

The Upper Guinea origins of Papiamentu

Linguistic and historical evidence*

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This paper deals with the linguistic and historical relationships between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea Creole as spoken on the Santiago island of Cape Verde and in Guinea-Bissau and Casamance. In the linguistic section, the hypothesis that Papiamentu is a relexified offshoot of an early Upper Guinea Creole variety is lent support by focusing on the structural correspondences of the function words in five grammatical categories (pronouns, question words, prepositions, conjunctions and reciprocity and reflexivity). In addition, salient data from several early (18th and 19th century) Papiamentu texts is presented. The historical section provides a framework that accounts for the linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao in the second half of the 17th century.

Keywords: Papiamentu, Upper Guinea Creole, relexification, function words, 17th century slave trade, first Dutch West India Company, Gorée, Sephardim

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the Afro-Portuguese origins of Papiamentu (PA). To clarify these origins I will focus on both the linguistic and historical relationships between PA and the Upper Guinea branch of Portuguese-based Creole (UGC) as spoken on the Santiago island of Cape Verde (SCV), and in Guinea-Bissau and

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Casamance (GB).¹ The hypothesis that these creoles share a common origin will be examined by comparing the function words of five grammatical categories of the creoles in question. The paper closes with a presentation of little-known historical data, which in a straightforward manner account for the linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao.

Ever since Lenz' (1928) pioneering description of PA, its mixed Spanish-Portuguese vocabulary has provoked heavy debate.² Lenz' plea for PA's Afro-Portuguese origins ("Su gramática ... es 'negro-portuguesa' en primer lugar" (323)) received support from prominent scholars such as Navarro Tomás (1953), Van Wijk (1958), Valkhoff (1966) and Voorhoeve (1973), but linguists defending PA's Spanish roots (e.g., Maduro 1965, 1966, 1969, DeBose 1975 or Rona 1976) have been similarly numerous. 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 Papiamentu".

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 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").

Goodman's (1987) attempt to provide such an explanation has become known as the *Brazilian Creole Hypothesis* and consists of the claim that in Brazilian sugar plantations a Portuguese creole was spoken, which, after the recapture of Pernambuco by the Portuguese, found its way to Curaçao. Although this theory had some

1. Although on rare occasions kinship between SCV and GB 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 GB 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, UGC 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 forthcoming b).

2. Both Busche (1993) and Ferrol (1982) give concise overviews of the state of the question of PA's origins.

impact on PA studies, evidence of a former Brazilian creole has never been found (cf. Rougé 2008, Joubert & Perl 2007: 46, Parkvall 2000: 137, Maurer 1998: 198).³

Martinus (1996) deserves much credit for being the first after Lenz (1928)⁴ to compare PA into some detail with Cape Verdean Creole.⁵ He ends up arguing for a common origin for Cape Verdean Creole, PA, Gulf of Guinea Creole (GGC), Palenquero (PL) as well as the Surinam creoles, a monogenetic hypothesis the nature of which remains unclear (cf. Martinus 2007).⁶ It is nevertheless important to stress that Martinus planted the seeds for subsequent research into PA's Afro-Portuguese origins.

Contrary to Martinus (1996), Quint (2000b: 119–196) classifies PA, SCV and GB as a linguistic family of creoles separate from all other Iberian-based creoles. After systematically exposing striking linguistic correspondences between PA and SCV at all levels of the grammar, he concludes (Quint 2000b: 196, 197):

Le papiamentu et le badias [SCV] sont étroitement apparentés et ont une origine commune ... L'importance des emprunts faits par le papiamentu à l'espagnol est probablement due à une relexification partielle, favorisée par l'usage de l'espagnol comme langue religieuse et de prestige ("PA and SCV are closely related and have a common origin. The importance of the Spanish borrowings in PA is probably

3. Furthermore, crucial parts of Goodman's historical framework are denied by Martinus (1996: 91–93), Ladhams (1999a, b) and Arends (1999).

4. Between Lenz (1928) and Martinus (1996), various other linguists have, to different extents, alluded to the similarities between PA and Cape Verdean Creole and/or other Portuguese-based creoles. In this respect, the articles of Van Wijk (1958, 1968, 1969) and Birmingham (1975) deserve mention. Carreira (1983) also stands out for hinting at a possible link between PA and Cape Verdean Creole: on the back-cover of his history of Cape Verdean Creole an excerpt from an article written in PA is printed.

Maduro, furthermore, presented a juxtaposition of a PA text with its translations in Palenquero (1987a) and Santo Antão Cape Verdean Creole (1987b) respectively. Interestingly, the objective of the latter was "to demonstrate the immense distance — or should I say the unbridgeable gap? — between PA and Cape Verdean Creole" (Maduro 1987b: 22). Therefore, the publication seems in line with his resolute rejection of all PA's Afro-Portuguese theories in earlier work (e.g., Maduro 1965, 1966, 1969, 1971). Subsequently, Maduro would continue to defend PA's Spanish origins (e.g., Maduro 1991).

5. It is noted that Martinus (1996) does not distinguish between the Barlavento and Sotavento varieties. For chronological reasons (see, for instance, Bartens (2000) on the diffusion of Cape Verdean Creole from Santiago to the other islands), the former are highly unlikely to have played any role in the formation of PA. See Quint (2000b), Veiga (2000) and Pereira (2000) for details on dialectal variation.

6. See Bickerton (1999) for a (too) critical discussion of Martinus (1996).

due to a partial relexification supported by the use of Spanish as the language of religion and prestige”).

This claim, however, did not find any resonance in related publications: Lipski (2005:285), for example, asserts that PA, “apart from some general similarities to Cape Verdean Creole, is not clearly related to any West African creole”, while Munteanu (2007:442), regarding PA, declares: “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” (“Some scholars doubt its Spanish origin and defend its Portuguese affiliation, but nowadays this position has lost much ground”).

There is a remarkable absence of references to Quint (2000b) (and, for that matter, to any of the striking correspondences between PA and UGC therein) in recent works concerned with placing PA in a cross-creole perspective. The present paper tries to fill this lacuna in the research on PA’s origins.

2. Structure of this paper and working hypothesis

The paper has both a linguistic (§3) and a historical (§4) component and aims to linguistically and historically underpin the hypothesis that PA is a (partially) relexified offshoot from early UGC. §3 compares PA and UGC across five grammatical categories: the pronominal system (§3.1), question words (§3.2), prepositions (§3.3), conjunctions (§3.4) and reciprocity and reflexivity (§3.5) and closes with the presentation of salient data from several early (18th and 19th century) PA texts. §4 presents historical data which, to my knowledge, have never been related to the history of Curaçao let alone to the origins of PA, but which fully account for the linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao: §4.1 analyses the first Dutch West India Company’s dominant role in Upper Guinea and presents little-known data on the slave trade from Gorée and Cape Verde to Curaçao in the crucial period from 1659–1677. §4.2 highlights the underexposed but pronounced presence of a Sephardic Jewish community in Cape Verde and emphasizes their social and trading networks with Amsterdam and Curaçao.

These historical data allow for the possibility of at least two (slave) trading networks linking Upper Guinea and Curaçao (§§4.1 and 4.2 respectively). Convergence of and collaboration between both these networks allowed for an early but fully fledged variety of UGC to be brought into Curaçao in the second half of the 17th century.

It is important to emphasize that after 1677 slaves to Curaçao were imported almost exclusively from Kwa- and Bantu-speaking areas. Since Curaçao was settled by the Dutch from 1634 onwards, the linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea

to Curaçao must have occurred in the period between 1634 and approximately 1677.

I claim, then, that after 1677, when slaves from Kwa- and Bantu-speaking areas became numerically dominant on Curaçao, an offshoot of early UGC had already established itself as a contact language on the island of Curaçao. Both the Kwa and Bantu substrate as well as Spanish (and to a lesser extent Dutch and possibly several other (contact) languages) would then have contributed significantly to the modification and relexification of this offshoot, although leaving intact a structural part of the original UGC grammar and function words.

2.1 A case for (partial) relexification of an Afro-Portuguese Creole in the Caribbean realm

The choice to build the linguistic section of this paper around function words is based on Muysken & Smith's (1990:883) assertion that "Function words ... are normally less susceptible to replacement ... than content words, as is demonstrated in the study of Indo-European languages". Similarly, Cardoso & Smith (2004:118) observe that in a case of relexification "one would expect a much slower replacement ... among function words". Therefore, if PA and UGC do indeed have a common origin, we would expect to find the evidence for this precisely in the correspondence of their function words.

In the comparison that follows below it will become clear that most of PA's function words resemble those of UGC not only in form, but also in semantic range and syntactic use. To emphasize the idiosyncrasy of some of the correspondences, I will provide contrasting data from other Iberian-based creoles (mainly PL and GGC).

2.2 Where does the Portuguese come from?

Obviously, the claim that all shared features and items discussed below are unique to PA and UGC is untenable; many can probably be shown to also appear in one or another (overseas) variety of Spanish or Portuguese and some researchers have made a hobby out of showing just this (e.g., Barme 2003), often with the purpose of playing down the (Afro-)Portuguese elements in PA's core grammar, as illustrated by Wood's (1972:19) discussion of Maduro (1965, 1966):

Maduro, a strong opponent of the Afro-Portuguese hypothesis, has demonstrated the practical weaknesses of the theory ... by refuting the many dubious Portuguese etymologies proposed by Lenz, and suggesting ... derivations in 17th century Spanish, in other dialects of the Peninsula, or in the dialects of the adjacent countries, notably Venezuela, Colombia and the Dominican Republic. The residue of

specifically Portuguese loanwords and phonological similarities Maduro ascribes to the Portuguese Jews who settled in Curaçao (Wood 1972: 19).

Kramer (2004: 104), however, explains why this tendency is problematic:

Den primär portugiesischen Charakter des nichtkastilischen iberoromanischen Anteils am Papiamentu-Wortschatz darf man ... nicht durch Verweis auf das Auftauchen desselben Wortes in mal dieser, mal jener Sprachform der iberischen Halbinsel wegdiskutieren: Etwa ein Sechstel des Papiamentu-Wortschatzes ist eindeutig portugiesischer Herkunft, darunter durchaus Elemente des Grundwortschatzes und Strukturwörter ("The primarily Portuguese character of the non-Castilian Iberian part of PA's vocabulary should not be ignored by pointing to the occurrence of the same word in one or the other Iberian speech variety: about one sixth of PA's vocabulary, mostly core vocabulary items and structure words, is clearly of Portuguese origin").

Indeed, as Maurer (1998: 198) points out: "es poco probable que el gallego o el catalán / valenciano hayan tenido alguna influencia en la formación del papiamentu, pues no se menciona la presencia en Curazao de catalanes, valencianos o gallegos en las fuentes históricas" ("It is unlikely that either Galician, Catalan or Valencian played any role in the formation of PA, since the presence on Curaçao of Catalans, Valencians or Galicians is not mentioned in historical sources").

Moreover, before arguing that the Portuguese ethnolect of the Sephardic Jewish settlers of 17th century Curaçao might have provided the Portuguese elements in PA's core grammar, one should note the following:

- 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).⁷
- Even if they did speak (a variety of) Portuguese, their number would at any time have been too small to exert a linguistic influence strong enough to affect PA's core grammar. Maurer (1986: 98), for instance, assures us that the Sephardim "n'ont jamais possédé plus du 15 % des esclaves" ("never possessed more than 15% of the slaves") (cf. Joubert & Perl 2007: 46). This suggests that, in a hypothetical Curaçao-situated PA birth, the linguistic contribution of the Sephardim would always have been smaller than that of the Dutch, who owned the remaining 85% of the slaves. Still, the number of Dutch-derived functional elements in PA can be counted on the fingers of one hand and all seem to be relatively recent borrowings.

7. Similarly, Wood (1970: 8, 9) had already observed that "there is no proof that Portuguese was ever the vernacular among the Sephardic Jews of Curaçao". De Haseth (1990) and De Granda (1974) also address this issue.

- Thirdly, a significant set of salient Old (15th–16th century) Portuguese features can be identified in PA's core grammar (see details in Jacobs forthcoming a). Since, to my knowledge, we lack detailed descriptions of what Curaçaoan Jewish Portuguese looked like, we cannot tell whether the Old Portuguese features were present at all in the ethnolect.⁸

In short, attempts to attribute the Portuguese features in PA's core grammar to different Iberian speech varieties are bound to remain purely speculative.⁹ The remainder of this paper, thus, seeks to shake off the speculation that so often surrounds the debate on PA's origins, by showing that all Portuguese-derived functional elements in at least five core grammatical categories can be traced back to *one* source, namely UGC, and that, in addition, the same is true for many of the indecisively Spanish- or Portuguese-derived items. The most exclusive 'feature' presented below, therefore, is the *structural* correspondence of PA and UGC throughout the grammatical categories discussed.

3. Correspondences between PA and UGC in five grammatical categories

The shared features are by no means limited to the five categories discussed in this paper; my choice to discuss these — and not, for instance, quantifiers, TMA markers or modal verbs — is indeed to some extent an arbitrary one, but first and foremost a choice limited by space. It should be noted, therefore, that the data presented below form part of an ongoing research project, of which the present paper is a first fruit, one to which I hope to provide proper continuity in future publications. a

8. Jacobs (forthcoming a) discusses the Old Portuguese features in PA's core grammar and demonstrates that all of these can be traced back to UGC.

9. Not discussed here is the tendency to attribute apparently Portuguese features in PA (e.g., the preservation of the phoneme /ʃ/) to Old (15th–17th century) Spanish (e.g., Maduro 1966, Munteanu 1996). Quint (2000b: 184–185), however, presents compelling linguistic evidence against Old Spanish participation in PA's formation, which is discussed in more detail in Jacobs (forthcoming a).

3.1 Pronominal system: Simple and emphatic forms

Table 1. Simple (post-prepositional) and emphatic (with prefixed /a/) pronouns¹⁰

	PA ¹¹	SCV	GB
1SG	<i>(a)mi</i>	<i>(a)mi</i>	<i>(a)mi</i>
2SG	<i>(a)bo</i>	<i>(a)bo</i>	<i>(a)bo</i>
3SG	<i>e ~ el</i>	<i>(a)el</i>	<i>el</i>
1PL	<i>(a)nos</i>	<i>(a)nos</i>	<i>(a)nos</i>
2PL	<i>(a)boso</i>	<i>(a)nhos</i>	<i>(a)bos</i>
3PL	<i>(a)nan</i>	<i>(a)es</i>	<i>(a)elis</i>

Besides stressing the obvious correspondences of the forms in bold, it is relevant to observe the following:

3.1.1 2PL SCV *nhos*

This form derives from P *senhores* ‘gentlemen’ (Rougé 2004: 259). Table 1 makes it tempting to assume that an early 2PL SCV **bos* once existed alongside, or instead of, SCV *nhos* (cf. Quint 2000b: 137). This idea is supported by the fact that 2SG SCV *bo* has the polite variants *nhu / nha* (< P *senhor(a)* ‘lady / gentleman’) (Rougé 2004: 24).

3.1.2 Clitic features

Although PA does not have a clitic pronominal system to the extent that UGC does,¹² PA displays two salient clitic features that are reminiscent of UGC. Both are illustrated in (1a, b): firstly, the /o/ of the 2SG becomes [u] in object position; secondly, disyllabic verbs, stressed without exception on the first syllable in PA as

10. Martinus (1996: 183) compared PA’s pronouns with those of GB; Quint (2000b: 136–138) did the same for PA and SCV. See, for instance, Veiga (2000: 172, 173), Scantamburlo (1999: 180–182) and Dijkhoff (2000: 65–67) for more details on pronouns in SCV, GB and PA respectively.

11. The emphatic plural pronouns *anos*, *aboso* and *anan* are attested only in Aruban PA, which can therefore be said to be more conservative in this respect (Martinus 1996: 183).

