

The multifunctionality of Papiamentu *pa* and its similarities with Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese

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The Papiamentu (PA) element *pa* covers a broad array of functions, operating as a preposition, a mood marker and a complementiser. Lefebvre and Therrien (2007) compare the functions of PA *pa* to those of *para* in standard Portuguese (PT), noting that the 15 functions of *pa* they identify do not match up with the significantly fewer functions of PT *para*. In this study, it is argued that the functions claimed by Lefebvre and Therrien (2007) to be shared by PA *pa* and PT *para* are not without questions. Moreover, we offer a comparison between PA *pa* and *pra* in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (VBP), showing that these two elements share all 15 functions identified by Lefebvre and Therrien (2007). Finally, we offer an account as to why this sharp discrepancy exists between the results of the PA *pa* - PT *para*.

Keywords: Papiamentu, Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, Multifunctionality of Papiamentu *pa*, Origins of Papiamentu

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the functional similarities that exist between the Papiamentu (PA) multifunctional particle *pa* and its Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (VBP) equivalent *pra*. No attempts are made here to link the PA element *pa* directly to VBP *pra*, but the purpose is rather to suggest that both might have a common linguistic ancestor. However, it can by no means be dismissed that the multiple functions of the elements *pa* in PA and *pra* in VBP or at least some of them may be attributed to parallel innovations in a context of similar or comparable historical developments within both language varieties.

Papiamentu is a creole language spoken in the Caribbean, mainly in the ABC Islands.¹ Recent studies² have shown that there are direct historical

¹ Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao form the so-called ABC Islands. Papiamentu is the native language of the majority of the population in these islands, and is spoken by some 270,000 speakers. Smaller communities of Papiamentu speakers can also be found in the Netherlands and in the other Caribbean islands of the former Netherlands Antilles (Saba, Sint Eustatius and

linguistic ties between PA and the Upper Guinea Portuguese-based creoles. Therefore, they definitively dismiss the assumptions made by some scholars during the course of the last century that PA might owe its origins to Spanish.³

This paper comprehensively discusses one of the elements that is part of the deeper layers of the PA linguistic structures, namely the properties of the PA element *pa*, in an attempt to shed more light on its multiple functions and possible origins by means of comparing it to its equivalent element *pra* in VBP.

The PA particle *pa* is a function word. In contact linguistics, it is well known that function words, unlike content words, are less likely to be replaced in borrowing or relexification situations (Matras 2007: 31-68), as it happens with creole languages. This is due to the relative semantic transparency of the content words and the relative opacity of the function words (Jacobs 2012: 83). Whereas function words tend to belong to the closed classes of words, a class that does not easily allow the addition of new words to its group, content words usually belong to open classes words and are, therefore, not necessarily but in general, more easily borrowed when compared to the borrowability of function words. Content words are also known as lexical words. They carry lexical meaning and usually include nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, although these last two word classes can in certain cases also be function words. Function words or structure words, on the other hand, carry relatively less lexical meaning and have primarily the function of expressing a grammatical relationship between words in a certain sentence or between sentences. They, therefore, have the purpose of providing a coherent structure to what is being uttered or written. It is also a well-known fact in the mechanisms of language acquisition that function words are acquired after content words (Shi 2007: 1541).

Therefore, given the nature of function words, if in fact there are equivalences and similarities between PA and VBP when it comes to the multifunctionality of the PA element *pa*, then this could indicate that both

Sint Maarten). Papiamentu is an official language in Aruba and in Curaçao, and is recognised by the Dutch government in Bonaire; cf. Kouwenberg (2013).

² There are several studies that have established a connection between PA and the Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa as, for example, the study done by Martinus (2004). One of the most recent and comprehensive ones was done by Jacobs (2012), leaving no doubt about the historical connection that exists between PA and the Upper Guinea Creoles.

³ Maduro (1965), DeBose (1975) and Munteanu (1996) amongst others are prominent scholars who alleged that the roots of PA are to be found in Spanish, dismissing a possible Portuguese origin or influence.

languages might have a common linguistic ancestor, or at least something in common.

