

## Portuguese language in Angola: luso-creoles' missing link?

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### 0. Introduction

Portuguese explorers first reached the Congo Basin in the late 15th century, beginning a linguistic and cultural presence that in some regions was to last for 500 years. In other areas of Africa, Portuguese-based creoles rapidly developed, while for several centuries pidginized Portuguese was a major lingua franca for the Atlantic slave trade, and has been implicated in the formation of many Afro-American creoles. The original Portuguese presence in southwestern Africa was confined to limited missionary activity, and to slave trading in coastal depots, but in the late 19th century, Portugal reentered the Congo-Angola region as a colonial power, committed to establishing permanent European settlements in Africa, and to Europeanizing the native African population. In the intervening centuries, Angola and the Portuguese Congo were the source of thousands of slaves sent to the Americas, whose language and culture profoundly influenced Latin American varieties of Portuguese and Spanish. Despite the key position of the Congo-Angola region for Ibero-American linguistic development, little is known of the continuing use of the Portuguese language by Africans in Congo-Angola during most of the five centuries in question. Only in recent years has some attention been directed to the Portuguese language spoken non-natively but extensively in Angola and Mozambique (Gonçalves 1983). In Angola, the urban second-language varieties of Portuguese, especially as spoken in the squatter communities of Luanda, have been referred to as Mussequ Portuguese, a name derived from the KiMbundu term used to designate the shantytowns themselves. A number of prominent Angolan writers have used this language in literary works which are gaining international recognition, and a few linguists have seen in Mussequ Portuguese (MP) more than just another second-language variety of a European language spoken in Africa. In fact, it has been suggested that MP bears more than a casual resemblance to established Afro-Iberian creoles, and that MP is geneologically related to such Latin American creoles as Papiamentu and Palenquero (Perl 1989).

In general, contemporary Angolan Portuguese exhibits the unremarkable characteristics of recently decolonized European languages spoken as second languages through western Africa and Asia, including Spanish in Equatorial Guinea, French in West Africa, English in the Philippines, etc. (Endruschat 1990; Gärtner 1983, Bernardes 1970, Marques 1983). However, there are a few features of mussequ Portuguese which suggest a historical continuity with earlier Portuguese presence in southwestern Africa, and which therefore make Angolan Portuguese more than a modern postcolonial residue. The present remarks seek, very provisionally, to situate Angolan Portuguese in a larger context, by examining the use of Portuguese in the Congo/Angola region for nearly 500 years. Given the large gaps in the available documentation, the best that can be done at present is to point out the major signposts on this long and complex journey.

### 1. Portuguese presence in the Congo and Angola

1.1. Following the early Portuguese contacts along the upper coast of West Africa, beginning in the middle of the 15th century, Portuguese explorers arrived at the mouth of the Congo River in 1482,

and arrived in the Kongo Kingdom in 1483, and speakers of Congo Basin languages were taken to Portugal in the following years (Hilton 1985: chap. 3). After several aborted attempts at making contact with the leaders of the coastal Congo populations, Diego Cão finally met the Manicongo (or Mweni-Kongo 'lord of the BaKongo people'), who was residing at the inland capital of Mbanza. The Portuguese discovered a ruler seated in splendor on an ivory throne, and determined that he nominally controlled vast minions in coastal and inland regions of the Congo Basin. Diplomatic relations were immediately established between Portugal and the Kongo kingdom, in the person of the Manicongo Nzinga a Nkuwa, whom the Portuguese referred to as João. A few years later the Congolese leader Nzinga Mbemba was baptized as a Christian and took the name of Dom Affonso. At the turn of the 16th century he became the next Manicongo, and for years he carried on an intense correspondence with King Manuel and his successors in Portugal (cf. Brásio 1944, 1952; Felgas 1958, Thornton 1983, Duffy 1961, Balandier 1968, Hilton 1985, Tinhorão 1988).

Dom Affonso was at first unaware of the true dimensions of Portuguese avarice; he took to heart the notion that the King of Portugal was his brother, and that the Congolese professions of Christianity before Portugal and the Vatican would ensure fair and humane treatment. For years he petitioned Portugal for doctors, teachers, useful technology, and ships (or the means with which to build his own), all designed to spur the development of this African kingdom. Instead, the Kongo received only firearms, whisky, cheap trinkets, and an increasingly heavy demand to supply slaves to European traders. When Dom Affonso objected and tried to put an end to the slave trade, realizing that its growing dimensions far exceeded the usual African practices, and that the entire region ran the risk of being depopulated, the Portuguese coerced him, through threatened alliances with his rivals. As the decades went by, Portuguese recognition of Congolese sovereignty decreased, until by the 19th century the Congo Basin was seen as a savage backward area, peopled by superstitious, ignorant and underdeveloped tribes whose only redeeming value was the ease with which they could be enslaved.

During the period of nominal Portuguese recognition of the Kongo kingdom, the Manicongos sent many noble children and officials to Portugal, for higher education and to study for religious orders. At the same time, the presence of Portuguese priests and missionaries was increased in the Congo. This accounts for the large number of Portuguese borrowings into KiKongo; in Portugal, members of the academic community often had first-hand contacts with free Africans through the limited 'student exchange.' Early literary imitations of Portuguese language and habits could therefore have some basis in fact, and the presence of free Africans of noble birth would inspire later Portuguese and Spanish writers who argued against the notion that all Africans were uneducated heathens worthy of contempt.

1.2. Immediately to the south of the Kongo kingdom was Dondo or Ndongo, whose ruler was known as the Ngola. Originally the Ngola was subordinate to the Manicongo, but Portuguese intervention helped break this dependency. Portugal authorized a first visit to the land of the Ngola in 1520, but this met with little success (the emissary was hostage for nearly six years), and aroused the ire of the Manicongo, who wished to retain his monopoly on all trade with Europe, and to completely dominate the slaving business. However, by 1550, Portuguese traders were taking slaves from Angola, although no direct relationship with the Ngola had yet been established. This contact was finally made in 1560, but relations soon degenerated, and hostilities between Portugal and a succession of Ngolas would mark the next two centuries. The early Ngolas allowed the Portuguese to establish a mainland trading settlement, in the territory that would thenceforth be known as Angola. The fort of Luanda was constructed in 1576, and became the main focus of European trade, and later the principal port of the slave trade with South America. To the south, the fort at Benguela was established in 1617. Eventually the Portuguese settlements at Angola, and in particular Luanda, would far overshadow the Portuguese

Congo for both commercial wealth and the supply of slaves for the Atlantic trade.

The Portuguese remained in Angola from the end of the 15th century until the second half of the 20th century, and exported slaves from this region until nearly the middle of the 19th century. The Portuguese presence in the former Kongo kingdom did not last as long, particularly at the northern edge of this territory, along the Congo River. In the entire region, the Portuguese fortunes rose and fell as conflicts with and among various African groups resulted in changing alliances.

1.3. Portuguese slaving in the Kongo kingdom, at first perceived as advantageous by the Manicongo, was by the middle of the 16th century seen to have a pernicious effect on the population of the kingdom, with the drain being particularly heavy among young males. The Manicongo Affonso I had petitioned the king of Portugal to stop the trade, but by this time the momentum had grown too powerful for any African leader to stop. Spurred on by the slave traders on São Tomé, who took slaves from the mainland with or without official Portuguese permission, the slave trade continued to grow. Many of the slaves delivered by the Kongo were obtained by trade or raid from interior groups, also speaking related Bantu languages (e.g. the Teke and Mpumbu). During the initial Portuguese recognition of the Kongo monarchy, the latter kingdom also drew slaves from the tributary Mbundu people, living under the dominion of the Ngola, in the Ndongo kingdom just to the south. Thus for the majority of the 16th century, slaves delivered from the Congo region did not as frequently speak KiKongo (the language of the dominant group, and thus the least likely to be found among the slaves), as related Bantu languages. KiMbundu would have been one of these languages (Birmingham 1966; Blake 1977; Boxer 1963, 1969).

1.4. By the end of the 17th century, matters were almost entirely reversed. Through a series of conflicts, the Portuguese had succeeded in nearly destroying the Kongo kingdom (although a series of powerless Kongo 'kings' would continue to swear loyalty to Portugal until the early decades of the 20th century). Matters came to a head when, in the early 17th century, the Dutch established a factory in the Kongo coastal town of Mpinda. Despite Portuguese protests, and demands that the Manicongo expel the Dutch, the Kongo government did nothing to curb Dutch trade and slaving in 'Portuguese' territory. Tensions grew, but were temporarily sidetracked with the Dutch occupation of Portuguese Angola from 1641-1648. Following the defeat of the Dutch in Luanda, Portugal renegotiated a 'peace' treaty with Kongo, with unacceptably onerous terms. Further conflict ensued, and in the battle of Mbwila in 1665, Portuguese forces definitely conquered the Kongo army. As Portuguese slaving interests moved further south, concentrating on Mbundu-dominated northern Angola, larger numbers of KiKongo-speaking slaves entered the slave supply.

1.5. Once direct contact with the Ngola had been made, the proportion of Mbundu slaves taken by the Portuguese appears to have dropped, since the Mbundu were variously trade allies or adversaries who could only be captured dead (cf. Miller 1976). During the Dutch occupation of Luanda (1641-48) matters were further muddled. The Dutch tried to press their advantage with groups who were hostile to the Portuguese. They made alliances with several Mbundu leaders, and therefore received slaves speaking other Bantu languages. When the Portuguese recaptured Luanda, they launched full-scale attacks against the two principal Mbundu factions: a western group (which were ultimately referred to as 'Angolas') and an eastern group led by the rebel queen Nzinga, who resisted Portuguese intervention. By 1671, the Angolan kingdom of Ndongo had been destroyed by the Portuguese, but the eastern group formed the powerful Kasanje kingdom, which was never fully dominated by the Portuguese. After many skirmishes, peace and sustained trade with Kasanje was only achieved in 1683. Portuguese slave sources moved ever eastward, into the Lunda empire along the Kasai River. Portuguese slavers also took ever larger quantities from Ovimbundu (Umbundu) territory

to the south, and the port of Benguela, in Ovimbunduland, at times rivalled Luanda for total volume of slave exportation. Throughout the remainder of the 18th century, the Portuguese colony at Angola degenerated into a couple of slaving ports. This was the period of massive slave exportation to Brazil, and to a lesser extent the Spanish Río Plata colonies, but no one ethnic group predominated. Mbundu and Umbundu (Ovimbundu) were represented, but exact proportions are not known. The Bantu languages spoken in Angola are closely related, and it is frequently impossible to assign a single language as source for Bantu elements found in Latin America. However, the nature of Portuguese trade and conquest in Angola suggest a somewhat lower proportion of Kikongo- and KiMbundu-speaking slaves than has been proposed by accounts which are based only on the ethnic groups living near the main slaving ports.

1.6. By the beginning of the 18th century, the Portuguese were no longer the masters of the Atlantic slave trade, and although large numbers of slaves were exported from Angola, the American demand for slaves was also met by competitors operating from British- and French-held slaving areas on the African coast. Although the Dutch had been driven from their strongholds in Angola and Brazil, they continued to represent a major force in the slave trade, through alliances and shrewd deals. Slaving alone was insufficient to sustain a stable colony in Angola, and accounts from the 18th and early 19th centuries describe a situation of lawlessness verging on anarchy, in which a small contingent of Portuguese government officials and clergy were powerless against unscrupulous slave raiders, smugglers, tax-evaders, and other undesirable elements of European or mulatto origin grouped under the category of lançados and degredados. Silva Corrêa (1937), who wrote an extensive description and history of Angola in the last decade of the 18th century, lamented the fact that Portugal was doing little to attract stable colonists, given the fabulous natural wealth of Angola, as compared with the subsistence-level life led by many citizens of Portugal.

Already by the middle of the 18th century, Portugal was embroiled in numerous small-scale conflicts with tribal leaders throughout Angola, and the Portuguese came to realize how ephemeral their conquista of Angola really was. By this time, the Portuguese had effectively detribalized the African population in and around Luanda and Benguela, but matters were quite different in the hinterlands, where the Portuguese barely managed to prevail by the early 20th century, only to depart permanently a few decades later. From 1961 until 1975, Portugal was embroiled in an escalating war of independence in Angola, and the commercial benefits of the colony slipped away rapidly.

## 2. Attempts at forming a Portuguese settler colony in Angola

2.1. Until the early 19th century, Portuguese activities in Angola were centered around the slave trade, and formal colonization, e.g. in the sense of Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the new world, was never seriously contemplated. The principal destination of Portuguese emigrants was Brazil, while the Portuguese African territories, especially Angola, attracted few permanent settlers. Malaria was rampant throughout Angola, and as in other European settlements in sub-Saharan Africa, Angola had the reputation of being the white man's grave. The climate was generally regarded as unbearable by Europeans, although objectively, many climatic regions of Angola are more favorable than areas of Brazil which received heavy Portuguese immigration. Also, unlike Brazil, whose indigenous population was sparse, scattered, and in general not well organized in the defense of their territories against Europeans, Africans in Angola often represented a serious threat to European penetration. The situation was by no means aided by the frequent use of Africans as slaves in the households of those Portuguese residents who managed to remain in Angola. During this entire period, pidgin Portuguese was the

language of the slave traders, but by all indications, KiMbundu was at least as important as Portuguese for linguistic contact between Europeans and Africans in the urban centers of Angola.