12. For details on UGC’s clitic pronouns, see, for instance, Rougé (2004: 22, 24) or Baptista et al. (2007: 77) as well as the references mentioned in footnote 17.

well as in SCV,¹³ undergo a stress shift from the first to the last syllable when the verb is followed by a pronoun:¹⁴

- (1) a. PA *mi ta 'mira + bo > mi ta mi'ra bu*
 1SG IMP look 2SG > 1SG IMP look 2SG
 “I see you”
 b. SCV *m ta 'odja + bo > m ta o'dja (b)u*
 1SG IMP look 2SG > 1SG IMP look 2SG
 “I see you” (Quint 2000b: 138)

3.1.3 *Emphatic pronouns*

Noteworthy is the use in PA, SCV and GB of at least five emphatic subject pronouns comprising the simple pronoun plus a prosthetic /a/- (see Table 1). For GB, Kihm (1989: 360fn) remarks: “Such formal contrasts of two pronominal sets (not so clear in other creole languages) is a general feature of the substrate”. Indeed, this morphosyntactic category seems present in the Atlantic branch of African languages spoken in Upper Guinea (cf. Intumbo 2006: 113, 2007: 48, 49, 2008: 273, 274) and sets PA and UGC apart from the other Iberian creoles (see below).

Although the prosthetic /a-/ could have come about through analogy with the lexifier’s dative constructions (*S a mí*, *P a mim*, etc.), the behavior and use of the emphatic pronouns is in no way reminiscent of Portuguese or Spanish. For instance, in PA, UGC and Balanta the emphatic pronouns cannot occur in direct or indirect object position (Intumbo 2007: 48), while Iberian *a mí* ~ *a mim*, etc., only occur in object position.¹⁵ Kihm (1994: 152) also believes that “the substrate languages probably supplied the overall pattern of contrasting non-A with A-pronouns. Such a pattern is invisible in Portuguese”.

13. 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 dernière syllabe à l’actif présent”. The level of exclusiveness of this feature seems high: to my knowledge, in all other Iberian-based creoles (with the possible exception of GB) dissyllabic verbs bear stress on the final syllable: for PL see De Friedemann & Patiño (1983: 91), for GGC see Ferraz (1979: 20), for SM see Cardoso & Smith (2004: 138, 140).

14. For GB, matters seem more complicated: Wilson (1962: 19) noted that, “While the stress in dissyllabic verbs is normally on the first syllable, when an object pronoun is suffixed, this stress is shifted to the last syllable”, suggesting that dissyllabic verbs in GB behave just as in PA and SCV. Both Quint (2000a: 88) and Kihm (1994: 14), however, believe that, contrary to PA and SCV, all verbs in GB usually bear stress on the final syllable. Birmingham (1975: 67), on the other hand, in line with Wilson, stated that GB “tends to place the stress on the next-to-last syllable of an infinitive”.

15. Note also that, contrary to the French emphatic pronouns *moi* and *toi* for example, the PA, UGC and Balanta emphatic pronouns cannot follow a preposition (Intumbo 2006: 113).

It is a fact that the emphatic 1SG *ami* is found in a wider range of Afro-Iberian speech varieties, such as Cuban Bozal Spanish and GGC (cf. Lipski 1991). That leaves unchallenged, however, the exclusivity of having *five* emphatic pronouns, as do PA and UGC: while Principense (PRI) has three emphatic singular pronouns (*ami*, *atxi*, *eli*) (Rougé 2004:27), Sãotomense (ST) has two (*ami*, *ele*) (Hagemeyer 2007:21). In Angolar (ANG) as well as in PL emphatic pronouns are absent (Rougé 2004:27, Schwegler 1998:260, Schwegler 2002).

The sum of these data suggests that the use of five emphatic *a*-pronouns constitutes an Upper Guinea substrate feature in PA. In the canonical literature on PA, Mande and Atlantic languages are rarely, if ever, considered as contributors to PA's substrate. Maurer (1991:126, cf. Barme 2003:237, Munteanu 1991:22) sums up this consensus: "Es sind vor allem Bantudialekte aus der Region Kongo/Angola und Kwadialekte aus der Region, die sich von Ghana bis Nigeria erstreckt, die als afrikanische Basissprachen des Papiamentu in Frage kommen" ("Primarily Bantu dialects from the Congo/Angola region and Kwa dialects from the region stretching from Ghana to Nigeria can be considered as PA's African base languages").

3.1.4 PA *nan*

One reason why the similarities between PA and UGC in the pronominal system have been largely neglected in recent studies on the origins of PA is without a doubt the presence of the 3PL *nan*, which also functions as a nominal pluralizer. Because of its marked character and strong resemblance in form and use to the GGC 3PL pronouns (also nominal pluralizers), PA *nan* has often been at the center of attention in the literature on PA's possible West African origins and seems to have overshadowed the relationships between PA and UGC in the pronominal category, however striking they are. A good case in point is Birmingham's (1971:301, cf. Valkhoff 1966:96) discussion of PA *nan*:

nan is one of the few African morphemes in Papiamentu. As a point of fact, the plural morpheme *nan* appears as well in at least one Portuguese dialect still spoken along the west coast of Africa. Part of my dissertation attempts to prove that Papiamentu originated in and around the Gulf of Guinea and that its basis is a Portuguese lingua franca spoken in that area in the days of the slave trade.

Similarly, Maurer (2002) discusses the correspondences between PA *nan* and GGC's 3PL pronouns and the genetic relationships that these suggest, but makes no mention of the fact that the remainder of PA's pronominal system shows a one-to-one correspondence with UGC.

Although its position as a pluralizer is postnominal (versus prenominal in GGC), it is well possible that PA *nan* is related to (one of) its GGC equivalents. However, this does not present any obstacle to the hypothesis that PA's pronominal

system, minus *nan*, derives completely from early UGC, which, as will be argued below, probably arrived at Curaçao without a distinct 3PL pronoun and without plural marking morphology, allowing for PA *nan* to be introduced in a post-formative phase.

3PL pronouns are typically unstable in a creole's development. A first indication of this is that the 3PL pronoun is not identical in SCV (*es*) and GB (*elis*) either. Significantly, just as in PA, in PL also an African 3PL pronoun (*ané* < Kikongo *ba ne* "they (over there)") managed to establish itself amongst a set of pronouns of Iberian origin (Schwegler & Green 2007: 299, 300).¹⁶ Moreover, if we may believe Da Silva Rêgo (1998: 66), in Kristang, an Asio-Portuguese creole, "desapareceram as formas *tu e êles*" ("the forms *tu* and *êles* disappeared").

Quint (2000b: 204) also put forward the possibility of an early UGC pronominal paradigm without a distinct 3PL pronoun: "On peut ... se demander si une telle forme a vraiment existé ... : on peut très bien imaginer un stade ou *EL PISKÁ ... aurait signifié *il a péché* ou *ils ont péché* en fonction du contexte" ("One may wonder if such a form really existed: one can easily imagine a stage in which *EL PISKA would have meant either "he has fished" or "they have fished" depending on the context"). Again, a look at PL serves as confirmation: in PL, the 3SG pronoun *ele* "occasionally has a third-person plural function" (Schwegler 1999 in Parkvall 2000: 106, cf. Schwegler & Green 2007: 300).

In addition to lacking a distinct 3PL pronoun, the plural marking morphology is also likely to have been 'vacant' in early UGC / early PA. Maurer (2002: 131fn), for instance, remarks: "No está claro desde cuándo se empezó a emplear el marcador *-s* en el criollo de Cabo Verde y en el kriól" ("It is not clear when the [plural] marker *-s* was brought into use in Cape Verdean Creole and GB"), raising the idea that UGC initially lacked plural morphology, like many (creole) languages. In Korlai, an Indo-Portuguese creole, for instance, "there is no plural marker" (Clements 2007: 167), and Parkvall (2000: 158, emphasis added), when giving estimates of the time span needed for certain African syntactic features to fully integrate into a (Atlantic) creole's syntax, summarizes:

nominal plural marking might potentially be a case of late substrate influence. Its absence in many of the world's languages proves it to be a feature that human language, regardless of whether it has gone through pidginization or not, can manage without. Indeed, overt plural marking has been shown to be a late development in the Indian Ocean FCs ... and it was moderately grammaticalised in Negerholands DC, which could be taken to suggest a relatively late development.

16. But note also PL's 2PL *enu*, which is found besides 2PL *utere* (< S *ustedes* "you (PL)") and whose Kikongo origin is discussed in Schwegler (2002: 309–312). See both Schwegler & Green (2007: 298–300) and Bickerton (2002) for further (diachronic) analyses of PL's pronouns.

In the light of these data, it does not seem far-fetched to assume that the early UGC variety brought to Curaçao was lacking a distinct 3PL pronoun and had, if any, no pronounced plural marking morphology. As a consequence, there seems to have been scope in early PA for the 3PL pronoun / plural marker *nan* to be introduced post-formatively by speakers of Kwa languages (and/or GGC) when these became numerically dominant on Curaçao.¹⁷

3.1.5 *PA boso and bosonan: Convergence of UGC features with a Kwa / Bantu substrate*

Besides PA *nan*, there are two other aspects of PA's pronominal system that suggest that this system results from the subtle modification and extension of the original UGC pronominal system by speakers of Kwa / Bantu languages (and/or GGC):

- The 2PL PA *boso* seems to result from the paragoge of a vowel to the UGC form *bos*. The paragoge of vowels to restore a /CV/ syllable pattern is typical of GGC rather than of UGC.
- PA *boso* can be pleonastically marked for plural, forming PA *bosonan*. The latter form is analytically similar to the ST 2PL (*i*)*nan-sé*, with *sé* < P *você(s)* “you (PL)” and (*i*)*nan* marking plurality (Tjerk Hagemeijer, p. c.).

3.1.6 *Concluding remarks on the pronominal system*

Regarding the hypothesized ST origins of the PL 3PL pronoun *ané*, Bickerton (2002:40) — often at his best when arguing against Afro-European influence in Caribbean creoles — comments: “Pero ésta es una forma africana, y no se puede eliminar la posibilidad de que *ané* venga directamente de alguna lengua africana Y aun, si de veras viene del santomense este vocablo, aquí ... se trata meramente de un vocablo suelto, no de un sistema” (“But this is an African form and it cannot be discarded that *ané* derives directly from some African language. And even if this form does derive from ST, here we are merely dealing with a single form, not with a system”). It is revealing to note that exactly the same is true for PA's 3PL *nan* and its equivalent in Annobonense, but that PA and UGC, on the other hand, do in fact share a *system*.

The pronominal resemblances exposed above are unattested between PA and any language other than UGC. Admittedly, some of the material can without a doubt be shown to also exist in some other Iberian variety or creole, but, to link up

17. Note that the same argumentation can be applied to two other features that distinguish PA from UGC: firstly, the use in PA of heavy verbal serialization versus relatively modest verbal serialization in UGC (cf. Quint 2000b:178–180) and secondly, the overt preverbal perfective aspect marker PA *a* where UGC has a zero marker. The absence of these features in early UGC allowed for them to be introduced in PA in a post-formative phase.

with Parkvall (2000: 101), “A pronoun paradigm is simply not assembled from bits and pieces in five different languages”.

3.2 Question words

Table 2. Question words¹⁸ (cf. Quint 2000b: 141, Kihm 1994: 209)

PA	SCV ¹⁹	GB	GLOSS
<i>ken</i> ²⁰	<i>ken</i> ²¹	<i>kin</i>	“who?”
<i>(na) unda</i>	<i>(na) unde</i>	<i>nunde (na + unde)</i>	“where(to)?”
<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	“who, what?”
<i>ki ora</i>	<i>ki ora</i>	<i>kal ora</i>	“when?” (lit. “what hour
<i>ki dia</i>	<i>ki dia</i>	<i>kal dia</i>	~ day ~ time?)
<i>ki tempu</i>	<i>ki tempu</i>	<i>kal tempu</i>	

The following lexemes in PA’s inventory are likely to be Portuguese-derived: *ken* < P *quem* (≠ S *quien*), *unda* < P *onde* (≠ S *donde*), *tempu* < P *tempu* (≠ S *tiempo*). The question words for “how?” and “why?” are different in all three creoles: the forms most commonly used are SCV *modi*, GB *kuma* and PA *kon* (but *kum* in the fossilized idiom *kumbai?* “how are you?”) for “how?”, and SCV *pa modi*, GB *purke* and PA *pa kiko* (but <pa kiku> in various early PA texts, e.g. Conradi 1844) for “why?”. Furthermore, besides PA / UGC *ki*, the creoles each have a distinct bimorphemic form for “what?”: GB *ke ku*, SCV *kusé* and PA *kiko* (but <ki ku> in some early PA texts, e.g. Lenz 1928: 162).

18. When the question words function as relative pronouns, they can occur optionally with the relative marker *ku*: PA *ken ku* “who?”, *unda ku* “where?”; SCV *ken ki* “who?”, *unde ki* “where?”, etc. (Kouwenberg & Ramos-Michel 2007: 328, Baptista et al. 2007: 78).

19. According to Baptista et al. (2007: 78), all UGC’s interrogatives are accompanied by relative *ki* (SCV) ~ *ku* (GB). Quint (2000a: 216) refines this by pointing out that in SCV this is true only for the monosyllabic interrogatives. In any case, there are reasons to assume that this pleonastic *ku* results from post-formative contact with Portuguese: it is attested more frequently in urban SCV speech, where influence from Portuguese is more noticeable. Because of this, and simply to facilitate comparison, I have taken the simple UGC forms as a point of reference.

20. PA also has (originally bimorphemic) *kende* (< *ki + hende*). Bimorphemic “who” is common cross-linguistically (Parkvall 2000: 101), but its existence in PA alongside monomorphemic *ken* could point towards Kwa or Bantu influence.

21. SCV also knows the form *kenha* (Quint 2000a: 215).

3.2.1 Early PA **kantu*, *kal* = UGC *kantu*, *kal*

In a previous stage PA and UGC interrogatives are likely to have corresponded even more closely. This can be induced from the monophthong in PA *kalke* ‘any’ < UGC *kalker*, which occurs in free variation with diphthongized PA *kualke*.²² One can thus hypothesize about the early PA forms **kantu* ‘how much?’ and **kal* ‘which?’, similar to UGC *kantu* and *kal*, whereas modern PA has *kuantu* and *kual*.

3.2.2 Bimorphemic and monomorphemic question words in exactly the same cases

While both PA and UGC have a semi-transparent (mixed bi- and monomorphemic) question word system, it is important to point out that they are either transparent (e.g., bimorphemic ‘when’) or non-transparent (e.g., monomorphemic ‘who’ and ‘where’) in exactly the same cases. Although bimorphemic question words for ‘when?’ are common to many (creole) languages, the same is true for bimorphemic question words for ‘who?’ and ‘where?’²³ and so much so, that the development of bimorphemic ‘who’ and ‘when’ is often referred to as a universal tendency among pidgins and creoles (Lipski 2005: 260). It is all the more significant that both PA and UGC rather chose monomorphemic forms (derived from the same Portuguese etyma *quem* and *onde*) to express ‘who?’ and ‘where?’.

3.2.3 PA *unda*, SCV *unde* and GB *nunde*

Salient is the stressed [u] instead of etymological /o/ in PA *unda* and UGC *unde*, whereas ST and ANG have *andji* ‘where?’ (Fontes 2007, Maurer 1995: 64).²⁴ Spanish-based creoles PL and Zamboangueno provide extra contrast, with the forms *a(d)onde* and *donde* respectively (Schwegler 1996: 421, Lipski & Santoro 2007: 394). Note, moreover, that several 19th century authors writing in PA used the form <unde> (e.g., Putman 1849, Niewindt 1837).

Consider also the striking compositional resemblance between PA *na unda*, SCV *na unde* and GB *nunde* (< *na* + *unde*) (all ‘where (to)?’) and PA *pa unda* and SCV *punde* (both ‘where to?’). To emphasize the exclusiveness of these constructions, recall the PL form *a(d)onde* ‘where(to)?’, composed of Spanish *a* + *donde*.

22. The monophthong in the second syllable of PA *kalke*–*kualke* shows that the etymon of this adverb is Portuguese *qualquer* rather than Spanish *cualquier*.