2. The PA element *pa* as preposition, mood marker and complementiser

Lefebvre and Therrien (2007) discuss the several functions that PA *pa* can perform and conclude that they clearly exceed those of its standard Portuguese (PT) equivalent *para*. Out of the fifteen functions⁴ they list as surely present in PA, they can only find five that are the same in standard PT. This leads them to conclude that:

the comparison shows that, while the form of the Papiamentu lexical item *pa* is most probably derived from Portuguese *para*, its other properties are not derived from this Portuguese lexical item. Rather, they seem to be derived from corresponding lexical entries in the Papiamentu substrate languages (Lefebvre and Therrien, 2007: 261).

The functions identified by Lefebvre and Therrien are not without question, as will be pointed out in some examples below and throughout this study. They find the following functions for PA *pa*:⁵

A. As preposition

a) it is benefactive, as in (1):

(1) *Lo mi larga e buki pa bo den e kas*

MO 1SG leave EF book *pa* 2SG in DEF house

‘I will leave the book for you in the house.’ (Kouwenberg and Muysken, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

b) it is a particular type of benefactive that means ‘one’s / one’s own sake’, as in (2):

⁴ Lefebvre and Therrien actually mention 16 functions for PA *pa*, but are not completely sure if it also is a case marker or not. They consider the function of *pa* as a case marker when its complement is a possessor or an agent and assume that the features are at least very similar to those of a case marker. Since it is an assumption rather than a certainty, this function will not be discussed here, despite the fact that equivalent constructions can be found in VBP.

⁵ This list below was elaborated by this author and is based on the explanations and examples found in Lefebvre and Therrien (2007: 248-258, 266).

- (2) *Ora ku e trabou ta kla, bo por bai*
hour COMP DEF work be finished 2SG can go
pa bo mes bon
pa 2SG self good

‘When the work is finished, you can go for your own good.’ (Therrien, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

- c) it means ‘in exchange of’, as in (3)

- (3) *Mi a paga veinte guilder pa e bisti aki.*
1SG PERF pay twenty guilder *pa* DEF dress here

‘I paid twenty guilders for this dress.’ (Therrien, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

- d) it means ‘given’, as in (4):

- (4) *Mayoría di e outonan (...) ta mucho karo pa*
majority of DEF cars COP very expensive *pa*
nan tamaño
3PL size

‘Most of the cars (...) are too expensive for / given their size.’ (Kouwenberg and Michel, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

- e) it means ‘on behalf of’, as in (5):

- (5) *Lo mi papia kuné pa bo.*
FUT 1SG talk with.3SG *pa* 2SG

‘I will talk with him for you (i.e. on your behalf).’ (Therrien, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

- f) it means ‘this, that, for this reason, on that account’, as in (6):

- (6) *Ta p' esei mi' n po' laga di hib' e pan p e*
be *pa* that 1SG NEG can leave of bring 3SG bread *pa* 3SG
'That is why I have to bring her the bread.' (Maurer, from de Jongh, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 218)

g) it means 'because of',⁶ as in (7):

- (7) *Pa su bon comportacion su patron ta consider'*
pa 3SG.POSS good behaviour his boss *ta* regard
e mucho.
3SG much
'Because of his good behaviour, his boss has much regard for him.'
(Maurer, from Kroon, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 219)

h) it can be a goal. The goal is a place, as in (8):

- (8) *M' a haña mi ta bai konvoi di binti*
1SG PERF find 1SG *ta* go convoy of twenty
barku fo'i merka pa fransha
ship from U.S. *pa* France
'I found myself going on a convoy of twenty ships from the U.S. to France.'
(Andersen, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 219)

i) it can be a goal. The goal is a person, as in (9):

⁶ Although Lefebvre and Therrien translate the sentence using 'because of', they affirm in their article that "*pa* can also be interpreted as 'because'" (2007: 219). 'Because' would be a conjunction and take a clause, whereas here it takes a noun phrase, therefore 'because of' is more accurate.

