

Semantic primes in Atlantic Iberoromance-based Creoles: Superstrate continuity or innovation?

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Abstract

Much of the literature on Creole languages has focused on their genesis. In this study, we take the Natural Semantic Metalanguage framework as a starting point for yet another genesis-oriented comparative study of five Iberoromance-based Creoles, Kabuverdianu, São-Tomense, Angolar, Papiamentu and Palenquero. The proposal of the NSM framework is to establish a natural semantic metalanguage consisting of a

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set of semantic primes common to and translatable into all languages. Whether these semantic primes consist of items retained from the lexifier language, or whether they have been taken from the sub- and/or adstrate can be argued to be of certain interest to the debate on the origin and nature of Creole languages. Our results confirm our initial hypothesis that the semantic primes of Creole languages are in their majority derived from the corresponding lexifier language. Differences in the exact amount of non-lexifier-derived primes roughly correspond to the amount of non-lexifier items in the Creole's lexicon at large.

Key words: Natural Semantic Metalanguage Theory, semantic primes, lexicon, Iberoromance-based Creoles.

Resumo

Gran parte da literatura sobre as linguas crioulas tense centrado na súa xénese. Neste traballo adoptamos como punto de partida o marco da teoría da Metalinguaxe Semántica Natural para levar a cabo un estudo comparativo orientado cara á xénese de cinco crioulos baseados en linguas iberorromances: Kabuverdianu, São-Tomense, Angolar, Papiamentu e Palenquero. A proposta do marco MSN é establecer unha metalinguaxe semántica natural constituída por unha serie de primitivos semánticos comúns a todas as linguas e traducibles a todas elas. O feito de que estes primitivos semánticos consistan en ítems transmitidos desde a lingua lexificadora, ou ben que fosen tomados do sub- e/ou do adstrato, son cuestións de certo interese no debate sobre a orixe e natureza das linguas crioulas. Os nosos resultados confirman a nosa hipótese de partida segundo a cal os primitivos semánticos das linguas crioulas derivan na súa maioría das correspondentes linguas lexificadoras. As diferenzas na cantidade exacta de primitivos non procedentes da lexificación correspóndense aproximadamente coa cantidade de ítems non-lexificados do léxico crioulo no seu conxunto.

Palabras clave: teoría da Metalinguaxe Semántica Natural, primitivos semánticos, léxico, crioulos de base iberorromance.

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1. Introduction¹

Much of the literature on Creole languages has focused on the genesis of this group of languages –the existence of which, as a group, has seriously been called into doubt in the past years. In this study, we take the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework as a starting point for yet another genesis-oriented comparative study of a number of Iberoromance-based Creoles². To our knowledge, Stanwood (1997) is the only study where the NSM framework has been applied to a Creole language. Since the proposal of the NSM framework is to establish a natural semantic metalanguage consisting of a set of semantic primes common to and translatable into all languages, in short, the core of any language, the framework can be argued to be of certain interest to the debate on the origin and nature of Creole languages whether these semantic primes consist of items retained from the lexifier language, or whether they have been taken from the sub- and/or adstrate. Our working hypothesis is that the former is true, i.e., that the semantic primes of Creole languages are in their majority derived from the superstrate languages. For an introduction to the NSM theory, see Goddard & Wierzbicka (2002), Wierzbicka (2003).

We have chosen the following five Iberoromance-based Creoles for this study: Kabuverdianu (KV), São-Tomense (or Forro; ST), Angolar (ANG), Papiamentu (PAP) and Palenquero (PAL). Our data are based on both availability of literature, and their importance among the Iberoromance-based Creoles with regard to various group genesis theories. ANG is known for its idiosyncracies, above all the high amount of substrate vocabulary derived from a single language, Kimbundu. ANG may be therefore expected to behave differently from the other Creoles under survey. Corrections and additions to these tentative lists of semantic primes are most welcome.³

¹ We would like to thank Philippe Maurer and especially Tjerk Hagemeijer for their invaluable comments on ANG and ST primes, respectively, and the Papiamentu speakers who attended the *ACBLPE* conference (*Associação de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola*) where this communication was presented. We would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers of the article. The usual disclaimers apply.

² We consider these one group rather than two separate groups of Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier Creoles (cf. Bartens, 1995).

³ In the tables below, doubtful/constructed primes are marked with “?”, missing primes are indicated by “????”. Other conventions include the use of {û/Û} for nasal *u* and {sh} for palatoalveolar /ʃ/.

In our search for semantic primes in the five Creole languages in question, our point of reference are the lists presented in the NSM Homepage and in Wierzbicka (2004). Each prime is separated by a comma from the previous entry in the list presented in Table 1.⁴

Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE (PERSON), PEOPLE, SOMETHING (THING), BODY
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH
Evaluators	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors	BIG, SMALL, LONG
Intensifier	VERY
Mental predicates	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR
Speech	SAY, WORD, TRUE
Actions, events and movement	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and possession	THERE IS (EXIST), HAVE (BELONG TO)
Life and death	LIVE, DIE
Time	WHEN (TIME), NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space	WHERE (PLACE), HERE, ABOVE, BELOW; FAR, NEAR; SIDE, INSIDE; TOUCHING (CONTACT)
“Logical” concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Augmentor	MORE
Taxonomy, partonomy	KIND OF, PART OF
Similarity	LIKE (HOW/AS)

Table 1. List of Semantic Primes According to the NSM Framework.

In what follows, we will adhere to this taxonomy, except where some categories containing numerous primes have been divided into two subcategories for the sake of convenience. Variants are separated by a hyphen, allomorphs and allolexes (e.g., masculine/feminine) by “/”. When available, conventional orthographies are used. Otherwise, the orthography of the main sources is maintained.

⁴ According to a convention in studies employing the NSM framework, the primes are presented in capital letters.

1.1. Substantives

1.1.1. Substantives 1: I, YOU

KV	N, -M, MI; BU, -BU/-U, BO
ST	AMI/AM/N/M, M/MU/-M; BÔ/Ô
ANG	M/N, M; BÔ/Ô, Ô
PAP	MI; BO, BO/BU
PAL	YO/YO-/I-/Y-, MI; BO/BO-/O-, BO

Table 2. Substantives 1.