23. See for example Holm (2000: 226) or Parkvall (2000: 101, 2001: 199–203).

24. PA *unda* and UGC *unde* suggest an early Portuguese form **unde* instead of modern *onde*, an idea strengthened by Korlai *un* ‘where?’ (Clements 2007: 170).

3.3 Prepositions

Table 3. Simple prepositions (cf. Quint 2000b: 140, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 52, Baptista et al. 2007: 79)

PA	UGC	GLOSS
<i>di</i>	<i>di</i>	“from”
<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	“with”
<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	“in, to”
<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	“for, by”
<i>riba</i>	<i>riba, ruba</i>	“on, over”
<i>te</i>	<i>te, ti</i>	“until”
<i>den ~ denter</i>	<i>dentu</i>	“in”

The simple prepositions listed above are those, which do not require combining with *di* in PA (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 52). As it happens, with the exception of SCV *dentu*,²⁵ the same prepositions are singled out by Quint (2000a: 201)²⁶ as representing “les prépositions du vieux fonds créole traditionnel” (“the prepositions of the old traditional base of the creole”).

Two items of probable Portuguese origin can be identified (PA *na* < P *na* (*em* + *a*) ≠ S *en la*; PA *te* < P *até* ≠ S *hasta*) versus none of probable Spanish origin. This renders incorrect Munteanu’s (1996: 387) affirmation that PA’s prepositional system represents a slightly simplified continuation of the Spanish system.

Considering the fact that function words, and thus prepositions, are relatively resistant to replacement (cf. §2.1), it seems unnecessary to go into syntactic and semantic detail: one is inclined merely on the basis of the phonological correspondence to assume that the prepositional systems have one and the same origin. I go into such detail here (a) to emphasize the structural correspondence of PA’s and UGC’s prepositions and (b) to weaken hypotheses that adduce decreolization to account for the correspondences (e.g., Endruschat 2004: 66, 2005: 193).

25. The inclusion of SCV *dentu* in Table 3 is justified, though, since it does occasionally occur as a simple preposition, as in SCV *dentu-loja* “in(side) the store” (Mendes et al. 2002: 168), which equals PA *den pakus* (with *pakus* < D *pakhuis* “warehouse”).

26. Quint presents SCV *sen* as a seventh simple preposition. In fact, PA *sin* should also have been included in Kouwenberg & Murray’s list of simple prepositions, since it does not require combining with *di*.

3.3.1 Prepositional abundance in PA and UGC versus prepositional scarcity in Bantu-influenced varieties

It is noteworthy that neither PA nor UGC has integrated derivatives of the Iberian prepositions *por*, *sobre* and *a* (see also §3.3.3). In spite of this, however, both creoles are characterized by a relatively high number of prepositions compared to Bantu-influenced speech varieties. Bantu-influenced Saramaccan and Panamese Bozal Spanish, for instance, according to Lipski (1989:76), display a “massive reduction of the prepositional system”, which seems directly related to the fact that most Bantu languages employ other syntactic devices to express prenominal relations (Endruschat 2004: 47, Lipski 2005: 274).

For ANG, a creole with a recognized Bantu substrate, the prepositional scarcity is illustrated by the omission of a locative preposition in (2), whereas in a similar context in PA (despite the undeniable Bantu component in its substrate) and in UGC (no Bantu substrate) we would find *na*, as in (3a, b).²⁷

- (2) ANG *N taba lotha kwin anu.*
 1SG work plantation ten year
 “I worked on a plantation for ten years”. (Lorenzino 2007: 22)

- (3) a. PA *Mi ta traha na un agencia di biahe.*
 1SG IMP work in IND agency PREP voyage
 “I work in a travel agency”.
 b. SCV N *ta trabadja na un instituison di saudi.*
 1SG IMP work in IND institute PREP health
 “I work in a health institute”.

In PL, a creole with a heavy Kikongo substrate, the locative adverbs *akí*, *aká*, *ái* and *ayá* take on a prepositional function. Their meaning is contextually determined: PL *akí kasa*, according to the context, can be translated as any of the following: “in the house ~ on the house ~ around the house ~ at the house ~ to(ward) the house” (Schwegler 2007: 302).

Kouwenberg & Murray (1994: 52) have also highlighted the fact that “Papiamentu is fairly rich in prepositions, in contrast with other Caribbean creole languages”. It has therefore been suggested that PA’s prepositional system results from decreolization (e.g., Endruschat 2004: 66).²⁸ However, if the frequent use of prepositions in PA and UGC were due to decreolization, this would leave the following

27. In ST, considerably less Bantu-influenced, we would find *ni* (Lorenzino 2007: 22).

28. PA’s prepositional abundance leads Endruschat (2004: 66) to the remarkable conclusion that PA is not only decreolizing, but that this decreolization is due to “contacto estreito com o português” (cf. Endruschat 2005: 193). Papiamentu is in contact with Spanish, Dutch and English, but not with Portuguese (Sanchez 2005: vi).

cases unaccounted for, in which the creoles' prepositional behavior differs neatly from that of the lexifiers, while coinciding in PA and UGC.²⁹

3.3.2 Two cases of semantic extension: PA / UGC *riba* (*di*) and *pa*

The use and meaning of the preposition PA / UGC *riba* (*di*) is distinct from and wider than its etymon *arriba* "above", which occurs mostly as an adverb in modern mainstream Spanish and Portuguese (but see Lipski 2005:274). PA / UGC *riba* (*di*), in phrases such as *riba* (*di*) *mesa* "on the table", would translate into mainstream Spanish and Portuguese as *en(cima de)* / *em(cima de)* or *sobre*. In PA and UGC, then, *riba* has made reflexes of Iberian *sobre* "over, on" redundant.³⁰

PA / UGC *pa* covers the semantics of both S / P *para* and *por*. This deserves mention, since in various other Iberian-based creoles — although on the whole endowed with a less extensive prepositional system — a reflex of Spanish or Portuguese *por* has in fact been retained, as for example in ST, PRI (Rougé 2004:236), Korlai (Da Silva Rêgo 1998:68) and PL (Schwegler & Green 2007:302).³¹

3.3.3 Zero preposition

In PA, SCV and GB the directional verbs "to go" (PA *bai*, UGC *ba~bai*), "to come" (PA *bin~bini*, GB *bin*, SCV *ben*) and "to arrive" (PA *yega*, UGC *txiga*)³² occur

29. To further underscore the originality of the prepositional systems, the prepositional behavior in the oldest known written PA documents (from 1775 and 1776, published in Maurer 1998:203–206) is similar to that of modern PA. Similarly, for UGC, the prepositional system presented here is typical of the rural and more basilectal variety of SCV described by Quint (2000a,b).

30. Although in SCV we find *sobri*, Quint (2000a:205, 206) emphasizes that this preposition "semble d'origine assez récente ... et son champ lexical se réduit pour l'instant à des emplois abstraits, tandis que *riba* ..., plus ancien, garde des acceptions plus concrètes".

31. On a syntactic level, PA / UGC *pa* is used as a complementizer in constructions of the type *pa* + 'subject pronoun' + 'infinitive' following verbs of desire and demand (Quint 2000b:141, cf. Muller 1989:495, 496, Doneux & Rougé 1988:57), where modern mainstream European Portuguese and Spanish would employ *que* as a complementizer. A similar construction (*para* + 'subject pronoun' + 'infinitive') is, however, with varying frequency, attested in PL, Brazilian Portuguese and various varieties of (Latin American) Spanish (Lipski 2005:298). Nevertheless, the feature further underpins the structural congruence of the prepositional systems of PA and UGC.

32. The three verbs just mentioned allow to demonstrate the significant fact that — fully consistent with the case for relexification made in this paper — PA's *functional* (i.e., modal and auxiliary) verbs can all be traced back to UGCP, while the bulk of the *content* verbs, on the other hand, have a pronounced Spanish character (see Jacobs, forthcoming a). The content verb PA *yega* "to arrive", thus, derives from Spanish *llegar*, while the auxiliary verb PA *bai* is homophonous to

without a preposition when followed by a location (4a–c). In most varieties of Spanish and Portuguese either *a* or *para* would be employed.

- (4) a. PA *Majan mi ta bai Suriname.*
 tomorrow 1SG IMP go Surinam
 “Tomorrow I’m going to Surinam”. (Lenz 1928: 175)
- b. GB *I fala i na bai Portugal.*
 3SG say 3SG PROG go Portugal
 “He said he was/is going to Portugal”. (Scantamburlo 2002: 494)
- c. SCV *Mininus Ø bai páрки.*
 children PERF go park
 “The children went to the park / garden”. (Lang 2002: 46)

By contrast: in PL, “[Motion verb + place] consistently requires the presence of a locative preposition ... or a locative adverb” (Schwegler & Green 2007: 303), while also in the Zamboanguense variety of Chabacano “prepositions are required after the verbs of motion and before expressions of place” (Lipski & Santoro 2007: 395).

3.3.4 Combinatory possibilities

Some identical combinatory possibilities involving prepositions surface in both PA and UGC. Consider, for instance, the directional adverbs PA (*bai paden / pafó / patras / pariba* “(to go) inside / outside / upstairs” (Dijkhoff 1993: 218) = SCV (*bai padentu / pafora / patras / pariba* (Lang 2002). Although the construction ‘motion verb’ + *para* + ‘adverb’ is common to Portuguese and also attested in various (non-standard) varieties of Spanish, this cannot be said of the related adverbial constructions PA *di patras / di pafó / di paden*, etc. “from behind / from outside / from within” = SCV *di patras / di pafora / di padentu*: Iberian equivalents are generally of the type S *por detrás / P por trás*, etc.

Remarkable is the occurrence of compound nouns of the type *pa(rti) di* + ‘directional adverb’: PA *parti di patras ~ pa di patras* “back” = SCV *parti di patras ~ pa di pa tras*; PA *parti di paden ~ pa di paden* “inside, interior” = SCV *parti di padentu ~ pa di padentu* (Mendes et al. 2002, VPDW 2005).

Finally, we single out the frequently applied construction ‘possessive pronoun’ + ‘adverb/noun’ to indicate direction or location (Kihm 1994: 68, Lang 2002: xxxvii), as shown in (5a–c). This construction frequently substitutes the Iberian construction ‘composed preposition’ + ‘object pronoun’ (e.g., S / P *tras de ti* “behind you”).

UGC *bai*. Typically, the verb “to come”, when used as an auxiliary, translates as PA *bin*, identical to GB *bin*, while when used a content verb, Spanish-derived *bini* (< S *venir*) is more common.

- (5) a. PA *Mi ta bai su tras.*
 I IMP go POS behind
 “I’m going after him”.³³ (Rigmar Haynes)
- b. GB *Garandi multitudon na bai si tras.*
 big multitude PROG go POS behind
 “A big multitude is going after him”. (Scantamburlo 2002: 417)
- c. SCV *Tudu algen dretu ta kóre si tras.*
 all person right IMP run POS behind
 “All good people run after him”. (Lang 2002: 692)
- (6) a. PA *Tur kos ta bo dilanti.*
 all thing COP POS front
 “You have everything ahead of you”. (Rigmar Haynes, p.c.)
- b. GB *Kamiñu sta bu dianti*
 road COP POS front
 “The road is ahead of you”. (Doneux & Rougé 1988: 19)

3.3.5 Composed prepositions

3.3.5.1 PA / UGC *banda di*. The composed preposition PA / UGC *banda di* “next to, close to, around” deserves special attention. Regarding its use in UGC, Rougé (2004: 74) indicates: “En Guinée ... comme à Santiago, la locution *banda di*, qui vient d’une ancienne locution portugaise *banda de*, ... signifie ‘aux environs vers’ et est employée aussi bien pour le lieu que pour le temps” (“Both in Guinea and in Santiago, the locution *banda di*, which derives from an ancient Portuguese locution *banda de*, means “around” and is used with both locative and temporal reference”). Indeed, as in UGC, PA *banda di* is used with both locative (7a, b) and temporal (8a–c) reference.

- (7) a. PA *banda di kas* “next to the house, close to the house, around the house”
 b. UGC *banda di kasa* “next to the house, close to the house, around the house”
- (8) a. PA *banda di dos ora* “around two o’clock”
 b. SCV *banda di des i meia* “around ten thirty” (Lang 2002: 49)
 c. GB *banda di seti ora* “around seven o’clock” (Rougé 2004: 75)

33. Although this is a widespread feature in PA, to my knowledge, it has not been described in grammars.

While *banda de* seems to have been typical of ancient (and probably maritime) Portuguese, it has been fully replaced by locutions such as *ao lado de*, *perto de* (both locative), *sobre* and *por volta de* (both temporal).³⁴

By means of contrast, it is noted that there is no trace of a reflex of S *banda (de)* in PL (Armin Schwegler p.c.). In GGC *banda* “side, place” exists, but only as a noun (Fontes 2007: 55, Fontes & Holm 2008, Rougé 2004: 75).

3.3.5.2 PA for di: Convergence of UGC *fora di* and GGC *fo*. PA *for di* (< P *fora de* “out(side) of” ≠ S *fuera de*) has a locative use similar to its Portuguese etymon and the UGC equivalent *fora di*, but, contrary to these, can also be used with the temporal meaning “since”: PA *for di dos luna* “two months ago” (≠ P *desde dois meses*, SCV *désdi dos mês*). This use is reminiscent of the GGC verb *fô* “to leave”, which occurs as a preposition with the same temporal meaning (Maurer 1995: 121, Maurer 2005).³⁵

Maurer (2005: 58) believes that the semantic extension of PA *for di* results from convergence with the GGC verb *fô* and therefore might constitute “una prueba más de los lazos genéticos que unen el papiamento con los criollos del Golfo de Guinea” (“another piece of evidence for the genetic ties between PA and GGC”). However, he does not mention that the composed preposition PA *for di* is, first and foremost, reminiscent of UGC *fora di*. In addition to the phonological correspondence, PA *for di* has not lost any of the original syntactic and semantic value of UGC *fora di*. It can well be imagined that, as in the case of the integration of PA *nan* (§3.1.4), the semantic (temporal) extension of PA *for di* results from late substrate influence. Moreover, a UGC origin for PA *for di* is circularly supported by the complete correspondence of PA’s core prepositional system to that of UGC.

Finally, note that in various early PA texts — e.g. Niewindt (1833: 3), Putman (1850: 6), the Aruban letter from 1803 published in Martinus (1996: 33, 34) — one finds the regular use of PA <des di> ~ <desdi> ~ <desde> “since” (= UGC *desdi*) instead of PA *for di*. This could indicate that *desdi* was more commonly, if not regularly, used in early PA instead of or alongside *for di* and that, when large numbers of Lower Guinea and Angolan slaves (and possibly speakers of GGC) were brought into Curaçao, its use would slowly but surely have become marginal in favor of PA *for di*.

34. In fact, besides *banda di*, various other items and features typical of Old Portuguese (14th–16th century) can be identified in PA’s core grammar. For chronological reasons, these features can only have entered PA by ways of UGC, where, unsurprisingly, the same Old Portuguese features are attested (see Jacobs, forthcoming a).

35. Rougé (2004: 164) thinks convergence of P *fora* and P *foi* “he/she went” might account for this.

One might be tempted to argue that the use of PA *desdi* in these early texts could reflect a Spanish bias on the part of the authors, but the fact that it was included as a preposition (with *for di* as a variant) in Sintiago's (1898) PA grammar — “DESDE, (*for di, foi*) ta determina e or ku un cos ta socedé ..., també den es locución adverbial: *desde awé* [‘since today’], *for di awor* [‘since now’]” (“*Desde (for di, foi)* determines when something happens, also in the adverbial locution *desde awé* [‘since today’], *for di awor* [‘since now’]”) (30, 31) — as well as in Van De Veen Zeppenfeldt's (1928) PA grammar — “*desde di (desdi)* ‘sinds’” (1928:72) — speaks against this, and, moreover, suggests that PA *desdi* was possibly still in use at the beginning of the 20th century.

