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**THE ANGOLAR CREOLE PORTUGUESE OF SÃO TOMÉ:
ITS GRAMMAR AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY**

by

Gerardo A. Lorenzino

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

1998

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January 28, 1998
Date

John A. Holm
Chair of Examining Committee

January 28, 1998
Date

Charles E. Cairns
Executive Officer

Edward Bendix

John Holm

Philippe Maurer

Ricardo Otheguy

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract**THE ANGOLAR CREOLE PORTUGUESE OF SÃO TOMÉ:
ITS GRAMMAR AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY****by****Gerardo A. Lorenzino****Adviser: Professor John Holm**

The primary goal of this dissertation is to explore the question of the genesis and development of the Angolar Creole Portuguese of São Tomé and Príncipe (Gulf of Guinea), off the coast of West Africa. Angolar is the language spoken by descendants of maroon slaves who escaped from Portuguese plantations on São Tomé beginning in the mid-sixteenth century (1535-1550).

Due to the isolation of these maroon communities, their language kept the general structure of Santomense Creole Portuguese, the majority creole spoken on the plantations. Communication between the Portuguese and slaves, and among the slaves themselves, must have been constrained by factors such as first languages (Portuguese as well as Kwa and Bantu languages), exposure to some form of contact Portuguese prior to their arrival on São Tomé (e.g. West African Pidgin Portuguese), their length of stay on the island and their social status (free Afro-Portuguese, houseslaves). Modern divergences between Angolar and Santomense are

the outcome of the lexical expansion and further restructuring which Santomense underwent as the result of its closer contact with Portuguese spoken on the plantations as opposed to differences in grammar and pronunciation which Angolar retained from early Santomense.

On the other hand, Angolar is the result of the partial relexification that Santomense underwent due to the later influence of Kimbundu-speaking Maroons. In this respect, the Angolares' existence away from the plantations was more likely to have favored the maintenance of African languages than remaining on the plantations, where exposure to Portuguese and the increasing role of Santomense as the medium of communication among slaves forced Africans to give up their native languages faster. Furthermore, the rise of the mulatto society fostered the establishment of Santomense as the common vernacular for both slaves and non-slaves. Against this setting, one may understand Angolar as the linguistic result of the Maroons' need to develop a communicative behavior which would act as an in-group boundary maintenance mechanism, providing a symbolic value for the Angolar community and, at the same time, making their language incomprehensible to outsiders, i.e. a secret language.

a Laura

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Ed Bendix's comments clarified my ideas on issues having to do with language contact and its socio-cultural determinants, enabling me to focus more precisely on the issues in the genesis and development of Angolar. His advice contributed significantly to making the Angolares' experience more tangible, with his constant reminders that languages do have speakers.

To Ricardo Otheguy I owe a great deal, especially for his insightful comments on the chapter on lexico-semantics, and for his encouragement.

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The librarians of the Sterling Library at Yale University were always ready to help me locate hard-to-find sources of information about São Tomé and Príncipe. It was only later that I realized I was following, quite literally, the footsteps of two pioneers in creoles studies, Addison Van Name and John Reinecke; though separated by nearly seventy years, they had also relied on the Sterling Library.

Gerhard Seibert sent me a Portuguese translation of Greeff's articles as well as a census of São Tomé and Príncipe, which I greatly appreciate.

My first fieldwork trip was possible thanks to a predoctoral fellowship from the Social Science Research Council, for which I would like to acknowledge my gratitude.

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New Haven, Connecticut
Christmas 1997

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear text samples to indicate the grammatical categories listed below. The most frequent language names used are abbreviated below as well.

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
AN	Angolar Creole Portuguese
ANT	anterior
COGV	cognitive verb
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
CPL	completive
CV	Cape Verdean Creole Portuguese
DEM	demonstrative
EXT	existential
FA	Fa d'Ambu (Annobonese)
FEM	femenine
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IMM FUT	immediate future
IND	indeterminate
INT	intensifier
INTR	interjection
IRR	irrealis
ITR	iterative
LOC	locative
MV	main verb
PERV	perception verb
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PR	Principense Creole Portuguese
PROG	progressive
QUOT	quotative
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
ST	Santomense Creole Portuguese
STP	São Tomé and Príncipe
TMA	tense-mood-aspect
UNM	unmarked
∅	zero morpheme

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. General outline

1.1.1. Goals of the dissertation

This dissertation is concerned with the question of the genesis and development of Angolar Creole Portuguese spoken on the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, off the coast of West Africa. Angolar is the language spoken by descendants of maroon slaves who escaped from Portuguese plantations on São Tomé beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. The historical reason for the formation of a distinct Angolar community is connected to what happened on the plantations. They not only absorbed the vast majority of slaves and shaped social relations between Portuguese landowners and African slaves but, more importantly linguistically, were where Santomense Creole Portuguese (ST) developed and where the slaves who contributed to the formation of Angolar Creole Portuguese (AN) originated. Thus, the approach adopted here in the collection and analysis of the data is contrastive, comparing the two creoles by linguistic level (phonology, lexico-semantics and morphosyntax) since it will prove illuminating to examine the types of linguistic processes that shaped the language of the Angolares in light of their separation from the plantation system and their resistance to the dominant Portuguese culture. In this respect, the usefulness of the comparative method in creole studies has been demonstrated by a number of works such as Stewart (1962), Goodman (1964), Alleyne (1980) and Holm (1988), among others. Also,

there are comparisons of creole vocabularies which include all the Gulf of Guinea creoles (Hancock 1975:224-7) and Santomense (Taylor 1977:254-6).

While the general significance of Angolar to theory in creoles studies (e.g. creole genesis) will be treated below (see §1.3), the contribution of the comparative part of this dissertation, which deals with the various components of Angolar vis-à-vis Santomense, is significant for three reasons.

First, to date there has been no attempt to study systematically the linguistic differences between Angolar and Santomense, although a description of each creole is available (Ivens Ferraz 1979 for Santomense, Maurer 1995 for Angolar). A review of the literature on Angolar and Santomense (see §1.2) reveals the absence of a comprehensive study dealing with the linguistic relationship between the two languages, except for passing references in Ivens Ferraz (1976, 1983, 1987b), in which he suggests a common origin for all the Gulf of Guinea creoles without an explicit account of how it might have happened.

Secondly, this dissertation constitutes the first detailed comparison at the diachronic level addressing the question of the genesis of two of the four Portuguese-based creoles spoken in the Gulf of Guinea. A comparative overview that includes the other two Gulf of Guinea creoles, Principense (spoken on Príncipe Island) and Fa d'Ambu (also called Annobonese, spoken on Annobom Island), is beyond the scope of this study. The present

comparison has a twofold importance: it will not only aid in reaching the conclusions of this study but it will contribute to a unified theory to account for the genesis and development of all the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese-based creoles, casting light on their linguistic relationship.

Third, the present linguistic analysis is the broadest yet attempted, based on the identification and evaluation of sociohistorical factors likely to have affected the development of Angolar and Santomense. In particular, the history of the creoles is explicitly related to some of the events that were crucial in shaping the social history of the island.

The justification of the comparative method becomes more apparent in view of the lack of historical information on the previous stages of the creoles examined here. That is, the present-day similarities and differences between Angolar and Santomense are often suggestive of an earlier common history. Although it is not the primary intention of this study to evaluate the validity of current theories of pidginization and creolization, the knowledge that has accumulated in this field over the last thirty years or so --especially of the Atlantic creoles as linguistic products of a shared history of European expansion-- provides at least a conceptual framework for analyzing the linguistic situation in São Tomé in regards to some of the vexing questions in the field, e.g. to what extent the structure similarities among the Atlantic creoles were influenced by their superstrates and substrates or universals such as imperfect second-language learning,

innatism or biologically constrained input, etc., or by convergence of some of all these factors.

1.1.2. Structure of the dissertation

Chapter two, “Sociolinguistic history of the Angolares”, explores the social and historical conditions that led to the emergence of the Angolares as a distinct ethnolinguistic group. This chapter throws light on the issue of the emergence of the Angolar language based on the social and historical setting which conditioned the formation of group identity among its speakers. This overview of the social history of São Tomé and, in particular, that of the Angolares, provides the background to the discussion in Chapter 6 of the possible theoretical model for the origin and development of the Angolar language.

Chapter three, “Phonology”, is the first of a three-chapter sequence comparing Angolar and Santomense linguistic features. It describes the phonemic inventory of Angolar, phonetically conditioned variation (e.g. nasalization), phonotactics (consonant cluster reduction) and suprasegmentals.

Chapter four, “Lexicosemantics”, focuses on the similarities and differences between Angolar and Santomense in terms of both vocabulary and word meaning. Lexicosemantics furnishes important linguistic evidence for resolving the question of the historical relationship between these two

creoles, the theme dealt with in Chapter 6. There is a discussion of Portuguese and substrate lexical influence on Angolar, with special emphasis on the relative contributions of Bantu and Kwa languages, and processes such as semantic changes, calques and reduplication.

Angolar and Santomense have many morphosyntactic features in common, suggesting a shared history during their development. Chapter five, "Morphosyntax", provides a structural description of Angolar, and whenever applicable, its points of divergence from Santomense. This chapter focuses primarily on the noun phrase and the verb phrase.

Finally, Chapter six, "The origin and development of Angolar", provides a summary and evaluation of this study's findings. Its main goal is to synthesize all the linguistic and sociohistorical data presented in Chapters (two to five) in order to determine the historical scenario most likely to explain the synchronic linguistic differences between Angolar and Santomense.

1.2. Review of the literature

1.2.1. The Creole Portuguese of the Gulf of Guinea

The study of the Portuguese-based creoles spoken in West Africa was largely neglected until recently despite their being at the center of the debate about the genesis of the Atlantic creoles that went on in the 1960s and 1970s. The monogenetic theory claimed that all Atlantic creoles, regardless

of their European lexifier, derive ultimately from the Pidgin Portuguese used on the West African coast from the 15th to 17th centuries between the Portuguese (e.g. traders and soldiers) and the local populations. Later on, the relexification of this West African pidgin on the plantations of the New World led to changes mostly in the lexicon, but not in the structure of the relexified varieties (cf. Whinnom 1965, Voorhoeve 1973). Thus the common features among creoles with different European lexifiers are explained, e.g. the use of preverbal markers to indicate tense, mood and aspect.

The limited number of studies on Portuguese-based creoles, compared to other European lexified creoles, is even more apparent when it comes to Angolar, Santomense, Principense and Fa d'Ambu, the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles -also called the Lower Guinea Creoles, following Ivens Ferraz (1987b)-, who thus distinguished them from the Upper Guinea Portuguese creoles spoken to the north in the Cape Verde Islands, Guinea-Bissau and the Casamance area in the southwestern part of neighboring Senegal.

The *Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Reinecke et al. 1975) includes only sixteen references to articles on the Portuguese-based creoles spoken in São Tomé and Príncipe (four entries for Annobom), many being folklore texts and historical descriptions (e.g. Tenreiro 1961 and Reis 1965; see also César 1968 not included in the *Bibliography*). That figure is even lower than those for Cape Verde Portuguese Creole (91 references) and Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese (21 references). Of course, there

were significantly more references for creoles with other European lexifiers. The *Bibliography* gives an indication of what the situation was in 1975 regarding linguistic information about the Gulf of Guinea languages.

Despite this general lack of knowledge and interest on either side of the Atlantic [including the Portuguese themselves, except for the philologists Coelho (1880-86) and Vasconcellos (1901, 1929)], there were exceptions, like the remarkable pioneering work of the German linguist Hugo Schuchardt, deservedly christened the “Father of Pidgin and Creole Studies” for his contributions to the development of this field (see Markey 1979 and Gilbert 1980 for English translations and critical essays on Schuchardt). For example, Schuchardt (1882:914) suggested that different African substrate (e.g. Mande and West Atlantic vs. Bantu and Kwa languages) are responsible for the differences between Cape Verdean and Santomense Creole Portuguese. Concerning creole genesis, he emphasized parallel development or polygenesis (cf. monogenesis above).

For him:

“... there exists no common Negro creole from which they [i.e. Cape Verdean, Papiamentu, Guyanese Creole French and Negerhollands] could have issued. That is correct. *We have no divergence, but rather a parallelism. They are fashioned out of the same material according to the same plan, in the same style.*” (Schuchardt 1914, cited in Gilbert 1980:95; italics are mine.)

On the issue of substrate influence, Schuchardt began his series of *Kreolische Studien* in 1882 with an article on Santomense in which he argued against Coelho's view that the similarities observed in many creoles can be explained as the result of imperfect second-language learning (e.g. the absence of overtly marked gender, number and case in the nominal and pronominal systems), rather than transfer from their native languages. Interestingly, the Coelho-Schuchardt debate anticipated by nearly a century the parallel one between substratists and universalists (see Baggioni 1991).

“Os dialectos românico-crioulos, indo-português e todas as formações semelhantes devem a origem à acção de leis psicológicas ou fisiológicas por toda a parte as mesmas e *não à influência das línguas anteriores dos povos em que se acham esses dialectos.*”

(Coelho 1880-1886, in Morais-Barbosa 1975:105; italics are mine.)

[The Romance-based creoles, Indoportuguese and other similar languages owe their similarities to the action of the same psychological and physiological laws, and not the influence of previous languages of the people where those creoles are found.]

“Er könnte leicht behaupten, sie seien nicht wesentlich, und mich auffordern, in der Verschiedenheit des Capeverdischen und Santhomensischen einen Reflex von der Verschiedenheit

der nordwestlichen Negersprachen und der Bantusprachen nachzuweisen.”

(Schuchardt 1882:914)

[He [Coelho] could argue easily that they [substrates] are not essential, and could challenge me to prove that the difference between Cape Verdean and Santomense is the result of the differences between the northwestern African languages and the Bantu languages.]

Schuchardt also seemed to have accepted the possibility of the convergence of other factors besides African substratal influence (e.g. superstrate) during the creolization of the Gulf of Guinea languages:

“In the phonetic system of the S. Thomé Creole (and the other two dialects) the work of the Negro influences is distinctly recognizable, and in this manner many a coincidence with other Negro patois may be cleared up. Here as elsewhere, Negro tendencies coincide rather often with Romance, and *old forms are revived on new ground.*”

(Schuchardt 1882:895-6, quoted in Reinecke 1937:178; italics are mine.)

For example, the nasalization and the simplification of diphthongs in Angolar and Santomense are two phonological properties which may have been the

result of convergent factors as both Old Portuguese and substrate languages had those features (see §§3.1.1.3 and 3.2.4).

After writing an article on Principense (1889) and another one on Fa d' Ambu (1888a), Schuchardt never published anything else on the Gulf of Guinea creoles. However, he wrote more articles on the Upper Guinea Creoles on Cape Verdean (Schuchardt 1888b) and on the Kriyol of Guinea-Bissau (Schuchardt 1888c).

After the writings of Coelho and Schuchardt in the 1880s, there was nearly a total absence of works on the Gulf of Guinea creoles until Barrena (1957) except for Vasconcellos' (1901, 1929) survey of the African Portuguese creoles, which he classified as Portuguese dialects (*dialectes d'outremer* 'overseas dialects'):

"... les Portugais ont été obligés d'apprendre quelquefois les langues indigènes, et les indigènes d'apprendre la langue du Portugal. Le second fait est le seul qui m'intéresse pour le moment, parce qu'il en est résulté la formation des *dialectes créoles*, et d'autres variétés du portugais; entre les uns et les autres, on peut admettre des degrés." (Vasconcellos 1901:157-8; the italics are his.)

(The Portuguese were sometimes obliged to learn the indigenous languages and the indigenous people Portuguese. The second fact is my only interest for the time being because it resulted in the formation of creole dialects and other

Portuguese varieties. One may admit that their difference is one of degree.)

Barrena's monograph on Fa d'Ambu (1957), plus a few publications, mostly anthropological in nature and with most emphasis on the creole vocabulary (Negreiros 1895, Almeida 1949, 1960), complete the earlier literature on the languages of the Gulf of Guinea.

Contemporary published sources during this period convey the common impression that Angolar is Kimbundu or Umbundu, generically referred in Portuguese as *Língua Mbunda* (also called Umbundo, M'bundo, Mbundu Benguella, etc.), spoken in western Angola and the Benguela District. It is one of the six official languages of Angola, spoken by approximately 38% of the population as a first or second language, since Umbundu is a trade language as well (Grimes 1996). Greeff (1882) says about the Angolares:

"The Angolares have retained until today *the Bunda language* brought from Angola on their immigration to São Tomé; it constitutes the only language of communication between tribal members." (cited in Ivens Ferraz 1974:178; italics are mine.)

As discussed in chapter 4, such impression is not without some linguistic merit as Angolar, unlike Santomense, contains a considerable Bantu-derived vocabulary.

Though one cannot exclude the possibility that an African language was still spoken among the Angolares in the 1880s, it is also possible that Greeff might have been referring to the Kimbundu or Umbundu of indentured laborers who, after the abolition of slavery in the 1860s, replaced the local workforce on the plantations (see §2.1.3.3).

A better assessment of Angolar is that of Negreiros (1895) who recognized AN's similarities to Santomense, notwithstanding the lexical differences between the two languages:

"The language spoken by them [Angolares] is *a mixture of the dialect of São Tomé ... and N'bundo...* They alter the words of the native dialect in a special way, complying with the fundamental precepts derived from this dialect and from N'bundo." (quoted in Ivens Ferraz 1974:178; my italics.)

In a similar assessment of Angolar, Vasconcellos (1901:188-9) presented the Angolar numerals as a clear result of Kimbundu influence (see §4.1.2.1).

Reinecke's survey of "marginal languages" (1937) includes some descriptive paragraphs on the Creole Portuguese of the Gulf of Guinea. Like Negreiros and Vasconcellos, he described the Angolares as speakers of both a Bantu language and Santomense ("the Creole Portuguese"):

"The Angolares number about 2000 and are now on good terms with the Portuguese, sometimes working for the plantations. *They retain their Bundu language* (which would

make a very interesting study, partially isolated as it has been for four centuries from the parent dialect), and no doubt *speak also the Creole Portuguese.*"

(Reinecke 1937:172-3; italics are mine.)

The particular phonological and lexical features of Angolar in relation to Santomense, which are some of the more salient differences between the two creoles to be discussed in this study (chapters 3 and 4), are pointed out in Rocha (1956):

"A mulher angolar diferencia-se da mulher propriamente nativa [i.e. Forro or Santomense] nos hábitos bastante rudimentares, na entonação e pronúncia do dialecto, onde há muitas e variadíssimas palavras estranhas ao crioulo de ilha de São Tomé." (Rocha 1956:426)

(The Angolar woman differs from the Forro in her rudimentary habits, in the intonation and pronunciation of the dialect, in which there are many words foreign to the creole of the island of São Tomé.)

These initial studies, spanning nearly more than eighty years (from Schuchardt's 1882 article on Santomense to Valkhoff 1966, discussed below) helped fill a gap in knowledge about the Gulf of Guinea languages, even if they sometimes relied on secondary sources for linguistic data. As

for the Angolares, all observers agreed that they had their own history and traditions.

Valkhoff (1966) represents a more detailed linguistic description of the Portuguese creoles of the region. Though his main objective was to investigate the putative influence of Creole Portuguese in the development of Afrikaans in South Africa, the book provides a linguistic analysis and creole samples (e.g. proverbs and parallel sentences of Santomense and Principense) which makes it the first comprehensive overview of the creoles and highlights their historical importance for the region. However, there is very limited data on Angolar which Valkhoff still described as a “Bantu language in process of being lusitanized and creolized” (ibid.:114). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy for an understanding of the language and the community that Valkhoff highlighted the secrecy associated with Angolar since “Angolares are very reluctant to use the old language [Kimbundu? Angolar? GL] in public, which is likely to have acquired a *secret character*.” (idem; italics are mine).

Ivens Ferraz contributed significantly to the field by writing articles on all four creoles (1974, 1975, 1976, 1983, 1984, 1987a-b), as well as the first book-length description of Santomense (1979), which still remains the only source of in-depth information on this creole. Ivens Ferraz argued that Angolar must have originated during the first half of the sixteenth century when slaves, who already had some knowledge of the “pidgin or creole of São Tomé” (Ivens Ferraz 1976:34), ran away from the plantations. This

common origin of Angolar and Santomense explained the similarities between the two creoles. For example, he postulated that Kimbundu-speaking slaves were responsible for the larger Kimbundu vocabulary in Angolar while Santomense has a more substantial proportion of Kikongo- and Kwa-derived lexical items (*ibid.*). In this study Ivens Ferraz' lexical argument will be taken up by showing the possible linguistic and sociohistorical constraints that led to such a lexical makeup in the two creoles (see Chapter 4).

Ivens Ferraz's comparative study of the lexicon of Angolar and Santomense was followed by Maurer (1992) showing that 65% of the Angolar lexicon derives from Portuguese, 1% from Kwa languages and 14% from Bantu languages; the other 20% are of uncertain etymology, although likely to have a Bantu origin (*ibid.*:163). He favors a Kimbundu origin for the Bantu-derived words of Angolar; he supports his arguments on the basis of some phonetic correspondences between Angolar and Kimbundu.

Maurer's synchronic description of Angolar's grammar (1995) is significant in three respects:

- (1) It's the first in-depth grammar of Angolar based on fieldwork, notwithstanding Ivens Ferraz's sketch (1974).
- (2) With Günther's study of Principense (1973) and Ivens Ferraz's work on Santomense (1979), linguistic descriptions now exist of all three creoles of STP.

(3) Having data from all three creoles provides additional evidence against which theories of creoles origins can be tested.

The present study made extensive use of Maurer (1995) to compare field data whenever relevant differences will be noted. As noted in §1.1.1, this study differs from both Maurer (1995) and Ivens Ferraz (1979) in that it not only compares all the major linguistic components of Angolar and Santomense, but it also offers new light on their diachronic relationship.

It should be added that a thorough linguistic documentation of the Gulf of Guinea creoles still remains to be achieved since an up-to-date grammatical description of Fa d'Ambu has not been published yet, although the more focused articles by Granda (1984a-b, 1985a-b, 1990) and Post (1993) as well as Post's (1995) overview of the grammar of Fa d'Ambu represent a major advance in that direction (see also Holm 1989, vol. II for a survey of the Portuguese-based creoles).

Two recent articles on Santomense highlight the potential effect that the study of these creoles could have on theories of creolization. Lucchesi's (1993) comparative study on the article systems of Cape Verdean and Santomense attempts to explain the failure of these two creoles to satisfy Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis (1981:56-8), which posits a general distinction between specific and non-specific reference for all creoles, the latter indicated by means of a definite article, which occurs in presupposed NPs with specific reference. Although Santomense has no definite article, it

has an indefinite article and demonstrative adjectives whose overall syntactic behavior deviate from Bickerton's bioprogram model (see §§5.1.2.1-5.1.2.2). A discourse referent introduced for the first time is marked with the indefinite article *u'a*. Later occurrences of that referent requires no further marking (i.e. no definite article), indicating a specific/non-specific distinction, as claimed by Bickerton (ibid.:56). As Lucchesi suggested (ibid.:100), the article system of Santomense may reflect substrate influence, which the bioprogram generally disregards as a significant factor in creolization. A second article by Morais-Barbosa (1992) carries out a grammatical analysis of word categories (verb, noun, etc.) and syntactic categories (noun and verb phrases, predicates) based on a typology of the number and types of minimal grammatical units or morphemes ("monemes"). From his study Morais-Barbosa concludes that "...the Portuguese Creole of São Tomé presents a fairly simple grammatical structure, from the point of view of both morphology and syntax" (ibid.:187). Although he admits that his approach may be applied to other languages (creoles and non-creoles), his conclusion on the simplicity of Santomense grammar must be considered a tentative one until more extensive studies in that functional framework are done for comparative purposes. Green (1988) is another article which can be classified as theoretical, but it is more encompassing in scope since it covers general linguistic features and diachronic processes of all Romance-based creoles (i.e. with French,

Portuguese and Spanish as lexifiers); it includes phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical data from Principense and Santomense.

The Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles have been also of interest to several German-speaking linguists whose work has touched upon them. Matthias Perl and other linguists have contributed to the Afrolusitanist field with studies on the status of Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles in postcolonial Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde Is., Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe.)

Perl (1984) is a brief sociolinguistic description of Portuguese Creoles in West Africa; the latter is included and expanded in Perl (1989), which has a special emphasis on Portuguese-African language contact, with a few incidental sections on the Gulf of Guinea region (ibid.:9, 12, 64-5, 153-5). Other studies address structural and theoretical aspects of the creoles (e.g. the TMA system and substrate influence) as in Thiele (1989) and Ploae-Hanganu (1989), with some reference to Santomense and Principense. A more detailed analysis of the TMA and its origins is found in Thiele (1991a-b), in which she deals primarily with Cape Verdean, although a comparison with the TMA system of Santomense and Principense is also included in the discussion. Her findings support a convergence of Portuguese-derived lexicon with substratal transfer from West African languages in the formation of TMA pre- and postverbal particles (e.g. Santomense [V + *ǰa* 'completive marker']) thus contradicting the claim for the

uniqueness of preverbal TMA particles among creoles (Bickerton 1981:58, 73ff.).

As stated above, the development of creole linguistics, and more generally contact linguistics, has only within the last decade or so begun to have an effect on Afro-Portuguese studies as demonstrated by the increasingly number of publications about Creole Portuguese and the restructuring of Portuguese in Africa. Consequently, it is not surprising that a gap in knowledge still remains regarding bilingual studies in Lusocreole communities where the creole is spoken alongside Portuguese, the creoles of STP being no exception (however, see Espírito Santo 1985 and Fanha 1985 for some considerations of bilingualism in STP and the Cape Verde Islands, respectively). There is nearly a complete absence of quantified research on creole variation and change as the result of contact between Portuguese and African vernaculars (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau; however see Albino 1995); there are only remnants of African languages on STP spoken by the descendants of indentured laborers (see §2.1.2.4). Stolz notes that there is an "urgent need of data-oriented enquiries into the present sociolinguistic situation in Lusocreolophone countries" (1993:477).

A growing interest in the Gulf of Guinea Creole Portuguese is reflected in several critical bibliographies published recently. Bartens (1995) represents the first book-length exposition of the research on Iberian-based creoles (creoles having Portuguese and Spanish as lexifiers),

including sections on the social history and linguistic features of Santomense (ibid.:76-95), Principense (ibid.:99-113), Angolar (ibid.:113-127) and a shorter discussion of Angolar (ibid.:96-99). Couto (1990), though of a more limited scope, is significant for being the first modern overview of Iberian-based creoles written in Portuguese. Finally, a bibliography on primarily the literature and culture specific to STP along with some linguistic comments is found in Caetano da Rosa (1991).

1.2.2. Comparative studies between Upper Guinea and Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles

The Portuguese Creoles of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau (the Upper Guinea Creoles) are better known than those spoken in the Gulf of Guinea, probably as the result of having had closer contact with Portuguese culture (especially Cape Verde) over the centuries, unlike STP, which is farther away from the metropolis and was virtually abandoned during much of its colonial history (see §2.1.2.1). Yet, the available descriptions of the creoles spoken in the area, done to modern linguistic standards provide a good starting point for their comparison. However, it will also be necessary to know which lects are described and the degree of decreolization those lects may have undergone. It is customary for Portuguese creole speakers to describe a Portuguese-influenced creole variety as *lingua lebi* or 'light

language' as opposed to the *lingua fundu* , the deep language or most basilectal creole.

Such comparative studies may throw light on how the Upper Guinea and Gulf of Guinea creoles originated, that is, whether they are all the offshoots of an early Portuguese pidgin spoken along the West African coast which grew into the modern creoles spoken today or whether they developed separately. The sociolinguistic environment and the type of substrate languages which conditioned their development are factors to be taken into account in any comparative analysis of the two regions. Some of these questions, e.g. the role of substrates, are within the scope of this study of the history of Angolar. Hopefully, the comparative method used here to assess the similarities and differences between Angolar and Santomense (and how these may help us understand their genetic relationship) may show the even greater theoretical relevance of a comparison on a larger scale, i.e. cf. the Upper Guinea vs. the Gulf of Guinea creoles.

Some of the references cited in §1.2.1 provide comparisons of different linguistic aspects of the creoles. Early on Reinecke (1937:177), based mostly on Schuchardt's articles and other incidental observations made by travelers, concluded that Cape Verdean and the Kriyol of Guinea-Bissau had a stronger resemblance to Portuguese than the Gulf of Guinea creoles (however, see below). The linguistic similarities between Cape Verdean and Kriyol was recognized early in the study of these creoles (Barros 1897-99; quoted in Ivens Ferraz 1987b:337), but their origin is still

not clear. Their affinities may be due to a number of historical paths of development: (1) the migration of Cape Verdean speakers to the mainland and the later divergence of their creole due to contact with the indigenous languages spoken in Guinea-Bissau (Lopes da Silva 1957:31) or (2) creolization on the mainland with later transplantation of the creole to the islands. One must add that, unlike Cape Verdean, which is the first language of almost all its speakers, Kriyol is a vehicular language for interethnic communication for forty percent of the population (Doneux and Rougé 1988:2).

Later comparisons reach similar conclusions (Morais-Barbosa 1965-66 and Carvalho 1981). Morais-Barbosa (1965-66) shows more Portuguese influence on Cape Verdean than on Santomense and Kriyol, which are set apart on the basis of their phonology (e.g. prenasalized stops) and a vocabulary with a greater number of African words. In morphosyntax, a comparison of the verb phrase (especially the TMA markers) leads him to conclude that in Santomense and Kriyol aspect is more salient than tense (as in African substrates), the reverse being the case for Cape Verdean with a stronger resemblance to Portuguese (*ibid.*: 155-61) (however, see §§ 5.2.1 to 5.2.7). Carvalho (1981) compares several features of the noun and verb phrase of Santomense and Cape Verdean, concluding that the former shows more African influence due to its longer isolation from Portuguese (*ibid.*:13). Also, a detailed comparison of the article systems in Cape

Verdean and Santomense vis-à-vis Portuguese is found in Lucchesi (1993) (see §5.1.2.2).

Ivens Ferraz (1987b) is the first study to compare the Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa and Asia (India, Sri Lanka and Macao). He also contrasts the Upper Guinea and Gulf of Guinea Creoles regarding lexicon (e.g. Portuguese archaisms, calquing and borrowing from African sources, see §§4.1.1.1 and 4.1.2), phonology (e.g. sandhi rules, vowel harmony, see §3.2.4), and grammatical features (e.g. the unmarked pronoun *a* §5.1.6.4), on the basis of which Ivens Ferraz favored the independent origin of the Portuguese-based creoles of West Africa and Asia, supporting the polygenetic theory of creolization rather than the common linguistic source the monogenetic model postulated for all European-based creoles, including those spoken in the Caribbean basin:

“However, the available evidence, it is claimed below, appears to support the view that there is indeed a degree of interrelatedness between the Portuguese Eastern Creoles, but they are unrelated to those of West Africa, and that the latter in turn are not all related.” (ibid.: 337)

As for the Upper Guinea and Gulf of Guinea Creoles, he also claimed they had separate origins (“parallel development”) from the pidgin Portuguese of Cape Verde and São Tomé, respectively, as the many divergencies between those creoles would seem to indicate. However, the creoles within

each region (Cape Verdean and Kriyol versus Santomense, Angolar, Principense and Fa d'Ambu) share many features which point to areal linguistic unity as a result of restricted diffusion, similar substrates and a common history:

“...the four languages show many resemblances because, to a large extent, they grew up together, with slaves and other settlers introduced through the central administration in São Tomé.” (ibid.: 348)

1.3. The relevance of Angolar to comparative studies and theory

A better understanding of the linguistic structure and sociohistorical development of Angolar is sure to cast light on some broader issues in creole studies such as the question of creole genesis, which has been one of the most exciting and controversial issues in the field.

Creoles are the linguistic result of a situation in which people (in this case speakers of Bantu and Kwa languages) were separated from their speech communities and forced to learn the language of a colonizer (the superstrate language, in this case Portuguese). However, the rigid social structure on plantations made it almost impossible for slaves to have adequate access to the superstrate language. Creolization, or the development of creoles, under those sociohistorical constraints, has been interpreted differently in the light of some striking linguistic parallels among

creoles with lexicons derived from European languages (e.g. Dutch, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish), as geographically distant from each other as Palenquero Creole Spanish in Colombia and Angolar in the Gulf of Guinea. Proponents of two opposing hypotheses for creole genesis are, namely, the substratists versus the universalists. A third alternative favors the convergence of both a substrate and universal influence in creolization (Mufwene 1986).

In the case of the Atlantic creoles, substrate refers to the African languages spoken natively by the first slaves who played an important role in developing the creoles. Substratists attribute to African languages a pivotal role in the formation of the creole's grammar (cf. Taylor 1971, Alleyne 1980, Boretzky 1983, Holm 1988, Lefebvre 1996). Based on the structural similarities between likely African source languages and the creoles, it is claimed that successive generations of slaves must have incorporated parts of their native languages (i.e. phonology, semantics, morphosyntax) into the developing creoles. This interpretation is especially convincing when linguistic structures found in both the African and creole languages are lacking in the superstrate or European lexical source language and thus cannot be explained as the outcome of the European language's influence.

The universalist position (e.g. Bickerton 1981, 1984) rejects any significant linguistic input of substrate languages during creolization. In this theoretical model, the common features found in creoles of different bases are attributed to some general and basic cognitive processes whereby

humans acquire language. For the universalist, creoles reflect the most elementary linguistic structure and must, therefore, be the linguistic result of some biological blueprint in the human brain for recognizing and acquiring languages. In this model of creole genesis the children of slaves brought to the New World were the main agents of creolization, which they did with little external linguistic input as they were exposed to a highly variable rudimentary pidgin based on the European lexifier with little stable syntactic structure. Thus the children must have resorted to some biological blueprint shared by all humans which was responsible for the similarities observed among all creoles. Bickerton's proposal, called the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis, has been contested by a number of scholars on two issues: (1) the existence of Hawaiian Creole English well before the arrival of the speakers who, in Bickerton's view, furnished the input language from which children developed the creole (Goodman 1985, Holm 1986) and, (2) the low ratio of children on plantations as the result of low birth rates and, thus, the more active role played by adults in the development of creoles than Bickerton claims (Goodman 1985:115 ff. and Singler 1986:142).

This dissertation on the genesis and development of Angolar will offer new analyses which should help creolists (and, more generally, those working in language contact phenomena), improve our understanding of creole genesis as well as the dynamic relationship between language and society in the genesis and development of new languages, and thus better evaluate the competing hypotheses. Because of its early formation in the

sixteenth century and its long isolation, Angolar offers linguists a glimpse of what the structure of other creoles may have been like at an earlier period before prolonged contact with their superstrate.

The comparative method in creole studies has been applied in a number of works (e.g. Stewart 1962, Goodman 1964, Alleyne 1980 and Holm 1988). The comparative study of Angolar is interesting in two important respects. First, despite the mutual unintelligibility between Angolar and Santomense, mostly due to their lexical and phonological differences (Angolar contains considerably more African-derived lexicon than Santomense, interdental fricatives and no consonant clusters), their morphosyntactic structure is rather similar. Studying more closely the similarities and differences between Angolar and Santomense along with the historical factors relevant to their emergence will offer a way to present hypothetical scenarios for the genesis and development of Angolar.

Secondly, although the existence of Portuguese elements in the New World Creoles was attested for one American creole (Sranan) early on in a pioneering article by Van Name (1869/70:163) and is recognized today by all linguists (Goodman 1987a), the mechanisms of transmission of these features are still not well understood, which led in part to heated debates such as the one between Naro (1978, 1988) and Goodman (1987b) regarding the origin of Pidgin Portuguese in the 15th century. More specifically, the historical connection between Santomense and Palenquero Creole Spanish through São Tomé - an entrepôt for the transshipment of

slaves from Africa to the New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - was documented long ago by Sandoval (1627), a Jesuit priest working in Cartagena de Indias (Colombia):

“... y los que llamamos criollos y naturales de San Thomé, con la comunicación que con tan bárbaras naciones han tenido el tiempo que han residido en San Thomé, las entienden casi todas con un género de lenguaje muy corrupto y revesado de la portuguesa que llaman lengua de San Thomé.” (quoted in Granda 1978:355)

(Those we call the Creoles of São Tomé while remaining on the island have had to communicate with slaves from other barbaric nations by means of a corrupt and broken Portuguese called the language of São Tomé, which everybody understands.)

Sandoval's words led Granda (1978) to investigate linguistic parallels between Palenquero and the Creole Portuguese varieties of the Gulf of Guinea, as a result of which he posits a close genetic relation between the two based on certain features common to both languages (e.g. discontinuous double negators; cf. also §5.2.14). Megenney (1984) and, more recently, Schwegler (1993, 1996a-b, forthcoming) who also addressed the question of the (Afro-)Portuguese-Palenquero connection, favor the transmission of Portuguese features at all linguistic levels into Palenquero

via some form of Portuguese-contact language (pidgin/creole, e.g. Santomense). Further evidence substantiating the claim that pidgin/creole Afro-Portuguese speaking slaves were influential in the formation of the New World creoles is found in Papiamentu, an Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese)-based creole spoken in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (Granda 1978, Megenney 1984), and in Cuban *Habla Bozal*, whose status as a creole (Otheguy 1973, Granda 1978) or an imperfect Spanish register (Lipski 1986, McWhorter 1995) is still unresolved (see Lipski and Schwegler 1993 for a review on this and other questions in Afro-Hispanic linguistics.)

This study of the grammar and sociolinguistic history of Angolar should improve our understanding of the role that creole Portuguese played in the formation of other creoles of the New World (both Iberian and non-Iberian based) not only because of the stability maronage granted the language since its speakers had less contact with the lexifier (as mentioned above), but the synchronic differences between Angolar and Santomense are likely to give us a framework reflecting their differential language inputs (superstrate, substrates), diachronic changes and sociohistorical factors. Insights into the early stages of the São Tomé contact language (pidgin/creole) promise a better historical understanding of the formation and distribution of the Atlantic creoles.

1.4 Explanation of the symbols used in this study

The IPA symbols used in this work are listed in Tables 3.1 (consonants) and 3.2 (vowels) in chapter three. Orthographic symbols have been reduced to a minimum in order to allow a more direct phonetic reading of the language samples. However, no attempt has been made to rendering phonetically detailed transcriptions at the suprasegmental level (tone contrasts, accents, intonational contours); allophonic variation is indicated whenever it is necessary to illustrate a point, e.g. the influence of Santomense on a speaker's Angolar. A morpheme-by-morpheme as well as an idiomatic English translation follow the creole sample. In addition, the dissertation includes two appendices; Appendix I contains a comparative 100-word Swadesh list for Angolar and Santomense and appendix II a number of longer Angolar texts (stories and dialogues) to supplement the shorter ones in the chapters.

This IPA-centered notation thus follows Ivens Ferraz (1979) rather than Maurer (1995), who uses more orthographic symbols, e.g. digraphs such as <th> = /θ/ and <dh> = /ð/, <e o> = /ɛ ɔ/ and <ê ô> = /e o/ (see Maurer 1995:209 for the complete list of his orthographic symbols.)

Further, orthographic conventions include the following:

- Since an indication of nasality by means of a tilde over all the Angolar vowels was not possible due to a limitation of the software used in the present study, a superscript 'n' (ⁿ) indicates nasalization of the preceding

vowel, e.g. /ɛ̃/. The only vowels unaffected by this limitation are /a o/, for which a tilde is used, i.e. /ã õ/.

- A long vowel is represented as a duplicated segment, e.g. /ee/.
- Prenasal stops are indicated by means of /m n ɲ/ preceding the homorganic stop, e.g. 'n' in /nt/.
- Instances of Santomense-influenced Angolar will be indicated as such.
- Unless otherwise identified, all samples of Angolar and Santomense are from my own fieldwork.

1.5 Description of fieldwork on STP

I collected the data for this study during two fieldwork trips to STP. The first one took place in December 1991 and January 1992. This pilot project allowed me to survey the field, collect some preliminary data and, more importantly, evaluate the feasibility of a more ambitious research agenda focusing on Angolar. During this first trip I visited São João dos Angolares and Santa Catarina, two Angolar communities on opposite sides of the island along the coast, to which I returned during a second trip from June to August 1993, allowing me to gather substantial data (recordings of various speech styles, elicitations, questionnaires, word lists). Three consultants, two of them Santomense speakers (Luiz Fernandes and Sum Registo) and the other one an Angolar speaker (Celestino André), helped

me transcribe the recordings, prepare the questionnaires, word lists and overcome logistic problems, in addition to kindly putting up with my numerous queries; without them data collection would have been a nearly impossible task.

Chapter 2: Sociolinguistic History of the Angolares

The question of the origin and development of Angolar presents two main problems: (1) what linguistic processes of change led to Angolar having its general structural resemblance to Santomense along with a high proportion of Kimbundu vocabulary (language focus); and (2) what were the social and historical conditions responsible for the emergence of the Angolares as a distinct ethnolinguistic group (sociohistorical focus). This chapter will deal first with the second problem, providing an interpretative framework for the central question of the emergence of Angolar based on the social and historical environment which conditioned the formation of group-identity among the Angolares. In §2.1 an overview of the social history of São Tomé and, in particular, that of the Angolares, serves as background to the discussion of the possible theoretical model for the origin and development of the Angolar language, which is taken up in §2.2. Some of the questions that will be pursued these two sections are:

1. How did the Angolares' social organization emerge? How did it adapt to the varying pressures from the Santomense-dominated culture? How did it evolve into its present-day forms? (§2.1)
2. Did the Angolares' isolation and separation from the Santomense majority change the language over time? (§2.2)

2.1. Sociohistorical background

2.1.1. São Tomé: discovery and settlement

The island of São Tomé was uninhabited when discovered by the Portuguese; the exact date is not known, although most historians agree that it was most probably around 1470 (Garfield 1992:5). Settlement must have been under way by the early 1500s. A report of the island written in 1506 refers to a white population of 1,000 citizens, many Portuguese convicts, and a slave population of 2,000 slaves (Brásio 1954, vol. 4:34). In addition, São Tomé's role as an entrepôt for the transshipment of slaves had already begun by 1516 as evidenced by the presence of 5,000 to 6,000 slaves waiting to be shipped to other colonies (Hodges & Newitt 1988:19).

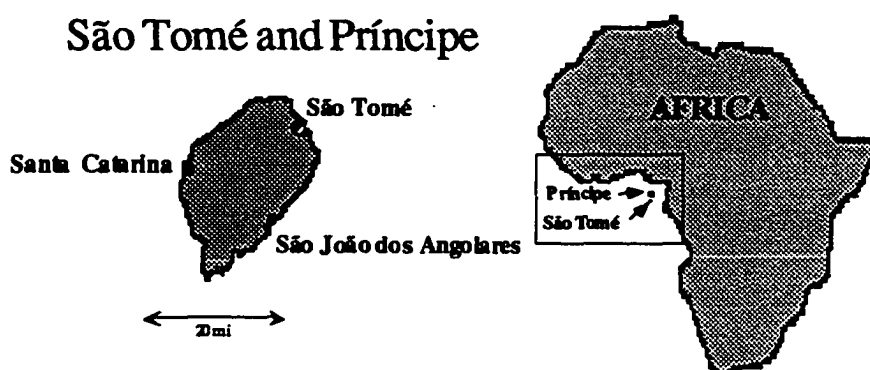


Fig. 2.1: Map of São Tomé and Príncipe

However, prior to its importance as a port in the slave trade (ca. 1650-1800), São Tomé's economy was based on intensive sugar production, for which the massive importation of slaves was necessary. The introduction of

sugar into the island was decreed in 1485 along with the contracting of skilled laborers such as Genoese and Portuguese technicians from Madeira (Garfield 1992:65). Between 1529 and 1570, before São Tome's economy began to decline, sugar exports increased forty times (from 70 metric tons to 2800 metric tons annually) while the number of sugar mills operating on the island increased five times (from 14 to 70) (Hodges and Newitt 1988:20; cf. also Morgado 1957:634-5). During the sixteenth century, slaves were brought from the Kingdom of Kongo, which the Portuguese had been exploring when they came across São Tomé (Garfield 1992:16). However, before Kongo slaves became the predominant group in São Tomé in its early stages of colonization, the Portuguese had engaged in trade with the Kingdom of Benin, from which they imported slaves during the early decades of the sixteenth century (Vogt 1973:456 ff.).

