DID EARLY PAPIAMENTU HAVE PRE-NASALIZED CONSONANTS?

AVAIT LE PAPIAMENTO PRIMITIF DES CONSONNES PRÉ-NASALISÉES?

(Résumé)

En Papiamento, des séquences du type consonne nasale + consonne obstruente sont attestées dans des mots d'origines diverses. La consonne nasale dans ces séquences ne remonte pas aux étymons des formes en question. Le présent article explore la possibilité que le Papiamento ait eu des consonnes pré-nasalisées et suggère une explication de leur émergence par la diffusion de la nasalité, par la pré-nasalisation des obstruentes, et en tant que reflets pré-nasalisés de consonnes nasales. Les séquences actuelles du type consonne nasale + consonne obstruente seraient le résultat du processus de décréolisation, par lequel les anciennes consonnes pré-nasalisées on été réinterprétées comme des séquences du type consonne nasale + consonne obstruente.

Mots-clés: Papiamento, diffusion de la nasalité, pré-nasalisation des obstruentes, reflets pré-nasalisés des consonnes nasales.

1. Introduction

The aims of the present paper are: to show that Papiamentu may have had pre-nasalized consonants; to suggest how these pre-nasalized consonants may have emerged; to discuss the implications of the prior existence of pre-nasalized consonants in Papiamentu for the history of the language and its relationships to other creoles.

The Papiamentu data analyzed below are from dictionaries (Dijkhoff 1994, van Putte-de Windt & van Putte 2005, Kramer 2013) and from descriptions of the language (Lenz 1926, 1927a and 1927b, Lenz 1928, DeBose 1975, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994, Kouwenberg & Muysken 1995). The etyma of Papiamentu words are those indicated in Lenz (1926, 1927a, 1927b, 1928), Bouscholte (1969), Wood (1971), DeBose (1975), Munteanu (1996), and

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Kramer (2013). The following abbreviations are used in the examples: D = Dutch; E = English; F = French; P = Portuguese; Pap = Papiamentu; S = Spanish.

2. The data

Modern Papiamentu does not have pre-nasalized consonants (Lenz 1926, DeBose 1975, Kouwenberg & Murray 1994, Kouwenberg & Muysken 1995, Munteanu 1996, Kramer 2004). However, the language exhibits word-medial sequences made up of a nasal and an obstruent (nasal + stop or, far less frequently, nasal + fricative or nasal + affricate) which occur unexpectedly in a number of forms (including variants) of Portuguese and/or Spanish origin as well as in loanwords from e.g. Dutch, English and French (see Lenz 1926, 1927a and 1927b, DeBose 1975, Dijkoff 1994, van Putte-de Windt & van Putte 2005). Consider first nasal + stop sequences corresponding to an etymological stop:

(1) /mp/
   a. Pap (coll.) *pampel*[1] 'paper' < P/S *papel* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   b. Pap *prensimpal* 'main' < P/S *principal* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   c. Pap (Curaçao) *sumpinja* 'thorn' < P *espinha* (DeBose 1975: 61)
   d. Pap *trompesa* 'to stumble' < P *tropeçar*/S *tropezar* (Lenz 1928: 203)

(2) /mb/
   Pap *pasombra*[2] 'because' < S *para sobra* (Munteanu 1996: 249)

(3) /nt/
   a. Pap *prentende*[3] 'to pretend' < P/S *pretender* (Tinelli 1981: 9)
   b. Pap *primintí* 'to promise' < P/S *prometer* (Lenz 1926: 1028)

(4) /nd/
   a. Pap *kuminda* 'food' < P/S *comida* (Dijkhoff 1994: 91)
   b. Pap *landa* 'to swim' < P/S *nadar* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   c. Pap *mendra* 'to improve' < P/S *medra* (mejorar) (Lenz 1928: 203)

(5) /ng/
   a. Pap *angúa* 'needle' < S *aguja* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   b. Pap *bringa* 'to fight' < P *brigar* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   c. Pap *brongosá* 'to shame' < S *avergonzar* (Dijkhoff 1994: 36)
   d. Pap *hunga* 'to play' < S *jugar* (Lenz 1928: 203)
   e. Pap *fruminga* 'ant' < P/older S *formiga* (Lenz 1927b: 889)
   f. Pap *Minguel* 'Michael' < S *Miguel* (Munteanu 1996: 248)
   g. Pap *nenga* 'to refuse'< P/S *negar* (Lenz 1928: 203)

[1] Variant of *papel*.