3.3.6 *Final remarks on the prepositions*

It remains unclear why, with the exception of Quint (2000b: 140), the correspondences in this category have been consistently overlooked by PA specialists. Munteanu (1996: 387), for instance, declares: “Las preposiciones más usadas en papiamentu representan, en nuestra opinión, una continuación un tanto simplificada del sistema preposicional español, sin la intervención de las demás lenguas participantes en su gestación” (“The most frequently used prepositions in PA represent, in our opinion, a slightly simplified continuation of the prepositional system of Spanish, without the intervention of the other languages that contributed to its formation”). In light of the above data, this seems incorrect.

It is not so much the exclusivity of each shared prepositional feature and form — some obviously found in other (overseas) Iberian speech varieties as well — as the systematicity of their correspondence that is most striking, and not found between PA and any language other than UGC.

3.4 Conjunctions

3.4.1 *‘and’*

Both PA and UGC make use of two distinct coordinate conjunctions: *ku* and *i*. The latter coordinates independent clauses³⁶ and appears in some fossilized wholesale borrowings, e.g. numerals, time indication and some adverbial expressions such as SCV / PA *i tal* “and so on”. PA / UGC *ku*, on the other hand, is employed in case of grammatical equality of the joined constituents:

36. Quint (forthcoming: 16), however, presents the results of recent fieldwork, which suggest that in basilectal SCV the conjunction *i* is largely absent: “la coordination des unités prédicatives se fait très généralement sans conjonction”.

- (9) a. PA *ami ku bo, abo ku mi*
 1SG CON 2SG 2SG CON 1SG
 “you and me, me and you” (Quint 2000b: 140)
- b. SCV *ami ku bo, abo ku mi*
 1SG CON 2SG 2SG CON 1SG
 “you and me, me and you” (Quint 2000b: 140)
- (10) a. PA *kanta ku balia*
 sing CON dance
 “(to) sing and dance” (Quint 2000b: 140)
- b. SCV *kanta ku badja*
 sing CON dance
 “(to) sing and dance” (Quint 2000b: 140)
- (11) a. PA *pretu ku blanku*
 black CON white
 “black and white”
- b. SCV *pretu ku branku*
 negro CON blanco
 “black and white”

It is true that in many African languages and creoles we find equivalents of the preposition ‘with’ functioning as a conjunction (Holm 2000:227, Parkvall 2001:199). However, various subtle characteristics of conjunctive *ku* set PA and UGC apart from other Iberian-based creoles. In PL, for example, *ku* only conjoins “elements that are [+human]” (Schwegler & Green 2007: 302), such as PL *ele ku yo* “he and I”. This means that the use of *ku* in phrases (10) and (11) is considered ungrammatical in PL. In ANG, conjunctive *ki* “ne peut pas conjoindre deux adjectifs” (“cannot conjoin two adjectives”) (Maurer 1995: 65). As was shown in (11a, b), contrary to ANG *ki*, PA / UGC *ku* can indeed conjoin adjectives.

3.4.2 Subordinate conjunctions

3.4.2.1 ‘when’. The combination ‘hour’ + ‘that’ is at the base of the PA / UGC bimorphemic conjunction that equals “when”: PA *ora ku* (VPDW 2005), SCV *ora ki* ~ *óki* ~ *óras ki* (Mendes et al. 2002: 337) and GB *ora ku* (Kihm 1994: 205). Spanish and Portuguese have monomorphemic *cuando* and *quando* respectively.³⁷

37. Both in PA as well as in GB a reflex of Iberian *cuando* ~ *quando* “when” is unattested (Rougé 2004: 241). Unlike PA and GB, SCV falls back on *kantu* ~ *kandu* < P *quando* to introduce clauses situated in the past, and seems to use *ora ki* only as a prospective conjunction (Nicolas Quint, p. c., cf. Lang 2002: 291).

- (12) a. PA *Ora ku e Ø yega ...*
 hour REL 3SG IRR arrive
 “When he arrives ...” (Maurer 1988:200)
- b. SCV *Ora ki m Ø da grandi ...*
 hour REL 1SG IRR give big
 “When I grow up ...” (Mendes et al. 2002:337)
- c. GB *Ora ku n Ø riba ...*
 hour REL 1SG IRR return
 “When I return ...” (Kihm 1994:205)

The construction seems typically Afro-Portuguese rather than Afro-Hispanic: in Portuguese-based GGC we find ST *ola ku* “when” (Fontes 2007:74) and ANG *ola kutxi* “when” (Maurer 1995:64), while there is no trace of the construction in Spanish-based PL, that uses *kuando* “when” instead (Schwegler & Green 2007: 285, Schwegler 1996:viii).

3.4.2.2 ‘until’. Both UGC and PA make use of the trimorphemic conjunction composed of etymological P *até + ora + que* to express “until”:

- (13) a. PA ...*te ora ku el a bai.*
 until hour REL 3SG PERF go
 “... until he left”. (Rigmar Haynes, p.c.)
- b. SCV ...*ti ora ki el Ø abri porta.*
 until hour REL 3SG PERF open door
 “... until he opened the door”. (Lang 2002: 520)³⁸
- c. GB ...*te ora ku i Ø fura.*
 until hour REL 3SG PERF pierce
 “... until it pierced”. (Kihm 1994:206)³⁹

In PL, a similar construction is not found. Tjerk Hagemeyer (p.c.) indicates that ST *antê ku ola* (lit. “until that hour”) is attested but appears to be very rare, with *antê (ku)* being most common:

- (14) ST ...*antê ê bi da tudu kwa se⁴⁰ di 1953.*
 until 3SG come give all thing SP of 1953
 “... until all those things of 1953 occurred”. (Hagemeyer 2007: 184)

38. In SCV, *te ora ki* is commonly realized as *tóki*.

39. In GB, the composition *te ora ku* is commonly realized as *tok*.

40. ST *se* serves as a specific marker.

3.4.2.3 ‘before’. PA and UGC make use of an equivalent of “first” to express “before”:⁴¹

- (15) a. PA *Promé (ku) e Ø yega,*
 ... first REL 3SG IRR arrive
 “Before he arrives, ...” (VPDW 2005: 365)
- b. SCV *Purmeru (ki) bu Ø kumesa, ...*
 first REL 2SG IRR start
 “Before you start, ...” (Quint 2000a: 271)

Crucially, Brito (1887) still used the early SCV form *prômeru* “first”, a variant not found in Lang (2002), Mendes et al. (2002) or Rougé (2004). If we consider, furthermore, that the PA form attested in most 19th century texts is *promer* (15c), the development P *primeiro* > early SCV *prômeru*⁴² > early PA *promer* > PA *promé* seems plausible.

- (15) c. PA *A pasa basta anja promer el por a drenta.*
 PERF pass many year before 3SG could PERF enter
 “Many years passed before he could enter”. (*La Union* 1889, 19–04)

The use of “first” to express “before” is attested neither in PL (Armin Schwegler p. c.) nor in GGC. In ST, for instance, to express “before”, a construction built up of “then” + “for” (ST *zo pa ~ zao pa ~ so pa*) is employed:

- (16) ST *Zon kume zo pa ê bêbê.*
 Zon eat then for 3SG drink
 “Zon ate before he drank”.
 (Tjerk Hagemeyer, p. c., cf. Hagemeyer 2007: 180)

3.4.2.4 ‘how’. In the following cases, where PA and UGC use *manera (ku~ki)*, Spanish and Portuguese would use conjunctive *como* “how”:

41. Although by no means frequent, Portuguese *primeiro (que)* and Spanish *primero (que)* can occur with this meaning. Nevertheless, one can reasonably suspect substrate-influence to account for this feature. In any case, there is no trace of Iberian *antes (de que)* “before” in PA, which supports the originality of *promé* as a conjunction.

42. The early SCV form *prômeru* suggests that in the more common process of velarization the /e, i/ of the etyma passed through an [o] before passing to [u], which, in turn, allows for the hypothesis that, in an earlier phase, modern SCV forms such as *purdon* “pardon” (< P *perdão*) and *ruspondi* “(to) answer” (< P *responder*) were realized as **pordon* and **rospondi*, remarkably close to their PA cognates *pordon* and *rospondí*. The link between SCV *ruspondi* and PA *rospondí* is further strengthened by the fact that both verbs have been nominalized (SCV *ruspondi* “answer (noun)” = PA *rospondí* “answer (noun)”) with reflexes of P *resposta* and S *respuesta* strikingly missing in both creoles.

- (17) a. PA *Bo a mira manera ku hende ta mira?*
 2SG PERF look way REL people IMP look?
 “Did you see how they were watching?” (Rigmar Haynes, p.c.)
- b. GB *Bo Ø oja manera ku n Ø pirdi kurida?*
 2SG PERF see way REL 1SG PERF loose race
 “Did you see how I lost the race?” (cf. Kihm 1994: 182)
- c. SCV *Dja m Ø skesi manera ki el txoma.*
 already 1SG PERF forget way REL 3SG be called
 “I have (already) forgotten his name”.

There are no reflexes of Portuguese *maneira* attested in GGC (Rougé 2004: 198), where *mo(du)~mo(di)* “how” fulfils this function (cf. 3.6.4), nor derivatives of Spanish *manera* in PL (Schwegler 1996: x), that uses *kumo* “how” instead (Schwegler & Green 2007: 291).

3.4.3 PA *ma, o, si* = UGC *ma, o, si*

The homophonicity between the conjunctions PA / UGC *ma* “but”, *o* “or” and *si* “if” is not surprising considering the lexifiers’ equivalents (S / P *mas, o ~ ou, si ~ se*). They do, however, add to the overall correspondence between PA’s and UGC’s function words and contrast with, for instance, the GGC forms *maji~madji~meji* “but” (< P *mas*) and *xi* “if” (< P *se*) (Rougé 2004: 201, 258).

Although in modern PA *pero* “but” (< S *pero*) becomes more and more frequent, there is no trace of this item in the 18th and 19th century PA texts, where only *ma* “but” is used.

3.5 Reciprocity and reflexivity

This grammatical category is no exception to what we have seen so far, namely that the function words in the category can be traced back directly to UGC.

Reciprocity in PA and GB is expressed with a lexeme meaning “other”:

- (18) a. PA *Nan ta stima otro.*
 1PL IMP love other
 “They love each other”. (Dijkhoff 2000: 87)
- b. GB *no na oja un utru*
 1PL FUT see DET other
 “We’ll see each other”. (Kihm 1994: 168)

The correspondences between PA and GB also concern reflexivity, which in both creoles can be expressed with the equivalent of “body” (19a, b). This feature is common to various other creoles and African languages (Parkvall 2000: 57–60, 2001: 199–203), but the raising of the stressed etymological /o/ to [u] in both GB

kurpu and PA *kurpa* (< P *corpo* “body” ≠ S *cuervo*) sets these forms apart from, for instance, ST *klôpô* < P *corpo* (Rougé 2004: 120)”. The lowering of the unstressed etymological /o/ to [a] in PA *kurpa* can also be seen, for example, in PA *biña* “wine” and *bisiña* “neighbor” from Portuguese *vinho* and *vizinho* (= GB *biñu* and *bisiñu*). In other words, it is likely that PA *kurpa* was once homophonous to GB *kurpu*.

- (19) a. PA *laba kurpa*
wash body
“to wash oneself” (VPDW 2005: 673)
- b. GB *tudu dia i ta laba kurpu*
all day 3SG IMP wash body
“he washes himself daily” (Scantamburlo 1999: 167)

Both PA *kurpa* and GB *kurpu* combine optionally with a possessive pronoun:

- (20) a. PA *defendé su kurpa*
defend POS body
“to defend oneself” (Maurer 1988: 44)
- b. GB *alimenta si kurpu*
feed POS body
“to feed oneself” (Scantamburlo 2002: 455)

Note, however, that in the GB examples (19b) and (20b) the notion of ‘body’ is quite literally present. When this is less obvious, GB, contrary to PA, employs reflexive *kabesa*: a concept such as “to commit suicide” translates into GB as *mata (si) kabesa* (lit. “kill (one’s) head” ≠ PA *mata (su) kurpa*). One could thus say that GB *kurpu* grammaticalized only moderately and that GB *kabesa* is the ‘true’ reflexive pronoun.

Convergence with Kwa patterns might be responsible for the grammaticalization of PA *kurpa* into a ‘full’ reflexive: in various Kwa languages as well as in GGC, the reflexive pronoun is an equivalent of “body” (Parkvall 2000: 59). In ANG and ST, for instance, we find reflexive *onge* and *ubwe* (both “body”) respectively (Lorenzino 2007: 20). Note, however, that these words are of African origin, and that the ST form *klôpô* (< P *corpo*) cited earlier is used only to denote the content word “body”.

Modern SCV distinguishes itself from both PA and GB with reciprocal *kompatheru* “companion”. Regarding reflexivity, according to Nicolas Quint (p. c.), just as GB, SCV can employ *korpu* in quasi reflexive syntagms, e.g., *laba korpu* “to wash oneself”.⁴³

43. Lang (2002: 744, 760, 795), for instance, provides some examples that, judging by the reflexive Portuguese translation, suggest some, if moderate, grammaticalization of SCV *korpu* as

PA and UGC also coincide in that they make use of reflexive constructions made up of a ‘verb’ + ‘personal pronoun’ + ‘self’: PA *mi mes, bo mes* = SCV *mi-me, bo-me* (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 40, Baptista 2002: 56, Quint 2000a: 176). The exclusivity of this feature seems limited, but again, as with PA *kurpa*, we see a Portuguese-derived function word (PA *mes* < P *mesmo* ≠ S *mismo*) with a cognate in UGC.

3.6 Early PA features

If there is truth in the hypothesis defended in this paper, we expect early PA to have been more similar to UGC than modern PA. Data drawn from a series of 18th, 19th and early 20th century PA texts and grammars (see examples in §3.3.5.2 and §3.4.2.3) demonstrate that this is indeed the case.

3.6.1 Early PA relative *ki* = SCV *ki*

- (21) a. PA *Bo marido ki tanto ta stima bo.*
 2SG husband REL so much IMP love 2SG
 “Your husband, who loves you so much”. (1775, in Maurer 1998: 204)
- b. PA *Mi a tende ki su señor a haña*
 1SG PERF hear REL POS mister PERF find
dos karta
 two card.
 “I have heard that his master received two cards”. (1776, in Maurer 1998: 205)
- c. PA *Na tempo ki lo yega.*
 in time REL FUT arrive
 “In the time ahead”. (1803, in Martinus 1996: 33)

Examples (21a–c), drawn from the earliest known written PA documents dating from 1775, 1776 and 1803, show that early PA’s relative marker was not *ku* but *ki*, as it still is in SCV. Lenz (1928: 115) expressed a similar suspicion: “Es posible que también en Curazao se haya usado primitivamente un relativo *ke* o *ki*, como en las islas de Cabo Verde. Algunos textos antiguos ... usan *ki* por *ku*” (“It is possible that relative *ke* or *ki* was initially used on Curaçao, as on the Cape Verde Islands. Some old texts use *ki* instead of *ku*”) (see also Martinus 1996: 36).

a reflexive: SCV *stáfa (si) korpu* = P *estafar-se* “to strain / exert oneself”, SCV *suste korpu* = P *manter-se de pé* “to remain standing”, and SCV *torse korpu* = P *espreguiçar-se* “to stretch oneself”. Brito (1887: 394), moreover, employs *ê largâ korpu* (lit.) “(s)he left body”, accompanied by the reflexive Portuguese translation *deitou-se* “(s)he went to sleep”.