2.2. The situation began to change in the early 19th century, as European imperial powers began to seriously carve up Africa into mutually exclusive colonies, and in some cases, to attempt the resettlement of European immigrants into permanent communities. The single most important event was the official Portuguese abolition of trans-Atlantic slavery in 1836, a decree which struck the Portuguese African 'colonies' like a bombshell. Similar anti-slavery movements were springing up in other European countries, and were ultimately spearheaded by the British, who set up anti-slavery tribunals in Sierra Leone and actively intercepted slaving ships crossing the Atlantic, often using the island of Fernando Poo as a launching zone for their forays. When Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, the Portuguese royal family and court escaped to Brazil with the aid of British naval forces. Portugal was indebted to Britain, and also feared active British attacks on the Angola-Brazil slaving route; this combined pressure was instrumental in shaping Portuguese abolitionist policy. For a while, the slave traders were able to evade the official policy, and even those Africans who had made their fortunes expressed consternation at this sudden turn of affairs. However, contrary to all reasonable expectations, the new Portuguese Premier, Sá de Bandeira, undertook the enforcement of the anti-slaving policy, and the large-scale raiding of interior settlements gradually came to a halt. De facto slaving, especially in the interior and on the coast to the north of Luanda, continued to flourish considerably beyond the time of the official anti-slavery decree. Despite the fact that Portugal had declared an official end to the exportation of slaves overseas, there was originally no provision against slavery within Angola, and given Portugal's desire to develop a white-dominated plantation in Angola, slave labor was indispensable. The number of slaves taken from interior regions of Angola and neighboring territories to work on estates within Angola was small compared to the huge volume which had been gathered up as part of the Atlantic slave trade, but it was slavery nonetheless, and reinforced the rigid caste barriers between Europeans and Africans. Between 1854 and 1858 Portugal passed a series of timid decrees aimed at reducing internal slavery in Angola, but it was only in 1878 that all forms of slavery were officially abolished in Angola. Even past this point, contract labor entrapped Africans in conditions that were scarcely different from slavery (a similar and more visible forced labor situation in São Tomé drew world-wide condemnation around the turn of the 20th century). The de facto servitude of Africans in Angola continued until the end of the colonial period, and was one of the driving forces of nationalist sentiment during the prolonged anticolonial struggle.

2.3. When Portugal shifted its focus away from slavery, there began a rather half-hearted attempt to replicate in Angola the successful ex-colony of Brazil. Glowing reports of unlimited mineral and agricultural wealth were used in an attempt to entice settlers, but these efforts never resulted in more than a trickle of European emigrants. At the same time, the Portuguese attempts to subdue the native African population met with considerable resistance, which foreshadowed the war of colonial independence which would devastate the country more than a century later.

Although the climatic and sanitary conditions in Angola were daunting to Europeans, and even to visitors raised in Brazil, the true source of the failure of European colonization in Angola was the type of settler which Portugal sent to Africa. From the outset of the Portuguese presence in Africa, these territories were portrayed as savage and forbidding, disease-ridden wastelands where Europeans died within months of arrival. After the initial enthusiasm about the conversion of the Manicongo to Christianity, Portuguese missionary presence in Africa dwindled, and in fact it was Italian Capuchin priests who appear to have made the most lasting impression on the Kongo peoples. Portugal maintained a skeletal presence in Congo/Angola, on the coast and in some interior regions, through a

system of presídios and other fortified encampments, but there was never anything approaching a civilian settlement for purposes other than military control. The slave trade was handled by Portuguese entrepreneurs known as lançados, who adopted native ways and languages, and by their mulatto offspring. The Portuguese government had little use for these lawless traders, who rarely paid the necessary taxes and duties, and who were instrumental in the flourishing trade in contraband goods which flowed into Angola. Since Portuguese peasants and laborers could not be induced to resettle in Angola, the Portuguese government became the first European nation to officially use prison populations as a colonizing presence. Rather than use Angola as a penal colony, Portugal simply sent freed prisoners to the African territories, with little or no control over their activities, and with the single stipulation that they not return to Portugal. It has frequently been pointed out (e.g. Bender 1978) that whereas British prisoners sent to colonies in North America and Australia had typically been convicted of misdemeanors, such as petty theft, the Portuguese degradados contained a very high percentage of violent criminals, including murderers, rapists, arsonists, and armed robbers. These were often incorrigible criminals, whose activities only worsened in the African setting. Their presence in Angola appalled the African leaders, who extrapolated the notion that all of Portugal must be a nation of similar undesirables, and increased African-European tensions. A vicious circle was also created, since law-abiding residents of Portugal had no desire to emigrate to a land held hostage by elements who in Europe were kept safely locked up.

2.4. Among the Portuguese degradados, males greatly outnumbered females, at ratios ranging as high as 10:1 (Bender 1978: 52). This naturally caused considerable miscegenation, and a considerable mulatto or mestiço population arose. At first, this population was much larger than the white settlers, and the mestiços made common cause with white Portuguese. The Portuguese government attempted to limit discrimination against mixed-race soldiers and civil servants, although in practice the mestiços could never aspire to the highest positions. Around the turn of the 20th century, Portugal was able to attract a somewhat greater number of non-criminal elements, including a higher proportion of women (the male-female ration among whites in Angola was around 2:1 in 1900, dropping to around 1.3:1 in 1960--Bender 1978: 52). As a result, the white population grew proportionately at the expense of the mestiços, and white Portuguese began to systematically strip the mestiços of their privileges, and further increased tensions between white and non-white residents of Angola.

2.5. Portuguese official declarations often compared Angola and Brazil, as representing the triumph of a non-racial policy of cultural pluralism known as 'Lusotropicalism.' However, as demonstrated in detail by Bender (1978), the two former colonies had very little in common. First, in Brazil, the black population was never more than around 50%, and dropped to nearly 10% in the post-colonial period. In Angola, the black population ranged from more than 99% to around 95% (at the end of the colonial period). This imbalance is even greater when it is acknowledged that nearly all whites lived in Luanda, with a handful in other cities (Benguela, Moçâmedes, etc.), and virtually none in rural regions. Some representative figures for Angola reveal that only a tiny fragment of the black population was ever in contact with white Portuguese residents.

In 1778, out of a total population of perhaps 5 million, Angola contained 1700 white residents and nearly 3900 mestiços (Wheeler 1963: 405). In 1845, for example, out of a total population of nearly 5.4 million (Bender 1978: 20), there were only some 1800 whites, and nearly 5800 mestiços (most of whom presumably spoke Portuguese. This is equivalent to about .2% of the population, all of which was concentrated into urban areas. In fact, of the 1830 whites, 1601 lived in Luanda, 38 in Benguela, and the others were scattered in handfuls throughout other towns (Bender 1978: 65).

Figures given later in the 19th century (Ribeiro 1884: 155-60) gives very misleading figures, since the total Angolan population is estimated at only 432,000-442,000, of which about 4,000 were white. The later figure may have been close to the real number, but the African population would still have been several million, most of whom had not been counted in the 'census' accounts. In 1900, out of a total population estimated at nearly 4.8 million, there were just over 9000 whites, and just over 3000 mestiços, with the combined total representing .8% of the total Angolan population. A census taken in 1940 found almost 25,000 Europeans, 19,000 'Euro-Africans' (African-born whites) and 28,000 mulattoes, compared with a total black population of nearly 3.7 million (Costa 1945: 33). Of this black population, only some 24,000 were regarded as civilizados, that is, fluent and literate in Portuguese and having been educated in the European tradition (Costa 1945: 98-9). Presumably a much larger proportion of the black population had some oral proficiency in Portuguese. At that time, nearly half the white population lived in Benguela, somewhat fewer in Luanda and Huíla, and the remainder in Bié and Malange. In 1960, by far the high point of European presence in Angola, out of a total of about 4.8 residents, there were some 172,500 whites and 54,000 mestiços, with a combined percentage of 4.7% of the total population. This growth of the white population occurred in only a few decades, and was unlikely to have much of a linguistic impact on generations of black Angolans who were raised away from the influence of Portuguese people and their language. Indeed, a survey taken in 1970 revealed that 1% of (black) adults and 2% of children in rural Angola used Portuguese with any frequency or fluency (Bender 1978: 211).

2.6. In addition to the racial imbalance between blacks and whites, the principal linguistic difference between Brazil and Angola is the fact that in the former country, the black slave population was drawn from linguistically heterogeneous areas of Africa, and rarely shared a common language, except in small groups. This forced them to learn Portuguese, which was more readily available due to the proportionally large Portuguese-speaking population. In Angola, the vast majority of blacks had neither motive nor opportunity to learn Portuguese. As occurred throughout African territories colonized by European nations, Africans continued to use their own native languages, typically speaking several regional *lingua francas* as well. The need to speak Portuguese was minimal, given the tiny number of black Angolans who regularly came into contact with Portuguese-speaking settlers. Nor did education change the linguistic profile of the nation, since prior to the second half of the 20th century, there was no attempt to establish schools for Africans in rural or even urban areas.

2.7. A final important difference between the situation in Angola and the demographics of true colonies lies in the fact that in Angola, the majority of the white population was born outside of Angola, usually in Portugal. In 1960, for example, some 70% of the white population had been born outside of the colony, and in Luanda, the figure rose to nearly 79% (Bender 1978: 26). In other words, in rural regions, there was a small proportion of native-born whites, typically lançados and other entrepreneurs and traders, with the occasional farmer. In the cities, by far the greatest proportion of the white residents were newcomers, who came to Africa with ideas and attitudes formed in another world, and who were frequently ill-suited for life in the African colony. These expatriate whites came for a variety of reasons; some were exiled criminals and misfits (the degradados), some hoped to earn some quick cash and return to Portugal, some were civil servants on a tour of duty which most could not wait to end, and only a few were legitimate settlers with any serious intention of remaining in Angola and raising future generations in this new setting. Expatriate whites usually considered themselves to be 'Portuguese,' and never 'Angolan'; they looked to the home country both for moral support and for the source of values and customs, and resisted any compromise with their African setting, which most regarded as a temporary nuisance to be endured for a finite time period. Such an attitude was hardly

conducive to any sort of cultural and linguistic approximation. In particular, Portuguese arrivals could only find Africans' approximations to received Portuguese speech as pathetically deficient and comical, much the same impression as displaced Africans had aroused in Europe several centuries earlier. This would make it unlikely that Europeans would acquire any linguistic or cultural traits derived from the African environment; Africans, in turn, would be exposed to an ever-replenished wellspring of Eurocentrism and disdain for African life.

2.8. This contrasts with true settler colonies such as Brazil, where the overwhelming majority of citizens are native born, a situation which has prevailed for several centuries. Within the first century of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, a 'Brazilian' identity--and language--developed in the American setting, and newcomers quickly adapted to the new reality. Their offspring was linguistically and culturally Brazilian, although often retaining close cultural and family ties to Portugal. The Angolan situation is more closely aligned to the Spanish 'colonization' of Equatorial Guinea, a process which was only begun in the final decades of the 19th century, and which resulted in a similar population of expatriate Spaniards, very few of whom considered themselves 'Guinean' in any sense of the word. The reasons were substantially the same: Spaniards intruded into a well-established African milieu, and saw their only purpose in Africa as the rapid extraction of personal wealth. Another close parallel was found in the first decades of Spanish presence in Latin America, when Spanish conquistadores and treasure-seekers invariably identified themselves only with Spain and the rest of Europe, and felt no affinity for the native peoples of the Americas.

2.9. In Angola, white Portuguese never formed a critical mass except in a handful of urban areas, and there were few native-born whites to give a sense of continuity to white presence in Angola. There never developed an 'Angolan' variety of (white) Portuguese, except for the sporadic introduction of local lexical items, a natural concomitant of all expatriate communities. Concurrently, few Africans were in constant contact with any variety of Portuguese, and even fewer had any occasion to speak Portuguese to each other. Thus, the formation of an Africanized Portuguese dialect was also retarded; most Angolans spoke idiosyncratic approximations to Portuguese which were simply second-language phenomena, rather than acquiring systematic traits that might eventually coalesce into a distinctly Angolan dialect.

From the outset, the Europeans who moved to Angola lived apart from the Africans, albeit in the same urban perimeters. The case of Luanda is typical, with comfortable brick and cement buildings with tile roofs for white settlers, surrounded by the humble dwellings which would swell into the musseques of contemporary Angola. Contact between Europeans and Africans was extensive, since there was no means of avoiding it, and there began a shift away from KiMbundu and towards Portuguese as the lingua franca mediating African-European interchanges.