(9) *Pedro a manda un karta pa Maria*⁷

Pedro PERF send INDF letter *pa* Maria

‘Pedro sent a letter to Maria.’ (Therrien, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 219)

j) it expresses duration, as in (10):

(10) *Juan a traha pa tres ora*

Juan PERF work *pa* three hour

‘Juan worked for three hours.’ (Therrien, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 219)

k) it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject; disjoint from the main clause subject,⁸ as in (11):

(11) *Mi ta bai paga lus pa nos drumi*

1SG *ta* go switch-off light *pa* 1PL sleep

‘I am going to switch the light off so we [can] sleep.’ (Maurer, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 220)

⁷ In (9) *pa* seems to function as a case marker that marks the dative NP.

⁸ Lefebvre and Therrien explain why they classify *pa* in the examples (11-13) as a preposition, acknowledging that (13) has often been analysed as a complementiser. They argue that “whether the purposive clause complement of *pa* is tensed or not, the lexical item *pa* that introduces it has the status of a preposition” (2007: 220) because, amongst other arguments presented, they note that *pa* in all cases has the meaning of ‘in order that/to’ and in the examples mentioned above *pa* could not be a complementiser, given that it cannot be both a [+T] and a [-T] complementiser. Further, they argue that “if *pa* were a complementiser in (15) [13 in this paper], it would govern PRO, the subject of the embedded clause. Since PRO needs to be ungoverned, *pa* cannot be a complementiser in this context. As a preposition, *pa* governs its complement, that is the whole purposive clause, but not the subject position of this clause” (2007: 221). On the other hand, in (11-13), *pa* could be considered a conjunction, since it is the head of the clause, i.e., the head of CP, not the head of a PP. In any case, the classification provided by Lefebvre and Therrien will be kept in the current analysis given that the main purpose here is to show that equivalent functions can also be found in VBP, independently of how *pa* in (11-13) is classified. For further details, see discussion in Lefebvre and Therrien (2007: 220-221).

- l) it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject coreferential with main clause subject, as in (12):

(12) *Mi a pone un kama den kurá pa mi bolbe*
1SG PERF put IND bed in yard *pa* 1SG return
drumi pafó
sleep outside

‘I put a bed in the yard for me to sleep outside again.’ (Kouwenberg and Murray, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 220)

- m) it selects purposive clauses. Usual infinitival structure, as in (13):

(13) *Mi a bai ‘Job Centre’ pa buska trabou*
1SG PERF go Job Centre *pa* find work

‘I went to the Job Centre to find work.’ (Kouwenberg and Murray, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 220)

B. As an irrealis mood marker

- n) it occurs between the subject and the verb, as in (14):

(14) *Mi tabata pa bai buska dos hamster serka nan.*
1SG tabata *pa* go search two guinea pig near 3PL

‘I was supposed to go fetch two guinea pigs from them.’ (Kouwenberg, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 222)

C. As a complementiser

- o) it is tensed, irrealis/subjunctive, as in (15):

(15) *Hose ke pa Ramon a bai (kaba).*

Hose want *pa* Ramon PERF go (already)

‘Hose wishes that Ramon were gone.’ (Maurer, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 222)

Out of those fifteen functions, Lefebvre and Therrien only find five that have an equivalent realisation in standard PT *para*, namely, the functions (a), (d), (h), (k) and (m) listed above. They rightly establish that the “semantic load of one lexical item [lexical item *pa*] in Papiamentu is divided between several lexical items in Portuguese: *para*, *por* and *a*” (Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 264). Although it is not mentioned explicitly in their article, based on the examples provided, with their comment that “references include work on both European and Brazilian Portuguese” (Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 260), they most probably mean present-day standard European and Brazilian PT, given that all the examples that they present seem to be standard PT sentences.⁹ Moreover, the PT element *para* does not have all fifteen functions of PA *pa*. Some are indeed covered by the PT elements *por* and *a*. For example, the expression of duration shown with PA *pa* in (10) above would be expressed with *por* in PT: *Juan trabalhou por tres horas* ‘Juan worked for three hours’.

