Lexico-semantic traces of kinship between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles

Traços léxico-semânticos de parentesco entre o papiamentu e os crioulos de base portuguesa da Alta Guiné

Bart Jacobs

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics,
The Netherlands
b.jacobs@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract: In earlier work, a handful of scholars have provided historical and linguistic evidence for the hypothesis that Papiamentu and Cape Verdean Creole descend from a common ancestor. However, no particular attention has been paid to lexico-semantics. This article is an attempt to make up for that miss and show that in this domain, too, the creoles display some striking similarities which are explained most easily by assuming a shared ancestor creole.

Keywords: Papiamentu, Cape Verdean Creole, lexico-semantics.

Resumo: Em trabalhos anteriores, pesquisadores têm mostrado evidências históricas e linguísticas para a hipótese segundo a qual o papiamentu e o kabuverdianu descendem de um ancestral comum. No entanto, estudos léxico-semânticos têm sido amplamente ignorados. Este artigo é uma tentativa de preencher essa lacuna e mostrar que, neste domínio, essas línguas apresentam também semelhanças que são mais bem explicadas assumindo-se uma língua crioula ancestral comum.

Palavras-chave: Papiamentu, crioulo kabuverdianu, léxico-semântica.
1 Introduction

The present article presents a series of lexico-semantic features shared between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (Upper Guinea PC), the latter a cover term for Cape Verdean Creole and its sister variety spoken in Guinea-Bissau and the Senegalese province of Casamance (GBC). The article can be seen as a linguistic complement to my dissertation (Jacobs 2012) which I was lucky to write under the brilliant supervision of John Holm1. In that work, which builds on earlier work by Martinus (1996) and Quint (2000), the hypothesis that Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC descend from a common ancestor is examined and corroborated by comparing the creoles in several domains of the grammar. However, no due attention was paid to the domain of lexico-semantics. This article is a modest attempt to make up for that miss and show that in the lexico-semantic domain, too, the creoles display similarities of a striking nature, further supporting a common origin.

The debate on the origins of Papiamentu has long revolved around the closely related questions (a) whether it is an originally Spanish- or Portuguese-based creole and (b) where the Portuguese elements come from. Martinus (1996) and Quint (2000) were the first to seriously develop the claim that Papiamentu is genetically related to Upper Guinea PC and particularly to the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole. Jacobs (2012) expanded on that view, arguing specifically that speakers of Upper Guinea PC arrived on Curaçao in the latter half of the 17th century and subsequently, in the space of time of probably no more than a single generation, relexified the bulk of their basic vocabulary towards Spanish. After the completion of this process of relexification (around the turn of the 18th century), Papiamentu of course continued to be in contact not only with Spanish, but also with Dutch, English, and indeed a variety of African languages (mainly Bantu and Kwa). Perhaps even speakers of Gulf of Guinea PC contributed to the further development of Papiamentu, as certain (mainly lexical) correspondences seem to suggest (see Jacobs 2012: 261-264 and the references therein). However, the basic morphosyntactic structure of the early Upper Guinea PC variety was not profoundly altered and is still clearly identifiable in present-day Papiamentu.

1My gratitude to John Holm emanates not only from his supervision of my dissertation. As an exchange student I was lucky to meet John in Coimbra 2007. I would never have considered pursuing a life in academics if it wasn’t for the inspiration and motivation I gathered through his classes on creole linguistics.
Due to the relexification, which affected some of the most basic content words (such as the words for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ and other Swadesh-list items), and all the other, regular contact-induced changes Papiamentu and Upper Guinea pc have undergone in the past three and a half centuries, the two creoles are (to my knowledge) mutually largely unintelligible at present². This is not to say, however, that a comparison of the creoles’ lexicons is a pointless undertaking. On the contrary, such a comparison still brings to the fore several striking lexico-semantic parallels, which are summarized in this article. Some of these parallels have already been pointed out in Martinus (1996) and Quint (2000). Others surfaced in my own research, for which I drew mainly on

- Kihm (1994) and Scantamburlo (1999) for GBC;
- Rougé (2004) for GBC and Cape Verdean Creole;
- Mendes et al. (2002) and Lang (2002) for Cape Verdean Creole;
- Van Putte & Van Putte-de Windt (2005), Ratzlaff (2008), and Joubert (1999) for Papiamentu;
- The online Priberam and Michaelis dictionaries for Portuguese;
- The online Real Academia Española dictionary for Spanish.