### 3. Predominant use of African languages in Angola

Throughout the history of Angola and the Portuguese Congo, African languages were the primary means of communication among Africans, and were frequently used by Europeans as well. Even well into the colonial period, in late the 19th and early 20th centuries, most descriptions of this region include mention only of African languages; some comment explicitly on the precarious status of Portuguese among the African population.<sup>1</sup> Thus, for example, Silva Pôrto (1938, 1942) travelled extensively in Angola, beginning in 1846. He described extensive contact with Africans, invariably using KiMbundu or Umbundu (Ovimbundu); he even appended a brief glossary of KiMbundu terms to aid in understanding his account. Duparquet (1953), travelling throughout Angola in the 1860's-70's, had to



rely on indigenous languages at all times. Capello and Ivens (1881, 1886), who explored Angola beginning in 1877, interacted with Africans exclusively in Umbundu and related languages. They observed (1881, v. 1, p. 14) that around Benguela 'a língua geralmente fallada aqui é bastante diferente do n'bunda de Luanda, e conhecida pela denominação de n'bundo do Biè ...' The only indication of an African who knew any Portuguese was one exclamation (vol. 1, p. 175) 'os bracos de Caluga!' < os brancos do Calunga [= ocean: JML], i.e. the white people from [across] the ocean.' Carvalho (1890: vol 1, p. 291) quotes a description made by a British firm in 1887, to the effect that in Angola, 'a língua que se falla nas estações é a Portugueza; outra qualquer difficilmente seria entendida, por terem sido os Portuguezes que desbravaram este paiz ha mais de vinte annos, onde o seu elemento se encontra espalhado por toda esta região.' Despite this statement, Carvalho's own observations normally describe only Angolans who speak little or no Portuguese. Statham (1922: 36) observed that 'it was very necessary to obtain servants who spoke or understood some of the dialects of the countries to be traversed and English or Portuguese as well, but the prospect of obtaining any such treasures seemed remote. Silva Corrêa (1937: 83), describing life in the European colony at Luanda, declared that 'o idioma dominante, hé Ambundo. As Senhoras costumadas, a faserem-se entender às suas escravas por esta lingoagem, são verbozas nas conversações familiares, e mudas nas polidas assembleas...' He also noted that 'Os homens fálão portuguez, e são elegantes no Ambundo.' It is unlikely that the men spoke much in the way of Portuguese; most probably, an expanded pidgin formed the basis for these remarks.

#### 4. Portuguese language in Angola

4.1. The use of Portuguese in the Portuguese Congo and Angola is not widely documented, except for the growing literary production from the second half of the 20th century. In fact, after the early contacts in the 16th century, the record is essentially silent until the middle of the 19th century, at which point there emerges a rudimentary picture of pidginized Portuguese, spoken sporadically and non-natively by some sectors of the population. For the intervening period, only extrapolation allows the conclusion that some variety of Portuguese was probably in continuous use across the centuries.

4.2. Among the few early 'African' examples of Portuguese are a number of letters and declarations written by the Kongo kings, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, but nearly all were written by Portuguese-born scribes, and contain a flowery diplomatic language which in no way suggests the limited Portuguese as used by native Africans. For example, from the 'Carta de D. Affonso rei do Congo, a elrei D. Manuel [Portugal]--5 de outubro de 1514' (Manso 1877: 13):

Muito alto e muy poderoso pryncype Rey e Senhor. Nos dom affonso por graça de deus Rey de congou e senhor dos ambudos etc. "Nos encomendamos a sua alteza como a Rey e Senhor que muyto amamos e lhe fazemos saber como em vida de noso padre sendo nos crystão e cremdo firmemente na ffee de noso Senhor Jhesu Christo e asy dom pedro meu prymo huum fidallguo de nossa terra dise a ElRey noso senhor como eu e dom pedro noso primo eramos crystãos e que cryamos em deus e nam nos seus ydolos pollo quall ElRey noso padre dise que querya mandar trazer o dito dom pedro ao seu tereyro pera o mandar matar pera ver se deus o lyvraria daly e que a nos tyraria a renda ...

Following these early examples, none of which reflect actual Africans' use of Portuguese, we must wait until the explorations of the mid 19th century, when accurate descriptions of the Portuguese Congo and Angola begin to appear, including brief comments on the linguistic usage of the indigenous populations.

4.3. For example, an observer writing around the middle of the 19th century, and despite a very negative attitude towards Africans, observed (Monteiro: 1875: vol. 1, 104-5): 'The blacks, on arriving from the interior, put up at the towns on the coast, where the natives, having been in constant intercourse with the whites for years, all speak Portuguese, and many of them English. It is a fact that the natives speak Portuguese more correctly than they do English, which I attribute to the good custom of the Portuguese very seldom stooping to murder their language when speaking to the blacks, which the English universally do, under the mistaken idea of rendering themselves more intelligible. These blacks act as interpreters and brokers ...' This is an interesting anecdote in support of 'baby talk' theories of pidgin and creole formation. Monteiro (1875: vol. 1, 259), in speaking of the my now decadent court of the Kingdom of Kongo, mentions that when white visitors arrive, 'It is not considered etiquette for the king to speak Portuguese on these occasions, however well he may know or understand it, but always to use his native language, and employ an interpreter; the white man must also employ an interpreter to translate his speech.' Monteiro (1875: vol. 2, 102) describes the natives of Ambaca as speaking, reading and writing the 'best' Portuguese of any Angolans. In concluding his narrative, Monteiro (1875: vol. 2, 313-4) informs the potential visitor that 'A knowledge of Portuguese is of course almost essential, as, with the exception of some places on the River Congo, and as far south of it as Ambriz, where some of the natives speak English, a great number speak only Portuguese besides their own language.' The linguistic situation was evidently more complex than a brief glance of colonial Angola might suggest.

4.4. Beginning in the late 19th century, a few fragments of Angolans' use of Portuguese appear. For example Capello and Ivens (1881: v. 1, p. 175) report the phrase 'os bracos de Caluga!' < os brancos do Calunga [= ocean: JML], i.e. the white people from [across] the ocean.' Batalha (1890: 9), in a letter dated 1876, gives the brief comment 'Sa mulér diga qu'o melél (panno) custa 1\$725 réis,' spoken by an Angolan. Elsewhere in these letters, Angolans speak only African languages. Carvalho (1890: vol. 1, 528-9) presents examples of letters written by Angolan sobas (local chieftans), which combine a flowery diplomatic phraseology with occasional lapses of proper grammatical construction (e.g. vol 1, pp. 528-9):

Recibi pelo seu portador José, uma peça de chita, uma dita de riscado, um barril de porvora que me mandou, mas isto por lhe informar das ordens que eu publique pois, tenho a dizer ao sr. major, que ordenei que publiquei não é porque desgostei com viagem que a su Senhora Rei de Sua Magestade lhe encarrega marchar e porque a chigada do sr. Capitão não o tratei mal, nem elle, mas havia começo de aver descuplas do ourobo, por parte da minha gente e como vi que ha muita gente com cargas é por isso, dei ordem da minha gente a não ir no acampamento porque no muita confusão é por onde tem havido do ourobo e não para não os vender de comer como falei-lhes vieçe na senzalla a comprar ...

This is obviously not pidgin Portuguese, but rather an overly ornate and artificial written style, with malapropisms and occasional lapses of the sort that are committed even by native speakers without extensive experience in this form of written expression. A brief example of spoken Portuguese as used by a native Angolan is (v. 2, p. 569): 'E porque não faz Muene Puto [i.e. the leader of Portugal] o mesmo que estão fazendo os Inguerezes?' Another phrase (v. 4, p. 17) is 'Quem me acode.' Sarmiento (1880), travelling in Angola in 1856, normally had to rely on local African languages to communicate with native Angolans. On one occasion, however, his party came upon a polyglot African, who claimed to speak 'ingrezo, francezo, e língua de branco' (p. 143). When queried as to the nature of the latter language, the Angolan responded 'potrugezo.'

4.5. Describing the situation at the turn of the 20th century-- Ferreira Pinto (1926: 481-2) declared optimistically--and unrealistically--that 'A obra de educação ou civilização dos nativos é velha em Angola, e por isso mesmo muito superior à realizada nos últimos anos nas colónias vizinhas ... a língua portuguesa está espalhada por tôda a colónia e ultrapassa a fronteira por todos os lados ...' Taken at face value, this statement is patently false, since at no point in the colonial or postcolonial history of Angola was fluency in the Portuguese language the domain of more than a small urban elite. Inland areas removed from contact with coastal urban centers never spoke Portuguese, but rather gravitated towards the use of African lingua francas, especially KiMbundu and in the extreme north, KiKongo. Only in the sense of a rudimentary pidgin, which by the turn of the 20th century was no longer associated with the slave trade, could knowledge of 'Portuguese' be assumed for 'todos os lados' in Angola.

Describing a voyage to Angola in 1912, Vidal (1916) gives several brief snatches of Africans' use of Portuguese in Angola:

Quando vorta do Mussuco, recebe canvinza, canvinzola, chapau, panno boa ... branco rrôbô! (p. 19)

Lunda ... é libata que já não está gente ... que gente está fugiu para outra mais terra (p. 232)

Senhor, já ter estado eschola aqui, agora já não estar mais aqui eschola, já eschola n'outra parte (p. 426)

At the same time, Cardoso (1914: 29) gave the brief sentence 'Sior, ser mesmo como mussorongo!', while indicating that most Angolans he met did not speak Portuguese at all.

4.6. Mattos e Silva (1904) described the language and customs of the natives of Cabinda at the turn of the 20th century. He includes an extensive glossary of Portuguese terms borrowed into Cabinda, which exhibit many of the phonetic deformations characteristic of Afro-Portuguese pidgin throughout Bantu-speaking Africa. He also gives an explicit description of the difficulties experienced by Africans in Cabinda when attempting to speak Portuguese (214):

Nota se que os cabindas teem grande difficuldade em pronunciar palavras muito compridas e ainda mais o r quando seguido d'outra consoante, de que não me recordo d'exemplo na su língua, muito farta em vogaes. D'esta difficuldade resulta que elles vão alterando bastante, e ás vezes por graus successivos, as palavras portuguezas que empregam, transformando-as pouco (de palavra fazem paláverá), ou de modo tal que, quem não estiver habituado, sobretudo não sendo portuguez, não distingue facilmente a origem do termo que ouve. Assim se foi transformando o nome da nossa patria, e, pelos ensaios repetidos que fiz exercer a varios pretos, julgo poder dizer que a transformação foi sucesiva e feita por estes graus, pelo menos: Púlútugare, Pútugare > Puto.

He also gives imitations of Cabindans' attempts at speaking Portuguese:

mas, siou, púlequé Maniputo da licença tanto baranco do mato venha no costa? gentes d'ère non chega pâla têle aqui? Ere manda vóretale esse gentes mau no téla d'êres, non da licença mais pâle êres vile outro viage: plêto todo, uji cabinda, uji mussorôngo, amigo, está quieto, guéla nan tem, tanto gente non plecisa cá, castigo já chega (p. 225)  
Oh! Pipa tem muita força, peso está muito, pipa não quer andar ... (340)

Speaking specifically of Cabindans' difficulties with the /l/-/r/ distinction (337-8), Mattos e Silva states:

Quando fallam portuguez alteram muito o som d'estas letras: nos cassos em que usâmos r forte (ou dobrado ou inicial), substituem-no por l; quando o som é fraco,

algumas vezes, embora raras, dão-lhe o som forte, e isso especialmente quando alguma palavra da sua lingua se aproxima tanto d'alguma nossa que poderia dar confusão se não fizessem aquella modificação; mas se o r precede, ou se segue immediatamente a uma consoante, collocam sempre entre as duas consoantes um e mudo. Nas nossas palavras terminadas em l precedido de vogal (quer fallando portuguez quer apropriando-se já do nosso termo mais ou menos modificado a seu modo), substituem aquella letra por r fraco seguido do e mudo; nos mesmos casos, mas sendo o l uma das letras medianas da palavra, tambem o substituem por r fraco. E vulgar pronunciarem o r forte quando nós usamos do l, ás vezes até tornando inicial a syllaba começada por esta letra, embora ella o não seja na palavra portugueza; exemplo: hollandez randázo; tambem substituem por r fraco o l das linguas europeias outras vezes (exemplo no inglez gallon que dizem garon); em ambos os casos d'estas alterações só o uso as faz conhecer, não descobrei regra ... fallando a sua lingua, este preto emprega frequentissimamente a consoante l e excepcionalmente o r; mesmo quando usa este, é sempre brando ...

This text also contains numerous examples of the modification of individual Portuguese words, including kapazo < capaz, garánde < grande, balile < barril, chiou < senhor, etc. These observations are of particular interest since they document pidginized Portuguese in contact with a Bantu language which has received little attention in the context of Afro-Iberian linguistics. Cabinda was a key area of the Portuguese Congo, and was originally a part of a geographically continuous colony, before being stranded from Angola by the formation of the Belgian Congo. All the modifications observed by Mattos e Silva were found in early Afro-Portuguese texts, and all are found, in some form, in contemporary mussequ Portuguese. (1) Paragogic vowels, introduced to break up onset clusters and closed syllables;

- (2) Neutralization of /r/, /l/ and /rr/;
- (3) Deficient verb conjugation;
- (4) Unstable noun-adjective agreement;
- (5) Unstable use of Portuguese nasal vowels.

4.7. Rocha (1933), in recounting his experiences in Angola during the first decades of the 20th century, gives numerous indications of Africans' speech. The first notice comes (p. 7) in the comment that `... os negros, que falam um portuguez dormente e articulado em sílabas pegajosas ...' This meaningless statement is later supplemented (p. 65) `num portuguez melífluo, de vogais sonoras e langues ...' Specific examples soon follow:

Vais para alí?---pregunto a um moleque de olhos tristes que fita a costa ... [eu] vai no meu terra, siô (82) {this example also demonstrates Europeans' use of tu to adult African strangers, and the latter's respectful replies.

Preto mancho a mim e eu matou com faquinha para êle não matar a mim ... (102)

Nunca mais deu nada! O Pútu esqueceu soba! [eu] Não pode viver assim! [eu] Tem mulher e filhos! ... (112)

Foi no cidade ... [eu] não teve pêna. Mulher há muitas ... Pútu não dá dinheiro meu marido ... (113)

Muito bom. Muito amigo dos preto. (114)

Vossa Excelência não esquece meu pedido. Se Pútu não manda dinheiro ... Pútu está muito longe e soba está velho ... tem 60 anos ... pode morrer sem voltar ilha. (116)

At another point, Rocha lamented (p. 161) that `nem um só dos sobas fala [português]. Um

cipaio negro serve de intérprete.<sup>12</sup>

Burr (1933: 50-51), observed that 'We would carefully dip ... [eggs] in water and, if they sank, pay a palata or parata. The Bantu do not discriminate between l and r, and this is their way of pronouncing prata, the Portuguese for silver ... this confusion between l and r sometimes produced unexpected results. It made the boys' pidgin-Portuguese a little difficult to follow at first ...'