3. Papiamentu *pa* and Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese *pra*

However, when we compare PA *pa* to its equivalent *pra* in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, we find that the functions shared by the two elements are the same ones. Of course, this begs the question why this sharp discrepancy exists between a PA-VBP comparison on the one hand, and the PA-standard PT comparison, on the other. Our comparison here will not include the functions shared by PA and PT because these are also shared by VBP, i.e., the functions illustrated in (1, 4, 8, 11, 13). Here, we analyse instead the functions for which they were not able to establish an equivalent between

⁹ This notwithstanding, we note that some of Lefebvre and Therrien’s assumptions for the use of *para* in standard PT do not seem entirely accurate, since there are more equivalent functions than just the five found by them when both standard European and Brazilian PT are considered. For example, the function ‘one’s own benefit’ is expressed with *pa* in PA, and with *para* in standard PT. The VBP example is found in (16) below. The corresponding PT example is: *Estou falando/Estou a falar (de) essas coisas para (o) seu próprio bem*, ‘I am saying these things/talking about these things for his/her/their own good.’

PA *pa* and *para* in standard PT. The comparison will be done with equivalent functions present in VBP.

The first function for which they do not find an equivalent in PT can be observed in the use of PA *pa* as a preposition, taking a particular type of benefactive complement that means ‘one’s, one’s own sake, one’s own good’, as seen in the PA example (2) shown above.

In VBP, where the standard PT *para* can be expressed as *para*, *pra* or *pa*,¹⁰ the same benefactive function can be found, as observed in (16):

- (16) *Só tou falando essas coisas pra seu próprio bem*
 only be.1SG talking DEM things *pa* POSS.2SG self good
 ‘I am only saying these things for your own good.’ (Poggi 2005: 217)

The second function that they did not find in standard PT is that of PA *pa* with the meaning of ‘in exchange of’ when used with the verb ‘to pay’, as illustrated in the sentence (3) above. With the same function as in the PA example (3), it is a fairly common construction in VBP, as can be observed in (17):

- (17) *Paguei um pau pra esse vestido. É o maaais lindo!*¹¹
 pay.1SG.PRF one grand *pa* DEM dress be.3SG.PRS
 ART.M mooost beautiful
 ‘I paid a thousand for this dress. It is the most beautiful one!’

¹⁰ When followed by the definite masculine article *o*, it can also assume the forms *para o*, *pro* and *po*, and the plural forms *para os*, *pros* and *pos*.

¹¹ The VBP *pau* is a slang term like English has the slang term ‘grand’ for a thousand units of a given currency. Literally *pau* means ‘stick, wood’, but the term was already adopted in Portugal to refer to a unit in their now extinct currency Escudo. Probably due to hyperinflation, it became very common in Brazil to refer to *um pau* with the meaning of ‘one thousand units’ of a given currency. In the example above, the author probably means ‘one thousand US Dollars’, since it is about a ceremony that took place in the United States and the dress was probably available for sale in that country. Source: 81st Annual Academy Awards. *Flickr Photo Log*. 17 September 2009. Web. 12 December 2016. <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/cahchocolate/3930093962>>

In PA, *pa* can also be interpreted as ‘on behalf of’, as shown in the example (5) provided by Lefebvre and Therrien above. Again, it also is a possible construction in VBP, as seen here in (18):

- (18) *Ele vai gostar pra caramba, vou*
 3SG.M FUT.3SG like blimey/a lot FUT.1SG
*falar com ele pra você!*¹²
 talk with 3SG.M *pa* 2SG

‘He will really like it, I will talk with him for you (i.e. on your behalf)!’