Section 2 looks at compounds not found in the lexifier. Section 3 covers some idiosyncratic polysemes. In section 4, we discuss a number of what appear to be archaic, dialectal, and/or Brazilian Portuguese words. A proverb and some idiomatic expressions are presented in section 5. Section 6 then identifies some shared words of (presumably) African origin. Section 7 deals with some Papiamentu toponyms that are reminiscent of Upper Guinea, while section 8 discusses some lexico-semantic curiosities that are not neatly classifiable in any of the previous terms.

The assessment that follows is an attempt to summarize the most meaningful semantic parallels between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea pc. It does not pretend to be exhaustive in any way and, obviously, some of the parallels are more meaningful than others. Where possible (i.e. to the extent that my dictionaries and literature have allowed me to), I have tried to provide contrastive data from (i.e. indicate whether a feature is or is not also found in) Portuguese, Spanish, and other creoles, mainly Gulf of Guinea pc.

²There have been claims of mutual intelligibility (e.g. Martinus 1996), but notably by speakers with knowledge of both Spanish and Portuguese. My personal (admittedly intuitive) assessment of the issue is that monolingual speakers of Papiamentu and Upper Guinea pc will have a hard time understanding each other due to the differing basic lexicon as well as some differing structural features such as the negator (ka in Upper Guinea pc vs. no in Papiamentu) and the plural marker (zero or -s in Upper Guinea pc vs. -nan in Papiamentu).
2 Neologisms

The following are compounds construed with Iberian lexical material but apparently calqued on non-Iberian, possibly African, concepts.

- PAP _otromañan_ ‘the day after tomorrow’ (lit. ‘other tomorrow’)
  CV _otramanham_ idem (Quint 2000: 154)
  The use of ‘other tomorrow’ in the sense of ‘the day after tomorrow’ is not rare cross-linguistically and found also, e.g. in Sranan Tongo (Braun 2009: 228) and Persian\(^3\). However, it is to my knowledge unheard of in the Iberian Sprachraum (cf. Port. _depois de amanhã_; Sp. _pasado mañana_).

- PAP _yu di afó_ ‘bastard child’ (lit. ‘child from outside’)
  CV _fidju fora_ idem (Quint 2000: 157)
  Again, this is unlikely to be very rare cross-linguistically, yet it is to my knowledge not common in Iberian speech varieties.

- PAP _yu di Kòrsou_ ‘a native from Curaçao’ (lit. ‘child of Curaçao’)
  CV _fidju-Santiágu_ ‘a native from Santiago’ (lit. ‘child-Santiago’) (Quint 2000: 158)
  GBC _fidju di Guine_ ‘a native from Guinea(-Bissau)’ (lit. ‘child of Guinea’) (Scantamburlo 1999: 310)\(^4\).

- PAP _yu di tera_ ‘a native from Curaçao’ (lit. ‘child of land’) 
  GBC _fidju di tera_ ‘a native from Guinea-Bissau’ (lit. ‘child of land’) 
  According to Van Hulst (1997: 49), on Curaçao the terms _yu di Kòrsou_ and _yu di tera_ are used both in the same sense, that is to distinguish natives from non-natives. According to Rougé (2004: 161), GBC _fidju di tera_ is used to denote Portuguese people of mixed, i.e. creole, descent who were repatriated to the Senegambia area. According to Scantamburlo (1999: 180, 181), _fidju di tera_ can be used also in the broader meaning of ‘native from Guinea-Bissau’. Ultimately, these expressions appear to have their origin in Portuguese, where (at least in some varieties) _filho da terra_ and e.g. _filho de Veiros_ can be used to refer to natives from Portugal and Veiros respectively \(^5\).

