Papiamentu: a diachronic analysis of its core morphology

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1.   Introduction

This paper is concerned with the linguistic ties between Papiamentu (PA), spoken on the ABC-Islands[2], and the Upper Guinea branch of Portuguese based Creole (UGPC) as spoken on the Santiago island of Cape Verde (SCV) and in Guinea-Bissau and Casamance (GBC)[3]. The aim is to underpin the claim that these creoles have common origins by diachronically analyzing and comparing aspects of their core morphology.

1.1.   PA's origins: state of the art

Ever since Lenz' (1928) pioneering description of PA, its mixed Spanish-Portuguese vocabulary has provoked heavy debate. That the debate is far from settled is noted by Lipski (2005: 282), who asserts that up to present "scholars are (...) evenly divided as to the Spanish vs. Portuguese origins of Papiamento". Typical of this division is that in 1996 Munteanu fervently painted PA as an originally Spanish creole, while in that same year Martinus, no less passionately, defended PA's Afro-Portuguese roots. Because of the controversy

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[2]   The ABC-Islands comprise Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, situated off the coast of Venezuela.
[3]   Although on rare occasions kinship between SCV and GBC has been disputed (e.g. Morais-Barbosa 1975: 150; D'Andrade / Kihm 2000: 108), I will depart from the generally accepted idea that the two creoles have shared origins. Quint (2000b:99-117) presents a concise comparison between SCV and GBC that leaves little room for doubt. Recently, Baptista *et al.* (2007) have further explored the similarities between the two creoles and have established a 90% correspondence of grammatical features, measured by Holm / Patrick's (2007) comparative creole chart. From both a linguistic and a historical point of view, UGPC is likely to have come into being on the island of Santiago, from where it was taken to the mainland by Cape Verdeans settling in and around Cacheu (see Jacobs, to appear c).

over its origins, it is safest to call PA an Iberian-based creole language. However, as Kramer (2004: 100) comments: "Dieser glückliche Terminus enthebt einen dennoch nicht der Suche nach einer Erklärung für die teils spanische, teils portugiesische Prägung des Wortschatzes" ["This fortunate term does not relieve us of the search for an explanation of the partially Spanish, partially Portuguese character of Papiamentu"][4].

Martinus (1996) deserves much credit for being the first after Lenz (1928) to compare PA into some detail with Cape Verdean Creole. He ends up arguing for a common origin for Cape Verdean Creole, PA, Gulf of Guinea Creole[5], Palenquero (PL) as well as the Surinam creoles[6], a monogenetic hypothesis for which clear-cut evidence is sparse. It is nevertheless important to stress that Martinus planted the seeds for subsequent research into the Upper Guinea origins of PA.

Quint (2000b:119-196) postulated the hypothesis that underlies the present paper, classifying PA, SCV and GBC as a separate branch of creoles within the larger branch of Iberian-based creoles. After systematically exposing striking linguistic correspondences between PA and SCV on all levels of the grammar, he concludes:

> Le papiamento et le badiais [SCV] sont étroitement apparentés et ont une origine commune (…). L'importance des emprunts faits par le papiamento à l'espagnol est probablement due à une relexification partielle. (2000b:196, 197) ["PA and SCV are closely related and have a common origin. The importance of the Spanish borrowings in PA is probably due to a partial relexification favoured by the use of Spanish as language of religion and prestige."]

This claim, however, did not find any resonance in posterior publications. Munteanu (2008: 442), for instance, maintains: "Algunos estudiosos ponen en tela de juicio su origen hispánico y defienden su filiación portuguesa, pero en la actualidad esta posición ha perdido mucho terreno". Lipski (2008: 547), moreover, believes that "[t]he source(s) of the Portuguese elements in Papiamentu may never be determined with certainty". Jacobs (to appear a) aimed

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4   Translations of quotes are my own.
5   The term Gulf of Guinea Creole covers the Afro-Portuguese varieties Sãotomense, Angolar (both spoken on São Tomé), Principense (spoken on Principe) and Annobonense (spoken on Annobon).
6   According to Martinus, PA derives from "a Proto-Portuguese creole (…) that forms the basis of many African and Atlantic pidgins and creoles" (1996: 190, 191).

to fill part of this lacuna by drawing attention to the correspondences between PA and UGPC in five grammatical categories and by providing a historical framework that accounts for the language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao in the 17th century.

1.2.   Structure of the paper and working hypothesis

Our working hypothesis holds that PA did not come into existence on Curaçao, but in Upper Guinea, and was, immediately after 'arrival' on Curaçao in the middle of the 17th century, heavily (but by no means entirely) relexified by Spanish. This process affected mostly content words while leaving intact a considerable part of the original grammar and functional elements.

It goes as common sense that in most cases of language contact function words and core morphology are more resistant to substitution than content words. Thomason / Kaufman (1988: 14), for instance, argue that in cases of borrowing "the lexicon will be most susceptible and the paradigmatic morphology least susceptible" and Muysken / Smith (1990: 883) postulate that "[f]unction words (…) are normally less susceptible to replacement (...) than content words". Although several interesting exceptions to the rule have been described[7], PA constitutes no such exception: whereas the original Portuguese-based lexicon was heavily Hispanicized, most of PA's functional categories still correspond paradigmatically to UGPC (Jacobs, to appear a). Bound morphology, however, has not yet been discussed in any detail. With this in mind, the present paper offers a diachronic analysis of PA's core derivational and inflectional morphology: section 2 discusses the Upper Guinea origins of PA's most productive nominalizing suffixes; section 3 highlights the striking similarities between PA's past participle morphology and that of UGPC and closes with some remarks on passivization.

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[7]   Take for instance the Para-Romani languages of Western Europe, which preserved their original lexicon while borrowing grammar from surrounding dominant languages (Muysken 2008: 212).

Parts of this paper are enhanced with data taken from a series of Early PA (EPA)[8] written documents[9], which either have been published only recently or have simply not been studied yet for comparative purposes[10].