Although also possible in standard PT, another function not identified by Lefebvre and Therrien is that of the PA preposition *pa* occurring with the demonstrative *esei* ‘that’ producing the interpretation of ‘on that account, for that reason’, as observed in the PA example (6) provided by the authors. Exactly the same applies for VBP, when the construction *pra + isso*, equivalent to PA *pa + esei*, is used, as observed in example (19):

- (19) *é pra isso que estamos aqui: errar*
 be.3SG *pa* that.DEM RELPRO be.1PL here err
*(errar outra vez) e aprender!*¹³
 err another time and learn

‘That is why we are here: to make mistakes (and to make mistakes again) and to learn!’

Another function of PA *pa* for which Lefebvre and Therrien do not find an equivalent in PT is that of it being interpreted as ‘because of’, according to that observed in example (7) above. The equivalent function can also be found in VBP when a construction *pra + possessive* is used as in PA, as seen in (20):

¹² Montini Bonaccorsi, Marcela. *Tira minha paz e o fôlego, só que faz isso parecer muito bom*. Chapter 18, 2015.03.26. <<http://pratefazerlebrardemimill.blogspot.com.br/2015/03/capitulo-18.html>> (Accessed on 2017.05.05)

¹³ Fácil Falar. *Pensador, Frases e Pensamentos*. Olympia Ferraz, 2016.12.12. <https://pensador.uol.com.br/facil_falar/>

- (20) *foi coisa linda, parabéns pra*
 be.PRF.PST3SG thing beautiful congratulations *pa*
sua atitude.¹⁴
 3SG.POSS attitude

‘It was a beautiful thing [gesture], congratulations because of your attitude.’

Another function conveyed by PA *pa* ‘goal’, where the goal is a person, as in the example (9) above. Lefebvre and Therrien claim that there is no such *pa* construction in PT, despite it being common even in standard Brazilian PT. The reason for their claim could be the fact that *para~pra* does usually demand the presence of an article which, however, does not seem to invalidate or change the grammatical and semantic function of the preposition. In any case, the use of VBP *pra* with this function is commonly attested. An example is given in (21):

- (21) *João envia uma carta pra Maria pedindo uma*
 João send.3SG INDF letter *pa* Maria asking INDF
*resposta em chinês*¹⁵
 answer in Chinese

‘João sends a letter to Maria, asking for an answer in Chinese’.

PA *pa* also appears with noun phrases referring to duration, as in (10) above, provided by Lefebvre and Therrien. This same function is also present in VBP. Once more, Lefebvre and Therrien (2007: 263) do establish that “unlike Papiamentu *pa*, Portuguese *para* cannot express duration, as shown by the ungrammaticality of *João trabalhou para três horas (...) ‘Juan worked for three hours’”. As noted above, in this type of construction, *por* is found in

¹⁴ Giro 26 Motos. An assessment of the company done by the reader Rafael Silva. *Facebook*, 2016.05.28. <<https://www.facebook.com/giro26bicicletasemotos/>> (Accessed on 2016.12.12)

¹⁵ HTTP - Entendendo uma negociação de conteúdo via cartas. *Blog de Claudson Oliveira*, 2014.08.12. <http://blog.claudson.com.br/2014/08/12/entendendo-uma-negociacao-de-conteudo-via-cartas/> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

both European and Brazilian PT. However, in VBP, this is expressed using *pra*, as shown by the examples (22) and (23):

(22) *Hoje trabalhei pra um mês todo*¹⁶

today work.1SG *pa* INDF month entire

‘Today, I worked for [the equivalent of] a whole month.’

(23) *Se você quiser o estacionamento pra três horas (...)*

if 2SG want DEF parking space *pa* three hours

*difícilmente encontra, você só encontra pra duas horas*¹⁷

hardly find 2SG only find *pa* two hours

‘If you want to find parking space [in the streets] for three hours, you will not find it, you can only find it for two hours.’

According to Lefebvre and Therrien (2007: 233), “in Portuguese, the subject of the tensed purposive clause selected by *para* cannot be coreferential with that of the main clause”. They offer (12) as an illustrative example from PA. VBP also allows the same structure, where the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are co-referential. The example in (24) shows this:

(24) *Eu fiz isso pra eu mesmo não vê*¹⁸

1SG do.PST this *pa* 1SG self not see

‘I did it for (in order for) me not to see it.’