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\(^4\)In principle, this compound can occur in the creoles with any place indication, e.g. GBC _fidju di Djība_ ‘native from Geba’ (Scantamburlo 1999: 149).  
\(^5\)I thank Clancy Clements (p.c.) for this comment.
Lexico-semantic traces of kinship...
Traços léxico-semânticos de parentesco entre...

- PAP pididó di limosna ‘beggar’ (lit. ‘person who asks for charity’)
  GBC pididur di sumola idem (Kilm 1994: 127)

For the concept of ‘beggar’, mainstream Spanish and Portuguese have single-morpheme words such as mendigo and pedinte.

3 Polysemy

Several words shared between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC have undergone a meaning extension compared to the etymon:

- PAP biaha ‘1. journey; 2. time/occasion’ (< Sp. viaje ‘journey’)
  CV biaxi / GBC bias idem (< Port. viagem ‘journey’)

The second meaning can be exemplified by e.g. PAP dos biaha ‘two times’ = CV dos biaxi idem; PAP otro biaha ‘again’ = CV otu biaxi idem (Quint 2000: 158). For GBC, Rougé (2004: 284) gives the example manga di bias ‘many times’. According to Rougé (2004: 284), the use of biaxi in the sense of ‘time/occasion’ is rural and archaic in Cape Verdean Creole. This feature (i.e. JOURNEY = TIME/OCCASION) is not attested in any other Atlantic Creole (Mikael Parkvall p.c.) or in any variety of Portuguese that I know of.

- PAP koba ‘1. to dig, excavate; 2. to insult, curse’
  CV koba idem (Martinus 1996: 150)

In Guinea-Bissau, the adverb mal is added: koba mal ‘to insult’. I am not aware of any Portuguese variety in which cavar means ‘to insult’, although cross-linguistically the feature TO DIG = TO INSULT might not be uncommon (cf. English to have a dig at someone). The fact that both the Papiamentu and the Cape Verdean Creole verb are derived from the Port. noun cova (Lang 2002: 318) strengthens the idea of a historical link.

- PAP mara ‘1. to tie up, moor; 2. to curse, bring bad luck’
  CV mara idem (Martinus 1996: 170)

The etymon, Port. amarrar (or Sp. amarar), lacks the second meaning, at least in mainstream Portuguese. According to an anonymous reviewer, in Brazilian Portuguese amarrar is used in witchcraft vocabulary, but it is not clear in what sense, and my dictionaries do not disclose this either.
• PAP batata ‘1. potato; 2. muscle’
   CV batata idem

In the sense of ‘muscle’, batata is used in the creoles only in reference to the bulky muscles of the upper arm or the calf of the leg. The general word for muscle in Papiamentu is músuko or spir; in Cape Verdean Creole it’s musk(u)lu. In Brazilian Portuguese, batata de perna means ‘calf of the leg’ (Amanda Post Da Silveira, p.c.) and in standard Portuguese. In Yoruba, a compound literally meaning ‘yam-leg’ is used to denote ‘calf of the leg’ (Matthias Urban, p.c.), suggesting this type of metaphor is not uncommon cross-linguistically.

In addition to these cases, there are several less remarkable — while cross-linguistically more common — cases of semantic extension, such as the use of PAP pìa / CV pé (< Sp. pie / Port. pé ‘foot’) in the sense of both ‘foot’ and ‘leg’ (Quint 2000: 157).

4 Archaic, non-standard, and/or Brazilian Portuguese words

The following lexical items are not all exclusive to Papiamentu and Upper Guinea pc. Yet they are interesting items as they seem to trace back to archaic, non-standard, or Brazilian Portuguese, whilst being rare in European Portuguese, and absent in Spanish.

