

Afro-Portuguese pidgin: separating innovation from imitation

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1. Introduction

1.1. Beginning in the middle of the 15th century, sub-Saharan Africans began arriving in Portugal, as slaves and laborers (Brásio 1944, Saunders 1982, Tinhorão 1988). Shortly thereafter, the African presence in southern Spain took on significant proportions, at first via Portugal, and later supplemented by direct contacts between Spain and West Africa. Africans arriving in the Iberian Peninsula often learned only the most rudimentary forms of Spanish and Portuguese, and their halting attempts at speaking European languages earned them the name of bozal (boçal in Portuguese), a term roughly meaning 'savage, untamed.' From the outset, the pidginized Portuguese and then Spanish spoken by Africans was recorded in literature, first in poems and later in songs, plays, and prose. The earliest texts come from Portugal, written in the late 15th century.

1.2. By the early 16th century, the habla de negro appeared in Spanish literature, and flourished until the end of the 17th century in Golden Age literature. Spanish writers of the stature of Lope de Rueda, Góngora, Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Quiñones de Benavente, as well as scores of lesser-known writers, routinely presented African characters speaking bozal Spanish. Beginning in the early 17th century, songs and poems written in Latin America attributed a similar language to African-born slaves, with the most famous examples being found in some villancicos by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. By the 18th century, literary representations of Africanized Spanish in Latin America broke away from the Golden Age patterns, and came to more closely resemble vernacular Caribbean and coastal South American Spanish of today, as well as Ibero Romance-based creoles. In Spain, literary use of bozal Spanish virtually disappeared after the end of the 17th century, although a handful of obscure 18th century songs and poems continue the literary stereotype beyond the time period when bozal language can legitimately be postulated as a common phenomenon in peninsular Spain, since by the end of the 18th century few African-born bozales were found in the Iberian Peninsula (cf. Castellano 1961, Chasca 1946, Dunzo 1974, Granda 1969, Jason 1965, 1967; Lipski 1986a, 1986b, 1988, 1991; Veres 1950, Weber de Kurlat 1962a, 1962b, 1970).

2. The issues

2.1. In Portugal, the literary língua de preto reached its high point early in the 16th century, in several plays. This literary stragem rapidly declined in prominence thereafter, being found only in a handful of obscure poems and songs from the mid 16th century onward. This is initially rather surprising, since Portugal continued to play an active role in the Atlantic slave trade, with the Portuguese participation (especially via Angola) reaching a high point in the mid 17th century, and still being of significance through most of the 18th century. In reality, stereotypical Afro-Portuguese pidgin did not disappear from the literary scene, it merely went

underground, away from stage plays and epic poems, to the streets and working-class neighborhoods, where it thrived in the form of pamphlet literature (*literatura de cordel*) and humorous calendars through the middle of the 19th century. As surprising as it might seem to readers familiar only with the demographics of contemporary Portugal, these written imitations closely parallel the rise and decline of black communities in the Iberian Peninsula. Although the majority of the Africans taken by the Portuguese slave trade were transported directly to the Americas, a visible black community was found in Lisbon and in other Portuguese cities as far north as Oporto, beginning in the 15th century and lasting at least through the first half of the 19th century, as evidenced by several documents to be considered shortly.

2.2. In comparison with the vast outpouring of Afro-Hispanic literary language from colonial Spanish America, only a couple of colonial Afro-Brazilian texts have come to light. This is also rather unusual, given the likelihood that vernacular Brazilian Portuguese of many regions was permanently affected by the early *bozal* African presence (probably via restructuration or 'semicreolization' in the sense of Holm 1988: 9 rather than passing through a stage of true creolization).

2.3. In the case of early Africanized Portuguese, the existence of Portuguese-based African creoles (in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón) provides some independent verification of the speech patterns used by *bozal* Africans who were acquiring Portuguese. However, the largest stock of information is the literary corpus, which must be handled with extreme caution. Most of the literary representations were humorous and unflattering, reflecting prejudice and disdain. A number of texts come from writers who probably had no personal knowledge of *bozal* language, but who had learned the facile stereotypes as part of the cultural milieu of 16th-18th century Portugal. On the other hand, a comparison between literary texts and independently documented results of Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts, such as borrowings from Spanish and Portuguese into African languages, or Iberian-based creole languages, not to mention contemporary Afro-Iberian speech communities in Africa and Latin America, reveals that many early Spanish and Portuguese authors had a good ear for *bozal* language (cf. Saunders 1982: 99-100; Hatherly 1990: 5 expresses some doubts). The difficulty lies in separating legitimate Afro-Iberian language from mindless parodies, and also in determining how long distinctly Africanized varieties of Portuguese (whether spoken as a second language or natively) continued to exist, and when they faded into a memory kept alive only in anachronistic literary devices (cf. Lipski forthcoming).