Kopke (1928: 67) demonstrates Africans' confusion of familiar and formal modes of address, when an African addresses an unknown European as 'tens muita presa, branco? espera ...' The same author recorded dôtôro < doutor (161), commenting (p. 162) 'o que seria, dito em outro português, porque isto afinal português é ou, pelo menos, língua de terra de Portugal ...' At one point, an African responds (p. 297) 'preto também ser gente ...' On another occasion, an African says (p. 302) 'Gon dia! Passou oito sê gajo bigáto?', intending to say 'Bom dia! Como passou a noite, seu gajo? Bem, obrigado.'

Dias (1928: (102) gives the following interchange, between a European and an African woman in Angola:

---Então, você não está com pena de ter morto um homem?

Não, [eu] não está. Foi-se a deitar no meu cama ...

---Mas agora vai na Outra-Costa ...

Branco não pode castigar. Branco, quando encontra homem no seu cama, mata mesmo! ... Escusa de prender, patrão. Eu não foge ...

4.8. Costa Junior (1963: 63), in a compilation of travel narratives from the first decades of the 20th century, records native Angolans' adaptation of the Portuguese centinela: 'sentinera àretà! àretà stà!' Ondina (1965: 42) gives a brief fragment as spoken by an indigent Angolan: 'Preto velho não ser mendigo ... preto saber desses poderes mas não ter inteligência. Deus marcar tudo certo.'

Granado (1940), describing the situation in Angola during the 1930's, declared (74-5): A importância do conhecimento das línguas indígenas vai decrescendo dia a dia; assim, por exemplo, em 1877, quando Capelo e Ivens fizeram a sua famosa viagem ... o conhecimento da língua indígena tinha uma importância capital ... por êste motivo, nenhum comerciante ou explorador se aventurava no então chamado sertão, sem conhecer a língua ou sem um bom intérprete. Se dermos um salto de 1877 para 1913, vemos que nesta época a língua indígena ainda tinha muita importância; mas, de lá para cá as coisas transformaram-se muito: realizou-se totalmente a ocupação militar seguindo-se-lhe de perto a total ocupação civil ... cada indígena que aprendia português ia para a sua terra fazer a propaganda da nossa língua, e a tal ponto--gostou--de aprender, que é vulgar chamar-se um criado, não aparecer e ir dar-se com ele, num canto, a estudar sózinho a sua cartilha ... é caso, não menos raro, um preto dizer para outro: tu és um bruto, um selvagem, tu ainda não sabes português. Repito é de maravilhar a tendência do preto para aprender o português e será uma das maiores obras a fazer em Angola aproveitar esta tendência para generalizar o português a tôda a Colónia ...

Granado's optimism was not entirely justified, since even today the Portuguese language is not spoken widely in many rural regions of Angola. He provided a few examples of Angolans' Portuguese, which give evidence of less than total fluency:

Senhor! Eu saber português (76)

Noss Chefe, meu homem estar muito velho, não poder nada ... mesmo nada ... eu estar casada já passa um ano e eu não ter filho na barriga! ... meu homem não poder nada ...

eu não tem filho na barriga! (208)

ó Nosso Chefe, preto tem êste costume, fala, fala, fala, seu palavra, mas não diz nada (209)

no tempo de antigamente, muito antigamente ... eu emprestei uma vaca fêmea ao Calunga para levar como êle, quando ela tivesse filho, era para mim e Para Calunga, ela vai tem dois filhos: um filho fêmea que era meu e um filho macho que era do Calunga, mas Calunga ficou com meu filho fêmea, não quiz dar-mo. Meu filho fêmea, teve outro filho fêmea e aquêle outro tornou a ter mais. Calunga agora nega meus vaca ... eu vem quixar com Nosso Chefe (210)

Nosso Chefe, já passou dois anos, eu casou uma rapariga, paguei meu alambamento -- - dez--coisas certas sem faltar nada. Eu levei mulher na minha casa, nós estar a viver muito bem. Minha mulher apanha filho na barriga ... e nós fica muito contente. Mas, Nosso Chefe, Deus quiere castigar comigo, quando filho está para vai nascer, mulher fica muito doente, outras mulheres vêm ver com ela, ela está a gritar, filho não sai e minha mulher maca ... comigo, êles fala: eu mata seu filho fêmea, eu tem feitiço, eu tem que pagar com êles uma multa. Eu está a pagar, sempre, sempre! Já passa dois anos, eu paga muita coisa, eu não pode arranjar alambamento para casar outra mulher, eu estar cansado de pagar; êles fala: eu estar a pagar, até morrer, eu está com corda na pescoço ... eu vem falar esta palavra para tu tirares corda na minha pescoço. Agora ... quem manda não é feitiçeiro, é Governo: mulher morreu, Deus é que quiz, agora eu vai pagar? Perdi meu mulher, perdi meu alambamento e vai ficar sempre com corda no pescoço? ... Nosso Chefe! tira corda na minha pescoço ... costume déste terra é assim: quando homem casa e a mulher morre quando tem o primeiro filho, êles fala --- homem é quem matou mulher --- e fica tôda a vida a pagar multa ... êles obriga comigo. (211-12)

Nosso Chefe, eu precisa de trigo para semear ... eu quero que tu marcar a minha vala de água ... eu quero para tu me arranjares trabalho ... eu tem dôr na barriga ... (214)

Os bois estão no curral ou cercado, feito de altos paus, ás vezes, não pode entrar lá dentro, outras pode, quando não pode, começa a andar à roda do cercado (215)

Pereira (1947) gives other examples of 20th century Angolan pidgin Portuguese:

na côma, na béba, tem que morer (15)

Pronto, patalão ... si siô ... si siô patalão (240-1)

Galvão (1929) gives further samples of Portuguese as spoken by native Angolans:

Siô é branco que trata bem preto e nosso sargento dá muita pancada ... (69)

Com Republica isto vae muito mal! (86)

Isto com Republica não é tão bom! (87)

And an example of a letter written by an Angolan soba (p. 88):

... Estimarei bastante mente Saudosamente inobri fam.º todas eu, ca bom Sempre Sem vidade. Aqui Lemette lhe a 30\$00 para a grande fineza de mandar me papel ênvelopes! E Peço lhe grande favro dizer me a negocio di cáfe para Sabre o gente para dizer todos daqui ...

Maió (1947), who visited Angola in 1940, gives several glimpses into the language he observed:

Boas tardi! (15)

Não chama bicho, padre. Nós é pessoa (71)

Nós não quer ser o bicho, quer a sicola. E vai pedir na Missão (72)

Boas táli, nosso senhor nosso padre! Eu vais no fortaleza levar este cinco sordado. O senhor Ministrador pediu. Eu vais lá ... Lá isso não há dúvida! Deve ser assim. Mas, quando eu não vais, o senhor Ministrador vai zangar muito (91)

[eu] falas, sim senhor; eu falas muito bem ... [eu] prendeste primeiro na sicola da Missão. Depois foste no sordado, no Ombaka, lá no Benguera ... [eu] já estiveste, já viste. Foi no Benguera, e até no Lobito e até no Moçame e no Luanda. Nem que até no Santomé ... não, padre; não diz essa cousa! Eu não es vijajado; meu nome é Tchingându, e é pessoa (91)

Ah! assim é. E viu muito branco e a casa do branco. Branco é muito rico, muito grande. O preto não presta ... o meu terra é muito. Olha para ali, é meu; olha para ali, é meu. Tudo é o meu terra. Este ardeia do Kahula também é meu. Mesmo os homens daqui veio do Vicungo. O velho estava mal dos rins. Ia morrer mesmo. Aquilo era veneno que o outro lhe deu. Ele morreu mesmo. Por isso veio aqui. E fez aqui este ardeia e agora é o muene ... por isoo veio com a sua gente. Quando não veio, morreste mesmo (92)

[eu] conheces muito bem. E o relógio das horas ... [eu] sabes muito bem (93)

[eu] sabes tudo! ... isso é o rapaz e os mulher. Eu sou o soba: não canta cantiga qualquer ... a Pletuguesa? ... eu sabes muito bem a instrução (95)

então, padre? Não vês como eu sabes toda a instrução? ... eu sabes tudo. Agora vais ensinar (96)

O Padre! Tu bem sabes: eles não fazem o que a gente manda. O preto é assim. O pai manda: vai na sicola! E ele vai no mato à caça e à fruta ... Padre, não zanga! ... Agora vai tudo na sicola. Quando não vai, mete na corda! (120)

Para o senhor padre não presta, mas eu sabe muito bem ... Padre nos quer aprender falar português bem mesmo como o branco (154)

Sim, Padre! Nós vai já mesmo! (183)

Other brief examples of pidginized Angolan Portuguese come from Dias (1926):

Aquele siô é um condenado (30)

Força vai mal. Guia vai atraçoar nosso capitão. (60)

Patrão está a fazer pouco (65)

plonto ... tá loente ... está morreu (68-9)

Não, eu não sabe, senhor (79)

Se o senhor quer, nós vai no mato e mata logo caça ... é muito mais melhor eu vai com o senhor ... (81)

4.9. César (1962) described Angola at the beginning of the anti-colonial struggle, as late as 1961. He gives a brief account of the speech of an African servant:

Patrão! Paulo é um preto bom. Paulo é amigo do patrão e da sinhora. Paulo é amigo dos amigo do patrão ... Patrão! O sinhô dôtori veio do Lisboa, não é? ... Sinhô dôtori: no Lisboa não mata gente, não? ... eu posso ir no Lisboa, pra trabalhar no Lisboa? ... e no Lisboa posso ir no mar e tomar no banho?! ... Sabe sinhô dôtori, eu gosta muita de patrão e de sinhora ... mas não gosta nada dos preto mau lá de cima. Nós somo todos preto. Mas eu sou bom. Eu sou bailundo bom. Qualquer dia eles matam mim ou matam patrão ou matam sinhora. E eu quero ir no Lisboa porque eu não quero morrer. E no Lisboa posso namorar, não é, dôtori? ... Mas eu posso ir mesmo no Lisboa e ninguém faz mal a Paulo? ... do meu dinheiro vai comprar todas semana

lotaria. Eu quero ter dinheiro para ir no Lisboa. Lá ninguém faz mal a Paulo. Diz o sinhô dôroti. Não esqueça, patrão ... Vou guardari, sinhô dôtori: é pra ir no Lisboa, pra bilhete di lotaria.

This author took a condescending approach to the pretos, since he was describing Africans' resentment against European exploitation from the standpoint of the bewildered European patrão, who could not understand the 'ingratitude' of the native population towards the 'civilizing' mission of the Portuguese. Nonetheless, this text is consistent with objective observations of the Africanized Portuguese spoken in Luanda and other urban areas, for example by the pro-African writer José Luandino Vieira. The servant Paulo speaks reasonably fluent Portuguese, far exceeding the rough pidgin found throughout the bush. Even so, there are some verbs which take the third person singular as a default invariant form, disjunctive object pronouns are used instead of clitics (in this sense, similar to vernacular Brazilian usage--in which African influence has also been claimed), several articles are omitted, plural /s/ is marked only on the first element of plural noun phrases, some final consonants are lost, and there is some retention of paragogic vowels (e.g. dôtori < doutor), a phenomenon which was much more frequent in earlier Afro-Portuguese pidgin, and which is characteristic of the creoles of São Tomé (Ferraz 1979) and Príncipe (Günther 1973).

## 5. Characteristics of contemporary musseque Portuguese

5.1. In addition to the preceding glimpses of Angolan Portuguese, provided by travellers' narratives, military reports, exploration teams, and the like, there is a rich body of contemporary Angolan literature which reflects the popular Portuguese as used in the musseques or urban neighborhoods of Luanda. Since all the works in question are written by Angolans (black and white) committed to the betterment of the Angolan people, there is no reason to doubt the overall veracity of the treatments, although specific details may not always be accurate. Writers such as Uanhenga Xitu, Luandino Vieira, Viriato da Cruz, Castro Soromenho, Oscar Ribas, Mario Varela Soares, Lília da Fonseca, Rebello de Andrade, Cochat Osório, Eduardo Teófilo, Garibaldino de Andrade, Mariza Ryder, and many others have chronicled the speech of urban Angola; Endruschat (1990) offers a detailed linguistic analysis of many of these texts. The speech of the musseques of contemporary Angola exhibits many of the characteristics associated with second-language varieties of Portuguese, documented in the earlier observations, as well as sharing some features with established creoles. Many of the linguistic features are also found in Golden Age língua de preto, which adds a measure of credibility to the literary representation of earlier Afro-Iberian languages. Although musseque Portuguese is a second language for most of its speakers, whose proficiency in Portuguese varies widely, there are a number of recurring traits which lend credence to the notion of a distinctive Angolan form of partially pidginized Portuguese. These features will be briefly surveyed.