Four events were to have lasting consequences in the formation of the colonial society of São Tomé and its language history. These events could be grouped into two consecutive periods which shaped São Tomé's history, namely, slavery (events 1-3) and indentured labor (event 4):

- (1) There was an intense and relatively short-lived importation of slaves needed for a sugar-based economy during the first century of the settlement (ca. 1470-1570), resulting in a demographic disparity in favor of the African population over the Portuguese (Brásio 1953, vol. 3:188);

- (2) Portuguese colonial policy that encouraged racial mixing during the early settlement period (Brásio 1952, vol. 1:331), leading to the ascent of a racially mixed group. The latter, which owned land and had their own slaves, consolidated their dominance during São Tomé's decline and isolation from Portugal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Garfield 1992:16);
- (3) French and Dutch ships' attacked and occupied the island beginning in the last quarter of the sixteenth century (Negreiros 1895:60, Hodges and Newitt 1988:22-4); during this period there were internal power disputes among the Creoles (i.e. those born in São Tomé), the Church, and Portuguese officials (Garfield 1992:passim); slave rebellions led to economic decline when plantation owners, fearing for the loss of their sugar mills and slaves, opted to leave the island and move to the greater prosperity and security of Brazil (Hodges and Newitt 1988:19).
- (4) The sluggish pace in these tropical islands during much of the 17th to 19th centuries underwent a jolt in the last quarter of the 19th century. Although slavery had been abolished in the Portuguese colonies in 1858, a royal decree in 1869 established that the freed slaves or "libertos" had to remain on the plantations for another nine years (Da Costa 1983). At the time, cocoa and coffee were a source of lucrative foreign exchange for the "roceiros" or plantation owners. However, in 1875 (before the nine-year period had expired) the freed slaves demanded absolute freedom. This led to their outright abandonment of

the plantations, which in turn forced the new Portuguese plantocracy to seek labor from other colonial territories to replace them. As a result, a second and no less important demographic upheaval resulted with the arrival in STP of "serviçais" or indentured laborers from Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde.

These events provide the background for the study of the social history of STP languages in §2.1.2 and their relationship to the history of the Angolares in §2.1.3.

2.1.2. Sociolinguistic distribution in STP: slavery and large scale migration

The role of STP as an entrepôt for the transshipment of slaves to the New World and its own need for slaves to work on sugar plantations both played a role in STP's history and the resulting language development (Tenreiro 1961:59, Pélissier 1979:216). Slaves were taken from two active slave-trading regions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the kingdoms of Benin and the Congo.

The genesis and development of the three creoles spoken in STP (Santomense, Principense and Angolar) must be examined within this framework of population resettlement. What follows is a sociolinguistic description of language distribution in STP. The three creoles spoken in

STP are succinctly described below in order to give an overall picture of the language situation, past and present, in STP; Angolar's history and grammar, especially, its linguistic relationship to Santomense, will be discussed at length in chapters three to six.

2.1.2.1 Santomense

Santomense, the language of the majority enjoys higher prestige since it was first spoken by free mestizos born to Portuguese men and African women; this group climbed to the higher ranks of plantation society by becoming land- and slaveowners. Their consolidation as a distinct group was accomplished during an interregnum initiated when Portugal shifted its colonial interest from STP to Brazil in the late sixteenth century. The vacuum in leadership created when many Santomense sugar planters abandoned their plantations and headed to the New World led to increased opportunities for people of mixed ancestry. During the two ensuing centuries (17th-18th) of relative isolation from the metropolis, a period of STP history called by the Santomense geographer Francisco Tenreiro (1961:75) "o grande pousio" (the great fallowing), the creoles or "filhos da terra" (lit. 'children of the land'), as they called themselves, became the most powerful social group. In regards to STP's comparatively greater social and cultural changes, Tenreiro (1961:18) said:

"...São Tomé é aquela onde a aculturação das gentes foi mais profunda e Fernando Pó, de todas, a mais africana."

(São Tomé is that [island] where people's acculturation [to Portuguese] was deeper and Fernando Pó [is] the most Africanized [island] of all.)

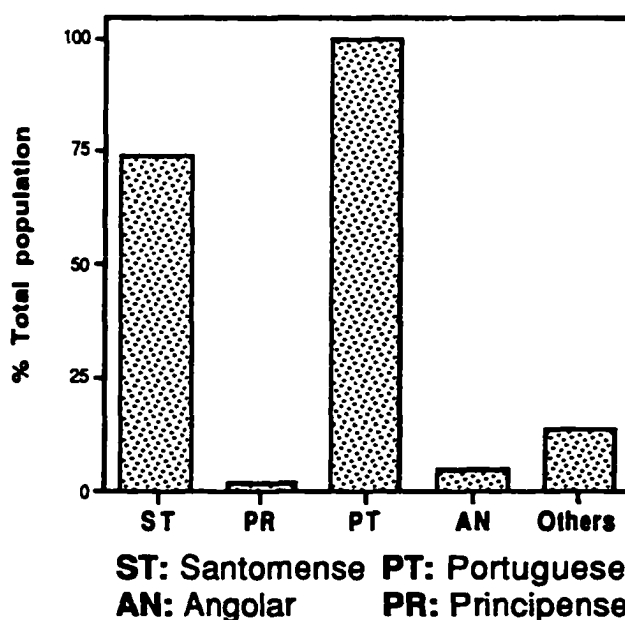
The use of Santomense by such a socially mobile and prestigious group as the *filhos da terra* probably encouraged its diffusion among all groups. However, Santomense must have been already nativized by this period in which São Tomé's economy stagnated, becoming thus the first language for many slaves' children as well as a lingua franca among slaves with a heterogeneous linguistic background. The structural similarities among Santomense, Principense and Fa d'Ambo seem to support nativization of Santomense prior to the economic decline of São Tomé since both Príncipe and Annobom were populated with slaves brought from São Tomé beginning in the sixteenth century.

However, the coffee boom in the early nineteenth century brought about the displacement of creoles short on capital by Portuguese entrepreneurs. In this new socioeconomic order, the Portuguese appropriated much of the land owned by the creoles, who were left with nothing except their common ancestry as a marker of group-identity to set them apart from the slave population.

Santomense has the greatest number of speakers as shown in fig. 2. That numerical supremacy is tied to the historical importance and continuity of many Santomense speakers belonging to power groups (the *filhos da*

terra) and intellectual circles. One example is the creation in 1911 of the *Liga dos Interesses Indigenas* (Deus Lima 1992) in order to protect the interests of the *filhos da terra*; the *Liga* not only shows the extent to which the *filhos da terra* had acquired an identity as a distinct class, but it must also be seen within the general context of the power struggle over land and the degradation of many *filhos da terra* to a landless class. All contributed to Santomense being used between different creole-speaking groups for inter-group communication. Indeed, Santomense is one of the two creole varieties with the status of a national language (the other being Principense; see below).

Fig. 2.2: Language Distribution in STP



(Source: STP, Direcção de Estatística, 1991)

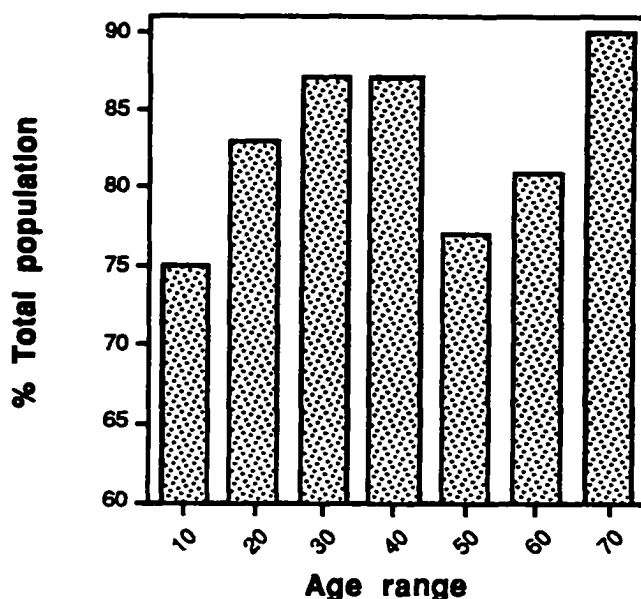
Yet, weekly newspapers, the one radio station and the four hours of daily TV programming are carried on exclusively in Portuguese, notwithstanding the radio news flashes (twice daily) read in the two national languages (Santomense & Principense) and the local music whose Santomense lyrics are on the lips of every child and adult. Attempts to use teaching materials written in Santomense never got beyond the initial stages of implementation, primarily because of lack of resources to finance that project. As for the Portuguese literacy programs and other educational projects begun after independence, their success was marred in part because of the unavailability of enough bilingual teachers and the inadequate sociolinguistic context of a curriculum used in Portuguese schools but oblivious to the special linguistic situation of STP (STP 1986, vol. 2: 46-7, 67, 77-8). However, unlike countries like Cape Verde islands and Guinea-Bissau which had a stronger pro-Creole ideological position, the literacy campaign in STP appears to be more successful (Massa 1984:92).

The extent to which Santomense has expanded to all language groups is not known with precision; pre-independence censuses omit data on creole usage. For example, the *Anuario Estatístico do Ultramar*, which sums up the general situation for Portugal's overseas territories for the period 1875-1975 gives general educational data (literacy figures, number of schools per colony, etc.) but little of substance regarding language distribution. However, post-independence government statistics collected

for the 1981 census offer some sociolinguistic details in terms of the number of speakers per language, age and geographic distribution.

This census shows some trends and patterns regarding language use in STP:

- (1) Figures relevant to multilingualism are given only indirectly, since population numbers always are lower than the total number of speakers per language (STP 1987, vol. 1:90).
- (2) Angolar is omitted in the census. Its speakers are likely to have been included in the category of Santomense speakers, their separate ethnic identity being ignored.
- (3) A conservative figure for the number of Angolar speakers may be calculated using demographic data for villages known for having primarily Angolar speakers, e.g. Santa Catarina, Ribeira Peixe, São João dos Angolares (ibid.:12 ff.). This yields an approximate figure of 5,000 speakers.
- (4) The census also reveals a large number of speakers of other languages. These are likely to be the Tongas since only STP residents were included in the census while indentured workers (i.e. temporary residents) were left out.
- (5) Principense has the lowest number of speakers, even in Príncipe (836/5255, 15.9%) (ibid.:94).
- (6) Bilingualism in Portuguese and Santomense increases among the younger generation as shown in fig. 2.3 (ibid.:90).

Fig. 2.3: Santomense speakers by age

(Source: STP, Direcção de Estatística, 1991)

2.1.2.2 Príncipe

The name of the language (*Lingua le*) derives from PT *ilha* 'island' in reference to Príncipe Island. The history of Príncipe, lying one hundred and sixty miles northeast of São Tomé, has been little affected by the internal divisions of the larger island. Príncipe was populated by slaves brought from São Tomé beginning in the sixteenth century. Its settlement does not differ much from that of São Tomé's, though its smaller size led to the importation of fewer slaves. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century (1844), slaves made up approximately two-thirds of Príncipe's population, the remaining third being whites and mestizos (Pélissier 1979:219).

It's possible that the creole spoken by Santomense slaves served as a model for slaves arriving subsequently in Príncipe. Furthermore, this historical link between Santomense and Principense was probably reinforced by linguistic convergence in view of the similar languages contributing to the formation of Santomense and Principense, that is, Portuguese, Bantu and Kwa inputs. Thus structural affinities permeate the two creole systems. Indeed, the shared linguistic history of the Gulf of Guinea islands justifies grouping them into one language area. A similar claim was made by Ivens Ferraz (1976) about all the Gulf of Guinea Afro-Portuguese creoles as being dialects of a single language. A similar thesis will be sustained here (see chapter 6).

2.1.2.3 Angolar

Angolar is the last of STP's three creoles. Unlike the other two, the origin of Angolar is controversial. The Angolares are thought to be the descendants of Maroons who, on occasions, raided the plantations and the town of São Tomé from the 1550s until the late seventeenth century. Yet, the existence of the Angolares is attested only from the early 1700s onward (Castelo-Branco 1971:151). They enjoyed a relatively independent life outside the plantation system with a subsistence-level economy based on fishing and small-scale agriculture. A tightly-knit social organization helped

to create the Angolares' separate identity, as a badge of which language played a significant role.

The Angolares' lives underwent a major change when the inhabitants of their communities, located mostly in the southeastern part of the island, began dispersing in the mid-nineteenth century (Tenreiro 1961:134, Dias and Diniz 1988:69). Being exposed to the numerically superior Santomense culture and language this must have weakened the internal organization of their group. People describe this acculturation process as *bilá folo* 'to become a Forro' (Almeida 1956:21), it resulted in the Angolares speaking an *Angolar claro*, i.e. Santomense-influenced Angolar. Initially, the Angolares' experience as sailors and builders of canoes (*dongo* in Angolar) builders Greeff 1882), was of use to the plantation owners, who needed a means of transporting coffee and cocoa to shipping ports (Hodges and Newitt 1988:60). Ultimately, the maintenance of Angolar, especially among those speakers who migrated to the city in the last decades, has been jeopardized under the pressure of both Portuguese and Santomense.

For Angolares and Principenses, language still signals group solidarity. A case in point are the Angolar fishermen who live and work near the predominantly Santomense-speaking capital, in the northeastern region of Agua Grande (STP vol. 1 1987:91). Here, an all-Angolar fishermen association and shared ownership of boats and fishing equipment reinforce a social network conducive to language maintenance.

Yet there are factors working against language maintenance among the Angolares. For example, the relatively small size of the Angolar population, education in Portuguese, increased contact and intermarriages with other creole groups (and Tongas), all are causing the retreat of Angolar in favor of Santomense, especially as children of these mixed unions grow up speaking Santomense.

2.1.2.4 Tonga Portuguese

A second major event in the demographic history of STP was the recruitment of contracted labor from Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde. This lasted nearly one hundred years, from the 1870s until the late 1950s. It is interesting to observe that the population in 1827 (7612 inhab.) had remained stationary since the late sixteenth century as a result of Portugal's increasingly involvement in Brazil during the two previous centuries, relegating STP principal economic activity to the slave trade (Morgado 1957:635). STP's population, which had reached approximately 12,000 in the 1850s, increased fivefold to 64,221 inhabitants within fifty years (1906); most was due to the influx of laborers from other Portuguese colonies recruited to work on cocoa and coffee plantations (ibid.:636).

In a country which received so many indentured workers in less than a century, one might ask what were the linguistic consequences of these demographic changes?:

- First, except for the Cape Verdians who spoke one or more of the several creole variants spoken in Cape Verde and had some degree of fluency in Portuguese, many workers only spoke their native languages (e.g. Kimbundu, Umbundu) upon arrival to STP (Clarence-Smith 1990:166) and sometimes interpreters were needed to aid them (Mantero 1910:57).
- Second, plantation workers were initially under five-year renewable contracts. It was not until 1910 that the first laborers began to be repatriated (Hodges and Newitt 1988:62), thus nullifying the practice at the time of "automatic re-contracting" (Clarence-Smith 1990:155). Some of the *batukes* and *pwitas* - traditional songs and dances of the Angolan indentured laborers - reflect what for many of them became a one-way ticket to São Tomé as the following Kimbundu lyrics express (Eyzaguirre 1986:187):

<i>Ko San Tomé</i>	In São Tomé
<i>Kuri o'n bundi o ku nyingira</i>	there is a door to enter
<i>Ka kuri o'n bundi o kupita</i>	but there is no door to leave

- Third, ethnicity played an important role in the socialization practices of contracted laborers. Sometimes, the links nurtured by workers on the ship en route to the islands became one more factor for their association once on the island; in this case, people would refer to each other by saying *ele é meu navio* 'he came with me' (lit. he is my ship) (Tenreiro 1961:191).

- Fourth, the *Tongas* or descendants of the indentured workers had to stay on the plantations where they were born. This was the standard practice until "automatic re-contracting" was forbidden (*ibid.*). And just as the freed slaves were a result of the abolition of slavery, so the *Tongas* were a result of large-scale migration, that is, both were the outcomes of two crucial sociohistorical periods in STP.

Unfortunately, we know little about the language of the *Tongas* except for Rougé's pioneering work (1992) on the African languages (Kimbundu, Umbundu) and the Portuguese spoken by the *Tongas* (*cf.* also Lorenzino 1994, 1997).

Also, the use of Santomense seems to be expanding at the expense of the *Tonga* languages. The shift to the major creole must have started one or two generations ago as indicated by *Tongas* who are sixty or older and who are bilingual in Umbundu and Santomense. Language attrition and loss among *Tongas* under the age of 25 seems clear (Rougé 1992). Two possibly complementary determinants for the description of language use among the *Tongas* are still unclear at this point:

- (1) a factual/evaluative one: what proportion of *Tongas* learn Santomense and Angolar, and how well?
- (2) a theoretical one: what kind of linguistic influence on Santomense, if any, has resulted from contact between the *Tongas* and the Santomense languages group?

The following sociolinguistic considerations might have minimized Tonga influence on Santomense:

- First, the type of language situation which best describes that of the Tongas is one of stable bilingualism, partly supported by a rigid plantation system which fostered demarcation of language domains. This separation was in part due to the typological distance between Santomense and the African languages spoken by the Tongas. It is noteworthy that while creole speakers consider the creoles to be *dialeto*s (Portuguese *dialeto*s), they see the languages of the Tongas as *linguas pesadas* 'heavy languages', i.e. difficult to learn, and not dialects. Originally, Santomense, Angolar and Principense speakers regarded their language a dialect (ST Portuguese /diolɛtu/) or a corrupted form of Portuguese (Morais-Barbosa 1968:235). After independence there was a growing awareness among the intellectual elite of the African contribution to the creoles, an awareness resulting in part from STP's new nationhood and renewed ties to Africa (Espírito Santo 1985:254).
- Secondly, similar experience and similar ethnic and/or geographical roots with their people in Africa helped many Tongas occupy an intermediate role in the plantation social structure, between a small European managerial population and a considerable migrant population. A 1950 census yields the following distribution of agricultural workers by country of origin compared to the Tongas:

Table 2.1: Country of origin of indentured workers in STP in 1950 (Tenreiro 1961:191)

Tongas	2696	11.4%
Angolans	9680	41.0%
Mozambicans	4917	20.8%
Cape Verdians	6320	26.8%
Total	23613	

The freed slaves and their descendants were scornful of plantation life and the Tongas who, thereby, became the unlikely agents for changes in Santomense. This state of affairs continues today, though independence brought forth better intergroup relationships through government policies set out to eradicate social and ethnic divisions (Nazare Ceita 1991:35).

- Third, literacy and the media have played an important role in extending the use of Portuguese as a lingua franca. Its functional distribution, however, does not overlap with that of Santomense (see §2.1.2.5). Moreover, limited urbanization and restricted social mobility, two influential factors preventing competition for the same language domains (Fishman 1972), have done little to dismantle social compartmentalization in STP.

2.1.2.5 Santomense Portuguese

Portuguese remains the only code used in formal situations (government, education, mass media). Among creole speakers it may signal superiority and/or refusal to accept group origins. For example, Santomenses who have returned to the island after living in Angola will continue to speak Portuguese (with an Angolan accent), and avoid the creole to signal the relatively higher economic status and social prestige that traveling abroad confers. This said, changes in Santomense at the group level are most likely to derive from Portuguese rather than from the other creole varieties or the Tonga's ancestral languages.

In the early days of independence Portuguese was officially perceived as a unifying factor for bringing together all groups (Espírito Santo 1985:258). As with other European languages in colonial Africa, Portuguese was used to conduct the day-to-day business of managing an independent nation (nationist function, cf. Fasold 1984:74). However, Portuguese at the time lacked some of the attributes a nationalist function requires, e.g. everyday, unofficial use of the language; symbol of national identity; reasonable number of fluent speakers, etc.

Free education was extended to the entire population; literacy campaigns were launched, sometimes requiring a Santomense-speaking interpreter to facilitate instruction. New schools were built, but a shortage of trained teachers willing to live in the rural areas became a problem. The results of such literacy efforts were not encouraging, at least in the rural

areas, and the government gradually withdrew from such projects (Nazare Ceita 1991:36).

2.1.3 The Angolares

In the few studies dedicated to the Angolares, their history has been linked to the slave rebellions the island underwent throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Otherwise, documentary data on the Angolar community have been almost nil for most of its existence, at least until the last century, in striking contrast to how much more is known about the *filhos da terra*. Indeed, these relatively anonymous existence of the Angolares has carried over to the present day, since postindependence STP censuses failed to grant them independent group status, merging them for statistical purposes with the majority Santomense-speaking group.

In trying to understand the sociolinguistic history of the Angolares and, more importantly, their development as a separate ethnolinguistic community, one must first look into the Angolares' lives in a more general context, taking into account the parallel development of STP as a plantation society. By highlighting the interrelationship between the Angolares and external affairs, it is possible to delineate three basic periods spanning the Angolares' history from their controversial origins to the present time. It will be shown that such a chronological approach for the Angolares has more explanatory power in accounting for the several factors that might have shaped the Angolar language. In what follows, each of the three historical

periods is described, while their linguistic consequences are left for discussion in later chapters. Briefly put, the Angolar community went through an initial period of confrontation (1500-1700), followed by normalization (1700-1850) and a diaspora (1850-present). As mentioned above, those three phases must be understood in terms of the Angolares' relationship with the established power structure of the plantation system of STP.

2.1.3.1 Confrontation (1500-1700)

Slave rebellions are frequently mentioned in documents during this period, yet no mention of the word *Angolar* is found except for a report written by a local priest in the early 18th century (see below). It seems that it was not until much later that the word *Angolar* was applied to any runaway slave, a usage especially common after the early 18th c. In point of fact, earlier on the Portuguese referred to those slaves as *negros levantados* “risen blacks” (Brásio 1953, vol. 3:188), *pretos amotinados* “mutinied blacks” (ibid.:521), *negraria revoltada* “insurgent blacks race” (ibid.:594) or *indígenas sublevados* “rebellious natives” (ibid.:598).

The first recorded slave rebellion in STP took place on a sugar plantation in 1517 (Cunha Matos 1848:102). Unlike later slave uprisings, this rebellion was quickly put under and did not lead to the escape of any slaves. By 1535, marronage had become a growing concern for the

plantation owners and a threat to Portugal's economic plan for STP. In a letter from local authorities addressed to colonial officials in Lisbon, dated 1535, reference is made to

"...mocambo ou quilombo com muita gente no mato e fazem quanto dano podem em matar e roubar homes e destruir fazendas..." (Brásio 1953, vol. 2:46-8)

[...*moçãbo* or *quilombo* (runaway slaves community, GL) with many people in the forest engaged in causing as much harm as they can by killing and stealing and destroying plantations].

São Tomé's increasing commercial role and importance for Portugal was recognized that same year (1535) when the Crown granted São Tomé the more prominent political status of "Cidade" (City); up until then it had been a "Povoação" (town). Only a year earlier São Tomé had been made the seat of a new Church diocese, with jurisdiction over mainland territories, including Angola and the Congo region (Garfield 1992:103-4).

In response to slaves raids, the settlers mounted military operations at the time as *guerra do mato* or 'jungle warfare'. It is not clear what proportion of the runaway slaves were recaptured. Those operations must have been successful to some extent since slave attacks became less frequent, though they did not end until the 17th century. One finds in contemporary documents frequent mention of jungle warfare undertaken by

military garrisons. The following excerpt from a Santomense captain in 1593 is typical:

"Sou informado que pello bom modo em que Miguel Telles de Moura, que foi Capitao da ditta Ilha [i.e. São Tomé, GL] procedeo na guerra do matto que pello Regimento que lhe dar foi continuando, se forao extinguindo de todo os negros alavantados."

(Brásio 1953, vol. 3:461)

[I am informed that because of the good manner in which Miguel Telles de Moura, who was Captain of the aforementioned island, carried out the war in the forest, the runaways slaves were becoming extinguished.]

As stated before, the Angolares' early history is connected to this unstable situation, which contributed to the diminishing stature of STP in the colonial interests of Portugal along with other factors such as Brazil's economic development. It is one event in particular which has been singled out in the literature about the Angolares. According to this account, the Angolares, led by their self-proclaimed king Amador, vandalized São Tomé's port city and kept the local authorities in check for nearly a month. The uprising was motivated by disputes which arose between the Governor and the Bishop, and it has been amply recorded (cf. Cunha Matos 1848:103-10, Castelo-

Branco 1984, Garfield 1992:304-10). A *relatorio* summarized thus the events of the 1595-uprising:

"Capitaneados por Amador, que se fizera elegir Rei, os pretos, amotinados queimaram a cidade de São Tomé, abrasaram as igrejas, profanaram os vasos sagrados, mataram um Padre, destruíram os engenhos de açúcar. Presos finalmente os responsáveis, foram duramente justicados."

(*ibid.*:521-3)

[Led by Amador who had himself chosen king, the mutinied blacks burned the city of São Tomé and its the churches, desecrated sacred chalices, assassinated a priest, and destroyed sugar plantations. Once taken prisoner, those responsible were punished severely.]

The earliest reference to the Angolares by name is found in a report written by a local priest, Manoel Rozario Pinto, in 1734 (Castelo-Branco 1971:151). In this report not only is there an account of the uprising led by Amador in 1595 but, more importantly, it is the first description of the Angolares as the descendants of slaves originally brought from Angola who survived a shipwreck on the southern coast of São Tomé in the 1550s. According to this account, the Angolares must have lived an independent life away from the plantations until coming into contact with other inhabitants, probably runaway slaves who had sought refuge inland. The

shipwreck scenario was popularized by Cunha Matos (1848), who used Pinto's *relatorio* in describing the Angolares' origin; later authors unquestioningly took Cunha Matos' account as true (Castelo-Branco:150) and established the beginnings of the Angolares that has been propagated until the present. In this regard, it is likely that the lack of primary sources for tracing the history of the Angolares during their early history, along with the historically attested more widespread assaults carried out by slaves other than Angolares, served to only blur even more the separate identity of the latter.

The number of slave attacks attributable to the Angolares diminishes in 17th century documents. According to the *relatorio* dated in 1734, the last Angolar raid took place in 1693 during which Maroons burned many plantations, freed people and fought Mateus Pires, *Capitao-Mor de Matos*, especially appointed to safeguard the plantations and end up the jungle warfare. This suggests that slave attacks still posed security problems and brought financial losses to plantation owners even at the end of the 17th century (Cunha Matos 1848:124). A truce between the Portuguese and the Angolares was reached upon that same year after the raid (Dias and Diniz 1988:53).

Along with the rift developing between the plantation regime and the minority Angolar group asserting its identity outside that regime, the political rise of a mulatto class, born of mixed European and African parentage, was an important characteristic of this first period (15th-17th c.) that would have

repercussions in the social history of STP for centuries to come. Though censuses were not taken until the 18th century, a bishop's report written around 1620 gives a population estimate of 15,369. This total includes only the free population of São Tomé since slaves were not included in the census (Garfield 1991:183). The exodus to Brazil which was already under way in the 17th century had mostly involved white planters and their slaves. Therefore, the only Europeans to remain on the island were largely to be priests and government officials, making the mulattos the major racial group by the end of this period. Some were descendants of wealthy families (*crioulos*) that had amassed great fortunes in the sugar business in the mid-16th century (Tenreiro 1961:63).

Divisions along racial lines became an important factor in São Tomé's society, affecting both church and state. It was not uncommon for mulattos to become priests, and the internal political struggles which plagued the colony for most of its history arose as the result of the local elite's demands to participate more in the affairs of the island (Garfield 1991 *passim*). Racial divisions went beyond the European-non-European dichotomy, as shown in a letter to the king from mulatto priests (*cônegos pardos*) in 1707 complaining about unsuitability of blacks for the priesthood (*cônegos pretos*) (Cunha Matos 1848:124).

The early history of the Angolares described in this section was mainly a time of instability, during which they remained outside the mainstream political and economic movements shaping the plantation

society. Yet, one can surmise from this background that to a certain degree the Angolares benefited from clashes between the church and the administration, which were at times aggravated by the racial divisions bearing on questions of power, e.g. the dominance of the *filhos da terra*, many of them planters of mixed blood, over slaves, who were landless blacks.

2.1.3.2 Normalization (1700-1850)

The 1693 truce aided the normalization of the relationship between the Angolar community on the one hand and the powerful *filhos da terra* and Portuguese officials on the other. Recognition of the distinct identity and rights of the Angolares can be found at the onset of this period (early 18th c.). At that time the Portuguese governor of São Tomé recognized a *capitao-mor dos Angolares* as head of the community of Santa Cruz on the southeastern region of the island (Hodges and Newitt 1988:60), a political office which has continued to this day. The religious presence in what one writer called The Angolares' *pequenina republica* or 'tiny republic' (Almada Negreiros 1895:295) took longer to materialize, the first church being built in the late 18th century.

The relative isolation in which the Angolar community lived throughout the 18th century was the outcome of many factors such as geographical distance, the general economic and demographic decline of

the island during this period and, consequently, the inability of planters to exploit more land, and the fear of Angolares that remained with the memory of their earlier raids. Despite that isolation, the Angolar emerges from this period better known since historical records became less scanty.

In the early 18th century the Angolares occupied the southern part of the island, living in communities along the shore and inland forest (*mato*). This region contains mountains that posed a natural barrier for contact with the more populated and prosperous northern area, where the capital and plantations were located. This is well documented in a *memoria* written between 1712 and 1718 which, in addition, mentions the traditional shipwreck that might have brought the people living there:

"A ponta de Santa Catarina até a da Angra ser deserta de moradores e somente habitam alguns negros gentios que antigamente faziao muito dano...se vestem com ela cingindo-se do modo dos negros de Angola, de que é tradição São estes precedidos de um navio que antigamente dera a costa naquelas Praias."

(Castelo-Branco 1971:151)

(The tip from Santa Catarina to São João has no inhabitants except for some black savages who in the old times used to cause much damage...they wear it [linen cloth] wrapped around like blacks from Angola, it being the tradition that they were preceded by a shipwreck on these beaches.)

Even today Santa Catarina in the west and São João dos Angolares in the east are still two of the most important Angolar villages. Though it is not clear how this settlement occurred, its distribution pattern dates back to at least the early 18th century (cf. Greeff 1882 and Costa 1983). From early on the Angolares had a subsistence-level economy based on small-scale agriculture and fishing. Their craftsmanship in wood, as demonstrated by their expertise in canoe building, led to their first contacts with the non-Angolar population (Dias and Diniz 1988:54), a trend which became more pronounced in the 19th century. Two *relatorios* from 1770 attest to the commercial dealings of the Angolares and their autonomy.

"Do ilhéu Macaco a esta Ponta Azeitona a rumo noroeste há uma légua e meia antes de chegar a esta ponta, está uma enseada aonde os negros bravos que chamam angolas vêm fazer sal." (Ceita 1991:8)

(From Macaco Islet to Point Azeitona in the northwest, one *legua* and a half before this point, there is a cove where the so called *Angolas* come to prepare salt).

"Também na dita ilha [Santomense] se acham bastante negros Angolis ainda infieis e gentios que vivem na mesma absolutos."

(Also on the island of São Tomé there are many blacks called *Angolis* who still remain unbaptized and primitive, living an independent existence.) (ibid.)

At the end of this period (1850) the Angolares are still perceived as an independent community, though they are legally subjects of the Governor, acknowledge Portuguese sovereignty, and actively engage in commercial transactions. On the other hand, the communities elect their own king (*rei dos Angolares*) to oversee communal matters. As a matter of fact, during this period of normalized relations between the Angolares and the civil authorities, Angolar villages had neither Portuguese nor Santomense officials to govern them, in contrast to other villages where it was common to find at least a priest and a civil official (Dias and Diniz 1988:72). The following is an excerpt from a letter from a priest dated 1839:

"...ha quatro pequenas povoações, a que chamao os *Angolares* e que pertencem a esta freguesia. Os seus habitantes São bastante selvagens, e athe fogem da outra gente...São insignes na pesca da tartaruga, cultivao muito terreno...e os habitantes reduzem a toda a qualidade de taboas, barrotes e vigas, magníficas Madeiras de Amoreira."

(idem)

(There are four small villages called the Angolares which belong to this diocese. Their inhabitants are very primitive and they even shy away from other people...they are famous for turtle fishing, cultivate a lot of land...and the inhabitants make good quality boards, thick planks and beams from the magnificent Amoreira wood.)

The Angolares emerge from this period as a recognizable group distinct from members of the greater Santomense society, living in expanded communities in the southern part of the island. These were not totally isolated, but contacts with Portuguese officials were kept to a minimum. Notwithstanding the limited commerce established between Angolares and other traders, a sense of their independence was clearly among officials who viewed the communities as being just nominally Portuguese. As shown below, these years in Angolar history contrast strikingly to the events following this period.

2.1.3.3 Diaspora (1850-present)

More than in the previous centuries, the Angolares' lives and language were changed by the general economic transformation São Tomé went through after the introduction of cocoa and coffee. Up to this time the colony had not meant much for the Portuguese except for the initial short-lived period of sugar cultivation and the revenues extracted from the slave trade. These were to be overshadowed during the 19th and 20th centuries so dramatically as to completely change the demographic make up of São Tomé and its class structure. The beginnings of cocoa and coffee cultivation on a major scale led to increased use of land and human resources, and to capitalist enterprises which most *filhos da terra* were not in a financial position to carry out. As a result, population displacement,

foreign indentured labor and a renewal of Portuguese colonial interest in São Tomé's affairs brought about changes whose effects were beyond the Angolares' control.

The demographic profile of STP changed so much within this period of approximately one hundred years that it rendered the country almost unrecognizable. Much of the cultivated plantations which until the early 19th century were concentrated in the northern part of the island, expanded southward to accommodate to the expanding and lucrative market for cocoa and coffee. As a result of the economic boom São Tomé coffee planters began occupying inland areas which belonged to the Angolares (Hodges and Newitt 1988:60). Many Angolares were relocated to near São João dos Angolares in the southeastern part of the islands, although some of them had lived there prior to this (Tenreiro 1961:134). By 1884, the dispersal of the Angolares was extended to other coastal communities (ibid.). A major force behind the relocation of the Angolares living in fishing communities close to the plantations was that the latter served as convenient outlets for fish and wood. In addition, cocoa and coffee could be transported to the nearest shipping quays by means of canoes, making the Angolares intermediates for the plantations, which were unreachable by any other means. These events brought about changes in the lifestyles of the Angolares. For example, more Angolares turned to the sea; some, especially those who migrated south, found work clearing the forest for the planters (Hodges and Newitt 1988:61). But, even among the latter, they

kept their relative autonomy by only working temporarily for the planters rather than letting themselves be subjected to the rigid plantation system which ran against the Angolares' grain (Dias and Diniz 1988:69 ff.).

In general terms, the Angolares maintained their independence, which included managing their own administrative affairs. However, as of 1878, their communities were put for the first time under the control of a military commander named by the Portuguese government. An 1878 document attesting to this also provides for the construction of a school for Angolar children (Greeff 1882).

Around this time (1880) there is an observation which is optimistic regarding the maintenance of their cultural identity:

"Assim terminou a autonomia deste povo estranho de negros que todavia está muito longe de uma miscigenação com outros elementos e a dissolução da sua comunidade tribal. Contra isso protegem-os primeiro as suas povoações nas serras florestais e costeiras selvagens quase inacessíveis do Norte e ao outro lado o seu isolamento desconfiado e o seu insistir na sua tribo, a sua língua e os seus antigos costumes e hábitos." (Greeff 1880)

(Thus ended the autonomy of these strange black people, who still are far from mixing with other people, and their disintegration as a tribal community. Against this they are protected first by their villages in the forest and nearly

inaccessible coast to the north and, secondly, their isolation and their insistence on their tribe, language and old traditions and habits.)

Tenreiro (1961:134) viewed the 1880s as the end of the Angolares' independent existence once their communities began to disperse and enter into contact with the other groups (i.e. Santomense, Portuguese). This acculturation process continued throughout the 20th century and has accelerated since STP's independence in 1975 as education and migration increased, especially among young Angolares. Intermarriage has become more frequent during the last decades, and was attested as early as in the 1950s (Almeida 1956:11).

The Angolar population throughout this period (1850-present) can only be estimated since censuses sometimes failed to include it as a distinct ethnic category. Towards the end of the last century (1878) it was thought that the Angolares numbered between 1400 and 1500, in approximately 300 families living in Santa Cruz (the older name for São João dos Angolares) (Greeff 1880; cf. Pelissier 1979:221, Tenreiro 1961:87). This estimate does not include those Angolares living elsewhere (e.g. Neves) so that the total population must have been greater, though it is impossible to even guess a number. In 1950 a census indicated that there were 4,490 Angolares spread along the coast of São Tomé, mostly engaged in fishing, working independently or for a plantation (Almeida 1956:11-12). In a

census taken in the 1960s Angolar was said to be spoken by 7,000 people (Hodges and Newitt 1988:61). The last two censuses (São Tomé 1987, 1991) contain only aggregates of all ethnic groups (Santomenses, Tongas, Angolares, Principenses); however, one can draw some tentative conclusions as to the Angolar population by estimating the population of districts known to be occupied primarily by Angolares. This is the case with the Caué district, labeled in the census as *aglomeração de Angolares*, which encompasses coastal communities such as São João dos Angolares and Santa Catarina. Using demographic data for those and other villages, a conservative count of the Angolares would yield an approximate figure of between 5,297 (STP Census 1987, vol. 1:12-13) and 5,398 (STP Census 1991:1). The same precautions mentioned before apply regarding the latter two censuses since Angolares dwelling outside the district are not represented in those figures. This is particularly relevant for the many Angolares residing near the predominantly Santomense-speaking capital in the northeastern region of Agua Grande (STP Census 1987:91).

2.2 Hypothesis for the origin and development of Angolar: a preview

The hypothesis for the origin and development of Angolar summarized below will be discussed at length in chapter six in light of the known sociolinguistic history of São Tomé presented in this chapter and the

description and analysis of the structure of Angolar given in chapters three to five.

Hypothesis: Runaway maroon slaves formed their own communities at a relatively early period of São Tomé's colonization in the 16th century (1535-1550). Due to the isolation of these maroon communities, their language kept the general structure of Santomense which, at the time these first communities were beginning to form, was likely to have been a nativized language for some plantation slaves. The question of "who spoke what to whom" is an important one for postulating a Santomense intrinsically variable since communication between the Portuguese and slaves, and between slaves themselves, must have been constrained by factors such as first languages (Portuguese, Kwa, Bantu), exposure to some form of contact Portuguese prior to their arrival to São Tomé (e.g. West African Pidgin Portuguese), their length of stay on the island and their social status (free Afro-Portuguese, houseslaves). Modern divergences between Angolar and Santomense are the outcome of the lexical expansion and restructuring which Santomense underwent as the result of closer contact with the Portuguese spoken on the plantations, e.g. changes in the grammar and the pronunciation which Angolar kept from early Santomense. On the other hand, Angolar is the result of the partial relexification that Santomense underwent in the maroon communities due to the influence of Bantu languages (probably Kimbundu or one of its dialects) spoken by runaway slaves who escaped from the plantation beginning in 1535. In this respect,

the Angolares' existence away from the plantations was more likely to favor the maintenance of African languages longer than life on the plantations, where exposure to Portuguese and the increasing role of Santomense as the medium of communication among slaves forced them to give up their African languages faster. According to this scenario, the rise of the free Afro-Portuguese, with planters and slaveowners in their ranks, during the time of São Tomé's economic depression and isolation from Portugal (17th-18th c.), fostered the establishment of Santomense as the common vernacular for both slaves and non-slaves. Against this setting, one may understand Angolar as the linguistic result of the Maroons' need to develop a communicative behavior which would act as an in-group boundary maintenance mechanism, to provide symbolic and psychological value for the Angolar community and, at the same time, make it incomprehensible to outsiders, i.e. a secret language. The development of a secret/symbolic language became truly advantageous for the survival of the Angolares whose existence was under constant threat by the more powerful plantation society.

Chapter 3: Phonology

The organization of this chapter follows the questionnaire designed by Comrie and Smith (1977) which was originally devised to serve as a basis for the uniform description of different languages. Most recently, it was used in the description of Nigerian Pidgin English (cf. Faraclas 1996, especially chapter 3 on the phonology). The main reason for adopting this particular format is to simply facilitate any crosslinguistic comparison the reader may want to do regarding Angolar's phonology vis-à-vis other languages.

This chapter is divided into sections on the phonemic inventory of Angolar, phonetically conditioned variation (e.g. nasalization) and phonotactics (e.g. consonant cluster reduction vis-à-vis Portuguese) as well as suprasegmentals. Regarding the latter, the issue of tone as a possible contrastive feature is raised. According to Maurer (1995), Angolar has two tones, high and low, which contrast in some cases (see §3.3.3).

As with the chapters on the lexico semantics (4) and the morphosyntax (5), discussion of the relevance of any phonetic and phonological feature to the linguistic history of Angolar and Santomense will be confined to the concluding chapter (6). Suffice it to say by way of preamble to this chapter that the types of phonotactic properties present in Angolar (but not in Santomense) suggest divergent formative processes.

3.0 Phonemic inventory

The consonantal system of Angolar is summarized in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: The consonants of Angolar

	Labials	Labio-dentals	Inter-dentals	Alveolars	Post-alveolars	Velars
Stops (-v)	p			t		k
(+v)	b			d		g
Fricatives (-v)		f	θ	s	ʃ	
(+v)		v	ð	z	ʒ	
Affricates (-v)				ç		
(+v)				ʝ		
Nasals	m			n	ɲ	y
Liquids				l r		
Glides					y	w

These sounds are not part of Angolar's phonemic inventory, but rather common among Angolares whose speech shows influence of Santomense (Maurer p.c.)

In addition to the consonants in Table 3.1 Angolar has the prenasalized stops "nf, nt, nʃ, ŋk, ŋg" and "mb, mp" in which the nasal segment is homorganic with the following stop and function as one sound. Most consonants occur in minimal pairs that illustrate their phonemic status.

The following set of minimal pairs shows this:

(1) /p/: *piri* 'nail' (< Ptg. *prego*)

/b/: *biri* 'to open' (< Ptg. *abrir*) (the implosive bilabial)

/t/: *punta* 'to ask' (< Ptg. *perguntar*)

/d/: *punda* 'because' (Ptg. *para modo de?*; cf. §5.1.7.6)

/f/: *fela* 'market' (< Ptg. *feira*)

/v/: *vela* 'sail' (Ptg. *vela*)

/k/: *fɔka* 'to hang' (< Ptg. *enforcar*) (Maurer 1995:217)

/g/: *fɔga* 'to rejoice' (<Ptg. *folgar*)

/s/: *sina* 'to teach' (< Ptg. *ensinar*)
 /z/: *zina* 'grandparent' (Kwangali *zina* idem; Maurer 1995:251)

/v/: *wala* 'side' (< ?)
 /r/: *wara* 'to wait' (< Ptg. *aguardar*)

/č/: *ča* - *ča* (also *čaka-čaka*) 'stroke' (onom.)
 /j/: *nja* 'to stand' (<Edo *mu dia* 'to stand') (Maurer 1995:232)

/š/: *ši* 'if' (Ptg. *se*)
 /ž/: *ži* 'to do' (< Ptg. *fazer*)

/θ/: *θetu* 'certain' (< Ptg. *certo*)
 /ð/: *ðetu* 'aptitude' (< Ptg. *jeito*)

/y/: *paya* 'beach'
 /ɲ/: *paɲa* 'to seize, gather'

/w/: *wa* 'postverbal negator' (cf. §5.2.14)
 /ɲ/: *ɲa* 'there'

Like Santomense, Angolar has seven oral vowels and five nasal ones, which are summarized in Table 3.2. The only two vowels which do not have a nasalized counterpart are the mid low ones, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. In addition, following Maurer's (1995:25-26) phonological analysis, Angolar has three syllabic nasals in complementary distribution, i.e. [m] before /m/ and /p/ (*ɲme* 'to eat'), [ŋ] before /k/ and /g/ (*ɲkila* 'tail'), and [n] elsewhere (*ɲfara* 'pillow').

Table 3.2: The vowels of Angolar

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

As in Santomense the syllable nuclei in Angolar are made up of the single vowels listed in Table 3.2 while Portuguese diphthongs were reduced to a single vowel, as will be shown below (see §3.2). Some minimal pairs that illustrate meaningful vowel contrasts are shown in (2).

(2) /e/ <i>bebe</i>	'to drink'	/o/ <i>konʒa</i>	'coconut'
/ɛ/ <i>bɛbɛ</i>	'mute, dumb'	/u/ <i>kunʒa</i>	'kitchen'
/o/ <i>lolo</i>	'pain'	/u/ <i>luta</i>	'to fight'
/ɔ/ <i>lɔlɔ</i>	'to lick'	/a/ <i>lata</i>	'to get up'
/o/ <i>ngolo</i>	'to look for'	/a/ <i>bila</i>	'to become'
/a/ <i>ngola</i>	'Angolar'	/i/ <i>bili</i>	'to open'
/e/ <i>peta</i>	'pepper'	/i/ <i>bi</i>	'to come'
/u/ <i>puta</i>	'to ask'	/o/ <i>bo</i>	'you (sg.)'
/a/ <i>pata</i>	'dobra' (STP currency)	/e/ <i>keta</i>	'to upset'
/ɛ/ <i>peta</i>	'cord'	/o/ <i>kota</i>	'to cut'
/e/ <i>pɛ</i>	'to put'	/e/ <i>tɛ</i>	'to have'
/a/ <i>pɑ</i>	'for'	/e ⁿ / <i>tɛⁿ</i>	'also'
/ɔ/ <i>pɔ</i>	'bread'	/a/ <i>tɑ</i>	ANT

3.1 Phonemes and their allophones

Allophonic variation in Angolar affects three types of sounds: liquids [r] and [l], fricatives, and plosives. While homorganic pre-nasalization of plosive sounds is a phonetically conditioned phenomenon, rhotacism and fricatives seem to be a more recent phenomenon that can be related to sociolinguistic variables (see below).

