulary and keep the language standardized? Example: using the expression “no wòri” for the English expression “don’t worry”, which eventually becomes a normally used expression in standard Papiamentu.

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

39. with or without any degree of creolization in Papiamentu translation or other Papiamentu writing robs the language of its opportunity to build its own vocabulary for conveying the ideas of the borrowed expressions? Example: using the English terms “shortstop”, and “footwork” in Papiamentu baseball translated texts and “dèshbort” on public parking meters instead of using existing local terms or creating completely new ones in Papiamentu

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

40. with some degree of creolization in Papiamentu translation or other Papiamentu writing tends to make text in the language difficult to read

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

41. without any form of creolization in Papiamentu translation or other Papiamentu writing tends to make text in the language difficult to read

Strongly Agree     Agree     Indifferent / No Opinion     Disagree     Strongly Disagree

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

#### YOUR VIEW IN YOUR OWN WORDS

42. What factors motivate you ...

TRANSLATION

to borrow English expressions from the English texts you translate into Papiamentu?

WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING

to borrow English expressions into your Papiamentu writing, publishing or editing?

*Appendixes*

OTHER INFORMATION

43. Please select the text type(s) that you commonly translate, write, publish or edit in Papiamentu. (You may make more than one selection)

	TRANSLATE	WRITE, PUBLISH, EDIT
advertising	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
business	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
computer technology	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
educational	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
engineering	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
environmental	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
insurance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
journalism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
legal	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
literary	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
medical (public health information)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
religious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
scientific	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
sport	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
tourism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
government (political and regulatory information)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)		

44. What is the location of the audience for whom your Papiamentu translation, writing, publishing or editing are mostly intended? (You may make more than one selection)

	TRANSLATION	WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING
Aruba	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bonaire	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Curaçao	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Saba	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sint Eustatius	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sint Maarten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Netherlands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
USA	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you selected "Other" and/or "USA", please specify the state(s), for example, New York, Florida, California.

45. In what city do you mostly do your translating, writing, publishing or editing?

TRANSLATING:

\_\_\_\_\_

WRITING, PUBLISHING, EDITING

\_\_\_\_\_

46. What is your main profession? "Profession" here refers to the principal line of work that you studied to do for paid employment. For example, if you trained to be an engineer or journalist, your profession is engineering or journalism, respectively. \_\_\_\_\_

47. What is your main present occupation? "Occupation" here refers to paid or unpaid work that you currently do most of the time. For example, if you are a trained translator who now mostly works as a teacher, your occupation is teaching. \_\_\_\_\_

48. What is your highest level of education?

- Primary school / Elementary school
- Secondary school / High school
- Tertiary / Advanced (Bachelors degree)
- Tertiary / Advanced (Masters degree)
- Tertiary / Advanced (Doctoral degree)
- Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

49. How old are you?

- between 18 and 25 inclusive
- between 26 and 35 inclusive
- between 36 and 45 inclusive
- between 46 and 55 inclusive
- between 56 and 65 inclusive
- Over 65

50. Sex

- Male
- Female

51. Additional comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you very much for participating in this study!

### *Appendix C: Letter of invitation to participate in interview*

Dear (name of representative),

This letter is an invitation to participate in a research study. I am a Ph.D. student in the Department of English and German Studies at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Currently, I am conducting research under the supervision of Prof. Anthony Pym, on the relationship between translation and lexical building in the Caribbean creole languages.

#### **Study Overview**

As many Caribbean countries confront problems issuing from bilingualism and how it shapes their education system, some of them are considering standardization of their creole(s) as a part of the solution. However, since creole lexical building has traditionally been treated within the context of linguistics without any significant mention of translation, the purpose of this research is to learn whether translators contribute to the ongoing process of Papiamentu lexical building with a view to providing some insights about translational behavior.

An interview will be conducted with key individuals who have been involved, at one point or another, in Papiamentu language planning. I would like to have your input in my doctoral research, as it would provide key insight and opinions to this study and the promotion of Papiamentu. Therefore, I would like to invite you to participate in a face-to-face interview.

#### **Your Involvement**

The interview includes questions about creole translation activity in your organization and the Caribbean. As I am currently in Curaçao, and conducting my fieldwork under Prof. Ronald Severing, at the **Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma** located at Jan Noorduynweg 32B, Willemstad, it will perhaps be convenient to meet with you there. However, I am flexible enough to meet at another location that is conducive to the interview process. Interviews will take place between 6 December 2011 and 29 February 2012.

The interview should last about 45 minutes to an hour and be arranged at a time convenient to your schedule. To ensure the accuracy of your input, I would ask your permission to audio record the interview. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. Also, there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study. You may decline to answer any of the questions that you do not wish to answer. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this interview at any time, without any negative consequences, simply by informing me of your decision. All information you provide will be considered confidential.

Your name and the name of your organization will not appear in any thesis or publication resulting from this study unless you provide express consent to be identified, have reviewed the thesis text and approved the use of any quotations. After the data have been analyzed, you will receive a copy of the summary.

**Contact Information**

If you have any questions regarding this study or would like additional information about participation, please do not hesitate to contact me at (my phone number) or by email at (my e-mail address). You can also contact my doctoral supervisor, Prof. Anthony Pym, by telephone at (supervisor's phone number) or by email at (supervisor's e-mail address).

Thank you in advance for your interest and assistance with this research.

Sincerely,  
Courtney G. Parkins-Ferrón  
Theaterstraat  
Willemstad, Curaçao

---

See Interview Consent Form below this letter.