2.4. To date, the majority of the work on Afro-Portuguese linguistic contacts have focused on currently existing creole languages, as well as Brazil, especially the possibility that a creole or semi-creole with African substrate may once have existed, and that traces of such early Afro-Portuguese language may still be found in vernacular Brazilian speech. Several investigators have also examined creoloid features in 15th and 16th century Afro-Portuguese texts, in an attempt to situate these documents in a wider comparative perspective (e.g. Baird 1975, Costa e Sá 1948, Megenney 1990a, Naro 1978, Teyssier 1959). In today's remarks, I would like to broaden the examination of Afro-Portuguese language contacts in Portugal, and only peripherally in other Portuguese-dominated areas. At least the following questions emerge from a consideration of early Afro-Portuguese texts:

(1) Which of the linguistic features attributed to Africans were truly present, and which are due to parody, exaggeration, and stereotyping?

(2) What degree of consistency was found in Afro-Portuguese language across time and space?

(3) Did anything resembling a stable Afro-Portuguese pidgin ever form in Portugal, to the extent that specific features had to be learned?

(4) Is there any evidence that non-Africans in Portugal ever deliberately adopted pidgin features when speaking with African-born bozales?

(5) Did conditions ever exist for creolization of Portuguese in Portugal?

(6) Did an ethnically distinct 'black Portuguese,' acquired natively by European-born blacks, ever exist in Portugal, and if so, what were its characteristics?

2.5. The answers to these questions represent a vast research enterprise. In the few minutes allotted for this presentation, I will only be able to point out a handful of key texts which circumscribe the domain of discussion, and indicate a small group of elements which with great probability were consistently present in Africanized Portuguese across large expanses of time and space. Although the appropriate conditions were never present for creolization of Portuguese within Portugal, varieties of pidginized Portuguese were spoken by African-born bozales. I will tentatively suggest that even after the bozal population dwindled to insignificant proportions, a number of linguistic features identified with pidgin Portuguese were retained by the black communities in Portugal, due to a combination of sociolinguistic marginality and ethnic solidarity. The coexistence of unmarked and 'black' Portuguese for possibly as much as 400 years may have contained the seeds for Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles which developed in other continents, and provided a rich contact environment within Portugal whose full implications have yet to be explored.

3. The early Afro-Portuguese corpus

3.1. Among the first black Africans arriving in 15th century Portugal were free emissaries, but slaves were soon to follow. We have no written records of how free Africans might have spoken Portuguese (and later, Spanish). That Portuguese did become a significant linguistic presence in West Africa is attested by the numerous early Portuguese borrowings, in Akan, KiKongo, and later in Bantu languages from South Africa to the Horn of Africa (Atkins 1953; Bal 1968; Bradshaw 1965; Cabral 1975; Kiraithe 1976; Martins 1958a, 1958b; Prata 1983; Raimundo 1933: 69f.). Presumably, the most fluent African speakers of Portuguese (such as the leaders of the Kongo Kingdom--the Manicongos--and their ministers) spoke with the substratal features observable e.g. in the contemporary speech of Angolans and Mozambicans who have attained fluency in Portuguese (cf. Bernardes 1970, Endruschat 1990, Estermann 1963, Gonçalves 1983, Leite de Vasconcellos 1901, Marques 1983, Perl 1989, Silva-Brummel 1984). Beginning with the first Christianized Manicongo, Congo kings wrote extensive letters in Portuguese to the King of Portugal, to the Pope, and to other European leaders (Balandier 1968, Birmingham 1966, Blake 1977, Duffy 1961, Felgas 1958, Hilton 1985, Miller 1976, Thornton 1983). These texts, however, do not shed light on the Portuguese spoken by Africans, since they were prepared by Portuguese-born scribes, and are written in

the flowery formulaic language (Balandier 1968: 53-4) typical of European diplomacy in centuries past (cf. the texts reproduced in Manso 1877, Brásio 1952) {see HANDOUT # 1} (Manso 1877: 13). Africans possessing only a passing acquaintance with Portuguese would speak a rough pidgin, similar to that found in rural regions of contemporary Angola. Their language does not appear in documents of the time, but it is unlikely that this rudimentary Portuguese was much different than present-day phenomena under similar circumstances (cf. Lipski 1985 for a similar situation).