3.1.1 Nonsyllabic segments and their allophones

3.1.1.1 Plosives and affricates

In addition to the consonants in Table 3.1 Angolar has the prenasalized plosive series /nf nt nj ns nθ/, /ŋk ŋg/ and /mb mp/, in which the nasal segment and the following segment are homorganic.

(3)

<u>nf</u> enu 'hell'	<u>ŋk</u> odo 'cord'	<u>mp</u> una 'kneecap'
<u>nt</u> ari 'stone'	<u>nj</u> e 'person'	<u>ns</u> uku 'night'
<u>nθ</u> ia 'age'	<u>mb</u> atxi 'name of a beach'	<u>mp</u> wala 'oyster'

3.1.1.2 Fricatives

Angolar shares most sounds with Santomense, including the implosive realization of word-initial /b/ (see the IPA symbol /ɓ/ in Table 3.1). However, one exceptional feature is the phonetic correspondence between Portuguese palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, the Santomense alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/, and the Angolar interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/.

(4) Word-initial:

Ptg. <u>ch</u> uva /ʃuva/	ST <u>ʃ</u> uba	AN <u>θ</u> uba	'rain'
Ptg. <u>já</u> /ʒa/	ST <u>z</u> a	AN <u>ð</u> a	'already'

Word-medial:

Ptg. <u>caç</u> orro /kaʃoro/	ST <u>ka</u> ʃo	AN <u>ka</u> θo	'dog'
Ptg. <u>igre</u> ja /igreʒa/	ST <u>ng</u> leza	AN <u>ng</u> eeða	'church'

The interdental sounds are in complementary distribution with /s/ and /z/ since these two sounds always appear before /i/ while the former occur before all other vowels; thus they are truly speaking allophones.

(5) *θaia* 'to drag' (Ptg. *arrastar* ; cf. also nautical Ptg. *salhar* 'to pull', Maurer 1995:245)

θoia 'story' (Ptg. *storia*)

θon 'ground' (Ptg. *chão*)

θura 'to think' (Ptg. *estudar*) (Maurer 1995:246)

θela 'bed' (Ptg. *estera*)

(6) *δuxtu* 'right' (Ptg. *justo*)

δeti 'oil' (Ptg. *azeite*)

δamba 'elephant' (Kb. *nzamba*)

Though the Portuguese-Santomense phonetic correspondence was first recognized by Schuchardt (1881:899), it was Vasconcellos (1901) who first mentioned (but did not elaborate) the correspondence between Ptg. /ʒ/ and AN /ð/:

"...cette langue [Angolar] semble être l'ambundo, avec des éléments de dialecte créole de San-Thomé ... j [ʒ/ GL] devient z [ð/ GL], (zá = já)."

(Vasconcellos 1901:189)

(This language, Angolar, seems to be Ambundo with features from the creole dialect of São Tomé.)

The rarity of the interdental pair /θ/-/ð/ is clearly indicated by their absence in other Portuguese-based creoles or even any other Atlantic creole, including

even some acrolectal varieties of Caribbean CE. Substrate origin may be ruled out in that none of the substrate languages which contributed significantly to the lexicon and the grammar of Angolar has such phonetic features, i.e. Kimbundu, Kikongo, Edo.

Regarding the sources for Angolar interdental fricatives, Ivens Ferraz (1974:182) identified Mbunda (southeast Angola) and Ndigi (Cabinda, Angola), two Bantu languages of West Africa, as having those sounds. In Guthrie (1967-71, quoted in Maurer 1992:173 fn1) we also find Ndonga, Kwambi and Herero (all spoken in southwest Angola). Unlike Angolar, the interdentals in those African languages show no complementary distribution. Thus Ndingi /θ/ and /ð/ appear before /i/, e.g. *θingu* 'neck' (cf. AN *singo* 'idem') and *ðiba* 'sea, puddle' (cf. AN *zia* 'deep part of a river') (ibid.).

Younger speakers of Angolar commonly use the alveolar and palatal fricatives in place of the interdentals /θ/ and /ð/, indicating the influence of both Santomense and Portuguese on their Angolar. However, this variation is also observed among older speakers, so it is possible that its beginning goes back at least to the last century when the Angolares came to closer contact with Santomense speakers.

There is also variation between /f/ and /v/, e.g. *fa~va* 'negative particle' and *fala~vala* 'to speak'. At least in the case of *va*, the initial segment may be realized as the labio-velar /w/. Portuguese origin for this phonetic variation may be found in sixteenth century documents in which /v/

is represented with the letter <u> (i.e. /w/): "...auera outros tãtos moradores pella ylha." ('there were some other dwellers on the island' (ca. 1554, Tenreiro 1961:64; cf. Modern Ptg. *haver* 'there is/are'. However, the <u> in *auera* may have no phonetic value; Maurer p.c.).

3.1.1.3 Nasals

Nasal consonants are normally homorganic with the following consonant, whether they occur as part of one single segment, e.g. /mp mb/, /nt nf/, /ŋk/ (see §3.0 for the complete set of prenasalized plosives) or across word and morpheme boundaries, as in the case of the first person singular pronoun, which is phonetically conditioned by the following consonant:

(7a) *n tamba kikié* [n tamba' ki'kye] 'I caught a fish'

(7b) *n ba mε čɔ* [m ba mε čɔ] 'I ate little.'

(7c) *n ka lumba ki anε* [ŋ ga lumba' ky anε]

Though Angolar has mostly open syllables, one of the few consonants which can occur in syllable-final position is /n/. Its realization fluctuates from \emptyset except for the nasalization of the preceding vowel ("regressive nasalization") to full articulation, e.g. *kloθɔ-kloθon* (Ptg. *coração*).

The *-on* ending in Angolar and Santomense words which derive from Ptg. etyma ending in *-ão* may be a Portuguese archaism. In the sixteenth century, nouns like *oração* 'prayer' were pronounced with a nasal segment, i.e. /orasɔ/, written *oraçom*. This was more common in rural areas such as

Entre-Douro-e-Minho, where many immigrants to the colonies came from (Neto 1956:18).

3.1.1.4 Liquids

Angolar has two liquids, /r/ and /l/. The type of /l/ and /r/ alternation that occurs in Santomense before consonants is not found in Angolar since the latter has undergone consonant cluster reduction to a greater degree (see §3.2).

(8) AN *kují*, ST *bie*, Ptg. *cozer* 'to cook'

Nonetheless, even Angolar shows a great deal of variation between [l] and [r] especially in intervocalic position.

(9) *fala* ~ *fara* ~ *fa* (also *vara* and *wala/wara*) 'to speak'

In addition, it is not rare to find among young speakers a tendency to use a uvular [ʀ] instead of the alveolar flap [ɾ] in both word- and syllable-initial position. Such variation is more prominent among Santomense speakers, but Santomense could not be the source of this on-going change in Angolar since the sound is not part of its phonemic inventory. Nor could the uvular /ʀ/ have originated from Portuguese. At this moment I lack a demonstrable explanation for this variation, however, Portuguese alveolar trill /r/ - which is not present in any of the creoles of STP- may be its source as the result of imperfect second language acquisition.

Another source of allophonic [r] is the /d/ in syllable-initial position and, especially, when it follows a nasal consonant (10a); otherwise the phoneme is /r/ (10b).

(10a) *n digi vela pe.*
I hoisted the sail.

(10b) *m ba rig'e. (rigi'e?)*
I lift it up

3.1.2. Syllabic segments and their allophones

Nasalization is a distinctive phonological feature in Angolar and several minimal pairs can be distinguished based on this feature:

(11) *tə-tə'* 'have-also'
sa-Sã 'be-lady'
θδ-θo 'ground-then'

Vowel nasalization is found mostly in Portuguese-derived words which have a nasalized vowel (12b) or, in which a nasal consonant has been omitted but its nasality has spread to the adjacent vowel (12a, c):

(12a) *kɔnsia* 'to dream' < Ptg. *conciencia* 'conscience'
(12b) *dimɔn* 'brother, sister' (ST *mano, mana*) < Ptg. *irmão* 'brother'
(12c) *inθɔ'* < Ptg. *inchon* 'type of tool'

In addition, some words have a nasalized vowel whose origin cannot be explained in terms of Portuguese input since the latter lacks a nasalized vowel or a nasal segment. This non-etymological nasalization is found in the Angolar of some speakers (especially the young ones), but for others

the vowel is oral with no apparent nasalization. However, for those speakers the following stop has a preceding nasal consonant. It is possible that the nasality is being reinterpreted as part of the preceding syllable as the result of Portuguese transfer since in Portuguese regressive assimilation is frequent.

- (13) *ãte* 'until' (Ptg. *até*) (ST*ante*, Maurer p.c.)
nãθe 'to be born' (Ptg. *nacer*, ST*nanθe*); cf. also AN *naθe*
 (*nãθe* is Santomense-influenced Angolar)

3.2 Phonotactics

Many of AN's phonological features are the result of resyllabification towards canonical CV syllable structure, which is predominant among Bantu and Kwa languages. Thus closed syllables in Portuguese have been resyllabified to CV in Angolar via phonotactic processes such as epenthesis, syncope, monophthongization, consonant cluster reduction, etc. Also vowel harmony is highly salient in Angolar. In what follows, these phonotactic phenomena are discussed and their relevance to Angolar's history is postponed until the full discussion in chapter 6.

3.2.1 Possible syllable and word structures

Table 3.3 summarizes the segments which contribute to AN's syllable and word formation (C=consonant, V=vowel). Prenasalized consonants in word initial and medial position are considered single

segments, in agreement with the naturalness of open syllables in Angolar, e.g. *nswala* 'oyster'. Most words fall into the CV or CVCV word structure; words of three or more syllables are exceptional. Consonant clusters in the beginning or middle of the word are mostly of the type C_1C_2 in which C_2 is either a liquid (/r/ or /l/) or a glide (/y/ or /w/). This consonant-cum-liquid combination and other types of consonant clusters are borrowings from Santomense or Portuguese, e.g. ST *ska/ska* (AN *θa ka*) and ST *fla* (AN *fala*)

Table 3.3: Syllable and word structure in Angolar

Word structure	Angolar	English
V	a	unmarked pronoun
CV	ta	TMA marker
VCV	awa	water
CVCV	kenu	neighbor
CVCVV	malua	mud
VCVCV	iran	age
CVCVCV	nakulu	in the old days
CVCVCVCV	kilembeka	shadow
CCV	kwa	thing
CCVCV	nswala	oyster

3.2.2 Vowel insertion

The insertion of an epenthetic vowel to break up a consonant cluster or a paragogic vowel to final consonant reflects the structural constraints imposed by the canonical CV syllabic pattern:

(14) *alima* 'soul' (Ptg. *alma*), *amole* 'love' (Ptg. *amor*)

As to the historical origins of this feature, both Old Portuguese and African input are relevant. In Old Portuguese (and Modern European Portuguese as well, cf. *falare* < *falar* 'to speak'), especially in dialectal varieties, an epenthetic vowel could be inserted into a consonant group; in particular, this was facilitated if one of the two consonants was /l/ or /r/, e.g. *pɔlantar* (Ptg. *plantar*) 'to plant', *fɔlor* (Ptg. *flor*) (Williams 1968:102).

Interestingly, a catechism written in Kimbundu in 1642 (Couto 1784) provides a relatively early example of phonotactic restructuring processes during language contact; indeed, it may provide indirect evidence of phonological changes that occurred during the formative stages of Angolar in view of the established Kimbundu contribution to its lexicon (see chapter 4). As in Angolar, Portuguese words borrowed into seventeenth century Kimbundu show vowel harmony:

(15) Ptg. *cruz* 'cross' > *culussu* (cf. AN *kuuθu*)

3.2.3 Consonant cluster reduction

Consonant cluster reduction is one phonological feature which clearly sets Angolar apart from Santomense. While the latter has the largest number of consonant clusters of all three creoles of STP (Ivens Ferraz 1987a:288), Angolar has no consonant clusters except for those speakers whose lects seem to reflect ST influence. ST's consonant clusters are of the type C₁ C₂, with C₂ nearly always /l/.

Sentence (16a) is an example of Angolar as generally spoken by older people living in fishing communities like Santa Catarina and São João dos Angolares; (16b), on the other hand, is the Angolar variety spoken by a 34-year old Angolar fisherman who has lived in the city for about ten years. The ST /t/ cluster, which is widespread throughout all speakers and lects, co-occurs with the Angolar interdental /θ/ and final negator *wa* (ST has *fa*); in ST*taba* is unacceptable.

- (16a) AN: *Ami taba loθa kwɪn anu*
 ST: *Ami tʃaba losa deʃi anu*
 'I worked ten years on the plantation.'
- (16b) AN: *Ami na meθe tʃaba loθa wa* (ST-influenced Angolar)
 ST: *Ami na mese tʃaba losa fa.*
 'I don't want to work on the plantation.'

Though the second segment in most Santomense consonant clusters is /l/, one does find other second segments which can be explained as being the result of two linguistic processes: lexical borrowing and phonological borrowing. The first process is attested in the words listed in (17); as can be seen, they contain consonant groups which deviate from the canonical Santomense one (C₁ + /l/), both in terms of the types, sequence and number of phonemes, e.g. *trubunalu* (Ptg. *tribunal*), *judgamentu* 'judgment' (Ptg. *judgamento*) and *ʃtlada* 'road' (Ptg. *estrada*); many of these borrowings are in domains like the law, education and politics.

- (17) *judgamentu* 'judgment'
ʃtlada 'road'
trubunalu 'tribunal'
advogadu 'lawyer' (Ptg. *advogado*, cf. Braz. Ptg. *advogado*)

škola 'school' (Ptg. *escola*)
štlela 'star' (Ptg. *estrela*)
rešpetā 'to respect' (Ptg. *respeitar*)

On the other hand, the process of lexical borrowing triggered the formation of consonant clusters via resyllabification. Interestingly, some of those consonant clusters are neither in Portuguese nor in the substrate languages, which suggests the innovative nature of resyllabification. This is illustrated with the words *ška* 'progressive marker' and *fla* 'to speak', respectively.

The progressive marker *ška* is the other variant for *sa ka* after these two independent morphemes were reanalyzed as one and a Portuguese-like palatalization of /s/ before stops followed. This change did not occur in Angolar which still has the two separated morphemes *θa* and *ka*., although it is possible to find /s/ palatalization before stops, e.g. *kaška* 'peel' or the most frequent *kašika* 'peel' in Santomense-influenced Angolar.

ST *fla* (Ptg. *falar*, cf. also *mlagu* < Ptg. *magro* 'thin' and *mlaka* < Ptg. *marca* 'mark, Maurer p.c.) is clearly a case of recent resyllabification which favors the most frequent consonant cluster over the open syllable, as in the superstrate. ST *fa* and *fala* are more frequent and their distribution seems to reflect a functional specialization of the two words as verb and complementizer, respectively (see §5.1.9). Nothing equivalent to ST *fla* is found in Angolar, which has kept the CV(CV) sequence in *fa* and *fala*, the latter in free variation with *fara*.

Table 3.4 gives a contrastive list of Angolar and Santomense words which show the extent to which consonant clusters are present in Santomense, but not in Angolar; this comparison is based on basilectal forms for both speakers.

Table 3.4: Consonant clusters in Angolar and Santomense

Angolar	Santomense	Portuguese	English
taba	tlaba	trabalhar	to work
kaʃika ¹	kaška	casca	peel
disigaθa	dižgłasa	desgraça	misfortune
peetu	pletu	preto	black
ngaθa	nɣłasa	graxa	grease
kəθə	kłəθə ⁿ	coração	heart
fεbε	fłεbε	febre	fever
vεmε	vłεmε	vermelho	red
pəməna	plama	manhã	morning
kεga	kłaga	carregar	to load
kuuθu	kłusu	cruz	cross
kεrari	kłalidaji	claridade	clarity
pεsa	plεsa	emprestar	to lend
fako	farko ⁿ	falcão	falcon

¹AN *kasika* with no palatalization before high front /i//

3.2.4 Monophthongization

Portuguese oral or nasal diphthongs in words which found their way into Angolar were reduced to a single vowel. The latter is frequently the first vowel of the diphthong, which may have undergone other changes in vowel quality from the Portuguese etymon. Though not all eight oral and four nasal diphthongs which have historically existed in Portuguese have

reduced counterparts in Angolar, those that are attested do show the reduction:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (18) Ptg. /ãy/ > AN /ɛ/ | Ptg. <i>rainha</i> > AN <i>ɛɲa</i> 'queen' |
| Ptg. /ɛ ⁿ y/ > AN /ɛ/ | Ptg. <i>bandeira</i> > AN <i>bandela</i> 'flag' |
| Ptg. /eu/ > AN /e/ | Ptg. <i>Deus</i> > AN <i>ðeθu</i> 'God' |
| Ptg. /ɔi/ > AN /ɔ/ | Ptg. <i>noite</i> > AN <i>nɔci</i> 'night' (ST; AN <i>nθuku</i>) |
| Ptg. /ão/ > AN /õ/ | Ptg. <i>caixão</i> > AN <i>kaθɔⁿ</i> 'coffin' |
| Ptg. /ui ⁿ / > AN /u/ | Ptg. <i>muito</i> > AN <i>muⁿtu</i> 'much' (ST; AN <i>nⁿtu</i>) |
- (* ST-influenced Angolar)

Diphthong reduction is sometimes masked by reduction of consonant clusters and consonant deletion:

- (19) Ptg. *claridade* 'clarity' > **caridade* > **caidade* > AN *kerari*
 Ptg. *barriga* > **bawiga* > **baiga* > *bεεga* (AN and ST)

The intermediate unattested form *bawiga* is motivated on two accounts: (1) PR *bwega* (J-L Rougé p. c.) and (2), as noted above (§3.1.2.1.5), uvular /ʀ/ is an allophonic variant of /r/ for some speakers, especially in creole words which derive from Portuguese words containing a trill. Nonetheless, it is also possible that **bariga*, and not **bawiga*, was the intermediate form (Maurer p. c.).

Ivens Ferraz (1979:31) argued that variation in Old Portuguese between /o/ and /au/ (i.e. /ao/) led to ST /o/ in words like *ladlo* 'thief' (Old Ptg. *ladrão* ~ *ladro*) and PR /a/ in *ladra*. On the other hand, Angolar low back /ɔ/ corresponds phonetically to Ptg. /o/.

Kimbundu-influenced Portuguese spoken in Angola in the mid-seventeenth century as documented in Couto (1784) shows an interesting parallel to what is found in Angolar. Here, the reduction of Ptg. /ãõ/ to /a/ is attested in words like *Sam* (Ptg. *São*; cf. AN *San Tome*) and *Adam* (Ptg. *Adão*). Modern Kimbundu's sandhi rule

(20) /a/ + /u/ ⇒ /o/ (Maia 1964b:5)

would not yield the right forms in Angolar if one assumes that the rule was productive at the time when the catechism was written. Yet, there are at least two possible explanations:

- (1) Kimbundu was a lingua franca and thus probably spoken as a second language in the lower Kongo area by many of the slaves taken to São Tomé;
- (2) Chatelain (1888-9:xvi) suggested that the Jesuit Pacconio, who wrote the Kimbundu-Portuguese catechism, might have described the Kimbundu dialect spoken in Kahenda (district of Mbaka) which lies further inland from Luanda. Yet, one finds in the catechism at least one case of VV reduction such as in Ptg. *rosario* 'rosary' > *luzualo*, which is in agreement with the modern Kimbundu sandhi rule

(21) /i/ + /o/ ⇒ /o/ (Maia 1964b:5)

As to the other diphthongs listed in (18), only Ptg. /ai/ > /e/ is also attested in Kimbundu, e.g. Kb *nga itesa* > Kb *ng'etesa* 'I believe' (ibid.). Most Kimbundu sandhi rules tend to preserve the second vowel, as in Old Portuguese (and Santomense) in contrast with Angolar, which shows a tendency to preserve the first vowel.

3.2.5 Segmental and syllabic deletion

Deletion of a segment in initial, medial and final position is motivated by the CV structure in Angolar, as occurs in other phonological processes (see §§3.2.2-3.2.4). Reduction in the syllable quantity of Portuguese words tends towards the formation of disyllabic words in Angolar. A similar syllabic reduction takes place in Santomense, which contains mostly disyllabic words (Ivens Ferraz 1979:38).

3.2.5.1 Segmental deletion

Vowel-initial Portuguese words undergo apheresis, which results in a CVCV syllabic structure:

(22) *δura* 'to help' (Ptg. *ajudar*)

The apheresis of consonant-initial syllables is rare since it does not correspond to the regular syllabic structure prevalent in Angolar:

(23) *azi* 'do, make' (Ptg. *fazer*) (*azi* has the allomorph *zi* which does show the more common CV structure in Angolar.)

Williams (1968:103) noted that in Old Portuguese "the loss of the initial vowel is a very common phenomenon but it did not take place with any regularity":

(24) Old Ptg. *liança* 'alliance' (Mod. Ptg. *aliança*)
 Old Ptg. *menagem* 'homage' (Mod. Ptg. *homenagem*)

The irregular deletion of initial /a/ or /o/ in nouns could have its origins with variable use of the homophonic definite articles *a* 'the [fem.]' and *o* 'the [masc.]' to mark gender (ibid.) However, the lack of definite articles in Angolar and the extension of apheresis to verbs (infrequent in Old Ptg.) are better explained in terms of CV restructuring.

The seventeenth-century catechism contains a few attestations of vowel-initial apheresis in borrowings from Portuguese by Kimbundu:

(25) *ngeleja* 'church' (Ptg. *igreja*); cf. AN *ngεεḍa*

A possible derivation would require the following phonological changes: (a) consonant cluster breaking via vowel insertion, (b) [l]/[r] alternation, (c) apheresis and (d) prenasalization. These phonological steps are schematized in (26):

(26)

(a) Ptg. *igreja* > (b) **igereja* > (c) **igeleja* > (d) **geleja* > (e) *ngeleja*

AN *ngɛɛḍa* in (25) may be a reflex of an earlier form, **ngɛɛɛja*, which, unlike the Kimbundu-influenced Portuguese cognate, underwent syncope of the intervocalic consonant. The loss of intervocalic consonants, especially when it is /r/ or /l/, in Portuguese-derived words in Angolar is common, e.g. *laanḍa* 'orange' (Ptg. *laranja*).

3.2.5.2 Syllable deletion

The loss of initial, medial or final syllables in Angolar has the effect of reducing a polysyllabic Portuguese word to a disyllabic one:

- (27) *šina* 'to teach' (Ptg. *ensinar*)
fana 'flour' (Ptg. *farina*)
taba 'to work' (Ptg. *trabalhar*)

It is not clear to what extent Portuguese primary stress alone influenced such developments in Angolar. Words like *fana* and *taba* in (27) seem to indicate the opposite since the primary stress of the Portuguese etyma falls on precisely the syllables lost in Angolar. Weakening and final deletion of intervocalic /r/ may explain syllabic syncope in *fana*, as attested in words with Portuguese etyma having a primary stress in a similar environment, e.g. *dɛɛto* 'straight' (Ptg. *direito*) and *fiida* 'wound' (Ptg. *ferida*). Likewise, the very low frequency of Portuguese palatal /ʎ/ in Angolar (and thus excluded in Table 3.1) may go back to an earlier stage of the language in which the sound was either

eliminated or converted to the glide /y/, e.g. *micri* 'better' (Ptg. *melhor*), *koye* 'to choose' (Ptg. *escolher*).

3.3 Suprasegmentals

Even though Ivens Ferraz (1987a:292) claimed that "vowel length or rearticulation is not a feature of either Santomense or Angolar", in Angolar vowel length does play a minor role; it is not a distinctive feature in Portuguese or in Santomense. Its occurrence results from the reduction of consonant clusters which have /l/ or /r/ in second position; e.g. the minimal pair *fuuta* 'fruit' (< Ptg. *fruta*) vs. *futa* 'to steal' (<Ptg. *furtar*).

Vowel lengthening occurs only as a result of the reduction of stressed syllable-initial consonant clusters. Thus a word like Ptg. *furtar* 'to steal' could not yield **fuuta* as the consonant cluster -rt- is distributed over the initial and final syllable, and the stressed syllable is in final position. Portuguese stress seems to have been reinterpreted segmentally in terms of two vowels in Angolar. Furthermore, the segmental change led to a suprasegmental rearrangement of the Portuguese penultimate stress to ultimate position.

Another restructuring source for vowel lengthening is the deletion of intervocalic consonants in the Portuguese etymon. Thus this diachronic change led to AN *mæelu* 'sailor' (Maurer 1995:14) which coexists with the non-deleted form *maɲelu* (cf. Ptg. *marinheiro*), probably of relatively recent formation.

In contrast with modern Portuguese, which has only primary stress, Old Portuguese had secondary stress as well (Williams 1968:51). Thus one could argue that the original Portuguese secondary stress was reanalyzed as primary, while the long vowel became the segmental fossilization of primary stress whenever the phonotactic environment favored the simplification of a consonant cluster. One complication to this interpretation is the unclear status of pitch contrasts in Angolar. Because I was not able to investigate in depth whether or not tone is a phonemic feature in Angolar, I will follow Maurer's tonal analysis.

According to Maurer's acoustic analysis (1995:10-19), Angolar has two tonemes, one high (´) and one low (˘):

(28) *awa*: /á w á / (high tone frequencies = 200 Hz-250 Hz)

riðu: / r í ð ù / (high tone frequency = 230 Hz; low tone frequency = 150 Hz)

Maurer (1995:11) presents minimal pairs for all possible tone combinations of a disyllabic word, here summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Tonal combinations for disyllabic words in Angolar

H = high tone L = low tone	Minimal pairs
HH vs. LL	<i>mámá</i> 'breast' vs. <i>màmà</i> 'to nurse'
HH vs. HL	<i>mɔ́'čí</i> 'much' vs. <i>mɔ́'ci</i> 'death'
HL vs. LL	<i>ándà</i> 'yet' vs. <i>àndà</i> 'to chew'
HL vs. LH	<i>bɔ́'rɔ́</i> 'edge' vs. <i>bɔ́'rɔ́</i> 'stick'
LH vs. LL	<i>màzí</i> 'oil' vs. <i>màzi</i> 'but'

Also, long vowels are naturally affected by distinct tonal contours as in (29) (ibid.:14):

- (29) [LH]H: *bεεga* /6ε`ε`gá/ 'belly'
 [LL]H: *baanku* /6àànkú/ 'white'
 [LL]H: *bakaa* /6àkàá/ 'dry fish'

Yet, the most frequent tonal contours in words containing long vowels are LH (*bεεga*) and LL (*baanku*). The distribution of tones is extended to polysyllabic words (more than two syllables). In particular, trisyllabic tonal systems seem to undergo some type of downstep tonal change. In *alima* (see 30) the first high tone is lower than the following also high tone which, according to Maurer (ibid.:12) has simply phonetic and not phonological consequences, i.e. it is not necessary to introduce a mid tone.

- (30) HHL: *alima* 'soul' /á límà/

Maurer's analysis of Angolar as a two-tone language is in striking contrast to that of Santomense as having "no phonologically significant tone..." (Ivens Ferraz 1979:25). However, Ivens Ferraz (ibid.) indicated that in Santomense a high tone may be used as a stylistic device, but only in monosyllabic words. That is, in his opinion a high tone in Santomense functions more like a prosodic feature which affects the intonation of a sentence, as can be seen in (31):

- (31) ST: *Lɔza sa lɔngó*
 'Rosa is tall.'

To date , there has been no study on the question of the existence of tone in Santomense. Though Ivens Ferraz thought Santomense had no tone, except as a stylistic device, he never carried out an in-depth study of possible tone contrasts in Santomense. Thus one should be cautious about concluding that tone is truly a phonological difference between Angolar and Santomense.

To sum up this section: if Angolar has a two-tone system (Maurer 1995), as it is also claimed to be the case in Principense (Günther 1973:50), or a many-level pitch contour (i.e. falling, rising, low, high), as proposed for Principense by Ivens Ferraz and Traill (1980:209), then consonant cluster reduction might have triggered an intricate process of reinterpretation of Portuguese stress (primary and secondary) as pitch and/or long vowels in Angolar. Whatever the cause may be, more in-depth studies that go beyond the scope of this dissertation are required to advance our understanding of the Angolar suprasegmental features.

Finally, to end this chapter on a comparative note, Saramaccan - a creole tone language with a high proportion of Portuguese vocabulary - may offer a clue to the phonological history of Angolar (see Boretzky 1993:29 ff. for a discussion of other creoles languages). Like Angolar, Saramaccan seems to have gone through a similar process of vowel lengthening triggered by the deletion of /l r d/ in a consonant group. The high tone in Saramaccan usually corresponds to the accented vowel in the source language, e.g. Ptg. *trípa* 'intestines' (´=stress) > Saramaccan *tíipa*

(Daeleman 1972:22-3). In light of this interpretation in Saramaccan, Ptg. *crúz* 'cross' could have yielded AN *kuúθu* with high tone. This process could have been reinforced by substrate influence since Kimbundu (Schadeberg 1990:8 ff.) (the main substrate source of Angolar) is tonal. Further comparison of creoles regarding this topic may cast further light on the suprasegmental phonology of Angolar.

Chapter 4: Lexicosemantics

This chapter will examine the similarities and differences between Angolar and Santomense in terms of both the vocabulary and word meaning. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the lexicosemantics provides important linguistic evidence for resolving the question of the genetic relationship of these two creoles. Interestingly, most people who came in contact with Angolar thought it was an African language whose speakers had remained isolated from the mainstream Santomense community for a good part of their group's existence.

Unlike the morphosyntax, words in general seem to have been more salient and the level that speakers are most aware of. Indeed, one can see that among the young Angolar speakers who have little command of the creole, all that's left of their ancestral language is the lexicon. This writer has witnessed on a number of occasions the attempt by some Santomense-dominant Angolares to pass as native speakers of Angolar by counting and using some limited vocabulary. One may add to the lexicon certain phonological features (e.g. interdental fricatives, cf. chapter 3) as clear markers of Angolar identity recognized as such by both native and nonnative speakers.

The origins and semantic properties of Angolar vocabulary are important in their own right and, thus deserve special treatment in this thesis. However, the topic is even more important when contrasted with the lexicosemantics of Santomense, as studied by Ivens Ferraz (1979). As

Ivens Ferraz indicated, Angolar seems to have derived a substantial part of its lexicon from African languages. Though it is impossible to identify precisely those languages which contributed to the formation of Angolar as well as Santomense, the geographical sources of the slaves imported to São Tomé cast valuable light on this question. São Tomé obtained its slaves during the first century of settlement (ca. 1470-1570) primarily from two linguistically heterogeneous regions, the Bight of Benin and the Congo basin (cf. chapter 2). Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese became more actively engaged in the slave trade in Luanda and the interior of Angola (Pavy 1967:36), the latter being relevant to the Kimbundu influence on Angolar. The Benin area has languages which belong to the Kwa subfamily while the Congo area has Bantu languages (Greenberg 1963).

This chapter is structured as follows: §4.1 presents the lexical influence of Portuguese and the various substrate languages in Angolar. There will be an attempt to quantify the relative contribution of Bantu and Kwa languages. For that purpose, Maurer's (1995) word list will be used and, whenever applicable, supplemented by my own. In §4.2 it is shown that while a word may be of Portuguese origin, its meaning may indicate African influence (semantic extension and semantic calques, reduplication). This type of semantic change sometimes extends to changes in grammatical categories under substrate influence.

4.1 Lexical sources

Like other Atlantic creoles, Angolar has a lexicon which predominantly derives from a European language, in this case Portuguese. In addition, its lexicon also reflects the particular social history the Angolares went through as a community developing outside the plantation structure in which Santomense originated. Angolar has a vocabulary which clearly demonstrates both the Kwa influence it shares with Santomense but, more significantly, its unique set of Bantu-derived words. Thus §4.1.2 stresses this lexical divergence and provides evidence for the genetic model posited in chapter 6 to explain the relation between Angolar and Santomense.

4.1.1 Portuguese lexical influence

4.1.1.1 Portuguese archaisms

It's is not uncommon for words from the superstrate which were borrowed into the creoles at an earlier period to become archaic in the lexifier language later on. In addition, the Atlantic creoles of all lexifiers have words which indicate a regional usage at the time the lexeme entered the creole lexicon (Holm 1988:74 ff.). This is no less true of the creoles of STP which, as clearly demonstrated by Ivens Ferraz (1979:102 ff.) regarding the presence of Portuguese archaisms in Santomense. Indeed, most of these Portuguese archaisms and regionalisms are present in

Angolar as well. This is not surprising due to the two creoles sharing a common history in their formative stages and, more recently, the influence of Santomense on Angolar (see chapter 6). Though the diachronic study of dialectal features of the lexifier may be an important tool in assessing the time depth of the creoles, this seems to be less significant in the case of Angolar since its Portuguese archaisms are also attested in Santomense. Table 4.1 contains some of those Portuguese archaisms present in Santomense and Angolar together with the modern words which have replaced them (cf. also Ivens Ferraz 1979 and Maurer 1995). In some cases, the archaic nature of the lexeme has to do with its phonetic shape since its creole reflex still manifests the old Portuguese pronunciation, e.g. ST *kuma*, AN *ma* (a complementizer) < Old Ptg. *coma*; cf. Modern Ptg. *como* (see §5.1.9)

Table 4.1: Portuguese archaisms in Angolar and Santomense

AN/ST	Archaic Portuguese	Modern Portuguese	English
pe	poer	pôr	to put
u ⁿ a	u ⁿ a	uma	one
miõa/minjã	mezinha	remédio	medicine
futa	furtar	roubar	to steal
masibi/mašibi	mancebinho	jovem	young person
keta/kenta	aquentar	aquecer	to heat
kunji/kuji	acudir	responder	to answer
fõga/flõga	folgar	divertir-se	to amuse oneself
žibõ	gibão	casaco	jacket

4.1.1.2 Portuguese forms and semantic shift

The degree of Portuguese lexical influence on Angolar is considerable. My own data shows a higher percentage of Portuguese words, possibly 80-90 % if one discounts those words which have an uncertain origin; similar figures on Portuguese-derived words in Angolar were also reported in Maurer (1992). Still, these estimates are significant in terms of their relative weight when compared to Santomense, a creole with an even higher portion of Portuguese-derived lexicon (Ivens Ferraz 1979). For example, a comparative analysis of the Swadesh list of 100 words for Angolar and Santomense gives the following results (cf. also appendix I for the complete 100-word Swadesh list):

Table 4.2: Portuguese and substrate words in the 100-word Swadesh list for Angolar and Santomense

	PORTUGUESE-ENTRIES /100	AFRICAN-ENTRIES /100
AN	77	23
ST	89	11

Portuguese is present in all semantic fields of the creole lexicon including numerals, body parts, plants and animals. Even the Angolar numerals dominated by mostly Bantu-derived words still have Portuguese cognates for "one, two and three" (*u'a, dooθu, teesi*). To illustrate this point, some examples of Portuguese-derived entries are given in Table 4.2.

**Table 4.3: A sample of Swadesh words
in Angolar and Santomense**

	AN	ST	Portuguese
one	u ⁿ a	u ⁿ a	uma
two	dooθu	dosu	dois
fish	kikie	piši	peixe
liver	inčima	figaru	figado
to speak	lumba	fala	falar
sun	nkumbi	sɔɔ	sol
woman	məngai	mwala	mulher
hot	kečiru	kenči	quente
eat	mε	kumε	comer

Table 4.2 reflects a trend which is also present in the general lexicon, that is, a kind of etymological asymmetry in Angolar and Santomense with respect to the language source. It is more common to find a Portuguese cognate in Santomense corresponding to an African-derived word in Angolar than vice versa. For example, AN *kikie* vs. ST *piši*. (cf. §4.1.2).

The heterogeneity of the origins of the Angolar (and Santomense) lexicon can be clearly seen in a core semantic area such as that of body parts. Besides those words which are likely to have been derived from Bantu languages (Kimbundu, Kikongo), this part of the lexicon also contains some Portuguese cognates (see Table 4.4)

Table 4.4: Body-part words in Angolar and Santomense

AN	ST	Port.	Kb ^a	Kk ^a	English
nte	kabesa	cabeça		ntu	head
šingo	kōko	pescoço	xingu		throat/ neck
we	we	olho			eyes
polo	kala	cara	polo		face
boka	boka	boca			mouth
orya	orya	orelha			ear
ndisi	liši	nariz			nose
deči	denci	dente			tooth
pena nte ⁴	kabelu	cabelo			hair
lunga	lungwa	lingua			tongue
we mpuna ¹	kabesa zunta	joelho			kneecap
we vinji ²	?	tibia			tibia
kōdo ope	oso d'ope	tornozelo		kodia	ankle
ope	ope	pé			foot/leg
mpuna	zunta	joelho	pumuna		knee
deru	dedu	dedo			finger
mo ³	mo	mão			hand/arm ³
mema	tiaši	costas		mbanji	back
bega	bega	barriga			belly, stomach
mama	mama	seios, mamas			breasts
kōbo	klosō	coração			heart
mala	tipa/ čipa		liala		tripe
inčima ⁵	figadu	figado	muxima		liver

Alves (1951) and Maia (1964a)

¹ literally 'front part of the knee' (cf. *mpuna*)

² literally 'front part of the lower part of the leg' (cf. *vinji*)

³ Kimbundu *kinama* 'hand/arm' and Kikongo *malu* 'hand/arm'

⁴ literally 'feathers of the head'; also the single noun *pena*.

⁵ More precisely, the word refers to the internal part of something (Maurer p.c.)

The comparative data shown in Table 4.4 for body parts in Angolar and Santomense illustrates interesting tendencies of the Portuguese-derived lexicon in the creoles:

- 1) Some creole words come directly from Portuguese, both in meaning and in form, allowing of course for their phonological adaptations (see chapter 3), e.g. AN and ST *orya* < Ptg. *orelha* 'idem.'
- 2) Some creole words reflect an archaic Portuguese usage, as in ST *zunta* 'knee' < Ptg. *junta* 'articulation'; the current Ptg. word is *joelho*.
- 3) Some creole words are different from their Portuguese etyma, yet related to them via a semantic change through inference, e.g. ST *tlaši* 'back' < Ptg. *atrás* 'behind'; the body part in Ptg. is *costas*, an inferential process similar to the development of English 'will' from the original meaning of desire or willingness.
- 4) Morpheme boundaries can become reanalyzed as is common in the case of articles plus nouns, e.g. AN/ST *ope* 'foot/leg' <Ptg. *o* + *pé* 'the foot'.
- 5) Compounds of mixed sources (African + Portuguese) are attested, e.g. AN *pena nte* 'hair' which combines Ptg. *pena* 'feather' with Kikongo *ntu* 'head'; instead, Santomense has the Portuguese cognate *kabelu*.
- 6) The Portuguese-derived word in the creole is a semantic extension of the substrate word, e.g. the use of *mo* and *pe* to denote 'hand/arm' and 'foot/leg', respectively. This is the case also in some African sources such as Kimbundu *lukuaku* 'hand/arm' (Maia 1964a:83, 410). Unlike Kimbundu, Portuguese has *mão* and *braço* for 'hand' and 'arm', respectively. Although no African etymon was attested for the noun *kɔdɔ*

ope 'ankle', it is also likely to be a semantic extension based on its similarity with other Angolar body parts (e.g. *we mpuna* and *pena nte*).

Thus one sees even from this limited number of creole words that the Portuguese contribution to the creole lexicon took place in several ways, which can be sum up as follows:

- direct borrowing: both form and meaning enter the creole.
- semantic calques and extensions: these are phrase-scope and word-scope phenomena in which only the form is borrowed from Portuguese, while the meaning follows that of the equivalent substrate.
- mixed-origin compounding: Portuguese is present side by side with an African word; the compound may be the result of relexification (word for word translation) of an African word or phrase (*we mpuna*, *we vinji*, Ptg. *olho* > *we* and Kb *pumuna* > *mpuna*) as well as metaphorical change (*pena nte*, Ptg. *pena* and Kikongo *ntu*).
- reanalysis of morpheme boundaries: two separate morphemes in Portuguese are reinterpreted as a single one, e.g. *olami* 'wire' < *o arame* 'the wire' and *ope* 'foot' < *o pé* 'the foot'.

A case of semantic broadening of a Portuguese word under the influence of the equivalent African word is AN *nde* /ST *tende* 'to hear, to understand' (< Ptg. *entender* 'to understand') as in (1). This polysemy is common in many African substrates of the Gulf of Guinea creoles, e.g. Kikongo *wa* 'hear,

understand' (Bentley 1887:459) and Kimbundu *ivua idem* (Maia 1964a:456)

(1) AN: e na ka nde wa.
3s not HAB understand/hear not
'He doesn't understand.'

(2) ST: n na tende kwa ku Sun Nge fla fa
1s not understand REL Mr. say not
'I didn't understand what you said.'

Unlike body part terminology, in vocabulary for natural objects (moon, sun, water, etc.), Portuguese-derived words are mostly confined to Santomense. On the contrary, the substrates contributed more nature-related words to Angolar (see Table 4.5 below).

The selective comparative data in Table 4.5 permits the following observations regarding the lexical processes the Portuguese vocabulary underwent, as well as its differential incorporation into the two creoles:

- 1) With the exception of Kwa-derived *oke* 'ascent' and possibly *irigo* 'smoke', all other Santomense terms in the nature category have Portuguese cognates, unlike Angolar where the lexicon is predominantly Bantu.
- 2) Even when the creoles have derived the forms from Portuguese, their meanings remain closer to the substrate. Thus the meaning of Angolar and Santomense *pɔ* 'tree' seem to be a semantic extension of Kimbundu and Kikongo in which the word for both 'tree' and 'stick' are the same. This is also the case with AN *biθu* and ST *bisu* 'bird' (< Ptg.

bicho 'animal') where the word meaning is likely to be derived from the Kimbundu or Kikongo word meaning both 'animal' and 'bird'.

- 3) As in AN/ST *ope* 'foot/leg', ST *omali* has reanalyzed the Ptg. masculine definite article *o* as part of the single morpheme meaning 'sea'.

Table 4.5: Words for natural phenomena in Angolar and Santomense

Angolar	Santomense	Portuguese	Kimbundu ^a	Kikongo ^a	English
nkumbi	solɔ	sol	kumbi		sun
mbɔsi	nuve	nuvem			cloud
mundu	oke ¹		monde		ascent
θuba	suba	chuva			rain
mbezi	nua	lua	mbeji		moon
mavu	mbalu	barro	mavu		earth
tetembu	štela	estrela	tetembua		star
nθeke	alya	areia	seke	nseke	sand
pɔ	pɔ	árvore ²			tree
awa	awa	agua			water
ntari/buru	budu		tadi	etadi	stone
ngo	idligu/igligu				smoke
fogo	fogo	fogo			fire
sinja	šinza	cinza			ash
biθu ³	bisu	pássaro ⁴			bird
kike	piši	peixe	kikele		fish
mibnga	omali	o mar ⁵		mungua	sea
nθuku	noči	noite	usuku		night

Alves (1951) and Maia (1964a)

¹ cf. Edo/Yoruba *oke* 'hill' (Melzian 1937:141)

² Ptg. *pau* 'stick, wood'. Cf. Kb *muxi* and Kk *nti*, both 'tree' and 'stick'

³ also means "animal" in general

⁴ Ptg. *bicho* 'animal'. Cf. Kb *kiama* and Kk *vuka*, both meaning 'animal' and 'bird'

⁵ Ptg. *o mar* 'the sea'

4.1.2 African lexical influence: Bantu and Kwa languages

4.1.2.1 The Angolar numeral system: core lexicon from the substrate

The numeral system of Angolar is unique in that numbers are not derived from Portuguese with the exception of 'one', 'two', 'three', 'fifty', 'one hundred' and 'one thousand' (see Table 4.6). Furthermore, Angolar compound numbers follow closely the Kimbundu pattern which uses the conjunction *ni* 'and' (cf. AN *ne*) to link the two numbers, e.g. AN *kwin ne dooθu* 'twelve' (lit. ten and two) vs. Kb. *kuiji ni kiiadi* (Chatelain 1888-89:52); this is quite unlike the single Ptg. morpheme *doze*. Multiples of ten in Angolar are also derived from Kimbundu except for 'fifty' and 'hundred' which are from Portuguese. In Kimbundu multiples of ten are based on the plural marker *ma-*, the numeral *kuiji* 'ten' and the number, e.g. *ma+kuija+tanu* 'fifty' (lit. PL+ ten + five); this construction does not apply to Kimbundu *kita* 'one hundred' (see Table 4.7). Interestingly, AN *dooθu* 'two' and *teesi* 'three' have Portuguese etyma, yet AN *makeri* 'twenty' and *meetatu* 'thirty' reflect in compound forms the corresponding Kimbundu numerals for two and three, namely, *kiiadi* 'two' and *katatu* 'three'.