In KV, N and BU are proclitic, -M and -BU/-U enclitic pronouns, and MI and BO are used after prepositions. In ST, the 1st person subject pronoun has the allomorphs AMI/AM/N/M and the object pronoun M/MU/-M. The 2nd person pronoun is either BÔ or Ô. In ANG, the subject pronouns have two variants each, i.e., M/N and BÔ/Ô, respectively, while M and Ô are used both as object pronouns and after prepositions. In PAP, the 1st person pronoun is always MI. The 2nd person subject pronoun is BO while BO and BU alternate in the object function. In the subject position, PAL distinguishes between strong free pronouns (YO and BO) and clitic pronouns (YO-/I-/Y- and BO-/O-). The object pronouns are MI and BO. Cf.:

- (1) PAP: *BO ta sinti-BO manera ta na BO lugar BO ta?*
 ‘Do you feel yourself as if it is in your place that you are? = Do you feel at home?’.
 (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 40)
- (2) PAL: *BO é mamá MÍ nu; pero siempre Í á ten ke da BO kumina.*
 ‘You are not my mother but I always have to give you food’.
 (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 147)

1.1.2. Substantives 2: SOMEONE (PERSON), PEOPLE, SOMETHING (THING), BODY

KV	ALGEN/ARGEN (PESÔA), GENTI/DJENTI/JENTI, ALGUN KUSA (KUSA), KORPU
ST	NGE – A (NGE), NGE, KWA (KWA), UBWE, KLOPO
ANG	NGÊ – A (NGÊ), NGÊ, KWA(I) (KWA(I)), ÔNGÊ
PAP	UN HENDE (HENDE), HENDE, ALGU (KOS), KURPA
PAL	UN JENDE? (JENDE), MA JENDE, (AGGÚN) KUSA (KUSA), NKUEPPO

Table 3. Substantives 2.

ANG NGÊ and ST NGE denote SOMEONE, PERSON and apparently also PEOPLE. E.g. Angolar NGÊ may be modified to *ôtô ngê* ‘other people’ or *ngê motxiru* ‘many people’. PAP HENDE and PAL JENDE (actually pronounced [hende]) are likewise multifunctional. Cf.:

- (3) ANG: *Tuu NGÊ bê rê potho ka taba sikitoli thô.*
 ‘All the people had gone to the city to work in the offices’.
 (Maurer, 1995: 84)
- (4) PAL: *JENDE á sé polé asé uto kusa nu.*
 ‘We [lit. the people] can’t do anything else’. (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 146)

In ST and ANG, there is also the impersonal pronoun A, borrowed from Edo (Ferraz, 1978: 66) which can be used in the same slot:

- (5) ST: *A mule fika ûa klasõ ku jibõ d’e.*
 ‘Someone died, leaving him a suit’. (Ferraz, p.c.)

In PAL, KUSA and AGGÚN KUSA alternate to express SOMETHING:⁵

- (6) PAL: *Á seba tené ma fecha e ma moná era po – po KUSA lo ke á seba pasá.*
 ‘They used to retain the dates [of birth] of the children from something which took place at the same time’. (Dieck, 2000: 82)

1.2. Determiners: THIS, THE SAME, OTHER

KV	ES, MÉSMU, OTU/OTRU
ST	SE/E, ME, OTLO
ANG	TE/E/DHE, ME, ÔTÔ
PAP	ESAKÍ (pl. ESAKÍNAN), MES, OTRO
PAL	É/ESE, MEMO, UTO – ETE

Table 4. Determiners.

Cf.:

- (7) ST: *Ele ME sa plume.*
 ‘He himself is the first’. (Ferraz, 1978: 65)
- (8) PAP: *Mi no por a papia kuné MES.*
 ‘I could not speak to him himself’. (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 41)

⁵ Armin Schwegler (p. c.) believes *aggún kusa* is a calque from a KiKongo structure.

1.3. Quantifiers: ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MANY/MUCH

KV	UN (emphatic. UMA!), DOS, ALGUN/ARGUN, TUDU, MUTU – TXEU
ST	ÛA, DOSU, ÛA ÛA, TUDU/TUDAXI, MUNTU/MONTXI
ANG	ÛA, DÔTHU, ÛA-ÛA, TURU/TUU, MOTXI(RU)
PAP	UN, DOS, ALGUN, TUR, HOPI – MASHA/MASHÁ
PAL	UN, (N)DO, AGGUN(O), TO, MUCHO

Table 5. Quantifiers.

In KV, the Portuguese feminine form of the indefinite article *um*, UMA, has been conserved as an emphatic form of UN. In ST, MANY may be rendered also by *yô* (from Edo *yo* ‘high’; Ferraz, 1978: 262) and *maxi montxi* (Alexander & Hagemeyer, 2004: 87), but we have doubts whether these are real candidates for the prime in question (see, however, below, for ST ‘FOR A LONG TIME’). Likewise, ÛA ÛA can also be rendered by *ûa dosu* (id.: *ibid.*). In ANG, many adjectives and some other elements like the quantifier MOTXI have two forms: a simple form, and another one ending in *-ru* (*-ru* is also the ending of the past participle). Maurer states that there is no real difference in meaning between the simple and complex forms, except that the latter is felt to be more emphatic (1995: 50). Cf.:

- (9) KV: *N tene UMA gana kume kabésa!*
 ‘I feel like eating a head!’ (Silva, 1987: 30)
- (10) KV: *Nhu rei ja fla ma el ta da metadi di TUDU si bens y si fija pa kasamentu a kel ómi ki [...].*
 ‘The king has said that he will give half of all his possessions and his daughter as a wife to the man who [...].’ (Silva, 1987: 146)
- (11) ANG: [...] *a na tô mÊthÊ ministru MOTXIRU wa [...].*
 ‘[...] we didn’t need that many secretaries anymore [...].’ (Maurer, 1995: 51)

1.4. Evaluators: GOOD, BAD

KV	BON/BOA, MÁU
ST	BWA, MALI
ANG	BWA(RU), MA/MALI
PAP	BON, MALU
PAL	BUENO/GUEN(O), MALO

Table 6. Evaluators.

According to Tjerk Hagemeijer (p.c.), there are also *bon* and *ma* in ST, as in *bon/ma nge* ‘good/bad person’. They occur in fixed chunks and, contrary to most other adjectives, in pronominal position, which is additional proof of calquing on Portuguese.

(12) ANG: [...] *kwa ka fika masi BWARU* [...].
 ‘[...] everything will be better [...]’. (Maurer, 1995: 53)

(13) ST: *Kwa se sa BWA*.
 ‘This/that is good’. (Ferraz, 1978: 240)

1.5. Descriptors: BIG, SMALL, LONG

KV	GRÁNDI, PIKININU, KUNPRIDU
ST	NGLANDJI, PIKINA, LONGO
ANG	NGAI(RU), TXO, LÔNGÔ(RU)/LUNGU(RU)
PAP	GRANDI, CHIKÍ/CHIKITU, LARGU
PAL	NGANDE, CHIKITIKO, LAGGO

Table 7. Descriptors.