2. Derivational morphology

2.1. Action nouns: PA −mentu

Linguists have amply speculated on the etymology of the glossonym *Papia-mentu* (e.g. Van Wijk 1958; Kramer 2004: 97; Megenney 2007: 55), thereby focusing on the origins (Spanish or Portuguese?) of the verb *papia* 'to speak'[11]. The exact etymology of this content verb, however, should be no hanging matter, since, as noted in 1.2, content words are generally more sensitive to replacement than functional elements. In any debate on PA's origins, therefore, the second part of the glossonym, the suffix −*mentu* (< Port. −*mento* ≠ Sp. −*miento*), is of far more interest. Important to stress, in this respect, is that *Papiamentu* is a coinage, i.e. a root + affix derivation not attested in the lexifier(s). If an affix is responsible for a high number of coinages, it is likely to be or to have been productive (Parkvall 2006: 324) and thus to belong to the oldest strata of a creole's morphosyntax. The best proof of the productivity of PA −*mentu* is that it combines freely with verbs of

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8   Throughout the paper, when relevant, a distinction is made between Early PA (EPA) and Modern PA (MPA). The term EPA is used in relation to features no longer found in MPA, but present in late 18th, 19th and/or early 20th century writings. I have furthermore decided to take Lenz (1928) as roughly marking the transition from EPA to MPA.

9   Among these are Gospels, catechisms, short grammars and journal articles written in a period stretching from 1775 to 1928. References follow throughout the paper.

10   An important exception is the analysis of the 1775 letter and the 1803 Aruban PA document by Martinus (1996: 9-11, 33-36). His most salient findings include (a) the relative use of EPA *ki*, similar to SCV *ki*, versus MPA *ku*, (b) the use of EPA *es* as an element that holds the middle between a definite article and a demonstrative, identical to the UGPC demonstrative *es*, and (c) some cases of vowel harmony that have disappeared from MPA, such as EPA *trubunal* 'tribunal' and *mintira* 'lie', similar to UGPC *trubunal* and *mintira*, whereas MPA has the decreolized forms *tribunal* and *mentira*. The EPA features (a) and (b) are discussed in more detail in Jacobs (to appear a).

11   Megenney (2007: 55), for instance, claims that *papia* "viene del Portugués *papiar* 'parlotear'", but does so without explaining why Spanish *papear* − which, according to the DRAE, means 'balbucir, tartamudear, hablar sin sentido' − could not be the etymon. Kramer (2004: 97) is more cautious: "Es handelt sich um die Substantivierung (…) des Verbs *papia* (…) das zu spanisch *papear* (…) und zu port. *papear* (…) zu stellen ist" ["We are dealing with the nominalization of the verb *papia*, which can be traced back to either Spanish *papear* or Port. *papear*"]. A fact that both Megenney and Kramer forget to mention, but that clearly strengthens the idea of a Portuguese rather than a Spanish origin, is that Portuguese *papear* has a reflex in all Afro-Portuguese creoles (Viaro 2005: 84) as well as in the Asio-Portuguese creole *Papia* Kristang, while, to my knowledge, there are no reflexes of Spanish *papear* in either Palenquero or Chabacano, two Spanish-lexified creoles.

Dutch origin[12]. Such combinations provide the most clear-cut coinages of the PA lexicon, e.g. *fèrfmentu* 'the act of painting' (with *fèrf* 'to paint' < Du. *verven* 'to paint'), *wakmentu* 'the act of watching' (with *wak* 'to watch' < Du. *waken* 'to watch'), *skrufmentu* 'the act of screwing' (with *skruf* 'to screw' < Du. *schroeven* 'idem'), etc. (cf. Dijkhoff 1993: 148-151).

2.2.   Agentive nouns: PA −*dó*[13]

In one of the most recent works on PA morphology (Sanchez 2005), PA −*dó* is claimed to be "[a]n example of a morpheme with limited integration" since it "is found only with Spanish or Iberian roots (Dijkhoff 1993)" (Sanchez 2005: 67). Sanchez' reference to Dijkhoff (1993) is awkward, since Dijkhoff (1993: 148-151) is not only (one of) the richest source(s) on coinages with the suffix −*dó* in the PA lexicon, she also states that "−*dó* may be attached to almost any Papiamentu verb" (Dijkhoff 1993: 149)[14]. Indeed, coinages such as *yagdó* 'hunter' (with *yag* 'to hunt' < Du. *jagen* 'to hunt') or *hurdó* 'tenant, renter' (with *hur* 'to rent' < Du. *huren* 'to rent') prove the productivity as well as the antiquity of the PA suffix −*dó* (cf. Kowallik / Kramer 1999: 157) and make Sanchez' claim untenable: just as PA −*mentu*, the suffix PA −*dó* stands out for combining freely with verbs, regardless of the language that 'donated' the verbs.

2.3.   The comparison with UGPC

As suggested by the preceding, "−*mentu* and −*dó* are the most productive suffixes in Papiamentu" (Dijkhoff 1993: 141; cf. Maurer 1998: 181, 182; Van Putte 1999: 94; Bartens 1996: 255, 256). To come straight to the point: in GBC "Two suffixes should be set apart as they are used to derive nouns (...) from verbs. One is −*dur* (...). The other is −*menti*" (Kihm 1994: 131). In the more conservative Casamance variety of GBC, −*menti* and −*dur* are realized as −*mentu* and −*dor*. Kihm (1994: 131) explains that the two GBC suffixes combine with practically all verbs, a phenomenon to which he refers as *free*

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[12] On Dutch influence in PA on all levels of the grammar, consult Wood (1970, 1972), Kowallik / Kramer (1994) and Kramer (2004).

[13] In the EPA texts analyzed for this paper, the suffix is consistently written as −<dor>.

[14] Moreover, Dijkhoff (1993: 150) shows that the suffix is productive both in Aruba and Curaçao, giving interesting examples such as double agentive Aruban PA *wèlderdó* meaning 'welder', whereas on Curaçao the term *lasdó* 'idem' is more likely to be heard (with *las* 'to weld' < Du. *lassen* 'idem').

derivation, which "means that the stock of derived nouns is potentially open". This, as was shown above, also applies to PA −*mentu* and −*dó*.