Table 4.6: Angolar numerals

1	u ⁿ a (Ptg. um)	11	kwin ne u ⁿ a	30	meetatu
2	dooθu (Ptg. dois)	12	kwin ne dooθu	40	makewana
3	teesi (Ptg. três)	13	kwin ne teesi	50	singweta ¹
4	kuana	14	kwin ne kuana	60	meeθamanɔ
5	tanɔ	15	kwin ne tanɔ	70	meeθambari
6	θamanɔ	16	kwin ne θamanɔ	80	makenake
7	θambari	17	kwin ne θambari	90	makeuvwwa
8	nake	18	kwin ne nake	100	θen ²
9	uvwwa	19	kwin ne uvwwa	700	θamanɔ θentu
10	kwine	20	makeri	1000	mile ³

¹ Ptg. *cinquenta* 'fifty'; ² Ptg. *cem* 'one hundred'; ³ Ptg. *mil* 'one thousand'

Table 4.7: Kimbundu numerals (Maia 1964a)

1	kamue	11	kuiji ni kiiadi
2	kiiadi	20	makuijari
3	katatu	30	makuijnatatu
4	kwana	40	makuijauana
5	tanu	50	makuijatanu
6	samanu	60	makuijasamanu
7	sambari	70	makuijasambari
8	nake	80	makuijanake
9	vwa	90	makuijiuvua
10	kuiji	100	kita

Unlike Angolar, in Santomense all numerals are derived from Portuguese. However, Santomense's numeral system shows a structure which resembles Kikongo more than Portuguese (Ivens Ferraz 1979: 72ff.). Kikongo *ye* 'and, plus' is used as a connecting particle, e.g. *kumi ye mosi* 'eleven' (lit. ten plus one) and ST *des-k(u)-ua* id. (cf. Ptg. *onze*). In Table

4.8 Santomense and Kikongo numerals are listed. For numerals 1 to 6 only the Kikongo stem is given since they take different concord particles depending on the noun being modified; numerals 7 to 10 are invariable (ibid.)

Table 4.8: Santomense and Kikongo numerals

Numeral	Santomense	Kikongo
1	u ⁿ a	-mosi
2	dósu	-ole
3	tléši	-tatu
4	kwátlu	-ya
5	sínku	-tanu
6	séši	-sambanu
7	sete	nsambwadi
8	oto	nana
9	nove	vwa
10	desi	kumi
11	des-k(u)-ua	kumi ye mosi
20	dósu deši	makumole (lit. tens two)
24	dósu deši ku kwatlu	makumole ye ya

In (3) Portuguese- and Kimbundu-derived numerals are used by an Angolar woman who complains about how much the cost of living has gone up in STP.

(3) do θentu, uⁿa nte fuuta po, kwa n ka ngwet'e
two hundred one head breadfruit what 1s FUT bear-3s

kw'e! kwana deru čiba singwenta mile, uⁿa varo pana
with-3s four finger banana fifty dobra one *voador* catch

mia garrafa zeti čo fufu, doθentu, kwa n ka ngwet'e
half carafe oil little little two hundred how 1s FUT bear-3s

with-3s pečiri tua tia mangaθowa!
kw'e! pest take country EMPH

'Two hundred dobras a piece of breadfruit. How will I survive! Four bananas [a handful] (cost) fifty dobras; to grab a flying fish (is) fifty dobras; a very small half carafe of cooking oil, two hundred dobras. How will I survive! The pestilence has spread around the country, indeed.'

One can see in this specific semantic domain of the two creoles the relative degree and nature of substrate influence in the two creoles. These tables summarize the different processes of restructuring which both Portuguese and substrates underwent during creolization. This is clearly manifest in the form and meaning of the numerals. For example, Santomense numerals derive from Portuguese, in striking contrast to Angolar, in which only the three lowest numerals are clearly Portuguese in origin.

A comparison of the numeral system of Angolar and Santomense brings to the fore an important fact about their lexical and semantic makeup, namely, the influence of their substrates in a core area of the vocabulary, affecting both form and the meaning of the word, as in Angolar *kúaná* from Kimbundu *kwana*, or simply meaning alone, as in Santomense *des-k(u)-ua* 'ten and one' from Kikongo *kumi ye mosi*, idem. (cf. Ptg. *onze*).

4.1.2.2 Bantu and Kwa substrate influence on Angolar and Santomense

Before a summary of the findings regarding the influence of African lexicon on Angolar and Santomense is given, some limitations to this method must be mentioned:

- 1) Dictionaries reflect the present usage of the languages and not the diachronic stages that provided the actual inputs to the emergent creoles;
- 2) Information on dialectal variation in the linguistic input is lacking, i.e. sources refer to the standardized Kongo and Mbundu languages, without reference to the many Kongo and Mbundu dialects spoken in the region;
- 3) Historical documents are not always reliable as to the ethnolinguistic origins of slaves, often indicating their origin by just providing the port of embarkment.
- 4) Contact between the Angolares and the Santomense-speaking population, especially during the years since the Angolares' diaspora beginning in the last century (see §2.1.3.3), must have led to Angolar borrowing from Santomense, thereby making impossible an accurate description of the original language's lexical sources.

It is possible to classify substrate influence on Angolar and, of course Santomense, according to the following linguistic processes: (1) borrowing

and (2) semantic extensions. The latter category is broad enough to allow the inclusion of other processes which ultimately might be caused by calquing. Thus, reduplication and changes in grammatical categories are based on Portuguese forms which function in the creole in a fashion very unlike Portuguese. Such creole lexicosemantic features can be explained sometimes as the result of substrate interference during creolization. In some cases, universalist arguments are very unlikely to succeed since these structures seem to be too idiosyncratic or marked to dismiss the parallelism between the creole and the substrates as merely coincidental.

4.1.2.2.1 Borrowing

The word 'borrowing' is understood here as any process of lexical transfer from the lexifier language and the substrates to Angolar. It is understood that concepts such as 'loan' and 'retention' are not strictly equivalent (see Holm 1988:80 ff.); nevertheless here the word 'borrowing' is used loosely to cover both.

The number of borrowed forms from the substrates into Angolar is considerable, ranging over many semantic fields, from numbers to body parts to animal and plant life. The lexicon affected, though, is limited to content words while nearly all function words seem to have been adapted in form (and sometimes in function) from Portuguese, e.g. AN *ta* 'ANT' < Ptg. *estava* '[I/he/she] was'.

Maurer (1995) has a useful word list (pp. 210-251) of approximately 1,450 Angolar entries with their French translation and etymology as well as a French-Angolar list. Based on these word lists, the percentage of African-derived words and their likely origin are distributed as follows in Table 4.9 (n=number of words from language X; N=1,450, the total number of Angolar words):

Table 4.9: Percentage of African and Portuguese lexicon in Angolar (n=number of words from language X; %=percentage of n over total number of Angolar words)

	Edo (Kwa)	Kikongo (Bantu)	Kimbandu (Bantu)	Kwa + Bantu	Portuguese	Unknown origin
n	16	21	145	182	930	156
%	1.1%	1.5%	10.0%	12.6%	74.0%	10.8%

The portion of both Kwa and Bantu words in the Angolar lexicon is 12.6 %. Yet, Negreiros' observation on the Angolares made over a century ago, even if it went unexplained, suggests the historical origin of Angolar. It is important to give the full quote for it is suggestive of what may have happened during the emergence of the creoles:

“The language spoken by them [Angolares] is a mixture of the dialect of São Tomé [Santomense] and N'bundo [Kimbandu]. [...] None of them speak Portuguese. They alter the words of the native dialect [Santomense] in a special way, complying

with the fundamental precepts derived from this dialect and from N'bundo."

(Negreiros 1895:297-8)

My own estimate for the total substrate contribution is slightly greater (Kwa + Bantu = ca. 15%), but it agrees with Maurer's data in all other respects, e.g. the relative weight of Edo, Kikongo and Kimbundu words in the African-originated lexicon. In this section I will use Maurer's data extensively since they are more complete. However, the conclusions drawn here regarding substrate influence in the formation of Angolar vis-à-vis Santomense are original and crucial for an understanding of the discussion that will follow in chapter 6.

It is also significant to consider the relative representation of lexical items from African sources without the Portuguese contribution, as indicated in Table 4.10, so that it may be compared below with the data from Santomense (N=182, total number of African-derived words in Angolar).

Table 4.10: Proportion of total African lexicon in AN contributed by each of the substrate languages

	Edo (Kwa)	Kikongo (Bantu)	Kimbundu (Bantu)	Kwa + Bantu
n	16	21	145	182
%	8.8%	11.5%	79.7%	100%

In regards to the African sources in Santomense, all the three major languages (Edo, Kikongo and Kimbundu) from which Angolar drew its lexicon had an effect on Santomense. However, exact figures for Santomense are lacking since Ivens Ferraz (1979:90-97) is mainly a phonological and grammatical description of the language, with only 16 out of 70 pages on lexicosemantics. Nonetheless, Ivens Ferraz (ibid.:90) claims that:

“The African component of the Santomense lexicon shows a predominance of words from the Bantu and Kwa language groups. According to the data consulted, Kongo appears to be the most important Bantu source languages, and Bini [i.e. Edo, GL] the primary source of lexical items from the Kwa language group.”

Ivens Ferraz' list of Santomense words of African origin gives the relative percentages summarized in Table 4.11 (N:96) (ibid.:114-5). The last column tabulating the total number of lexical items from African sources was eliminated since total figures (Portuguese + Kwa + Bantu) are lacking.

Table 4.11: Percentage of substrate lexicon in Santomense

	Edo (Kwa)	Kikongo (Bantu)	Kimbundu (Bantu)
n	36	45	15
%	37.5%	46.9%	15.6%

A comparison of Table 4.10 and 4.11 (see Table 4.12) throws light on the overall picture one draws from the substrate effect in the formation of the lexicon of the two creoles. Let's compare the data indicated above:

Table 4.12: A comparison of relative % of African lexicon in Angolar and Santomense

	Edo (Kwa)	Kikongo (Bantu)	Kimbundu (Bantu)
Santomense	36/37.5%	45/46.9%	15/15.6%
Angolar	16/8.8%	21/11.5%	145/79.7%

The contribution of the three main substrates to the creole lexicons of Angolar and Santomense is not uniform, as Table 4.12 clearly indicates. Santomense's African lexicon is more equally divided between Edo and Kikongo (37.5% vs. 46.9%) than Angolar's, which has a predominance of Kimbundu words (79.7%). The diachronic significance of this last fact regarding the development of the two creoles will be amply discussed in chapter 6. That lexical differentiation between the two creoles means that African sources for Santomense were typologically distinct (Kwa, Bantu), a situation reflected on other linguistic levels as well, e.g. postposition of determiners (Kwa) and double negation (Bantu).

Secondly, just as Tables 4.4 (body parts) and 4.5 (natural phenomena) suggest a greater contribution of the lexifier to Santomense,

an analogous lexical imbalance is found in the substrate-derived words.

This can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Overall, Angolar has a higher percentage of lexicon of African origin (ca. 12-15%) in comparison to Santomense (< 10%).
- 2) Most Portuguese cognates in Angolar are also attested in Santomense, e.g. Ptg. *folgar* 'to rejoice' > 'AN *fɔga* - ST *flɔga* 'play, jest'. On the contrary, many Portuguese cognates in Santomense are not present in Angolar, for which the latter has an African-derived word, quite likely to be Kimbundu. This is to be expected in view of the larger contribution of Portuguese to the Santomense lexicon, e.g. Ptg. *encontrar* 'to find' > ST *kontla* 'idem' but Kb *vulumuna* 'to catch, to find' > AN *vuna*.
- 3) Kimbundu dominates as Angolar's African lexical source, e.g. numeral system. However, its semantic ranges goes beyond the numeral system and, basically, it has extended to other semantic domains, as Tables 4.4 and 4.5 show.
- 4) Nearly one-half of the non-overlapping lexicon in Angolar is likely to derive from Kimbundu.
- 5) Edo and Kikongo are nearly equally important as the two major African lexical sources in Santomense.
- 6) The same concept may be represented by different African lexemes in the two creoles, more likely to be Kimbundu in Angolar, and Edo or Kikongo in Santomense, e.g. Edo *oke* 'ascent' > ST *oke* 'idem.' but Kb *mulundu* 'hill' > AN *mundu* 'idem.' Also, Kk *mwalakaji* 'woman who

suckles her child' > ST *mwala* 'woman' but Kb *mungaji* 'woman' > *mengaʔ* idem.'

4.1.2.2.2 Semantic extension

Besides the borrowing of words into Angolar from different substrates, there is evidence of even stronger influence of African sources on Angolar lexicon through linguistic processes not always obvious. In the discussion of body-part words in Angolar, mention was made of lexemes such as AN *pɔ* which derives from Ptg. *pau* 'stick, wood'. However, the Angolar word (also found in Santomense) underwent semantic extension under the influence of substrate words such as Kb *muxi* and Kk *nti*, both having the dual meaning 'tree' and 'stick'. This same semantic extension is found with body parts such as AN *mɔ* 'hand/arm', influenced by Kb *kinama* 'hand/arm' and Kk *malu* 'hand/arm'. At times, the two processes under study - borrowing and calquing - contrast in the creoles. For instance, while Angolar numerals represent an example of borrowing, a process which kept almost intact the original Kimbundu system of numbers (i.e. form and meaning), ST's numbers are the result of a calquing of the Kikongo way of counting (see §4.1.2.1). Borrowing and calquing here derived from the two substrate languages (Kimbundu and Kikongo) which influenced Angolar and Santomense most, respectively. Furthermore, the preservation of the original forms in Angolar (borrowing) and their replacement in Santomense

by Portuguese words preserving the Kikongo pattern is evidence of the stronger influence of African sources on Angolar.

Evidence of calquing in Angolar is by no means restricted to semantics one as described previously. There were other ways in which the African sources made their impact on the lexicosemantics of Angolar during creolization. Reduplication and changes in the grammatical categories of Portuguese words show that calquing was a productive source of lexical and semantic development in Angolar.

Reduplication is a productive process of word formation in many substrate languages, whether what's reduplicated is the whole word or just part of it. For example, in Yoruba gerund formation involves the reduplication of the initial segment plus /i/ insertion, e.g. *ga* 'tall' > *giga* 'being tall'. Or, it may require the reduplication of the entire word for other purposes, as in the Kikongo examples cited below (Bentley 1887:605):

- continuous action: *luvati* 'sideways' > *o luvati luvati*
- means of transportation: *eseke* 'land' > *o eseke eseke* 'by land'
- partition: *ndambu* 'piece' > *e ndambu ndambu* 'in pieces'
- intensification: *beni* 'well' > *beni beni* 'very much'
- identification: *ntama* 'afar, remote' > *e ntama ntama* 'one of these times'

Reduplication in the African source languages (both Kwa and Bantu languages) was carried over into the creoles; in particular, it allowed lexical

expansion and semantic differentiation in the creoles with a limited number of lexical items. For example, noun reduplication in Kikongo contributes to a great number of different adverbs (manner, degree, etc.), as above.

The functions of reduplication in Angolar are similar to those in Santomense, some of which are in Ivens Ferraz (1979), and include the following:

- **CONTINUITY:** reduplication of the Ptg. *doente* 'sick' gives rise to the adjectival verb *dueči-dueči* which expresses a continuous state.

(4a) AN: Vira na θa kole bwaru wa, turia dueči-dueči θo
 life not PRG run well not everyday sick-sick INT
 'Life is not going well; I am sick all the time.'

(4b) ST: e pega-pega anka (Ivenz Ferraz 1979)
 3s catch-catch crab
 'He regularly caught crabs.'

Also, AN *nduka* means 'to stumble' (cf. Kb *kukinduka* 'fall'), yet its reduplicated form *nduka-nduka* means 'to stumble repeatedly' as in example (5):

(5) AN: m be mu nduku-nduku
 1s come 1s stumble-stumble
 'I stumbled continuously.'

- **SEPARATION:** the reduplicated form *wala-wala* in (6a) has the meaning 'each person goes his own way'. Its origin is not certain; however, one may posit Portuguese, e.g. *u'a* 'one (person)' + *lá* 'there', and African sources, Kb *kala* 'each' and similar reduplicated patterns in other

substrates, e.g. Kk *muntu-muntu* 'each' (*muntu* 'person') and Kb *moxi-moxi* 'each' (Kb *moxi* 'person').

- (6a) AN: Aie familia bila re wala-wala
 now family change 3s each-each
 'Now the family changed from those days; each one is going his own way.'

In ST *uⁿa-uⁿa* has the meaning of 'any'. In this case, reduplication yielded the indefinite determiner out of another indefinite determiner *uⁿa* 'a'.

- (6b) ST: e fla maši bwa do ke uⁿa-uⁿa nge
 3s say speaker good than any person
 'He spoke better than anyone.'

- **INTENSIFICATION**: it is also present in Santomense; *vugu* alone means 'to fight, to work hard' [< Kk *vuku* 'quick movement exerted unexpectedly' (Ivens Ferraz 1979:94)] but, in its reduplicated form, it means 'to sacrifice oneself'. Sometimes only the first syllable is repeated, e.g. *vuvugu* with the same meaning.

- (7a) AN: Suⁿ θε yugu-yugu, zi ɕɔ kubata
 you-polite DEM sacrifice make small house
 'This man sacrificed himself making a small house.'

In addition to the reduplication of a verb to obtain another verb, Angolar and Santomense allow other types of reduplication for intensification. For example, in (7b) it is possible to obtain the adverb *ɕɔ-ɕɔ* 'only' (< Ptg. *só* 'only') from the adjective *ɕɔ* 'alone'. This type of semantic

change due to reduplication is found in Angolar and Santomense (cf. Yoruba *so so* 'only').

(7b) ST: nδ te u"ɑ minɑ sɔ-sɔ
 1p have one child only.
 'We had one child only.'

Another frequent reduplicated form is *leve-leve* 'slowly' (Ptg. *leve* 'light'), an almost obligatory ingredient in every greeting exchange in STP. Its presence in Angolar and Santomense, but not in Portuguese, shows once more that a substrate is likely to have influenced the formation of the reduplicated adverb. Furthermore, Ptg. *leve* has no cognate in Angolar or in Santomense. In all substrates (see above) likely to have influenced Angolar, adverbs are formed by reduplication, e.g. Kb *fele-fele* 'slowly' and Kk *luelu-luelu* 'idem' (cf. Ptg. *devagar*). Note also that the adjectives, Kb *luelu* 'light' and Kk *fele* 'idem' both change their meaning in the same way. The same process changed Ptg. *leve* to AN *leve-leve*.

(8) AN: M mala ε pe a la, lɛma kw'ɛ lɛvɛ-lɛvɛ
 1s row 3s LOC UNM there row with-3s slowly
 'I tied it [the shark, GL] and rowed with it very slowly.'

It was noted above that the segment reduplicated may be the entire word or only some part of it, usually the initial syllable. A case in point is the AN adverb *mɔmɔri*. For the word *mɔri* Maurer (1995:231, 729) correctly posits the Ptg. etymon *mole* 'soft, tender', although the partially reduplicated form *mɔmɔri* is not included in his vocabulary. The incorporation and

lexicalization of the initial syllable *mɔ-* in the original Ptg. word can be seen in the use of the reduplicated form *mɔmɔri- mɔmɔri* for intensity (9).

- (9) n lema mɔmɔri-mɔmɔri ate viča paya.
 1s row slowly until arrive beach
 'I rowed very slowly until I reached the beach.'

Partial reduplication is attested in Santomense in a word like *zunta-zuntadu* (Ivens Ferraz 1979) which indicates randomness (see ex. 9). The Ptg. participle *juntado* means 'joint, connected'; however, the reduplicated form indicates 'mixed up'. Interestingly, Kikongo *sanganisa* means both 'to mix up' and 'put together'. In AN *ɔunta* functions as a non-reduplicated adjectival verb (10).

- (10) ST: ine sa zunta-zuntadu
 3p COP mixed up
 'They are all mixed up.'

- (11) AN: ɔla ka vuča Paia Angene turu a ka ɔunta nge
 when HAB arrive Beach Angene all UNM FUT put together person
 'When they arrive to Anguene Beach they will all get together.'

Reduplication of some verbs of motion in Angolar adds to them the connotation 'all over' and 'here and there', rather than the connotation of intensity. In AN *kɔle* 'to run' (Ptg. *correr*) can be used just like in Portuguese; on the other hand, AN*kɔle-kɔle* may indicate motion around or over a place, e.g. 'to walk over, go through, move back and forth', etc.

- (12) m ba miɔnga; m ba kɔle-kɔle koši ε
 1s go sea 1s go go through DEM
 'I went to the sea; I went through its shallow part.'

4.1.2.2.3 Grammaticalization

An overview of grammaticalization in Angolar as part of this chapter is pertinent to the extent that it is a process which affects the lexicon. Grammaticalization is generally understood as a change which reduces the content-based word into a grammatical morpheme in a unidirectional path (Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991a:149). Thus, a grammaticalized item (word, phrase, etc.) acquires certain morphosyntactic properties (inflections, derivations, function words, etc.) that cease to be transparent semantically as they become desemantized or devoid of the meaning the lexical item had before (semantic bleaching). A case in point is the grammaticalization that body-part words go through as they acquire another categorial status, e.g. 'back' (noun > adverb). As a result of such changes, those grammaticalized lexemes may acquire a less concrete meaning attached to various notions such as time, space, causality, etc.

Traugott and Heine (1991) give two paths leading to grammaticalization:

- (a) "lexical item > morpheme model"
- (b) "the discourse > morphosyntax perspective"

Grammaticalization path (a) represents the traditional perspective on grammaticalization. A generally accepted definition of the term 'grammaticalization' is that of Kuriłowicz (1965:52) quoted in Heine et al. (1991a:149):

"Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one."

Under this view one may find a number of diachronic changes languages undergo as lexemes become progressively grammaticalized. Such is the case of verbs that assume the role of auxiliaries, e.g. Eng. *will*, or become grammaticalized as with the shift from Latin *habeo* as a modal auxiliary to a future marker, e.g. Latin *facere habeo* > French *je ferai* 'I will do'.

Grammaticalization path (b) shows that a pragmatically constrained variability may be grammaticalized as discourse strategies become fixed, e.g. Tamil rhetorical questions > conjunctions and relativizers (Herring 1991) and, the use of 'like' in American English as a discourse marker of reported speech (Romaine and Lange 1991).

Arends and Bruyn (1995) identify some of the basic issues and warnings a grammaticalization framework has to address as an explanatory process of lexicosemantic and morphosyntactic change in creolization since creole phenomena do not result from internally-motivated changes alone; both "language contact and concomitant external influences may be crucial in the case of pidgins and creoles" (Arends and Bruyn 1995:118):

(a) since grammaticalization is cognitively and pragmatically constrained on the speakers of the language, and many of those processes are

universal, one may expect to see similar patterns in all human languages, as with words with spatial meaning being the source of function words such as complementizers (French *pour* > Haitian Creole *pu*) (Arends and Bruyn 1995:117);

- (b) since upon expansion pidgins borrow from lexifier and substrate(s) both form and function, grammaticalization might be erroneously attributed to creolization when, in reality, a creole feature simply indicates a specific diachronic stage of one or more of the contributing languages, especially when the latter are undergoing such a process, e.g. the development of progressive aspect in creoles from space content words in the substrate (Eng. 'there' > English-based creoles *(d)e* (Holm 1988-89:155ff., quoted in Arends and Bruyn 1995:117);
- (c) internal development of the creole language, e.g. Tok Pisin adverb *baimbai* (Eng. 'by and by') > irrealis preverbal marker *bai* (Sankoff and Laberge 1974);
- (d) convergence of any of the factors present in (a), (b) and/or (c), e.g. Ptg. imperfect *-ba* (*eu cantava* 'sang') plus substrate Manjaku *(pě)-ba* 'finish' > Guinea-Bissau Kriyol anterior marker *ba* (*n konta u ba* 'I had told you') (Kihm 1994:103).

Many functional words (prepositions, conjunctions, relative pronouns, TMA particles, etc.; see chapter 5) in Angolar and other creoles can be traced, at least formally, to lexical items in the lexifier. Thus, in

Sranan the near future marker *go* derives from the English verb 'go'. One possible motivation for the "lexical item > morpheme model" could be its semantic and grammatical transparency. Possibly, in the earlier stages of creolization speakers resorted mainly to this type of mechanism as the communicative needs were greater, especially increased by the new and relatively more unstable social situation to which slaves were exposed. This is in contrast with pidginization, where simplification of the linguistic input in the reduction of communicative demands on the speakers is the rule. As a result, pidgins are more pragmatically bound than creoles which, unlike the former, are characterized by univocity (one form-one meaning) as a principle of grammar building and, in addition, are pragmatically more independent.

Grammaticalization may give rise to semantically and functionally distinct elements, even when they are phonologically not so. This is clearly the case when the lexical item is used side-by-side with the grammaticalized equivalent (see §5.1.9). For example, Ptg. *falar* 'to speak' came into Angolar as the verb *fara* 'say' as well as the quotative marker and complementizer *fa(ra)*:

(13) pɛ nɔ̃ fara nɔ̃ fa, ʔe ka biri we o
 father 1p say 1p quot 2p HAB open eyes INT
 'Our father told us: "open the eyes".'

(14) E fara m fara: "E ka bi poθθ"
 3s say 1s QUOT 3s HAB come city
 'He said to me that he used to come to the city.'

To the extent that a creole does not simply borrow from another contact language the form and grammaticalized functionality of a certain word or construction, the creole is said to undergo grammaticalization. So, in (13) above an African substrate could have led to the grammaticalization of Portuguese *falar* on the model of a substrate language. Such parallel is attested in Kb *uixi* 'to say' and Kk *vovo* (also *ovovele* and *vo*) 'to speak':

(15) Kb: Ua ngi bazela uixi... (Chatelain 1964:106)

3s 1s scold QUOT

'He scolded me, saying...'

(16) Kk: Mfumu ovovele vo ngyenda (Bentley 1887:616)

chief say CPL 1s-go

'The chief said that I should go.'

A second and equally important grammaticalization phase in the development of a creole might be the role that discourse variability had in the development of the creole grammar (cf. the second grammaticalization path in Traugott and Heine 1991, "the discourse > morphosyntactic perspective"). Nativization, more elaborated communicative functions and stabilization of the creole speech community (i.e. sizable number of speakers, group identity, young speakers, etc.) must have integrated the pragmatic meaning to the other components of the expanding creole grammar, which was predominantly referential during pidginization and much less so in early creolization. This emphasis on pragmatically-mediated meaning during a second stage of creolization (and very likely to continue to be an active source of language change in creoles) might have

led to the development of spatiotemporal categories via metaphorical extension of body part words, e.g. AN *wɛ* 'eyes, front' and *mema* 'back (noun), back'.

(17) AN : N ka pɛ u'a taba wɛ, n ka pɛ u'a mema
 1s HAB put one plank front 1s HAB put one behind
 'I put one plank up, I put another one behind.'

As discussed in §5.1.6.4 the categorial change for AN *onge* (< Edo *egbe?*, see Maurer 1995:237) and ST *ubwe* (< Edo *egbe ?*, Ivens Ferraz 1979:95), both meaning 'body', is found in their reflexive use in constructions with the general form: [*ki+ onge* + PRONOUN], i.e. 'with body his' (himself).

Chapter 5: Morphosyntax

5.0 Introduction

Angolar and Santomense have many morphosyntactic features in common, suggesting a shared history during their development. This chapter provides a description of Angolar morphosyntax, and whenever applicable, its points of divergence from Santomense. Unless otherwise specified, Santomense can be understood to have parallel morphosyntactic features. This chapter is divided into two sections, the noun phrase (§5.1) and the verb phrase (§5.2).

5.1 The Noun Phrase

5.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are morphologically invariable for gender and number. However, animate nouns may be lexically marked for natural gender by postposition of the word *ɔmɛ* 'man, male' or *mɛngai* 'woman, female':

- (1) *bwe ɔmɛ* 'bull' (lit. 'ox man')
bwe mɛngai 'cow' (lit. 'ox woman')
 (cf. ST *bwe mwala* idem)

A few kinship terms and respect tags intrinsically distinguish gender, e.g. *limɔ-mana* 'brother-sister', *tata-mama* 'father-mother', *Suⁿ- Sã* 'Sir-Madam'. Others *zina (ɔmɛ)-zina (mɛngai)* 'grandfather-grandmother' and *na (ɔmɛ)-na (mɛngai)* 'son-daughter' may follow either gender-marking pattern like lexical postposition or intrinsic.

5.1.2 Determiners

5.1.2.1 Definite article

Angolar has no definite article; a bare noun (including common nouns) can be either generic or definite depending on the context.

(2) *nomi mama m θa Manela Alfonsu* (DEFINITE)
 name mother 1s be Manela Alfonsu
 'My mother's name is Magdalena Alfonso.'

(3) *pe m ka kopwa ċiba ra m* (GENERIC)
 father 1s HAB buy banana for 1s
 'My father used to buy bananas for me.'
 (ST *pe=AN tata*)

In addition to their deictic function (see §5.1.4), postnominal demonstratives adjectives can be functionally equivalent to definite articles indicating a specific referent. Thus, a phrase like *anε mengai ε* could be translated into Portuguese as *estas mulheres* 'these women' or as *mulheres* 'the women', according to context. It is possible to find remnants of the Portuguese definite articles in Angolar nouns as the result of morphemic reanalysis; however, these have completely lost the functionality they had in the lexifier once they became incorporated into the noun stem. In (4) *ɔpε* 'foot' (cf. Ptg. *pé*) has the Ptg. definite article *o* (masculine, singular). Such incorporation of all or part of the article is not restricted to Angolar; cf. ST *zonda* < Ptg. *as ondas* 'the waves'.

(4) *mengai ka bi ɔpε*
 woman HAB come foot
 'Women come by foot.'

Though nouns need not be overtly marked for plurality (see pluralization in §5.1.2.3), when they do, the plural morpheme *anɛ* and its reduced form 'nɛ may indicate specificity as shown in (5). Here, 'nɛ serves as a discourse marker, reinforcing the specificity of the demonstrative adjectives *θɛ* and *ɛ* (*nɛ θɛ sor'ɛ ngol'ɛ*). This is in contrast with the more neutral and nearly identical noun phrase introduced earlier except for the absence of the pluralizer.

(5) Ola ma n ngana pɔθɔⁿ Ø, sora ngola, n taka kɔmpa m Dumu
when 1s arrive city soldier Angolan 1s find buddy 1s Dumu

Caien. θo, 'nɛ θɛ sor'ɛ ngol'ɛ, ra m u'a korena
Caien then PL DEM soldier-DEM Angolan-DEM give 1s a butt

pingara ɛ,
rifle DEM

'When I arrived to the city, there were Angolan soldiers. (Then) I met my friend Dumu Caien. Later (that day) those Angolan soldiers hit me with the butt of the rifle.'

On the other hand, the absence of plural marking in sentence (6) helps to convey the generality expressed in popular aphorisms.

(6) Ø ɔmɛ ka kumpli Ø mwala, Ø mwala tɛ ka kumpli Ø ɔmɛ
man IRR fulfill woman woman also IRR fulfill man

'Men should fulfill their obligations toward women, and women also toward men.'

(ST *mwala*=AN *mengai*)

5.1.2.2 Indefinite article

The indefinite article is *u'a*, which is homophonous with the numeral *u'a* 'one' (see §5.1.2.4 on numerals); it always precedes the noun.

- (7) N ka tanga u'a θoya
 1s FUT tell IND story
 'I will tell a story.'

u'a is probably derived from Ptg. *uma*, the singular feminine indefinite article; it is invariable for gender and number even when the noun has a masculine Ptg. etymon (*u'a* ɔmɛ 'a man'). If the noun has a plural meaning but remains unmarked without the pluralizer *anɛ*, then *u'a* before a noun functions like the indefinite quantifier 'some', e.g. *u'a* *mɛngai* 'some women'. The indefinite article *u'a* after *nɛ* 'not even' means 'no one, nobody' as shown in (8).

- (8) θo nɛ u'a nɔⁿ na ta le wa
 thus not even one 1p not know read not
 'None of us knew how to read.'

(cf. ST *nɔⁿ*; non-influenced Angolar has the nonnasalized pronoun *nɔ*)

As part of a detailed comparison between the article systems of Cape Verdean and Santomense, Lucchessi (1993) found that, unlike Portuguese, the creoles use the indefinite articles (CV sg. *u'* and pl. *u's*, ST sg./pl. *u'a*) to mark a specific and new NP in the discourse; once introduced, the NP remains unmarked for the rest of the discourse, i.e. there is no need to use the definite article in later occurrences as happens with the definite article in Portuguese (*o*, *os/a*, *as*). On the other hand, the indefinite article in Portuguese (*um*, *uns/uma*, *umas*) serves to indicate both referential and non-referential NPs. Both phonological factors (absence of a CV syllabic structure in Portuguese definite articles and their ease of assimilation or

reduction), and the influence of substrates, especially in the case of Santomense (Kikongo has no articles), are considered as possible explanations of the article systems of Cape Verdean and Santomense (ibid.:102-3; see §§5.1.2.2 and 5.1.4). Thus the two creoles have article systems which deviate from that of the lexifier language in similar ways, though the cause for the change - according to Lucchesi - may not be identical since Santomense may have undergone more substrate influence, as claimed by Morais-Barbosa (1965-66) and Carvalho (1981).

5.1.2.3 Pluralization

Plurality in Angolar is optionally indicated by means of a separate morpheme. The plural marker *anɛ* (cf. ST *ine* idem) precedes the pluralized noun which, as stated before, is invariable for number, e.g. *anɛ anɔ̃u* 'the children' (lit. 'the angels'). It is homophonous with the third person plural pronoun, a feature which Angolar shares with other Atlantic creoles (e.g. Palenquero and Papiamentu Creole Spanish) and its African substrate languages [e.g. Kikongo *ma-* 'plural noun and subject verb prefix' (Bentley 1887:543,578)] (see §4.1.2.2.).

In fast speech *anɛ* is frequently realized as *'ne*, a variant which undergoes apheresis of the initial unstressed segment. The same variant is found in Santomense except that in this case /i/ is deleted.

When certain numerals (e.g. *kwin* 'ten', cf. ST*deš*), quantifiers (*tu* 'every', cf. ST *uru*) or intensifiers (*mɔči* 'many', cf. ST *mōči*) modify a noun, *ane* is considered redundant and omitted.

(9) N *taba* *lɔθa* Ø *kwin* *anu*
 1s work plantation ten year
 'I worked ten years on the plantation.'

(10) *Turu* *ja* *loro* *onge*
 every day pain body
 'Every day my body is in pain.'

(11) N *ta* *ka* *taba* *mɔči* *mangaθwa* 'i *ɔla* *ma* *leru*
 1s ANT HAB work many INT of hour but money

na *ka* *sigá* *pa* *m* *vive* *wa*.
 not HAB reach to 1s live not

'I used to work many hours but the money was not enough to live on.'

Nouns which are uncountable (e.g. *nge* 'people') or are countable but are otherwise used generically to highlight group identity do not take a plural marker. Note that in (12) the two nouns underlined mean 'all women' and 'all men'.

(12) *Mengai* *ka* *bi* *ɔpe*, *ɔme* *tambe* *ka* *bi* *kanua*
 woman HAB come foot man also HAB come canoe
 'Women come by foot, and men also come (but) on canoe.'

5.1.2.4 Numerals

Numerals precede the noun and any modifier (e.g. adjective). The numeral system of Angolar is unique in that most numbers are not derived from Portuguese with exception of 'one', 'two', 'three', 'fifty', 'one hundred' and 'one thousand'. For further details see above (§4.1.2.1).

5.1.3 Adjectives

5.1.3.1 Postnominal adjective

Unlike Portuguese, neither the Angolar noun nor its modifying adjectives are marked for number or gender. Attributive adjectives are usually placed after the noun, e.g. *u'a panera ngairu* 'a large pot'. The small set of adjectives which can be placed either before or after the noun in Portuguese (*bom* 'good', *grande* 'big', *pobre* 'poor', etc.) have been borrowed into Angolar without the optional placement rule. This means that in Angolar a phrase like *u'a ɔmɛ pobi* 'a poor man' has both the meanings that Portuguese can convey with noun-adjective versus adjective-noun word order, i.e. *um homem pobre* 'a man who is not rich' vs. *um pobre homem* 'a man who inspires pity'. Noun-adjective is also the categorical order in Santomense (Ivens Ferraz 1979:80). The Angolar and Santomense corpora show some cases of adjectives in prenominal position; these appear only in questionnaires written in Portuguese and intended to elicit some of these data. One can disregard these tokens in view of the likely interference Portuguese had on the speaker's creole; moreover, they are absent in spontaneous and natural conversations.

To convey the idea of degree or comparison, one can use words like *maši* 'more' (*maši bwaru* 'better'; cf. Ptg. *melhor*), *paθa* 'very' (*θɛru paθa* 'very early'), *čɔ* 'a little' (*čɔ fufu* 'a little small'), *menu* 'less' (*menu doenči* 'less sick'), etc. Also, phrases such as *fɔga wa* and *mangaθowa* 'indeed' after adjectives (especially in negative expressions) serve to intensify their

meaning. When glossed into Portuguese, those intensifiers are variously rendered as *muito* 'very' and the colloquial expression *não é brincadeira* 'it's not a joke'.

- (13) Ma si n na ka ende koθe pe m wa, n ka fika
 but if 1s not IRR listen advice father 1s not 1s IRR stay

mali mangaθowa
 bad INT

'But if I had not listen to my father's advice, I would have ended up really bad [after he died].'

5.1.3.2 Adjectival-like *-ru*

This unique case of a derivational ending *-ru* in Angolar (borrowed from Portuguese participle suffixes *-ado/-ido*, from first and second conjugation verbs, respectively) is used in a few participial constructions with the copula *θa* in a construction similar to Portuguese (cf. in 14 AN *tebeθaru* 'crossed' from Ptg. *atravessado* idem).

- (14) uⁿa ria, ami ba ngapɔ nθuku. N θa tebeθaru.
 one day 1s go carapau night 1s be crossed

n ka mata ngapɔ
 1s PROG kill carapau

'One day I went to fish *carapau* at night. I am crossed to kill carapau.'

The *-ru* morpheme also shows idiosyncratic properties in terms of its usage and the type of words to which it can be attached. In (15) the adjective *ngwataru* is an innovation since the Ptg. verb *agüentar* 'to hold out, to withstand' has no participial derivation **agüentado*.

- (15) N θa kw'e ngwɛtaru
 1s be with-3s hold out
 'I am holding out together with him
 [The speaker and another fisherman are resisting a shark.]

A further productive extension of the *-ru* morpheme is its combination with adjectives derived from non-verbs in Portuguese. For example, *ngairu* < *ngai* 'big' (cf. ST *nnglanji*, Ptg. *grande*) and *ke'čiru* 'hot' (cf. ST *ke'či*, Ptg. *quente*). African-derived words are also affected by *-ru* suffixation, e.g. *kutaru* 'dry' (cf. ST *seku*, Ptg. *seco*) from Kimbundu *kukuta* id. (Maurer 1995:224).

The adverb *mɔ'či* 'much, many' (Ptg. *muito*) may sometimes take *-ru* regardless of what kind of word it modifies, i.e. a verb (16), noun (17), adjective or another adverb (18):

- (16) nge ki θe ka ngɔɔ kwa θε θeru paθa pe
 person who be PROG seek thing DEM fast very for-3s
 te maši mɔ'čiru
 have more much

'The person who is seeking this thing [wine preparation] faster in order to have much more [wine]...'

- (17) nge mɔ'čiru na ka bebe wa
 person many not HAB drink not
 'Many people don't drink.'

- (18) n ka taba lɔθa si lɛlu ka θa maši mɔ'čiru
 1s IRR work plantation if money IRR be more much
 'I would work on a plantation if the money [wages] were much higher.'

For Santomense Ivens Ferraz (1979:60) reported that the equivalent morpheme *-du* was in free variation with zero, e.g. *ine' sa zunta-zuntadu*

'they are all mixed up', a morphosyntactic feature also present in my Santomense data:

- (19) ST: n sa desididu
 1s be decided
 'I am decided.'

Unlike Angolar, neither Ivens Ferraz' nor my own Santomense data show that *-du* has the functions of AN *-ru*. In ST, with the only exception of the infrequent *bwadu*, *-du*. Compare (20) and (21):

- (20) AN: n taba mɔ́ciru mangaθowa lɛru si ε na šiga pa n vive wa

- (21) ST: n tlabá mɔntxi muntu jɛlu mɛ so na šiga pa n vive fa
 1s work much much money DEM not reach for 1s live not
 'I worked a lot (but) the money was not enough to live.'

5.1.4 Demonstratives

Angolar has two types of demonstrative adjectives (with their morphophonemic allomorphs) which serve to indicate relative distance (i.e. near/far) with respect to the speaker. Furthermore, some Angolar speakers make another distinction between 'there' and 'over there' as indicated clearly in the Portuguese translation. Portuguese has a three-point distance distinction: *este/esse/aquela* (dem. masc. sing.). Example (22) shows the relative degree of distance indicated by the demonstratives either as deictics or anaphorics.

- (22a) $\theta\epsilon \sim \epsilon \sim \delta\theta \Rightarrow$ near the speaker (ST $s\epsilon$)
tia ðe θa piora
 country DEM be get worse
 'This country is getting worse.'

(22b) *si* ε ~ *si* ⇒ far from the speaker (ST *sala*)
 θo suⁿ si ε bi lanja ɔ̃ kubata se
 then Mr. DEM come arrange small cabin DEM
 'Then, that man came to arrange a small cabin.'

(22c) *si* ða ~ ða ⇒ very far from the speaker
 mengai si ða 'that woman over there' (Ptg. *aquela mulher*)

In combination with *kwa* 'thing' demonstratives function as pronouns:

(23) kwa si ε ma kompa be
 thing DEM REL kompa see
 'That one [shark] that the compa saw.'

Unlike Portuguese, the demonstratives in Angolar always occupy a postnominal position. When the noun is modified by a possessive, the demonstrative precedes the former, i.e. [noun + demonstrative + possessive] as in (24). On the other hand, attributive adjectives have a flexible position so that they may precede or follow the demonstrative adjectives, i.e. [noun + demonstrative + adjective] or [noun + adjective + demonstrative] as in (25) (cf. also Maurer 1995:41ff.).

(24a) AN: bo θe ka dizigaθa tia ε q
 2s be PROG disgrace country DEM 2s
 'You are disgracing your country.' (this country of yours)
 (final q may also be the emphatic particle)

(24b) ST: Suⁿ se mulatu
 Mr. DEM mulatto
 'this mulatto man'

(25) AN: ɔmε ε bwaru
 man DEM good
 'this good man'

The absence of definite articles in Angolar (see §5.1.2.1) is at least functionally compensated by postnominal demonstratives, a tendency

observable across typologically different languages (e.g. Latin). Thus, a phrase like *anɛ mɛngai ɛ* could be translated into Portuguese as *estas mulheres* 'these women' or *as mulheres* 'the women', according to context. Note also that NPs of the form [noun + demonstrative] are pluralized by preposing the plural marker, e.g. *anɛ mɛngai si* 'those women'.

5.1.5 Possession

Possession is commonly indicated by noun juxtaposition (apposition) with the possessed noun preceding the possessor (26a).

(26a) *mingu tata m*
 friend father 1s
 'my father's friend'

(26b) *ðumbi zina mama m (or mu?)*
 soul grandmother mother 1s
 'the soul of my greatgrandmother'

(26c) ST: *migu di pe m*
 friend of father 1s
 'idem'

(ST *migu pe m* is expected here since *di* is always followed by a vowel-initial word, Maurer p.c.)

Some Angolar speakers use variably the preposition *ni* 'of' (cf. ST *di* < Ptg. *de*) in a prepositional phrase construction under the influence of Portuguese; in ST *di* is obligatory as in (26c). In (27), the same speaker (ca. 40 yr., from São João dos Angolares) has two consecutive NPs with and without *ni*.

(27) *kɔmpa ka paɲa [kaʃika kɔmbi], [kaʃika ni zungu]*
 kɔmpa IRR pick up peel mocumbli peel of zungu
 'You should pick up *mocumbli* and *zungu* peels.'

The same pattern is found in Angolar in nominal predicates which involve the copula 'be' (*θa*) plus a noun to indicate possession. In Santomense the preposition *di* is placed between the copula and the predicative.

(28a) *lθa θa Suⁿ André*
 plantation be Mr. André
 'The plantation is Mr. André's.'

(28b) ST: *Tudaši sa di folo*
 all be of Forro
 'All is (belongs) of the Forros.'

5.1.5.1 Possessive adjectives

The same set of pronominal forms may function as both personal pronouns (see §5.1.5.2) and possessive adjectives. Like adjectives in general, possessive adjectives are in postnominal position, e.g. *kai m* 'my house' (lit. 'house my'), even when the noun has another modifier, e.g. *đumbi zina m* 'the spirit of my grandmother'. The other possessive adjective forms are listed below.