3.2. It is only with the introduction of slaves into the Iberian Peninsula, human entities designed to be despised, that the historical record begins to comment on black Africans' use of European languages. Starting in the middle of the 15th century, Portuguese literary writers imitated the pidginized Portuguese as spoken by African captives. The treatments were rarely flattering; Africans were depicted as pompous clowns, asserting their African nobility in the midst of demeaning tasks, or as mindless creatures bent only on dancing and lovemaking. Some of this coarse stereotyping carried over to the imitations of Afro-Portuguese pidgin, but in matters of grammar and pronunciation there is reason to accord a measure of validity to the early texts.

3.3. The first known written example of Afro-Portuguese pidgin is found in the Cancioneiro geral of Garcia de Resende (Guimaraes 1910-17), published in 1516; it is a poem written by the court official Fernam da Silveira, and dated 1455 (t. I: 204-5) {HANDOUT #2}. If this dating is accurate (cf. Teyssier 1959: 228-9), it means that an Afro-Lusitanian pidgin was already in use only a few decades after Portugal had begun exploration of the sub-Saharan African coast. The poem imitates the speech of a tribal king from `Sierra Leone,' and contains the first glimmerings of Portuguese-based creoles, as well as exemplifying the type of broad-spectrum interference that speakers of African languages would bring to Ibero-Romance.

The Cancioneiro Geral contains three other specimens of Afro-Lusitanian pidgin, the most significant of which (t. V: 195-199) is a text by Henrique da Mota written perhaps half a century after after Silveira's poem (Leite de Vasconcellos 1933) {HANDOUT #3}. This is a humorous account in which an African pleads with a European, claiming innocence in an incident in which a jar of wine was spilled.

3.4. Gil Vicente provides the largest single corpus of early Afro-Portuguese language, in plays written in the 1520's and 1530's {HANDOUT #4}. The crucial examples come in Não d'amores (1527), Fragoa d'amor (ca. 1524), and O clérigo da Beyra (1530). Gil Vicente's texts are important since they represent the bridge between Portugal and Spain as regards the development of Afro-Iberian language (Baird 1975; Costa e Sá 1948; Saunders 1982: 98-102; Teyssier 1959). Vicente was a prolific writer who used both Portuguese and Spanish, and was familiar with language and society in the two kingdoms. All of Vicente's `Africanized' speech is found in plays written in Portuguese (with one very short but important exception), a language which seeped into the first purportedly `Afro-Hispanic' texts which began to appear in Spain at approximately the same time. Due to this seamless transition between Portuguese and Spanish in the representation of Africans' speech in the early 16th century, a perusal of Vicente's Afro-Portuguese examples promises to shed light on the origins of Africanized Spanish.

Vicente's texts provide the earliest examples of a realistic Afro-Lusitanian pidgin, complete with phonetic, grammatical, and lexical traits which reflect both the imperfect acquisition of Portuguese by adult speakers of other languages, and direct interference from African areal characteristics. They permit the first glimpse of how Africans arriving in the Iberian Peninsula pronounced the new languages to which they were exposed. A comparison of Vicente's Africanized Portuguese pronunciation with observations on the borrowing of Portuguese words into African languages, as well as with existing Afro-Lusitanian creole languages, reveals a high degree of consistency. This in turn adds credibility to other aspects of Vicente's 'Africanized' Portuguese, and justifies the inclusion of these documents in the reconstruction of early Afro-Iberian speech.

3.5. Another key Afro-Lusitanian text is the 'Auto das regateiras' {ca. 1550} by Antônio Ribeiro Chiado (Chiado 1968) The lesser-known 'Pratica de oito figuras' by the same author (Chiado 1961) also contains 'Africanized' Portuguese {HANDOUT #5}.

3.6. A number of other Portuguese texts from the 16th-18th centuries purport to represent the speech of foreign-born Africans. Although most of the remaining texts arose after independent Afro-Hispanic language was documented for Spain and Spanish America, the later Afro-Portuguese texts did not always remain strictly independent from their Spanish counterparts. In a few instances, Afro-Portuguese songs and poems found their way into Spanish American areas, and were performed alongside their Afro-Hispanic counterparts.