In modern SCV, the suffixes −*mentu* and −*dor* seem less productive, but various coinages testify to the fact that they once were. Take, for instance, the (fossilized) noun SCV *ndjutumentu* 'impoliteness, discourtesy', where −*mentu* is attached to the verb *ndjutu* 'to treat without respect, to disdain' derived from the Mandinka verb *jutu* 'idem'[15] (Lang 2002: 476; Quint 2006: 79). That SCV −*mentu* and −*dor* have apparently lost (part of) their productivity seems due to the fact that modern SCV incorporated an extensive series of additional derivational suffixes from Portuguese[16]. Furthermore, in various cases where PA and GBC use regular derivations, SCV has borrowed irregular forms from Portuguese. Compare, for instance, PA *skirbidó* (< *skirbi* + *dó*) and GBC *skirbidor* (< *skirbi* + *dor*) with SCV *skritor* (< Port. *escritor*), all meaning 'author'.

Saliently, however, Veiga (2000: 133) gives the coinage SCV *papiamentu* (and Barlavento Cape Verdean Creole *papiamente*) 'action de parler'. Although he does not comment on the productivity of −MENTO in either SCV or Barlavento Cape Verdean, his example suggests either that in some parts of the archipelago it is productive, or that *papiamentu~papiamente* is a fossilized lexeme (as *ndjutumentu*), which would be no less interesting in the context of establishing links between PA and SCV.

Some additional (shared) coinages[17] with −MENTO and −DOR:

- PA   *pursiguí* 'to persecute'   > PA *pursiguimentu* 'persecution'
  GBC   *pursigui*   > GBC *pursiguimentu*
                                     ≠ Sp. *persecución*, Port. *persecução*
- PA   *siña* 'to teach, learn'   > *siñamentu* 'education'
  GBC   *nsina*   > *nsinamentu*
                                     ≠ Sp. *enseñanza*, Port. *ensino*
- PA   *papia* 'to speak'   > *papiadó* 'chatterbox'
  UGPC *papia*   > *papiador*
                                     ≠ Sp. *hablador*, Port. *falador*

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[15]   I thank Nicolas Quint for bringing this coinage to my attention.
[16]   See details in Lang (2002: XLI-XLIV), Quint (2000a:144, 145) or Veiga (2000: 132, 133).
[17]   This list obviously does not pretend to be exhaustive, since, as mentioned, the category of nouns derived with −*mentu* and −*dor* is open both in PA as in GBC.

- PA   *pidi* 'pedir'   > *pididó di limosna* 'beggar'
  GBC   *pidi*   > *pididor di sumola*
                                    ≠ Sp. *mendigo*, Port. *mendigo, pedinte*

Cardoso / Smith (2004) give a good impression of the idiosyncrasy of the free derivation with −MENTO. In relation to the Saramaccan pair *paká − pakamentu* and Sranan *pay − payment* (both 'to pay' − 'payment') they observe that "[s]uch derivational pairs are very rare, and can be counted on the fingers of two hands". They also point out "the non-productive derivational relationship between nouns (...) and verbs" (Cardoso / Smith 2004: 121) in the Surinam Creoles. The Spanish-lexified creoles Palenquero and Chabacano, the latter rich of derivational morphemes, also seem to lack a suffix corresponding to −MENTO. The suffix −DOR, on the other hand, is productive in Chabacano (Steinkrüger 2003: 257-259).

2.4.   More on the Upper Guinea origins of PA −*mentu*

2.4.1.   Discarding a Sephardic Portuguese origin

Those who argue that PA was not imported from elsewhere but rather arose on Curaçao might postulate that −*mentu* was borrowed from the Portuguese of the Sephardim. The idea that Sephardic Portuguese would have contributed significantly to the formation of PA, however, is nowadays considered untenable by defenders of a Spanish (e.g. Munteanu 1996: 84) as well as of a Portuguese origin (e.g. Joubert / Perl 2007: 46) of PA. Below, I will briefly outline why the claim of a Sephardic Portuguese origin for core grammatical items in PA indeed has no solid foundation.

First of all, we do not know whether the Curaçaoan Jews spoke Portuguese amongst each other: "It is (...) extremely difficult to draw conclusions regarding what language Sephardic immigrants may have spoken" (Joubert / Perl 2007: 48; cf. De Granda 1974; De Haseth 1990). Moreover, Philippe Maurer (p.c.) commented that, while Portuguese might have dominated in religious Sephardic contexts, Spanish is just as likely to have been dominant in the Sephardic households[18].

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[18]   In any case, as early as in the late 19th century, Portuguese would also cease to be used in formal (religious, etc.) Sephardic contexts (Granda 1974: 3).

Secondly, regardless of the native language skills of the Curaçaoan Sephardic minority, Maurer (1986: 98, emphasis added) convincingly shows that in the case of a Curaçao situated PA birth, their linguistic weight would have been limited: "Toujours est-il que les Juifs étaient un élément numériquement (ainse qu'économiquement) très important, puisque pendant le XVIIIe siècle ils représentaient entre 30% et 50% de la population blanche. Remarquons toutefois qu'**ils n'ont jamais possédé plus du 15% des esclaves**" (cf. Joubert / Perl 2007: 46). This suggests that in a hypothetical Curaçao birth of PA the linguistic contribution of the Sephardic Jews would have been inferior to that of the Dutch, who owned the remaining 85% of the slaves. Still, the number of Dutch derived functional elements in PA's core grammar can be counted on the fingers of one hand and those that exist (e.g. the passive auxiliary *wordu*, conjunctive *òf*, and some others) are conspicuously absent in the earliest written PA documents. The probable Portuguese-derived functional elements in PA's core grammar, on the other hand, easily outnumber even those of probable Spanish origin, and can all be traced back to UGPC (Jacobs, to appear a).

Thirdly, PA displays a series of Old (15th, 16th century) Portuguese features (discussed in Jacobs, to appear b). Since, to my knowledge, we lack descriptions of the early Curaçaoan Sephardic Portuguese ethnolect, it seems impossible to determine with any degree of certainty whether or not these Old Portuguese features were at all present in this lect. Attempts to argue for a Sephardic origin of these Old Portuguese features are therefore bound to remain purely speculative. Here again, however, we need not speculate on Sephardic influence, since all the Old Portuguese PA features are found in UGPC.