(14) ANG: *M bê ûa buru NGAI(RU)*.
 ‘I saw a big stone’. (Maurer, 1995: 50)

(15) PAL: *Agué sí borrachera mí tan sendá NGANDE*.
 ‘Today my state of drunkenness will indeed be great’.
 (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 131)

1.6. Intensifier: VERY

KV	MUTU – TXEU
ST	MUNTU/MONTXI – ÛA DATA – (KU) PASA
ANG	PATHA
PAP	HOPI – MASHA/MASHÁ
PAL	MU

Table 8. Intensifier.

ANG belongs to those strongly substrate-influenced Atlantic Creoles which express the superlative and elative by means of the serial verb construction ‘to (sur)pass’ (Bartens, 1996: 121), e.g.:

- (16) ANG: *Ê kula PATHA.*
 ‘He - big - surpass = He is very big’. (Maurer 1995: 112)

The same construction is found in ST with (KU) PASA (Tjerk Hagemeyer, p.c.). Cf. also:

- (17) KV: *Péna e’ sta MUTU kansadu.*
 ‘It’s a pity he is so (very) tired’. (Silva, 1987: 139)
- (18) PAP: *HOPI hende no ta kumpra outo mas na e diler nan ku tin na Aruba.*
 ‘Many people no longer buy cars from the dealers in Aruba’.
 (Kouwenberg & Murray 1994: 42)

1.7. Mental predicates: THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR

KV	PENSA, SABE, KRE, XINTI, ODJA, OBI
ST	PENSA, SEBE, MESE, XINTXI, BE, TENDE
ANG	PENTHA, ETA/TA, MÊTHÊ, ÊNDÊ, BÊ, ENDÊ/NDE
PAP	PENSA, SABI/SA, KE(R), SINTI, MIRA, TENDE
PAL	PENSÁ, SABÉ, KELÉ, SINDÍ/SENDÍ, MINÁ, KUCHÁ

Table 9. Mental predicates.

In Angolar, there are two verbs for THINK: PENTHA and *thura*. Lorenzino (1998) offers only the latter, while Maurer (1995) lists both. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the Angolar prime is PENTHA, etymologically the same verb as in the related Creoles.

- (19) ANG: *Kwa ê MÊTHÊ?*
 ‘What does he want?’. (Maurer, 1995: 71)
- (20) PAL: *Enú ta MINA suto.*
 ‘They see us’. (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 161)
- (21) PAL: *¿Bo a KUCHÁ?*
 ‘Did you hear?’, i.e., ‘Did you understand/did you get it?’
 (Dieck, 2000: 46)

1.8. Speech: SAY, WORD, TRUE

KV	FLA, PALÁBRA, VERDÁDI
ST	FLA, PALAVLA, VEDE
ANG	FA/FALA/FARA/VALA, PALAVA, VERE
PAP	BISA, PALAB(R)A, BERDÁ
PAL	ABLÁ, PALABRA, BELÁ

Table 10. Speech.

In all the Creoles under survey, the prime is not TRUE but TRUTH; this is paralleled by the situation in Spanish (Travis, 2002: 238). Cf.:

(22) KV: *E VERDADI!*
 ‘It’s true!’ (Silva, 1987: 169)

(23) PAL: *Asina jue BELÁ.*
 ‘Like this it is true’ (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 95)

1.9. Actions, events and movement: DO, HAPPEN, MOVE

KV	FASE/FAZE, PÁSA, MOVE
ST	FE, PASA, JINGA?
ANG	XAZI/ZI, PATHA, ZINGA
PAP	HASI, PASA, MOVE
PAL	ASÉ, PASÁ, MOBÉ

Table 11. Actions, events and movement.

ST JINGA may not be the actual prime as its primary meaning is ‘to shake’. There are many ways to indicate that something is being moved, e.g. serial verbs such as *uxi* ‘to move around, stir’ and *nda* ‘to walk’, depending on the construction (Tjerk Hagemeyer, p.c.).

(24) PAL: *Tigre ASÉ un losa [...].*
 ‘Tiger cleared a ground [...].’ (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 224)

(25) PAL: *á seba tené ma fecha e ma moná era po - po kusa lo ke á seba PASÁ.*
 ‘They used to retain the dates [of birth] of the children from something which took place at the same time’. (Dieck, 2000: 82)

1.10. Existence and possession: THERE IS (EXIST), HAVE (BELONG TO)

KV	TÊN, TÊN
ST	SE(N)/TE, TE
ANG	THE/TÊ, TÊ
PAP	TIN(I), TIN(I)
PAL	TEN(E), TEN(E)

Table 12. Existence and possession.

In the Creoles under survey, the primes THERE IS (EXIST) and HAVE (BELONG TO) are usually rendered by the same element. However, in ST and in ANG, the more frequent expression for THERE IS (EXIST) is an element borrowed from Kishikongo *se* into ST as SE(N) and from Kimbundu *se* (a contraction of *sai* ‘there is’; another option is ST *sa ai* ‘is here’; Maurer, 1995: 245) into ANG as THE. For ST SE(N), ST *sa ai* (*en*) ‘is here (emphatic particle)’ is also a possible etymology (Tjerk Hagemeijer, p.c.).

(26) ANG: [...] *alê e na TÊ nê ûa kapitêlu wa* [...].
 ‘[...] the king didn’t have any carpenter [...]’. (Maurer, 1995: 102)

(27) ANG: *Aie kikiê THE*.
 ‘Now there is fish’. (Maurer, 1995: 103)

(28) PAP: *Anochi, ora no TIN kayente di solo* [...].
 ‘At night, when there is no heat from the sun [...]’.
 (Maurer, 1988: 203)

(29) PAP: *Ta solamente esnan ku no TIN plaka*.
 ‘(It’s) only those that do not have money’.
 (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 38)

(30) PAL: *Akí á TEN un ma kusa ke yo á tá miná*.
 ‘There are some things here I am looking at’. (Dieck, 2000: 49)

(31) PAL: [...] *bo lo ke nu TEN plata* [...].
 ‘[...] you who don’t have any money [...]’. (Dieck, 2000: 51)

1.11. Life and death: LIVE, DIE

KV	VIVE/BIBE, MÓRE
ST	VIVE, MOLE

ANG	VIVÊ, MUÊ
PAP	BIBA, MURI
PAL	BIBÍ, MORÍ/MURÍ

Table 13. Life and death.