(29) <i>tia m</i> 'my country'	<i>tia nθ</i> 'our country'
<i>tia (b)o</i> 'your (sg.) country'	<i>tia θe</i> 'your (pl.) country'
<i>tia re</i> 'his/her country'	<i>tia anε</i> 'their country'

5.1.5.2 Possessive pronouns

In Santomense possessive pronouns are formed with the preposition *di* 'of' plus the personal pronoun, e.g. *di bo* 'yours'. In Portuguese possessive adjectives are preceded by the definite article, e.g. *o teu passaporte* 'your passport'; the corresponding possessive pronoun is just

teu, e.g. *o passaporte é teu* 'the passport is yours'. However, in colloquial Portuguese, the possessive of the third person *dele/s* 'his, their/s (masc.)' (< *de* + *ele/s*) and *dela/s* (< *de* + *ela/s*) 'her/s, their/s (fem.)' are the common forms (cf. ST *d'è*). As for Angolar, such possessives do appear as in Santomense, but seem to be less frequent.

5.1.5.3 The Copula (*θa*) + *ki*

A construction with copula *θa* followed by the coordinating conjunction *ki* 'with' may also express possession (cf. ST *sa ku idem*) (see §5.1.7.4). This way of expressing possession can be used side-by-side with the verb meaning 'to have' (*te*). For example, in (30) the speaker in describing his possessions uses both constructions with no apparent change in meaning.

- (30) E *θa ki* kombo pɔtɔ, e *te* ombo pɔtɔ
 3s be with rooster garden 3s have goat garden
 'He has one rooster and one goat in the garden.'

5.1.6 Pronouns

5.1.6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal Pronouns are not marked for gender or case (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Comparison of personal pronouns in Angolar and Santomense

Angolar		Santomense	
SINGULAR		SINGULAR	PLURAL
PLURAL	m ~ ŋ ~ Ø ~ am nɔ	n ~ m ~ ŋ ~ ami ~ Ø	nɔ ^a
2	bo eθe, θe	bo	nanse, inanse
3	e ~ ele anε~enε	e ~ ele	ine ⁿ ~ne ⁿ
UNM	a		a

As can be observed in Table 5.1, Angolar and Santomense have almost the same pronominal system; the differences are essentially phonological in nature, e.g. AN /θ/ vs. ST /s/. The phonetic form of the first person singular pronoun is conditioned by homorganicity with the following segment, i.e. n before dental and alveolar sounds (*n te* 'I have'), m before bilabials (*m ba* 'I went') and ŋ before velars (*ŋ ka fla* 'I speak'). In Santomense, due to the phonotactic constraint of open syllables (CV) the first person singular is realized as *mu* in possessive position, e.g. *mε mina mu* 'the mother of my two daughters'. As in Santomense, young Angolar speakers whose language is influenced by Santomense (31a; compare with uninfluenced Angolar in 31b) one finds that the bilabial nasal m is realized as *mu* before a pause. In basilectal Angolar if a pause follows the nasal possessive pronoun, then progressive nasalization is observed (cf. 31b).

(31a) N ka vive kai mai mu (15 years old)
 1s HAB live house mother 1s
 'I live in my mother's house.'

(31b) N ka vive kai mama m ([mamã]).
Idem.

There is no distinct pronoun to indicate respect towards someone elder or perceived as having higher status, so Santomense-derived honorifics pronouns are used, e.g. *suⁿ* 'you [polite, male]' and *sã* 'you [polite, female]' (cf. Ptg. *o senhor* and *a senhora*).

Maurer (1995:62) identified the use of a as a polite personal pronoun (singular and plural) (see §5.1.6.4). Occasionally speakers switch between a and the polite Portuguese-derived forms. In (32) *suⁿ*, the polite form, is used initially alongside a (repeated three times), possibly to convey a more intense sense of respect towards the addressee.

(32) Antigamente suⁿ a ka kono izakenci, a ka ba kw'e
Long time ago Mr. 2s HAB take izaquente 2s HAB go with-3s
awa, a ka laba [addressee = interviewer GL]
water 2s HAB wash

"In the old days you (sg. polite) took the *izaquentxi* and washed them with water."

There is no reference to this particular usage of a in Ivens Ferraz (1979). However, he did mention the use of sentence final -o, which he labeled both a "respective tag" and an "exclamative particle" (1979:113).

The first person singular subject pronoun *ami* and its reduced variant *am* have a relatively free distribution in Santomense (Ivens Ferraz 1979:63). However, disjunctive *ami* (cf. French *moi*) is preponderant with

non-verbal forms in contrast to the other first person singular pronouns (see Table 5.4). This is the case in (33) in which *am(i)* is juxtaposed to the adjective *θo* (< Ptg. *só* 'alone') and *am* also precedes a verb.

- (33) *am* θo, *am* pareθe mangaθowa
 1s alone 1s suffer INT
 'I suffered a great deal by myself.'

In Angolar the canonical form is *am*; it has a distributional pattern similar to the Santomense form, i.e. it is used mostly with non-verbs. For example, in (34) *am* is found to co-occur with an adverb (*tambe* 'also') and a NP *Male Maia*. Note that in (34b) the more widespread first person singular pronoun *ɲ* precedes a verb in the main clause.

- (34a) *am* tambɛ ki θa nge θɛ anɕiga ..
 1s also REL COP person DEM old
 'I too that I am an old person...'

- (34b) Pa *am* Male Maia, n kunfya o
 for 1s Manuel María 1s trust 2s
 'As for me, Manuel María, I trusted you.'

5.1.6.2 Interrogative pronouns

In Angolar interrogative pronouns 'when, where, what, why, which, etc.' are complex words derived from the Portuguese word semantically akin to 'person, place, hour' plus the Angolar relative pronoun *ma*. Word order remains invariant in questions, i.e. S V O; a rising intonation contour alone indicates that it is an interrogative rather than a declarative sentence.

Some of the interrogative pronouns listed below follow the above pattern with a lexifier-derived interrogative pronoun plus *ma*.

- **WHEN:** *ɔla (ma)* < Ptg. *hora* 'hour' (cf. ST *ɔla*)

(35) *ɔla m' o ka be ki vira bo θo?*
 when 2s HAB find with life 2s alone
 'When do you find yourself alone?'

- **WHERE:** *nga (ma)* < Ptg. *lugar* 'place'. The place interrogative combines with the locative preposition *pe* (also *ne*) in a split construction in which the preposition occurs at the end of the question (cf. Maurer forthcoming). In Santomense the place interrogative pronoun is *anji* 'where' (Ptg. *onde*), which shares with Angolar the equivalent prepositional construction (see 37).

(36) *nga ma n ka mue pe?*
 where 1s FUT die LOC
 where will I die?

(37) ST: *anji suⁿ ka ta n'e?*
 where 2s [POLITE, MASC] HAB dwell LOC
 'Where do you live?'

- **WHAT:** *kwa ma* < Ptg. *coisa* 'thing' plus old Ptg. *coma* (see §5.4.1).

In (38) a demonstrative adjective can be inserted between the two words which together form the interrogative pronoun. This reflects *kwa*'s nominal properties as the word can be used independently as a noun and, therefore, take adjectives in postnominal position.

(38) *kwa ε ma fa r'o e*
 what DEM say give-2s INT
 'What did I say to you?'

- **HOW:** *ma* < old Ptg. *coma* . In Santomense the full form *kuma* is used (40).

(39) *ma n ka zi kw'ε?*
 how 1s FUT do thing-DEM?
 'How will I do this thing?'
 (Also possible: *m'ma ma n ka zi*; Maurer p.c.)

(40) ST *kuma su* tava ka vive?
 how you [POLITE, MASC] PAST HAB live
 'How did you use to live?'

- **WHICH:** *kwai ma* < Ptg. *coisa* 'thing'. The final -i attached to the root word may derive from the demonstrative adjective *si* (Maurer 1995:225).

(41) *kwai ma kɔmpa θe ka kula onge kwe?*
 which (medicine) you PROG cure body with-it
 'Which medicine are you taking to cure yourself?'
 (Also possible: *kwa ki zi o*; Maurer p.c.)

- **WHY:** *kwai ma ...ra* . This is an interesting construction as the verb *ra* (< Ptg. *dar* 'give') is placed at the end of the question, in a fashion similar to the locative *ne* and *pe* (see §5.3.1 on prepositions). Substrate influence cannot be ruled out since Edo *rà* (low tone) is a question marker placed at the end of a yes or no question, e.g. *Òzo à tiè rue rà?* 'Is your name Ozo?' (Dunn 1968:13; cf. also Agheyisi 1986:125).

(42) *kwai ma n zi aši ra?*
 why 1s do this way for
 'Why did I do it this way?'

5.1.6.3 Reflexive pronouns

A categorial change for AN *ongé* (< Edo *egbe?*, see Maurer 1995:237) and ST *ubwe* (< Edo *egbe ?*, Ivens Ferraz 1979:95), both meaning 'body', is found in their reflexive use in constructions with the general form: [*ki+ ongé* + PRONOUN], i.e. 'with body his' (himself). In Santomense the reflexive construction is structurally similar, although *ubwe* and *ku* are used instead of AN *ongé* and *ki*, respectively, see (43a-b) and (35).

- (43a) Nɔ̃ mata ki ongé nɔ̃.
 1p kill with body 1p
 'We killed ourselves' (i.e. 'we sacrificed ourselves')
- (43b) ST: E luta ku ubwe de
 3s fight with body 3s
 'He sacrificed himself' (i.e. 'he sacrificed himself')

Such a construction was attested by Schuchardt in Santomense more than a century ago:

- (44) ST: E ská flá ku ubué d'ê
 3s PROG speak with body POSS-3s
 'He is speaking to himself.'
 (Schuchardt 1882:895)

(43b and 44 with *ku* may not be true reflexives but rather a prepositional phrase required by the verbs *luta* and *flá*; cf. *Non luta/flá ku Pedlu* 'I fight with/talk to Pedro'; Maurer p.c.)

The reflexivization of body parts, including the word 'body' itself, has been attested in creole languages (Holm 1988:204) as well as in many African languages (Heine et al. 1991) which were substrates of the Gulf of Guinea creoles, as the following proverb in Edo, a Kwa language, shows:

- (45) Edo: ihue ihûn wiamwen ègbè erê
 nose not? smell body 3s-poss
 'The nose does not smell itself.' (Agheyisi 1968:150)

The lexical meaning of the word 'onge' is shown in (46).

- (46) Kopa ðe ka vugu ki loro onge.
 friend PROG struggle with pain body
 'My friend is struggling with body pain.'

5.1.6.4 Unmarked a

The impersonal pronoun a 'one, somebody' is used in constructions which show no structural difference from the typical "active" word order, i.e. S + (TMA) + V + (O). However, use of the impersonal subject pronoun a corresponds to the use of the passive in that it allows the agent of the action to go unnamed.

- (47) ma a ka fala?
 how UNM HAB speak
 'How is it called?'

The Portuguese creoles of STP share the pronominal form a. Ivens Ferraz (1979:66) described it in Santomense as an unmarked personal pronoun occurring "only as subject, and only before verbs". Furthermore, he compared ST a to the indefinite reflexive construction in Portuguese (e.g. *diz-se* 'it is said'), as ST a could be translated occasionally as part of a reflexive construction with a passive-like meaning.

Examples 48a-b illustrate Ivens Ferraz's interpretation of a as an unmarked pronoun with a passive-like meaning. Since the creoles of STP,

unlike Portuguese, have no distinct passive formation wherein verbs and sentence structure are modified accordingly, the *a*-construction is the closest Santomense (and Angolar) come semantically to a passive construction.

(48a) ST: *a* ka po fe kwa se
 UNM HAB can do thing DEM
 'One can do that.'/'That can be done.'

(48b) ST: *a* be le ni poto
 UNM see-3s at door
 'He was seen at the door.'

The pronoun *a* has, in addition, anaphoric properties which can be broadly described as both structural and non-structural (Lorenzino 1996). Structural anaphora means that the antecedent of *a* is explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse, while non-structural anaphoric properties are contextual, requiring the speaker's evaluation that the interlocutor will correctly infer the intended reference. Indeed, most examples discussed in Ivens Ferraz (1979) fit the latter pragmatic definition of *a*, lacking the necessary narrative length to enable identification of the antecedent of the structural case (i.e. Ivens Ferraz's unmarked case).

In (49), a case of structural anaphora, *a* is preceded in the previous if-clause by its antecedent *ane kenu*, which becomes explicit in the discourse and, thus, there is no need for the addressee to infer it. This Angolar example is part of a story told by a fisherman who was complaining that his wife didn't cook for him; the events led to an argument with his mother-in-law because he hit his wife.

(49) Si m beta na o ane kenu ki na ta kwa ma
 if 1s slap child 2s PL neighbor REL not know COMP

te keta wa a ka fa θeka lula
 there is mess not UNM FUT say PROG mistreat

mengai da me
 woman give food

"If I slap your daughter, the neighbors, who don't know the problem, will say that I am mistreating her because of this food business."

Example (50) has the referent of a introduced initially, a common narrative trait among the Angolares for marking their group distinctiveness with respect to other ethnolinguistic groups. It is rarely the case that folk stories are introduced without this group identity marker which, in addition, may serve to signal modesty (Maurer 1995:61). In (50), it occurs twice before a is introduced.

(50) ōia šinĵa nɔ ngola ka biri iðe ni letu matu nɔ
 day Ash 1p Angolar HAB open seashell LOC side land 1p

ka panha fia mbiži, fia boba. a ka ndumu'ne oro
 HAB collect leaf mbiži leaf boba UNM HAB mash-3p mortar

'On Ash Wednesday we Angolares go to the open seashells by the river's side. We pick up *mbiji* and *boba* leaves [which then] we mash in a mortar.'

The non-structural anaphoric usage of a arises in situations where participants share similar background information, such as people who belong to the same speech community (e.g. Angolares, Santomenses and Principenses), same trade (e.g. fishermen and plantation workers, etc.) so that interlocutors understand the referential content of the anaphora. Many of the tokens of a that Ivens Ferraz found were actually of this type,

sufficiently generic (cf. impersonal 'they' in English) to call them the unmarked personal pronoun.

The term "non-structural anaphoric", as used here, signifies the absence of an explicit antecedent, realized at some earlier point in the discourse. However, the unequivocal entity to which the participants refer results from the set of beliefs, presuppositions and expected views shared by all participants (Green 1989:26 ff.). Example (51) shows this kind of pragmatic situation in a narrative about the traditional Santa Cruz feast celebrated among the Angolares. The *a* has no antecedent, making it interpretable as 'they', that is, the people of Santa Cruz. Note, however, that the noun phrase *туру џме ки туру мѐнгѐи* was twice added as an afterthought after anaphoric *a*. It is conceivable that the noun phrase provides new information that the speaker wishes to specify which *a* does not. That is, *a* alone may be understood as the generic "they" referring to the town's people while the noun phrase further qualifies it to mean 'men and women.' Furthermore, (51) shows the overlapping of the two pragmatic usages of *a* within the same discourse, which naturally derives from the type of processes that constrain *a* (in- and out-bounded discourse).

- (51) Ola ma θanda kuθu ka vuča ma *a*₁ ka tua feθa
 when holy cross HAB arrive COMP UNM HAB take feast
- Angene ba kw'e kwanda. *a*₁ ka vuča kwanda m'e
 anguene go with-3s up UNM HAB arrive up REL-3p
- ka vuča dia re {туру џме ки туру мѐнгѐи} ka θa
 HAB arrive day of-3p all man and all woman HAB be

ki ngoθo ma a₂ ka bi feθa
with joy COMP UNM HAB come feast

"On the day of the Holy Cross they carry the feast of Anguene up there. And that same day they arrive, all men and all women are very happy to have come to the celebration."

Finally, Maurer (1995:62) was the first to identify the use of *a* as a polite personal pronoun.

(52) *a* θa ku e kikiē bende?
2s be with 3s fish sell
"Do you have fish to sell?"

Speakers of equal social status could address each other using *bo* 'you (sg.)' or the more friendly *kompā*. Occasionally speakers may switch between *a* and the polite Portuguese forms of address *o senhor* and the plural *os senhores* 'you Sir/Sirs'. In (53) *su*ⁿ 'Sir', the polite form of address, is used initially alongside *a* (repeated three times), possibly to convey a more intense sense of respect towards the addressee.

(53) Antigamente *su*ⁿ *a* ka kono izakenci,
Long time ago 2s-[POLITE, MASC] UNM HAB throw izaquente
a ka ba kw'e awa, *a* ka laba
2s HAB go with-3s water 2s HAB wash

"In the old days you (polite) threw the *izaquente* and washed it with water."

With regards to *a* used as a second person pronoun of respect, Edo could be its lexical source since the language has *á* (high tone) which functions as the second person singular, e.g. *o. guaá* "it accommodated you" (Agheyisi 1986:1). However, unlike AN *a*, in Edo it behaves as a bound

postverbal morpheme; its low-tone counterpart is the indefinite pronoun (§5.2.15).

5.2 Verb Phrase

The VP in Angolar has the prototypical creole structure in which a bare verb can be preceded by different particles or markers commonly called in the literature tense-mood-aspect (TMA) markers. Broadly speaking, these TMA preverbal markers situate the event, process or state described by the verb relative to some temporal dimension (tense: past, present, future). Regarding the manner in which a particular event, process or state develops, the aspectual meanings of those TMA markers may help provide the proper context, e.g. whether the event is completed or not. Finally, the volitional and epistemic characteristics of a speaker's attitude towards an event will be expressed through an individual or particular combination of mood markers.

The generalities in the TMA system stated above are not necessarily true of all creoles nor exclusive to them. First, not all creoles are known to have the same kinds of preverbal markers, diverging in quantity, distribution and way of indicating those features of the VP. Secondly, aspect does indeed play an important role in Portuguese -as in all Romance languages- which may be expressed either morphologically (through inflections) or semantically (through periphrasis): (1) the completion/non-completion of the action (*perfeito/ imperfeito*), e.g. *eu estudei* 'I studied' vs. *eu estudava* 'I was

studying' and, (2) duration/non-duration (*continuo/descontinuo*), e.g. *eu estou a ler* (Brazilian Ptg. *eu estou lendo*) 'I am reading' vs. *eu leio* 'I read'; the latter differ in whether the action coincides with the moment of speech or not (Cunha and Cintra 1984:380 ff.).

All in all, Angolar (and Santomense) has a TMA inventory which realizes - based on a few markers - a rich characterization of the time-mood-aspect continuum. Sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.6 present the TMA system proper, using when applicable the dichotomy stative-vs. non-stative verbs as a parameter which, generally speaking, seems to hold true for the distribution of the TMA markers in Angolar. Thus, those sections will deal with VP categories such as anteriority, progressiveness, habituality, completiveness, etc. The remaining sections will treat some specific points related to the VP other than the TMA markers, e.g. serial verb, verb fronting, etc., all of which present some interesting features.

5.2.1 Unmarked verbs

5.2.1.1 Stative verbs

In Angolar verbs which indicate a state of being or situation, the so-called stative verbs, are mostly unmarked, taking none of the preverbal markers usually associated with non-statives. Tense and aspect distinctions in statives are context-dependent, with the time in focus given or

implied in the beginning. This is shown in (54) where the non-past reference of *te* 'to have' (Ptg. *ter*) can be interpreted from the discourse referring to a permanent state of affairs:

- (54) Angu ðε θa u^aa čiba ma nɔ te letu tia
 angu DEM COP one banana REL 1p have inside country
 'Angu is a type of banana that we have in the country'

The unmarked verb *te* in (55) was uttered by an old Angolar woman as part of a story having to do with her childhood. It is understood to be part of the past, a fact which is corroborated by the sentence following immediately:

- (55) Am ki tata m ne čɔ kwa na te wa;
 1s and father 1s not small thing not have not
 ma m fima tua ɔmε
 when 1s grow up take man

'My father and I had nothing. When I grew up I was engaged to a man.'

The few tokens of *te* preceded by a preverbal marker were attested in São João dos Angolares; these tokens are all in the future, indicated by *ka* (see §5.2.6.1). This construction [*ka + te*] was rejected in Santa Catarina. As mentioned in chapter 2, this linguistic difference between Angolar varieties may well be the offshoot of a historical divergence for these two communities after Angolares were dispersed to different parts of the island.

- (56) I ma nda pema re na ka te vin mɔ^ɔči
 and because palm tree 3s not FUT have wine much
 'And because his palm tree will not have [yield] too much wine.'

ta 'to know' and *meθe* 'to want' (cf. Ptg. *mester* 'need, want', but also Kimbundu *kumesena* idem) are two more stative verbs which, like *te* are invariably unmarked regardless of the time, mood or aspect constraints dictated by the situation.

(57a) n ta mε ma kwa si ma kɔmpa fa aie
 1s know myself REL DEM COMP kɔmpa say now
 'I know/knew myself what my buddy said just now.'

(57b) AN: Am meθe taba lɔθa
 ST: Ami mese tɔaba n lɔsa
 1s want work plantation
 'I want to work on the plantation.'

Although there are different verbs for 'to know' in AN (*ta*) and ST (*sebe*), they both share the same unmarked features of many other stative verbs as can be gathered from (58).

(58) AN: E ta ma n ta ka taba lɔθa
 ST: E sebe kuma n tava ka tɔaba lɔsa
 3s know COMP 1s ANT HAB work plantation
 'He knew that I had worked on the plantation.'

In (59) *ta* - the past form of *θa* 'be' - in the main clause provides the time setting for unmarked *meθe* in the subordinating clause, giving it a past reference. The copula *θa* is the only verb (stative or non-stative) which has a past form different from the one for the present. Likewise, in Santomense one finds two verbs *sa/tava* covering present/future (*sa*) and past (*tava*), respectively. In addition, *ta* may function as an anterior marker to indicate an event in the past relative to another one temporally closer to the moment of speech (past-before-past or pluperfect)

- (59) N *ta* ka tamba, kiki na me θ e wa
 1s PAST PROG fish fish not want not
 'I was fishing (but) the fish didn't bite.'

5.2.1.2 Unmarked non-stative verbs

Like statives, non-statives or action verbs do not require preverbal markers to indicate past reference. Unlike stative verbs, however, non-statives must be preceded by a preverbal marker to indicate a time before that in focus (usually *ta*). Thus the time-reference of non-statives is less contingent than statives upon discourse since the simple form of the verb always has a past reference. On the other hand, as shown above, the time reference of statives depends on discourse due to the usage of unmarked forms for both past and non-past reference. In (60) unmarked *ba* 'to go', uttered in the context of a personal story about the speaker's learning of the fishing trade when he was a boy can only refer to the past:

- (60) M \emptyset ba mi α nga
 1s go sea
 'I went to the sea.'

5.2.2 Anterior tense marker *ta*: past-before-past reference

With non-statives verbs the preverbal marker *ta* indicates anterior tense. Anteriority refers to the temporal sequence of two events relative to each other, which many creoles indicate by means of a TMA particle. In Angolar (and Santomense) this marker has been attested only in co-occurrence with the progressive and habitual marker *ka* (see §5.2.3).

- (61) Suⁿ θε vugu-vugu; zi čɔ kubata re punda
 man DEM sacrifice make small hut 3s because
 nɔ ta ka lenda
 1s ANT HAB rent

'This man sacrificed himself; he built his small hut because we had been renting.'

AN *ta* probably derives from the functionally equivalent Santomense form *tava* (also *štava*; Ptg. *estava* 'he/she was'), which precedes non-statives with past reference:

- (62) ST: e sebe kuma n tava tlabani lɔsa
 AN: e ta ma n ta taba lɔθa
 'He knew that I had worked on the plantation.'

In (63) the anterior marker *ta* is not used despite of the fact that the verb in the subordinate clause (*ji*) and explicative clause (*bi*) make reference to events which precede the past referent of the quotative verb in the main clause.

- (63) θo e fara m fa e na Ø ji me wa punda ia
 then 3s say 1s QUOT 3s not make food not because
 e na ši Ø bi wa
 3s not yet come not

'Then she said that she hadn't cooked [for me] because she hadn't come home yet.'

Most stative verbs are unmarked for tense as indicated in §5.2.1.1. Thus the anterior tense marker cannot precede a stative verb except for a few

ones, e.g. *məθe* 'to need', *te* 'to have' and *eta/ta* 'to know how' (Maurer 1995:81, ex. 251-3).

5.2.3 Progressive aspect markers: *θa ka*

The progressive construction in Angolar contains two preverbal markers, *θa* and *ka*, in that order. Each marker alone has other syntactic functions, *θa* being the present form of the copula and *ka* the marker for habitual aspect and irrealis mode. It is the combination of *θa* and *ka* which conveys progressive meaning.

- (64) Nɔ *θa ka* ntete lɛvɛ-lɛvɛ
 1p PROG amuse more or less
 'We are entertaining ourseleve all right.'

In European Portuguese the progressive construction requires the verb *estar* (locative 'to be') before the infinitival phrase: [a + infinitive], e.g. *Manoel está a jogar futebol* 'Manoel is playing soccer'. However, the Brazilian Portuguese progressive has the gerund instead of the infinitival phrase, e.g. *Manoel está jogando futebol*. The creole progressive structure [*θa ka* + verb] may be analyzed as [*θa* + *ka* verb], in which the [*ka* verb] has a gerund-like property. This is supported by a sentence like (65) where an adverb (*ngɛ*) can be inserted between *θa* and *ka* with no effect on the grammaticality.

- (65) n *θa* *ngɛ* *ka* lumba ki Alcides
 ↑ ↑
 1s PROG here PROG talk with Alcides
 'I am here talking to Alcides.'

Further support comes from a split construction by means of which only the [ka + verb] part is repeated to indicate progressive meaning.

(66) n θe ka taba, vugu kw'e Ø ka θama Reθu
 1s PROG work fight REFL PROG pray God
 'I am working, sacrificing myself, praying to God.'

In Santomense one finds *sa ka* and its contracted form *ska*, with its phonological variant having palatalized [ʃ], due to Portuguese influence since in the latter /s/ has the allophone [ʃ] before voiceless stops.

One occasionally finds *sa* and *ska* together to indicate progressive. It is quite likely that *ska* in Santomense is being reinterpreted as a singular preverbal marker which combines with the copula *sa*. Furthermore, the reanalysis of Santomense progressive lends support to the gerund interpretation of [ka + verb] since many of the usages of [sa + ska] occur with split constructions. In (67; cf. 65), the use of *sa* before *i* 'here' indicates that *ska* has been regrammaticalized (i.e. *sa ka* > *ska*), a process which was triggered by the phonological contraction of *sa ka*. These tokens of [sa + ska] were used mainly by young Santomense speakers, usually with some formal education.

(67) ST: n sa ai ska fla ku Alcides
 ↑ ↑
 1s COP here PROG talk with Alcides
 'I am here talking to Alcides.'

5.2.3.1 *θa ka* Indicating Future

The same progressive markers can be used to indicate the immediate future, though the future tense is more commonly signaled by *ka*, the future marker (see §5.2.6.1). Interestingly, the morphophonemic variant *θe* (basic form *θa*) is part of a progressive construction with future meaning (in relation to the past and present), besides the more widespread meaning of continuous action at the moment of speech.

(68a) Si bo zi ε aši ε, θa bo θe ka dizigaθa tia ε ta
 if 2s do 3s DEM then 2s FUT disgrace country DEM INT
 'If you do this to her, then you are going to totally disgrace this country.'

(68b) n θe ka fara kɔmpa m uⁿa kwa
 1s FUT say friend 1s one thing
 'I'm going to say one thing to my friend.'

Santomense lacks the contrast between *sa/*se* (AN *θa/θe*), resorting simply to the preverbal marker *ka*, as in Angolar, to mark future events. However, in Santomense the preverbal marker *kia* [cf. Edo *xia* idem, quoted in Ivens Ferraz (1979:84); cf. also Portuguese *queria* 'I wanted' (Maurer 1995:99)] indicates immediate future only in the past; *kia* is absent in Angolar. All examples of *kia* given in Ivens Ferraz (1979:83) are in the past:

(69) ST: e kia kume ɔla kwe kye mɔⁿči
 3s FUT eat when fall die
 'He was about to eat when he fell dead.'

According to Maurer (1995), the allomorphy between *θa ka* and *θe ka* as progressive markers might be resolved if one regards the form *θeka* as a

single preverbal marker and *θa* its contracted form. Regardless of what word was the source for the contrast in the progressive preverbal markers, the present overlapping of the future and progressive meaning of *θe ka* seems to point to a prior stage in the history of the language when the separation of the two tenses was more pronounced.

Finally, Angolar allows the TMA sequence *[[ka [θe ka]]* with a future progressive meaning not as immediate as the *[θe ka]* construction.

(70) Aie te viantelu ka θe ka pia ɔla ma θuba ka θe ka bi
 now exist palmwine FUT PROG see when rain FUT PROG come
 makers

'Now there are palmwine makers who will be checking when the rain will be coming.'

5.2.3.2 Anterior plus progressive

When combined with *ka*, the durative aspect marker, the anterior marker *ta* refers to an action which was in progress before or concurrently with the time in focus (compare 71a-b with 65 and 67 regarding the discontinuity of preverbal markers).

(71a) AN: n ta nge ka lumba ki Alcides
 1s PROG here PROG talk with Alcides
 'I was here talking to Alcides.'

(71b) ST: n tava ai ka fla ku Alcides
 1s PROG here PROG talk with Alcides
 Idem.

5.2.3.3 Progressive with adjectival verb (=inchoative)

A special meaning of the progressive construction can be seen in (72), in which the markers convey an inchoative meaning before an adjectival verb. This construction is possible because many adjectives can function as verbs as well.

(72) N θa ka dueči
 1s PROG sick
 'I'm getting sick.'

5.2.4 Habitual aspect ka

5.2.4.1 ∅ marker for stative verbs vs. ka for non-stative

Non-statives cannot convey a habitual meaning without the marker ka. On the other hand, statives may be thought of as taking a zero marker for habitual, though, in point of fact, statives remain unmarked for every tense and aspect. Habitual aspect denotes a more or less permanent situation as does stativity, making it redundant to mark a stative verb for habitual aspect. In (73) habituality is unmarked for the stative verb *ta* 'know' but not for the nonstative verb *zi* 'make'.

(73) E ∅ ta ma e θa kai ɔmɛ, e ka zi
 3s know COMP 3s COP house man 3s HAB make
 ɕɔ mɛ ra m
 some food give 1s

'She knows that she has a man in the house [but] she cooks for me.'

A more general aspectual property of habitual *ka* is non-punctuality, that is, the fact that it is used to indicate a durative action which is not necessarily repeated as shown in (74a-b) for both Angolar and Santomense. Also, note in (74b) *sebe*, a stative verb is unmarked, just like in AN *ta* (73).

(74a) AN: n na ka kuni'e wa
1s not HAB accept-3s not
'I don't accept it.'

(74b) ST: So bo sebe na ka dumini ante plama fa
thus 2s know not HAB sleep until morning not

punda ontem m ba ke mwala
because yesterday 1s go house woman

'Then, you know, I didn't sleep until the next morning because I went to this woman's house yesterday.'

5.2.4.2 Progressive marker for habitual

Though durative *ka* by itself is the marker most frequently used to convey habitual aspect, the progressive markers may be used with habitual meaning. Speakers tend to use this aspectual shift to highlight the action itself, besides its habitual nature. In (75) the time adverbial *tu ria* 'everyday' clearly shows that the action takes place regularly, while in (76) the palmwine maker wants to situate a habitual event (wine sale) as if it were unfolding at that moment.

(75) Tu ria n te ka paθa nge
every day 1s PROG pass here
'Everyday I pass by here.'

(76) Vin e e siga poto θo e te ka bende re
wine DEM 3s arrive market then 3s PROG sell 3s

punda kwai e θa maši dɔsiru
because which 3s be more tasty

'This wine arrives to the market and it is sold because it's the one which is more tasty.'

5.2.4.3 Anterior plus habitual *ta ka*

The anterior marker *ta* can be combined with the habitual marker *ka* to refer to a habitual situation in the past.

(77) mbezi ngai ε ta ka zɔngɔɔ; n ta ka sɔɔa ki θamba
moon big 3s PAST HAB spy 1s PAST HAB dream with Zamba

'The full moon peeked [through the clouds] and I dreamed of Zambia.'

The use of *ta* is optional as many times the time setting is clear from the context, e.g. the past is signaled by *tempu* in (78).

(78) tempu m ta nkamba suzi ši ma
time 1s know white man cruel DEM REL

a Øka θama Gulugulu
UNM HAB call Gorgulho

'In those days I knew a cruel white man called Gorgulho.'

5.2.5 Completive aspect *kaba* and *lɔke*

In Angolar and Santomense the marker *kaba* (< Ptg. *acabar* 'to finish') can precede or follow the verb to indicate completed action:

(79) n kaba taba/ n taba kaba
1s CPL work
'I finished working.'

(Cf. only preverbal position in Ptg.: *eu acabei de trabalhar*)

There are other grammatical means of marking completion in both creoles. A rare completive construction attested in the two creoles contains the verb *fo* 'to leave' [< Ptg. *fora* (Maurer 1995:218)] or *foi* 'went'; cf. Edo *fo* 'to finish'), which may function as a preverbal completive marker in some specific contexts (see §5.3.1.3 for the prepositional usage of *fo*).

Sentence (80) includes the lexical item *fo* with the meaning of 'to come out, to leave' since it is only a verb. On the other hand, *fo* functions as a completive marker in view of the fact that as such it combines only with verbs of movement as in (81a-b). Here, *fo* could be thought of as the first verb in the serial verb chain *fo ba taba* 'leave-go-work' (see §5.2.12 on serial verbs.) (cf. Haitian CF *sòti*, French *viens de* and Spanish *acaba/viene de*)

(80) *nda ma vutuka fo miɔnga, vuča kai.*
 when again leave sea go back house
 'When I came out of the sea again, I went back home.'

(81a) AN: *n fo ba taba wele-wele*
 1s CPL go work recently
 'I just finished working.'

(81b) ST: *n fo ba tlabá miɔle-miɔle*
 1s CPL go work recently
 Idem.

Also, in Angolar (but not in Santomense), the completive aspect can be expressed by using *lɔkɛ*. AN *lɔkɛ* functions as:

- an independent verb meaning 'to finish':

(82a) *nθuku fiɔru kulosisima ki na ka lɔkɛ wa*
 night cold very dark REL not HAB finish not
 'A very cold and dark night which doesn't finish.'

- an adverb postposed to the verb referring to the completion of the main verb's action:

(82b) and'ε ki reči lɔkε
 chew-3s with tooth completely
 (I) chewed it completely with my teeth.'

Syllable reduplication was a very productive process in the creation of the lexicon in the two creoles. In ST *lɔlɔ* carries the adverbial meaning of AN *lɔkε* 'completely', but not the lexical meaning.

(83) ST: tudu kwa ku Su nge ka fla,
 all thing REL you-[POLITE] HAB ask

blanku ka kuji lɔlɔ
 white man HAB answer completely

'All things you asked, the white man answered completely.'

5.2.6 Irrealis mode markers: \emptyset , *ka* and *ta ka*

5.2.6.1 Future *ka*

As indicated in §5.2.3.1 above, the immediate future can be indicated by the progressive markers. To indicate the less immediate future as well as events with less certainty (conditional, hypothetical, counterfactual), the preverbal marker *ka* is used.

(84) mungina ɔla ma nɔ ka bi nɔ ka paga
 day after tomorrow when 1p IRR come 1p FUT pay
 'The day after tomorrow when we come, we will pay.'

5.2.6.2 Conditional and hypothetical \emptyset , *ka* and *ta ka*

The typical conditional clause has the structure [*ši* + (*ta*) + (*ka*) + verb]. The insertion of the anterior marker *ta* and irrealis *ka* depends on the certainty the speaker has regarding the realization of the consequences. In general, the speaker's belief ranges according to the cline in (85) and illustrated for each case in (86):

(85)

- (a) highly probable: \emptyset + verb
- (b) probable: *ka* + verb
- (c) less probable: *ta* + *ka* + verb

(86a) *ši* \emptyset *bo* *zi* ϵ *aši* ϵ , *ta* *bo* *ta* *ka* *diziga**ta* *tia* ϵ *ta*
 if IRR 2s do 3s DEM then 2s FUT disgrace country DEM INT
 'If you do this to her, then you are going to disgrace the whole country.'

(86b) *ši* *n* *ka* *vuna* *kikie* *ngai* *n* *na* *ta* *ma* *n* *ka* *pa**ta* *wa*
 if 1s IRR catch fish big 1s not know REL 1s IRR happen not
 'If I caught a big fish, I don't know what would happen to me.'

Finally, in (86c) the chances the speaker gives to the event are minimal since the speaker, an Angolar fisherman, enjoys the independent life of the fishing trade, and asserts in (86c) the Angolares' despise for plantation life. The sentence has also a counterfactual meaning (impossible event) as indicated by the anterior marker *ta*.

(86c) *Ami* *ta* *ka* *taba* *fazenda* *ola* *ma* *pagamentu* ϵ
 1s IRR work plantation when salary DEM

ta *maši* *bwaru*
 be-PAST more good

'I would work on a plantation if the salary was higher.'
 'I would have worked on a plantation if the salary were higher.'

In Santomense but not in Angolar a few tokens of *ka ka* were attested in counterfactual situations similar to (86c). Though it is not clear whether these are isolated cases or more widespread in the language, it is interesting to note that the interjection *o ka ka* in both Santomense and Angolar expresses surprise which frequently was translated into Portuguese by *como é possível!* Sentence (87) shows one such case:

(87) m ba taka uⁿa ngola ma a ka θama, kwa Caien.
 1s go find one Angolar COMPL UNM HAB call something Caien

O ka ka! ie ale ngola
 INTR here king Angolar

'I went to find an Angolar whose name is something like Dumu Caien. How could it be possible! The king of the Angolares himself.'

Sentence (88) shows one of the few instances of *ka ka* in a conditional sentence.

(88) ST: Si bo sa n' ke uⁿa ɔmɛ, bo ka be pedasu po,
 if 2s be LOC house a man 2s IRR find piece bread

ɔmɛ ka ka be lopa limpu
 man IRR find cloth clean

'If you are in a man's house, you would find a piece of bread and (your) man would find clean clothes.'

5.2.7 The copula *θa*

In §5.1.5.3 it was seen that [*θa+ ki*] 'be with' can replace the verb *te* 'to have' to express possession. One further general property of the copula

is that it is always overt (e.g. locative) except before nominative predicate nouns and adjectives as seen in (89a-b).

(89a) nome kolomba Ø Tirifan
 name white man
 'The white man's name is Tirifan.'

(89b) ɔmɛ ɛ Ø bwaru fogawa
 man DEM good INT
 'The man is really good.'

5.2.8 Iterative *to*

Unlike the habitual/durative TMA marker *ka*, the preverbal particle *to* [< Ptg. *tornar* 'to turn' (Maurer 1995:47) (cf. also Ptg. *outro* 'another', AN *oto*] indicates limited iteration or repetition of the action expressed by the following verb. Like other TMA markers, *to* is preverbal and it always follows other TMA markers that may be present. It is not part of ST's TMA system.

(90a) mungu n ka to taba
 tomorrow 1s FUT ITR work
 'Tomorrow I will go back to work.'

(90b) ɛnɛ to puta
 3p ITR ask
 'They asked again.'

The Papia Kristang Creole Portuguese (Malacca) has an iterative particle, *tor*, which functions like AN *to*. However, its distribution is different since it is located in postverbal position.

- (91) Papia Kristang: Kawa abri seka tor
 then open dry ΠR
 'Then began to dry it up again.'
 (Schuchardt 1980:53, cited in Stolz 1987:298)

5.2.9 Existential *te*

The verb *te* (cf. Ptg. *ter* 'to have') has the existential meaning 'there is' (Ptg. *haber*); in Santomense the verb 'to be' *sa* (also *se*) is used to express this meaning.

- (92) Aie te viantelu ka te ka pia ɔla ma θuba ka te ka bi
 now exist palmwine PROG see when rain PROG come
 makers

'Now there are palmwine makers who will be checking when the rain will be coming.'

Like ST *sa*, AN *θa* may be used to indicate existential meaning as in (93).

- (93) Ptg.: (Ha) tres peixes estão no cesto
 AN: Teesi kiki θa letu zonge
 ST: Treši piši sa kwali
 'There are three fish in the basket.'

5.2.10 *bila* 'to become'

Derived from Portuguese *virar* 'to turn, to change', AN and ST *bila* has several meanings such as 'to turn, to become, to do again'. Also in Brazilian Portuguese (but not in European Portuguese) *virar* means 'to become'. One finds it in Santomense Portuguese, as for example the expression *bila folo ou seja para tornar-se forro* 'to become a Forro' (note in it the use of *tornar-se* to paraphrase *bila*).

Ivens Ferraz (1979:85-6) described the use of *bira* in Santomense as combining with both NP's and adjectives meaning 'to turn, to become'. Furthermore, he identified two syntactic constraints in the use of *bira*, namely, its role as an auxiliary verb and a full verb. AN *bira* shows similar properties in this respect, except for its tendency to form participial constructions with adjectival-like *ru* forms (e.g. *bwaru*; see §5.1.3.2).

As an auxiliary verb *bira* always precedes the verb phrase [TMA + verb], to which it adds the original meaning 'to turn' (94a-b) and 'to do again' (94b).

(94a) m bira ka kɔθa nte
 1s turn HAB nod head
 'I turned around nodding my head.'

(94b) m bira ka jinga nte ruri... bira ka fa e
 1s turn HAB shake head INT to do again HAB speak 3s
 'I turned around shaking my head...speaking to her once more.'

The Portuguese translation of (94a-b) has the verb *voltar* 'to turn around' and not *virar* (*eu voltei a cossar a cabeça*).

As a full verb with the meaning 'to turn, to become', *bira* has two types of complements: NP (95a) and AP (95b).

(95a) n ka ba nswal'ε, ɔpe m ka bira piɲa soiso
 1s HAB go oyster-DEM feet 1s HAB become fir-cone
 '(when) I go oyster-catching, my feet become like fir-cones.'

(95b) N ka wange awa pe senu p'e bira mɔriu
 1s HAB spill water LOC morning mist give-3s become soft
 'I spill the water collected during the morning mist so that it [leaf] becomes soft.'

5.2.11 Reduplication

In Santomense reduplication of the verb indicates a habitual action or event as in:

- (96) ST: e pega-pega anka
 3s catch-catch crab
 'He regularly caught crabs.' (Ivens Ferraz 1979:59)

The non-reduplicated word *pega* is part of ST's lexicon and, therefore, it can be attached to TMA markers to convey the past habitual sense of (96), i.e. *e štava ka pega anka* 'idem.' Likewise, in Angolar a reduplicated verb can convey the notion of continuity, habituality, randomness, etc. without the need to resort to the more common grammatical means to express the same functions.

- (97) m ba mionga. M ba kole-kole koši'ε
 1s go sea 1s go move-move low-sea-3s
 'I went to the sea; I went and move around the lower part of the sea.'

Within the VP the reduplication of *ka* to produce the irrealis marker *ka ka* may also be thought of as a reduplication to highlight the irrealis nature of *ka* in certain contexts, adding to it more uncertainty, as in hypothetical and counterfactual statements (see 88).

Reduplication of the entire word or the initial syllable also conveys intensification, e.g. *vugu-vugu* or *vu-vugu* 'to fight'; cf. *vugu* 'to sacrifice oneself' without the additional secondary physical meaning the reduplicated verb has. Also, in (98) the reduplicated adjectival verb reinforces the continuity of the adverbial phrase *tu ria* 'everyday'; cf. *e θa dueči* 'he is sick now':

- (98) tu ria dueči -dueči
 all day sick-sick
 'I was sick every day.'

Reduplication in Angolar extends to other parts of speech such as adverbs (99a) and adjectives (99b). In (99b) the adjective /ɛvɛ/ 'light, not heavy' undergoes semantic extension by reduplication to indicate 'slightly.'

- (99a) anɛ θe lɛma mɔmɔri-mɔmɔri-mɔmɔri atɛ viča paya
 PL 2s row slow-slow-slow until arrive beach
 'You rowed very slowly until you reached the beach.'

- (99b) nɔ θa ka ntetɛ lɛvɛ-lɛvɛ
 1p PROG amuse light-light
 'We are entertaining ourselves slightly.'

5.2.12 Serial verbs

Serial verbs in Angolar consist of a series of two or more verbs, all of which have the same subject. Furthermore, no conjunction or complementizer separate verbs in a serial verb construction. The distribution of serial verbs in Angolar can be ordered according to the following scheme explained in separate subsections below:

- (1) directional with 'go'
- (2) directional with 'come'
- (3) serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'
- (4) serial 'say' meaning 'that' (complementizer)
- (5) serial 'pass' meaning 'more than'
- (6) serial constructions with 3 verbs

5.2.12.1 Directional with 'go'

In (100) below the first *ba* 'to go' is a non-serial verb and thus retains its lexical meaning; the second *ba* is part of a serial verb and gives the following verb a sense of direction ('away from the speaker'):

(100) m ba miɔŋga pa m ba tamba kikiɛ.
 1s go sea for 1s go fish fish
 'I went to the sea to fish.'

5.2.12.2 Directional with 'come'

The verb *bi* 'to come' in a serial verb construction indicates motion towards the speaker.

(101) bo ka bi mue
 2s FUT come die
 'You will come (here) to die.'

5.2.12.3 Serial 'give' meaning 'to, for'

The verb *ra* 'to give' can appear as the second element of a serial verb with the meaning of the preposition 'to, for'.