Kramer (2004: 117), finally, rightly states that if Sephardic Portuguese contributed to the formation of PA, we would expect to see remnants of this mostly in the periphery of the lexicon, rather than in its core grammar, and in fact, we do, with Sephardic Portuguese derived words such as PA *snoa* 'synagogue' (< Seph. *sinagoga*), *zjuzjum* 'fasting' (< Seph. *jejum*), etc. (cf. Henriquez 1988, 1991).

2.4.2.   Discarding a Spanish origin

Remarkably, Sanchez (2005: 24) gives Spanish −*miento* as etymon for PA −*mentu*, while the monophthong clearly points towards Portuguese −*mento*.

Although in a few cases Spanish uses *−mento* instead of *−miento*, the latter is − and has been roughly from the 14th century onwards (Cano Aguilar 2004: 313, 435) − about ten times as productive in Spanish. Since in the formation of pidgins and creoles the input tends to be generalized, it seems likely that if Spanish[19] had been the donor language of PA's core derivational morphology (i.e. if PA had come into being on Curaçao) we would find PA *−mientu* instead of *−mentu*. The following examples further strengthen this idea:

- The suffix PA *−shon* /ʃon/ clearly derives from Sp. *−ción*, not from Port. *−ção* (> UGPC *−son*). Although PA *−shon* created a few coinages, it does not combine with English or Dutch verbs and its productivity is limited[20]. This suggests that PA *−shon*, contrary to *−mentu* and *−dó*, does not belong to the oldest stratum and rather constitutes an example of non-core morphology borrowed into PA after arrival on Curaçao, as to be expected, from Spanish, rather than from Portuguese.

- Another case of non-core morphology is the gerund, a construction largely absent in basilectal varieties of PA (Wood 1972: 860). As with PA *−shon* (and not *−son*), here too the Spanish-derived diphthongized suffix *−iendo* was preferred above the Portuguese monophthong *−endo*[21], which is exactly what one would expect of any morphology that has entered PA in the by Spanish dominated linguistic landscape of Curaçao, rather than in Upper Guinea.

2.5.   *New evidence from EPA texts*

Strong new evidence in favor of the hypothesis underlying this paper comes from several EPA texts where the (non-productive) nominalizing suffix *−dadi* appears in free variation with the modern PA (MPA) suffix *−dat*: besides forms such as <skuri**dat**> 'darkness', <kapasi**dat**> 'capacity', <false**dat**> 'falseness', we find <skuri**dadi**>, <kapasi**dadi**>, <falsi**dadi**>, <enfermi**dadi**> 'sick-

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[19]   The role of Spanish in Dutch-ruled Curaçao hardly needs illustration. From 1634 onwards, there was the heavy trade with the Spanish American mainland, the Venezuelan priests and missionaries coming to baptize the African slaves (Munteanu 1996: 84, 85, Fouse 2002: 125, 126) as well as the Spanish speaking Indians, already present when the Dutch took over and only increasing in number afterwards (De Haseth 1990). That the Dutch, from 1662 onwards, were charged with providing the Spanish Americas with slaves, will have stimulated Dutch efforts to teach the slaves Spanish in order to raise their value.

[20]   This is confirmed by Kouwenberg / Murray (1994: 23, 27); Dijkhoff (1993: 151); Lenz (1928: 148); Maurer (1998: 182); Van Putte (1999: 94).

[21]   This suffix does exist in PA, but is only heard in Sephardic PA (Maurer 1998: 169), currently spoken by a, in this context, negligible 1% of the total Curaçaoan population.

ness', <bon**dadi**> 'benevolence' and <mosi**dadi**>[22] 'youth' in Van Dragt (1847: 2), Van Dissel (1865: 35, 39, 48) and Conradi (1844: 12-14, 21, 25, 46, 53, 55-57, 59, 61, 62). The similarities with the UGPC suffix −*dadi* are obvious[23], as in UGPC *kapasidádi*, *bondádi*, *falsidádi*, *mosindádi*, etc.

It seems that during the 19th century the EPA suffix −*dadi* was well on its way to being fully replaced by −*dat*, a process that by the end of the 19th century must have been completed, since I have found no more instances of −*dadi* in texts post-dating Van Dissel (1865).

It is important to stress that (E)PA −*dadi* / −*dat* is and was a **non-productive** suffix. The fact that this morpheme was relexified by Spanish (EPA −*dadi* > MPA −*dat*), while the highly productive suffix −*mentu*, on the other hand, remained safe from Spanish pressure, coincides with the idea expressed in 1.2, according to which the more functional an element, the less likely it is to be replaced[24]. EPA −*dadi* versus MPA −*dat*, then, constitutes one of the clearest diachronic linguistic demonstrations of the relexification process to which PA has been subjected after arrival on Curaçao and which is characterized by having affected mostly non-functional elements while having spared the functional ones.

3. Inflectional morphology

3.1. The formation of past participles

Both PA and SCV disyllabic verbs are stressed on the first syllable[25]. In PA, past participles are productively derived from disyllabic verbs by shifting the

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[22]   EPA *mosidadi* 'youth' (in Van Dissel 1865) has not survived into MPA, which has *hubentut* from Sp. *juventud* instead. We do still find PA *moso* / *mosa* 'young man / lady' (cf. UGPC *moso* / *mosa* < Port. *moço* / *moça* 'idem'). Interesting is also the item EPA <kwida**di**> 'care' (< Sp. / Port. *cuidado*) found in Conradi (1844), whereas MPA has *kuido* < Sp. *cuido*. The change from the /o/ to [i] is also attested in GBC *kudadi*. Nicolas Quint (p.c.) noted that both the EPA and the GBC form may be the result of analogy with nouns ending on −*dadi*.

[23]   Compare, by contrast, Sāotomense −*dadji* /dadℨi/ (Fontes 2007).