- (32) ST: *Sela pa suba sobe maxi, xinam tudu planta ka MOLE lolo.*
 ‘There has to be more rain, otherwise all the plants will die’.
 (Ferraz, 1978: 250)⁶
- (33) PAL: *Nina tan MURÍ akí Palenge p’uto kandalo baile mueto.*
 ‘Nina will die here in Palenque so that we can perform the baile de
 muerto for her’. (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 111)

1.12. Time

1.12.1. Time 1: WHEN (TIME), NOW, BEFORE, AFTER

KV	KI ÓRA – KI TÉNPU – KI DIA (TÉNPU), GÓSI/GOSI(N), ÁNTIS, DIPOS
ST	KE OLA – KE DJA (TEMPU), OLA SE – MYOLE – WELE/WELE-WELE, ANTES (PA), ZO/ZAO/ZAWO
ANG	OLA – OLA MA – OLA KUTXI (TEPU), WELE/WELE-WELE, N’DJA, DHAWO
PAP	KI ORA – KI DIA – KI AÑA – KI TEMPU (TEMPU/TEM/TEN), AWOR/AWÓ, ÁNTES, DESPUES
PAL	A KÉ ORA (TIEMBO), AORA/AOLA/OLA – AGÛE, (D)EPUÉ (RI/KE)

Table 14. Time 1.

ANG has several candidates for NOW: WELE (or WELE-WELE), *olawo-olowo*, *aidhen-aié*. *Olawo* is derived from OLA ‘hour’ as is WELE from OLA + *e* ‘emphatic particle’ (Maurer, 1995: 119). Nevertheless, WELE seems less complex than *olawo*. *Aidhen* is composed of AI ‘HERE’ and DHE ‘THIS’. N’DJA is of unknown origin, and behaves like a verb, a fact which may point towards substratal

⁶ Tjerk Hagemeijer (p.c.) considers *xinam* an acrolectal borrowing from Portuguese; according to him, the genuinely creole form is *axifa* ‘like this not’.

origin according to Maurer (1995: 119). ST also has both WELE and MYOLE although the latter seems more frequent:⁷

- (34) ST: *Mmese p(l)a ine-mina bo she MYOLE.*
‘I want your children to get out now’. (Ferraz & Valkhoff, 1975: 26)

In ST, constructions with ZO/ZAO/ZAWO ‘then, after that’ are used rather than acrolectal ANTES (PA) ‘before (that)’ (p.c. Tjerk Hagemeyer).

Finally, it is noteworthy that in KV, ST, and PAP, the interrogative consists of a complementizer + ‘hour’ (or another expression of time, e.g., ‘day’), while the corresponding conjunction is represented by the inverted sequence ‘hour’ + complementizer. In PAL, the conjunction is superstratal *kuando*, which can also be used as an interrogative. Cf. also:

- (35) KV: *-KIL ÓIA bu ta bai? -Di noti.*
‘-When (lit.: at what hour) are you going? -At night’. (Silva, 1987: 362)
- (36) PAP: *KI DIA bo ta kere bo ta haya bo outo bèk?*
‘When do you think you are getting your car back?’.
(Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 36)

1.12.2. Time 2: A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT

KV	MUTU TÉNPU – TXEU TÉNPU, PÓKU TÉNPU, ALGÚN TÉNPU, MUMENTU
ST	YÔ TEMPU, POKO TEMPU, ÛA DOSU DJA, OLA SE
ANG	TEPU MOTXI, TEPU KUTU, ÛA TEPU?, ???
PAP	HOPI TEMPU – MASHÁ TEMPU, POKO TEMPU, PA ALGUN TEMPU, RATU
PAL	LAGGO RATO, POKO RATO – CHITU RATO, (PO) AGGU RATO, RATO

Table 15. Time 2.

This subcategory is problematic, as it is next to impossible finding the primes in the word lists or dictionaries of Creole languages we consulted and occurrences in

⁷ Following Tjerk Hagemeyer (p.c.), we derive WELE from Port. *hora* + *esse* while Maurer (1995: 119) believes the suffix *-e* is the reflex of an emphatic particle of African origin.

authentic texts are far from unambiguous.⁸ In KV, *instánti* is given as a synonym of MUMENTU (Lang, 2002: s.v.), but the latter seems to be more frequent.⁹ In ST, OLA SE means ‘at that time/moment’ while *myole me* is ‘right now’. According to Tjerk Hagemeijer (p.c.), one can also find for instance *n’ome d’ola* ‘suddenly’ (lit: in the middle of the hour).

Our results for Angolar can be considered as tentative at best, and we were not able to find the prime MOMENT in the sources available to us. In PAP, *momentu* also exists, but RATU is more frequent, which is why we chose it as a prime. Cf.:

(37) ST: *N-sa ku telefonia se YO TEMPU.*
 ‘I have had this radio for a long time’. (Ferraz, 1978: 254)

1. 13. Space: WHERE (PLACE), HERE, ABOVE, BELOW; FAR, NEAR; SIDE, INSIDE; TOUCHING (CONTACT)

KV	UNDI/UNDI KI (LUGÁR), LI/ALI, RIBA, BÁXU; LONJI, PÉRTU; LADU, DENTU; TOKA
ST	ANDJI – (KE) KAMYA (KAMYA), (KE) XITU – AI, LIBA, BASU, LONJI, OPE (DI); BODO, NGLENTU; TOKA
ANG	NGA/NGA MA (NGAA), INGE/INGEE/NGE/NGEE, RIBA/DIBA, KOSI; LÔNDJI(RU), BEEGA – KOTA; ???, LÊTU; TOKA
PAP	UNDA (LOGÁ), AKÍ, RIBA, BAHO – BOU (DI); LEU (DI), SEKA/SERKA (DI); BANDA (DI), DEN; TOCHI/TÒCH
PAL	ANDE/AONDE, AKÍ, RIBA, ABAHO; LEHO, SEKA; LAO, LENDRO; TOKÁ

Table 16. Space.