¹⁶ Tweet by the user Fábio Willian. *Twitter*, 2016.11.30. <<https://twitter.com/fabioowillian/status/804028450105360384>> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

¹⁷ Plano de mobilidade urbana de Praia Grande. Audiência Pública. *Município da Estância Balneária de Praia Grande. Estado de São Paulo. Secretaria de Planejamento*, p. 4, 2016.06.14. <http://www.praia grande.sp.gov.br/planmobpg/documento/REL_AUD_PLANM_OBPG_140616.pdf> (Accessed on 2017.04.18)

¹⁸ Como bloquear sites com conteúdo adulto pelo DNS. *RUclipBR*. Jefferson Meneses. Comment of user Jean Theus, 2014.12.24. <<https://ruclip.com/video/cXosLL1ud-U/como-bloquear-sites-com-conte%C3%BAdo-adulto-pelo-dns.html>> (Accessed on 2018.01.15)

Kouwenberg and Lefebvre (2007: 313) show that PA *pa* can also function as an irrealis mood marker. In this case, it conveys the idea of obligation, “[a]s such, *pa* occurs between the subject and the verb as part of the TMA system” (Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 252-253). Under this configuration, PA *pa* can follow past imperfective *tabata* and present *ta*. They illustrate this with example (14) above. A similar construction is found in VBP, shown in (25) and (26) below. The second example (26) is comparable to the example (14) above, that is, equivalent to PA *tabata + pa + verb + verb*, whereas the first (25) has the VBP construction equivalent to PA *tabata + pa + verb*:

(25) *Eu tava pa buscar informações sobre esse controle*¹⁹

1SG *tabata pa* search information on DEM control

‘I was supposed to search for information on this [remote] control.’

(26) *Eu tava pa ir dirigir uma brasileira na França*²⁰

1SG *tabata pa* go direct INDF Brazilian in.DEF France

‘I was supposed to direct a Brazilian [in a theatre play] in France.’

Another possible combination is one in which PA *pa* follows present *ta*, as seen in (27):

(27) *Huan ta pa yuda mi mañan*

Juan *ta pa* help 1SG tomorrow

‘Juan is supposed to help me tomorrow.’ (Kouwenberg, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 222)

¹⁹ The full, original sentence reads: *Eu tava pa buscar informações sobre esse controle, porque tava a fim de comprar ele pra jogar no Wii* ‘I was supposed to search for information on this control, because I really wanted to buy it in order to play in Wii’. Source: Encontrei meu controle dos sonhos. Comment of the reader Yon. *Revista Retrô Games Brasil, Portal de Notícias e Games Retrô*, 2011.10.05. <<http://www.retrogamesbrasil.com/t30445-encontrei-o-meu-controle-dos-sonhos>> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

²⁰ Perfil Ângela de Castro: uma estrela brasileira no National Theatre de Londres. Interview done by Thais Mennsitieri. *Eleven Culture*. <<http://www.elevenculture.com/index.php/colunas/coluna-de-teatro/590-perfil-angela-de-castro>> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

This construction is also possible in the present in VBP, as observed in the following sentence:

- (28) *o vereador ta pra ajudar de uma forma ou*
 DEF alderman *ta pa help of INDEF form or*
*de outra*²¹
 of other

‘The alderman [city representative] is supposed to help in one way or another.’