3.6.2 Early PA *es* = UGC *es*

- (22) a. PA *es nigrita* “the / this black girl” (1775, in Maurer 1998:203)
 b. PA *es carta* “the / this letter” (1776, in Maurer 1998:205)
 c. PA *Ees falso tistimonio* “The / this false testimony” (1803, in Martinus 1996:34)

Examples (22a–c) reveal the early PA demonstrative *es* fulfilling the role of both the modern definite article PA *e* and of the modern demonstrative PA *e* + ‘noun’ + ‘locative adverb’ (*aki* / *ei*⁴⁴ / *aya*), e.g. *e idea aki* “this idea”. The use of early PA *es* in these examples as an element halfway between a definite article and a demonstrative is highly reminiscent of the UGC demonstrative *es*. Kihm (1994: 139), for example, notes that when GB *es* precedes a noun, it is often difficult to determine whether it functions as a true demonstrative or as a definite article. Similarly, for SCV Quint (2000a: 186) observes: “Le démonstratif ... tend à acquérir la valeur d’article défini” (“The demonstrative tends to acquire the function of a definite article”).

As mentioned, the modern PA demonstrative is an obligatory combination of the definite article *e* with a locative adverb (e.g., *e homber aki* “this man”). In early PA, however, the demonstrative *es* occurred freely without locative adverb (22a–c) and only combined with such adverbs to create a strong deictic contrast, as in (23):

- (23) PA *solamente na ees caso allie* “only in that case”
 (1803, in Martinus 1996:34)

This pattern is still the norm in UGC, where *es karu* “this car” and *es karu li* “this car (over here)” can both occur, with the adverb *li* merely adding deictic emphasis (Quint 2003:222, Wilson 1962:16). Saliently, as late as 1928 the pattern was described for PA by Lenz (1928:114), who provides PA *es kas* and *es kas aki*, both translated as Spanish *esta casa* “this house” (cf. modern PA *e kas* “the house” versus *e kas aki* “this house”).⁴⁵

PA *es* must have dropped the /s/ in the course of the 20th century: while Putman’s (1849:23) grammar provides only PA *es*, Van De Veen Zeppenfeldt’s (1928:22) and Lenz’ (1928:97) grammars mention the variation between PA *es*

44. PA *ei* derives from Spanish *ahí* “there”. The older variant PA <a(h)i> is steadily used in the early PA texts and *ai* is still attested in Bonairean PA (VPDW 2005).

45. Increasing contact with Dutch and Spanish (both languages with a strict separation between definite article and demonstrative) seems responsible for the emerging of the ‘pure’ definite article *e* and its contrast with demonstrative *e...aki* / *ei* / *aya* in PA in the 20th century.

and *e*; Goilo's method (1951), finally, makes no more mention of the form with /s/.⁴⁶

Furthermore, the early PA texts provide several examples of *es* functioning as an autonomous demonstrative pronoun (24a, c), a use considered ungrammatical in modern PA, which recurs to the composed forms *esaki*, *esei* and *esaya* instead. The autonomous use of *es* is still common to GB⁴⁷ (24b, d).⁴⁸

- (24) a. PA *Nos ta firma es*
 IPL IMP sign DEM
 "We sign this" (from the 1803 letter, in Martinus 1996: 34)
- b. GB *n misti es*
 ISG want DEM
 "I want this / it's this I want" (Wilson 1962: 33)
- c. PA *es di Sra Sara*
 DEM of Miss Sara
 "the one of Miss Sara" (1776, in Maurer 1998: 206)
- d. GB *I es ku -u na buska?*
 COP DEM REL 2SG PROG search
 "Is this what you are looking for?" (Doneux & Rougé 1988: 71)

The similarities between early PA *es* and UGC *es* lead Martinus (1996: 36) to conclude: "It is hard to believe any kind of ... 'Spanish derived creole' would go to the such a length to invent the same analytic deictic system as CV [Cape Verdean] ..., while it could simply stick to an equally transparent system as the Spanish one".

46. Kouwenberg & Ramos-Michel's (2007: 323) statement that PA's definite article *e* "is assumed to derive from the masculine form of the superstrate singular definite article *el*" is remarkable in ignoring authors such as Martinus (1996: 34) and Maurer (1998: 155) who have convincingly shown that PA *e* derives not from the superstrate's definite article, but rather from the superstrate's demonstrative S / P *este* or *ese/esse*. This can be induced not only from the occurrence of *es* in early PA texts, but also from modern PA fossilized compositions such as the autonomous demonstratives *esaki*, *esei*, *esaya* "this one, that one" or the adverb *turesten* "all this time", allowing for only one conclusion, namely that "la etimología del artículo definido del papiamentu no proviene del artículo definido español, sino del determinante demostrativo portugués o español *este* o *esse/esse*" (Maurer 1998: 155fn).

47. In SCV, on the other hand, just as in modern PA, only composed forms (e.g., *es-li* "this one" rather than simple *es*) are used autonomously (Baptista et al. 2007: 74). Note, furthermore, that PA has just one demonstrative root, *e(s)*, and distinguishes between proximity and distance by means of a suffixed locative adverb only. UGC, on the other hand, distinguishes between proximal *es* "this" and distal *kel* "that" (< P *aquel* "that"), the former combining exclusively with the adverb *li*, the latter with either *li* or *la* (Baptista et al. 2007: 74, 75 provide full details). Reflexes of Iberian *aquel* did not integrate (or were not preserved) in PA's deictic system.

48. Similar observations were made by Martinus (1996: 35).

Indeed, Spanish-based PL contrasts with PA (and thus with UGC) in that it adopted the Spanish demonstratives *ete* (< S *este* “this”), *ese* (< S *ese* “that”) and *aké* (< S *aquel* “that”) (Schwegler & Green 2007: 293).

To close, I focus briefly on Quint’s (2008) discussion of Brito (1887) and the analysis therein of “la locution conjonctive explicative *pâ ês*” (Quint 2008: 136) meaning “therefore”. This adverb, “Dans la langue moderne ..., n’existe pas (ou plus)” (2008: 136). SCV *pâ ês* (25a) still has its equivalent in PA *pesei* (25b), which should diachronically be analysed as *pa* + *es* + *ei*. In Conradi (1844) and Van Dissel (1865), the early, not yet contracted form <pa (e)es ahi> is commonly used (25c).

- (25) a. SCV *Pâ ês nu ta tratâ di kada û separadamenti.*
 therefore we IMP treat of each one separately
 “Therefore, we will treat each one separately”. (Brito 1887: 362)
- b. PA *Pesei nos ta alsa bos.*
 therefore 1PL IMP raise voice
 “Therefore, we raise (our) voice”.
- c. PA *Pa ees ahi mi ta bisa bosonan ...*
 therefore 1SG IMP say 2PL
 “Therefore, I tell you ...” (Conradi 1844: 25)

3.6.3 Subordinate conjunction ‘because’

For PA, Lenz (1928: 140) observed that “*pa bia di* (por vía de) se usa en el sentido ‘por causa de’” (“*pa bia di* (‘through way of’) is used in the sense of ‘because of’”). Although this conjunction is no longer used in modern PA (VPDW 2005, Richard Hooi, p. c.), its presence in Lenz’ grammar provides yet another valuable piece of evidence in support of PA’s Upper Guinea origins. Scantamburlo (2002: 458, cf. 1999: 184) presents *pabia (di)* as a “locução conjuntiva subordinativa que indica [causalidade]; por causa de” (see examples of its use in Do Couto 1994: 112–114, Doneux & Rougé 1988: 56). Lang (2002: 529) provides SCV *pabiâ* “because”, with the interesting specification “do crioulo muito fundo” (“proper to very basilectal SCV”). Rougé (2004: 284) gives Portuguese *por via* as etymon and, in line with Lang, notes that SCV *pa bia (di)* “fait figure de archaïsme”.

3.6.4 Early PA *modi*

In at least two early PA texts, the use of the early PA comparative conjunction *modi* is striking (26a–d): it is reminiscent of the SCV comparative conjunction *mo(di)* (26e), a derivative of the Portuguese noun *modo* “manner, way”. Early PA *modi* is non-existent in modern PA (VPDW 2005, Richard Hooi, p. c.) and has been fully substituted by *manera* “manner, way” (cf. 3.4.2.4). In phrases equivalent to (26a–e), Spanish and Portuguese would use *como* “as, like, how”.

- (26) a. PA *blanku modi sneu*
white manner snow
“as white as snow” (Conradi 1844:73)
- b. PA *E tabata bistí modi un di nan.*
3SG PAST IMP dressed manner IND of them
“He was dressed like one of them”. (Conradi 1844: 14)
- c. PA *Papiamentu ta lenga mo'i tur otro.*
Papiamentu COP language manner all other
“Papiamentu is a language like any other”. (Hoyer in Lenz 1928:74)
- d. PA ... *modi bosonan kerementu ta.*
manner 2PL faith COP
“... how your faith is”. (Conradi 1844:20)
- e. SCV *pa mostra modi es ta prununsiadu*
to show manner 3PL IMP pronounced
“to show how they are pronounced”

Examples (26a) and (27) suggest that the comparative conjunctions *modi* and *manera* were in free variation in early PA, as they still are in SCV (Lang 2002:451).⁴⁹

- (27) PA *blanku manera sneeu*
white manner snow
“as white as snow” (Van Dissel 1865:33)

The Portuguese noun *modo* integrated with comparative qualities not only in PA and UGC, but also in GGC: PRI *mo~modi (ki)*, ST *mo~modu (ku)*. Rougé (2004:208) suggests that the occurrence in these creoles of *mo(di)* with the meaning “as (if), like how” might be due to convergence with Portuguese *como* “as, like, how”.

3.7 Discussion of the results

3.7.1 *The smoking gun: Structural correspondence*

A strong Portuguese character in all of the five PA categories discussed is visible, with the number of core function words of probable Portuguese origin (at least eight)⁵⁰ clearly exceeding those of probable Spanish origin (none). Although

49. The comparative conjunctions SCV *sima* and GB *suma* (< Old Portuguese *assi coma* “as, like”) (Rougé 2004:68) are not discussed here.

50. List of PA function words discussed in this paper of probable Portuguese etymology:

PA <i>nos</i> “we”	< P <i>nós</i>	≠ S <i>nosotros</i>
PA <i>ken</i> “who”	< P <i>quem</i>	≠ S <i>quien</i>
PA <i>unda</i> “where”	< P <i>onde</i>	≠ S <i>donde</i>
PA <i>kurpa</i> “body (refl.)”	< P <i>corpo</i>	≠ S <i>cuerpo</i>

Lipski (2008: 547) believed that “The source(s) of the Portuguese elements in Papiamentu may never be determined with certainty”, it has been shown above that those function words of probable Portuguese origin can all be traced back to one source, UGC, whose cognates show not only formal resemblance but also identical syntactic and semantic properties.

As importantly, the same appears true for most core items of indecisive Portuguese / Spanish origin. While one can point to the occurrence of certain shared PA / UGC forms or features in one or the other Iberian (overseas) speech variety or creole, it is the structurality of the correspondences that constitutes the ‘smoking gun’ evidence. To illustrate this more directly, consider Bickerton (2002: 37) again, who argues against PLs alleged Afro-Portuguese roots:

si verdaderamente existiera una lengua de contacto afroportuguesa en Hispanoamérica, dicha lengua hubiera tenido su propia estructura, más o menos bien hecha, con sus propias subestructuras En tal caso, se esperaría hallar, en el palenquero actual, por lo menos algunos vestigios de estas estructuras y subestructuras (“if an Afro-Portuguese contact language had really existed in Spanish America, this language would have had its own structures and substructures. In that case, we would expect to find, in modern PL, at least some remnants of these structures and substructures”).

While Bickerton might be right for PL, it seems more difficult to contend that UGC structures and substructures are not found in PA.

Valid rebuttal is provided if one can show either (a) that PA and a language other than UGC share the same amount of structural correspondences or (b) that innate processes of language acquisition can produce such similarities. Both options, however, seem unlikely and since historical data exist which account for the language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao (§4), it is not the claim of a common origin, but rather its denial, that should be labelled as speculation.

For those unconvinced by the function word correspondences, the similarities in the phonology, the lexico semantics, the morphosyntax and the TMA / verbal system are at least as abundant. Many of these correspondences have been addressed by Quint (2000b), others I intend to address in future studies (cf. Jacobs forthcoming a).

PA <i>mes</i> “self (refl.)”	< P <i>mesmo</i>	≠ S <i>mismo</i>
PA <i>na</i> “in, to”	< P <i>na</i> (<i>em + a</i>)	≠ S <i>en + la</i>
PA <i>te</i> “until”	< P <i>até</i>	≠ S <i>hasta</i>
PA <i>for di</i> “out(side) of, since”	< P <i>fora de</i>	≠ S <i>fuera (de)</i>

3.7.2 *Pidgin or Creole?*

An additional conclusion can be drawn from the data above. If it is true that “pidgins ... have very few functional items” (Bickerton 2001:1104, cf. Veenstra 1996:259, Muysken 2008:190), we can assume, given the number and complexity of the correspondences in the functional categories, that the UGC variety taken to Curaçao was a fullfledged creole and that it was passed on by *native* speakers. These assumptions are supported by the fact that probably as early as in the late 15th century a pidgin was already current on Santiago (cf. Lang 2001, 2006),⁵¹ which would have had plenty of time to stabilize and nativize before being transferred to Curaçao in the second half of the 17th century. It is implied that we can discard hypotheses according to which an ill-defined (Afro-)Portuguese trade pidgin or jargon would be responsible for the (Afro-)Portuguese elements in PA (e.g., Birmingham 1976, Kramer 2004:122–138).

4. Accounting historically for the linguistic correspondences between PA and UGC

In a critical discussion of supposed substrate influence in Saramaccan, Bickerton (1994:65) commented that “one must show that the right speakers were in the right place at the right time”. Although in most cases (such as the present) the linguistic data should provide the conclusive proof of whether the right speakers *were* in the right place at the right time, there is an obvious additional need to show that the right speakers were at least *going to* the right place at the right time. Here, this means demonstrating that slaves were transported from Upper Guinea to Curaçao in the 17th century, the aim of the next section.

§4.2 uncovers triangular trade networks between the Sephardic Jewish communities in Upper Guinea, Amsterdam and Curaçao. First, in §4.1, attention is drawn to the Dutch dominance in 17th century Upper Guinea. Moreover, little-known data is presented which, to my knowledge, have never been associated with the 17th century settlement of Curaçao, but which show that in the peak period

51. Lang’s primary argument for a late 15th, early 16th century birth of SCV is the high number of Wolof features in all levels of SCV’s grammar. More than 90% of the Wolof-speaking slaves were taken to Santiago before 1500. Therefore, to account for the many Wolof features, we must assume that creolization in Santiago started before 1500 (Lang 2006:57). Parkvall (2000:111) has pointed out the consequences that the shared Wolof features in SCV and GB have for the debate on UGC’s place of origin (insular versus continental, cf. Rougé 1994): since there has never been a significant number of Wolof speakers in Guinea-Bissau, the Wolof features can only have entered GB by way of Santiago.

of slave imports into Curaçao, up to 1677, the island received several shippings of Senegambian⁵² slaves.

4.1 Dutch slave trade from Upper Guinea to Curaçao up to 1677

The importation of slaves to Curaçao presumably started in the 1650s and would end in the mid-18th century (Buddingh 1994: 35). Parkvall (2000: 136, 137) provides a summary of the origins of the slaves who were imported into Curaçao between 1660 and 1730. The summary indicates a meager 1% ratio of Senegambian slaves. Crucial, however, is Parkvall's (2000: 137) comment that, "unfortunately, there are no data for pre-1674 arrivals". The principal reason for this lacuna is that the *first* Dutch West India Company (WIC) went bankrupt in 1674: most of its documents on the slave trade were subsequently lost or destroyed, in spite of the foundation of the *second* WIC in that same year. Parkvall (2000: 137) adds that, as a consequence of the lack of data for pre-1674 arrivals, "we will have to make do with Postma's (1990: 112) estimated figures for the early period [1660–1674]". These estimates are based on the assumption that there were no systematic deviations in the Dutch slave trade before and after 1674. Because after 1674 the Dutch slaving activity in Upper Guinea was virtually negligible, Postma (1990: 57) estimates a similarly negligible percentage of Upper Guinea slaves for pre-1674 arrivals and assumes that, in general, "the Senegambia region held little significance for the Dutch slave trade" (cf. Emmer 1998: 40). Below it is argued that this consensus on the Dutch slave trade in 17th century Upper Guinea needs adjustment.