In ST, ANDJI is the superstratal interrogative, while KAMYÁ can also be used as an interrogative. Angolar HERE is complex: INGE and variants are derived from NGAA + emphatic particle *e*. KOSI is of Kimbundu origin (*koxi* ‘id.’). For NEAR, there is BEEGA < Portuguese *barriga* ‘belly’ and KOTA < Kimbundu *hota* ‘angle, side’ (Maurer, 1995: 212, 223).¹⁰ As we will argue below, examples for parallel

⁸ Luckily, especially speakers of Papiamentu answered our plea to correct or complete data after our presentation of this paper at the ACBLPE conference in Curaçao in August 2004.

⁹ Cf. also the argumentation in Travis (2002) in favor of *momento* and against *instante*.

¹⁰ Note that in ST there is *bega-bega* ‘nearly, almost’ (Tjerk Hagemeijer, p.c.).

primes, where one element is from Portuguese and the other is from Kimbundu, are quite typical of Angolar. Cf.:

- (38) KV: *Kuantu es ciga PÉRTU morada Nhu Jhon [...]*.
 ‘When they got close to Mr. John’s place [...]’. (Silva, 1987: 165)
- (39) ST: *ANDJI sabi sa n-e?*
 ‘Where is the key?’. (Ferraz, 1978: 238)
- (40) PAP: *Tin un par di kras RIBA e pòtrèt.*
 ‘There are some scratches on the picture’.
 (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 39)

1.14. “Logical” concepts: NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF

KV	KA, TALVES/ALVES, PODE, PAMODI – PABIÂ, SI
ST	NA... FA, PÔ – TALUVE, PUNDA, XI
ANG	NA...WA, PÔDJA – KATXYÊ, PÔ/PÔI, PUNDA, SI
PAP	NO, TALBES, POR, PASOBRA/PASÓ/PASOMBRA, SÍ
PAL	(NU...) NU, TABÉ, POLÉ, POGKE, SI

Table 17. “Logical” concepts.

In KV, KA is the propositional negator while global negation is expressed by *náu* ‘no’. Likewise, ANG features global negation by *ü – inga*, while the propositional negation is constructed by NA...WA. For the prime BECAUSE, we list KV PAMODI but also PABIÂ, the latter being typical of basilectal KV.

- (41) KV: *M-bay ña kamiñu PAMODI ka tiña nada di bebi.*
 ‘I left because there was nothing to drink’.
- (42) ST: *M-be mu, PÛDA na te nadashi di bebe fa.*
 ‘id.’. (Ferraz & Valkhoff, 1975: 31)
- (43) PAL: *í á jablá asina NU.*
 ‘I didn’t say that’. (Dieck, 2000: 55)
- (44) PAL: *P’í NU ten má monasito [...]*.
 ‘So that I won’t have any more children [...]’. (Dieck, 2000: 70)¹¹

¹¹ For more details on PAL negation, see Dieck (2000).

1.15. Augmentor: MORE

KV	MÁS
ST	MAXI
ANG	MASI/ASI
PAP	MAS
PAL	MÁ

Table 18. Augmentor.

(45) ANG: *Maya MASI txo Dho.*

‘Mary is smaller than John’.

(Maurer, 1995: 52)

(46) PAL: *Un kasa MÁ bonito ese mujé teneba aí bera loyo.*

‘This woman had a most beautiful house on the riverbank’.

ST and ANG also use serial verb constructions with *pasa/patha* ‘to surpass’ to convey the meaning MORE (see above.).

1.16. Taxonomy, partonomy: KIND OF, PART OF

KV	TIPU DI, PÁRTI DI
ST	KASTA, TADA
ANG	KASA/KASTA/KATXA, MBANDA/MBANDJI
PAP	SORTO, PARTI (DI)
PAL	TIPO RI, PATTE RI

Table 19. Taxonymy, partonomy.

For ANG, Lorenzino (1998) gives also *una* with the meaning KIND OF. MBANDA is derived from Port. *banda* ‘side’, MBANDJI from a Kimbundu item with the meaning ‘side, part’ (Maurer, 1995: 229). ST TADA comes from Portuguese *talhada* ‘a piece of something’ (Tjerk Hagemeijer, p.c.). Cf. also:

(47) KV: [...] *es TIPU di jentis* [...].

‘[...] this type of people [...].’

(Silva, 1987: 205)

1.17. Similarity: LIKE (HOW– AS)

KV	KOMU (KOMU – SIMA)
ST	KUMA (KUMA – MO(DU))
ANG	MA/M'MA (MA/M'MA)
PAP	KOMO (KON/KOMO)
PAL	KUMO (KUMO)

Table 20. Similarity.

- (48) PAP: *COMO su dos yiúnan a lamta di nan primera hubentud den e taller ku nan tata [...].*
 ‘As his two sons had grown up since their earliest childhood in the workshop [...].’ (Maurer, 1988: 382)
- (49) PAL: *Miná KUMO ese moná ta miná bondo.*
 ‘Look how this boy is looking at [the two of] you’. (Patiño Rosselli, 1983: 160)

2. Discussion

At this stage of our research, almost all the semantic primes we were looking for have been identified. The lexical elements necessary for constructing the primes are listed in the Appendix, along with the cognates in their respective source languages. Cognates are given in most cases from modern Portuguese and Spanish (Port., Span.), and we have referred to cognates in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish (OPort., OSpan.) only where this is necessary to establish the correspondence.

In those cases where a prime has a dual origin (e.g., ANG THE < Kimbundu *se* < *sai* ‘there is’ or ST *sa ai* ‘is here’, ultimately from Portuguese), the origin of the prime is counted as of non-lexifier origin. In the cases of PAP and PAL, both Spanish and Portuguese are counted as lexifier languages in the Creolist sense of a superstrate language.

After the counts, we arrive at the following results: the semantic primes of both KV and PAL are constructed 100% of lexifier language material. PAP has 9% non-lexifier material, ST 11% non-lexifier material and ANG 19%. Considering the presumed “European” character of PAP, 9% may seem quite high at first; however, it includes items like HOPI and SORTO from Dutch *hoopje* and *soort*, respectively. Compared to Maduro’s estimate that only 66% of the lexicon of the Papiamentu of

his time was derived from Iberoromance languages (Maduro, 1953: 134 quoted in Maurer, 1988: 3), our score of 91% is actually quite high. We believe that the primes reflect the Iberoromance origins of PAP as opposed to later Dutch and other influence more pronouncedly than an overall vocabulary count. The scores for ST and ANG are roughly within the expected range, though somewhat higher than estimates on the percentages of African origin lexical items which are approximately 12-15% for ANG and < 10% for ST (Lorenzino, 1998: 117). On the other hand, our results of 11% for ST and 19% for ANG also include words of unknown origin, which are likely but not sure to be retained from African languages.