5.2. There is a tendency for verbs to be conjugated in the third person singular as an invariant default. This form frequently provided the basis for creole verbs. In contemporary Brazil, vernacular Portuguese, particularly in areas where the African influence was once heavy, also tends toward the use of third person singular forms. In Brazil, this usage is almost never extended to the first person singular (one never hears \*eu vai), but it is found in the first person plural (nós é, etc.). In Angola, all members of the verbal paradigm can potentially be replaced by the third person singular, although this process is variable for most speakers. Very frequently, this usage is also extended to the preterite, a characteristic which was scarcely noted in earlier literary documents, although it probably occurred. In Brazil, paradigmatic levelling in favor of the third person singular is less common in the preterite, perhaps



because of the greater difference among members of the preterite paradigm, and the fact that accent falls on the desinence rather than on the stem. Some literary examples of contemporary musseque Portuguese are:

Eu falou cavidia e berzundas ... (21) {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}

Tu vai trocar um rapaz da tua sanzalà com um mutambi a mbiji? (150) {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}

Os home já amarrou. {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (mafuta) (1979)}

Hoje os tempo tá mudado ... {Viriato da Cruz, "Makèzu" (Ferreira 1976: 164-5)}

Falta os home. {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Todos vai pràs mina ... {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Tu ouviu, branco, sua boca? (108) {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

[eu] sabe não. {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Tu vai pra festa? (166) {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Sim, eu namorô, mas já dexô muito tempo. {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}

Num conhece [eu] esse nome! {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}

Os tropa vai no mato e negro fica sòzinho. {Mario Varela Soares, A inutilidade da memória (1976)}

Eu não falou que vou entrar. {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (Mafuta) (1979)}

[eu] não sabe, patrão (44) {Lília da Fonseca, "Romance da ama negra" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu vai no futebol! (123) {Rebello de Andrade, "Encosta a cabecinha e chora" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu tem medo, Domingas ... mamae vai ficar doente co tristeza {Rebello de Andrade, "Encosta a cabecinha e chora" (Andrade 1976)}

Os minino já tá no vapor. {Cochar Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

E nessa hora eles percebe ou num percebe, tá ver {Cochar Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Não, eu é homem já, Soba. {Eduardo Teófilo, "O contrato" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu vai no Contrato, Fauma. Eu vai na terra dos branco, ganhar muito dinheiro. Eu é homem, Fatuma. Depois, eu vem buscar a ti, queres? {Eduardo Teófilo, "O contrato" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu já falou, senhor Alvaro. E eu vai na Hmpata comprar (227) {Garibaldino de Andrade, "Ao pôr do sol" (Andrade 1976)}

Essa era minina, quando eu a conheceu e seus parentes obrigaram. {Mariza Ryder, Bixila Kiambote (1979)}

Eu compra maples. Minha mulé vem vir para comprar cómoda. {"A noiva de palmito!" (Ryder 1979)}

5.3. A common strategy is the use of the subject pronoun você with the verbal forms corresponding to tu. The Accompanying clitic pronoun is usually te. There are several possible explanations for this usage, which goes beyond a simple analogical levelling of the verbal paradigm. Unlike in most of Brazil, where tu is rarely used and where você is the familiar pronoun, African Portuguese uses você as a more formal pronoun (Silva-Brummel 1984). It was common during the Portuguese colonial period for Europeans to address Africans with the tu forms. Africans in turn were expected to address Europeans (except perhaps the very lowest working class whites) as você or even more deferential terms. Failure to do so did not usually meet with open disapproval, however, but was

simply taken as yet another indication of Africans' abilities to speak European languages 'correctly.' One example, from among many that might be given, comes from Teixeira (1933: 150), describing a visit to Angola early in the 20th century. An unknown adult African approached the writer (from Portugal), inquiring "O senhor é que tirou ontem a fotografia com o "muquije"?", to which the author replied "Mas quem és tu?" The frequent use of tu forms by Europeans (often without accompanying subject pronouns, as befits a null subject language such as Portuguese), combined with the unofficially prescribed use of você as a term of address from blacks to whites, contributed to the frequent use of você plus second person singular verb forms in vernacular Angolan Portuguese. As an occasional variant, the same interlocutor may be successively addressed as tu and você in the same conversation, with concomitant confusion of the verbal endings. An almost identical usage has been observed in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 1985), for basically the same reasons. This morphologically anomalous use is a leftover of asymmetrical colonial linguistic interactions. Literary examples in musseque Portuguese include:

- Mas você sabes porque o teu pai não gosta do Mbenza? (153) {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}
- Se você queres eu vou lá te ensinar ainda ... (15) {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}
- Quando você vai ter dezasseis anos, já sabe, minha filna! Sô Tonho te quer na cama dele. Prometeu na tua felicidade! Juízo, menina! Um bom branco, como ele, te pode dar mesmo casamento! (18) {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}
- Kangatu, você vejas lá! Cuidado! Nesses dias o perigo, você sabe só ... quando você chega lá, espera no dongo. {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}
- Cala-te a boca, Xanxo. Você já não respeitas mais-velho? ... No resto, você és un enxó! (24) {Luandino Vieira, Velhas estórias (1974)}
- Cala-te a boca, Pirulito! Você hoje estás saliente. {Luandino Vieira, Velhas estórias (1974)}
- Oia lá, ó Joaquim ... você não namoraste um lparica cmahado Joana? {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}
- ó amico! Você como passaste? ... Antão é você? Quando chegaste? ... ó amico, você não tiraste o chapéu? {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}
- Minha muiê Catarina eu chegou mas num sabi si voce estas com saude aqui o chuva custuma chover muito cate fage um peçoa fica com medo di chuva: voce não esqueesse falares Antonio eu ja lanjou os cueisas dela ola onte poz uma sonho. {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}
- Você tens a carta? Mostra ainda (116) {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}
- ó amico Sabastião, você estás aí? ... Oia Sabastião, você me discurpa. {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}
- Não sei, quando cheguei na porta só vi dar mão e você ficaste calado. {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (Mafuta) (1979)}
- Ai, Titino, você viste, jura ainda? {Jofre Rocha, Estórias do musseque (1977)}
- Eu sou velha e você? Olha inda velho Bernardo camabuim, você mastigas como é? {Boaventura Cardoso, Dizanga dia muenhu (1977)}
- Se você quer, você vai. Tenho de lhe esperar mesno. Melhor você dizes naquele homem se mano Xico chega, a gente está lhe esperar na muralha. {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Eu sei você conheces bem Silvestre. Esse engenheiro te dá muita confiança, eu te posso contar ... {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Então, você, menino, não tens mas é vergonha? Ontem não te disse dinheiro 'cabou? Não disse para o menino aceitar serviço mesmo de criado? Não lhe avisei? ... {José Luandino Vieira; Luuanda (1982)}

Você esqueceste o sábado? Aquilo que disseste? Para quê você está se zangar ... e depois, você sabe, você viu no baile ... {José Luandino Vieira; Luuanda (1982)}

5.4. Angolan Portuguese, following continental models, typically uses the construction estar a + INFINITIVE to express progressive meaning. It has sometimes been suggested (e.g. Lopes da Silva 1957: 139; Valkhoff 1966: 107; Lenz 1928: 120; Birmingham 1970: 143) that in Portuguese-based creoles, expressions of the type ta flâ come from the (Peninsular) Portuguese construction estar a falar "to be speaking," or, by using a bit more imagination, from the true progressive construction estar falando. The reduction of forms of estar to sta or ta is documented from the earliest stages of Spanish and Portuguese, but the construction estar a V<sub>inf</sub> is a more recent development in Peninsular Portuguese, not surfacing in written attestations until the 19th century, and still very rarely found in Brazilian Portuguese. The progressive construction with the gerund continues to appear in Peninsular Portuguese until well into the 20th century, whereas the construction with estar + infinitive does not make its appearance in literary texts until towards the middle of the 19th century. Such writers as Eça de Queiroz used both types of constructions indiscriminately, but the Peninsular constructions have made little headway in Brazil, or, apparently, even in Portuguese-speaking areas of Africa.<sup>3</sup>

In Angolan musseque Portuguese, the preposition a is normally lost in progressive constructions. When this is combined with the usual erosion of the first syllable of estar in popular speech, and the frequent use of the third person singular (es)tá as invariant form of the verb for all subjects, there emerges a construction which is similar or identical to true creole verbs of the form ta + V<sub>inf</sub> found in most Ibero-Romance based creoles (e.g. in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Papiamento, Palenquero, Philippine Creole Spanish, Malaccan Papia Kristang, Macau creole Portuguese, and Portuguese-based creoles in India and Sri Lanka). Literary examples include:

Mas tá passá gente perto {Viriato da Cruz, "Makèzu" (Ferreira 1976: 164-5)}

O porícia tá vir! (129) {Rebello de Andrade, "Encosta a cabecinha e chora" (Andrade 1976)}

Dominga tá ver eles ... E Dominga num tá querêr... E Dominga num tá repará nesses confusão todo ... Que vucê tá fazer? ... Ma Dominga tá ficar co medo ... {Cochat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Dominga num percebe. Dominga num pode. E tá chorá mêmo ... Os óio é que tá querê chorar, ma Dominga num quere ... E Dominga tá pensá que Tonica vai cantar é no rádio ... E esses branco que tá passar num le percebe {Cochat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

parece é tá dormir ainda ... (78) {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Unlike in true creoles, the occurrence of ta + V<sub>inf</sub> in Angolan musseque Portuguese is not a consistent phenomenon, but rather the extreme case in a variable process of unstable verb conjugation and phonological erosion. The data are useful, however, in providing a possible model for the development of creole verb forms in earlier periods.

5.5. Noun-adjective agreement is unstable and variable in musseque Portuguese, particularly as

regards the plural inflexion. The most common deviance from prescribed Portuguese usage is the combination of plural article or other determiner plus singular noun. This same combination is found in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (often collectively known as caipira dialects), and at the popular level, plural nouns phrases in which the plural morpheme /s/ appears only on the first element has become a standard configuration (cf. Amaral 1955, Azevedo 1984, Guy 1981, Jeroslow 1974, Megenny 1989, Rodrigues 1974, Sarró López 1988). Similar phenomena of /s/-loss have been noted in vestigial Afro-Hispanic enclaves in several regions of Latin America. The Africanized Spanish of Equatorial Guinea occasionally provides a similar pattern (Lipski 1985), although not with the same degree of consistency found in vernacular Brazilian and Angolan musseque Portuguese. Literary examples of the latter include:

Porque ele disse trazer os home lá quando venha na sanzala. Como é vocês quer bater nos home? (123) {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (mafuta) (1979)}

Hoje os tempo tá mudado ... {Viriato da Cruz, "Makèzu" (Ferreira 1976: 164-5)}

Não sabi os ano ... Os minino que só cagar, cagar todo o dia! ... e dinheiro pr'aviar esses milongo? ... {Maria Eugénia Lima, "Madalena" (Ferreira 1976: 330-1)}

Falta os home ... Todos vai pràs mina ... Muitos morre nas mina ... Feticeiro dos guerra ... os home tá servage ... é os selvage, é porco ... Nem fez dois mês ... Pode levá eles nas mina ... {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Os conversa num é bom? ... Juaquim não esquece dar os comprementu nos outros pessoa qi me pregonta ... {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}

Os tropa vai no mato e negro fica sôzinho {Mario Varela Soares, A inutilidade da memória (1976)}

Não, a "partida" faz quando eles todos encher já as sanga {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (Mafuta) (1979)}

Quanto custa os biriete, ó pá? {Rebello de Andrade, "Encosta a cabecinha e chora" (Andrade 1976)}

Os minino já tá no vapor ... Dominga rumou cos coisa desses minino ... Cos home que tá raiá nesses negro que ruma os saco ... Dominga, me deixa levá os minino no Puto ... só Dominga que les percebe e panha esses voz nos confusão ... E os minino vai mbora ... {Chchat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu vai na terra dos branco, ganhar muito dinheiro {Eduardo Teófilo, "O contrato" (Andrade 1976)}

Como a gente, a Quianda tamém tem as terra dela, tamém tem os lugar onde ela manda ... Cinc'ostonje não é dinheiro, maje é dinheiro! ... é os home que está robar as criança na sanzala! {Oscar Ribas, Quilanduquilo (1973)}

Even in musseque Portuguese, the variable signalling of plural in noun phrases is not a consistent phenomenon. Many speakers fully pluralize all applicable elements, while others rarely do so. Available data suggest that vernacular Brazilian Portuguese may be more consistent than Angolan Portuguese as regards the signalling of plurality only on the determiner of NPs.

5.6. Most varieties of Portuguese are noted for non-inversion of subject and verb in questions containing interrogative words (e.g. o quê você quer?). Non-inverted questions are also found in Ibero-Romance based creoles, including Papiamentu, Palenquero, Afro-Lusitanian creoles, and Spanish- and Portuguese-based creoles in Asia. Non-inverted questions are also found in the Canary Islands, where they may reflect a Galician/Portuguese linguistic influence. In Caribbean Spanish, the high frequency of non-inverted subjects in questions has at times been attributed to a possible Afro-Hispanic pidgin or creole substrate, to the influence of English, and to the large number of Canary Islanders who arrived in

the Spanish Caribbean during the colonial period.