(102) θɔ e ba tu'e liba kɔmi bi ra m
 then 3s go get-3s on fire come give 1s
 'Then, she went to get the food to put it on the fire and brought it to me.'

5.2.12.4 Serial 'say' meaning 'that' (complementizer)

In Angolar the word *fara* (< Portuguese *falar* 'to speak') has both a lexical meaning as a verb ('to say, to speak') and a grammaticalized one as

a complementizer ('that'); in addition, it can function as a quotative marker to signal discourse. The functional distribution of the complementizer *fara* is conditioned by the semantic properties of the matrix verb, since this word can be used after verbs whose meaning involves cognitive and perception. The examples below illustrate the various semantic, syntactic and discourse constraints on AN *fara*. (MV=main verb, COMP=complementizer, COGV=cognitive verb, PERV=perception verb).

- MV=*fara* + COMP=*fara*:

(103) E fara m [fara e ka bi poθθ]

3s say 1s COMP 3s HAB come city

'He said to me that he used to come to the city.'

- MV=*fa* + COMP=*ma*:

(104) Ba fa mama re [ma a θe ka keta ki e]

go say mother 3s COMP UNM PROG get angry with 3s

'They went and said to her mother that one was getting angry with her.'

- COGV= *ta*, PERV + COMP=*ma*:

(105) a ta [ma nge si ε na θama oto wa]

UNM know COMP person DEM DEM not call another not

'They know that that person doesn't call the other person.'

(106) olha tia ka ende [ma kw'ε bwa fɔga wa]

look country HAB hear COMP thing-DEM good INT

'Look, the entire country hears that this [wine] is really good.'

- MV=*fara* + ∅: zero-marked clause

(107) a ka fa ∅ n θe ka lula mengai da me

UNM HAB say 1s PROG mistreat woman give food

'They say that I am mistreating the woman because of the food.'

- *fara* as a discourse marker: quotative word

- (108) pe nɔ fara nɔ fa, θe ka biri we o
 father 1p say 1p quot 2p FUT open eyes 2p
 'Our father told us: "open your eyes".'

5.2.12.5 Serial verb 'pass' meaning 'surpass, exceed'

In Angolar the verb *paθa* (Ptg. *passar* 'to surpass, to exceed') is used as an intensifier after adjectives, adjectival verbs, verbs (see 109a-b) and nouns. ST *pasa* has similar properties, in addition to being part of comparative constructions with 'pass' (see 110), of the type which exists in other Atlantic creoles. AN *paθa* is not used in comparative constructions.

- (109a) AN: i θuba ka θobe paθa
 and rain HAB to rain INT
 'and it rained a lot.'

- (109b) ST: n kume pasa
 1s eat more
 'I ate too much.' (Ivens Ferraz 1979:109)

- (110) ST: So am na sa glanji pasa Desu fa
 thus 1s not be big more God not
 'Thus, I'm not bigger than God.'

- (111) AN: n na ba šikola wa punda šikola te gastu paθa
 1s not go school not because school exist expenses INT
 'I didn't go to school because the school was very expensive.'
 (Santomense-influenced *šikola*; cf. *sikola*)

- (112) ST: bo na po še madlugaru pasa
 2s not able go out dawn INT
 'You cannot go out very early morning.'
 (Angolar-influenced ST *madlugaru*)

5.2.12.6 Serial constructions with three verbs

Serial verbs with three elements are not very common in Angolar but are by no means absent in the language. Usually, the construction involves one or more directional verbs (see 113b), although occasionally a verb may have an argument:

(113a) n yuvugu kie tunda
 1s fight fall grow-tired
 'I fought until I fell down exhausted.'

(113b) a po ba tamba, nunka a be wa
 UNM able go fish never UNM find not
 'One can go fishing but nothing is found.'

5.2.13 Verb fronting

One discourse strategy for highlighting certain parts of an utterance consists of copying the verb and fronting it before its agent; the background then becomes part of a relative clause with *ma*, as shown in (114). Additional discourse particles may be added to the fronted verb to give support to the latter and ensure the hearer also understands the relevance of this discourse strategy. Intonational adjustments are also made as the fronted constituent carries additional stress.

(114) Ai ðe lumba m'e θa ka lumba ki re,
 now DEM speak COMP-3s PROG speak with 3s
 e na ka ende wa.
 3s not HAB understand not

'Now that she finally spoke to him, he doesn't understand.'

5.2.14 Negation

Angolar indicates negation with two discontinuous negators, *na* and *wa* (or *va*) in pre-TMA and utterance final position, respectively. This type of construction occurs in declarative (115a), interrogative (115b) and imperative sentences (115c):

(115a) e na ka mɛ ombo wa
 3s not HAB eat goat not
 'He doesn't eat goat.'

(115b) bari ε na te valu wa?
 bar DEM not have credit not
 'Doesn't this bar serve on credit?'

(115c) Celestino, na kata wa!
 Celestino not sing not
 'Celestino, don't sing!'

There is also a less frequent negation pattern in which *fo* replaces final *wa*. Morphosyntactically, the *fo* construction does not deviate from the more common one with *wa*, nor does it seem to entail a special meaning. Optional *fo* raises interesting questions (see chapter 6) about the formation of Angolar vis-à-vis the other three varieties of Gulf of Guinea Creole Portuguese in view of their negation, i.e. ST *na ...fa*, Principense single postverbal *fa* or *fo* (Günther 1973:191) and FA *na...-f* (Ivens Ferraz 1976:42).

Angolar handles NP cases of negation by means of discontinuous double negation. As to the distribution of the negators within a clause or sentence, Angolar places the first negator before the first verb phrase, while

the second negator is placed postverbally in clause- or sentence-final position even when dislocation across clauses takes place. For example, in (116) the *fo* is dislocated to the end of the subordinate *pa*-clause:

- (116) n fa na ta nga ma tetembu ε a pe fo
 1s say not know where star DEM UNM LOC not
 'I said that I didn't know where the stars were born.'

Finally, negative polarity items in Angolar, e.g. *ne u'a* 'nobody', negates the main verb alone, requiring only the postverbal *wa* (or *fo*).

- (117) ne u'a a θa ka leθibe lelu wa
 no one UNM PROG receive money not
 'No one is receiving any money.'

Chatelain (1888-9:51ff.) describes predicate negation in the Kimbundu of Luanda (Angola) as having the preverbal free morpheme *ki* optionally as the first negator and a second negator specific to each person which attaches to the verb stem, e.g. *eme (ki) nagalami* 'I am (have) not' (ibid.:56). Negation of nouns and possessive adjectives follows a slightly different pattern since here the postposed negator has independent status, e.g. *eme (ki) ngi mutu ami* 'I am not a person' (ibid.:51). The historical depth of double disjunctive negation in the African substrates and its relevance to their early influence on Angolar and Santomense can be ascertained in a seventeenth-century Kimbundu grammar: the word *caná* "posta antes, & depois do verbo, nega com efficacia, e.g. *canángagiba caná* 'nao matei nao'" [the word *cana* placed before and after the verb negates emphatically]

(Dias 1697:20, quoted in Schwegler forthcoming a; translation is mine). Though the Kimbundu *ki* is an unlikely etymon for AN/ST *na*, early Kimbundu (1697) *caná* (*caná* > *na*) isn't, especially if its syntactic similarity to the double negative construction in those creoles is taken into account. Since another derivation of AN/ST *na* from Portuguese is possible, i.e. dialectal Ptg. *não* ~ *nã* > AN *na* (Teyssier 1986:599), the formal and functional similarity between the Kimbundu and Portuguese negators may have converged towards the creole construction. This type of convergence was previously found to be an important factor of grammatical interference due to language contact (cf. Weinreich's (1974:39) concept of replica functions for equivalent morphemes). In creole studies, Kihm (1987) uses the concept of *conflation* to explain comparable linguistic patterns in Kriyol and some substrate languages belonging to the West Atlantic and Mande groups.

5.2.15 Passive equivalent with *a*

The Gulf of Guinea varieties of Creole Portuguese (Angolar included) have no passive construction resembling that of Portuguese. The unmarked pronoun *a* is used in constructions which show no structural difference from prototypical "active" word order, i.e. [S + VP + COMPLEMENTS]. However, the use of the unmarked pronoun in subject position corresponds to passive construction in that it allows the agent of

the action to go unnamed or, if the agent is introduced earlier in the discourse, *a* will behave as an anaphoric pronoun referring to the agent (see §5.1.6.4 for the reflexive and other properties of *a*).

Example (118) is part of a recipe for cooking peppered fish while (119) describes a traditional Angolar recipe cooked for Ash Wednesday:

(118) *a* ka ba kata'ne ki kata
 UNM HAB go stir-3p with stirrer
 'They are stirred with a stirrer.'

(119) *no* ka paña fia mbiji, *a* ka ndum'ne oro
 1p HAB collect leaves UNM HAB mash-3p mortar
 'We pick up *mbiji* leaves and they are mashed in the mortar.'

Since in the development of the creoles there were a number of other types of language constraints that could have influenced them, such as the substrate languages spoken by slaves, *a* might have been one such case of substrate conditioning.

In Edo *à* (low tone) functions as an impersonal pronoun in a preverbal distribution, e.g. *a tie mwen Ozo* 'Ozo is my name' (lit. 'They call me Ozo') (Dunn 1968:14); cf. AN "a ka θama X" 'my name is X'.

Furthermore, Edo, like many other West African languages, has no passive construction, indefinite constructions being the closest structure to a passive sentence (*idem*).

These examples point out the similarities, both formal and functional, between Angolar and Edo. Therefore, the substrate influence of Edo and/or other languages having a Kwa-like typological resemblance to Edo, is likely

to have played a significant role in the creolization of the Portuguese creoles of STP.

5.3. Miscellaneous

5.3.1 Prepositions

Though word order is an important means of indicating thematic relationships in Angolar, it is by no means the only way. The language has at its disposal a set of prepositions which indicate location, source, direction, etc. Angolar allows phrasal juxtaposition and contextual implication in constructions more frequently than Santomense, which requires use of a preposition categorically. Angolar and Santomense share the same prepositions, though it is plausible that they were borrowed into Angolar from Santomense within the last one hundred years or so as the Angolares were forced to disperse and their language came under strong Santomense influence. In addition, the syntactic behavior of some prepositions is quite different from Portuguese, but resembles Santomense, a linguistic fact which rules out Portuguese influence. In what follows, Angolar prepositions are introduced, followed by examples and, whenever applicable, differences in their uses from those in Santomense are discussed.

5.3.1.1 General locative *ni*

Ni is the general locative preposition in Santomense. The zero form is common in Angolar, even in those syntactic environments where Santomense requires *ni*, e.g. locative (120) and existential (121). In (121), however, the preposition *letu* 'inside' (Ptg. *dentro*) is used instead of *ni*.

(120) ST: ami tɫaba ni lɔsa deʃi anu
 AN: n taba Ø lɔθa kwɪn anu
 1s work LOC plantation ten year
 'I worked ten years on a plantation.'

(121) ST: Tleʃi piʃi sa ni kwali
 AN: Treʃi kikiθa θa letu zɔŋge
 thirteen fish COP LOC basket
 'There are thirteen fish in the basket.'
 (cf. AN *kwɪn ne teesɪ* idem)

Older Santomense speakers seem to use the locative *ni* less frequently than the younger ones, which seems to suggest that Santomense is being influenced by Portuguese and Angolar might have borrowed it from Santomense. For example, one old Santomense informant of approximately 65 years regarded by other Santomenses to speak a more basilectal creole (*forro antigo* 'old Forro') rather than an acrolectal variety (*forro assimilado*, i.e. Portuguese-influenced Santomense) showed no locative *ni* in existential propositions of the type in (121):

(122) ST: Treʃi piʃi sa Ø kwali
 idem.
 (Portuguese-influenced ST *treʃi*; cf. ST *tleʃi*)

This variational usage of *ni* in Santomense and, to a less extent in Angolar (see below), may be the result of a complex interplay of linguistic (synchronic, diachronic) and extralinguistic (age, education, occupation) factors which still require a more thorough quantificational study.

In rapid speech, the preposition *ni* undergoes simplification and phonological assimilation to the following segment (bilabial in (123)), i.e. *ni* > *n-* > *m-*.

- (123) m Paa Mbaçi ε te u^a tankamba a ka θam'e Tirifan.
 LOC beach Mbaçi DEM EXT a white man UNM HAB call-3s Tirifan
 'On Mbaçi Beach there is a white man the people call Tirifan.'

5.3.1.2 Locative preposition pe

Like the preposition *ni*, *pe* (ST *pe*, PR *pwe*) is also used to indicate location. Its semantic and syntactic properties, however, are different in that it is categorized by verbs whose main semantic component is direction away or towards the speaker, e.g. 'to pull, to drag, to hoist, etc.' Its homonym *pe* meaning 'to put' (Ptg. *po*) might have been the lexical source for the prepositional usage which developed either internally or via substrate influence (direct borrowing or loan translation of a syntactic construction present in African languages). A search in African sources of Angolar (Edo, Kimbundu) has failed to identify any mechanism of the type discussed here, but further research may do so.

- (124) m pe ſinga awa
 1s put rope water
 'I put the (sailing) rope in the water.'

Ex. (125) and (126) show typical usages of *pe* in a construction with another preceding verb accompanied by a complement having the general meaning of movement out of or upward.

(125) n ṭaya kanua m pe riba.
 1s pull canoe 1s LOC top
 'I pulled the canoe out of the sea.' (lit. to the top)

(126) n digi vela pe.
 1s hoist sail LOC
 'I hoisted the sail.'

However, Maurer (forthcoming) points out that the three GG creoles share a property: *pe* deletion in a sentence like (127b), which has the same verb as (127a), leads to a change in meaning.

(127a) n ṭhaa kanua pê matu
 3s pull canoe put bushes
 'I pulled the canoe into the bushes.'

(127b) n ṭhaa kanua Ø matu
 'I pulled the canoe in the bushes.'

(Examples 127a,b are taken from Maurer, forthcoming)

Unlike Santomense and Principense, in Angolar the main verb may not include a locative meaning, e.g. 'wash' (cf. 'hoist'). In such cases, *pe* and Ø are seen to alternate without any change in meaning (ibid.).

(128a) N laba kikiê pê miɔnga.
 1s wash fish in sea
 'I washed the fish in the sea.'

(128b) N laba kikiê Ø miɔnga.
 'I washed the fish in the sea.'

(Examples 128a-b are taken from Maurer, forthcoming)

The *pe*-construction is attested in interrogative sentences in which *pe* has a strictly locative sense; this is in contrast with Santomense where one finds *ni* (the general locative preposition):

- (129) ST: Anji su" ka ta ni?
 Anji su" ka ta pe?
 where 2s-[POLITE, MASC] HAB dwell LOC
 'Where do you dwell?'

5.3.1.3 *fo*: preposition of origin

The Ptg. etymon for AN *fo* (also ST *fo*) is likely to be the Ptg. preposition *fora* 'outside' which also functions as an adverb meaning 'out, away from'. In AN *fo* has, in addition to its prepositional role, a verbal one meaning 'to come'. The latter one may be attributed to substrate influence (Maurer 1995:218 fn 90). See (130) and (131) for both cases.

- (130) kɔmpa ka tɔma ɕɔ awa, awa ši ma banku
 friend IRR drink little water water DEM REL white man
 ka bi ki'e fo oto tela
 HAB come with-3s from another country
 'You should take a sip of water [i.e. *aguardente* 'brandy'], that water the white man brings from another country.'

- (131) pɛ m ka fo miɔnga
 father 1s HAB come back sea
 'My father came back from the sea.'

Angolar has the verb serial *bi* 'to come' which is of wider application than *fo* as it can function as a transitive and intransitive verb, with both nominal and verbal complements. Its semantic attributions are different in that it does not

indicate the place of origin, a role which is fulfilled by the more restricted *fo*.

Unlike *bi*, *fo* requires a locative complement, e.g. *miɔnga* in (131):

- (132) n na ta nga ma ngatu ε šie fo wa
 1s not know where shark DEM come out not
 'I didn't know where the shark came from.'

Interestingly, Santomense seems to lack AN's prepositional usage of *fo* which Angolar has, perhaps due to its gradual replacement by ST *ji* (cf. Ptg. *de*).

- (133) ST: ɔʒε kantu ɔra ku suⁿ fo šluvisu?
 today how many hour REL 2s-[POLITE, MASC] come out work
 'Today, at what time did you get out of work?'

In (134) note the double use of *fo* and *bi* 'to come'. Here, *fo* has the extended meaning of 'to come out' (see 132). The verb phrase [**bi fo*] is not allowed in either of the creoles, a meaning which is expressed with just *fo* or *šie* in Angolar and Santomense (see 132 for Angolar) or *bi ji* (in decreolized Santomense). Note in (134) also that the verbal status of *fo* is clearly indicated by the following adverb *letu* 'inside'.

- (134) E ta m'e na ka po zi mε wa
 3s know COMP-3s not HAB able make food not

nda e fo letu kai mama re bi nge
 because 3s come out inside house mother 3s come here

'She knew that she couldn't cook because she left her mother's house to come here.'

[The status of *letu* as a preposition is not clear at all; Maurer (1995:121) seems to favor a noun classification for *letu*.]

5.3.1.4 *ki/ku*: preposition and coordinating conjunction

As a preposition meaning 'with' and the coordinating conjunction meaning 'and', *ki* (PR *ki*, ST *ku* ; cf. Ptg. *com*) is part of different types of constructions. In (135), which is part of a description of the Feast of Angolares in São João dos Angolares, both functions of *ki* are present. The conjunction *ki* joins two complex nominals while the preposition *ki* is part of an adverbial phrase.

(135) ɔla a ka vuča kwanda m'e ka vuča ria re
when UNM HAB arrive up REL-3p HAB arrive day 3s

туру ɔмε ki тuru мeгaи θa ki нгɔθɔ
all man and all woman COP with joy

'When the people get up there on that day [Feast of Angolares] all men and women are joyful.'

AN *ki* (and ST *ku*) form the prepositional phrase with a pronoun (136a), a noun (136b), an adverb (136c) or a complex nominal.

(136a) iši ma n ka lumba ki anε, anε na ka ende wa
DEM PRON REL 1s HAB speak with 3p 3p not HAB listen not
'That which I spoke with them, they didn't understand.'

(136b) mama vutuka pa bi ki čɔ me re ra m
mother return for come with little food 3s for 1s
'Mother return to bring some food for me.'

(136c) e ka taba kwa re ki mɔmɔri ki zetu
3s HAB work thing 3s with slow and handiness
'He works his thing [job] slowly and with handiness.'

ki may be omitted when conjoining two nouns:

(137) мeгaи ∅ mama re kunga m
woman mother 3s annoy 1s
'The woman and her mother annoyed me.'

As indicated in (§5.3.1.4) *ki* may be a part of reflexive constructions of the form [*ki* + *onge* + PRONOUN], e.g. *ki onge* 'nɛ 'themselves'.

As a conjunction, *ki* can also coordinate clauses as shown in (138). Note that *i* in (138) (not *ki*) serves as a connective at the sentential level. The second *ki* in (138) introduces an adverbial phrase ('carefully').

(138) I oto nge tambɛ e taba kwa rɛ ki ka taba ki
 and other person also 3s work thing 3s and HAB work with
 kurari vira rɛ
 care life 3s

'And, another person also works his own thing and work carefully.'

5.3.1.5 *ra*: benefactive preposition

The preposition *ra* 'to, for' (cf. ST *da*) derives from Ptg. *dar* 'to give', a development that is not unusual in creoles, e.g. Sranan Creole English *gi* (< to give) (Adamson and Smith 1994:228), Haitian Creole French *bay* (< archaic French *bailler* 'give') (Goodman 1964:62) and Ewe *ná* (< 'to give') (Heine et al. 1991:235).

(139) mɛ m fika u'a si'ta ra m
 mother 1s leave one ribbon for 1s
 'My mother left a ribbon for me.'

Fronting for relativization purposes leads to prepositional stranding whenever a locative or benefactive preposition is present. For example, in (140) left-dislocation of the noun plus the relative pronoun *ki* results in the stranding of *ra* which is left attached to the verb. Prepositional stranding

affects not only declarative but interrogative sentences as well, as seen in (141).

(140) AN: [nge ki] n ta ka taba ra [...] Ø mingu tata m
 ST: [nge ku] n ta ka tlabá da [...] sa migu di papa m
 person REL 1s PAST HAB work for COP friend of father 1s
 'The person for whom I used to work is my father's friend.'

(141) Kwa n zi aši ra?
 thing 1s do DEM PRON for
 'Why did I do that?'

Below is an example of locative prepositional stranding for AN (*pe*) and ST (*ne*):

(142) AN: Pia, nga ma n ka mue pe?
 ST: Pia, anji ku n ka mule ne
 look where 1s fut die LOC
 'Look, where will I die?'

5.3.1.6 *punda*: causative preposition

Of unknown origin, this preposition has a few phonetic variants: *punda*, *nda* and *da* (also Santomense). Ivens Ferraz (1979:95) gave Edo *rhun-da* 'idem' for the origin of *punda*. In view of Maurer (1995:240 fn94) this Edo etymon is improbable phonologically since in many GG creole words Edo rh- (alveolar trill /r/ or alveolar fricative trill /r̥/) became *ʌ*, e.g. Edo *perhe* 'to be flat' > PR *pete* 'flat'. On the other hand, *punda* may have originated from non-standard Portuguese *pamodi* (*para modo de* 'because'), also used in Brazilian Portuguese. In (143) the food or, rather the lack of it (the woman refuses to cook for her husband) is the reason for

the gossip going around in the neighborhood (the unmarked *a* refers to *ane kenu* 'the neighbors').

- (143) a ka fa θe ka lula mengai da me.
 UNM HAB say PRG abuse woman because food
 'They say that I am abusing the woman [wife] because of the food.'

Sentence (144) has the unreduced causative preposition *punda* which precedes the cause of the main verb (*ngɔɔ*); here the noun phrase *kwa ši ε* 'that thing' refers back to the making of palmwine in São João dos Angolares.

- (144) turu nge ka ngɔɔ p'e bi kɔpw'e punda kwa ši ε
 all person HAB wish for-3s come buy 3s because thing DEM
 'Everybody wish to come and buy it [palmwine] because of this thing [its quality].'

As a conjunction *punda* introduces a causative subordinating clause (see also §5.1.10) as shown in (145):

- (145) Suⁿ θε vugu-vugu, zi ɔ̃ kubata re punda
 man DEM sacrifice make small hut 3s because
 nɔ ta ka lenda
 1p ANT HAB rent

'This man sacrificed himself; he built his small hut because we had been renting.'

In Santomense *punda* has the same functions (preposition, conjunction):

- (146) ST: Bo na po še madlugaru pasa fa punda
 2s not can go out dawn very not because
 štlara sa pligu muntu
 street COP dangerous very

'You cannot go out very early because the street is very dangerous.'

(cf. AN *-ru* in ST *madlugaru*; also, nonetymological *-r-* in *štlara*, probably due to AN influence in the ST of this Angolar speaker)

5.3.1.7 Other prepositions

Two prepositions in particular are interesting when their makeup and diachronic formation are considered. These prepositions arise from body part lexemes, like the reflexive construction (§5.1.6.3). The prepositions are related to the words for 'back' and 'eyes'.

5.3.1.7.1 Back: AN *mema*; ST *tlaši*

These two prepositions derive from Kikongo *mima* 'back' (Maia 1964a:151, Swartenbroeckx 1973) or Kimbundu *marima* idem (Maia 1964:183; cf. also Maurer 1995:230) and Ptg. *atrás* 'behind', respectively. The nominal character of the lexemes with a concrete anatomical significance is shown in (147). They can function as an NP head with modifiers (adjectives, possessives, NPs, etc.) in postposition. The Angolar sentence (147a) can have both a concrete and spatial interpretation, i.e., 'place behind/behind'.

(147a) AN: Bo na ta kwa θa mema o wa
 2s not know thing be back 2s not
 'You don't what's behind you/on your back'

(147b) ST: ɔla n kole mosu da m u'a soko ni tlaʃi
 when 1s run child give 1s a blow LOC back
 'As I ran away the child hit me on the back.'

The metaphorical transfer from an object to a space is seen in (148). In this function, AN *mema* and ST *tlaʃi* are neither part of prepositional phrases nor of predicatives and stand alone without any modifiers.

(148a) AN: N ka pe u'a taba we, n ka pe u'a mema
 1s HAB put one plank front 1s HAB put one behind
 'I put one plank up; I put another one behind.'

(148b) ST: tlaʃi mo (Valkhoff 1966:259)
 back hand
 'wrist'

For 'wrist', PR has *taʃi umã*.

A further metaphorical extension of Angolar and Santomense 'back' is the change 'back' > 'behind' > 'backward', the latter indicating a reversal of a condition or situation (see 149). Here the adverb usually functions with verbs of process and motion.

(149) ST: n ka bila tlaʃi
 1s HAB turn backward
 'I'm going backward', i.e. 'I'm becoming more sick'.

5.3.1.7.2 Front: AN/ST *we* 'eyes'

As to the source of AN and ST *we*, Günther (1973:245) suggests the dialectal Portuguese form *óy(u)* 'eye' fused with the Portuguese article *o* led to Principense *uwé*. Maurer (1995:250) lists AN *we* as a Portuguese-

derived word from *olho*, though he is not adamant about this etymology. For Ivens Ferraz (1979:96) Twi *hwe* 'eye' and/or Gbari *we* 'idem' could have been the source for *we*. However, it is unlikely Twi or Gbari were the sources in view of their limited contribution to the Gulf of Guinea general lexicon and, particularly, to the core vocabulary.

Like AN and ST 'back', the source concept *we* shows considerable semantic variation. First, the body part noun displays all the standard features of other creole nouns, e.g. modifiers in postposition.

(150) AN: E ka pia m k' we bluku
 3s HAB look 1s with eyes angry
 'She looks at me with angry eyes.'

[cf. ST *we bluku* 'vento do feiticeiro' (sorcery) (Sobral Gonçalves 1973:64) and PR *te uwe* 'to be jealous' (Günther 1973:245) and *tewe* 'envy' (Maurer 1995:244)].

(151) ST: we be kloso deseja (Coelho 1880-86:114)
 eyes see heart wish
 'The eyes saw but the heart desired.'

With the pure spatial meaning 'in front of' *we* takes an adverbial function; in this function, the word does not require a preposition (*ni*, *pe*) and follows categorically the verb phrase; cf. Yoruba *ní* 'Loc prep.' + *íwájú* 'face' > *níwájú* 'in front of' (Holm 1988:209).

(152) AN: Komba ka lema we n ka lema mema
 friend HAB row front 1s HAB row back
 'You will row in the front and I will row in the back.'

Also, the intermediate 'front place' is attested in nominal complexes of the form [*we* + NOUN] (see 153) and in prepositional phrases with *ni* in Santomense (154).

- (153) AN: *we-mpuna* 'kneecap' (lit. front-knee)
 AN: *we-vinjĩ* 'tibia' (lit. front-lower leg)
 AN: *we-poto* 'front yard'

- (154) ST: Dosu nge plase kala suⁿ uⁿa bi ni
 two person appear face you-[POLITE,MASC] one come LOC
we uⁿa bi ni tlaši: suⁿ ka po defendi
 front one come LOC behind you-[POLITE, MASC] HAB can defend
 inε nge se?
 PL person DEM

'(Let's say) two persons appeared right in front of you, one came from the front, one from behind, could you still protect yourself from their attack?'

(Note the use of *kala* 'face' as a preposition.)

As part of verb constructions with *bila* 'to become, to turn' (Ptg. *virar*) the noun *we* denotes motion forward or around (155).

- (155a) ɔla n ka *bila we* n kota uⁿa mengai nase
 when 1s IRR turn eyes 1s find a woman give birth
 'When I would turn around I saw a woman giving birth.'

- (155b) Kanua *bila we* bere
 canoe turn front INT
 'The canoe moved forward really (fast).'

Furthermore, in personal narratives of past events (e.g. childhood) the Angolares make use of *biri we* 'to grow up' (literally 'to open the eyes'); a secondary meaning of *biri we* is 'to understand' (156). In Santomense the verb *fliima* 'to grow up' [Umbundu *okufima* 'to breathe' (Alves 1950)] and

kese (Ptg. *crescer*) are used instead of AN *biri we*. In AN *fima* 'to grow up' could be a later borrowing from Santomense. One cannot rule out a Portuguese etymology for ST *fima*; cf. *firmar* 'to make firm' and the adjective *firme* 'firm, secure' Maurer p.c.).

(156) ɔla ma nɔ biri we nɔ na kota tia moʔe wa
 when 1p open eyes 1p not find country manner-DEM not

'When we were growing up, we didn't find the country in this way
 [life was better in the old days].'

(157) ST: ɔla n ta ka fima, n ta ka riʔeta nge tame
 when 1s PAST HAB grow up 1s PAST HAB respect person old
 'When I was growing up I would respect the elder person.'

5.3.2 Adverbs

While in many cases Angolar adverbs inherited the forms (generally changed) and functions of Portuguese adverbs, it is possible to find other adverbs that originated via innovation. Among those mechanisms, reduplication and word fusion led to some new adverbs. Except for one adverb (ST *ančigamenči* 'formerly'; cf. AN *nakulu* < Kimbundu *mukulu* 'idem' Maia 1964b:39; *na-* < ST *dina* 'since'; Maurer 1995:231), the Portuguese adverbial ending *-mente* is not a productive derivational morpheme for the formation of creole adverbs. The list below represents a limited comparative list of Angolar and Santomense adverbs in terms of their semantic content. It is not intended to be exhaustive but rather an indication of their formation.

5.3.2.1 Time

Some temporal adverbs and adverbial constructions in Angolar and Santomense are:

'formerly': AN *nakulu*, ST *ančigamenči*

'then': AN *θo*, ST *so* < Ptg. *então*

'now': AN, ST *myole*, *wele* (*aiɛlnai-en?*)

'at that time': AN *ɔla iši* < *ɔla* 'hour' + *iši* 'DEM'; ST *mindola* < ? + *ɔla* 'hour'

'already': AN *za* < Ptg. *já*; ST *ja*

'tomorrow': AN *mungu* < Kb *mungu* 'tomorrow' (Maurer 1995:231), ST *maṅa* < Ptg. *amanha*

'again': AN, ST *to* < Ptg. *tornar* 'one more time', e.g. *n to čuviu* 'I dived again' (cf. *txutxuka* " (se) mettre dans de l'eau peu profonde", Kb *sutuka* (Maurer 1995:248); (also, see §5.2.8 for a discussion of *to* as a preverbal particle).

'yesterday': AN *mađo* < Kb *maza*; ST *onte'* < Ptg. *ontem*

'since': AN *na*, ST *jina* < ?

'today': AN *ođɛ* (*hoje*); ST *ɔzɛ* < Ptg. *hoje*

5.3.2.2 Space

Some locative adverbs and adverbial constructions in Angolar and Santomense are:

'outside': AN *lua*, ST *lwa* < Ptg. *rúa* 'road' (Maurer 1995:227)

'inside': AN *letu*, ST *nglentu* < Ptg. *dentro*

'middle': AN *kači* < Kb *kaxi* (Maurer 1995:221); ST *miji* < Ptg. *medio*

'there': AN *ṅa*, ST *ala*; 'here': AN *ngɛ*, ST *ai*

'over there': AN *laya*, ST *laya*

5.3.2.3 Manner

Some adverbs and adverbial constructions of manner in Angolar and Santomense are:

'in this manner': AN *mo*, ST *tudaši*, *moru* < Ptg. *tudo assim* 'all in this manner', *modo* 'manner' (cf. also AN *asi*, Maurer 1995:211)

'slowly': AN *mɔmɔri-mɔmɔri*, ST *moli-moli*, *leve-leve* < Kimbundo *mole* 'indolence' (Alves 1951:734); cf. also Ptg. *mole* 'soft' (ibid.:231)

'sparsely': AN *čɔ-čɔ-čɔ* (< ?), ST *pikina-pikina* < Ptg. *pequenina* 'very small'

'completely': AN *ta*; postverbal particle that indicates the completeness or intensity of the action.

(158) kabeza m kole ta
 head 1s run INT
 'My head was going round very fast.'

(159) letu kanua ta ka kiba ta
 inside canoe PAST ASP break completely
 'The inside part of the canoe broke.'

Another meaning of *ta* is 'out', which derives from the Ptg. *butar* 'to throw', later extended to the adverbial functions.

(160) liku paŋa, ōuga ta
 rich grab throw out
 'The rich man grabs and then he thows it out.'

The sequence *zuga ta* may be analyzed as a serial verb construction as may ST *kɔta buta* 'to cut and throw out' (cf. AN *kɔta ta*); ST also has *zuga buta* (Maurer p.c.).

5.3.2.4 Other adverbs

Other adverbs and adverbial constructions in Angolar and Santomense that do not have the semantics of the previous adverbs are:

'also': AN *tɛ*, ST *tɛ*, *tambɛ*

'not': double negative disjunctive construction AN *na ... wa* and ST *na...fa* (also *na...fo*); cf. PR postverbal negator *fa* (also *fo < fa + o* 'intonational particle') (Günther 1973:191)

'never': AN *nunka*, ST *na*, *nunka*

5.3 Complex sentences

The present section examines complex sentences and words that are usually analyzed as complementizers which include, among others, the creole equivalents to 'that', 'if', 'to', 'for', etc. The term 'complementizer' is taken to include subordinators, whose function is to include sentential adverbials. All complementizers in Angolar (and Santomense) occur in between the main and the embedded clause and in sentence initial position. Except for the restricted case of zero complementizer (see below), Angolar complementizers have a separate lexical form of Portuguese origin, though they do not always behave like their Portuguese counterparts. One case in point is the use of *fa ~ fala* (Ptg. *falar* 'to speak') after *de dicto* and thinking verbs. In the description that follows the main goal is to delineate the structure of complex sentences and to highlight those features which are distinctive from at least the lexifier. Angolar complementizers share with those in Santomense many of their syntactic

features; still, their saliency makes it worth of including them in a contrastive study of Angolar and Santomense.

5.4.1 Complementizer *ma*

The complementizer *ma* (or *m*) 'that', used alone or in conjunction with other forms (e.g. *kwa ma* 'what'), is associated with all matrix verbs, except for verbs of speaking which show a greater tendency to combine with *fara*. Its origin is likely to be old Portuguese *coma*, at least formally since functionally *coma* deviates from the usages of *ma* in Angolar. In Santomense the unreduced form *kuma* is more common. In (161) the Angolar complementizer *ma* introduces an object complement after a verb of perception (*ende* 'hear'):

- (161) N ende ma kuma θa ki uⁿa ɔmɛ mašivi
 1s hear COMP friend COP with a man young
 'I hear that the comadre had a young man.'

The *ma*-clause may function as an adjectival clause which modifies its antecedent in the main sentence; the antecedent may be an NP (162), a demonstrative pronoun (163) or the entire proposition (164):

- (162) M ba taka uⁿa ngɔla m'a ka θama kwa Dumu Caien.
 1s go find a Angolar COMP UNM HAB call so Dumu Caien
 'I came to find an Angolar called Dumu Caien or so.'
- (163) Isi ma n ka lumba ki anɛ, anɛ na ka ende wa
 DEM COMP 1s HAB speak with 3p 3p not HAB understand not
 'That (language) which I speak to them they don't understand.'

- (164) Ola ma m pi'ε, ma n ka vugu ki vira m,
 when 1s see-3s COMP 1s IRR fight with life 1s
 n θa θaia ngaŋa kai
 1s COP drag arrive house

'When I realized it, that I would have to fight by myself, I dragged myself to arrive home.'

Even though verbs of saying in the main sentence may be followed by the complementizer *fara* (see below), *ma* may follow those verbs as well.

- (165) A ka fa ma šloga θa mama na, eee
 UNM HAB say COMP mother-in-law COP mother daughter EXCL
 'They say that his mother-in-law is his daughter's mother.'

The compounded complementizer *ɔla ma* (lit. 'hour that') introduces temporal and causative adverbial clauses ('when, since') as in (166):

- (166) ɔla ma n lege mema, šinga buya; ma šinga ε fula e
 when 1s throw-3s again net tangle because net DEM pierce EXCL
 na θa kwa mangaθowa; n vuvugu
 not COP thing joke 1s struggle

'When I threw the net again, the net got tangled. Because the net got a hole, I'm not kidding, I struggled and struggled.'

In addition, *ma*, in conjunction with other lexemes, becomes part of embedded interrogatives ('which, how, where, etc.'). The sense of *ma* in (167), i.e. 'how', is similar to the old Portuguese etymon *coma*, unlike the case of the combination of *ma* with other lexemes.

- (167) Banku si ε meθe sebe tambε m'ma Sã θa ka vive
 white man DEM need know also how you-FEM-[POLITE] PROG live
 'This white man needs to know how you are living.'

Other complementizers that have *ma* to introduce an embedded interrogative clause are *nga ma* 'where' (lit. 'place that'), *kwa ma* 'what' (lit. 'thing that') and *kwai ma* 'which' (lit. 'thing DEM that'); cf. *ki* in Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese, Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese and Haitian Creole French.

(168) n na ta nga ma e ta ne wa ki ende kwa ma
 1s not know where 3s dwell LOC not and understand what

θe ka lumba ki mengai
 PROG speak with woman

'I don't know where he lives and (they) don't understand what I am speaking with the woman.'

(169) Ma ie ki ċia maši menu, ε ċia kwai ma re θa
 but this one REL extract much less 3s extract which 3s COP

maši bwaru
 much better

'But this person who extracted much less [palmwine], from which he extracted a much better one.'

The following sentences illustrate the use of *kuma* in Santomense: as a complementizer in (170) (cf. Angolar ex. 159), a causative complementizer in (171) (cf. Angolar ex. 166) and after verbs of speaking in (172) (cf. Angolar ex. 165).

(170) ST: bo sebe kuma bo na te palavla fa
 2s know COMP 2s not have word not
 'You know that you are not a man of your word.'

(171) ST: kuma n tinha ke m ni lɔsa n' Awa Kio,
 since 1s had house 1s LOC plantation LOC Agua Crioula

noⁿ še nala onzi ra noči
 1p go out there eleven of night

'Since I had the house on the plantation in Agua Crioula, we left from there at eleven at night.'

(note in this example the use of Portuguese *tinha* instead of ST *tava te*.)

(172) ST: Suⁿ ka fara mu kuma na
 2s-[POLITE, MASC] HAB say 1s COMP not

te ndaši kume fa
 have nothing eat not

'You say to me that I have nothing to eat.'

5.4.2 *pa* + tensed clause

AN *pa* can introduce tensed clauses whose verb has a pronominal or nominal subject. When followed by *e* 'he, she, it', and *bo* 'you', *pa* becomes *p'e* and *p'o*, respectively. Portuguese has a similar construction, called *infinitivo pessoal* or 'personal infinitive' in traditional grammars:

"A par do infinitivo impessoal, isto é, do infinitivo que não tem sujeito, porque não se refere a uma pessoa gramatical, conhece a língua portuguesa o infinitivo pessoal, que tem sujeito próprio e pode ou não flexionar-se."

(Cunha and Cintra 1984:481)

'Besides the impersonal infinitive, that is, the infinitive without a subject since it does not refer to any grammatical person, the

Portuguese language has personal infinitive, which has its own subject and may be conjugated.'

- (173) *Agora nos vamos dar alguns provérbios para [os brancos], ouvirem*
 now we go give some proverbs for the white man hear
 'Now we are going to tell some proverbs to the white man.'

The *pa*-tensed clause in (174) plays the function of a direct object as a whole and has a nominal subject (*sã*).

- (174) *nɔ məθe [pa sã fara nɔ' nomi tata sã]*
 1p need COMP 2s-[POLITE-FEM] tell 1p name father 2s-[POLITE, MASC]]
 'We need you to tell us your father's name.'

The *pa*-tensed clause in (175) has a purposive meaning, like in the Portuguese construction. Unlike the Portuguese personal infinitive which is untensed, the *pa*-tensed clause introduces a tensed or finite verb (*ba* 'go'), namely the unmarked one (cf. Holm 1988:168-170 for a discussion of purposive clauses in creoles having different European lexifiers.)

- (175) *θo mama m ba konde m ante Penõa, pa n*
 thus mother 1s go hide 1s as far as company so that
na ba šikola wa punda šikola te gastu paθa
 not go school not because school have expensive very
 'Thus my mother went as far as the company [plantation] to hide me so that I wouldn't go to school because it was very expensive.'

If the subject of both the main and *pa*-tensed clause is the same, it may be omitted in the latter as can be seen in (176) where the verbs *wara* and *lima* share the same agent (*oto nge*).

- (176) [oto nge] na ka wara *pa* Ø ba lima faka wa
 another person not HAB wait for go sharpen knife not
 '(There is) another person who doesn't wait to sharpen the knife.'

A case in point of the deletion of the subject in the *pa*-clause is (177) which has three embedded clauses. A change in the referent with respect to the immediately preceding clause requires an overt subject. For the last *pa*-clause (*pa mε*), this interpretation of embedded pronominalization would require omission of *m* '1s' since the previous clause has the same referent.

- (177) θɔ n θura θɔ n fe *p'e* ra m uⁿa kiba futa pɔ
 then 1s think then 1s say-3s COMP-3s give1s one part breadfruit

pa n taθɔ kunjɔ *pa* mε.
 COMP 1s sit kitchen COMP eat

'Then I thought and asked him to give me a piece of breadfruit so that I would sit in the kitchen to eat.'

5.4.3 Relative clauses

The relative clause marker in Angolar is *ki* (< Ptg. *que*; cf. ST *ku*). It is used with animate (human and non-human) referents in the main clause. In (178a-b) the relative clause marker *ki* has both [+/- human] referents regardless of their syntactic role (subject, object) in the embedded sentence. In addition, *ki* is invariable for number thus allowing singular and plural referents. The relative clause marker *ma* can take any function other than subject (Maurer 1995:55).

- (178a) Si m beta na o anε kenu *ki* na ta ...
 if 1s slap child 2s PL neighbor REL not know
 'If I slapped your child, the neighbors who don't know ...'

(178b) u^a na kekelu ki fo liba bi kie liba
 one small butterfly REL out above come fall above
 'A small butterfly who fell from above.'

In Santomense the relative clause marker *ku* is the single form used in both cases (ex. 179a-b taken from Ivens Ferraz 1979:78).

(179a) ST: ni u^a nge na ta se ku
 not one person not remain there who

ka lembla di kwa se fa
 HAB remember of thing DEM not

'There is no longer anyone who remembers that.'

(179b) ST: inε kumε tudu ku me d'e fika pe ke lɔɔ
 they eat all which mother 3s leave put home INT
 'They ate all the food which his mother left at home.'

Chapter 6: The origin and development of Angolar

6.0 Introduction

Chapter two dealt with one of the two problems regarding the origin and development of Angolar, namely, the social and historical conditions responsible for the emergence of the Angolares as a distinct ethnolinguistic group. Its purpose was to provide the sociohistorical background relevant to the linguistic argumentation for Angolar's genesis and formation in this chapter. Thus, chapter six will deal with the linguistic processes which led to Angolar's present morphosyntactic structure, including its resemblance to Santomense, its higher proportion of Kimbundu vocabulary and some of its phonetic and phonological differences. The main goal is to synthesize all the linguistic and sociohistorical data presented in the chapters two to five in order to provide a reasonable scenario to explain the linguistic differences between Angolar and Santomense in light of what is known about the history of the Angolares. More specifically, the three historical stages delineated for the Angolares in chapter two are used to interpret their linguistic history.

Briefly put, the three phases of the Angolar community described in chapter two were the following: (1) confrontation (1500-1700), (2) normalization (1700-1850) and, (3) diaspora (1850-present); all three stages must be understood within the context of the times shaped by the power structure of the plantation system of STP and how the Angolares accommodated it. This use of culture and history in evaluating the linguistic

developmental scenario for the emergence of Angolar in no way diminishes the importance of the purely linguistic aspects of creolization and language contact in general, but rather complements any theory of creole genesis. Or, as Singler (1996:186) recently stated:

“A necessary component of the evaluation of relexification or of any theory of creole genesis is the theory’s compatibility with the sociohistorical context in which creolization occurs.”

Although this is no a priori reason for not doing an independent linguistic investigation, it is my view that the lack of information about the Angolares and their language among creolists and noncreolists alike calls for the dual approach used in this study, focusing on both language and social history. It must be said that although this approach is not a new one, is especially useful in assessing the external and the internal factors underlying contact-induced linguistic changes. In this respect suffice it to mention two standard references in contact linguistics. First, Weinreich’s pioneering work [1974 (1953):5] in which he explained his views on “language contact” and “culture contact” as follows:

“In linguistic interference, the problem of **major** interest is the interplay of structural and non-structural factors that promote or impede such interference. The structural factors are those which stem from the organization of linguistic forms into a definite system, different for every language and to a

considerable degree independent of non-linguistic experience and behavior. The non-structural factors are derived from the contact of the system with the outer world, from given individuals' familiarity with the system, and from the symbolic value which the system as a whole is capable of acquiring and the emotions it can evoke."