[24]   One important exception is UGPC's negator *ka*, which has been replaced by PA *no*. Besides the obvious pressure from Spanish, one could speculate here on influence of Gulf of Guinea Creole on PA: the negator *ka* is homophonous to the Gulf of Guinea Creole imperfective marker *ka*, a fact that would have encouraged the replacement of UGPC *ka* by Spanish *no*. Note, furthermore, that in the acrolectal Barlavento variety of Cape Verdean Creole the original negator *ka* was also replaced by *no* through ongoing contact with Portuguese.

[25]   Quint (2000b:142) was the first to note that in both PA and SCV "les verbes (…) dissyllabiques d'origine romane sont accentués sur l'avant dèrniere syllabe à l'actif présent". The level of exclusiveness of this shared feature is high: to my knowledge, penultimate stress on verbs has never been described for any Iberian-based creole other than PA and SCV.

stress from the first to the last syllable: PA ′*kanta* 'to sing' > *kantá* 'sung'. In other words, the morpheme ′−/Ø/ is suffixed to the verb stem. This morpheme is a mere reflex of the Iberian past participle suffix −DO, that appears as ′−/du/ in UGPC: ′*kanta* 'to sing' > *kan′tadu* 'sung'.

Important to note is that the EPA texts analyzed for this paper clearly testify to the fact that the original ′−/du/ became ′−/r/ before being dropped completely (′−/r/ > ′−/Ø/) in the 20th century. Past participles ending in ′−/r/ (e.g. <batisaar> 'baptized') are abundantly present in all 19th century texts, and Van Dissel (1857: 127, emphasis added), for instance, in a brief grammatical sketch of EPA, explains that the past participle is formed "door de uitgangen van het werkwoord met **aar** of **eer** te verlengen" ["by extending the verb with −*aar* or −*eer*"][26].

3.2. *EPA: all plurisyllabic verbs penultimately stressed*

In PA, as opposed to the disyllabic verbs, all longer verbs (i.e. with three or more syllables) bear stress on the final syllable. This causes their past participles to be homophonous with the stem form: PA *batisá* means either '(to) baptise' or 'baptized' according to the context. And since PA *ta* functions both as an imperfective aspect marker and as a copula, a proposition such as *mi ta batisá* can receive both an active ('I baptize', with *ta* = imperfective aspect marker) as well as a resultative ('I am / have been baptized', with *ta* = copula) reading. In SCV, on the other hand, the stem form of the verb is always stressed penultimately, regardless of its syllable length.

However, the 19th century PA texts provide evidence that, just like the disyllabic verbs, longer verbs were originally stressed on the penultimate syllable. This is suggested by the Dutch-based orthography used in these texts, where a doubly written vowel can be assumed to bear stress[27]: we not only

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[26] In the early texts variation is clearly visible between ′−/r/ and ′−/Ø/ and we find past participles such as PA <rabiaa>, <rabiar> and <rabiaar> (< Sp. / Port. *rabiado* 'angry') or <tiraa>, <tirar> and <tiraar> (< Sp. / Port. *tirado* 'thrown') in free variation. This variation may reflect idiolectal and/or dialectal variation within the ABC-Islands. Note in this respect that the (Dutch) authors of these documents were probably assisted by more than one native speaker, which may explain the variation within one and the same document.

[27] Lenz (1928: 86) already noted that "Las vocales acentuadas tienen una marcada tendencia a la prolongación (...). Los testos de Putman (...) imprimen a menudo con ortografía holandesa *aa*, *ee*, *ie*, *oo*: *Dioos*, *koom* (cómo), *masjaar* (demasiado = mui), *teempoe* (...), *domiengo* (...), *mitaar* (mitad)". Bachmann (2005: 81) therefore maintains that the orthographically represented vowel length can provide "einen wertvollen Hinweis auf die Aussprache der entsprechenden Wörter (...), da Länge und Betonung im Papiamentu auf gewisse Weise korrelieren" ["a valuable indication of the pronunciation of the corresponding words, since length and stress correlate in Papiamentu"].

find disyllabic doublets of the type <jama> '(to) call' vs. <jamaa(r)>[28] 'called'
(= MPA *'yama – yamá*), but also countless similar trisyllabic doublets, such as
<batisa> '(to) baptise' vs. <batisaa(r)> 'baptized', <poordoona> '(to) excuse'
vs. <pordonaa(r)> 'excused', or <entrega> '(to) submit' vs. <entregaa(r)> 'sub-
mitted', etc. In these examples, of which many more could be given, the
Dutch-based orthography suggests an increase of stress on the final syllables
of the past participles in proportion to the corresponding final syllable of the
stem form.

In case these examples are not sufficiently convincing, additional support
comes from Van De Veen Zeppenfeldt (1928: 57, emphasis added), who,
with a Spanish-based etymological orthography, provides the stem forms
("onbepaalde wijs") <stima> 'to love', <conoce> 'to know', <gradici> 'to
thank' and <kinipi> 'to squeeze' and the respective past participles ("verleden
deelwoord") <stimá> 'loved', <conocí> 'known', <gradicí> 'thanked' and
<kinipí> 'squeezed'.

These data suggest that EPA's stress patterns followed those of SCV more
closely than they do now, in that verbs with more than two syllables were
(still) penultimately stressed and that the difference between the stem form of
longer verbs and their past participles was thus still perceivable, whereas it no
longer is in MPA. If this is correct, it implies that the stress pattern of longer
verbs changed in the course of the 20th century from penultimate to word-
final stress.

3.3.   The origins of MPA's past participle morpheme *'−*/Ø/

In the Colombian creole Palenquero, past participles follow the model of spo-
ken mainstream Spanish, typically dropping the intervocalic /d/ (cf. Martinus
1999: 232). De Friedemann / Rosselli (1983: 93, 136) maintain that "[e]l
palenquero elimina por lo regular la /d/ intervocálica de la sílaba final"[29] and
provide examples such as Palenquero *oganisao*, *kojío*, *pekao* and *kasao* from
Spanish *organisado*, *cogido*, *pescado* and *casado*.