Angolan musseque Portuguese not only continues the Portuguese use of non-inverted questions, but as a frequent alternative, employs in situ questions, in which there has been no WH-movement. This is a completely non-Portuguese construction, which is also not found in Afro-Iberian creoles. Literary examples include:

Xé, miudos de merda, seus sacanas! Está a chatiar mais velho porquê? {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}

O quê você pensa a sua idade serve para quê? {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}

Onde foi na escola? Escola siô Bio duro quê? {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Mas si entrar eu só do carnaval, faz quê? ... Quando você vorta em casa? ... Não tem dia. Amanha você vai onde ... você no Salakata vai com quem? {Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (Mafuta) (1979)}

Olha inda velho Bernardo camabuim, você mastigas como é? ... Tem ainda muito tempo que vais vivê, julgas quê? ... Patrício era quê? ... Socialismo é quê então? {Boaventura Cardoso, Dizanga dia muenhu (1977)}

Mas então saiu pra donde? ... Lhe levaram porquê então? ... Mas teu homem foi preso por quem? {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Comi o quê então? ... Vavó, vamos comer é o quê? ... Está onde, então? ... Tem é o quê? ... {Vieira, Luuanda (1982)}

Ele mesmo fazia o quê? ... Vão ficar como? ... se a gente está ocupar a terra dela, ô memo passar no lugar onde ela está, então ela não cobra por quê? {Oscar Ribas, Quilanduquilo (1973)}

In situ questions are sometimes found in Kimbundu, although they are not the rule in this language. Their presence in musseque Portuguese is more than a simple substratum transfer, although a Kimbundu contribution is undeniable. The occasional appearance of in situ questions in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Rossi 1993) provides yet another glimpse into possible Kimbundu/Afro-Portuguese pidgin contributions during the colonial period.

5.7. Angolan musseque Portuguese, as most other second-language varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, frequently drops many prepositions. Other prepositions are used in fashions which deviate from prescribed usage. Literary examples include:

Kuzela, dá castanha que escondeu ai nas pernas! ... Final venha aqui com puto de roubar!? ... Recibi o dinheiro para o tabaco que ele mandou na mamã ... o mamã foi na casa de pai dele fazer ver isso ... Mas tu quer ir mesmo com aquele rapaz de Mutamba? ... Eu não durmo, todos os dias andar só pensar no você ... {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}

No doutori branco, que vai fazê sinhora? ... O homem vortou em casa {Maria Eugénia Lima, "Madalena" (Ferreira 1976: 330-1)}

Prometeu na tua felicidade! ... {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}

Palmatória do branco das mina partiu cara ele ... Tu vai pôr igual a mim, eu sei ... Não vai ficar mulato como os outro, que não quer mais da mae dele, só fala no branco, ficando igual ao branco ... Onde foi na escola? Escola siô Bio duro quê?... Pai fala português bocadinho só na veranda ... Branco não fala pedrinha, faz medo grande para ele, chama ele de feijão branco. Padrim tava dizendo pra sor Bio feijão branco é fogo ... {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Mas diga ainda: o que é que aquelas piquénas andavam rir? ... Mas você quer mesmo

da piquéna? ... Eu não falou que vou entrar. Mas si entrar eu só do carnaval, faz quê?  
{Uanhenga Xitu, Maka na sanzala (Mafuta) (1979)}

Negra safada! Atão vucê leva o minino no quimbanda e eu mandou no dõtôr? {Cochat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Melhor você dizes naquele homem se mano Xico chega, a gente está lhe esperar na muralha ... Domingos não fazia mal em ninguém. Lhe levaram porquê então? {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

None of the discrepancies is systematic; many Angolans use Portuguese prepositions according to European norms, while others extend the use of certain prepositions, particularly em/no and de.

5.8. One of the key features of musseque Portuguese is the use of double negation. In Latin American Spanish, double negation is found in several Afro-Hispanic enclaves, particularly in the Dominican Republic and the Colombian Chocó. Several researchers have suggested that an African contribution may be at work here, much as in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese. This pattern can be traced to Bantu languages, particularly Kimbundu and KiKongo, where a combination of an (invariable) preposed negative element and an often variable postverbal negative element are used. In the Chocó, an African basis for double negation is quite plausible, particularly given the proximity of the Palenque de San Basilio and the earlier existence of other escaped slave communities, in which creolized language developed. The same could be said for Brazil, where thousands of Africans were sent from Portuguese Angola directly to Brazil. Unlike in other Latin American regions where slaves came from a wide variety of African regions, Brazil received a much heavier concentration of Kimbundu and KiKongo speakers prior to the 19th century (when importation of Yoruba- and Ewe-speaking slaves became the major trend). Although it is generally felt that in Portuguese, double negation (or simple postposed não) is found only in Brazil, it is in fact found in vernacular Portuguese as spoken in the musseques or working class neighborhoods of Luanda, Angola, among native speakers of Kimbundu and occasionally KiKongo; this provides support for a Bantu origin of Brazilian Portuguese double negation. However, comparative data on Afro-Hispanic language from elsewhere in Latin America cast doubt on the notion that double or postposed negation was once the norm for a wider cross-section of Afro-Hispanic speech. Among the extensive documentation of Afro-Hispanic bozal speech in 19th century Peru, Argentina, and Uruguay, there is not a single attestation of double or postposed negation, despite the fact that the Bantu substrate was particularly strong in the Rio Plata area. In fact, the only other Latin American region where double negation was attested in Afro-Hispanic language is 19th century Cuba, where several bozal texts representing the 19th and early 20th centuries present such patterns.

Double negation is frequently represented in literary representations of Angola musseque Portuguese. Typical examples include:

Não se vê, não! {Marcelo Veiga, "O batuque" (Ferreira 1976: 459-60)}

Tem home não volta mais não... Não volta não ... Branca tem olho azul não fica tempo sem home não ... no guerra tá morto, não levanta não ... [eu] não sabe não ... terra não come tudo não, fica podre mesmo ... Cheiro tá na terra, não sai mais não ... Não precisa falar mais não. Tu vai pôr igual a mim, eu sei. Só que Serafim não deixa não ... Serafim não vai ficar branco não ... Olhe aqui, branco, botar filho dentro não custa não ... Homem não sabe isso não ... Não tá lá não ... [eu] sabe não ... Sior administrador falou ninguém falta não ... tempo não chega não ... custa não. Só a gente não lembra ... manhã faz ... Zefa ta vomdp lá ... comer não, padrim ... Não passa nada não ... Matumbo não vê nada não ... Loja da Companhia não é brincadeira não ... não tá contente não ... Isso de almirante eu não sei qu'é não ... Boniteza como não vi não ...

Tá sofrendo lá, não sai não, só morto ... Mais eu não vi não ... Não é isso não ... Seu Cardoso não fala nada não, só grita ... Não sai não ... não vi ela não ... família não zanga não ... Não saiu mais não ... Mentira não tem cubata na minha boca não ... Mulato não pode ficar branco não ... Branco não gosta mulato não ... Igual é qu'ê ... sei não ... Severino, tu não tem vergonha na tua cara não ... Não quero não ... Não chama ele não ... Juro, juro não queria não ... não chora não ... não faz não ... não olha assim não ... {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Não vamos ainda, não ... {Luandino Vieira, Velhas estórias (1974)}

num pode, não ... Num é mais negra de sanzala, não ... Num tá piruca, não! {Cochat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Eu não é miúdo, não ... Não vai fazer mal, não ... {Eduardo Teófilo, "O contrato" (Andrade 1976)}

Não deve tanto, não ... Não agradece, não, porque cubata é casa que preto gosta ... Minha terra é pobe, não é Luanda, não ... Tem de dar oitocentos angolares pra papéis ao secretário que padrinhos não paga não ... {Mariza Ryder, Bixila Kiambote (1979) "As duas mulheres do servente Zau"}

Não compra, não {"A noiva de palmito!" (Ryder 1979)}

Não é como os outros, não {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Não é magia, não! {Vieira, Luuanda (1982)}

Muralha (1925, vol. 1: 38) gives an example from São Tomé, in which an apparent native speaker of Portuguese uses double negation when speaking to an African:

Tu vais imediatamente para a roça, ouviste?

O patrão castiga-me.

Não te castiga, não. Eu escrevo-lhe uma carta recomendando que te não castigue.

Ele não se importa com a carta. Ele castiga-me.

5.9. Musseque Portuguese frequently eliminates definite and indefinite articles, in situations where they would be required in continental Portuguese. In this respect, musseque usage is similar to vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, yet another bit of evidence in support of an Afro-Portuguese pidgin component in the development of popular Brazilian speech. Literary examples from musseque Portuguese include:

Está a chatiar mais velho porquê? Pessoa pergunta-pergunta mais e não engula "cuspe", tundam [saiam] daqui! ... Está bem, perguntar também tem hora ... Kuzela, dá castanha que escondeu ai nas pernas! ... Final venha aqui com puto de roubar!?! ... {Uanhenga Xitu: "Mestre" Tamoda e outros contos (1977)}

Qui vai fazê doutori branco ... Qui vai fazê sinhôra? ... {Maria Eugénia Lima "Madalena" (Ferreira 1976: 330-1)}

Menina de vinte anos parece é uma acabada {José Luandino Vieira, Vidas novas (1985)}

Palmatória do branco das mina partiu cara ele ... Quimbanda branco arranjou. Só ficou torto. Falta dente ... Branco não come gente ... Mulato puxa prò branco ... Serafim não vai ficar branco não ... Fez cousa grande? ... Homem não sabe isso não ... Escola siô Bio duro quê? ... Pai sabe, mulher não anda, fica só na cadeira, comendo, barriga cresce, rabo também, mama também ... Pai espera só cinza fecha buraco ... Noite mesmo preta. Sorte é só minha orelha de cachorro ouvindo ... Com mae a gente fala

nossa lingua que tu não sabe ... Qu'é que branco fala olhando tua cara? ... {Castro Soromenho, A chaga (1979)}

Você já não respeitas mais-velho? ... Patrão sempre não tem inteligência, tem mando só, rapaz! ... Barriga cresce, você és corrida, vais ver só! ... Filho é nosso ... {Luandino Vieira, Velhas estórias (1974)}

copatre está co loente? ... Coração está pesado! ... coração fica triste cando tem carta e num pôdi rer! ... {Oscar Ribas, Uanga: feitiço (1969)}

Minino precisa ter mãe portante; minino precisa é ter orgúio ... {Cochat Osório, "Aiué" (Andrade 1976)}

Não agradece, não, porque cubata é casa que preto gosta {Mariza Ryder, Bixila Kiambote (1979)}

Amigo não tem segredos ... {José Luandino Vieira, A vida verdadeira de Domingos Xavier (1980)}

Agora pessoa de família é cão, não é? ... Fome é muita, vavó! ... {José Luandino Vieira, Luuanda (1982)}

Quanto custa bilhete? ... {Oscar Ribas, Quilanduquilo (1973)}

5.10 Mussequ Portuguese contains a number of phonetic deviations from European Portuguese, only a few of which are usually represented in literary depictions. As with other African regions where a European language is spoken non-natively and with varying degrees of fluency by the native population, Angolan Portuguese is not characterized by a single phonotactic pattern, but rather by a continuum of phonological variation, from a rudimentary pidgin with essentially Bantu phonotactics to an exact replica of European pronunciation. In fact, one of the most noteworthy phonetic traits of Angolan Portuguese is not represented in contemporary writing at all. This is the occlusive pronunciation of intervocalic /d/, and its frequent shortening to an alveolar flap [r]. The same phenomenon is found in African varieties of Portuguese (Lipski 1985), and was part of Afro-Portuguese language from the very beginning. Literary representations of Africanized Portuguese beginning at the turn of the 16th century make frequent reference to this phenomenon, as shown above.

5.11. Interchange of /l/ and /r/ is not as frequent in contemporary Angolan Portuguese as it once was in early Afro-Portuguese pidgin, perhaps due to the greater presence of standardized varieties of Portuguese in those areas of Angola where Portuguese is used at all (typically the urban regions). More common among recorded examples is the change /l/ > [r], although in earlier Afro-Iberian texts, the opposite texts was far more common (Lipski a). The shift /r/ > [l] is also found in São Tomé creole, which contains a heavy influence of Bantu languages from the Angola/Congo region. Examples of the interchange of liquids in Angolan mussequ Portuguese are:

angorar < angolar; biriete < bilhete; aquera < aquela; aqueres < aqueles; cara < cala;  
 civirização < civilização; corégio < colégio; vortar, vorta, etc. < voltar; chalutu <  
 charuto; dera < dela; dere < dele; discurpa < desculpa; disinvorveu < desenvolveu; ere  
 < ele; fara < fala; farar < falar; fericidade < felicidade; futebol < futebol; iguar < igual;  
 laparica < rapariga; moleu < morreu; palece < parece; porícia < polícia; purseira <  
 pulseira; quarter < cuartel; risorveu < resolveu; sarvar < salvar; tarvêji < tal vez;  
 terefonia < telefone.

These sporadic examples can be compared with earlier texts purporting to represent the speech of Africans in Portugal, or in Portuguese-held territories in Africa (Martins 1958a, 1958b). The interchange of /l/ and /r/, rare in the first Afro-Portuguese texts (e.g. in the Cancioneiro geral of Garcia de Resende, from Gil Vicente, Antonio de Chiado, etc.), reached a high point in the 17th century.