*Appendix D: Interview Consent Form for the prospective interviewee*

**INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM**

I have read the information letter about a study being conducted by Courtney G. Parkins of the Department of English and Germanic Studies at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili, under the supervision of (name of supervisor). I have had an opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from the research, with the understanding that quotations will be either anonymous or attributed to me only with my review and approval.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by Prof. Anthony Pym in the Department of English and Germanic Studies at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili. I was informed that if I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the supervisor at (supervisor's telephone number) or at (supervisor's e-mail address).

With full knowledge of all the foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Yes  No

I agree to have the phone interview and any follow-up phone conversations audio-recorded.

Yes  No

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

Yes  No

I agree to the use of direct quotations attributed to me only with my review and approval.

Yes  No

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Please mail this form to: Courtney Parkins, (address in Curaçao).  
Alternatively, you may e-mail a scanned version to: (researcher's e-mail address).

*Appendix E: Interview questions for Papiamentu interviewee*

SECTION ONE: Preliminary information

Name of interviewee

Name of organization

Age

Sex

Highest level of education

Main profession

Main present occupation

Present job title

Number of questions

Date/time recorded

Record time

Place of interview

SECTION TWO: Opening the interview: *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma*

Would you tell me about the general role of the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* as far as it relates to the standardization of Curaçaoan Papiamentu.

SECTION THREE: The *Fundashon* and English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

How do you decide what English expressions should be admitted to the Papiamentu lexicon?

Where do you get the English expressions from?

Do you receive feedback concerning English expressions admitted into Papiamentu? If so, from whom?

Does the popularity of an English expression in information that is in high demand play a role in your decision to allow it into Papiamentu? If so, can you explain in what way and why it does?

On the whole, what factors motivate you to accept English expressions into Papiamentu?

#### SECTION FOUR: Text sensitivity

How are medical terminologies handled in public-health texts in Papiamentu for the general public?

Are there any special concerns for the frequency of use of medical terminologies in English? If so, what are they?

What if a text is regulated and contains English words, does this influence your decision to accept them into Papiamentu? If so, would you explain in what way.

What if a text is related to safety and contains English words, does this influence your decision to accept them into Papiamentu? If so, would you explain in what way.

What if a text is highly academic and contains English words, does this influence your decision to accept them into Papiamentu? If so, would you explain in what way.

What if the English expression is one that was created in English for a specific effect by the writer of the text, would this influence your decision to accept it into Papiamentu?

#### SECTION FIVE: Employment stability

Does the payment you receive for your work influence your decision to let English expressions into Papiamentu? If so, can you explain in what way and why it does?

#### SECTION SIX: Language prestige

With respect to the educational and political life of Curaçao, how prestigious is Papiamentu in comparison to the other languages on the island?

Do you use any popular English words in your Papiamentu texts? If so, why or why not?

Do you feel any social pressure to accept English words into Papiamentu? If so, can you explain what these pressures are and why you experience them?

Of the other languages on the island (Spanish, Dutch and English), which is the one from which you are least likely to accept a lexical item into Papiamentu? Can you explain why?

From which are you most likely to accept a lexical item into Papiamentu? Can you explain why?

SECTION SEVEN: Attitude towards English-to-Papiamentu lexical transfer

How would you describe your overall attitude to the use of English expressions in Papiamentu?

SECTION EIGHT: Additional comments

Is there anything else you might like to add?

*Appendix F: Distribution of questions on the post-pilot questionnaire*

SECTION ONE

Contact details and professional activity

Name and E-mail address

Translation? Non-translation? Both?

Target creole

Source language

Weight of (non)translation activity

SECTION TWO

Training, experience, employment stability, text sensitivity,  
language prestige, lexical solution types, and attitude

Formal training

Professional experience

Frequency of (non)translation activity

Employment stability (ES): task is not for pay

ES: payment guaranteed 0

ES: assignment of future tasks guaranteed 11

ES: end-user's demand unaffected by English expression 12

Text sensitivity (TS): text is not safety-related 13

TS: text does not have to meet regulation requirements 14

TS: text is highly academic 15

TS: you own the rights to the text 16

Language prestige (LP): English more prestigious 17

LP: found no corresponding Papiamentu expression 18

LP: English expression used as often as Papiamentu one 19

LP: The English expression sounds better 20

LP: Meaning of Papiamentu text not made unclear 21

LP: Meaning of Papiamentu text made clearer 22

LP: Builds up the Papiamentu lexis and standardizes it 23

LP: Papiamentu speakers will not object to English in text	24
LP: Papiamentu more prestigious than the other languages	25
LP: Papiamentu. equally prestigious as the other languages	26
LP: Papiamentu less prestigious than the other languages	27
LP: Papiamentu not prestigious at all	28
Lexical solution types (LS): English expression used as is	29
LS: English expression used as is but with explanation	30
LS: English expression creolized but unclear in meaning	31
LS: English expression creolized with clear explanation	32
LS: English replaced by restatement of idea in Papiamentu	33
LS: Create self-explanatory expression in Papiamentu	34
LS: Create expression with explanation in Papiamentu	35
LS: Ignore English expression and leave it out of text	36
Attitude to lexical transfer (AL): Papiamentu objection	37
AL: Creolization helps Papiamentu standardization	38
AL: Transfer robs Papiamentu its chance to build its lexis	39
AL: Creolization makes reading Papiamentu difficult	40
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<u>SECTION THREE</u>	Q
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Open-ended question (motivation)	42
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<u>Text types and target audience location</u>	
Types of texts for (non-)translation	43
Location of target audience	44

SECTION FIVE

Respondents' background information

City of (non-)translation activity	45
Main profession	46
Main present occupation	47
Highest level of education	48
Age	49
Sex	50
Additional comments	51