• PAP djadumingu ‘Sunday’
   Upper Guinea pc dia dimingu idem

Mainstream standard Portuguese and Spanish have domingo. The combination dia + domingo ‘day + Sunday’, according to Quint (2000: 220), was common in 15th/16th-century Portuguese. The Gulf of Guinea Creoles also have composed (though phonetically clearly distinct) forms for ‘Sunday’: Angolar diaringu and Santome djadjingu (Quint 2000: 220).

• PAP barbulètè ‘butterfly’
   CV barbuléta idem (Quint 2000: 157)

Modern mainstream Portuguese has borboleta, whilst the form barboleta is still found in names of colonial Portuguese ships as well as in more conservative northern dialects of Portuguese and Galician (Cortés y Vázquez 1954).
• **PAP** *sambarku* ‘sandal(s)’

_CV* sanbarku* idem

Lang (2002: 703) defines _CV* sanbarku* as ‘sandálias tradicionais de sola de couro e de tiras de corda’. The etymon, Port. *sambarco*, is labeled _antigo_ in the online Portuguese *Michaelis* dictionary. Interestingly, the leather strap used to bind these sandals is called *djondjorofé* in Papiamentu, which is very likely related to the Cape Verdean Creole verb *djondjo* ‘to tie, bind, fasten’ (cf. §6).

• **PAP** *kachó* ‘dog’

_Upper Guinea PC* _katxor* idem⁶

In modern mainstream Portuguese, *cachorro* means ‘puppy’ (the word for ‘dog’ in Portuguese is _cão_), but in Brazilian Portuguese and the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles, as in Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC, the derivate of Port. *cachorro* has given ‘dog’, suggesting this may have been the more common meaning for _cachorro_ in archaic, maritime Portuguese.

• **PAP** *kantika* ‘song’

_CV* kantika* idem

Also in Gulf of Guinea PC, a cognate of Port. *cantiga* is the default word for ‘song’ (Rougé 2004: 98). In modern mainstream Spanish and Portuguese, however, the use of the word _cantiga_ in the modern sense of ‘song’ is rare (cf. Spanish _canción_ and Portuguese _canção_). Rather, it is still used in its original sense to refer to an _ode_ (viz. sung poem) or a lullaby.

• **PAP** *papia* ‘to talk’

_Upper Guinea PC* _papia* idem

In modern mainstream European Portuguese, *papear* is rather rare, and semantically restricted to ‘to chat’. However, the verb is quite common in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese (Marco Schaumlöffel, p.c.) and was retained in the unmarked sense of ‘to talk’ also in some of the Asian Portuguese Creoles (such as, indeed, Papia Kristang). On the other hand, a reflex of *papear* is notably absent in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles. (Cf. Jacobs 2012: 148-149 for further discussion and illustration.)

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⁶The pronunciation is practically similar inspite of the different orthography: PAP /ka:tʃɔ/ ≈ CV /ka:tʃo/.
• **PAP bira** ‘to turn’
  Upper Guinea PC *bira ~ bida* idem
  As a copular verb, *bira* means ‘to turn into, grow, become’, and as such is found also in Brazilian Portuguese (Holm *et al.* 1998: 95), in Gulf of Guinea PC (*bila ~ vya*) (Ferraz 1979: 85–87; Rougé 2004: 286) and in Papia Kristang (Baxter 2004: 16). To the best of my knowledge, the copular use of *virar* is not documented for any — be it creolized or otherwise non-standard — variety of Spanish. (Cf. Jacobs 2012: 235-237 for further discussion and illustration.)

• **PAP meste ~ mesté(r)** ‘to need, must, be necessary’
  Upper Guinea PC *meste ~ mestedu* idem
  This modal verb derives from the Classical Portuguese noun *mester* ‘need’ (≠ Sp. *menester*). A discussion of this intriguing verb and its theoretical implications is offered in Jacobs (2012: 164-166 & 229).