(The emphasis is his.)

More recently, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:50 ff.) focused on different degrees of cultural pressure and the social circumstances of contact situations in order to predict the extent to which the lexicon, phonology and syntax of languages in contact will be affected. Although they are cautious about finding "simplistic" predictions which could be broadly applied to all situations (ibid.:47), theirs is clearly an attempt to identify socially-based factors that can affect language change.

The questions addressed in this chapter that may cast new light on the origin and development of Angolar are the following:

- (1) What mechanisms of language change may have operated in the past - before and after Angolar split off as a separate variety of Santomense - could account for the linguistic features which are basic to Angolar?
- (2) More specifically, why does Angolar have a lexical and, to a lesser degree, a phonological subsystem that diverge from those of

Santomense, while morphosyntactically Angolar shares most of its features with Santomense?

- (3) How do the mechanisms in (1) relate to those affecting the formation of Santomense?**
- (4) What were the interrelationships among the several inputs (Portuguese, African languages, internal motivated change) during the contact situation?**

6.1 General remarks on hypothesis formulation

In the following pages, a possible linguistic scenario for the genesis and development of Angolar, which was outlined in §2.2, is evaluated in light of the contrastive Angolar-Santomense data and the known language history of STP. The hypothesis, which was stated originally in §2.2, is summarized here and discussed in detail in §6.3:

Hypothesis for the genesis and development of Angolar

Runaway slaves formed their own communities at a relatively early period of São Tomé's colonization in the 16th century (1535-1550). Due to the isolation of these maroon communities, their language kept the general structure of Santomense which, at the time these first communities were beginning to form, was likely to have been a nativized language for some on the plantations. The question of "who spoke what

to whom” is an important one for postulating a Santomense intrinsically variable since communication between the Portuguese and slaves, and among the slaves themselves, must have been constrained by factors such as first languages (Portuguese as well as Kwa and Bantu languages), exposure to some form of contact Portuguese prior to their arrival on São Tomé (e.g. West African Pidgin Portuguese), their length of stay on the island and their social status (free Afro-Portuguese, houseslaves). Modern divergences between Angolar and Santomense are the outcome of the lexical expansion and further restructuring which Santomense underwent as the result of its closer contact with Portuguese spoken on the plantations as opposed to differences in grammar and pronunciation which Angolar retained from early Santomense (e.g. early ST, AN *kai* ‘house’> modern ST *ke*). On the other hand, Angolar is the result of the partial relexification that Santomense underwent due to the later influence of Bantu languages (probably Kimbundu or one of its dialects) spoken by runaway slaves who escaped from plantations beginning in 1535. In this respect, the Angolares’ existence away from plantations was more likely to have favored the maintenance of African languages than remaining on the plantations, where exposure to Portuguese and the increasing role of Santomense as the medium of communication among slaves forced Africans to give up their native languages faster. According to this scenario, the rise of the mulatto society (*filhos da terra*), with planters and slaveowners in their ranks, during the time of São Tomé’s economic depression and isolation from Portugal (17th-18th c.), fostered the establishment of Santomense as the common vernacular for both slaves

and non-slaves. Against this setting, one may understand Angolar as the linguistic result of the Maroons' need to develop a communicative behavior which would act as an in-group boundary maintenance mechanism, to provide symbolic and psychological value for the Angolar community and, at the same time, make it incomprehensible to outsiders, i.e. a secret language. The development of a secret/symbolic language became truly advantageous for the survival of the Angolares whose existence was under constant threat by the more powerful plantation society.

The plausibility of this scenario will be evaluated as to its ability to account for the greatest amount of relevant linguistic and sociohistorical data, and for the likelihood of the model to generate the linguistic outputs that fit our current knowledge. More particularly, this scenario for the origin of Angolar will be judged in terms of the degree to which they can account for the following data, which was discussed previously in chapters two to five.

- (1) The Angolares and Santomense-speaking plantation slaves had different and relatively independent social histories, the former establishing their own communities on the periphery of the plantation system in which Santomense evolved (chapter two);
- (2) Santomense and Angolar diverge somewhat in their phonetics and phonologies (chapter three);

- (3) Santomense has more Portuguese vocabulary than Angolar and ST's African-derived lexicon is more influenced by Kwa languages and Kikongo, while Angolar has more Kimbundu cognates than Santomense (chapter four);
- (4) Santomense and Angolar are structurally similar, although specific morphosyntactic differences between the two creoles do exist (chapter five).

6.2 Structural differences between Angolar and Santomense

This section summarizes the structural features which the two creoles do **not** have in common in order to assess their language histories. Of course, the linguistic commonalities of Angolar and Santomense are also important for what they suggest about the various stages of Angolar's development, including the last century of diaspora as the result of a closer language contact with Santomense.

The structural differences between Angolar and Santomense are presented in Table 6.1; all language components described in chapters three to five (i.e. phonetics, phonology, lexico semantics and morphosyntax) are included in Table 6.1 along with the specific features and the sections in which they are described for easy reference. These features will then be discussed as part of the evaluation of the hypothetical scenario posited in §6.1.

Table 6.1: Structural differences between AN and ST

Linguistic features	Angolar	Santomense	§
Phonetics + Phonology	1) interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ 2) no liquid clusters 3) vowel length 4) tone distinctions	1) alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ 2) liquid clusters of the type C + /l/ 3) no vowel length 4) may have no tone distinctions	3.1.1.2 3.2.3 3.3 3.3
Lexico- semantics	1) more African-derived vocabulary 2) less Ptg. cognates 3) Kimbundu = main substrate source 4) borrowing + calquing	1) less African-derived vocabulary 2) more Ptg. cognates 3) Edo and Kikongo = main substrate sources 4) mainly calquing	4.1.2.2.1 4.1.2.2.1 4.1.2.2.1 4.1.2.2.2
Morpho- syntax	1) - <i>ru</i> verbal and non-verbal suffixation 2) ∅ preposition 3) complementizers <i>fara</i> , <i>ma</i> 4) immediate future <i>θe ka</i> 5) relative pronouns <i>ki</i> , <i>ma</i> 6) iterative word <i>to</i> 7) existential <i>te</i> 8) anterior <i>ta</i> 9) completive <i>lɔke</i> 10) ∅ irrealis <i>ka ka</i> 11) ∅ comparative <i>pasa</i> 12) progressive <i>θa ka</i> 13) 3p <i>ane/ene</i>	1) - <i>du</i> verbal suffixation 2) prepositions <i>di</i> , <i>ni</i> 3) complementizer <i>kuma</i> 4) immediate future <i>kia</i> 5) relative pronoun <i>ku</i> 6) ∅ iterative word 7) existential <i>sa</i> 8) anterior <i>tava</i> 9) completive <i>kaba</i> 10) irrealis <i>ka ka</i> 11) comparative <i>pasa</i> 12) progressive <i>sa ka/sa ska</i> 13) 3p <i>ine</i>	5.1.3.2 5.3.1 5.2.12.4 5.2.3.1 5.3.1.4 5.2.8 5.2.9 5.2.2 5.2.5 5.2.6.2 5.2.12.5 5.2.3 5.1.6.1

6.3 Analysis of the hypothesis for the origin of Angolar

The contrasting linguistic data summarized in §6.2 will be evaluated in view of the possible linguistic implications of the hypothesis in §6.1, restated here: (1) the divergences between Angolar and Santomense are the outcome of the lexical expansion and restructuring which Santomense underwent as the result of closer contact with the Portuguese spoken on the plantations (e.g. changes in the grammar and the pronunciation which Angolar kept from early Santomense unchanged (e.g. early ST, AN *kai* 'house' > modern ST *kε*), and (2) Angolar is the result of the partial relexification that Santomense underwent due to the influence of Bantu languages (probably Kimbundu or one of its dialects).

Clearly, the scarcity of historical information regarding the early stages of Angolar and Santomense makes any model of their genesis and development a very tentative one. This is especially true in that little was known about Angolar until the 1950's when the first observations about the creole were published (Almeida 1956). Thus, modern Angolar is likely to have lost some of its original features, and this change must have been going on during the last century as the Angolares began to disperse coming into increased contact with the larger Santomense-speaking community. Of course, discovering the origins of Angolar with any certainty is hindered in two ways: on one hand, there is a complete lack of any attestations of

previous stages of the language and, on the other hand, we must rely entirely on present-day Angolar vis-à-vis Santomense.

Another source of indeterminacy in the model has to do with the variation and change which naturally arises as the result of multilingualism, a process which is intensified when it comes to extreme language contact situations such as those which lead to creolization. Because of this, one should be even more cautious about not falling into the trap of either/or explanations when there is not enough external evidence to exclude one or the other.

Yet one hopes that the knowledge currently available about the differences between Angolar and Santomense as well as the social history of STP, will be sufficient enough to suggest what might have happened on the island linguistically during the last five centuries.

The structure of the hypothesis summarized in §6.1 rests on the general sociohistorical and language assumptions outlined below:

- 1) The Angolar community is descended from runaway slaves who beginning in the 16th century founded a distinct ethnolinguistic group identity.
- 2) The similarities between Angolar and Santomense are the result of their having shared a common linguistic history on the plantations. During this crucial period for the formation of Angolar (16th-17th), Santomense was likely to show a great deal of linguistic variation. Santomense is likely to have emerged first as a means of communication among slaves

as well as slaves and the Portuguese, with no other common language, being in its early stages a highly variable contact variety, lexically more limited and rather more restricted in its communicative functions, similar in this respect to a pidgin (meaning here nobody's native language). The next generation, made up of children of slaves born on the island and the free Afro-Portuguese, possibly grew up speaking a more systematic nativized Santomense variety. All these factors plus the lack of opportunity to learn Portuguese and/or the use of a Pidgin Portuguese already spoken on other Portuguese trading posts on the mainland must have favored the formation of Santomense.

- 3) The isolation of the Angolares favored the maintenance of some of the features present in Santomense (nativized and non-nativized) and African languages.
- 4) The features not shared by modern Santomense and Angolar are due to two general linguistic processes of change which were independent of each other to a certain extent (see 5 and 6 below for discussion).
- 5) The first linguistic process, Santomense's lexical expansion and stabilization, resulted from its communicative usefulness as it became the dominant language of the plantations for both the slaves and the increasingly powerful free Afro-Portuguese.
- 6) The creole spoken by the first generations of Angolares underwent partial relexification as the maroon community accepted new fugitives who still spoke African languages, usually Bantu (e.g. Kimbundu). One

important social motivation for partial relexification was the need among the Angolares to develop a linguistic code different from Santomense as a badge of their distinct social identity and to maintain a certain degree of secrecy. This must have taken place during the confrontation period (1500-1700), when the Angolares' society was under constant attack from the more powerful Santomense-speaking society.

A similar scenario for the origin of Angolar was put forward by Ivens Ferraz in two short articles (1974, 1976; see also 1987b) without much elaboration. According to him, Angolar arose from an early stage of Santomense [either a *pidgin* or a *creole*, it is not clear from his discussion] when slaves mutinied and established marooned communities in the hinterland during the first half of the sixteenth century. Among those slaves, a large number must have spoken Kimbundu, to judge from its many lexical items in Angolar.

The possible linguistic consequences of this hypothesis will be discussed in more detail in the next two sections which focus on what is likely to have occurred linguistically on the plantations regarding superstrate and differential substrate influence on Santomense from its early stages and the partial relexification of Angolar in the maroon community.

Since the linguistic evidence for Angolar's genesis and development consists largely of its structural differences from Santomense, it is also

necessary to investigate and posit a plausible scenario for what had happened to Santomense on the plantations as the background for a discussion of Angolar's emergence. The discussion of the social and linguistic developments put forward by the hypothesis stated in §6.1 is organized as follows:

- Section §6.3.1 focuses on the development of Santomense on the plantations, its use as a nativized language by some (e.g. locally born slaves and free Afro-Portuguese) and a second language by others (the Portuguese and adult slaves).
- Section §6.3.2 focuses on the development of Angolar as used by the Maroons who had spoken Santomense on the plantations as a first or second language, and the social motivations that led to further changes in the language as the result of partial relexification towards Kimbundu.

6.3.1 The development of Santomense

This section will address the linguistic questions summarized in items two, four and five of §6.1 pertaining to the history of Santomense. The tentative conclusions reached in this section regarding the history of Santomense will then be evaluated in view of the origin of Angolar in §6.3.2.

The contrasting linguistic features between Angolar and Santomense discussed at length in chapters three, four and five and

summarized in Table 6.1 (see §6.2), highlight the most salient differences between Angolar and Santomense in their lexicon, semantics and phonology.

On the plantations of STP we find a situation which resembles the type of language contact situation generalized throughout the history of the Atlantic slave trade, namely, the formation of colonial societies in which a European minority held power over a slave majority. Thus, from its early settlement onwards, STP's plantations were numerically dominated by slaves, whether they were to remain on the island or be shipped to Brazil or other colonies across the Atlantic (see chapter 2). Not only the demographics seemed to favor the emergence of a new means of communication among the slaves and masters, one must also remember that the Portuguese had already established trading posts along the West African coast in which Pidgin Portuguese served as a lingua franca (Tonkin 1971:133, Perl 1990). This is important because, regardless of the actual linguistic input of West African Pidgin Portuguese in the formation of the STP creoles, it suggests that the Portuguese were already familiar with the type of linguistic accommodation and adjustments which must have taken place on new plantations in STP. Hence, it is not necessary to assume that Portuguese was the only linguistic model for slaves, since a more simplified Portuguese spoken by colonizers and slaves alike, and similar in many respects to West African Pidgin Portuguese, might have been as influential. That is, the first Portuguese probably found it more effective to communicate

in the pidgin (or creole) already understood rather than to speak Portuguese. Furthermore, locally born ethnic Portuguese who were raised on the plantation with slaves would have become native speakers of the Santomense variety spoken by the those slaves.

All these factors affected the early forms of Santomense, a contact variety which was likely to have been reasonably stabilized for those slaves for whom it was the only means of communication. For new arrivals, the early forms of Santomense was more unstable, being repidginized, especially by the great numbers of slaves imported during the first half of the sixteenth century.

Those first attempts to communicate by the Portuguese and slaves emerged as the dominant plantation language by the mid- to late sixteenth century as the slave population grew considerably, children grew up speaking Santomense as their native language and many free Afro-Portuguese became powerful enough to own land and slaves, and to rise to influential roles in the colony, as discussed in chapter 2.

It is important to recognize the stabilizing effect the free Afro-Portuguese must have exerted on Santomense all along, especially during its early formative period, in light of the constantly changing situation among the slave population. The free Afro-Portuguese were likely to have been native speakers of Santomense who learned the language from their parents and children of slaves growing up on the plantations. In view of their close association with the slave population as they replaced the

Portuguese during the first half of the sixteenth century, the free Afro-Portuguese must have served also as a linguistic model and an important factor in the diffusion of Santomense on the plantations.

Nonetheless, one must remember that STP was an active plantation society, absorbing large numbers of slaves during its first 150 years of existence (from the 15th to mid-17th centuries), only to become an entrepôt for the transshipment of slaves after the settlement of Brazil by the Portuguese. It is against this historical background that the formation of Santomense and its rise to become the major creole of the island must be explained.

Santomense's salient differences from Angolar are its greater number of Portuguese-derived lexemes, its African-derived words from a greater variety of languages (both Kwa and Bantu) and its phonological rules which deviate less from those of Portuguese, although some major differences remain (e.g. Santomense's implosive stops). In the morphosyntax Santomense's creole properties are undeniable (e.g. TMA preverbal markers), yet here its distinctiveness from Angolar is much less than in the lexico-semantics, phonetics and phonology.

6.3.1.1 Lexico-semantics

Portuguese cognates amount to approximately 90% of Santomense's vocabulary; this figure is 5 to 10% higher than that of

Angolar's (Maurer 1992) or even greater if one takes into account Angolar words of unknown origin (see Table 4.9). Furthermore, this percentage could be misleading if meaning-related changes such as calquing and semantic extension are overlooked, especially when they represent semantic fields as basic as numbers and body parts (see §4.1.2.1.). Here, Santomense (and Angolar) uses Portuguese-derived forms with the substrate meaning, as in ST *des-k(u)-ua* 'eleven' (lit. ten plus one) (cf. Kikongo *kumi ye mosi* id., but Ptg. *onze*).

African-derived words in Santomense are still significant (e.g. from Edo and Kikongo), although less than in Angolar which integrated words from a greater number of African sources, though Kimbundu figures as its main African language donor (see below). The greater Portuguese contribution to the Santomense lexicon via direct borrowing (form and meaning) and calques (only meaning) may be the result of several factors. First, the earlier period in the STP's colonial history (15th-17th c.), in particular the first hundred years, were crucial in shaping Santomense. Thus, that part of the lexicon which derives from Kwa languages reflects the early period when slaves were shipped mainly from the Bight of Benin where Kwa languages are spoken. Yet, the creole by no means reached a stage of complete stability then, as indicated by the later influence of Kikongo as spoken by slaves who originated in the Congo River area. That is, throughout the first period Santomense was likely to have been nativized by slaves born on the island and shaped by the Afro-Portuguese and adult

slaves who lived on the island for a long time. However, during this period Santomense was constantly being reshaped by the arrival of slaves who contributed to the creole as they learned it from other slaves. Possibly, those slaves who arrived last would acquire Santomense quickly enough to use it as a means of communicating with other slaves (e.g. speakers of Kwa and Bantu languages) and, in this process, introduced changes in Santomense (*repidginization*). For example, Bantu-speaking slaves learned Santomense that already had a lexical component influenced by Edo and other Kwa languages. In other words, throughout the first two centuries Santomense was a native language for those slaves born on the island and the free Afro-Portuguese, and a vehicular non-native language for the Portuguese and those slaves who had arrived more recently. The latter repidginized Santomense, which they learned as a second language, introducing additional lexical variation into the language. On the other hand, the growing social ascendancy of the Afro-Portuguese (see chapter 2) and the growing number of locally-born slaves must have given the creole relative structural stability, enabling it to function as the linguistic tool of the entire population.

As the number of slaves who spoke African languages dwindled towards the end of the seventeenth century, the creole must have reached a stage which did not differ essentially from the more basilectal forms of present-day Santomense. Although the earliest attestations of Santomense date from the late 1840s, the examples and linguistic observations given by

Cunha Matos (1847:106-148) -a Brazilian military man who had lived in STP for nearly ten years- are strikingly reminiscent of the Santomense spoken today. Among some of those observations we find:

- lexicon: *oque* 'hill' (ST *oke* < Edo *oke*), *pozon* 'city' (modern ST $\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\eta$ < Ptg. *povoação*) (ibid.:127)

or:

"Os animais distinguem-se nas suas espécies e sexos, pelas palavras homem ou mulher. Por exemplo o cão ou cachorro chama-se caçô home; e a cadela caçô muela.." (ibid.:146)

(The animals are differentiated in terms of their species and sex with the words for 'man' and 'woman'. For example, the male dog is called 'man dog' and the female dog 'woman dog'.)

- phonology:

"Plá' ou 'Prá' significa 'Praia', e 'Plamado' quer dizer 'Espalmadouro'; nem os pretos podem pronunciar as sílabas 'douro' pois que em lugar delas dizem 'dô'".

('Plá' or 'prá' means 'beach' and 'plamado' means 'Espalmadouro'; black people cannot pronounce the syllables 'douro'; instead they say 'do') (ibid.:106).

Some of the lexicosemantic properties discussed in chapter four reveal the stability in Santomense. The following phenomena point towards superstrate and substrate contribution to the lexical stability of Santomense:

- Portuguese archaisms (§4.1.1.1)
- Kwa-derived basic vocabulary, e.g. elements and body parts (as shown in the Swadesh list, for example) and likely to have been incorporated to the creole lexicon from very early on (§4.1.2)
- Calquing and semantic change, e.g. Kikongo numerals (§4.1.2)

6.3.1.2 Phonology

ST's phonology seems to reflect the influence of its superstrate (e.g. liquid clusters of the type C + // and the [b] ~ [v] variation in Old Portuguese) and substrate (e.g. implosive stops). The presence of liquid clusters in Santomense (*tlaba* 'to work'), but not in AN (*taba* idem) (see §6.3.2.2), suggests that they might not have been part of the Santomense spoken natively by the first generations of slaves on the plantations. Nonetheless, it is possible that liquid clusters were a variable feature among early Santomense speakers depending on the degree of competence in Portuguese. The Afro-Portuguese were likely to have spoken Portuguese (in addition to Santomense) and be the vehicle for the diffusion of liquid clusters in the creole. Since first generation Afro-Portuguese were brought

up by their African mothers rather than their Portuguese fathers, liquid clusters in Santomense may be explained as errors (e.g. overcorrection, see below) due to imperfect learning of Portuguese. Subsequent to ST's formation, after Angolar (which has no liquid clusters) had begun to diverge from Santomense in the interior of the island, liquid clusters became more wide spread in the Santomense of both the Afro-Portuguese and plantation slaves. This scenario seems more plausible in view of the lack of liquid clusters in Principense and Fa d'Ambu, which formed about the same time as Santomense (see below).

The explanation for the presence of liquid clusters in Santomense may be found in some idiosyncratic factors which played a role in the linguistic development of STP. As stated above, the attainment of some level of bilingualism in Portuguese and Santomense might have insured the superstrate transfer of liquid clusters to Santomense. In STP the most probable group with sufficient influence and social prestige to initiate the diffusion of liquid clusters were the free Afro-Portuguese. Once this process was set in motion, innovation -probably the result of overcorrection (among the free Afro-Portuguese) and/or substrate influence (see below)- led to the resyllabification of Portuguese words in ways unlike old Portuguese or the substrate languages (Ptg. *falar* > ST *fla* 'to speak') (see §3.2.3). However, this kind of resyllabification is not unlike the loss of unaccented vowels in modern European Portuguese (Holm, p. c.).

Substrate convergence in the development of liquid clusters in Santomense must be also considered since Ewe (a Kwa language and a possible minor substrate of Santomense) has liquid clusters in which [l] is in complementary distribution with [r]: [l] follows velars and labials (e.g. *kɔ* 'to wash', *mémɛ̀lèda* 'Saturday') and [r] follows alveolars and palatals (e.g. *trɔ* 'to turn', *nyruíyɔvi* 'nephew') (Westermann 1930:19; cf. also Ivens Ferraz 1987a:295). Based on the lexical contribution of Ewe vis-à-vis Edo (another Kwa language, see Table 4.11), its role as a substrate must have been considerably less since Edo contributed most of the Kwa-derived lexicon of Santomense (ca. 10%). In addition, Edo is an unlikely language to have influenced the formation of liquid clusters in Santomense since it has none. As for the influence of Bantu languages in the development of liquid clusters in Santomense, neither Kikongo nor Kimbundu (the two main Bantu substrates) have liquid clusters.

Further external evidence of the unlikelihood of substrate influence on the development of liquid clusters in Santomense can be found in the seventeenth-century Kimbundu catechism (Couto 1784), which contains a few attestations of Portuguese borrowings with initial liquid clusters that had undergone resyllabification (see §3.2.2), e.g. *ngeleja* 'church' (Ptg. *igreja*); cf. AN *ngεεḍa* and ST *ngleza*). It is conceivable that Kimbundu-speaking slaves on the plantations of STP simplified Portuguese liquid clusters, not unlike the changes undergone by Portuguese in Angola according to the catechism.

One differentiating segmental feature developmentally linked to liquid clusters is the absence of vowel lengthening in Santomense (see §3.3). This correlates in Angolar with the compensatory lengthening of the following vowel, e.g. *kuuθu* 'cross' (Ptg. *cruz*, probably through a two-step process via **kuruθu*), though some variation exists since those whose Angolar is influenced by Santomense do not lengthen the vowel. This renders the absence of liquid clusters in Santomense -at least among plantation slaves- prior to the first Angolar settlements more probable based on the positive and negative external evidence of Angolar and other Atlantic creoles discussed below.

First, the Portuguese-based Guinea-Bissau Kriyol has liquid clusters of the type /C + r~l/. Except for lengthening due to sandhi effects across word boundaries as in /pa i/ 'that s/he' > [pay] or [pe:], or vowels made longer for expressive purposes (Kihm 1994:15, 270 n20), these examples do not constitute phonemic contrasts. On the other hand, other Gulf of Guinea Afro-Portuguese Creoles such as Principense and Fa d'Ambu have compensatory length due to liquid cluster reduction, e.g. PR *paa* < Ptg. *praia* 'beach' (Traill and Ivens Ferraz 1981:207) and FA *baanku* < Ptg. *branco* 'white man' > (cf. its minimal contrast with *banku* 'bench' (Ivens Ferraz 1987a:292). The latter makes the simplification of liquid clusters in Santomense (and not Angolar, i.e. ST /tla/ > AN /ta/) during its initial formative stages more likely since Principense is possible the outcome of the creole spoken by Santomense slaves who served as a model for slaves

arriving subsequently in Príncipe. This argument could be extended to Fa d'Ambu if it can be shown that all the Gulf of Guinea creoles share a common history, a thesis originally put forward by Ivens Ferraz (1976).

Secondly, evidence from Atlantic creoles other than the Afro-Portuguese ones comes from Saramaccan which, like Angolar, shows vowel lengthening as the result of the reduction of stressed syllable-initial liquid clusters such as /Cr~IV/ > /CVV/, e.g. blow > Saramaccan *bɔɔ* and fly > *feéi* (Boretzky 1993:15). Since Saramaccan has a considerable Portuguese component - the remnants of an early Portuguese creole later relexified to a more English-based creole -, vowel lengthening becomes relevant in assessing the development of Santomense.

Nonetheless, it is still conceivable that liquid clusters and resyllabification in Santomense derive neither from Portuguese nor a substrate, but rather they go back to the Pidgin Portuguese spoken in West African trading posts. Examples of this putative Pidgin Portuguese come mostly from literary writings (poems, plays) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The use of those writings as a source of diachronic data requires some caution since it is not always clear whether writers are characterizing a pidgin closer to what Africans and Portuguese traders spoke or a foreigner language as used by Portuguese to communicate in a more or less unsystematic fashion. The following examples show liquid clusters or resyllabification in literary descriptions of attempts of Africans at speaking Portuguese:

- liquid cluster + resyllabification:

- (1) Pidgin Ptg.: Porque tu nam bruguntando?
 why 2s not asking
 'why you not asking?'
 (Gil Vicente 1536; quoted in Naro 1978:330)

- resyllabification:

- (2) Pidgin Ptg.: Prutugá sentá diabo
 Portugal cop devil
 'Portugal be devil'
 (Chiado 1570; quoted in Naro 1978:331)

- liquid cluster:

- (3) Pidgin Ptg.: logo ami bae trazee
 right away 1s go bring
 'right away me go bring'
 (Gil Vicente 1536; quoted in Naro 1978:329)

As shown in chapter three one exceptional phonological feature is the correspondence between the Portuguese palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, the Santomense alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/, and the Angolar interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, e.g. Ptg. chuva /ʃuva/-ST suba - AN ɸuba 'rain' and Ptg. já /ʒa/-ST za AN ɸa 'already'. Depalatalization of the Ptg. palatal fricatives in Santomense before all vowels other than high front /i/ may be explained in terms of substrate transfer as neither Kwa nor Bantu languages have palatal fricatives [e.g. Kk *kalatuzo* 'cartridge' (Ptg. *cartucho*) (Bentley 1887:539)], although /s/ and /z/ (and also /ʃ/) may sometimes be palatalized when preceding the high front vowel /i/ as in Edo (Melzian

1937:xi), and Kb *simbo* 'time' (Maia 1964a:4). Yet, in these African languages the palatal and non-palatal sounds are allophones of the same sound, unlike Portuguese in which they constitute different phonemes, *chão* 'ground' and *são* 'are'. In this respect, we disagree with Ivens Ferraz (1979:41ff.) who saw the palatal and non-palatal correspondence between Portuguese and Santomense as good evidence for the influence of southern Kongo languages (e.g. Kikongo) in the formation of Santomense. The lack of a distinctive palatal feature could already be attributed to earlier Kwa influence as shown above.

On the other hand, the role of Portuguese in /š ž/ > /s z/ in Santomense may be ruled out since there is no record of such variation in any dialect of Portuguese, old or modern. Nonetheless, this is not to say that the Old Portuguese sibilant consonants, the fricatives /s z/ (written -ss- and -z-, respectively) and the affricates /ts dz/ (written ç or ç and z, respectively) were not unstable. Indeed, these sibilants were reduced to the two fricatives /s z/ by the mid-sixteenth century in the popular language (Neto 1952:484) and this phonetic change in the superstrate could have reinforced other changes introduced by the substrates.

The Portuguese/Santomense correspondence is by no means unique to these two languages. Guinea-Bissau Kriyol is another creole language which shows a similar depalatalization correspondence: (1) /š/ > /s/, Ptg. *baixar* 'to lower' (x=š/) > Kriyol *basa* idem, but (2) /ž/ > /s/, Ptg. *sujo* 'dirty' (z=ž/) > Kriyol *susu* idem (Kihm 1994:18; cf. also Rougé 1988:11-14).

Couto (1994:69-72), however, makes a distinction in Kriyol between “crioulo tradicional” and “crioulo aportuguesado” (lusitanized creole), noting that the former has the additional change /ʃ/ > /ç/, e.g. Ptg. *chuva* ‘rain’ (çh=/ʃ/) > Kriyol *cuva* idem (ç=/ç/). The presence of this feature in an Upper-Guinea Creole suggests that depalatalization and affrication in Kriyol may have resulted from substrate transfer since some of the input languages in the formation of Kriyol, both West Atlantic (e.g. Manjako) and Mande (e.g. Mandinka), lack the alveo-palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, but have the affricates /ç/ and /ʝ/ (Buis 1990:12). However, one could reasonably argue as well that the palatal affricate (ç) could have been a retention of older (or dialectal) Portuguese pronunciation rather than formed from the later palatal fricative (-ss-).

The palatalization of /t d s z/ before the high front vowel in Santomense must go back at least to the first half of the last century. More than a century ago Schuchardt (1882:809) recorded this phenomenon in words like *glandje* ‘big’ /nglãʝi/ (Ptg. *grande*) and *motchi* ‘death’ /mɔçi/ (Ptg. *morte*). Previously, Cunha Matos (1847:137) had recorded words like ST *bugi-bugi* /buʝi-buʝi/, a plant from which blue dye is extracted (*Alchornea cordifolia*). Interestingly, the etymon of *buje-buje* is likely to be Kimbundu/Kikongo *mbunze* (Lains e Silva 1959:295), which shows palatalization of the voiced fricative represented by *z*; the latter also represents the palatal realization of the allophone in Kimbundu, i.e. [ʝ].

In general, the more diversity there is among the substrate languages, the fewer marked features are transferred to the creoles, since speakers have a tendency to transfer only those features shared with other interlocutors (unmarked features) (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:157). Some of the marked features present in Angolar but absent in Santomense are the interdental fricatives /θ ð/. Santomense does not have them since neither Kwa languages nor Kikongo, have interdental fricatives, except for Ndigi (a Kikongo dialect) which does have interdental fricatives but lacks the complementary distribution found among the creoles (cf. §3.1.1.2). On the other hand, some Mbunda languages spoken in southeast Angola have interdental fricatives, in addition to other putative late typologically related substrates which influenced Angolar's development more than ST's (see §3.1.1.2). The presence of such a highly marked phonological feature seems to suggest that their incorporation into Angolar could have taken place after Santomense had acquired some stability and at least its phonology and grammar became less permeable to additional substrate-influenced features such as the interdental phonemes. On the contrary, the sociolinguistic matrix of the maroon communities must have been at least variable enough to permit the development of interdental fricatives in Angolar under a more homogeneous substrate influence. Of course, for the latter, one must take into account the influence that late slave arrivals had on Angolar. All in all, this seems to suggest that it took longer for Angolar to stabilize and have native speakers among the Maroons.

6.3.1.3 Morphosyntax

In §6.1 it is claimed that Angolar and Santomense shared an early stage on the plantations, which means that the two creoles must have had a common grammatical system at that time.

In Santomense, the possessive use of the preposition *di* 'of' (also /ji/) may be mistaken as an indicator of recent decreolization in Santomense. However, *di* is by no means a linguistically recent development through Portuguese influence, but rather a variable feature which was present in Santomense at least as early as in the nineteenth century, e.g. *lenso seda* 'silk handkerchief', but *neni d'olo* 'gold ring' (Ptg. *anel de ouro*) (Coelho 1880-1886, in Morais-Barbosa 1967:32), although it is not clear in this example if *d'olo* is two morphemes, as in Portuguese, or rather one morpheme for Santomense native speakers, as is the case of certain lexical items in other pidgins and creoles, e.g. Papiamentu *laman* 'sea' (< Spanish *la mar* 'the sea') (Bendix p.c.). If *di* is understood as a separate morpheme, then this variable use of *di* in nineteenth century Santomense seems to indicate the existence of a creole continuum due to influence of the lexifier (e.g. local Portuguese). Such influence was likely to become stronger with the general economic transformation São Tomé went through after the introduction of cocoa and coffee and the repossession of land by Portuguese entrepreneurs who displaced the Afro-Portuguese elite in the 1830s (see §2.1.3.3).

Thus, Santomense prior to the incorporation of *dí*, must have recurred to noun juxtaposition, in a fashion similar to modern Angolar, although some Angolares now use the corresponding preposition *ni* (see §5.1.5).

The general locative preposition *ni* in Santomense, not found in Angolar, follows a variational pattern similar to ST *dí*. While its usage in Santomense is usually categorical, one can still find speakers, especially old ones, who do not use *ni* and some syntactic environments are more favorable to its use than others (e.g. existential predicates, see §5.1.7.1). Coelho's Santomense texts published in the 1880s have frequent tokens of prenominal *ni* (*ni Plá-Gato* 'on Lagarto Beach', *ni tessa* 'on the head', *ni bódo d'aua* 'on the river bank'), before another preposition (*ni liba budo* 'on top of the rock') and in clause-final position (*camiá cu galo canta niê* 'The place the rooster sings at'; *nê* < *ni* + *ele*), except for a single zero form (\emptyset *bódo d'aua* 'on the river bank') (Coelho 1880-1886, in Morais-Barbosa 1967:112-116). However, this preponderance of *ni* over zero may be due to the highly literary nature of the texts.

Both Portuguese and substrate influence surely played a convergent role in the development of ST *ni* (cf. Kriyol *na* meaning 'on, in, at'). Namely its resemblance in form and especially meaning and syntactic properties to the general locative preposition *na* of other Atlantic creoles (cf. Holm 1988:207) highlights the role of substrate influence on ST *ni*. In European

Portuguese the various forms which result from the combination of *em* plus the definite articles, i.e. '*no, na; nos, nas*', are never deleted nor do they have the semantic range of ST *ni* 'in, on, at'. The latter seems to follow more closely Yoruba *ní* or Igbo *ní* 'in, on, at'. If so, it would indicate that the origin of ST *ni* (and its allomorphic variants *n*) may be traced to its early history when Kwa-speaking slaves were contributing to ST's development on the plantations, possibly in its early stages. The absence of *ni* or an equivalent locative preposition in Angolar (except for the variability mentioned in §5.3.1.1) may be the result of changes undergone by Santomense when the latter was cut off, in the maroon communities, from the influence of Portuguese and Kwa-speaking slaves (see below).

Santomense *ni* could have been the linguistic output of the transference of West African Pidgin Portuguese in view of the fact that the latter -as attested in literary writings from the early sixteenth century- had a general locative preposition whose phonetic shape was similar to *ni* (e.g. *na, no, ne*). Pidgin Portuguese convergence with Kwa *ni* and Portuguese *no* (and variants) cannot be ruled out since at least some Portuguese and Africans on São Tomé were likely to have acquired a simplified means of communication based on Portuguese on the Slave Coast.

- (4) Pidgin Ptg.: e levare elle na bico
 and carry off 3s LOC sly
 'and carry it off on the sly'
 (Gil Vicente 1562; quoted in Naro 1978:332)

However, this general locative preposition in Pidgin Portuguese was likely to be unstable (zero form; 5-6) and also extended to functions other than locative, more like a preposition for all purposes, e.g. cause (7) and possession (8).

- (5) Pidgin Ptg.: Aqueste gente meu taybo; Ø terra nossa nunca folguar
 this people mine good land our never rest
 'These people of mine are good; in our land we never rest'
 (Garcia de Rosende 1516; quoted in Naro 1978:343)
- (6) Pidgin Ptg.: Quanto ano Ø Portugal?
 how many year Portugal
 'How many years in Portugal?'
 (Chiado ca. 1570; quoted in Naro 1978:321)
- (7) Pidgin Ptg.: Mym nam medo no toussinho (cf. medo do toucinho)
 1s not afraid of lard
 'I am not afraid of the lard.'
 (Mota 1510; quoted in Naro 1978:331)
- (8) Pidgin Ptg.: vaca ne Francico (cf. vaca de Francisco)
 cow of Francisco
 'Francisco's cow'
 (Vicente 1536; idem)

The possible input of Pidgin Portuguese into the developing Santomense may have resulted in a variable use of the locative preposition in the creole during its early stages of development, becoming obligatory once it stabilized under the influence of Portuguese and/or Kwa languages. Such variation was likely to have an effect on Angolar's zero form, especially if

one considers that Kimbundu, unlike some of the putative Kwa sources of Santomense, lacks a general locative preposition. Instead, Kimbundu has several prepositions with the general meaning of location, e.g. *po*, *ko*, *mo* 'in, on, at, over' (Maia 1964a:109). This, along with its phonetic difference from the general locative *ni* (or one of its variants) could have favored the deletion of Santomense *ni* in Angolar.

Another grammatical feature which is suggestive of ST's history is the complementizer *kuma*. As mentioned in §5.4.1, ST *kuma* is likely to derive from Old Portuguese *coma*. It differs from AN *ma* in that ST *kuma* cooccurs with all matrix verbs, including those of speaking. ST *kuma* can be explained as the result of an overgeneralization of Old Ptg. *coma* as the all-purpose complementizer. Interestingly, the absence of *kuma* in Principense (which instead has *ya*), suggests that Santomense, at least during its early stages of development during the first decades of the sixteenth century, lacked *kuma* in view of the fact that Principense was developed by slaves brought to Príncipe from São Tomé beginning in the sixteenth century who were likely to have spoken an early form of Santomense. Furthermore, Angolar, like Principense, also has *ya* as a complementizer, though it has a more restricted distribution given Angolar's additional complementizers *ma* and *fara* (see §6.3.3.2).

In a number of West African languages (both Kwa and Bantu) the complementizer of verbs of saying, thinking and perception can be derived from a verb meaning 'say', e.g. Twi *se*, Gã *ake*, Ewe *be* and Yoruba *pe*

(Frajzyngier 1984:208-9). This is also a feature common among Bantu languages, e.g. Kk *uixi* and Kb *vovo* and many Atlantic creoles, mostly English lexified, e.g. Krio Creole English *se*, Negerhollands Creole Dutch *se*: (Dutch *zeggen* 'to say', but also a possible borrowing from Virgin Islands Creole English); the Caribbean French-based creoles do not have a complementizer which derives from the verb meaning to say (Holm 1988:186).

It is difficult to assess a likely chronology for the development of AN *fara* and *ma* vis-à-vis ST *kuma*. As stated above, ST *kuma* and the Angolar form *ma* (via reduction, see §3.2.5) both ultimately go back to Old Portuguese *coma*, a derivation which is rendered more plausible by the equivalent 'that' in Kriyol *kuma*. ST *kuma* may go back to the early stages of the creole, though one cannot rule out that some derivative of Portuguese *falar* was also used at that time. Supporting arguments for the latter are found in the equivalent syntactic function common among the substrate languages of Santomense (Kwa and Bantu, see above), the absence of *kuma* or *ma* in Principense, and the more restricted AN and PR *ya*. The etymology of *ya* is uncertain; it is not given in either Günther (1973) or Maurer (1995). However, Günther's lexicon (1973:248) contains also *yá* (high tone) 'see (that)!' from Ptg. *olhar* 'to see'. The use of the verb 'to see' as a grammatical concept in Angolar and Principense may be due to substrate transfer since it is a type of conceptual transfer (visual perception > expectations, causative, reason) not uncommon across languages, e.g.

English 'I see' meaning 'I understand'. In Ewe the verb *kpɔ* 'to see' covers a wide range of functions as a marker of counterexpectation, doubt, negation, etc. (Heine et al. 1991:194 ff.). This interpretation of *ya* seems plausible in view of AN *fara* as a complementizer which was likely to be influenced by the equivalent syntactic distribution in the substrates.

Interestingly, the two creoles (Angolar and Principense) which had the least contact with the Portuguese show similar properties in this respect and, moreover, suggest a possible genesis scenario:

- 1) *ya* was in Santomense (then to Principense)
- 2) *kuma* and *ya* in Santomense (then to Angolar)
- 3) *kuma* displaced *ya* in Santomense
- 4) *fara* in Angolar via later relexification (probably due to substrate influence)

In Santomense the preverbal marker *kia* (cf. Edo *xia* idem) indicates immediate future; *kia* is absent in Angolar which, instead, uses the progressive markers *θa/θe + ka* (§5.2.3.1). The linguistic source of the contrast between the widespread progressive construction *θa + ka* and the near future construction *θe + ka* may be found in Kimbundu. In particular, the following Kimbundu data may account for the differences between *θa* and *θe* being more than just between allomorphs.

The immediate future construction in Kimbundu consists of the auxiliary verb *ndo*, which probably derives from *andala* 'to want, to wish'

followed by an infinitive, e.g. “*eme ngondobanga*” ‘I (myself) will speak soon’ (Chatelain 1888-9:45). In Angolar relexification of Kb *andala* would have required the form *məθe* ‘to want’ which became shortened after deletion of the initial unstressed syllable to give the preverbal near future marker *θe* (see §6.3.1.2). One cannot rule out lexical convergence in the formation of the near future marker in Angolar since, not only is Old Ptg. *mester* [... *ou aveis mister candea?* ‘or is there a need for a lamp?’ (Chiado, mid-sixteenth century); quoted in Neto 1956:460] a likely lexical source, but also Kb *kumesena* ‘to want, to wish’ (*ku-* = Bantu infinitive prefix) (Maia 1964b:219).

6.3.2 The development of Angolar

The hypothesis makes three important generalizations about the sociolinguistic development of Angolar. These generalizations will serve as the basis for elaborating a plausible scenario for Angolar’s development. They are restated here for the sake of convenience (see items 1, 3 and 6 in §6.2):

1. The Angolar community is descended from runaway slaves who beginning in the 16th century (ca. 1535) founded a distinct ethnolinguistic group identity.
2. The isolation of the Angolares favored the maintenance of some of the features present in Santomense (nativized and non-nativized) and African languages.

3. The creole spoken by the first generations of Angolares underwent partial relexification as the maroon community accepted new fugitives who still spoke African languages, usually Bantu (e.g. Kimbundu). One important social motivation for partial relexification was the need among the Angolares to develop a linguistic code different from Santomense as a badge of their distinct social identity and to maintain a certain degree of secrecy. This must have taken place during the confrontation period (1500-1700), when the Angolares' society was under constant attack from the more powerful Santomense-speaking society.

It is important to indicate, however, that partial relexification in Angolar represents one of the two general linguistic processes outlined in (4) in §6.1 as having a role in the differentiation of Angolar from Santomense. This differentiation was likely to have originated from a situation on the plantations in which a number of early Santomense varieties were spoken during the initial period of settlement (1490-1530). As discussed in chapter 2, settlement must have been under way by the early 1500s. Already in 1506 São Tomé had a white population of 1,000 citizens and a slave population of 2,000 slaves (Brásio 1954, vol. 4:34), not to mention São Tomé's strategical position in the transshipment of slaves which was under full swing in 1516 as evidenced by the presence of 5,000 to 6,000 slaves waiting to be shipped to other colonies (Hodges and Newitt 1988:19). Furthermore, within a period of 50 years or so (1500-1550) the

Portuguese imported slaves from two linguistically heterogeneous regions (first, Benin; then Congo) (Vogt 1973:456 ff.), which were possible linguistic sources of variation in early Santomense.

Although it was not until after 1570 that São Tome's economy began to decline, partly as the result of plantation raids carried out by runaway slaves (Hodges and Newitt 1988:20), marronage had become a growing concern for the plantation owners and a threat to Portugal's economic plan for STP as early as 1535. Linguistically speaking, this historical period coincided with the formation of the Angolares as a distinct ethnolinguistic identity through the slaves whose linguistic input in the development of Angolar must have been highly variable both in terms of the kind of Santomense acquired on the plantation and their native languages (Kwa, Bantu).

However, this formative process was not likely to have been a rapid process since for the first two hundred years marronage was constantly a problem for plantation owners (see §2.1.3.1). Hence, the Angolares must have been, especially during this period, a linguistically heterogeneous group formed of speakers of both their native African languages and Santomense variants learned initially on the plantations. Closer contact with the African languages spoken in the maroon communities and the absence of Portuguese speakers among the Maroons were crucial factors in the differential restructuring which those Santomense variants underwent vis-à-vis the changes of Santomense on the plantations.