[2] Variant of *pasobra* (van Putte-de Windt & van Putte 2005: 336).

[3] Variant of *pretende*.

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Also attested are nasal + fricative sequence corresponding to an etymological fricative:

(6) /ns/
  a. Pap *mansa* 'dough' < P *massa*/S *masa* (Tinelli 1981: 8)
  b. Pap *nanse* 'to be born' < S *nacer* (DeBose 1975: 61)

(7) /nʃ/
  a. Pap *trinsyona* 'to betray' < S *traicionar* (Lenz 1928: 203)
  b. Pap *trinshon* 'treacherous' < S *traición* 'betrayal' (van Putte-de Windt & van Putte 2005: 465)

The following is an example of a nasal + affricate sequence corresponding to an etymological affricate:

(8) Pap *ǰinǰa* 'hedgehog' < Jamaican E *íejag* (Wood 1971: 180)

Finally, nasal + stop sequences may correspond to an etymological nasal:

(9) /mb/
  a. Pap *ember* 'bucket' < D *emmer* (Bouscholte 1969: 109)
  b. Pap *kamber* 'bedroom' < D *kammer* (Lenz 1928: 203)
  c. Pap *kònkòmber* 'cucumber' < D *komkommer* (Dijkhoff 1994: 86)
  d. Pap *number* 'number' < S *número* (Dijkhoff 1994: 106)
  e. Pap *palomba* 'dove'< S *paloma* (Dijkhoff 1994: 109)

(10) /nd/
  Pap *kaminda* 'road' < S *camino* (Lenz 1928: 203)

3. Previous analyses

According to Lenz (1926: 1028), "a menudo nace […] una consonante nasal después de la vocal nazalizada":

(11) a. P *formiga* > Pap *fruminga* (Lenz 1926: 1028)
  b. P/S *negar* > Pap *nEŋá*[1] (Lenz 1926: 1028)
  c. S *prometer* > Pap *priminti* (Lenz 1926: 1028)

Lenz (1928: 203) also mentions spread of nasality "desde la *m* a la vocal *i*":

(12) S *comida* > Pap *kuminda* (Lenz 1928: 203)

These accounts appear to suggest that the nasal consonant /m/ triggers the nasalization of the following vowel (progressive assimilation of nasality), and the latter triggers the emergence of the nasal consonant /n/. Note, however, that the occurrence of progressive nasalization of vowels is invoked only when Lenz (1926, 1928) attempts to explain the occurrence of a non-etymological nasal consonant; otherwise, it is only regressive nasalization of vowels which is explicitly mentioned by Lenz (1926: 1028): "se puede decir que en Papiamento toda vocal seguida de nasal se pronuncia más o menos nasal ella misma". Moreover, progressive nasalization of vowels is not reported in

[1] Where *E* = [ẽ].

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descriptions of Papiamentu. Lenz (1928: 203) further writes that "se puede también anticipar la oclusión nasal, y entonces *n* pasa a *nd*":

(13) *kaminda* < S *caminar* (Lenz 1928: 203)

However, the occurrence of non-etymological [d] cannot be the outcome of "la occlusión nasal" since the stop [d] does not precede the /m/. Finally, the occurrence of a non-etymological [m] or [n] in a number of words listed by Lenz (1928: 203) is left unexplained: these include *agúa* 'needle' < Portuguese *agulha*/Spanish *aguja*; *brigar* 'to fight' < Portuguese *brigar*; *hunga* 'to play' < Spanish *jugar*; *pampel* 'paper' < Spanish *papel*; *trompesa* 'to stumble' < Portuguese/Spanish *tropezar*.

Wood (1971: 180) notes that "an -n- frequently develops, before a consonant medially", but does not specify the consonants before which the non-etymological [n] emerges and provides no explanation for this development.

According to Tinelli (1981: 8), one way in which nasals emerge in Papiamentu is "the progressive nasalization of the vowel *(komĩda*) […] followed by the prenasalization of the following consonant (*komĩⁿda*), and the creation of a nasal consonant (*komĩnda*)". This is illustrated by the forms reproduced below:

(14) a. S *comida* > Pap *kumĩnda* 'food', variant of *kumĩda* (Tinelli 1981: 8)
b. S *camino* > Pap *kamĩnda* 'road' (Tinelli 1981: 8)
c. S *negar* > Pap *nẽŋgá* 'to deny' (Tinelli 1981: 8)