If PA's past participle morphology were of Spanish origin, we would
expect to see a phonetic development similar to that found in Palenquero.
Some isolated examples of this development are in fact found in PA, such as

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[28] As mentioned, in EPA the past participle suffix *'−*/Ø/ was in free variation with *'−*/Vr/. The latter
suffix is no longer heard in MPA.
[29] "Palenquero generally eliminates the intervocalic /d/ of the final syllable" (translation mine).

the idiom *kuidou!* 'watch out!' from Spanish *¡cuidado!*, but this is clearly a more recent (wholesale) borrowing[30].

One might at first glance be tempted to hypothesize that the MPA participle suffix ′–/Ø/ is a reduced form of –/Vo/ (e.g. EPA *kant**ao** 'sung' > MPA *kantá* 'sung'). However, as mentioned previously, the EPA texts analyzed for this paper all clearly testify to the fact that etymological –DO became ′–/r/ before being dropped completely[31], a development which suggests that at a certain stage the intervocalic /d/ of the past participle suffix was emphatically pronounced rather than tending to be omitted as in Palenquero and several varieties of Spanish. This, in turn, supports the Portuguese (or rather UGPC) origins of PA's past participle suffix: the tendency to emphasize the intervocalic /d/ is quite common in Portuguese as well as in UGPC (cf. e.g. Baptista 2002[32]).

In addition, in mainstream Portuguese as well as in several varieties of Cape Verdean Creole, the apocope of final unstressed vowels following /d/ is relatively common. For the Fogo variety of Cape Verdean Creole, this is reflected in the orthography of Parsons (1923, folklore from Fogo), where the vowel of word final –/dV/ clusters is frequently omitted, as in <criad'> 'child' instead of <criadu>, or <sintad'> 'seated' instead of <sintadu>, etc. (cf. EPA *kriar* 'child', *sintar* 'seated'; see also Martinus 1996: 23; 1999: 232). It might well be that, according to this tendency, speakers of the UGPC variety brought to Curaçao commonly pronounced word final –/dV/ as –[d]. Accordingly, the following diachronic sound change can be reconstructed: Port. –DO > proto-UGPC ′–/du/ > proto-UGPC/EPA ′–/d/ > EPA ′–/r/ > MPA ′–/Ø/.[33]

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[30] We also find in PA the regular past participle *kuidá* 'well-cared-fore' (< Sp. / Port. *cuidado*) that corresponds to the PA verb ′*kuida* 'to take care (of)'.

[31] This was also observed by Martinus (1996: 9).

[32] I am referring here to the sound samples included in Baptista (2002).

[33] Although the apical change /d/ > [r] is quite common cross-linguistically (Elissa Pustka p.c.), it is tempting to hypothesize Bantu influence to have initiated, or at least encouraged, the change from proto-UGPC/EPA ′–/d/ to EPA ′–/r/. The arrival on Curaçao of large numbers of slaves from Bantu speaking areas is well documented. In Bantu influenced varieties such as Angolar and Palenquero, for instance, similar apical changes are relatively common. In fact, Angolar provides ideal reference material with its past participle suffix ′–/ru/, as in *thagaru* 'salted' (with *thaga* 'to salt'; Maurer 1995: 91). Note, finally, that in a few cases, SCV shows an apical change similar to the one that affected EPA's past participle suffix. Besides regular SCV *tudu* 'all', for instance, one finds *tirmodi* 'in all ways', and in Baptista (2002: sound sample 'SA') an unmistakable case of SCV /tur/ is heard (= PA *tur* /tur/). Furthermore, Port. *sábado* 'Saturday' became SCV *(dia)sábru* (= PA *(dia)sabra*; cf. Martinus 1999: 233). These SCV cases of /dV/ > /r(V)/, however, seem rare and the UGPC variety that arrived on Curaçao must have still had the past participle morpheme ′–/du/ more or less intact or alternating with the variant ′–/d/.

Tables 1, 2 and 3 are meant to further underpin this phonological development. The examples concern PA lexemes for which a UGPC origin can be hypothesized, either because the Spanish cognate differs from the Portuguese, or because the UGPC and PA form share a salient phonetic alteration of the Iberian etymon. For each example, either this alteration or the differing Spanish form is indicated in a footnote. Table 1 illustrates the sound change at issue.

Table 1. Examples of Port. −DO > UGPC ′−/du/ > EPA ′−/r/ > MPA ′−/Ø/

Port.	UGPC	EPA	MPA
corado 'coloured, red'	*koradu*	*korar*	*korá*[a]
apertado 'tight'	*pertadu*	*pertar*	*pertá*[b]
rolado 'turned'	*loradu*	*lorar*	*lorá*[c]
*	*mestedu* '(to be) needed'[d]	*mester*	*mesté~mester*[e]

a. Port. *corado* ≠ Sp. *rojo*, *colorado*.
b. Port. *apertado* ≠ Sp. *apretado*.
c. This is the past participle derived from the PA / UGPC verb *′lora* (< Port. / Sp. *rolar* 'to turn, role'). The metathesis explicitly links the two creole forms.
d. GBC *meste~misti* means 'to want', the corresponding past participle *mestedu~mistidu* '(to be) wanted'.
e. These participles are coinages, i.e. root-affix combinations not attested in the lexifier. The etymon is Portuguese *mester*, which integrated into SCV and PA as the verb *′meste*. The participles given here correspond to this creole verb, which with this phonetic shape, semantic content and syntactic behavior is unique to PA and SCV and not found in any other Portuguese-lexified creole.

Table 2 shows that the change from UGPC ′−/dV/ to EPA ′−/r/ and MPA ′−/Ø/ also affected lexemes other than past participles.