Despite the supposed loss of most slave trading data of the first Dutch WIC (i.e., pre-1674 data), De Moraes (1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) has recovered and analyzed various archival documents related to the first Dutch WIC which provide crucial information on "la traite des esclaves effectuée par les Hollandais à Gorée" ("the slave trade effectuated by the Dutch at Gorée") (De Moraes 1998b: 41) from roughly the 1620s to the late 1670s and directly links this trade to Curaçao. Gorée lies just below the Cape Verde peninsula, at the same latitude as the Cape Verde Islands.

Similarly, Curtin (1975), Barry (1988), Boulègue (1989), Guèye (1998), Mark (2002), Brooks (2003), Benoist & Camara (2003), Hawthorne (2003) and Green (2007), amongst others, speak frankly about the prominent Dutch (slave) trading

52. Following Kihm (1994: 4fn), the term *Senegambia* is used to refer to "the region encompassing the so-called Petite Côte south of Dakar, the Gambia, Casamance, and Guinea-Bissau". The *Petite Côte*, in turn, refers to the part of the Senegalese coast that stretches from Dakar to the Gambia river. In the present paper, however, this area is mostly referred to as the Cape Verde region.

activities in the 17th century along the Upper Guinea Coast with Gorée as a key import and export center. It is therefore remarkable that references to Gorée are absent in writings concerned with the historical relations between Curaçao and West Africa (e.g., Martinus 1996, Fouse 2002 & 2007, Kramer 2004) as well as in standard works on the Dutch slave trade (e.g., Emmer 1998).

By no means, however, will I refute the existing data on the origins of the slaves imported into Curaçao by the second WIC: it is very likely that, after the loss of Gorée in 1677 to France, these were drawn almost exclusively from Lower Guinea and Bantu-speaking areas (cf. Postma 1990:112). In fact, this is important for understanding linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao: given that Curaçao was settled by the Dutch from 1634 onwards, transfer must have occurred in the period from 1634 to 1677. (See §4.1.2 on the areal shift in the Dutch (slave) trade.)

4.1.1 *Pre-1677: Dutch dominance in and around Gorée*

The canonical sources on the 17th century Dutch slave trade seem to have overlooked the fact that from the 1620s to the late 1670s the Dutch WIC was extremely active on the Upper Guinea Coast with Gorée as its base.⁵³ To illustrate the potential of Gorée as a roadstead, it is noted that, “couverte par la pointe avancée du Cap-Vert et à distance d’une petite lieue de la terre, elle offre ... un mouillage excellent pour les gros navires ... à partir duquel ses occupants nouèrent de solides liens commerciaux avec les sociétés du voisinage” (“covered by the tip of the Cape Verde Peninsula and at a short distance from the mainland, it offers an excellent point of anchorage for big ships from where her inhabitants maintain strong commercial ties with neighboring societies”) (Guèye 1998:23, 24). Given the first WIC’s ambitions, it should be no surprise that “Gorée Island’s strategic importance soon attracted the Dutch, who ... bought the island from the indigenous population and built two forts to defend their interests in the slave trade”.⁵⁴

De Moraes (1998a:250) highlights the Dutch trade in and around Gorée and the direct connection with the ABC-Islands, when she cites from a 14-page manuscript of anonymous authorship preserved in the Rotterdam Archives, according to which the first WIC’s Chamber of Amsterdam:

53. Gorée is the name given to the island by the Dutch (< *Goede Reede* “Good Harbor”). In various documents dealing with the pre-Dutch period, the island is variously referred to as Palma, Palmera Island and/or Be(r)zeguiche. There is no agreement as to the year in which Gorée fell into Dutch hands. Some sources mention 1621, others 1627 or even 1629.

54. http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=8780&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

a sous sa direction Cabo Verde et les places cirvoisines plus éloignées dont le comptoir principal est situé sur une petite île située au *Cabo Verde*, nommée *Goereede*, et les comptoirs moins importants de la terre ferme du Cap, *Pourto Dalié* [Portudal], *Refisco* [Rufisque], *Sjouale* [Joal] ... Pour le reste, la Chambre d'Amsterdam a eu autrefois sous sa direction *Nieuw Nederlandt* et *Cajana* [Guyana], mais elle n'a plus maintenant que les îles *Curaçao*, *Aruba* et *Buonaire* ... ("has under its control Cape Verde and surrounding places with the principal stronghold situated on a small island off the Cape Verde Peninsula, called *Goereede*, and the less important strongholds on the mainland of the Cape, Portudal, Rufisque, Joal (...). Apart from that, the Chamber of Amsterdam has had under its control New Netherland and Guyana, but she now only possesses the islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire").

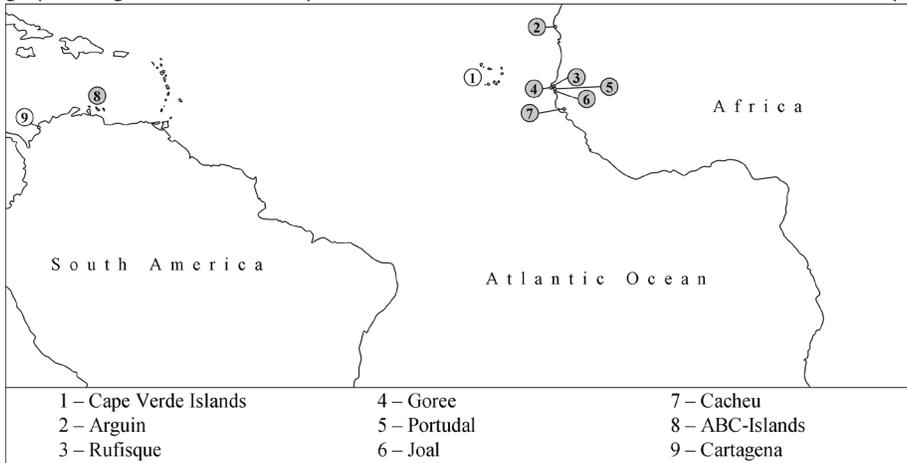
Emphasizing the dominant position of the Dutch in the Cape Verde / Gorée region, De Moraes (1998c: 58) quotes the Portuguese governor Carvalho, who in 1635 warned that "De Cabo Verde à Berzeguiche⁵⁵ il doit y avoir quatre ou cinq lieux d'où le Hollandais a une forteresse".⁵⁶ Furthermore, the Dutch WIC had important trading posts in Arguin (on the coast of Mauritania), Joal, Portudal, Rufisque (as mentioned in the anonymous manuscript) and Cacheu (De Moraes 1995: 259, 264, 1998c: 55, Den Heijer 2003: 141, Boulègue 1989: 27), all — and Cacheu in particular — settlements of great importance to the Upper Guinea coastal trade of the 17th century. Moreover, if Guèye's (1998: 27, emphasis added) observation that "De 1621 à 1677, les Hollandais, maîtres de Gorée, **laisaient** les autres nations trafiquer à côté d'eux à Rufisque, Portudal, Joal" ("From 1621 to 1677, the Dutch, masters of Gorée, allowed the other nations to trade alongside them in Rufisque, Portudal and Joal") is correct, then this suggests that during some five decades the Dutch were basically in charge of the Upper Guinea trade. Map 1 shows the Upper Guinea settlements with pronounced Dutch presence in the 17th century.

The Portuguese settlement of Cacheu is thought to have been the first settlement on the mainland where UGC was widely used (Bartens 1996: 53, 60). The spread of UGC from the Cape Verde Islands to Cacheu was facilitated by the fact that "many of the freed blacks in Cacheu had formerly been slaves from Santiago" (Green 2007: 243). By 1628 already the Dutch had built a fortress in Cacheu (De Moraes 1998c: 55), thus enabling trade between Cacheu and Gorée (De Moraes

55. With respect to the toponym *Be(r)zeguiche*, De Moraes (1995: 259) addresses "l'inexactitude ... concernant l'endroit". Indeed, there is some confusion about where to locate *Be(r)zeguiche*. In Boulègue (1987, 1989), it stands for the entire Cape Verde peninsula, which, however, would render Carvalho's quote somewhat awkward. According to others (e.g., Rodney 1965), *Be(r)zeguiche* was the name of the island of Gorée prior to the Dutch period.

56. From Cape Verde to Berzeguiche there must be some four or five places where the Dutch have a fortress.

Map 1. Settlements crucial to the language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao. In gray: strongholds controlled by the first Dutch WIC in the second half of the 17th century.



1998a: 185, 250). If in 17th century Cacheu UGC was indeed the lingua franca, the potential importance of the Dutch presence there and of the trade with Gorée is evident for the hypothesized language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao.

In the first half of the 17th century, the Cape Verde Islands (Santiago in particular), till then Portugal's most important Upper Guinea stronghold, ceased to be an obligatory stop for ships sailing from Africa to the New World and saw their dominant role in the West African and Atlantic (slave) trade vanish swiftly (cf. Pereira 1986: 25–31, Boxer 1963: 14, Carreira 1983: 43). These circumstances went hand in hand with the decline of Portuguese control over the Upper Guinea Coast, which, in turn, was closely related — and inversely proportional — to the increasing Dutch dominance in Upper Guinea. Mark (2002: 13) foregrounds the importance of Gorée in this shift of power:

“By the early 1600s ..., the joint Spanish-Portuguese monarchy's financial difficulties, combined with the rise of Dutch commerce, had begun to undermine Portuguese supremacy. This process was abetted by the Dutch conquest of northeastern Brazil beginning in 1630 and by the establishment of a Dutch trading post on Gorée Island off the Senegalese coast in 1621”.

Or, as Green (2007: 241) puts it, “Growing Dutch competition with Portugal meant that, with the definitive loss of Gorée to the Dutch in 1629, [Portuguese] influence over the Senegambian region from Cabo Verde effectively ceased”.

All this suggests that, while Santiago's trading activities “shifted to other centers during the seventeenth century” (Boxer 1963: 14), Dutch-controlled Gorée was the number one candidate to take over and continue the existing (slave) trading

patterns, assuming Santiago's former role of ideal roadstead where vessels coming from and going to the New World would stop to refresh or (re)load.

Illustrative of the new balance of power in Upper Guinea are Portuguese attempts to expel the Dutch between 1628 and 1630. Apart from destroying Dutch possessions on Gorée in 1629, these attempts apparently failed, witness the report of a Cape Verdean Father in 1629: "les Hollandais recommencent de nouveau à faire une forteresse à Berzeguiche [Gorée] et il est à craindre avec bonne raison qu'ils se rendent maître de toute la Guinée et de cette île (S. Tiago)" ("the Dutch have restarted the building of a fortress on Berzeguiche [Gorée] and there are good reasons to fear that they will conquer the whole of Guinea including this island (S.Tiago)") (Father Sebastião Gomes, cited in De Moraes 1998c: 58). In any case, from 1630 onwards, "Un certain *modus vivendi* entre Portugais et Néerlandais semble ... avoir été trouvé, car dès cette année (1630) les Portugais commerçaient de nouveau sur la Petite Côte" ("a certain *modus vivendi* between the Portuguese and the Dutch seems to have been found, since from that year (1630) onwards the Portuguese started trading again along the *Petite Côte*") (De Moraes 1998c: 59).

The Dutch Upper Guinea trade received a major impulse after 1640, when, as a result of peninsular struggles between Portugal and Spain, the Portuguese trade with the Spanish Americas practically ceased. As a consequence, many of the Upper Guinea settlements' export economies would come to rely on the Dutch trade. This is emphasized by Green (2007:287, 274), when he remarks that, because of the ended Portuguese export from Cacheu, the loss of the Dutch settlements in Angola and São Tomé in 1648 to the Portuguese was in fact a blessing to Cacheu's economy, since this "meant that Cacheu remained of transitory importance as the external trade of the West African coast was repositioned".

In sum, profiting from the demise of Portuguese control, the Dutch would for approximately five decades become the leading trade nation in the Cape Verde region with Gorée as a thriving center from where slavery and other trading activities along the Upper Guinea Coast were developed, connecting this region to the Spanish Americas in general and to Curaçao in particular.

4.1.2 1677: Loss of Gorée and subsequent abandonment of Upper Guinea

Before presenting concrete data on the slave trade from Upper Guinea to Curaçao until 1677, let us briefly focus on the areal shift of the WIC trade from Upper Guinea to Lower Guinea and Bantu-speaking areas, which caused the number of Senegambian slaves exported to Curaçao in the post-1677 period to be virtually negligible.

Crucial is the Upper Guinea war between the Dutch and the French from 1672 to 1678. The expenses of this war lead to the bankruptcy of the first Dutch WIC in 1674. Although the second Dutch WIC was founded in that same year, they

soon suffered a new blow with the loss of Gorée to the French in 1677 (Brooks 2003: 165). These events brought the Dutch dominance in Upper Guinea to an end and meant a significant post-1677 abandonment of Upper Guinea by the Dutch, who, from that point onwards, would come to rely almost exclusively on Lower Guinea, Congo and Angola for the development of their (slave) trading activities. Den Heijer (2003: 149) sums up: “Until 1679 the WIC regularly sent ships to the isles of Arguin and Cabo Verde. After the conquest of its forts and factories in the Senegambia region by the French in 1678 and 1679, trade and shipping to this territory was limited”.⁵⁷ Similarly, Curtin (1975: 103) sustains: “In 1677, the French fleet made a ... sweep against the Dutch, taking in Gorée and some of the English forts. This ended strong Dutch participation in Senegambian trade” (cf. Barry 1988: 86).

Significantly, the coastal trade in the entire Cape Verde region suffered from the Dutch withdrawal (Boulègue 1989: 97) :

Après la prise de Gorée par les Français, en 1677, la politique monopolistique de la Compagnie du Sénégal provoqua un affaiblissement considérable du commerce de la Petite Côte. Rufisque, Portudal et Joal déclinèrent ; les autres points de traite perdirent toute activité.

4.1.3 *Slave trade from Gorée and Cape Verde to Curaçao up to 1677*

How crucial the period prior to 1677 must have been to the formation of PA is made clear by Buddingh (1994: 35): “De belangrijkste jaren voor de slavenhandel waren de jaren 1667 tot en met 1674 toen er gemiddeld 3.000 slaven per jaar op Curaçao aankwamen” (“The years most important to the slave trade were the years from 1667 to 1674 when an average of 3,000 slaves per year arrived at Curaçao”). Allen (2007: 65) roughly confirms these data: “From 1667 until 1675 ... around 24,000 African enslaved people were shipped to Curaçao”. She calls this period the ‘peak period’ in Curaçao’s 17th century slave import.⁵⁸ An immediate cause

57. Although the port of Arguin on the Mauritanian coast served the gum trade rather than the slave trade, it should be noted that the Dutch managed to retain this entrepôt up until the early 18th century (Barry 1988: 86). Note, furthermore, that Den Heijer’s quote can be interpreted as if WIC ships were being sent to “the isles of ... Cabo Verde”. However, in the documents at hand, I have not come across concrete references to WIC trading activities directly with, or on the Cape Verde Islands. It is therefore likely that Den Heijer refers to the Cape Verdean peninsula rather than to the Cape Verde Islands.

58. Mikael Parkvall (p.c.) rightly notes that, if possible, one should distinguish between net and gross imports into Curaçao, “since many or most slaves did not stay on the island, but were re-exported”. Inherently, the question of which slaves integrated in the island’s households and plantations and which were preferred for resale to the Spanish Americas should be addressed (to this, see §4.3).

for this peak was that in 1662 the WIC was allotted the *asiento*⁵⁹ for supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves (Postma 1990: 111).