The 'Auto da bella menina' by Sebastião Pires (1922) {HANDOUT #6} is approximately contemporaneous with the writings of Gil Vicente, and provides corroborative data on the status of Africanized Portuguese of the early 16th century. This fragment is considerably different from the previously considered texts, containing a greater amount of distorted and barely intelligible material. At the same time, it contains striking similarities with the Vicente and Chiado examples.

An anonymous text, 'Auto de Vicente Anes Joeira' (Anon. 1963) appears to come from approximately the same time period {HANDOUT #7}. This text, unusual in many respects, contains recurring Afro-Portuguese elements.

3.7. The next group of Afro-Portuguese texts comes from the 17th century, spilling over into the early 18th century. Most are anonymous songs and poem fragments, evidently part of a much larger corpus that was performed in musical and stage presentations (Hatherly 1990). These include the anonymous 'Sã qui turo' (1647), and several anonymous poems (Hatherly) {HANDOUT #8}. These texts, which come more than a century after Gil Vicente's early examples, are consistent with the notion that Africans resident in Portugal would have acquired greater fluency in Portuguese, with remaining problems being relegated to phonology, and to occasional grammatical lapses. The language of 'Sa qui turo' is a far cry from the broken Portuguese of the 16th century examples; there is a greater use of functional elements such as prepositions and articles, verbs are conjugated, and there is some noun-adjective concordance. The remaining poems, although apparently written by different authors over a considerable time period, share many important common features. All are found in Afro-Lusitanian creoles, particularly in the Gulf of Guinea, and most appear in earlier Afro-Portuguese texts.

3.8. Perhaps the most significant text which suggests that Afro-Lusitanian bozal language survived as a quasi-stable pidgin in Portugal well into the 18th century is a tantalizing

letter written in Lisbon, purportedly from the 'Rei Angola' to the 'Rei Minas' (Tinhorão 1988: 191) in 1730 {HANDOUT #9}.

The writer and recipient would be leaders of the African confrarias or religious brotherhoods and mutual aid societies which arose whenever Africans lived in Portuguese or Hispanic societies. In cities containing large African populations, these societies were divided along ethnic lines, with the language and culture of particular African groups being partially retained in each group. In this case, the term Angola most probably includes speakers of Kimbundu, but possibly also KiKongo, while Mina refers to members of the Akan group, from present-day Ghana (the former Gold Coast). The letter in question is an invitation to join in a religious procession. It is unlikely that this text was written by an African, since it was eventually published in a collection of vignettes to which black authors would have little access. At the same time, the consistent use of recognized Afro-Portuguese pidgin elements suggests that such a language was well enough known to non-African observers in Portugal as to enable a reasonably accurate imitation. If this is the case, this text would demonstrate that a distinctly Africanized Portuguese existed in Portugal well into the 18th century, and not simply as a long-disappeared stereotype remembered only in literary documents. Even more crucially, it would demonstrate that Africans in Portugal (at least those born in Africa) used a pidgin Portuguese with consistent structural characteristics when communicating with Africans of other ethnic groups, rather than simply approximating the received language of metropolitan Portugal. The demographics of the Iberian Peninsula never favored the formation of an Afro-Iberian creole, which could have arisen if such inter-ethnic pidgin language had coalesced into a native language, but the language of this letter provides a plausible hint of the linguistic situation e.g. on São Tomé, Príncipe and Annobón prior to the stabilization of the creole languages, and of what may have occurred in colonial Brazil, in areas where the African-born population was in the majority.

3.9. Beginning in the late 17th century and continuing until nearly the middle of the 19th century, pidginized língua de preto or língua de guiné found its most consistent manifestation in hundreds of pamphlets and broadsides, known collectively as literatura de cordel. Most of these texts contain a formulaic use of stereotyped elements, much as in other ethnic eye-dialect literature meant for out-group consumption, but their very persistence, side by side with the existence of a considerable black community, attests to at least some real survival of Afro-Portuguese speech forms. The most common manifestations were the equivalent of farmers' almanacs and astrological forecasts, known as prognósticos and lunarios. This literary form first began in 1756, as a result of the earthquake which had devastated Lisbon a year earlier. Known at first as Os preto astrologo, these pamphlets offered humorous comments, mostly making fun of the precarious living conditions of blacks, e.g. 'Fevereiro 6 (seg.), vento e frio, coitado dos preta que não tem roupa' (Tinhorão 1988: 210). Subsequent incarnations of this literary form included the Sarrabal português and Plonostico curiozo. The original pamphlets faded out after 1760, but reappeared in 1803 with the Plonostico curiozo, e lunario pala os anno de 1804, pelo pleto Flancisco Suzá Halley. These crude broadsides were published until the middle of the 19th century, after which the literary use of Afro-Portuguese pidgin disappeared from the Iberian Peninsula. One example is {HANDOUT #10} (Tinhorão 1988: 215).