Table 2. Examples of −/dV/ > EPA −/r/ > MPA ′−/Ø/

Port.	UGPC	EPA	MPA
madrugada 'morning'	*mardugada*	*mardugar*	*mardugá*[a]
tudo 'all, every'	*tudu*	*tur*	*tur*[b]
metade 'half'	*mitadi*	*mitar*	*mitá ~ mitar*[c]
medida 'measure' (noun)	*midida*	*midir*	*midi*[d]
poder 'to be able'	*′podi*	*′podi*[e]	*por*[f]
criado/a 'grown (past participle), domestic servant (noun)'	*kriadu*	*kriar*	*kriá*[g]
*	*mesteda*	*mester*	*mesté~mester*[h]

a. Spanish also has *madrugada*, but the metathesis of the /r/ in both creole forms permits hypothesizing a UGPC origin for the PA form.
b. Port. *tudo* ≠ Sp. *todo*. (Cf. Palenquero *to* < Sp. *todo*.)
c. Spanish *mitad* can not be excluded as a possible etymon. However, the preservation of the final /r/ in the MPA form suggests a proto-form with an emphatic word final /d/, making a Portuguese / UGPC derivation more likely.

d.   Port. *medida* = Sp. *medida*.
e.   This form as well as the Portuguese etymon can be deduced from the fossilized adverb PA **podi**sé 'maybe' (< Port. *pode ser* ≠ Sp. *puede ser*). Not surprisingly, we find UGPC *podi ser* 'idem'.
f.   The form PA *por* probably derives from a penultimately stressed form ʹ*podi*: if the finally stressed Spanish or Portuguese infinitive had been the direct source, the stressed /e/ would probably have been preserved, as in PA ʹ*pone* < Sp. *poner* 'to put'.
g.   Port. *criado* = Sp. *criado*.
h.   PA *mesté* can be used as a noun meaning 'need' (Van Putte / Van Putte-De Windt 2005: 290), especially in combination with the verb *tin* 'to have', as in *mi tin mesté di bo* 1s-have'-need-of-2s 'I need you'. The noun *mesté* 'need, desire' has its equivalent in UGPC *mesteda* 'need, desire' (Peck 1988: 146). For GBC, Rougé (2004: 207) points out that from the verb *misti-meste* 'to want' "est dérivé *mistida ~ mesteda*: 'besoin, nécesité, désir'". The form with /e/ is found in Casamance, the form with /i/ is typical of Guinea-Bissau. Just as PA *mesté*, GBC *mesteda* can follow the verb 'to have': *e tem mesteda pa fasi com di seu* 3s-have-need-to-make-?-of-heaven 'He needs to make (?) of heaven' (Schuchardt 1889: 302).

Note, furthermore, that in PA the step from ʹ−/ru/ to ʹ−/r/ and ultimately ʹ−/Ø/ is similarly common, if not regular, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Examples of ʹ−/rV/ > ʹ−/r/ > ʹ−/Ø/ in PA

Port.	UGPC	EPA	MPA
primeiro 'first'	*promêru*[a]~*prumeru* ~*purmeru*	*promer*	*promé*
escuro 'dark'	*sukuru*[b]	*sukur*	*sukú*
bezerro 'calf'	*biʃeru*	*biʃer*	*biʃé*
cachorro 'puppy'	*katʃor*	*katʃor*	*katʃó*[c]

a.   This form is the form used by Brito (1887). The change from early SCV *promeru* to modern *prumeru* suggests that, in an earlier stage, modern forms such as SCV *ruspondi* 'answer (noun), to answer (verb)', and *purdon* 'apology' were realized as /rospondi/ and /pordon/, remarkably close to PA *rospondi* 'answer (noun), to answer (verb)' and *pordon* 'apology'.
b.   See Quint (2001: 277, 278) for an analysis of PA *sukú* and UGPC *sukuru*. Note that MPA also has the variant *skur* 'dark'.
c.   Both PA *kachó* /katʃó/ and UGPC *katxor* /katʃor/ mean 'dog' rather than 'puppy'. Port. *cachorro* 'puppy' has been the etymon for the word 'dog' in all overseas varieties of Portuguese as well as in the Afro-Portuguese creoles. In Palenquero, on the other hand, we find *pelo* 'dog' from Spanish *perro* (De Friedemann / Rosselli 1983: 97). In Sãotomense, Portuguese *cachorro* provided the phonetically distinct form *kasó* (Rougé 2004: 91).

3.4.   Regularization and productivity of the past participle morphology

The verbs PA and SCV ʹ*meste* 'to need, must' constitute the verbalization of the Old Portuguese noun *mester* 'need'[34]. The corresponding past participles PA *mesté* and UGPC *mestedu*, therefore, are clear coinages (i.e. root + affix

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[34]   On the use of this noun in Old Portuguese, Kihm (1994: 4) gives active *ter mester* 'to need', while Rougé (2004: 207) provides passive *ser mister* 'to be needed'. Lang (2002: 441) suggests *haver mester* and *ser mester* which probably reflects best the Old Portuguese usage.

combinations unattested in the lexifier) and provide a first illustration of the productivity and regularization of the past participle morphemes UGPC ′−/du/ and PA ′−/Ø/.

What is more, regarding the formation of past participles in GBC, Kihm (1994: 243) points out: "Regularization has been thorough (…), so that there is no trace in Kriyol of the so-called 'irregular' forms such as *escrito* 'written' (Kriyol *skirbidu* 'be written'), *feito* 'done' (Kriyol *fasidu* 'be done'), and so forth". The same is true for PA: past participles like PA *skirbí* 'written', *hasí* 'made, done' or *habrí* 'opened' and the UGPC equivalents *skirbidu*, *fasidu*, *abridu* indicate that the past participle morphology has been regularized making redundant the irregular superstrate participles Sp. / Port. *escrito*, Sp. *hecho* / Port. *feito* and Sp. *abierto* / Port. *aberto*.

The regularization also becomes visible in the participles whose corresponding Iberian infinitives end in −ER: PA and UGPC again coincide, giving these participles a regular stress bearing [e] instead of the irregular [i] of the Iberian model. Compare, for instance, the infinitives Sp. *coser* / Port. *cozer* 'to sow' and their past participles *cosido* – *cozido* 'sowed' with the PA / SCV stem form ′*kose* and the corresponding participles PA *kosé* – SCV *kosedu*, or Port. *lamber* 'to lick' and its participle *lambido* 'licked' with the PA / SCV stem form ′*lembe* and the corresponding participle *lembé* – *lembedu* (Quint 2000b:146).