As noted above, De Moraes (1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) has recovered manuscripts and documents in various Dutch municipal archives dealing with the activities of the first Dutch WIC along the Upper Guinea Coast between 1621 and 1677. The data on the slave trade cover the last two decades of this period in particular, which coincide with Curaçao's 'peak period'. For reasons of space, I discuss only a portion of her findings:

- De Moraes (1998b: 42) found a reference to the Dutch ship *Gidéon*, which in 1659 “déchargea à Curaçao 28 esclaves du Cap-Vert” (“unloaded at Curaçao 28 slaves from Cape Verde”). In 1671 the same ship was charged with the transport of slaves “de Cabo Verde à Curaçao” (“from Cape Verde to Curaçao”) (De Moraes 1998a: 326). This ship may have, between these two documented voyages, made several other, undocumented, return trips from Cape Verde⁶⁰ to Curaçao.
- Crucially, De Moraes (1998b: 42) speaks of Matthias Beck, director of Curaçao between 1657 and 1668, who, “dans une lettre adressée aux directeurs de la Compagnie [WIC], espérait que l’occasion se présenterait d’amener du Cap-Vert ‘un beau lot de Nègres’” (“in a letter addressed to the directors of the WIC, hoped that the occasion would present itself to bring from Cape Verde ‘a good lot of Negroes’”).
- De Moraes (1998b: 51), furthermore, describes the activities of the WIC vessel *Casteel van Curaçao* (what’s in a name?), which in 1674

transporta du Cap-Vert à Curaçao 200 pièces de Nègres. Il emmena ensuite une partie de ces esclaves à Cayenne, puis repartit pour Gorée charger de nouveaux esclaves et retourna une seconde fois à Curaçao. Il effectua un troisième, puis un quatrième aller-retour Gorée-Curaçao, pour finalement rentrer en métropole [Amsterdam] en juin 1676, deux ans après son départ (“transported from Cape Verde to Curaçao 200 Negroes. Then, it unloaded some of these slaves in Cayenne, set sail to Gorée again to recharge slaves and returned to Curaçao a second time. It made a third and a fourth return trip Gorée-Curaçao before finally returning in the metropolis in June 1676, two years after its departure”).

59. The so-called *asientos* were contracts or trading agreements that would give their owner the exclusive right to trade with Spain in a specific region.

60. In some cases, when reference is made to *Cape Verde*, it is unclear whether reference is made to the Cape Verde Islands, to the roadstead on the Cape Verde peninsula now known as Dakar, or to both.

- Many more Dutch WIC vessels — such as the *Gerechtigheyt* in 1672–1673, the *Morgenstar* in 1673–1674 and the *Elisabeth* in 1674 — set sail from Gorée and/or Cape Verde to Curaçao transporting ‘mixed cargoes’ (i.e., slaves + other merchandise) (De Moraes 1998a: 328–330).

The few archival documents recovered by De Moraes are probably minor compared to the amount of documents lost or destroyed following the first WIC’s bankruptcy. Moreover, if one considers that undocumented contraband slave trade was the rule rather than the exception, the data presented above might only represent the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Roitman (2006: 8) lends support to this idea, citing a former Governor of Cape Verde (“It is customary that the vessels in the port of Cacheu go to the Indies after having registered a cargo of 100, 120, or 150 pieces [slaves] ... when, in fact, they are taking 800 to 1,000 pieces in each ship”), suggesting that the number of slaves drawn from Upper Guinea with destination Curaçao is very likely to have been much higher than is traceable.

4.1.4 *Confirmation from second WIC records*

In contrast to its precursor, the second WIC did manage to preserve its records, which start in 1674 and end in 1740. The records are available in the *Nederlands Historisch Data Archief* in Leiden. The scenario sketched above, with the Dutch Upper Guinea slave trade at its peak *prior to*, and rapidly declining *after* the loss of Gorée in 1677, is crucially supported by the shipping and transport patterns that emerge from a basic analysis of these records:

- Between 1674 and 1677, a total of twelve WIC ships are marked ‘CV’, meaning that they departed from the Cape Verde region. Four of these carried slaves, the remaining eight left with unspecified cargo. Of the four registered slavers, three had Curaçao as their destination.
- From 1678 to 1681, the number of WIC ships leaving the Cape Verde region is almost halved (seven). One, charged with slaves, headed for Curaçao.
- Then, from 1682 onwards, not more than one WIC ship — with unspecified cargo and destination — is registered as departing from the Cape Verde region.

4.1.5 *Post-1640: Curaçao ‘replaces’ Cartagena*

Let us shift focus from Upper Guinea to the Caribbean. There, the rapid development of Curaçao as a slave depot from the 1640s onwards was encouraged by the synchronous fall of Cartagena,⁶¹ which until then had been the center of slave

61. Two important works on the rise and fall of Cartagena are Böttcher (1995) and Del Castillo Mathieu (1982).

distribution throughout the Spanish American colonies. Cartagena's decline resulted from the already-mentioned fact that after 1640 Spanish trade with the Portuguese came to a halt. To illustrate this, Green (2007:244fn) cites from an anonymous document from the early 1640s:

[F]rom the kingdoms of Guiné and other parts large numbers of blacks used to come to the city of Cartagena, but with the uprising of the kingdom of Portugal [in 1640] this trade has ceased with the result that the said city and its province are in great want of the said blacks.

This passage also makes clear that, although Cartagena and Santiago lost their grip on the slave trade, the supply of and demand for Senegambian slaves did not diminish.

As noted, in 1662 the Dutch WIC received the much-desired *asiento* for providing the Spanish Americas with slaves, an event that further encouraged Curaçao's development at the expense of Cartagena. By then, Dutch trade along the Upper Guinea coast had reached its full growth, with, as mentioned, settlements stretching from Arguin to Cacheu (see Map 1) and export from Gorée just getting into its stride. In addition, recall that the WIC had lost their settlements in Angola and São Tomé to the Portuguese in 1648, so that we can assume that, to supply Curaçao and the Spanish colonies with slaves, the Dutch would have drawn significantly from Upper Guinea.⁶²

As a result, a WIC-regulated trade route lasting for several decades could be established with Gorée and other WIC-dominated Upper Guinea settlements (Cacheu in particular) substituting for Santiago as an export harbour and Curaçao replacing Cartagena as the final destination for an unknown number of Senegambian slaves. While many of these slaves would subsequently be redistributed over the Spanish American colonies, the linguistic data show that a significant number with native UGC skills would also stay on Curaçao, presumably for housekeeping and/or land cultivation purposes.

4.1.6 *From Upper Guinea to Curaçao: The normal route*

It should not be surprising that many of the slaves in the first decades of Curaçao's settlement had Senegambian roots. After all, sea currents strongly favored a sailing route from Cape Verde to the Caribbean rather than from Lower Guinea or Angola. Dutch settlements in Brazil, on the other hand, were mostly supplied with slaves from Lower Guinea and Angola for the same reasons: a favorable sea current (Roitman 2006: 4, 5). Walker (2005: 60) stresses that "From the Cape Verde Islands,

62. For reasons of space, the important Dutch entrepôt in El Mina (Ghana) is not discussed in this paper.

mariners could either sail south ... along the African coast, or they could ride the North Equatorial Current westward toward the Caribbean". In other words, sailing from Upper Guinea to Curaçao was the normal route.

4.1.7 *Accounting for the native UGC skills amongst slaves brought to Curaçao*

To my knowledge, no records of slave trade conducted by the Dutch exist directly from, or on, the Cape Verde Islands. The linguistic fingerprints left by UGC on PA therefore justify the search for historical patterns of migration from the Cape Verde Islands to regions with a pronounced Dutch presence in the 17th century.

In this respect, recall that many freed blacks in Cacheu were native Cape Verdeans (4.1.1). Green gives at least two plausible reasons for this, noting, first, that "the building of the fort of Cacheu in 1589 ... was instigated by Manuel Lopes Cardoso, a resident of Santiago" (2007: 141). Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, there is "evidence of people from Santiago moving to Cacheu during the famines of Santiago in the early 17th century" (2007: 277fn). The Cape Verde Islands did indeed suffer a heavy famine, which precluded a more general economic and humanitarian crisis on the archipelago throughout the 17th century (cf. Semedo 1993: 9, Barbe 2002: 47). As can be deduced from Green's assertion, the famine and the crisis that followed are likely to have stimulated the emigration of native Cape Verdeans as well as the cheap selling and/or refuge of slaves from the islands (Santiago in particular) to neighboring regions where, at that time, the Dutch flourished, dominated trade and were looking for slaves to supply Curaçao with.

4.2 Sephardic trading networks linking Cape Verde to Amsterdam and Curaçao

This section treats another lacuna in the literature on PAs and Curaçao's history, the pronounced presence of Sephardic Jews⁶³ in Upper Guinea — particularly in those strongholds where the first Dutch WIC dominated trade — including their ties with the Amsterdam and Curaçaoan Sephardim.

It is known that the Sephardim were heavily involved in the early settlement of Curaçao,⁶⁴ that they were the first to demand slaves, and were granted the right to import them to the island from 1659 onwards (Böhm 1992: 171–173). Towards

63. In this paper, the term *Sephardic Jews* or *Sephardim* is reserved for those Jews whose roots go back to the Iberian Peninsula, from where they were dislodged towards the end of the 15th century. The term *Sephardim* derives from the name these Jews gave to the Iberian Peninsula: *Sepharad* (Bossong 2008: 13).

64. See, for example, Klooster (1998, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2009), Schorsch (2004), De Granda (1974) or Karner (1969).

the end of the 17th century Curaçao harbored the largest Sephardic community in the Caribbean realm (Drescher 2001:450). Many of the first Sephardic Jews on Curaçao are thought to have come either directly from Brazil and Amsterdam, or indirectly from Brazil via Amsterdam. However, it has rarely been recognized by those concerned with the early history of the Curaçaoan Jews that their networks extended to the Upper Guinea Coast and the Cape Verde Islands, as references to Upper Guinea are absent in key publications such as Emmanuel (1957), Emmanuel & Emmanuel (1970), Böhm (1992), Fouse (2002) or Karner (1969).⁶⁵

The presence of a significant Sephardic Jewish community in the Upper Guinea region has remained underexposed not only in literature on the history of Curaçao. As Green (2005:166, 167) points out, “There is almost a complete absence of reference to the Jewish presence in West Africa among historians of the Sephardim Historians of Senegambia have tended to pass over Portuguese records and the references to the Jewish presence which they contain”.⁶⁶ Indeed, in elaborate works on the Sephardic Jews and their transatlantic social and trading networks (e.g., Bernardini & Fiering 2001, Schorsch 2004) references to Cape Verde or Cacheu are absent.⁶⁷

However, according to Green (2005: 168), the importance of the Sephardim in Upper Guinea in the early 17th century is “impossible to gainsay”, a claim firmly underpinned by research done, amongst others, in the municipal archives of Amsterdam, which has revealed (Green 2005: 168)

65. An important exception is Martinus (1996: 120), who has speculated about Sephardim presence in Upper Guinea: “That the presence of Jews on the West African coast was quite general, is supported by the fact that in Guiné-Bissau creole *jidiw* means ‘griot’, traveling musician, minstrel”. He has also pointed out the Sephardim involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and hypothesized about ties between the West African Sephardim and the Curaçaoan Sephardim (Martinus 1996: 119–145).

66. Green (2005: 166) thinks this absence of references to the Sephardim in West Africa “is not entirely unrelated to fears as to what might be uncovered, since it is notorious that one of the major activities of Europeans in Africa at this time was slaving. The implication of a significant number of Sephardim being involved in this activity would not sit comfortably with the traditional interpretation of many historians of the Sephardim that their subjects were, essentially, victims of persecution, and that, where they were slave owners, they treated their charges much better than did Christians”.

67. Lobban (1996), however, deserves special mention. Not only did he point to the presence of Sephardic and converted Jews in practically all important Upper Guinea ports including Gorée, he also linked this Diaspora to the West Indies. “[I]n the Caribbean, in Curaçao, Surinam, and Jamaica, there were Jewish populations similar to, and linked with, those in West Africa” (<http://www.saudades.org/jewscapev.html>). I thank an anonymous reviewer for the reference to Lobban (1996).

a significant corpus of documentary material that substantially ... develops our understanding both of the nature of the Sephardic community on the Petite Côte in this period, and of the nature of the relationship between the Sephardim and the Wolof people among whom they lived.

Furthermore, Green (2005: 175fn) uncovered and analyzed “networks of Sephardic slavers, which were centered ... on the Cape Verde islands and the Guinea coast” as well as “previously unknown connections between Cabo Verde and the Jews of Amsterdam” (Green 2007: 266).

4.2.1 *Ties between the Upper Guinea Jews and Amsterdam*

This paragraph draws attention to the close contacts the Jewish Upper Guinea settlers had with Amsterdam, a circumstance that is likely to have had a considerably stimulating effect on trade between Upper Guinea and Curaçao.

Indicative of these contacts is Brooks’ (2003:61) observation that in Upper Guinea the persecution of New Christians (forcibly converted Jews) and Jews by the Portuguese “intensified with the arrival of Dutch competitors ...” because of “allegations of commercial ties between New Christians and Jews residing in Holland”. Mark (2007:207) shows that these allegations were not based on false arguments:

These Jewish merchants traded for ivory, which they obtained from (New) Christian traders — presumably *lançados* [free-lance traders often with an opaque Sephardim background] — living in Senegambia. The *lançados* had established contact with the Dutch Jews as soon as the latter settled in Senegal, a fact that strongly suggests pre-existing contact.

In line with Mark, Guèye (1998:26, 27) signals that those defending Portugal’s commercial interests in Upper Guinea were not particularly pleased by the presence there of Portuguese exiles (Jews, New Christians and *lançados*), “parce qu’ils préféraient commercer avec les Français, les Anglais et surtout avec leurs coreligionnaires juifs réfugiés aux Pays-Bas” (“because they preferred trading with the French, the English and especially with their Jewish co-religionists who had fled to the Netherlands”).

The link between the Upper Guinea Sephardim and Amsterdam is extensively highlighted by Mark & Horta (2004:232): “At the moment that an important Portuguese Jewish community was being established in Amsterdam, two communities of Portuguese Jews, closely affiliated with their counterparts in Holland, were growing in Senegal. ...”. Moreover, many “Dutch Jews chose to settle there [in Upper Guinea], for they were among friends, and, in many instances, co-religionists” (Mark & Horta 2004: 234, cf. Mark & Horta 2009).

Going into some more detail, Mark (2007: 206, 207) elaborates on New Christian and Sephardic Jewish merchants

who settled in two villages on Senegal's Petite Côte, Joal and Porto de Ali [Portudal] by 1608. These traders were the descendents of forcibly-converted Portuguese Jews, but they had returned to their ancestral Jewish faith in Amsterdam. In Senegal they lived publicly as Jews and maintained close religious and commercial ties to Amsterdam. They had their own rabbi, sent in 1612 by the Sephardic community in Amsterdam.

Mark (2007: 206fn) adds that "Rufisque, located on the same coast, also housed a Jewish community as late as 1647; this community too appears to have been linked to Amsterdam". Roitman (2006: 11) confirms that "especially the river ports of [Porto d']Alé, Joala, and Cacheu, were considered to be 'hotbeds' of Sephardic activity on the West coast of Africa" (cf. Lobban 1996). Crucially, as emphasized in §4.1 and shown on Map 1, the Dutch WIC had trading posts in Joal, Portudal, Rufisque and Cacheu.

Boulègue (1989: 39) recognizes the potential importance the Jewish networks between Amsterdam and Upper Guinea might have had for Dutch (WIC) trade in the Senegambia region: "Les Hollandais ... bénéficièrent des liens entre les Luso-africains de religion juive et leur correligionnaires d'Amsterdam" ("The Dutch benefited from the ties between Luso-Africans of Jewish faith and their co-religionists from Amsterdam"). It shouldn't come as a surprise that *lançados* and other Luso-Africans with a Jewish background were also reported as actively trading in Gorée (Brooks 2003: 63, Lobban 1996).