Lefebvre and Therrien establish that, as a complementiser, PA *pa* is selected by some verbs: emotive verbs like *ke* ‘want’ and *deseá* ‘desire’; effective verbs such as *perkurá* ‘see to, care for, be concerned for’ and *pidi* ‘ask’; and other verbs like *mira* ‘see, look, behold’, *sòru* ‘take care of, care for’, *bisa* ‘say’, and *di* ‘say’, with both meaning ‘to say’. In the construction with *pa*, these verbs acquire the interpretation ‘to order’ (Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 253-254). Examples (15) and (29) below show this function of PA *pa* as a complementiser:

- (29) *El a bisa nan pa nan bai.*
 3SG PERF tell 3PL *pa* 3PL go

‘He told them to go.’ (Maurer, in Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 222)

The equivalent constructions are also found in VBP, illustrated in (30-31):

²¹ ATA Nº 03/2016 – Sessão Ordinária. Câmara de Vereadores de Irati, Santa Catarina 2016.02.15. www.camarairati.sc.gov.br/uploads/1582/arquivos/729011_ATA_N_01.docx (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

- (30) *Rapaz, Marcelino eu não quero pra ele encostar*
 boy Marcelino 1SG no want *pa* 3SG park / come by
*aqui*²²
 here
 ‘Guy, Marcelino, I don’t wish that he comes by / that he parks [his car]
 over here.’
- (31) *então chamei ele pra ele ir ao trabalho*²³
 then call.1SG.PRF 3SG *pa* 3SG go to.DEF work
 ‘Then I called / told him to go to work.’

Having discussed the relevant functions of PT *para* and PA *pa*, the comparisons examined by Lefebvre and Therrien (2007:215-251) are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of the functions of Papiamentu *pa* and Portuguese *para*, according to Lefebvre and Therrien (2007: 235)

	PA <i>pa</i>	PT <i>para</i>
As preposition:		
is benefactive	+	+
it is a particular type of benefactive that means ‘one’s / one’s own sake’	+	-
it means ‘in exchange of’	+	-
it means ‘given’	+	+
it means ‘on behalf of’	+	-
it means ‘this, that, for this reason’	+	-
it means ‘because’	+	-
it can be a goal. The goal is a place	+	+
it can be a goal. The goal is a person	+	-
it expresses duration	+	-
it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject; disjoint from main clause subject	+	+

²² Mestre Marcelino Azevedo: uma história de resistência contada nas zabumbas do Bumba meu boi. Interview by Letícia Conceição Martins Cardoso. *RIF Entrevista, Revista Internacional de Folkcomunicação* 14(31), Jan-April. 173. <<http://www.revistas.uepg.br/index.php/folkcom/article/download/2037/1436>> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

²³ Meu marido é muito estúpido. *Desabafa*. Comment of the reader GVA, 2015.08.18. <<https://www.desabafa.com/meu-marido-e-muito-estupido/>> (Accessed on 2016.12.13)

it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject; coreferential with main clause subject	+	-
it selects purposive clauses. Usual infinitival structure	+	+
As irrealis mood marker:		
it occurs between the subject and the verb	+	-
As complementiser:		
it is tensed, irrealis / subjunctive	+	-

For our part, we add in Table 2 the results of our comparison between PA *pa* and VBP *para~pra~pa*. The comparison shows a clear similarity in functions covered here.

Table 2: Comparison of the functions of Papiamentu *pa* and Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese *pra~para~pa*

	PA <i>pa</i>	VBP <i>pra</i>
As preposition:		
is benefactive	+	+
it is a particular type of benefactive that means ‘one’s / one’s own sake’	+	+
it means ‘in exchange of’	+	+
it means ‘given’	+	+
it means ‘on behalf of’	+	+
it means ‘this, that, for this reason’	+	+
it means ‘because’	+	+
it can be a goal. The goal is a place	+	+
it can be a goal. The goal is a person	+	+
it expresses duration	+	+
it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject; disjoint from main clause subject	+	+
it selects purposive clauses. Tensed: embedded subject; coreferential with main clause subject	+	+
it selects purposive clauses. Usual infinitival structure	+	+
As irrealis mood marker:		
it occurs between the subject and the verb	+	+
As complementiser:		
it is tensed, irrealis / subjunctive	+	+

In the final section below, we offer some thoughts regarding why there is a high degree of correspondence between PA and VBP.