Despite the linguistically divergent paths Angolar and Santomense might have taken, the historical setting makes explicit the genetic relatedness between Angolar and Santomense, their connectedness throughout the first stages of their development as the basis for their sharing many linguistic features. Thus, the isolation of the Angolares from the plantations was not as categorical as most observers have led us to believe. On linguistic grounds, such isolation allowed some innovative mechanisms (e.g. partial relexification) to take place in Angolar which otherwise would have been very unlikely. In this respect, any elaboration on the developmental stages Santomense went through represents a purely theoretical construct needed to fill a gap quite common in the early history of other creoles and whose heuristic advantages can be summed up as follows: (1) it posits a number of Santomense variants whose general features are not known but must be inferred from our incomplete knowledge of pidginization and creolization in other language contact scenarios as well as what we know about the language today, and (2) it stands as a point of reference for Angolar since it is part of its genesis and development.

The common origin did not prevent that the two creoles began to deviate to the point of being perceived today as two different, mutually incomprehensible languages since Santomense speakers do not understand Angolar, though the opposite is not the case. This distinctiveness between the two creoles has to do mostly with lexicosemantics features (see Table 6.1), namely:

- more African-derived vocabulary
- fewer Portuguese cognates
- Kimbundu = main substrate source (see Table 4.10)
- borrowing + calquing

The origin of these features is to be looked for in Angolar's separate existence and the linguistic changes Santomense's variants went through after they were transplanted from the plantations to the maroon communities. More specifically, any hypothesis on the origin of Angolar has to provide a basis for the kind of changes that affected Santomense and led to the formation of Angolar.

The Angolar community must have been from its beginnings made up of runaway slaves who spoke both African languages and the Santomense of the plantations. As noted above (§6.3), by the mid-sixteenth century Santomense was likely to have been the native language of those children born on the plantations, and also the vehicle of communication (non-native) for slaves having no other common language. This was the case for slaves from linguistically different regions such as Benin (Kwa languages) and the southern Congo area (Bantu). Furthermore, the number of free Afro-Portuguese who achieved preeminence in the nascent Santomense society was not insignificant, and they too were an important factor in stabilizing the creole.

Portuguese cognates amount to approximately 90% of ST's vocabulary, which is 5 to 10% higher than in Angolar's. However, Portuguese influence on Angolar was drastically reduced during its early stages since the Maroons had had little contact with Portuguese and the Santomense they spoke was greatly simplified compared to the variety spoken by slaves who had lived longer on the plantations. As in Santomense, the Angolar lexicon derived from Kwa languages reflects this early period when the two creoles were not differentiated yet. Nonetheless, Kwa contribution to Angolar's African-derived lexicon is significantly lower compared to the same contribution to ST's (8.8% vs. 37.5%, see Table 4.12); the same differential substrate contribution is observed regarding Kikongo (11.5% vs. 46.9%). The considerable Kimbundu influence on Angolar offsets the lesser contribution of Kwa languages and Kikongo (79.7% Kimbundu, 8.8% Kwa and 11.5% Kikongo; see Table 4.10). Thus, the larger overall African-derived lexicon in Angolar is largely made up of Kimbundu-derived words which one speculates must have been even greater in the creole before the diaspora of the Angolares brought the communities into closer contact with Santomense and Portuguese in the city and on the plantations.

In order to explain these differences, the hypothesis must posit some mechanism which would account for the changes that led to Angolar's present lexical composition. The question is this: how did Kimbundu-derived words finally become a significant portion of Angolar's lexicon?

Besides the transfer or borrowing of Kimbundu words, the mechanism that may explain Kimbundu's contribution to Angolar's lexicon is partial relexification.

Relexification is a process of linguistic change by which either all or part of the lexicon of language A is translated word for word into the lexicon of language B via massive borrowing and calquing. In this process a new variety C is created which has the structure of A but all or part of the lexicon of B. Relexification can occur when languages come under pressure from languages which are more prestigious but speakers have no real opportunity to become bilingual, so they acquire the vocabulary but not the grammar of the more prestigious language. The extent to which relexification proceeds depends on several factors such as the typological distance between the high (more prestigious) and low languages (less prestigious), the social distance between their speakers and the role of the two lexicons in contact. For example, words which are closely related to the traditional culture of the low language (myths, diet, religion, etc.) will resist relexification more strongly than those seen by the low language speakers as being connected to the high culture.

The numeral system of Santomense may count as a case of relexification which led to a word-for-word translation of Kikongo numbers into Portuguese, e.g. Kk *kumi ye mosi* 'eleven' (lit. ten plus one) and ST *des-k(u)-ua* idem (cf. Ptg. *onze*) (see §4.1.2.1). However, one must be careful of considering this a definite case of relexification since this word

pattern for numbers is also quite common in noncreole languages around the world. Other semantic fields in which relexification could have taken place are body parts (Angolar, ST *mɔ* 'hand, arm'; cf. Kb *kinama* 'hand/arm' and Kikongo *malu* 'hand/arm'). Note that in the last example the body-part reference of the relexified Portuguese word follows the substrate meaning, which covers both 'hand' and 'arm'. Since this semantic pattern is also common among Kwa languages, Angolar *mɔ* 'hand, arm' could be simply a retention of Santomense's homonym from relexification of a Kwa language, rather than a later Bantu relexification.

Partial relexification in the context of the genesis and development of Angolar must be understood as a two-fold mechanism:

- (1) *as a linguistic mechanism of restructuring* the form of the creole spoken in the maroon communities under the increasing influence of Kimbundu. By the time Kimbundu-speaking slaves began to be imported, it is quite possible that nativized Santomense had attained a level of stability which hampered further substantial influence. Also, Kimbundu influence on the Santomense spoken on the plantations was probably minimized due to the opposing effect exerted by Portuguese and the stabilizing ascendancy of the sociolect spoken by the creole-speaking Afro-Portuguese. Finally, the institutional nature of the plantation system, with well-defined and rigid social classes and unchangeable roles, became an additional check to any major change in Santomense once it stabilized.

(The term "restructuring" is used to signify, broadly speaking, changes in the language (grammatical, lexical or phonological). In the context of Angolar, restructuring is restricted to two of its many possible forms: (a) restructuring of Santomense due to contact with Portuguese, its lexifier language, and (b) restructuring of Angolar due to simple contact influence, primarily from Kimbundu.) Since after a period of confrontation with the plantations (1500-1700) the Angolares went through a period of relative stability (1700-1850), one may also see an additional restructuring mechanism in the form of internal changes. That is, Angolar and Santomense drifted naturally apart, in the same way normally transmitted languages change over time in order to make up for structural imbalances that are internally induced without any external interference (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:9). The language situation is equated in a way to dialectal differentiation as the result of geographical displacement or social fragmentation (Trudgill 1989).)

- (2) as a *boundary maintaining mechanism* (Hymes 1971:73, Mehrotra 1977:4) separating the Angolares from the Santomense speakers, and free Afro-Portuguese as well as the Portuguese. Even to this day, the Angolares are proud of their independent lives outside the plantations and look down on the Santomense-speaking Forros because of their slave ancestry. This scorn is extended to the indentured laborers who replaced the local worker after the abolition of slavery. The Angolar attitude is reminiscent of the situation among the Surinam Maroons

looking down on the coastal creoles (*baka nenge* 'the white man's blacks') who are the descendants of slaves who did not run away (Bendix, p.c.). As for the Afro-Portuguese, they became associated with economic power, which ultimately derived from the Portuguese Crown. The Afro-Portuguese spoke the local creole (Hodges and Newitt 1988:19), which must have induced the marginal Angolares to have a suitable expression of group solidarity. Such means of communication would have been difficult to achieve via the use of Santomense, the language of the Afro-Portuguese group, locally born slaves and plantation slaves in general.

While it is impossible to know whether some Maroons spoke Santomense natively, one can still safely conclude that it must have been a vehicular language for communication among slaves with different linguistic backgrounds, the same role it played on the plantation. On the other hand, the African languages spoken by the runaway slaves were always a potential source for introducing changes in Santomense. Most importantly, the differences between Angolar and Santomense seem to suggest a partial relexification which operated mostly on the level of lexicon and phonology of Santomense, rather than grammar, and to which the Maroons must have contributed significantly in the shaping of Angolar, along with speakers of Kimbundu, the main African lexical donor.

That Angolar has a grammar resembling Santomense shows that the latter was never displaced by the African languages spoken by runaway

slaves joining the maroon communities throughout the first two centuries which lasted their isolation. Yet it must have always been under the linguistic influence of those same runaway slaves whose competence in Santomense ranged from locally born native speakers to non-native speakers, who used the creole to communicate with speakers of different linguistic backgrounds more recently arrived, to runaway slaves with the least competence in the creole. In this respect, the Kimbundu-speaking slaves, being the last Maroons to add significantly to the formation of the Angolares as a separate group, contributed to the final development of Angolar (see §2.1.3.1).

As mentioned in chapter four Kimbundu-derived lexicon in Angolar is found in many semantic fields and makes up much of the 100-word Swadesh list (see Table 4.2 and appendix I). Its presence in basic fields such as body parts, numerals and natural elements suggests several possibilities which are not necessarily exclusive of each other:

- First, Kimbundu speakers outnumbered slaves speaking other African languages and/or their language was spoken alongside Santomense for a longer period of time (see the impressionistic observations about the Angolares in chapter two);
- Secondly, Kimbundu speakers gained higher social prestige within the maroon social organization;
- Thirdly, the kind of Santomense spoken by the Maroons was equally necessary as a lingua franca;

- Fourth, language transfer from Kimbundu to Angolar must have occurred as Kimbundu speakers learned Santomense and their children grew up using Santomense influenced by Kimbundu;
- Fifth, Kimbundu input into Angolar must have taken place at a stage in which Santomense was still in need of expansion to meet the growing communicative demands close maroon life required. This is suggested by the Angolar numbering system which, except for a few Portuguese-derived numerals, derives from Kimbundu (see Table 4.6).

A further reason for the influence of Kimbundu during the formation of Angolar was the Maroons' need to hinder communication in the presence of outgroup members. The Kimbundu-derived lexicon present in today's Angolar but absent in Santomense must have been borrowed into Santomense as a means of masking meaning from non-Angolares. According to this view, Santomense underwent partial relexification towards Kimbundu, motivated by an attempt to make the language incomprehensible to outsiders. This fits what we know about the Angolar communities and slaves rebellions which spanned almost two centuries (1500-1700), intensifying after the mid-sixteenth century and subsiding towards the end of the following century (Brasio 1952-4). It is conceivable that this period of instability in the social organization of the Angolares led, in turn, to more linguistic changes in Angolar vis-à-vis Santomense. Eventually, the language situation changed once the plantations and

Maroons had come to co-exist peacefully (see §2.1.3.2) and life away from the established plantation order forged the Angolares' distinct identity which was to remain unchanged throughout the ensuing times of peace (after 1700.)

The common origin and later separation of Angolar and Santomense satisfactorily account for the similarities in their grammars discussed previously in §6.3.1 (see also chapter 5). Some of their grammatical differences may be the result of processes of linguistic change likely to have affected Angolar. Some of these processes are the following: simplification (AN *ma* vs. ST *kuma*, AN *ta* vs. ST *tava*), specialization of forms (AN *fara, ma* vs. ST *kuma*) and variant deletion (AN \emptyset locative and possessive prepositions vs. ST *ni, di*). The latter could have been facilitated by a situation in which the Angolar spoken by the Maroons was not yet stabilized and was susceptible to concomitant variation and linguistic change under the influence of the Maroons' first languages (e.g. lexical expansion).

Regarding phonological features, the absence of liquid clusters in Angolar, but not in Santomense, is likely to reflect early stages of Santomense, before restructuring due to contact with the lexifier took place. As for the influence of Bantu languages in the development of liquid clusters in Santomense, neither Kikongo nor Kimbundu have such clusters. Ewe does have liquid clusters but its influence is unlikely since it was Edo

that has no liquid clusters which contributed most of the Kwa-derived lexicon of Santomense.

On the other hand, even if such clusters were part of Santomense's phonology prior to Angolar's development, a simplification similar to the one leading to morphemic reduction (e.g. *kuma* > *ma*) in Angolar was likely to reduce the liquid clusters as well. Furthermore, late Kimbundu contribution could have restructured such clusters since Kimbundu has no liquid clusters. As for the more marked phonological features of Angolar (interdental fricatives, vowel length), these may be later developments of Angolar as the result of partial relexification.

6.3.3 Shipwreck scenario

This scenario is included in this study of the genesis and development of Angolar because of the long oral tradition attached to the shipwreck story in Angolar folklore (see chapter 2). Despite its historical vagueness, the shipwreck scenario will be pursued here as some form of short thought-experiment in language contact situations.

This hypothesis is based on the oral tradition that the Angolares are the descendants of slaves who were the survivors of a ship from Angola, which wrecked in the southern part of the island (cf. Old Ptg. *angolar* 'Angolan'). Those slaves must have lived independently until coming into contact with Portuguese-creole speaking people, mainly mutinied slaves

who joined the shipwrecked community. This scenario could explain why the Angolares came to be associated with the raids on the plantations and the city. The weakness of this hypothesis, as stated above, is its dependency on an event for which there is no historical documentation. In point of fact, the earliest reference to the shipwreck supposedly to have happened in the mid-sixteenth century is found in a manuscript written sometime between 1712 and 1718 (Castelo-Branco 1971:151); this suggests it might be best regarded as simply an oral tradition. Thus, unless further proof is found (aside from the linguistic merits this scenario could have) it could be discarded for being historically unsubstantiated.

On the other hand, the shipwreck scenario puts forward the linguistic argument that an African language (let's call it Kimbundu just because it was - and still is- a language of wider communication in the lower Congo and Angola) spoken by the shipwreck's survivors was replaced by Santomense, the language runaway slaves used for intragroup communication. If these runaway slaves were a majority, as the numerous slave rebellions spanning nearly two centuries (XVI-XVII) seem to suggest, the shipwreck's survivors must have been absorbed relatively fast. Indeed, the putative ethnic homogeneity of the Kimbundu-speaking group must have been disrupted by the massive influx of Maroons who had already learned some form of Santomense on the plantations, many of whom did not necessarily understand Kimbundu. In addition to the increasing need of Santomense as a medium of communication among a more linguistically

heterogeneous population, it is possible that the higher prestige attached to the creole as the result of being seen more closely related to the Portuguese landowners also played a role in the decline of Kimbundu.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the observations made about the Angolares as speakers of a Bantu language as early as in the late 19th century (cf. Greeff 1882 and Negreiros 1895) may give the shipwreck scenario greater credibility if one interprets those observations as the remnants of the original language spoken by shipwreck survivors and their descendants. That belief, however, was accepted without any proof that that might have been actually the case (see Carvalho 1981:4). However, it could have been equally probable that the Kimbundu remnants, if any, were those spoken by descendants of Kimbundu-speaking runaway slaves who contributed significantly to the partial relexification of Angolar.

To sum up: the numerically reduced community formed by Kimbundu-speaking survivors was probably in a relationship of social asymmetry with the more numerous and powerful Maroons. This context of conflict relations shaped the outcome of the language contact situation. The creole spoken by the Maroons must have undergone only some slight changes, if any, in the form of lexical borrowing but not intense enough to account for the significant proportion of Kimbundu vocabulary in modern Angolar. This sociohistorical scenario makes grammatical influence of Kimbundu on Santomense even less likely.

6.4 Conclusion

The variable input of Santomense (nativized and non-nativized varieties alike) on the formation of Angolar provides a basis for the kind of changes that affected Santomense and led to the formation of Angolar with some minor structural but major lexical differences from Santomense. In order to explain these differences, the mechanism of partial relexification is posited, by means of which borrowing and calquing led to a greater contribution of Kimbundu-derived words to the Angolar lexicon while the grammar of Santomense (the relexified language) remained largely unchanged in Angolar.

On one hand, partial relexification explains lexical differentiation in Angolar (more Kimbundu-derived words) and Santomense (more Kwa- and Kikongo-derived words) as the result of the increasing influence of Kimbundu speakers among the Maroons and their lesser effect on the Santomense spoken on the plantations due to the influence of other African languages (Edo and Kikongo) as well as Portuguese, and due to the stabilizing effect of the ascendancy of the creole-speaking Afro-Portuguese. In this respect, it is important to view partial relexification not only as a linguistic, but also social mechanism for separating the Angolares from the Santomense speakers, the free Afro-Portuguese, and the Portuguese. This mechanism allowed the Angolares to make their language less comprehensible despite its structural similarity to Santomense and thus ensure secrecy from outsiders. As the social and historical conditions that

caused the Angolares to be seen as outlaws changed with the decreased importation of slaves and a more peaceful coexistence, secrecy ceased to be an essential function of Angolar. In-group communication began to take place in a language which had been at one time nobody's first language, was spoken among people with linguistically heterogeneous backgrounds and in the presence of outgroup members.

On the other hand, partial relexification accounts for the structural similarities between Angolar and Santomense, reflecting their genetic relatedness through the highly variable, lexically more limited and communicatively more restricted early stage of Santomense spoken initially on the plantation, the basis of their shared grammatical features. However, morphosyntactic and phonological differences between the two creoles are probably due to a more variable Angolar which emerged in closer contact with Kimbundu away from the linguistic pressure exerted on the plantations by the Portuguese and free Afro-Portuguese alike. In Angolar, the effects of simplification and reduction in the morphosyntax (prepositions, TMA markers) and phonology (no liquid clusters, no resyllabification), and innovation (AN *fara/ma*, completive *lɔke*, iterative *to*, interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, tone distinctions, vowel length), all seem to indicate the importance of partial relexification in the structural differentiation of Angolar and Santomense.

Appendix I: A comparison of Angolar and Santomense

100-word Swadesh List

English	Portuguese	Angolar	Santomense
I	eu	n~m~ŋ~Ø~am	n~m~ŋ~Ø~ami
you	tu/voce	bo	bo
we	nos	nɔ	nɔ ⁿ
this	este/esta+noun	noun + θε~ε~ðθ	noun + se~ε
that	esse/essa+noun	noun + si ε ~ si	noun + sala
who	quem	nge	ke nge
what	que	kwa ma	ke kwa
not	não	na ... wa	na ... fa
all	tudo	туру	tudaši
many	muitos/muitas	mɔçiru/mɔçi	mɔçi
one	um	u ⁿ a	u ⁿ a
two	dois	doθu	dosu
big	grande	ngairu, ngai	nglanji
long	longo	lonji	longɔ
small	pequeno	čɔ	pikina
woman	mulher	mengai	mwala
man	homem	ɔme	ɔme
person	pessoa	nge	nge
fish	peixe	kikie	piši
bird	pássaro	biθu	bisu
dog	cão	kaθo	kaso
louse	piolho	iru	ilu
tree	árvore	pɔ	pɔ
seed	grão	u ⁿ kwe	ukwe
leaf	folha	fia	fia
root	raiz	ndaçi	leži
bark	casca	kasika	kaška
skin	pele	pele	pele
flesh	carne	kani /musi	kani
blood	sangue	θangi	sangi
bone	osso	ɔɔ	ɔɔ
grease	graxa	nglaša	nglaša
egg	ovo	ɔvu	ɔvu
horn	chifre/corno	ngela/kɔneta	kɔneta
tail	rabo	nkila	labu
feather	pena	pena	pena

hair	cabelo	pena nte	kabelu
head	cabeça	nte	kabesa
ear	orelha	oriya	oreya
eye	olho	we	we
nose	nariz	ndesi	liši
mouth	boca	bɔka	bɔka
tooth	dente	denči	denči
tongue	língua	lungwa	lingwa
claw	garra	ngala	ngala
foot	pé	ɔpe	ɔpe
knee	joelho	vempuna	zunta
hand	mão	mɔ	mɔ ⁿ
belly	barriga	bega	bega
neck	pescoco	šingo	klɔnkɔ
breasts	seios	mama	mama
heart	coração	kɔθɔ	klɔɔ ⁿ
liver	figado	inčima	figaru
to drink	beber	bebe	bebe
to eat	comer	me	kume
to bite	morder	more	mode
to see	ver	be	beypia
to hear	ouvir	nde	tendi
to know	saber/conhecer	ta	sebe
to sleep	dormir	dumi	dumi
to die	morrer	mui	moli/mui
to kill	matar	mata	mata
to swim	nadar	landa	landa
to fly	voar	vua	vua
to walk	caminhar	nda	nda
to come	vir	bi	bi
to lie	jazer	ta	deta
to sit	sentar-se	taθɔ	tasɔ ⁿ
to stand	levantar-se	nja	la ⁿ ta/munjadu
to give	dar	nda	nda
to say	falar	fa	fla
sun	sol	nkumbi	sɔɔ
moon	lua	mbezi	nwa
star	estrêla	tetembu	štielea
water	água	awa	awa
rain	chuva	θuba	suba
stone	pedra	mburu	mburu
sand	areia	nθeke	aliya

earth	terra	mavu/tia	mbalu/tela
cloud	nuvem	ɔmbɔʃi	ɔsɛ
smoke	fumaça	ligo	irigo
fire	fogo	fogo	fogo
ash	cinza	sinða	šinja
to burn	queimar	kɛma	kɛma
path	caminho	mɔŋja	ʃtlada
mountain	montanha	mundu	oke
red	vermelho	buru	vlemɛ
green	verde	verɛ	verdi
yellow	amarelo	marelu	malelu
white	branco	ziaru	blanku
black	negro	pɛtu	pletu
night	noite	nθuku	noči
hot	quente	ke"çiru/ke"çi	ke"çi
cold	frio	fiyu	fiyu
full	cheio	θa/θaru	ša
new	novo	nɔvu	nɔvu
good	bom	bwaru	bwa
round	redondo	ondondɔ	londondɔ
dry	seco	kutaru	seku
name	nome	nɔmi	nɔmi

Appendix II: Angolar transcriptions

(I) Lovalistu (fisherman, 59)

M fara u^a ria bi ꞑoθɔ. Naðe m, tempu m ta nkamba
1s say one day come town gentlemen-1s time 1s ANT white person

suz'ε si ma ka θama Gulugulu. Sore, naðe. ɔla ma
wicked-DEM-DEM REL HAB call Gorgulho soldier gentlemen when

ngana ꞑoθɔ sore ngola taka kɔmpa m Dumu Caien. E paθ' e u^a
arrive town soldier Angolan find friend 1s Dumu Caien 3s hit 3s one

koreɲa pingara, e bafakata. Naðe m, m fo ɲa ka bi.
blow rifle 3s fall (ideophone) gentlemen 1s 1s come out TMA see

θo, 'ne se sor' ngol'ε ra m u^a koreɲa pingara ε,
then 3p DEM soldier Angolan DEM give 1s one blow rifle DEM

m be nduku-nduku-nduku-nduku. N kota gita ðumbi zina m
1s go to tumble (ideophone) 1s begin scream spirit grandmother 1s

bale m.
help 1s

Pia nga ma n ka mue pe. Naðe m, kwa ε ma fa r'o.
see where 1s FUT die LOC gentlemen 1s thing DEM REL say to 2s

N fara sor' ε na mata m wa, θa nge Paa Esperansa.
1s say soldier DEM not kill 1s not COP person beach Esperansa

n ka θombua e peθa m u^a koθo ɔpe, zaua čini-čini-čini. M bira ka
1s TMA fear 3s ? 1s one kick foot urine come out 1s turn TMA

zagama ruri.
tremble INT

"I say: one day I came to the city, gentlemen, during the days of the wicked white man called Gorgulho. There were Angolan soldiers, gentlemen. When I arrived to the city I met my compadre Dumu Caien. An Angolan soldier hit my compadre with the rifle and fell to the ground. I went out to

see and those Angolan soldiers hit me with the rifle. I stumbled and fell. I started to shout "my grandmother's soul, help me! Look where am I going to die? Gentlemen, this thing I tell you...I said to the Angolan soldiers "don't kill me, I am the person from Beach Esperança." Gentlemen, what my fear was when they kicked me; I began to pee and trembled because of fear."

(II) Liqui (fisherman, 84)

Kɔmpa m, n θe ka fara kɔmpa m uⁿa kwa turu ða θa ka punta kɔmpa
friend 1s 1s FUT say friend 1s one thing all day PROG ask friend

ma kɔmpa θa ka vugu ki onge ε kwai ma kɔmpa θe ka kula onge
how friend PROG struggle with body 3s which friend FUT cure body

ki'e. Turu ða loro onge due. N θe ka puta kɔmpa ovo, ma kɔmpa
with-3s all day pain body ache 1s FUT ask friend how friend

θe ka vugu ki loro onge due. Kwai ma kɔmpa θe ka kula onge ki'e.
FUT struggle with pain body ache which friend FUT cure body with 3s

θo n ka ba lanða ċ miða ra kɔmpa. Am θo ka lanða ċ
then 1s FUT go get little medicine for friend 1s then FUT get little

miða ra kɔmpa. Kɔmpa ka ba kwe, kɔmpa ka pa_{na} kasika,
medicine for friend friend FUT go with 3s friend FUT get bark

kɔmbi kasika ri zungu, kasika ri zatona, kasika veme
mocumbli bark of zungu bark of azeitona bark vermelho

ka pe fogo ba kuzi. Kuzi ε lofetu. Ola ε ka bie, kɔmpa ka
FUT put fire go cook cook 3s completely when 3s FUT boil friend FUT

tɔma ċ awa, awa si ma banku ka bi ki'e fo oto tela.
take little water water DEM REL white HAB bring LOC other land

“Then I am going to give you a recipe. I am the one who is going to get the medicine for you. You take it with you. You get bark of mocumbli, zungu, azeitona; it's a red bark. Once it is cooked, you take a sip of that water which the white man brings from another country.

My friend, I say one thing. Everyday I ask my friend how the compadre's health is. What is the compadre taking to cure his body pain? Everyday the body aches. I just ask the compadre how the compadre's body pain is and what my friend is taking to cure it.”

(III) Liqui (fisherman, 84)

Ola ka bila we, ta uⁿa mengai nase. Mengai nase, kamia si
when TMA turn eye find one woman give birth woman give birth place DEM

ma n θa ne jaru, e'me e bira karia m mufina ta. N fa
REL 1s COP LOC stood DEM-itself 3s turn buttock 1s surprise INT 1s say

ai ka ka, mengai ε bi mufina n ta zuga onge ta.
my gosh! woman DEM come surprise 1s ANT throw out body INT

Ma n ka paθa...
how 1s FUT happen

N fa n ka ba mionga. N sie, lema ate letu mionga, viča pe
1s say 1s FUT go sea 1s leave row until inside sea arrive LOC

singa awa, sai ki uⁿa kōnkō ki uⁿa, uⁿa, uⁿa magita.
net water leave with one conco with one one one malagueta

Ola ma n lege mema, singa buya, buya fula ma singa ε
when 1s throw again net tangle tangle pierce because net DEM

fula na θa kwa mangaθo wa. N vuvugu n ligi faka pe kot'e ta.
piercenot COP kidding not 1s struggle 1s take knife LOC cut 3s INT

Lema mōmōri-mōmōri-mōmōri ate viča paa.
row slowly until arrive beach

"I found a woman giving birth, a woman giving birth, right where I am standing; it's the same place where she turned her buttocks and caused me misfortune. I said, 'my gosh!', this woman caused me misfortune; my life is in ruins. What will happen to me?..."

I said, I go to the sea. I went out; I rowed until I got to the sea. I threw the net in the water. I came out with a *conco* and a *malagueta*. When I threw again, the net, the net tangled and the buoy pierced. Because the net pierced, I'm not kidding, I struggled, struggled. I took a knife and cut the net. " I rowed very slowly until I reached the beach."

(IV) Liqui (fisherman, 84)

N viča paa. M be moru ma kwa keči onge, n saia katana.
1s arrive beach 1s see manner REL burn body 1s push axe

N fa n ka ba kɔta mengai ε θambari njigi, θambari njigi. N fa
1 say 1s FUT go cut woman DEM seven piece seven piece 1s say

n ka kɔta mengai ta. θo kɔmpa m fa inga. Na zi e asi va. si bo zi
1s FUT cut woman INT then friend 1s say no not do 3s thus not if 2s do

e asi ε, θa bo θe ka dizigaθa tia ε ta, na kɔta njigi wa, deta re,
3s thus dem cop 2s FUT shame land DEM INT not cut piece not let of-3s

na kɔta njigi wa. M bila ka kɔθa nte. letu we m bira awa ruri
not cut piece not 1s turn TMA nod head inside eye 1s turn water INT

we m bira awa ruri. M bira ka jinga nte ruri, bira ka fla (ST)
eye 1s turn water INT 1s turn TMA nod head INT turn TMA speak

n ka ba kɔta mengai ε θambari njigika θa maxi bwa, e maxi bwa
1s FUT go cut woman DEM seven piece COP best

"I got to the beach. I realized that this problem made my body hot (angry). I took the axe. I said: I am going to cut this woman into seven pieces, seven pieces. I said I am going to cut the woman into pieces. But my friend warned me not to. He said: don't do that to her. If you do that, you are going to shame this land. Don't cut her into pieces, let her be, don't cut her into pieces. Only tears came out of my eyes, tears came out of my eyes. Then I nodded my head and spoke things...My friend I am going to cut this woman into seven pieces, it's the best thing to do, it's the best thing to do."

(V) Emidio (fisherman, 34)

Mađɔ pɔmɔɔna, sie letu kai ba miɔnga; nda ma vutuka fo
before yesterday go out inside house go sea when to turn go out

miɔnga, vuča kai. N tamba kikié vega ra mengai. Mengai tua kikié,
sea arrive house 1s fish fish leave for woman woman take fish

ba vega ra tande. Ma mengai viča kai n ka kɔsiya (Ptg.) čɔ.
go leave for Forro when woman arrive house 1s HAB cook little

N θa nge, n θa nge, n ka nde mengai θe ka θama m. N ka lata
1s COP here 1s COP here 1s HAB hear woman DEM PROG 1s 1s HAB get up

pa m ba mε čɔ naðe kwai mengai fara ia.
to 1s go eat little gentlemen which woman say now

"Señori vian mange de rizi"; rizi ε na ta kwa m'me θa wa.
Sir come eat rice rice DEM not know what food COP not

N to punt'e naðe kwa bo fa. Lunga si ε m'o lumba na
1s again ask-3s woman what 2s say language DEM DEM REL 2s speak not

n nde wa. "Señori vian mange de rizi", na ka nde wa.
1s understand not Sir come eat rice not TMA understand not

Eee!, mala bega θa ka kɔb fɔga wa. Na mađɔ na mε wa
Eee tripe stomach PROG mix INT since before yesterday not eat not

tua pɔmɔŋ'ɛ nɛ ʒɔ m'mɛ na m'mɛ wa. Ma rɛ ai zɛ!
 take morning DEM even little eat not food not what now do

Sie fo letu kai, viča kai zina m. ʒo fa zina
 come inside house arrive house grandmother 1s then say grandmother

m fala. Ma n fa zina. Mengai kɔʃi tia na ka tue wa.
 1s speak how 1s speak grandmother woman city land not HAB take not

Lunga ma 'nɛ ka lumba, na ka nde wa. iʃi ma n ka lumba
 language REL PL HAB speak not HAB understand not DEM REL 1s HAB speak

ki anɛ, anɛ na ka nde wa. Ai ʒe m ba miɔŋga, pɛga kikiɛ
 with PL PL not HAB understand not from DEM 1s go sea catch fish

ra mengai, e tua kikiɛ ɛ e ba vɛga ra ntende. Ai ʒe n far'e
 for woman 3s take fish DEM 3s go leave to Forro from DEM 1s say 3s

fala, mɛʒe m'mɛ, e fara m fala, "pa mange de riz". Rizi ɛ kwai?
 say want eat 3s say 1s say rizi DEM what

"Sir, come to eat rice [in French]'. This *rizi* word I don't know what it is. I asked again, 'woman what are you saying'? This language that you spoke I don't understand. 'Sir, come to eat rice'; I don't understand. My stomach is grumbling since I haven't eaten since before yesterday. Not even a mouthful of food I ate. What am I going to do now?

Before yesterday in the morning I went out, I went to the sea. When I came back from the sea, I got home, took the fish and gave it to the woman. The woman took the fish, and took it to the forro [the husband was not aware that the woman had another man who was forro]. When the woman got home, she cooked a small meal. Now I am here, listening to the woman call. I got up to eat a little. Friends, this is what the woman said.

I went out, and arrived to my grandmother's house. Then I spoke to her. What did I say to grandmother? I will not take a city woman. I don't understand her language. The language I speak they don't understand. Then I went to the sea and caught fish; she took the fish and gave it to a

Forro. Then I told her what I wanted to eat, she repeated again in French. What is this thing called "rizi"?"

(VI) Manuel (fisherman, 23)

Na mama m čaka m pe ni Makulu ma kɔta binku m ki
since mother 1s give birth 1s LOC LOC Makulu COMP cut navel 1s with

fiu ri matɔmbe ma to kule ki pɔ kie. Ma n kivevia biri we taka, a
knife of bamboo REL again with spoon since 1s grow up find UNM

taka m'me kiende ki varo fumaru to m'me kalu. Ai ši nɔ meθe
find eat bits with smoked fish also eat broth now if 1p want

m'me čɔ m'me a sela ba kɔpa repoyu, ba pika uini-uini
eat little food UNM have to go buy cabbage go chop small bits (ideo.)

kalu re na ka ngaja pɔmɔɔa wa, e ka zera.
calilu of 3s not HAB remain tomorrow not 3s HAB spoil

"Ever since my mother gave birth to me in Pico Maculu, cut my navel with a bambo thread and cured me with a wooden spoon, I grew up eating bits [from the palmtrees] with smoked flying fish. Now, if we want to have some broth, we have to buy cabbage and slice it in small bits. Calilu doesn't last to the next day, it gets spoiled."

(VII) Luciano (palmwine maker, 42)

Nɔviantelu nɔ ta ka zi nkamba ngenge ma nɔ ngɔɔ oto
1p winemaker 1p ANT HAB make cord palm-part since 1p look for other

mɔru di vira nɔ. Nɔ ka ladya nkamba ɔlami θo ma vira
manner of life 1p 1p TMA arrange cord branch then COMP life

fika masi bwaru punda kwai i onθoθo ka kie nkamba ɔlami
remain more good because which residues HAB fall cord branch

ka ngweta masi doke ngenge, ka ngweta masi doke ngenge.
 HAB resist more than palm-part HAB resist more than palm-part

Aie te viantelu ka  e ka pia  la ma  uba ka  e ka bi e
 now EXT wine-maker HAB FUT see when rain FUT come 3s

ka ba nja balaka tenda re. Oto nge tamb e na ka ba nja
 FUT go stand hut store of-3s other person also not HAB go stand

wa, ka ba vi" ki  uba si   m'e nkamba ka k loga kie   "
 not HAB go wine with rain DEM DEM REL-3s cord HAB slip fall ground

ka mata onge re ta punda kwai na wara  uba pa a wa.
 HAB kill body 3s INT because which not wait rain pass not

i oto nge si ki bebe vi" si   m'e  a masi bwaru ka ba
 and other person DEM REL drink wine DEM DEM rel-3s COP more good TMA go

fa oto nge ele ka bi  pwa  o manda vi" si   na ka
 say other person 3s HAB come buy so because wine DEM DEM not HAB

nja p t  m wa i e na ka nja p t  m wa punda kwai e
 stand door 1s not and 3s not HAB stand door 1s not because which 3s

 a kwa masi bwaru punda e te nge ka bi ki fontaru
 COP thing more good because EXT person HAB come with desire

e me e kwa di bebe re e p  kwa kwali  o mazi e te
 3s want thing of drink of-3s 3s can thing quality but EXT

nge tamb e e ka bi ng l  kwa masi bwaru  a i i    fufu  o,   
 person also 3s HAB come seek thing more good COP DEM few few

fufu  o  a masi bwaru    fufu  o,  a masi bwaru ixi ki  a masi
 COP more good few COP more good DEM REL COP more

m n i pa a e na ka bwa wa
 quantity more 3s not TMA good not

"Now there are palmwine makers who, when they see that it's about to rain, go to their hut [where they keep the palm wine]. But there are people who can't stay still and go to prepare the wine when it rains, which makes the

climbing rope slippery and causes the person to fall to the ground and kill himself. That's because he didn't wait for the rain to stop.

We, the palmwine makers used to make a rope to climb the palm with the stems of palm leaves, but we changed our work style by making the rope with the branches. Thus nowadays we work more efficiently because the branches resist stronger than the rope made with the palm stem.

And the person who drinks my wine of better quality will tell to another person and this will come to buy it. Thus my wine sells very fast [i.e. it doesn't stay in front of my door too long]. That's because my wine is better. There is a person who wants to drink from wine of poor quality. But there is another type of person who looks for wine of good quality; what comes in little quantity is better than that which comes in large quantity."

(VIII) Constantina (housewife, 42)

Ola ma θanda Kuuθu ka siga ma a ka tua feθa Angene ba
when Saint Cross TMA arrive COMP UNM TMA take feast Anguene carry

ki'e kwanda. Ola a ka vuča kwanda m'e ka siga dia re
with 3s city when UNM HAB arrive city REL-3s HAB arrive day of-3s

turu ɔme ki turu mengai ki θa ki ngoθo ma a ka bi feθa.
all man and all woman REL COP with joy COMP UNM TMA come feast

Ola a ka te pa bi dia m'e ka siga turu nge ka ba
when UNM TMA have for come day REL-3s TMA arrive all person HAB go

matu, ba kota čiba, a ka kɔɔ fuuta pɔ.
forest go cut banana UNM HAB collect breadfruit

Turu 'ne paɲa pe kanua ki... a ka taɲa zatɔna riba ntari; e
all 3p grab LOC canoe with...UNM HAB splinter azeitona top stone 3p

bi ki'e Paa Angene. Mengai ka bi ɔpe, ɔme tambɛ
come with-3s beach Anguene woman HAB come foot man also

ka bi kanua. Ola ka vuča Paa Angene turu a ka zunta
 HAB come canoe when HAB arrive beach Anguene all UNM HAB assemble

nge, ba vega niya ki fuuta pɔ ε ki čiba ε ki turu ki'e
 person go leave wood and breadfruit DEM and banana DEM all REL-3s

letu kanua; a ka kɔvido oto maielu; a ka ba ki nge ba
 inside canoe UNM HAB invite other friends UNM HAB go with person go

kega; ... pɔɔ nga ma a zi feθa pe; a ka bi sexta fela ate
 carry garden where UNM do feast LOC UNM HAB come sixth day until

sengunda fela, tesa
 second day third

"The Day of the Holy Cross, the feast of Angolares is celebrated in the city. When they arrive to the city, every man and woman happily come to the feast. When the day comes everybody goes to the forest to collect banana and breadfruit.

Everybody grab a canoe...splinter azeitona on top of the stone, put it in the canoe and bring it to Anguene Beach. The women come by foot and the men also, by canoe. When they arrive to Anguene Beach they get together, leave the wood, fruits and bananas and everything else in the canoe. Invite other people to carry the loads which are taken to the place where the feast is organized. They come on Friday and stay until Monday or Tuesday."

(IX) Constantina (housewife, 42)

Dia sinða nɔ ngɔla ka biri iðe ni letu matu; nɔ ka paŋa fia
 day Ash 1p Angolar HAB open crayfish LOC bank forest 1p HAB pick leaf

mbiji, fia bobo, fia matobana, nkɔɔ kai, we di nkɔɔ peta, nkumbi;
 mbiji leaf bobo leaf matobana cord house eye of cord peta mucumbli

nɔ ka bi ki'e kai, a ka ndumu'e oro, pe panela. θoku
 1p HAB come with-3s house UNM HAB crush-3s mortar put pot then

bie iðe, tua awa re lukwa pe, tua kasika re...ka ndumu, buta
boil crayfish take water of-3s empty LOC take skin of-3s HAB crush throw

pe ðeti ki oθami ki pimenta, kasika fuuta pɔ pa kuji kalu
put oil and ossame and pepper peel breadfruit to cook calilu

Ola kalu ε ka bie nɔ ka kuji, ndumu febenta čiba ndumu, kuji
when calilu DEM HAB cook 1p HAB cook crush content banana crush cook

angu; a ka zi meða, zi kuuθu pe kara kuye, turu nge ka
angu UNM HAB make table make cross put each fork all person HAB

jueya pa tua bokaru. θo a ka da palma dia sinða.
knee to take mouthful then UNM HAB give palm day Ash

“On Ash Wednesday we the Angolares go to the river to catch crayfish. We pick leaves of *mbiji*, *bobo* [Piper umbellatum], *matobana* [Cyathula prostrata], house cord, *peta* cord, *mucumbli*. We bring them home, squash them in a mortar and put them in a pot. Then we boil the crayfish, collect the water and throw it away, take the shrimp's skin, crush it and put it in the pot; cut the shrimp and put it in the pot; add oil and *ossame* [Afromomum danielli] and pepper; add cut breadfruit to prepare the *calilu*. [traditional Angolar dish]. When the *calilu* is cooked, we squash the contents and cook banana to make the *angu* [traditional Angolar dish]. Then we set the table, the sign of the cross is made, each person takes its fork and kneels to receive the first mouthful [usually from the oldest woman]. Finally, the palm of Ash Wednesday is given.”

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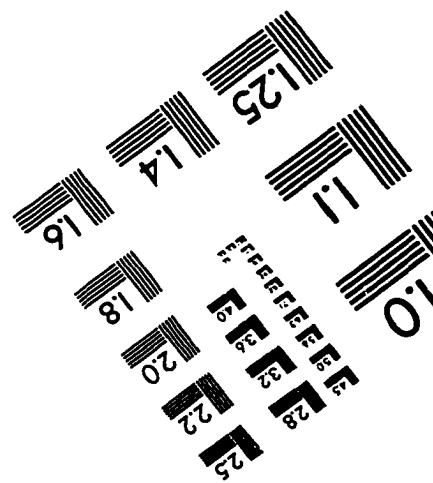
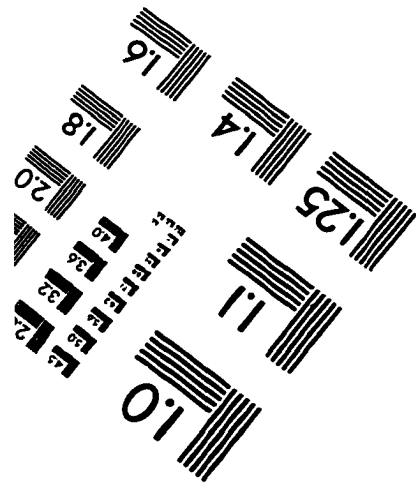
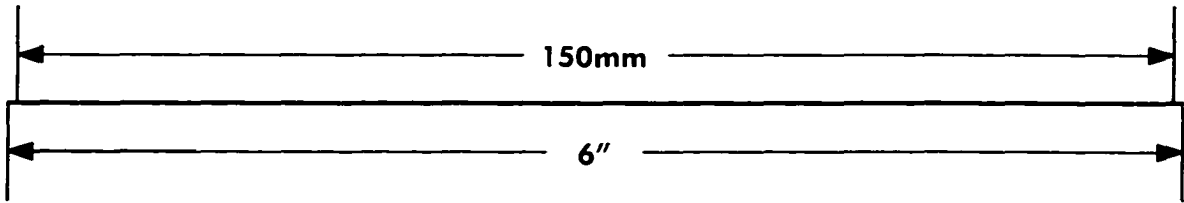
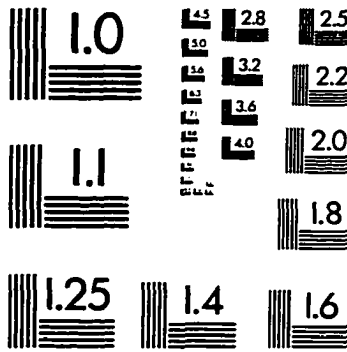
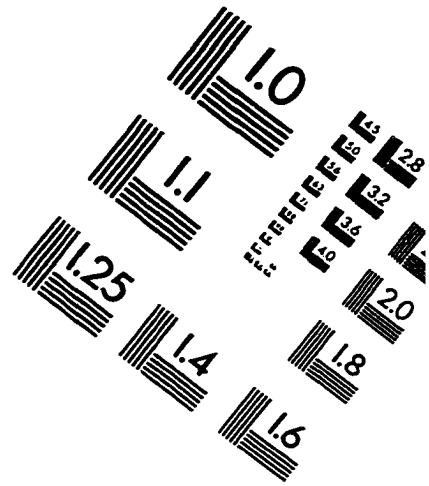
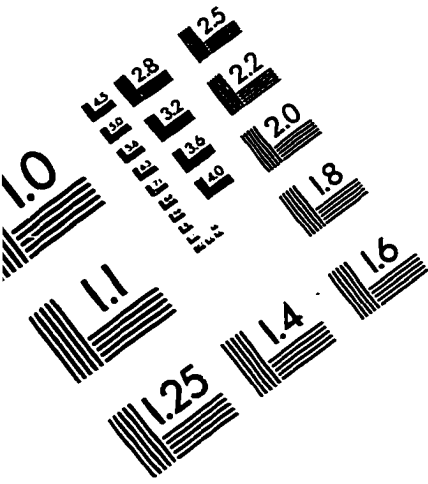
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