• **PAP banda di** ‘next to, around’
  Upper Guinea PC *banda di* idem
  This preposition is highly grammaticalized in the two creoles and used, for instance, also to indicate time (e.g. PAP *banda di dos or* = Upper Guinea PC *banda di dos ora* ‘around two o’clock’). According to Rougé (2004: 75), the preposition ‘vient d’une ancienne locution portugais banda de’. Modern mainstream Portuguese instead uses prepositions such as *ao lado de* ‘next to’ (locative) and *sobre* ‘around’ (temporal), amongst others. Note, furthermore, that this preposition is absent in Gulf of Guinea PC. (Cf. Jacobs 2012: 106-108 for further discussion of *banda di.*)

5 **Proverbs and idiomatic expressions**

Quint (2000: 161) presents a convincing case of a proverb shared between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC which ‘est (...) difficilment explicable sans une origine commune’:

(1) a. PAP

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baka ku yega pos promé ta bebe awa mas
  cow who arrive well first IMP drink water more
  limpi
  clean
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‘The cow who reaches the well first, will drink the cleanest water’
b. CV

báka tchiga na funti purmeru, el bebi águ mas

cow arrive at well first he drink water more

limpu
clean

‘The cow who reached the well first, drank the cleanest water’

He furthermore reveals a shared pronominal expression which has no equivalent in the lexifiers (Quint 2000: 157):

(2) nan ta biba nan ku nan PAP
es ta bibi es ku es CV

they IMP live them with them

‘They live inwardly, among themselves’

Some Papiamentu verbal expressions have equivalents in both Cape Verdean Creole as well as in modern standard Portuguese, but not in Spanish. These include PAP kore ku (lit. ‘to run with’) ‘to chase away, to expel, to fire’ = CV kori ku idem < Port. correr com idem. Examples would be:

(3) a. PAP

mi hefe a kore ku mi

my chef PERF run with me

‘My chef fired me’ (Van Putte & Van Putte-De Windt 2005: 239)

b. CV

el kori ku David di trabadju

he run with David of job

‘He fired David (from the job)’ (Lang 2002: 345)

The typical Portuguese expression sentir a falta de alguma coisa/alguém ‘to miss something/someone’ is reflected in PAP sinti falta di algum kos/un hende and CV xinti falta di algum kuza/algem with the same meaning:

(4) a. mi ta sinti bo falta PAP
m ta xinti bo falta CV

I IMP feel your absence

‘I miss you’

b. eu sinto a tua falta Port.

I feel the your absence

‘I miss you’
6 Words of (probable) African origin

It is interesting to note that in the literature on Papiamentu, Upper Guinean African languages — mainly West Atlantic and Mande — are traditionally ignored as possible contributors to the creole’s substrate. With few exceptions (e.g. Quint 2000; Intumbo 2006), it is rather uncritically assumed that its substrate consisted of Kwa and Bantu languages. Admittedly, West Atlantic and Mande words are scarce in Papiamentu, but the ones that we do find significantly have a direct parallel in Upper Guinea PC. While clearly much etymological research still needs to be done to get a better picture of the African contribution to the Papiamentu lexicon, the following are a non-exhaustive summary of African lexemes shared between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC. The first two are highly meaningful while highly idiosyncratic:

- PAP karanga ‘louse’
  GBC karanga idem.
  This is arguably the most idiosyncratic African-derived vocabulary item shared between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea PC. It is most likely related to Bambara nkàrànga ‘piojo’ (Quint 2000: 160). It does not occur in present-day Cape Verdean Creole;

- PAP djondjorofé ‘leather strap used to bind sandals’ seems historically related to CV djondjo ‘to tie, bind, fasten’ (cf. §4). The etymon of CV djondjo is unknown, but it’s unlikely to be Portuguese. The phonological and semantic correspondence with PAP djondjorofé is striking and I didn’t find anything similar in other creoles (Parkvall 1999).