In our Introduction, we mentioned that Stanwood (1997) has been the only study done on a Creole language within the NSM framework. However, he restricted his study to mental predicates in Hawai'i Creole English, and therefore his results are not really comparable. Suffice it to say, however, that all the semantic primes he studied were derived from the lexifier language English, which in a certain way parallels our results.

We hope to complete and correct the lists of primes in the future. At this point, we are still left with a number of primes with two candidates. In the case of ANG, it actually seems a defining feature of the language that certain items (and hence, primes) are doubled, that is, a Portuguese-derived item also has an African, mostly Kimbundu, synonym.¹²

We hope that this approach is a way to shed light on Iberoromance-based Creoles from a new angle. We are fairly confident that our results will be of interest to general NSM research.

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¹²The same appears to occur with PAP HOPI/MASHÁ.

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The NSM Homepage:

<<www.une.edu.au/arts/LCL/disciplines/linguistics/nsmpage1.htm>>

Appendix: List of items included in the semantic primes with cognates by language

KV:	MÁU < Port. <i>mal</i> ,	KI ÓRA/TÉNPU/DIA
N, -M, MI < Port. (a) <i>mim</i> ,	GRÁNDI < Port. <i>grande</i> ,	(TÉNPU) < Port. <i>que</i>
BU, -BU -U, BO < APort.	PIKININU < Port.	<i>hora/tempo/dia (tempo)</i> ,
<i>bos</i> ,	<i>pequeno, pequenino</i> ,	GÓSI – GOSI(N) < Port.
ALGEN – ARGEN < Port.	KUNPRIDU < Port.	<i>agora sim</i> ,
<i>alguém</i> ,	<i>comprido</i> ,	ÁNTIS < Port. <i>antes</i> ,
PESÔA < Port. <i>pessoa</i> ,	MUTU < Port. <i>muito</i> ,	DIPOS < Port. <i>depois</i> ,
GENTI-DJENTI-JENTI <	TXEU < Port. <i>cheio</i> ,	MUTU/TXEU TÉNPU <
Port. <i>gente</i> ,	PENSA < Port. <i>pensar</i> ,	Port. <i>muito/cheio tempo</i> ,
ALGUN KUSA (KUSA)	SABE < Port. <i>saber</i> ,	PÓKU TÉNPU < Port.
< Port. <i>alguma coisa</i> ,	KRE < Port. <i>querer</i> ,	<i>pouco tempo</i> ,
KORPU < Port. <i>corpo</i> ,	XINTI < Port. <i>sentir</i> ,	ALGÚN TÉNPU < Port.
ES < Port. <i>este, esse</i> ,	ODJA < Port. <i>olhar</i> ,	<i>algum tempo</i> ,
MÉSMU < Port. <i>mesmo</i> ,	OBI < Port. <i>ouvir</i> ,	MUMENTU < Port.
OTU – OTRU < Port.	FLA < Port. <i>falar</i> ,	<i>momento</i> ,
<i>outro</i> ,	PALÁBRA < Port.	UNDI/ UNDI KI < Port.
UN (emphatic. UMA!) <	<i>palavra</i> ,	<i>onde + que</i> ,
Port. <i>um, uma</i> ,	VERDÁDI < Port.	LUGÁR < Port. <i>lugar</i> ,
DOS < Port. <i>dois</i> ,	<i>verdade</i> ,	LI – AL < Port. <i>alí</i> ,
ALGUN – ARGUN <	FASE – FAZE < Port.	RI < Port. (ar) <i>riba</i> ,
Port. <i>algum</i> ,	<i>fazer</i> ,	BÁXU < Port. <i>baixo</i> ,
TUDU < Port. <i>tudo</i> ,	PÁSA < Port. <i>passar</i> ,	LONJI < Port. <i>longe</i> ,
MUTU < Port. <i>muito</i> ,	MOVE < Port. <i>mover</i> ,	PÉRTU < Port. <i>perto</i> ,
TXEU < Port. <i>cheio</i> ,	TÊN, TÊN < Port. <i>ten, ter</i> ,	LADU < Port. <i>lado</i> ,
BON/BOA < Port. <i>bom</i> ,	VIVE – BIBE < Port.	DENTU < Port. <i>dentro</i> ,
<i>boa</i> ,	<i>vivir</i> ,	TOKA < Port. <i>tocar</i> ,
	MÓRE < Port. <i>morrer</i> ,	KA < Port. <i>nunca?</i> ,