As can be seen, the scenario outlined only applies to the forms in (14a) and (14c). In *kamĩnda*, in (14b), no nasal consonant is created given that the /n/ exists in the etymon, and it is the occurrence of the non-etymological [d] which is need of an explanation. For other Papiamentu forms, Tinelli (1981: 9) posits a "a two-stage nasalization" in which "vowel nasalization was […] regressive, and it occurred across a consonant" and which "is an example of nasal harmonization":

(15) a. S/P *pretender* > Pap *prentende* 'to pretend' (Tinelli 1981: 9)
b. S *avergonzar* > Pap *brongosá* 'to shame' (Tinelli 1981: 9)
c. S *traicionar* > Pap *trinsjona* 'to betray' (Tinelli 1981: 9)

Tinelli (1981: 8) further states that "in numerous other cases, it looks as if the nasalization of a consonant took place over a vowel without affecting it". This process is illustrated by the following forms:

(16) a. S *prometer* > Pap *priminti* 'to promise' (Tinelli 1981: 8)
b. S *masa* / P *massa* > Pap *mansa* 'dough'(Tinelli 1981: 8)

Nasality spreading does not necessarily involve progressive or regressive nasalization of a vowel; nasality spreading is not necessarily a two-stage process, i.e. (i) vowel nasalization, and (ii) consonant nasalization. Also, as already noted, progressive nasalization of vowels is not reported in descriptions of Papiamentu.

The analysis of the forms in (14)–(16) is also inconsistent. It is not clear why the forms in (14) are illustrative of "prenasalization" and the subsequent

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"creation of a nasal consonant"; whereas those in (16) allegedly illustrate "nasalization of a consonant". Finally, Tinelli (1981: 9) writes that "in other cases, the pre-nasalization of a consonant cannot be explained by an assimilation, and may be due to the African "substratum":

(17) a. S *papel* > Pap *pampel* 'paper' (Tinelli 1981: 9)
b. S *aguja* > Pap *angúa* 'needle' (Tinelli 1981: 9)
c. S *jugar* > Pap *hunga* 'to play' (Tinelli 1981: 9)

This is certainly not a phonological explanation. Moreover, African substratal effects may equally well be invoked in accounting for all the other cases, i.e. under (14)–(16).

Munteanu (1996: 248–249) discusses "modificaciones por influencia de las nasales". On his analysis, "debido a la occlusión nasal, se producen varias modificaciones en el cuerpo fónico de las palabras que el papiamento heredó del español y holandés" (Munteanu 1996: 248). These modifications include /m/ > [mb] and /n/ > [nd] (Munteanu 1996: 248):

(18) a. S *número* > Pap *number* 'number' (Munteanu 1996: 248)
b. S *paloma* (P *pomba*) > Pap *palomba* 'dove'(Munteanu 1996: 248)
c. D *kamer* (S *cámara*) > Pap *kamber* 'bedroom' (Munteanu 1996: 248)
d. D *komkommer* > Pap *kònkòmber* 'cucumber' (Munteanu 1996: 248)

(19) S *camino* > Pap *kaminda* (Munteanu 1996: 248)

It is not clear what /m/ > [mb] and /n/ > [nd] mean. This notation appears to indicate epenthesis of [b] and respectively [d], but, if so, it is not clear why they are not treated as such. Moreover, no explanation is provided for the occurrence of an [b] or [d] after an etymological nasal. Munteanu (1996: 248) also mentions epenthesis of [n] and [m], illustrated by the forms reproduced below:

(20) a. S *papel* > Pap *pampel* 'paper'(Munteanu 1996: 249)
b. S *aguja* > Pap *angua* 'needle' (Munteanu 1996: 248)
c. S *bregar* > Pap *bringa* 'to fight' (Munteanu 1996: 248)
d. S *jugar* > Pap *hunga* 'to play' (Munteanu 1996: 248)
e. S *hormiga*/P *formiga* > Pap *vruminga* 'ant' (Munteanu 1996: 249)
f. S *Migue*l > P *Minguel* 'Michael' (Munteanu 1996: 248)

A few remarks are in order here. Firstly, the likely etymon of *bringa* 'to fight' (20c) is Portuguese *brigar* (see also Lenz 1927b: 910). Secondly, Papiamentu *vruminga* 'ant' (20e) is etymologically derived from either Portuguese *formiga* or older Spanish *formiga* (see also Tinelli 1981: 8). Thirdly, no explanation is provided for the epenthesis of [m] or [n] in (20a–f) before a stop.