In contrast to the Jewish Upper Guinea-Amsterdam connection, the ties between the Sephardim of 17th century Curaçao and Amsterdam are widely recognized: many of the first Sephardim to settle and develop trade in Curaçao either originated directly from Amsterdam or were former citizens of Amsterdam who had settled in Dutch Pernambuco, from where they were banned in 1654 (Klooster 2009: 34). We can, therefore, safely hypothesize a triangular social and (slave) trading network connecting Senegambia, Amsterdam and Curaçao.⁶⁸

4.2.2 *Trade rather than religion*

To better understand the potential importance of the ties between the Dutch and the Upper Guinea Sephardim as well as of their networks stretching to Curaçao, it should be emphasized that, contrary to popular belief, the Upper Guinea Sephardim's main objective seems to have been trade rather than religion. Green (2005: 170), for instance, refers to a Sephardic Jew called Peregrino, known in the Portuguese archives as a rabbi active along the Petite Côte at the beginning of

68. The Sephardic Jewish community of Pernambuco (Brazil) should be included in future studies on nature of Sephardic Jewish trading networks and their role in facilitating slave trade to Curaçao. I will not do so here, but see, for instance, Goodman (1987) or Smith (1987, 1999).

the 17th century (the same rabbi mentioned above by Mark). In the Amsterdam archives Green uncovered a document that refers to Peregrino's trading connections with Diogo Dias Querido, "a significant figure in Amsterdam's Sephardic community" (Green 2005: 170) as well as with the Belmonte family, a Jewish family of merchants residing in Amsterdam. The data revealed by Green suggest that Peregrino, although referred to as 'rabbi' in Portuguese documents, was in fact a merchant visiting the Upper Guinea Coast with mainly commercial objectives. This, concludes Green (2005: 173), can be taken to suggest that in fact many of the New Christians moved to (or stayed in) Upper Guinea for economic rather than religious purposes:

In the early seventeenth century there was no need to come to Senegambia to return to Judaism. The Ottoman Empire, North Africa, Italian principalities, and Amsterdam were all welcoming Sephardim. Given the evidence this document adduces for the primarily commercial mission of Peregrino, it does seem plausible that the central motivation for the presence of Jews and *cristãos novos* in Senegambia was indeed trade.

That this trade involved slavery is noted by Havik (2002: 88): "Nas primeiras décadas do século XVII, as autoridades caboverdianas protestaram contra a presença de 'muita gente da nação', isto é, judeus sefaraditas, que negociavam com os holandeses, ingleses e franceses, e tinham os seus próprios exércitos de escravos" ("In the first decades of the 17th century, the Capeverdean authorities protested against the presence of 'many people of the nation', that is, Sephardic Jews, who traded with the Dutch, the English and the French, and had their own armies of slaves").

4.2.3 *Sephardim networks directly linking Upper Guinea to Curaçao*

Almost immediately after settling on Curaçao in the 1650s the Jews engaged in transatlantic and intra-Caribbean (slave) trade (Schorsch 2004: 295). Although much trade conducted by Sephardim is likely to have remained undocumented,⁶⁹ the data presented below make it plausible to assume that the Curaçaoan Sephardic community provided itself with slaves from Upper Guinea predominantly.

To come straight to the point, De Moraes (1998a: 323, 324) draws attention to the Sephardic Jewish slave trader Abraham Drago, who was accustomed to buying slaves in and from Cape Verde. It is well known that Abraham Drago was one of the first Jews to settle on Curaçao in 1651 (Klooster 2006: 139).

69. It is no secret that the big bulk of the Atlantic and intra-Caribbean trade conducted by Sephardim and New Christians was contraband. Israel (2009: 10), for instance, with respect to trade in the New World, notes: "The 1580s ... saw the beginning of contraband traffic, first introduced by Portuguese New Christians" (cf. Green's 2007: 284 quote below).

Klooster (1998: 66), furthermore, introduces Phelipe Henriquez, born in Amsterdam, who came to Curaçao and was to become “one of Curaçao’s most successful Jews”. Interestingly, “Henriquez was involved in transatlantic slave trade for the Portuguese Company of Cacheu” (Klooster 1998: 66).⁷⁰ According to Van Dantzig (1968: 81 in Martinus 1996: 145), “The Portuguese licensed company of Cacheu, founded in 1692 mainly for slave trade, had intimate links with the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam and had its own office in Curaçao”. Note that under different names the same company had already been active in Cacheu from 1664 onwards (Martinus 1996: 144).

Although Phelipe Henriquez — whose grandfather’s name was Felipe Henriques (Klooster 1998: 66) — was active in slave trade only towards the end of the 17th century, the Henrique(z/s)-connection becomes increasingly interesting in the light of data presented by Green (2007: 284) on two Sephardic merchants with direct ties to Amsterdam, Adão Dias Solis and Manoel Henriques: “On July 31st 1635 both men arrived in Cartagena on the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* from Cacheu which was carrying 650–700 slaves, 510–560 of which were contraband”.

Green (2007) has identified several other Sephardic Jewish merchants active in the Cape Verde region and Cacheu, directly trading slaves to Cartagena throughout the 17th century. It is sufficient to note that “Curaçao lies directly on the sailing route between Cabo Verde and Cartagena” (Green 2007: 336, cf. Map 1) to understand the implications of Sephardim-regulated slave trade from Cape Verde and Cacheu to Cartagena for the early history of Curaçao. Moreover, as argued in §4.1.5, from the 1640s onwards, Curaçao would come to replace Cartagena as the primary importer of Upper Guinea merchandise.

Green (2007) is, to my knowledge, the first historian to comment on the consequences the Sephardic Jewish presence in Cape Verde and the relations with Cartagena might have had for the linguistic history of Curaçao: contemplating the Jewish legacy in the Atlantic world, he combines the results of his research with the linguistic findings of Quint (2000b):

Another factor which points to a potential Judaic legacy in contemporary Cabo Verde is the extraordinary linguistic parallel between the Creole spoken on Santiago and that spoken in Curaçao in the Caribbean (known as *Papiamentu*). According to one specialist, the two languages have “too many points in common for this to be due to mere chance”; such similarities include phonic, morphological, lexical, semantic and cultural aspects (Quint 2000: 166). It may be no coincidence that Curaçao had one of the largest Jewish populations of the Caribbean, and that it was almost directly on the sailing route between Cabo Verde and Cartagena, quite

70. As discussed in §4.1, the Dutch had a trading post in Cacheu up until the late 1670s and UGC must have been widely used there.

near to the latter's harbour — a place so important, as we have seen in this thesis, to the Jewish networks. The fact that, unlike other white residents of the islands, the Jewish community of Curaçao spoke *Papiamentu* as a vernacular by the mid-18th century (Quint 2000: 194) lends support to the hypothesis that they may have had some role in trans-shipping Caboverdean Creole to Curaçao. (Green 2007: 336)

It is not far-fetched to assume that many of the Sephardim involved in the Upper Guinea trade acquired knowledge of UGC to communicate with the local African traders; an unknown number of second- or third-generation Upper Guinea Jews might also have been native speakers. It goes without saying that, if the Sephardic Jews who settled on Curaçao were also familiar with UGC, this will have facilitated and enhanced the introduction, preservation and spread of a UGC offshoot brought in by the Senegambian slaves.⁷¹

4.3 Discussion of the results

This historical account is by no means complete, exhaustive, or even highly accurate; these data should rather be seen as the first stones of what is to become a solid and more detailed historical framework to be elaborated upon in future studies.

4.3.1 *A combined Dutch-Sephardic project?*

The data analyzed suggest significant contacts between the Senegambia region and the Dutch Antilles and hint at complex networks between the Dutch, Jewish, Portuguese and Spanish traders. Although the exact nature of these trade contacts as well as the structure of the networks are not always clear, they suggest, together with the more concrete data exposed by De Moraes, that all the conditions were met for language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao to have taken place in the pre-1677 period.

An important conclusion, then, is that the language transfer was probably facilitated neither by the WIC's slave trade, nor by the Sephardic Jewish slave trade alone, but by convergence of both: an unknown but significant part of the slave trade conducted from Upper Guinea to Curaçao would have been jointly coordinated with its success depending on close collaboration between the parties involved. Clarifying in this respect is Joubert & Perl's (2007: 45) assertion that in

71. Some linguistic features typical of the PA dialect of the Sephardim (who nowadays make up no more than 1% of the Curaçao population) suggest the preservation of basilectal characteristics that disappeared from standard PA. An example is the use of two past markers *taba* and *tabata* found in Henriquez (1988: 83) reminiscent of the SCV habitual and progressive past marking with *ta V-ba* and *staba ta*, and even more so of Barlavento CV *taba* and *tabata*. The link with Barlavento CV is especially remarkable since the Barlavento varieties were probably shaped in the course of the 18th century and are therefore unlikely to have played a role in PA's development.

1651 and 1652 the WIC and the Sephardic Jews signed contracts “with the aim of establishing a farming colony on Curaçao”, suggesting, indeed, that the early colonization and settlement of Curaçao was to a certain extent a combined Sephardic-Dutch project. In this light, it can hardly be a coincidence that in the same year that the Curaçaoan Sephardim were granted the right to import slaves (1959), the Dutch WIC started with the export of slaves from Gorée to Curaçao (Böhm 1992: 172, De Moraes 1998b: 42).

4.3.2 *Founder Principle?*

The primary purpose of the historical section was to show that the role of Upper Guinea in supplying Curaçao with slaves in the 17th century was more important than assumed up till now. However, there is little doubt that already in this early period a considerable amount of slaves was also drawn from entrepôts along the coasts of Lower Guinea (El Mina in particular), Congo and Angola (see, for instance, Van Welie 2008: 55, 56). In this respect, the fact that a relatively small number of speakers “can have a disproportionate influence on Creole formation under favorable circumstances” (Parkvall 2000: 4) might prove to be of crucial importance to understanding how and why the UGC (sub)structures and features on all levels of the grammar could be retained in PA, even if the number of Upper Guinea slaves on Curaçao would turn out to have been relatively limited in comparison to slaves from other areas.

Hypothesizing in detail about what these ‘favorable circumstances’ might have been falls outside the scope of this paper. However, we do know that Curaçao started out as a transitory staging post from where most slaves were resold and distributed throughout the Spanish Americas and the Caribbean. In the first two to three decades, only few would remain on the island. It is possible that — for reasons that need not interest us here — slaves drawn from Upper Guinea were particularly popular among the 17th century colonizers of Curaçao, preferred above slaves from other regions, and thus selected to remain on the island rather than to be (re)sold. Once Willemstad started to grow rapidly, the need for slaves on the island itself increased exponentially (towards the end of the 17th century). One can imagine that, with no (or hardly any) more Senegambian slaves coming into Curaçao after 1677, native UGC-speakers would soon be outnumbered by slaves from Kwa- and Bantu-speaking areas. If this scenario holds, various aspects of the Founder Principle, as outlined by Mufwene (1996), might have applied to the language contact situation that subsequently emerged on the island.⁷²

72. One relevant observation made by Mufwene (1996: 92) is, for instance, that “it was generally more cost-effective for subsequent generations of immigrants (free, enslaved, and indentured) to learn the emerging local vernaculars than to develop new ones from scratch”.

5. Final remarks

Quint (2000b) was the first to classify PA and UGC as a separate branch within the family of Iberian-based creoles. His claim, however, was not heard by Papiamentu specialists. The present paper is consistent with Quint's classification. The historical framework provided tells us that we need not doubt the kinship suggested by the linguistic data and that we do not have to appeal to chance, bioprograms or complex sub- and superstrate theories to explain the correspondences. The combined linguistic and historical data lend themselves to making a solid, relatively straightforward case for relexification of an Afro-Portuguese creole in the Caribbean realm.

The recognition of PA as a relexified offshoot of an early UGC variety will have implications for the diachronic and synchronic study of other creoles as well, since it implies that a significant number of the slaves exported from Upper Guinea had native UGC skills. Besides Curaçao, as mentioned, Cartagena was a major net-importer of Senegambian slaves. In particular, the 16th century arrivals of Senegambian slaves to Cartagena are well documented: Schwegler (1998: 224) talks of an initial period (1533–1580) “durante el cual predominaron en Cartagena los esclavos yolofos” (“in which Wolof slaves predominated in Cartagena”) and Parkvall (2000: 137) confirms that “imports to Colombia were dominated by Yolofs until about 1580”. In the light of these data, it might not be a coincidence that various Portuguese items found in PL (e.g., *bai* “to go”, *ten* “to have”) are also found in UGC and that these creoles share some other salient features, such as the post-verbal past marker *-ba*, the habitual marker *ta*, and two verbs “to have” (SCV *ten* ~ *tene*, PL *ten* ~ *tené*).⁷³

For future study, Quint's (2000b: 196) proposal for genetic research to pinpoint more exactly the origins of the early Curaçao population should not be disregarded. Gonçalves et al. (2003: 1)⁷⁴ indicate the results such research might provide, having established a Sephardic Jewish contribution to the Cape Verdean gene pool:

[A] high frequency of J* lineages in Cabo Verdeans relates them more closely to populations of the Middle East and probably provides the first genetic evidence of the legacy of the Jews. In addition, the considerable proportion (20.5%) of E3b(xM81) lineages indicates a possible gene flow from the Middle East or north-east Africa, which, at least partly, could be ascribed to the Sephardic Jews.

73. The number of Portuguese items is limited though, and it is by no means my intention to claim that PL would have resulted from relexification of early UGC. Both the linguistic as well as the historical data, however, do make it possible to hypothesize that speakers of UGC were to some extent involved in the formation of PL.

74. I thank Mikael Parkvall for bringing this publication to my attention.

Finally, it is important to stress that the hard evidence of a link between PA and UGC is primarily provided by the linguistic data. The value of the historical data cannot be seen apart from the linguistic data. It is also implied that those who are not convinced of the Upper Guinea origins of PA should be concerned primarily with disproving the linguistic rather than the historical evidence.

Abbreviations

PA	= Papiamentu
SCV	= Santiago Cape Verdean Creole
GB	= Portuguese Creole spoken in Guinea-Bissau and Casamance
UGC	= Upper Guinea Creole (a term covering both SCV and GB)
ST	= Sãotomense
PRI	= Principense
ANG	= Angolar
AB	= Annobonense
GGC	= Gulf of Guinea Creole (a term covering ST, PRI, ANG and AB)
PL	= Palenquero
P	= Portuguese
S	= Spanish
WIC	= (Dutch) West Indian Company
VPDW	= Van Putte & Van Putte-De Windt (2005)

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Résumé

Cet article traite des relations linguistique et historique entre le papiamentu et le créole de la Haute Guinée, ce dernier étant parlé sur l'île de Santiago du Cap-Vert, ainsi qu'en Guinée-Bissau et en Casamance. Dans la section linguistique, l'hypothèse que le papiamentu est la forme relexifiée d'une ancienne variété du créole de la Haute Guinée, sera soutenue par l'analyse de correspondances structurelles des mots outils appartenant à cinq catégories grammaticales (pronoms personnels, pronoms interrogatifs, prépositions, conjonctions ainsi que des formes réciproques et réfléchies). A cela s'ajoutent des exemples correspondants tirés d'anciens textes en papiamentu (datant du 18e et 19e siècle). La section concernant l'histoire offre une interprétation des événements historiques, qui expliquent le transfert langagier de la Haute Guinée à Curaçao dans la seconde moitié du 17e siècle.

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel handelt von den sprachlichen und geschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Papiamentu und der Kreolsprache Oberguineas, die auf Santiago, einer der Inseln der Kapverden, und in Guinea-Bissau und Casamance gesprochen wird. Im Abschnitt zu den sprachlichen Befunden wird die Hypothese, dass Papiamentu ein relexifizierter Ableger einer frühen Varietät der Kreolsprache Oberguineas ist, durch die Analyse struktureller Entsprechungen der Funktionswörter in fünf grammatischen Kategorien (Pronomen, Fragewörter, Präpositionen, Konjunktionen sowie reziproke und reflexive Formen) gestärkt. Zusätzlich werden entsprechende Auffälligkeiten aus frühen Texten in Papiamentu (18. und 19. Jahrhundert) präsentiert. Der Abschnitt zur Geschichte bietet eine Aufstellung der historischen Ereignisse, die für den Sprachtransfer von Oberguinea nach Curaçao in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts verantwortlich zeichnen.

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