4. Final Remarks

For their comparison between PT *para* and PA *pa*, Lefebvre and Therrien (2007) seem to use data from the standard varieties of Brazilian and European

PT. Their goal is to examine the extent to which there are similarities in the functions of PT *para* and PA *pa*. Given that, for their comparison, they limit themselves in their use of data to those from the standard varieties of Portuguese, they only find five shared functions out of as many as 17 possible shared functions. As we have noted, even with the limitation of comparing PA *pa* with standard PT data, there are actually more than five shared functions between PT *para* and PA *pa*.

With regard to the possible origins of the other ten functions that Lefebvre and Therrien argue are not shared between PT *para* and PA *pa* (which turns out not to be accurate), they suggest these functions may be due to the influence of the substrate languages, more specifically to the influence of the properties of the Fongbe preposition and complementiser *nú*, and the mood marker and complementiser *ní* (Lefebvre and Therrien 2007: 246). That Fongbe may have played a role in the development of the aforementioned ten functions of PA *pa* is possible, but so is the fact that current standard PT is clearly not the most adequate tool for carrying out comparisons between PA and PT. As we have demonstrated, a comparison between PA *pa* and VBP *para~pra~pa* reveals that they share all 15 functions examined in this study. Based on this, it seems uncontroversial to affirm that the initial layer for PA *pa* was certainly not what today is standard PT, but rather a pidgin or creole form of PT that most probably had the influence from substrate languages, but also from non-standard features of regional varieties of PT and that were spoken in West Africa. This could explain why many of these functions are also present in Upper Guinea PT Creole – cf. Jacobs (2012: 101). In turn, some of these functions in that pidgin or creole form of PT may well have come from substrate languages like Fongbe. In the case of VBP, this substrate influence for the multifunctionality of *para~pra~pa* could also have happened due to the extremely strong presence of African population in Brazil, as demonstrated by Clements who refers to “the strong demographic presence of blacks and *pardos* ‘African-European mixed-raced people’ from early on in the colonization of Brazil until the present day” (2014: 186). However, that this substrate influence is due to Fongbe is nearly impossible to prove.

On the other hand, although not as likely, such functions could also have been influenced by a ‘non-standard’ variety of PT, but not accepted as ‘correct’ according to the rules established for current standard PT. By ‘non-standard’, I mean here that some of the functions not part of the standard today may well have existed in PT before the PT-based creole languages came into being. Only a comprehensive diachronic study within the PT language could confirm or dismiss this possibility. Such a study is beyond the scope and intent

of the present article. However, this would thus mean that the multifunctionality of PA *pa* would be directly linked to PT and Portuguese-based creoles and would not have happened due to a direct influence from a substrate language. If there were influences from a substrate language, an assumption that is reasonable, then these influences are likely to have happened only indirectly in the case of PA *pa*. In any case, when analysing features of VBP and the hypothesis of it being a semi-creole or not, Parkvall and Álvarez López (2003: 137) concluded that, in fact,

muitos dos fatores que separam o PVB do português europeu padrão *podem* ser explicados pelos traços relevantes presentes nos dialetos europeus do século XVI, ou através da evolução interna. No entanto o fato de estes dois fatores possivelmente serem responsáveis por certos aspectos do PVB não quer dizer que seja necessariamente assim²⁴

Many of the examples above from VBP are part of everyday language use by Brazilian speakers. The fact that they are also relatively easy to find in written informal language suggests their widespread usage within VBP. Summarising, the only certainty that arises from all the demonstrated similarities between PA *pa* and VBP *para~pra~pa* is that PA *pa* is undoubtedly historically linked to PT (and not to Spanish), as are the West African Portuguese-based creoles and VBP, given that all their shared properties would be hard to explain otherwise.

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²⁴ Own translation: “many of the factors that separate VBP from the European standard Portuguese *can* be explained by the relevant features found in European dialects of the sixteenth century or through internal evolution. However, the fact that those two factors are possibly responsible for certain aspects of PVB does not mean that it is necessarily so [that it necessarily happened that way]”.

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