Other shared African items are arguably less meaningful:

- PAP pòtòpòtò ‘mud’
  GBC poto-poto idem.
  Variants of poto (or reduplicated potopoto) in the sense of ‘mud’ are very common in West African languages (e.g. Mandinga poto ‘mud’) as well as in the Atlantic Creoles (Parkvall 1999);

- PAP yongotá ‘to squat’
  CV djongotu idem
  GBC djungutu idem
  (Quint 2000: 159). Mandinka (d)jongoto ‘to squat’ is a possible etymon, though related variants occur also in other Mande and West Atlantic languages (Parkvall 1999). Variants of (d)jongoto with the meaning ‘to squat’ are widespread in the Atlantic Creole basin (Parkvall 1999), which according to Thomas Johnen (p.c.) correlates with the reality of the slave trade: many slaves sat squatted in the ships which transported them across the Atlantic.

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Some words can tentatively be attributed to a shared origin:

- **PAP lembe-lembe** ‘type of insect which appears in rainy periods’ might be related to **CV lemba-lemba** ‘type of tree which grows in humid areas’, which (slightly surprisingly⁷) could have a Kimbundu origin (*lemba-lemba* ‘type of tree’);

- **PAP kochi/kotji/ (noun) ‘kick, strike, hit’** could be related to **CV kotxi/kotji/ (verb) ‘to pulverize corn by hitting it’**. The etymon is unknown;

- **PAP bonchi ‘bean(s)’**
  
  Although the resemblance seems striking, Dutch *boon(tje) ‘(small) bean’* should be considered here as an etymon for the Papiamentu variant. Hancock (1970) lists *bunchis ‘bean(s)’* as a Dutch-derived word in Papia Kristang;

- **PAP djindja ‘porcupine fish’** is possibly related to **GBC djindjan ‘plumage, ostentation’**. Scantamburlo (1999: 150) gives Mandinga *jjija ‘to impress* as the etymon of **GBC djindjan**, which is used in reference to the plumage of big birds used for the purpose of impressing other birds. If ‘to impress’ is the key meaning here, a historical link with **PAP djindja ‘porcupine fish’** doesn’t seem far-fetched;

- **PAP kotikoti ‘closely, narrowly’** bears not a straightforward but still an interesting semantic resemblance to **GBC kotikoti ‘to cling onto, to bind together’**, whose etymon is probably Wolof *kot* idem (Rougé 2004: 324). In Cape Verdean Creole, *kotikotí* means ‘armpit’, and is also used in the idiomatic expression *bèdju kotikoti ‘very long/old’* (Lang 2002: 364, 365);

- The Papiamentu word *djankro* is worthy of mention as it is traceable back directly to Upper Guinea: it is a term of abuse for black people from the Leeward Islands and could very well be related to the Mandinka term *jankaro* which means ‘illness’ (Diagne 1999: 27). I didn’t find a cognate of the noun *jankaro* in Upper Guinea **PC**, but a cognate of the related verb *jankari ‘to be very ill’* did make its way into Cape Verdean Creole, being at the source of **CV djangrabi ‘to live a troubled life’** (Rougé 2004: 303).

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⁷ Rougé (2004: 328) thinks the transfer of Kimbundu lexemes into Cape Verdean Creole could have occurred ‘soit par l’intermédiaire des Portugais ou d’esclaves d’origine bantoue, soit, s’il s’agit d’un mot plus récent, par des Capverdiens ayant vécu à São Tomé’.

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7 Toponymy

The following names of places are either shared with Upper Guinea or otherwise reminiscent of Upper Guinea.