TALVES – ALVES < Port. <i>talvez</i> ,	TUDU/TUDAXI < Port. <i>tudo</i> ,	TEMPU < Port. <i>tempo</i> ,
PODE < Port. <i>pode</i> (< <i>poder</i>),	MUNTU/MONTXI < Port. <i>muito</i> ,	OLA SE – MYOLE – WELE < Port. <i>hora</i> + <i>esse</i> ,
PAMODI < Port. <i>por</i> <i>amor de</i> ,	BWA < Port. <i>boa</i> ,	ZO/ZAO/ZAWO < ?,
PABIÂ < Port. <i>por via</i> <i>(de)</i> ,	MALI < Port. <i>mal</i> ,	YÔ TEMPU < Edo <i>yô</i> ,
SI < Port. <i>se</i> ,	NGLANDJI < Port. <i>grande</i> ,	Port. <i>tempo</i> ,
MÁS < Port. <i>mais</i> ,	PIKINA < Port. <i>pequena</i> ,	POKO TEMPU < Port. <i>pouco tempo</i> ,
TIPU DI < Port. <i>tipo de</i> ,	LONGO < Port. <i>longo</i> ,	ÛA DOSU DJA < A Port. <i>ũa + dos + dia</i> ,
PÁRTI DI < Port. <i>parte di</i> ,	MUNTU/MONTXI < Port. <i>muito</i> ,	OLA SE < Port. <i>hora</i> + <i>esse</i> ,
KOMU < Port. <i>como</i> ,	PENSA < Port. <i>pensar</i> ,	ANDJI < Port. <i>onde</i> ,
SIMA < APort. <i>assim</i> <i>como?</i>	SEBE > Port. <i>saber</i> ,	(KE) KAMYÁ < Port. <i>(que) caminho</i> ,
	MESE < Port. <i>merecer</i> (Ferraz & Valkhoff, 1975: 26; cf. below for ANG),	(KE) XITU < Port. <i>(que)</i> <i>sítio</i> ,
ST:	XINTXI < Port. <i>sentir</i> ,	AI < Port. <i>ai</i> ,
	BE < Port. <i>ver</i> ,	LIBA < Port. <i>(ar)riba</i> ,
AMI/AM/N/M, M/MU/- M < Port. <i>(a) mim</i> , ¹³ <i>me</i> ,	TENDE < Port. <i>entender</i> ,	BASU < Port. <i>baixo</i> ,
BÔ/Ô < Aport. <i>bos</i> ,	FLA < Port. <i>falar</i> ,	LONJI < Port. <i>longe</i> ,
NGE < Port. <i>ninguém</i> ,	PALAVLA < Port. <i>palavra</i> ,	OPE (DI) < Port. <i>ao pé</i> <i>(de)</i> ,
A < Edo <i>a</i> ‘indefinite personal pronoun’ (Ferraz, 1978: 66),	VEDE < Port. <i>verdade</i> ,	BODO < Port. <i>bordo</i> ,
KWA < Port. <i>coisa</i> ,	FE < Port. <i>fazer</i> ,	NGLENTU < Port. <i>dentro</i> ,
UBWE < Edo <i>egbe</i> (Ferraz, 1978: 261),	PASA < Port. <i>passar</i> ,	TOKA < Port. <i>tocar</i> ,
KLOPO < Port. <i>corpo</i> ,	JINGA < Port. <i>gingar</i> ,	NA...FA < substrate,
SE/E < Port. <i>esse</i> ,	SE(N) < Kishikongo <i>se</i> ,	PÔ < Port. <i>poder</i> ,
ME < Port. <i>mesmo</i> ,	ST <i>sa ai en</i> ,	TALUVE < Port. <i>talvez</i> ,
OTLO < Port. <i>outro</i> ,	TE < Port. <i>tem, ter</i> ,	PUNDA < Edo <i>rhunda</i> (Ferraz, 1978: 261),
ÛA < APort. <i>ũa</i> ,	VIVE < Port. <i>viver</i> ,	XI < Port. <i>se</i> ,
DOSU < Port. <i>dois</i> ,	MOLE < Port. <i>morror</i> ,	MAXI < Port. <i>mais</i> ,
	KE OLA < Port. <i>que</i> <i>hora?</i>	KASTA < Port. <i>casta</i> ,
	KE DJA < Port. <i>que dia?</i>	

¹³ See Schwegler’s (2002a, 2002b) suggestions for an alternative etymology for the corresponding item in PAL which may apply to both ST and ANG.

TADA < Port. *talhada*,
KUMA < APort. *coma*,
MO(DU) < Port. *modo*

ANG:

M – N, M, M < Port. (*a*)
mim,

BÔ – Ô, Ô, Ô < Aport.
bos,

NGÊ < Port. *ninguém*,

A < Edo *a* ‘indefinite
personal pronoun’
(Ferraz, 1978: 66),

KWA(I) < Port. *coisa*,

ÔNGÊ < ô + *ngê* < Port.
ninguém,

TE – E – DHE < Port.
este,

ME < Port. *mesmo*,

ÔTÔ < Port. *outro*,

ÛA < APort. *ũa*,

DÔTHU < Port. *dois*,

ÛA-ÛA < Port. *uma*,

TURU – TUU < Port.
tudo,

MOTXI(RU) < Port.
muito,

BWA(RU) < Port. *bom*,
boa,

MA – MALI < Port. *mal*,

NGAI(RU) < Port. *grande*,

TXO < ?,

LÔNGÔ(RU) –

LUNGU(RU) < Port.

longo,

PATHA < Port. *passar*,

PENTHA < Port. *pensar*,
ETA – TA < ?,

MÊTHÊ < Port. *mister*
(Maurer, 1995: s.v.) or
merecer,

ÊNDÊ < Port. *entender*,

BÊ < Port. *ver*,

ENDÊ – NDE < Port.
entender,

FA – FALA – FARA –

VALA < Port. *falar*,

PALAVA < Port. *palavra*,

VERE < Port. *verdade*,

XAZI – ZI < Port. *fazer*,

PATHA < Port. *passar*,

ZINGA < Port. *gingar*,

THE < Kimbundu *se* < *sai*
‘there is’ or ST *sa ai* ‘is
here’ (Maurer, 1995: s.v.),

TÊ < Port. *ten*, *ter*,

VIVÊ < Port. *vivir*,

MUÊ < Port. *morrer*,

OLA/OLA MA/OLA

KUTXI < Port. *hora*,

Aport. *coma*, Kimbundu
koxi ‘interrogative
particle’,

TEPU < Port. *tempo*,

WELE < Port. *hora* +
esse,

N’DJA < ?,

DHAWO < ?,

TEPU MOTXI < Port.
tempo muito,

TEPU KUTU < Port.

tempo corto,

ÛA TEPU ? < Port. *uma* +
tempo,

NGA/NGA MA (NGAA)
< Port. *lugar* + APort.

coma,

INGE – INGEE – NGE –
NGEE < Port. *lugar* + *e*
‘emphatic particle’,

RIBA – DIBA < Port.
(*ar*)*riba*,

KOSI < Kimbundu *koxi*
‘under’,

LÔN DJI(RU) < Port.
longe,

BEEGA < Port. *barriga*
(Maurer, 1995: 212)

KOTA < Kimbundu *hota*
‘angle, side’ (Maurer,
1995: 223),

LÊTU < Port. *dentro*,

TOKA < Port. *tocar*,

NA...WA < Kimbundu,

PÔDJA < Port. *podia*,

KATXYÊ < Kimbundu
kaxi ‘accidentally’,

PÔ – PÔI < Port. *pode*,
poder,

PUNDA < Edo *rhunda*
(Ferraz, 1978: 261),

SI < Port. *se*,

MASI – ASI < Port. *mais*,

KASA/KASTA/KATXA <
Port. *casta*,

MBANDA < Port. *banda*,

MBANDJI < Kimbundu
kimbandji ‘side’ (Maurer,
1995: 229),

MA – M’MA < APort.

coma

PAP:

MI < Port. (*a*) *mim*,
 BO, BO – BU < APort.
bos,
 HENDE < Span. *gente*,
 ALGU (KOS) < Span.
alguna cosa,
 KURPA < Port. *corpo*,
 ESAKÍ (pl. ESAKÍNAN)
 < Span. *este, ese + aquí*,
 MES < Port. *mesmo*,
 OTRO < Span. *otro*,
 UN < Span. *un*,
 DOS < Span. *dos*,
 ALGUN < Span. *alguno*,
 TUR < Span. *todo*, Port.
tudo,
 HOPI < Dutch *hoopje*
 ‘small heap’,
 MASHA – MASHÁ <
 Span. *mucho?*,
 BON < Span. *bon*,
 MALU < Span. Port.
malo,
 GRANDI < Span. Port.
grande,
 CHIKÍ – CHIKITU <
 Span. *chiquito*,
 LARGU < Span. Port.
largo,
 HOPI < Dutch *hoopje*
 ‘small heap’,
 MASHA – MASHÁ <
 Span. *mucho?*,
 PENSA < Span. *pensar*,
 SABÍ – SA < Port. *saber*,
 KE(R) < Span. Port.

querer,
 SINTI < Span. *sentir*,
 MIRA < Span. *mirar*,
 TENDE < Span. *entender*,
 BISA < Span. *avisar*,
 PALAB(R)A < Span.
palabra,
 BERDÁ < Span. *verdad*,
 HASI < Span. *hacer*,
 PASA < Span. *pasar*,
 MOVE < Span. *mover*,
 TIN(I) < Port. *tem, ter*,
 Span. *tener*,
 BIBA < Span. *vivir, viva*,
 MURI < Span. *morir*,
 KI
 ORA/DIA/AÑA/TEMPU
 < Span. *¿qué*
hora/dia/año/tiempo?
 TEMPU – TEM – TEN <
 Port. *tempo*,
 AWOR – AWÓ < Span.
ahora,
 ÁNTES < Span. *antes*,
 DESPUES < Span.
después,
 HOPI TEMPU/MASHÁ
 TEMPU
 POKO TEMPU < Span.
poco tiempo, Port. *pouco*
tempo,
 PA ALGUN TEMPU <
 Span. *por algun tiempo*,
 RATU < Span. *rato*,
 UNDA < Aspan. *unde*,
 Port. *onde*,
 LOGÁ < Span. Port.
lugar,

AKÍ < Span. *aquí*,
 RIBA < Span. (*ar*)*riba*,
 BAHU < Span. *bajo*,
 BOU (DI) < ?,
 LEU (DI) < Span. *lejos*
de,
 SEKA – SERKA (DI) <
 Span. *cerca de*,
 BANDA (DI) < Span.
banda,
 DEN < Span. *dentro*,
 TOCHI – TÔCH < Engl.
touch?,
 NO < Span. *no*,
 TALBES < Span. *talvez*,
 POR < Span. Port. *poder*,
 PASOBRA – PASÓ –
 PASOMBRA < Span. *por*
esa obra,
 SI < Span. *si*,
 MAS < Span. *más*,
 SORTO < Dutch *soort*,
 PARTI (DI) < Span. *parte*
de,
 KOMO (KON/KOMO) <
 Span. *como*

PAL:

Í < Span. *yo*, KiKongo *i-*,
 y- ‘bound personal
 pronoun 1st. sg.’
 (Schwegler, 2002a: 288-
 91, 2002b: 189),
 MI < Iberoromance (*a*)
mi(m), KiKongo *áami*
 ‘my’, *m-* ‘(variant of the)

bound personal pronoun 1 st sg.’, Umbundu <i>ame</i> ‘independent personal pronoun 1 st sg.’ (Schwegler, 2002a: 289, 320, 322; 2002b: 203) BO < APort. & Afro- Portuguese <i>vós</i> (cf., e.g., Schwegler, 2002a: 297- 98) JENDE < Span. <i>gente</i> , (AGGÚN) KUSA < Span. <i>algun + cosa</i> , KUSA < Span. <i>cosa</i> , NKUEPPO < Span. <i>cuervo</i> , É – ESE < Iberoromance <i>esse</i> , MEMO < Port. <i>mesmo</i> , UTO < Span. <i>otro</i> , UN < Span. <i>un</i> , (N)DO < Span. <i>dos</i> , AGGUN(O) < Span. <i>alguno</i> , TO < Span. <i>todo</i> , MUCHO < Span. <i>mucho</i> , BUENO/GUEN(O) < Span. <i>bueno</i> , MALO < Span. <i>malo</i> , NGANDE < Span.	<i>grande</i> , CHIKITIKO < Span. <i>chiquitico</i> , LAGGO < Span. <i>largo</i> , MU < Span. <i>muy</i> , PENSÁ < Span. <i>pensar</i> , SABÉ < Span. <i>saber</i> , KELÉ < Span. <i>querer</i> , SINDÍ < Span. <i>sentir</i> , MINÁ < Span. <i>mirar</i> , KUCHÁ < Span. <i>escuchar</i> , ABLÁ < Span. <i>hablar</i> , PALABRA < Span. <i>palabra</i> , BELÁ < Span. <i>verdad</i> , ASÉ < Span. <i>hacer</i> , PASÁ < Span. <i>pasar</i> , MOBÉ < Span. <i>mover</i> , TEN(E) < Iberoromance <i>tener</i> , BIBÍ < Span. <i>vivir</i> , MORÍ – MURÍ < Span. <i>morir</i> , A KÉ ORA < Span. <i>¿a qué hora?</i> TIEMBO < Span. <i>tiempo</i> , AORA – AOLA – OLA < Span. <i>ahora</i> , AGÜE < Leonés <i>agüe</i> ,	(D)EPUÉ (KE/RI) < Span. <i>después (que/de)</i> , LAGGO RATO < Span. <i>largo rato</i> , POKO/CHITU RATO < Span. <i>poco/chiquito rato</i> , (PO) AGGU RATO < Span. <i>(por) algún rato</i> , RATO < Span. <i>rato</i> , ANDE – AONDE < Port. <i>onde, aonde</i> , AKÍ < Span. <i>aquí</i> , RIBA < Span. <i>(ar)riba</i> , ABAHO – Span. <i>abajo</i> , LEHO – Span. <i>lejos</i> , SEKA < Span. <i>cerca</i> , LAO < Span. <i>lado</i> , LENDRO < Span. <i>dentro</i> , TOKÁ < Span. <i>tocar</i> , (NU...)NU < Span. <i>no</i> + substrate influence, TABÉ < Span. <i>talvez</i> , POLÉ < Span. <i>poder</i> , POGKE < Span. <i>porque</i> , SI < Span. <i>si</i> , MÁ < Span. <i>más</i> , TIPO RI < span. <i>tipo de</i> , PATTE RI < Span. <i>parte de</i> , KUMO < Span. <i>com</i>
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