## 6. Possible vestigial KiKongo influences in musseque Portuguese

6.1. In general, the grammatical and phonetic patterns found in contemporary musseque Portuguese reflect the basic syntactic configurations of KiMbundu, the principal substrate language, as well as exhibiting the basic instability and simplification common to all second-language varieties of Portuguese. In a few instances, however, modern Angolan Portuguese as used in the musseques exhibits constructions which cannot be as easily traced to KiMbundu, but which appear instead to come from KiKongo, the principal language of the former Portuguese Congo and the scene of the first stable Afro-Portuguese linguistic contacts. The most obvious case is double negation, a striking departure from continental Portuguese norms. Negation in the Bantu languages is rather variable, and even among the indigenous languages of Angola there is considerable difference. In KiMbundu, there is a difference between the speech of Luanda and the speech of the sertão or hinterlands.<sup>4</sup> In the latter dialects, negation is accomplished by simply prefixing ki- to the affirmative verb. Through vowel fusion with subject clitics and class markers, the variants ka- and ku- also occur. In the Luanda dialect, however, preverbal ki- is optional, while following the verb a disjunctive pronoun, the same used in possessive constructions, occurs:

(eme) ki ngi mutu ami  
(I) NEG Cl. person I = 'I am not a person'  
ki ngi banga ami  
NEG Cl. make I = 'I do not make'

This construction has been in existence for a long time; it is registered, for example, in the early grammar of Dias (1697: 21-3).

In Umbundu, another important Angolan language spoken to the south of Luanda in Benguela and widely represented in the Atlantic slave trade, negation is done entirely by means of prefixes, usually ka- or ha-, immediately before the subject clitic, together with some changes in the subject clitic (cf. Lecomte 1963: 37-8; Schadeberg 1990: 40-3).

Among the languages of former Portuguese southwestern African domains, double negation of the sort found in contemporary Luanda musseque Portuguese is found only in KiKongo, the principal language of the former Portuguese Congo. KiKongo typically uses a combination of preposed and postposed negative particles ke ... ko, in a fashion not unlike the French ne ... pas combination (cf. Bentley 1887: 607).<sup>5</sup>

ke be- sumba ko  
NEG Cl. buy NEG = 'They do not buy.'

The prevalence of double negation in musseque Portuguese in contrast to the lack of double negative combinations in the languages of southern coastal Angola points strongly to the conclusion that double negation in contemporary Angolan Portuguese represents a carryover from earlier Angolan pidgin Portuguese, formed in the Portuguese Congo in contact with KiKongo. This would make modern musseque Portuguese a direct relative of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (Schwegler 1991b), and possibly to Afro-Hispanic varieties such as Colombian Palenquero (Schwegler 1991c), Chocó (Schwegler 1991a), the Dominican Republic (Schwegler a), etc.

6.2. The case of interrogative word placement shows the contrasting influence of both KiMbundu and Congo languages such as KiKongo. As noted previously, contemporary musseque Portuguese exhibits both in situ questions, in which the interrogative element has not been moved from its base-generated position, and questions in which WH-movement has displaced the interrogative word

to sentence-initial position, as in Romance. In situ questions appear to reflect direct KiMbundu influence (cf. Chatelain 1888-9: 30-1; 67), since in this language WH-movement is quite rare. In KiKongo, on the other hand WH-movement occurs much as in other varieties of Portuguese (Bentley 1887: 584-5). This is clearly a more difficult case, since while it is easy to attribute in situ negation in musseque Portuguese to local KiMbundu influence, WH-movement represents the basic Portuguese pattern, as well as coinciding with prevalent KiKongo questions. However, in situ questions, while occasionally appearing in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, are nowhere near as frequent as double negation, which once more suggests that the semicreole African contribution to Brazilian Portuguese reflects a greater proportion of KiKongo influence as opposed to KiMbundu and Umbundu carryovers.

## 7. Was there ever a pan-Angolan Portuguese pidgin/creole?

7.1. The existence of apparent Kikongo-influenced structures in the popular Portuguese of Luanda (where the principal substrate language is KiMbundu) hints that the Luanda musseque 'dialect' of Portuguese may not be the simple product of the local population's attempts to learn Portuguese, particular during the heavy European presence of the past century. It is therefore useful to assess the possibilities that some form of Portuguese originally formed in the Portuguese Congo--possibly a traders' jargon or pidgin--survived the eventual Portuguese abandonment of the Congo and formed the basis for subsequent urban varieties of Portuguese in coastal Angola. In view of the gap of nearly 300 years in some aspects of the documentation, little more than informed speculation is possible at this point, but given the importance of the issues for Brazilian Portuguese dialectology and creole language studies, the silhouette of the debate can be set forth at this time.

7.2. There is virtually no possibility that Portuguese ever creolized in any part of the Portuguese Congo or Angola. Most Africans were never displaced from their homelands, and even during the slave roundups practiced by dominant tribes during the Atlantic slave trade, captives came from geographically contiguous ethnic regions whose languages (all belonging to the Bantu family) were not so different from one another as to render communication in (simplified forms of) African languages unfeasible. The number of Portuguese speakers in any given area was always tiny, and those Portuguese who spent any time in Africa had to learn local African languages. As noted previously, the historical record is nearly unanimous in asserting that only African languages were spoken throughout the Portuguese Congo and Angola from the 16th century onward; only in late 19th century urban areas of Angola does there begin to emerge a significant number of Africans with some proficiency in Portuguese.

7.3. No white Angolan variety of Portuguese ever developed, for the simple reason that until the second half of the 20th century, few whites spent large portions of their lives in Angola, and almost none grew up entirely in an African setting. Traders, missionaries, military personnel, and explorers all stayed for a few years at most; even 20th century colonization schemes foundered due to Europeans' unwillingness to spend their lives and raise their families in the African colonies. Whatever Portuguese language filtered into the Angolan population was the European Portuguese of the time, later supplemented by the occasional Brazilian visitor. It is therefore possible to rule out a permanent white population as the receptacle of an Africanized pre-colonial Portuguese, which could then resurface among the African population in colonial Luanda.

7.4. The only likely source for KiKongo survivals in areas far removed from the KiKongo-speaking population is the existence of small groups of Africans who maintained close commercial and

cultural ties with Europeans, beginning in the Portuguese Congo and carrying over into the colony of Angola. The first such Africans would belong to the retinues of the early Manicongos, when non-slaving relations with Portugal reached an all-time high. According to historical records, few of the Manicongos who remained in Africa ever learned Portuguese, always relying on interpreters as befit their regal status. A number of children of royal families were sent to Portugal to study, and upon return presumably spoke a rather European variety of Portuguese which was saved for dealings with Portuguese officials. It was among the rank and file members of the Kongo community that the need for learning a vehicular variety of Portuguese was greatest, and where sufficient exposure to the Europeans' language could be found. Once Portugal devoted most of its activities to slave trading, the mechanisms of which were entirely in the hands of Africans, knowledge of Portuguese became a ticket to success. Portuguese-speaking African middlemen followed the Portuguese slaving panorama whenever possible, since it was only by maintaining a symbiotic relationship with the powerful Europeans that local power and prestige could be assured. Many of these Africans were sobas or local tribal leaders, who were always sought out by the Portuguese as official representatives of their people.

7.5. Although it was inevitably Africans who maintained the continuity of the Portuguese language from the Portuguese Congo to Angola, European traders were probably instrumental in propagating many of the linguistic features which came to categorize contemporary musseque Portuguese. Double negation, for example, is a salient departure from continental Portuguese norms, and if double negation were already in use among Africans in the Congo, Europeans would likely interpret such usage as emphatic, rather than as a syntactic transfer from the substratum. Given that so much of European pidgins in Africa and the Americas was based on exaggerated, emphatic, imperative and abusive speech as used by Europeans to Africans, the use of double negation by white Portuguese speakers in speaking to Africans is not out of the question. Native speakers of KiKongo would find such constructions unremarkable, while speakers Kimbundu, Umbundu and other Angolan languages would simply assume that this was standard Portuguese and begin to use the forms accordingly. Of course it is entirely possible--even likely--that KiKongo-speaking Africans who had become lieutenants of Portuguese traders were instrumental in the establishment of permanent Portuguese settlements in Angola; such individuals, perceived as part of the power elite by native Angolans, could influence the developing Angolan second-language varieties of Portuguese.

7.6. Angola in turn was the principle staging ground for the shipments of slaves sent to Brazil, which after the end of the 17th century principally represented areas to the south of the KiKongo-speaking Portuguese Congo. Assuming, as seems reasonable, that double negation in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese is intimately linked to the former presence of large numbers of Africans who spoke Portuguese as a second language,<sup>6</sup> the Brazilian facts also hint at some form of stable Africanized Portuguese being spoken in coastal Angola during the heyday of slave exportation to the Americas. There is no direct evidence which would indicate that slaves taken from inland rural areas spoke Portuguese previous to being taken captive, and they probably learned only the rudiments of Portuguese in the coastal feitorias. In earlier centuries, São Tomé had been a major staging ground for slave shipments to the Americas; since a Portuguese-based creole arose on São Tomé sometime in the 17th century, many slaves who were sent through this island depot acquired some of the creole language. For example, in 1627 the (Spanish-born) Peruvian priest Antonio de Sandoval, resident in Cartagena de Indias, remarked that African slaves from São Tomé spoke '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 ...' (Sandoval 1956: 94). Granda (1970) has analyzed these remarks to mean that African slaves

throughout the Americas knew at least some of this Afro-Lusitanian creole, which may have formed the basis for later Afro-Hispanic creoles, and for decreolized language among later generations of Afro-Americans in Spanish America.<sup>7</sup>

7.7. By the 18th century at the very latest, Angola was supplying slaves directly to the Americas, and the Portuguese language abilities of these slaves was often very rudimentary. Unlike in São Tomé, a creole dialect never developed in coastal Angola, principally because the majority of the African population was never displaced from original homelands, and the native languages were never fragmented through forced association with linguistically diverse slave populations. Slaves taken from the interior to be shipped from Angolan ports knew little or no Portuguese prior to arriving in the slaving ports, but acquired some basic skills on the Angolan coast or during the voyage to Brazil. This fact can be deduced not only by the indirect documentation of the sort of Portuguese spoken by Africans in Angola prior to the 20th century, but also by the limited testimony on early bozal Portuguese in Brazil, at least some of which probably reflected the usage of slaves brought from Angola with some prior knowledge of Portuguese. In early colonial Brazil, literary Afro-Portuguese pidgin appears in a few texts most from around the final decades of the 18th century. By this time, Africanized varieties of Portuguese were already well-established in Brazil, in many cases exhibiting significant differences from earlier European Portuguese literary examples. The use of European-derived stereotypes in late 18th century Brazil can most probably be ascribed to literary tradition, and should not be taken uncritically as a representation of how Africans actually spoke Portuguese at this time. The predominant literary model was an Africanized Portuguese pidgin formed in Portugal and West Africa, which eventually made its way into 16th century Spain and the literary representations of writers like Lope de Rueda and Rodrigo de Reinosa. By the 18th century, however, a new Afro-Brazilian language begins to emerge, which is not simply a continuation (literary or historically accurate) of Afro-Iberian patterns, but which also points to local developments in Brazil, or along the Angola-Brazil axis.

Representing the earlier period of Afro-Iberian language is a curious document, purporting to represent Afro-Portuguese as used in the transition from Portugal to Brazil. The text in question is a fragment of 'O preto, e o bugio ambos no mato discorrendo sobre a arte de ter dinheiro sem ir ao Brazil', published in 1789 but evidently representing Afro-Portuguese language as used in the 17th and early 18th centuries (Coelho 1967: 73-4):

Já non pore deixá de incricá os cabeça, e confessá, que vozo doutrina sá huns doutrina tão craro, e verdadeiro, que pla mim sá huns admiraçom non sé platicada per toro o mundo. O trabaio a que vozo obriga os preto, e os blanco, sá huns trabaio a que ninguem se pore negá sem melecé huns cóssa bom; porque os genia, e os incrinaçom do natureza a toro gente move pala ere, e fóla de trabaio ninguem pore vivé em satisfaçom. Mim agola sem trabaia nom pore conté ainda que mim ter abominaçom a captiveiro cruere de blanco, de que sá forro; com turo non aglada a mim estar aqui sem nada fazé: evita vozo tanta plegiça, os excessa de plodigo, e dos varento, que nozo poderemo toro assi havé os oira, e triunfá dos indigencia, e du turo quanto pore infelicítá. Se aqui apalecera agola uns blanco, que pole escrevé os mavioso doutrina, que vozo platicá, e toro o gente ouvire cos oreia aberto, faria ere ao familia toro do mundo hum favoro, que meoro non pore imaginá.

This example contains most of the key elements identified in earlier Afro-Lusitanian texts, including use of mim as subject pronoun, vozo/boso as second person plural pronoun, invariant sa as copula, shift of intervocalic /r/ > [l] and of intervocalic /d/ > [r]. This fact makes the text, and similar pamphlet parodies that apparently were printed in great numbers, suspect as an indication of the language actually used by

Africans in the later colonial period of Brazil. These cautions notwithstanding, the above text does consistently mark plural /s/ only on the first element (usually a determiner) of noun phrases, which represents a bridge between earlier Afro-Iberian speech and contemporary vernacular Brazilian Portuguese: os cabeça, huns doutrina, os pleto, os blanco, huns cossa, cos oreia aberto, etc. Plural marking was not as regular in earlier Afro-Iberian texts (cf. Lipski a), but has become a stable process in popular Brazilian Portuguese, apparently a carryover from a period of intense Afro-Brazilian contact.

7.8. A few other purported Afro-Brazilian texts have come to light, none of which may be taken at face value. Presumably an early Afro-Brazilian text is (Silva Neto 1963: 40):

O boio, dare de banda  
zipaia êsse gente  
dare pra trage  
e dare pra frente.  
Vem mai pra baxo  
roxando no chão  
e dá no pai Fidere  
xipanta Bastião  
vem pra meu banda.  
Bem difacarina  
vai metendo a testa  
no cavalo-marinha  
o meu boio  
desce dêsse casa.  
Dança bem bonito  
no meio da praça  
toca êsse viola  
pondo bem miúdo  
minha boio sabe.  
Dança bem graúdo.