By means of contrast: Palenquero follows the Spanish pattern: *kojé* 'to take' > *kojío* 'taken' (De Friedemann / Rosselli 1983: 92, 136) (cf. PA ′*kohe* > *kohé*), suggesting that in Palenquero the past participles represent wholesale lexical borrowings from Spanish rather than resulting from productive past participle morphology. Indeed, neither De Friedemann / Rosselli (1983) nor Schwegler / Green (2007) make mention of productive past participle morphology in Palenquero. Saramaccan, a Surinam Creole with alleged Afro-Portuguese contributions, also lacks productive past participle morphology (Smith 1987: 162).

3.5.   EPA's passive morphology[35]

The past participle morphology shared between PA and UGPC automatically leads to a discussion of passivization in both creoles.

MPA is characterized by a highly marked passive of the type [TMA + AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE], where the position of the auxiliary can be filled with either *ser* (< Sp. / Port. *ser* 'to be'), *keda* (< Sp. *quedar* 'to stay, remain'), or *wordu* (< Du. *worden* 'to become'), as in (1). In the earliest EPA texts, however, there is no trace of these passive auxiliaries. Instead, the authors used passive clauses of the type [TMA + PAST PARTICIPLE], as in (2a). This type of auxiliary-less passivization is typical of UGPC, as in (2b).

(1)   MPA *esaki* **ta**   **wordu** **tirá**   *na*   *mondi*
           this   IMP AUX   thrown   in   wilderness
           'this will be thrown into the wilderness'

(2)   a. EPA *toer ees*   *(...) deespuees* **ta**   **tiraa**   *na moondi*
              all   DET   (...) later   IMP   be thrown in wilderness
              'all this (...) will later be thrown into the wilderness.'
              (Conradi 1844: 36, Matthew 15:17)
       b. SCV *N*   **ta**   **trádu**   *di*   *nha*   *trabadju*
              1s IMP   be thrown   from   POS   work
              'I will be fired' (Nicolas Quint, p.c.)

The lack of passive auxiliaries in the EPA texts had been noted before (e.g. Eckkrammer 1994, 2004; Sanchez 2005). Consequently, however, the erroneous consensus was created that PA, "en armonía con la mayor parte de las hablas criollas, originalmente no disponía de ningún pasivo" (Eckkrammer 1994: 140). Examples such as (2a) − abundantly present in the EPA texts − suggest that this consensus needs revision and that auxiliary-less passivization of the type [TMA + PAST PARTICIPLE] is in fact an original (E)PA feature inherited from UGPC. In the course of the 19th century, auxiliaries were borrowed into this model from Dutch and Spanish, resulting in the more European-like MPA passives of the type [TMA + AUX + PAST PARTICIPLE].

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[35]   This section presents a brief overview of findings related to passivization in (E)PA and UGPC, a topic that I am currently developing in more detail.

Interestingly, this claim is synchronically supported by the passive use of the past participle PA *mesté* corresponding to the verb *'meste*. Just as its SCV equivalent *mestedu* (corresponding to the verb SCV *'meste*), PA *mesté* can turn active clauses into passive ones **without the aid of an auxiliary**. The active use of PA / SCV *'meste* is illustrated in (3a, b). The passive verbal use of the corresponding past participles is demonstrated in (4a, b)[36]. (N.B.: The lack of an imperfective marker in (3, 4) is due to the fact that these are stative clauses.)

(3)   a. PA   *bo*   *meste*   *bai*   *kas*
               2s   need to   go   home
      b. SCV   *bu*   *meste*   *bai*   *kaza*
               2s   need to   go   home
'you must go home'

(4)   a. PA   *hasi*   *e*   *trabou*   *manera*   *mesté*
               do   DEF   work   manner   be needed
'do the job as it should be done' (Van Putte / Van Putte-De Windt 2005: 291)

      b. SCV   *mas*   *letra*   *ki*   *kes*   *ki*   *mestêdu*
               more   letters   REL   DET   REL   be needed
'more letters than needed' (Brito 1887: 345)

4.   Conclusions

One of the present paper's objectives was to strengthen the classification of PA and UGPC as a separate branch of creoles within the larger family of Iberian-based creoles by focusing on a salient set of morphological features of PA's core grammar. These features appear to be largely UGPC-derived and thus strengthen the hypothesis that PA results from the relexification of an early UGPC variety. This hypothesis, moreover, is underpinned by a histori-

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[36]   It is important to note that in MPA the original active – passive distinction between *'meste* 'to need' and *mesté* 'to be needed' – a distinction retained in SCV *'meste* / *mestedu* – has vanished: both variants are now in free variation and both occur in active as well as in passive phrases. This implies that speakers of PA may, in (3a), just as well recur to *mesté* and in (4a) prefer the variant *'meste* (with *mesté* more frequently used, however). The fading of the active – passive distinction seems to explain, at least in part, why PA *mesté* has, to my knowledge, never been recognized as a past participle in dictionaries and grammars, which traditionally analyze *mesté* as a verb with some nominal properties (cf. footnote 47).

cal framework that links 17th century Upper Guinea directly to Curaçao (Jacobs, to appear a).

An important (secondary) conclusion to be drawn is based on the assumption that pidgins tend to lack bound morphology (McWhorter 2005: 10; Muysken 2008: 191). If this assumption is correct, this means that the striking correspondences in the five functional categories discussed in Jacobs (to appear a) as well as the matching core morphology exposed in this paper make it safe to assume that the early UGPC variety taken to Curaçao in the middle of the 17th century was not a pidgin but rather a fully fledged creole.

Abbreviations

AUX = auxiliary
DEF = definite article
DET = determiner
Du. = Dutch
EPA = Early PA
GBC = Guinea-Bissau and Casamance Creole
IMP = imperfective aspect marker
MPA = Modern PA
PA = Papiamentu
Port. = Portuguese
POS = possessive pronoun
REL = relativizer
SCV = Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole
Sp. = Spanish
UGPC = Upper Guinea Creole (a term covering both SCV and GBC)

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