4. Present analysis

The hypothesis put forth here is that modern Pap word-medial sequences with a non-etymological nasal reflect an older stage of the language, when the inventory of phonemes included pre-nasalized consonants. I suggest that pre-nasalized consonants emerged in early Papiamentu: (i) via spread of nasality

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from another nasal in the word; via (ii) pre-nasalization of obstruents; (iii) as occasional pre-nasalized reflexes of nasal consonants.

As seen in section 2, nasal + obstruent sequences occur in a number of words containing another nasal, as in (1b–c), (3a–b), (4a–c), (5c), (5e–g), (6a–b), (7a–b). Their occurrence can be traced to earlier pre-nasalized obstruents, which obtain via either rightward or leftward spreading of the feature [+nasal] from another nasal in the word:

(21) a. N […] C > ^{n}C
b. C […] N > ^{n}C

where […] indicates that the nasal is not necessarily adjacent to the obstruent. Spread of nasality is attested in Portuguese loanwords in languages with pre-nasalized phonemes:

(22) a. Port *Miguel* > Kikongo *Minguedi* (Lipski 2005: 238)
b. Port *Joana* > Kimbundu *Nzwana* (Lipski 2005: 238)

Spread of nasality is also found in other Atlantic creoles with pre-nasalized phonemes. These include Portuguese-lexifier Angolar, Fa d'Ambu, Principense and Sãotomense, as well as Spanish-lexifier Palenquero:

(23) a. P *galinha* > Angolar *ŋgaɲa* 'hen' (Mané 2007: 272)
b. P *galinha* > Fa d'Ambu *ŋgaɲia* 'hen' (de Granda 1986: 114)
c. P *magro* > Principense *ma.ŋgu* 'thin' (Mané 2007: 183)
d. P *pão* > Sãotomense *mp*õ 'bread' (Mané 2007: 125)
e. S *grande* > Palenquero *ŋgande* 'big' (Parkvall 2000: 40)

Importantly, spread of nasality is attested in two Portuguese-lexifier creoles which exhibit pre-nasalized consonants, Cape Verdean Creole (Lang 2007, Avram 2009, Lang 2014) and Kriyol (Avram 2010), believed to be related to Papiamentu:

(24) a. P *formiga* > Cape Verdean *forminga* (Avram 2009: 89)
b. P *esame* > Cape Verdean *nzámi* 'exam' (Avram 2009: 89)

(25) a. P *teimar* > Kriyol *ntema* 'to insist' (Avram 2010: 206)
b. P *formiga* > Kriyol *firminga* 'ant' (Avram 2010: 206)

Several modern Papiamentu words, (1a), (1d), (2), (5a), (5d), and (5d) in section 2, exhibit a nasal + obstruent sequence corresponding to an obstruent in the etymon, which contains no nasal. The origin of these sequences may well be in early Papiamentu pre-nasalized consonants as reflexes of etymological obstruents:

(26) C > ^{n}C

Pre-nasalized reflexes of obstruents are also found in other languages. According to Lipski (2005: 238), Portuguese "initial oral consonants were frequently […] rendered by prenasalized obstruents" in Kikongo:

(27) a. P *fardo* > Kikongo *mfwadu* 'burden' (Lipski 2005: 238)
b. P *sal* > Kikongo *nsalu* 'salt' (Lipski 2005: 238)

Lipski (2005: 238) further states that "prenasalization of European words originally beginning in oral obstruents was a frequent concomitant of many

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Afro-European linguistic contacts". Also, pre-nasalization of obstruents is attested in other Atlantic creoles with pre-nasalized phonemes, such as Portuguese-lexifier Angolar, Fa d'Ambu and Sãotomense, Spanish-lexifier Palenquero, Portuguese- and English-lexifier Saramaccan, English-lexifier (Jamaican) Maroon Spirit Possession Language:

(28) a. P *graça* > Angolar *ŋgaθa* 'grace' (Mané 2007: 161)
b. P *gato* > Fa d'Ambu *ngatu* 'cat' (Post 1995: 194)
c. P *já já* 'immediately' > Sãotomense *njanja* (Holm 2000: 156)
d. S *dejar* > Palenquero *ndejá* 'to leave' (Lipski 2005: 238)
e. E *pig* > Saramaccan *píŋgu* 'pig' (Parkvall 2000: 40)
f. E *blood* > Maroon Spirit Possession Language *mblada* 'blood' (Bilby 1983: 79)

Significantly, pre-nasalization of obstruents also occurs in Cape Verdean and Kriyol:

(29) a. P *baixar* > Cape Verdean *mbaxa* 'to lower' (Avram 2009: 89)
b. P *soldar* > Cape Verdean *nsoldar* 'to solder' (Avram 2009: 89)

(30) a. P *peitar* > Kriyol *mpeta* 'to bribe' (Avram 2010: 207)
b. P *evitar* > Kriyol *nvita* 'to avoid' (Avram 2010: 207)

Finally, as shown in section 2, examples (9) and (10), in modern Papiamentu forms a nasal + obstruent sequence may correspond to an etymological nasal. This suggests that the early Papiamentu reflex of an etymological nasal may have been a pre-nasalized obstruent:

(31) N > ^{n}C

Although rare, pre-nasalized obstruents as reflexes of nasal consonants are also recorded in other Atlantic creoles with pre-nasalized phonemes, such as Portuguese-lexifier Angolar, Portuguese- and English-lexifier Saramaccan, and English-lexifier (Jamaican) Maroon Spirit Possession Language:

(32) a. P *mesa* > Angolar *mbɛðа* 'table' (Mané 2007: 159)
b. E *night* > Saramaccan *ndéti* 'night' (Holm 2000: 156)
c. E *in* > Maroon Spirit Possession Language *indi* 'in' (Bilby 1983: 81)

In addition, the now extinct Dutch-lexifier Negerhollands may have had "pränasalierte Okklusive" (Stolz 1986: 76) as reflexes of an etymological nasal:

(33) a. D *hamer* > Negerhollands *ha:mbu* 'hammer' (Stolz 1986: 76)
b. D *schoon op* 'all gone' > *skondu* 'entirely (Stolz 1986: 76)

Again, similar reflexes of nasal consonants are also found in Cape Verdean and Kriyol:

(34) P *inimigo* > Cape Verdean *indimingu* 'enemy' (Avram 2009: 93)

(35) P *inimigo* > Cape Verdean *indimingu* 'enemy' (Avram 2010: 211)

To conclude, earlier Papiamentu may have had word-medial pre-nasalized consonants. These can be reconstructed on the basis of modern Papiamentu forms containing a non-etymological nasal. The absence of pre-nasalized consonants in modern Papiamentu appears to be the result of decreolization.

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Pre-nasalised consonants in word-medial position have been reinterpreted as nasal + consonant sequences:

(36) $^{n}C > N + C$

As for word-initial pre-nasalized consonants, these may have existed as well in earlier stages of Papiamentu. However, these would be impossible to reconstruct, since the modern variety does not permit nasal + consonant clusters in word-initial position:

(37) $_{w}[^{n}C > *_{w}[N + C$

where $_{w}[$ is the left margin of the word.

5. Conclusions

Pre-nasalized consonants in word-medial position can be reconstructed for the earlier stages of Papiamentu. Pre-nasalized consonants emerge in early Papiamentu: (i) via spread of nasality from another nasal in the word; (ii) via pre-nasalization of obstruents; (iii) as occasional pre-nasalized reflexes of nasal consonants. These processes do not necessarily involve vowel nasalization, contra Lenz (1926, 1928) and Tinelli (1981). The unexpected occurrence of /mb/ and /nd/ in modern Papiamentu is not the result of epenthesis, contra Munteanu (1996). The absence of pre-nasalized consonants in modern Papiamentu appears to be the result of decreolization whereby the earlier pre-nasalized obstruents are reinterpreted as nasal + obstruent sequences.

Pre-nasalized consonant formation in early Papiamentu reflects the influence of its substrate languages, which include West African and Bantu languages; these languages contain pre-nasalized consonants in their inventory of phonemes (Lipski 1992: 275, 2005: 213–214, 228). The phonology of early Papiamentu appears to have been more "African-like". Parkvall (2000: 40) writes with respect to the occurrence of pre-nasalized consonants in Atlantic creoles that "African phonological rules have evidently in some cases been extended to European-derived lexical items as well". This is confirmed by the Papiamentu data examined in this paper.

Early Papiamentu has been shown to share with Cape Verdean and Kriyol pre-nasalized consonants having emerged via similar mechanisms. Papiamentu is believed to be closely related to these two Upper Guinea Portuguese-lexifier creoles (see e.g. Jacobs 2012, for an overview), but the evidence adduced so far is almost exclusively morpho-syntactic and lexical (Jacobs 2008, 2009, 2014). The occurrence of pre-nasalized consonants in both early Papiamentu and in Cape Verdean and Kriyol provides phonological evidence as well and therefore strengthens the case for an Upper Guinea origin of Papiamentu.

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