Like the preceding example, this text bears greater resemblance to 16th century pidgin Portuguese in Europe and West Africa than to later Afro-Brazilian developments.

A very curious text claims to represent a Portuguese-based indigenous interlanguage of the early 17th century (Silva Neto 1963: 35-6; Silva Neto 1940: 93-6), but in fact the linguistic features are those commonly associated with Afro-Portuguese pidgin; moreover, the text contains references to blacks:

Be pala cá Tapua Eguê,  
 façamo feça a nozo Rey  
 façamo façamo feça a nozo Rey.  
 Oye Tapua que rigo  
 Tapuya vem nos nopreças  
 que nozo ha de fazê un feças  
 se vos vem quando te rigo.  
 Nós no quere ba contigo  
 minya Rei que me quere?  
 I Zazu quanto matanza  
 sen que nozo, branco sè

oy a menina manito  
que sar esperando pro nozo  
oya minina premozo  
como sa parna Pherippo.  
Par deze e pro Zazuclito  
que eu minino querá be Eguê.  
Oyá que mim sa doyente  
Tapua, e sar mu Gaçados  
se bos nom bem meu mandados  
sar negros mu negro zente.  
Nos não coiesse esso zente  
proque ha de feça fazê?  
Zente que sa tão premozas  
a remudar condições  
a remetè fecanos  
ha reser mutto morrozas.  
Bozo sa Rei podrorozas  
pode mandar nos co a pé  
se bos mostra cofianza  
y Rei frugá de nos be  
i fará nozo un mercê.  
Proroá bozo merce  
proque nozo ha de bayá  
tambem sabemo cantá  
muto bem maguà, magué,  
cadum faze o que sabe  
começa moro cantá  
Tapua reba bantaze  
porque baijá e cantá.  
Zá que temo Rey  
nombá desse tera  
se bai a Cacera  
nozo ha de predei  
en que ere querei  
nos quere tambem  
robamo Tapua.  
Nom predei tarbem  
nom cudar ninguem  
que nos sar na rua  
que en que sar Tapua.  
Sar zente tambem  
saber que nos peza  
non ser ricos zente  
por da un presente.  
A seyor princeza

parece un bereza  
tam premozo bem  
frugamo de vir  
co esses minina  
viva os pequenina  
que sar no Madril.  
Contar o prezêça  
bem se zocifrica  
Portuga se rica  
mazo que Veneça  
otro rey ca sa  
pro roba não fica  
dezanos Feripa  
rey na Portugà.  
Rey Don Manuere  
sar muto premozo  
mas Ferippe he nozo  
bonita como ere  
Ferippe co a pee  
todo grobená  
Deos fiquá cobozo  
por sa tão criça.  
Nossa bozo irma  
por Adram pai nozo  
poze quasi sà  
nos non sar patife.

This text contains use of copular sa(r), paragogic vowels, and a number of other phonological and grammatical modifications acknowledged for Afro-Portuguese pidgin of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is unlikely that this text represents an indigenous-based interlanguage, since all the phonetic changes (paragogic final vowels, shift of /r/ > [l]) and morphological modifications reflect African patterns, and are not the logical product of Tupi-Guaraní interference.

7.9. For some indications of what legitimately Afro-Brazilian contact language may have looked like, we turn to some Brazilian folkloric fragments collected in earlier decades of the 20th century. For example, Bastide (1943: 72) and Ramos (1935: 247) give versions of a poem ostensibly written in bozal language:

VERSION GIVEN BY BASTIDE:

quando eu era na meu terra  
era rei de Zinangora,  
gora tô interra di branco  
zoga cabungo fora.  
quando iô tava na minha tera  
iô chamava capitão,  
chega na terra di branco  
iô me chama Pai João.

VERSION GIVEN BY RAMOS:

Quando iô tava na minha tera  
iô chamava capitão  
chega na tera dim baranco  
iô me chama Pai João.

Quando iô tava na minha tera  
comia minha garinha,  
chega na tera dim baranco,  
cane sêca co farinha.

quando iô tava na minha tera  
iô chamava generá,  
chega na tera dim baranco  
pega o cêto vai ganhá.

dizofôro dim baranco  
no si póri aturá,  
ta comendo, ta drumindo,  
manda negro trabaiá.

baranco, dize quando môre,  
jezuchrisso que levou,  
e o pretinho quando môre  
foi cachaça que matou.

quando baranco vai na venda  
logo dizi ta squentáro  
nosso preto vai na venda,  
acha copa ta viráro.

Baranco dize, preto fruta,  
preto fruta co rezão,  
sinhô baranco tambem fruta  
quando panha casião.

Nosso preto fruta garinha  
fruta sacco de fujjão,  
sinhô baranco quando fruta  
fruta prata e patacão.

Nosso preto quando fruta  
vai pará na coreção,  
sinhô baranco quando fruta  
logo sai sinhô barão.

La no nosso terra  
nóis é fôro, liberto  
agora chega ni terra di branco  
ta no cativoiro.

Nóis in terra di branco  
ta passando má  
la in terra nosso  
tamo liberto.

Both poems exhibit loss of nominal and verbal agreement; the second text also makes use of word-



internal paragogic vowels (e.g. baranco) and metathesis (e.g. drumindo), features which are still common in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese. Also found in contemporary varieties of Afro-Brazilian speech is the frequent elimination of articles, and use of third person singular as invariant verb (e.g. nóis é).

7.10. Many of the linguistic traits of these colonial Afro-Brazilian texts are similar to those found in Angolan musseque Portuguese, but this does not necessarily point to a direct influence, since the majority of the traits are simple consequences of imperfect acquisition of a second language. Double negation is conspicuously absent in these texts, although it was probably part of vernacular Afro-Brazilian Portuguese at the time when these documents were produced. At the same time, there are features of early Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Iberian language which are not reflected in Angolan musseque speech or other forms of Portuguese used within Angola. One such feature is the use of sa(r) as copular verb, which is amply attested in Afro-Iberian speech in Portugal and Spain, from the end of the 15th century until well into the 18th century. This verb coalesced in São Tomé creole Portuguese, as well as in the Portuguese creoles of Malacca and Macao. It was apparently taken from Portugal and Spain to early colonial Latin America, where it appears in texts from Brazil and several Spanish-American colonies, in the 17th and 18th centuries, after which the form disappears. Later Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Brazilian texts show a more modern language evidently formed in the Americas, and not simply literary imitations of the Golden Age habla de negro/língua de preto. If sa(r) never appeared in any form of Angolan Portuguese (and it is not attested anywhere in Angola), nor in any permanent form of Afro-Brazilian language, this indicates that the invariable copula was formed either in Portugal itself or in West Africa during the first Afro-Portuguese contacts, and was spread only to the earliest forms of Afro-Iberian language, in which the Iberian Peninsula was a key focal point. Angolan Portuguese, although its inception may have been influenced by the results of earlier Afro-Portuguese contacts further up the African coast, evidently developed by itself, and did not become part of the Afro-Lusitanian creoloid group. By the middle of the 18th century, Angolan Portuguese was having a decisive impact on the developing Afro-Brazilian vernacular, while African-influenced Portuguese within Portugal--while still in existence (cf. Lipski 1994)--was increasingly marginalized and unlikely to have an impact on colonial Portuguese.

If the preceding reconstruction is essentially correct in its major assumptions, then the development and enrichment of Afro-Lusitanian language varieties in Africa and the Americas must be considered within a multi-dimensional model and not simply in terms of the spread of a single seminal variety. Even within Angola, there appear to be at least two major varieties of Portuguese: the original KiKongo-influenced dialect of the former Portuguese Congo, and the contemporary KiMbundu-based speech of the musseques. The latter in turn has absorbed influences from the former, while early São Salvador Portuguese may in turn have taken its cue from Afro-Lusitanian language formed in West Africa and already well known in Portugal. The influences on Brazilian Portuguese have also shifted with time; the first Africans in Brazil had acquired Portuguese either in Portugal or in West Africa, possibly in the slaving depots where creole languages would shortly arise. Their speech was nearly identical to that of their compatriots in the Iberian Peninsula, and perhaps sowed the seeds for a long-lasting Afro-Brazilian vernacular. By the mid 18th century, Angolan varieties of pidgin Portuguese were seeping into Brazil; given the predominance of slaves from Angola, these features--some of which cannot be linked directly to other Afro-Lusitanian varieties--would come to represent all of Afro-Brazilian speech. A very tentative and preliminary idea of the complex input to Afro-Brazilian Portuguese is given in the following chart, which attempts to assign distinct origins to specific linguistic features.

FEATURE	TIME cent	Early Afro-Iberian	Kikongo-infl. Angolan	KiMbundu-infl. Angolan
copular <u>sa</u>	17-18	X		
plural /s/ only on 1st element	18-20	?	?	X
invariant 3rd person sing.	18-20	X	?	X
in-situ questions	?-20			X
double negation	?-20		X	
paragogic final vowels	16-18	X		
partial noun-adj. agreement	17-19?	X	?	X
<u>mim</u> as subject pronoun	18?	X		
loss of articles	17-20	X	?	X
use of 3rd p. subj. for obj.	19?-20		?	X

There is much indeterminacy in this chart, both in terms of the time frames and as to the attribution of specific features to different Afro-Portuguese contact varieties; the main value of the chart is to visually demonstrate the various paths via which Afro-Lusitanian linguistic structures arrived in colonial Brazil.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Similar descriptions of Angola in which only African languages were spoken by the indigenous population were given by Almeida (1936), Pereira (1890), Couceiro (1892), Barns (1928), Da Costa (1906), Batalha (1890), Dias (1942), Galvão (1949), Costa Junior (1963), Johnston (1893), Mancada (1902), Vincent (1895: chaps. 40-42), Matos (1926), Machado (1956), Proyart (1776: 170-187), Paiva (1890), Muralha (1925), Pereira do Nascimento (1892), Rates (1929), Torre do Valle and Velloso de Castro (1908), Nevinson (1963), reporting travels in Angola in 1904-5; Omboni (1845: 75).

<sup>2</sup> The author also gives a brief example of the similarly pidginized Portuguese spoken by Africans in Mozambique (p. 510): 'Eu quere saber se chega, sior ...' Other examples of early Mozambican Portuguese are given by Noronha (1915): 'Xiô Xiô! [senhor]' (130); 'Siô, Siô olhe!' (133); 'Siô, eu não estou bebado; siô precisa acautelar-se; ingrez não levou toda a gente da povoação para bem; ingrez ha de voltar e pim, pim, acaba com a sua vida e nossa'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the following sources: Leite de Vasconcellos (1901: 121); Silveira Bueno (1958: 320); Said Ali (1966: 359); Ribeiro (1900: 291); Moisés (1969: passim.); Pereira Tavares (1961: passim.); Chaves de Melo (1975: 142-3). It is likely, given the dates of the first literary attestations of the estar a V<sub>inf</sub> constructions in European Portuguese, that they were already in use in popular speech at least from the beginning of the 19th century, if not earlier, always in alternation with the gerund construction. Since a number of Peninsular Portuguese phonetic features were transferred to Brazil when the Portuguese court temporarily moved to that country in 1808, it is probable that a construction as noteworthy as the contemporary Portuguese estar a + V<sub>inf</sub> would have been transferred to Brazilian dialects, particularly if it were a form used by high-prestige speakers of the Lisbon area (Lipski 1975, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chatelain (1888-9: 51f.), Dias (1891: 38); cf. also Johnson (1930: 36) whose book describes the 'Mbundu' language but is actually a grammar of KiMbundu.

<sup>5</sup> Some related Congo languages employ different strategies, typically combining a different set of subject clitics with changes to the verb endings (e.g. Cambier 1891: 69f.). Others use postposed ko in conjunction with a preverbal negative particle such as si, inserted between the subject clitic and the verb (e.g. Ussel 1888: 48f.).

<sup>6</sup> It is conceivable that in the case of Brazil, Tupi-Guaraní, which during the early colonial period formed the basis for the *Lingua Geral* lingua franca used by indigenous populations, Europeans, and apparently also by Africans, has also contributed to double negation. In Tupi-Guaraní, indicative verbs are negated by a combination of negative prefix and negative suffix, while in the imperative and subjunctive a negative suffix alone is present; this has been the case at least since the early grammar of Anchieta, written in 1595 (Anchieta 1990: 169, 220-1). In Brazil, the existence of such structures in a major indigenous substrate language could further spur on an innovation originally brought by Africans. In Angolan mussequ Portuguese, a KiKongo basis for double negation is hard to avoid, although (usually emphatic) double negation is never completely impossible in colloquial European Portuguese.

<sup>7</sup> The reference to some sort of Portuguese-based pidgin or creole is clear, but the implication

that slaves from other regions also acquired an Afro-Lusitanian pidgin is not, since Sandoval's quote continues: `... al modo que ahora nosotros entendemos y hablamos con todo género de negros y naciones con nuestra lengua española corrupta, como comúnmente la hablan todos los negros.'

Although Granda interprets Sandoval's observations to mean that an Afro-Lusitanian pidgin formed a substrate for ALL Afro-Hispanic language in Cartagena (and by extrapolation, elsewhere in the Spanish American colonies), the final sentence seems to indicate the opposite, namely that even Africans speaking the `lengua de San Thomé' eventually acquired some approximation to Spanish.

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