- The Iberian etymon *América* underwent apheresis and syncope to give *Merka* both in Papiamentu and in Cape Verdean Creole. This might seem unremarkable but gains interest in light of the following remark by Rougé (2004: 57): ‘Les créoles empruntent généralement tel quel le terme portugais. Cependent, au Cap–Vert (...) l’Amérique est un thème de conversation fréquent et un terme typiquement capverdien s’est développé: *Merka*. The same is true for Papiamentu: place names are usually borrowed wholesale and without phonological adaptation from either Spanish, Dutch, or English, with rare exceptions such as *Merka*. Another such exception is PAP *Oropa* ‘Europe’ < Iberian Europa. Interestingly, here too we find the direct equivalent in CV *Oropa*.

- On Curaçao, we find some place names reminiscent of Upper Guinea. The two oldest neighbourhoods of the capital city Willemstad, for instance, are called *Otrobanda* and *Punda*. As is known, *Otrobanda* owes its name to the fact that it lies on the other side of *Punda*. In GBC, *utru banda* is a very common turn of phrase, as in GBC *utru banda di riu* ‘on the other side of the river’, or GBC *bai pa utru banda* ‘to go to the other side’ (Scantamburlo 1999). The name *Punda*, on the other hand, is reminiscent of the Cape Verdean toponym *Ponta*, which is attested on the islands of Fogo, São Antão, and Sal (Baptista 2002: xix), and possibly on other islands. Note also that GBC *ponta* means not only ‘point’ but also ‘agricultural estate/manor’.

- Perhaps more telling still is the Curaçaoan toponym *Seru di Mandinga*, which is a hill in the western part of Willemstad and makes obvious reference to the Mandinka ( ~ Mandinga) people of Upper Guinea.

8 Other remarkable lexical coincidences

We close this overview of lexico-semantic correspondences between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea with some features which are not classifiable in terms of the previous categories but nonetheless worthy of mention:
• **PAP oyada** ‘The Evil Eye’  
  **cv odjada** idem

In Portuguese, a similar phenomenon is expressed by a different term: *mau-olhado*. The Portuguese word *olhada* ‘eye, look’, on the other hand, from which the Papiamentu and Cape Verdean Creole forms seem to derive, has no ritual connotations whatsoever. Both the Antillean *oyada* and the Cape Verdean *odjada* are traditionally believed to bring bad luck and/or unhappiness. On the ABC Islands, babies are traditionally protected against the *oyada* by burying the placenta and the umbilical cord immediately after birth (see Römer 1977 for a detailed description of the ritual);

• **PAP pegasaia** ‘name of a plant’  
  **cv pegasaia** idem (Quint 2000: 317)

This thorny plant (in Cape Verdean Creole alternatively called *pregasaia*) owes its name to the fact that its thorns stick (Port. *pegar ~ pregar* ‘to glue, connect’) to your clothes (Port. *saia* ‘skirt, cloth’);

• **PAP dodo** ‘to sleep’ (verb)  
  **cv dó-dó** ‘sleep’ (noun)

Could these two forms be etymologically related to Port. *dormir*?

9 **Final remarks**

The present article has presented some striking lexico-semantic parallels between Papiamentu and Upper Guinea *pc*. The assessment presented in the foregoing does not pretend to be exhaustive in any way. On the contrary, the increasing availability of lexical data on different varieties of Upper Guinea *pc* should allow for increasingly accurate comparisons with Papiamentu for which I hope the present article may provide inspiration.

The assessment should be seen as an addition to the phonological and morphosyntactic comparisons offered in Martinus (1996), Quint (2000) and Jacobs (2012) in support of the hypothesis that Papiamentu and Upper Guinea *pc* are genetically related. Although this hypothesis is gradually finding acceptance among creolists, there is still much work to be done to further underpin it. To give one example, comparisons of the cultural anthropology of the two speech communities could yield interesting results (cf. Quint 2000: 161-166). Above-mentioned words with strong cultural connotations such as *sambarku*, *djondjorofé*, or *oyada*, but also terms with explicit ethnical reference such as *Seru di Mandinga* or *djankró* could serve as starting points for such comparisons.
Abbreviations


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