This pamphlet literature is important from a number of viewpoints. First, although some unrealistic traits are carried over (e.g. the massive replacement of /t/ by /l/), there are also indications that a stable Afro-Portuguese speech mode was stabilizing. This is suggested by the consistent signalling of /s/ only on the first element of plural nouns phrases, by the almost systematic lack of gender agreement, use of invariant vai for 'go' and invariant copular sa. These texts are also important since they raise the probability that some identifiable ethnolinguistic features were retained in the Afro-Portuguese community at least until the early decades of the 19th century and perhaps later. Although written imitations of ethnically marked speech varieties may persist in some forms of literature long after the groups in question have ceased to use the marked forms, this is rarely the case for pamphlet literature (and such modern-day equivalents as comic books, tabloids, and trading cards), which is designed to satisfy the immediate pleasures and prejudices of the masses. In the United States, popular stereotypes of Irish-, Yiddish- and Italian-influenced English disappeared after the groups in question shed their ethnolinguistic identifiers. Stories of the Uncle Remus variety were viable only as long as Gullah was a familiar linguistic phenomenon, at least in the Southeast. Parodies of rural black English, such as Amos n' Andy, Rufus n' Rastus, etc. were cut short by a growing social conscience, which no longer tolerated such crude humor at the expense of groups which lacked the means of effectively countering the negative imagery. Arguably, these skits were already scheduled for extinction, as the speech forms they were based on receded ever further from national public awareness. In Portugal, the thriving market for the língua de preto until the middle of the 19th century effectively brackets the real use of some sort of ethnolinguistically identifiable 'black Portuguese traits.' Even allowing for the exaggeration and outright misrepresentation inherent in these racist parodies, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that at least some blacks in Portugal, most notably those born and raised in that country and not influenced by foreign-born bozal speech, natively used forms which were ethnolinguistically identified with earlier Afro-Portuguese pidgin. Whether these forms were used exclusively, or in parallel with non-African Portuguese (e.g. as an in-group manifestation of ethnic solidarity) is impossible to determine from the available documentation.

3.10. A number of curious documents and folkloric materials complement the Afro-Portuguese corpus, and give some idea of the range and continuity of Afro-Portuguese pidgin across time and space. The most striking example comes from another corner of the far-flung Portuguese empire, the colony of Damão in Portuguese India (Moniz 1925) {HANDOUT #11}. In a song formerly used by black slaves on the feast of St. Benedict, beginning in the 17th century, we find examples of Afro-Portuguese pidgin similar to those attested for Europe. This text also gives evidence of having been influenced by the Indo-Portuguese creoles, in particular use of the preverbal particle ta. The Damão text gives an inkling that Afro-Portuguese pidgin followed the trade routes of the Portuguese empire, perhaps leaving traces (long since disappeared) in other regions as well. To cite a parallel example, early Portuguese traders often took black slaves from the east coast of Africa and sold them to Spanish traders in the Philippines. Many of these Africans eventually travelled to Mexico via the Manila-Acapulco galleon route, known in Mexico as the Nao de la China. As a result, very curly hair came to be known as pelo chino throughout Mexico (Aguirre Beltrán 1972).

3.11. In the early 20th century, a number of folksongs and skits were transcribed throughout rural regions of Portugal (Martins 1939: 245, 253, 258-60) {HANDOUT #12}. Some of these songs retain vestiges of an earlier Afro-Portuguese pidgin, and were sung on feast days often accompanied by 'African' costumes and dances. These fragments have obviously undergone considerable distortion across time and space, and can no longer be considered as reasonable approximations to the former speech of blacks in Portugal. However, most of the basic features of Afro-Portuguese pidgin are found in these fragments.

3.12. In early colonial Brazil, literary Afro-Portuguese pidgin appears in a few texts until 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. One interesting document, purporting to represent Afro-Portuguese as used in the transition from Portugal to Brazil, 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 (Coelho 1967: 73-4) {HANDOUT #13}. This example contains most of the key elements identified in earlier Afro-Lusitanian texts, but most of the structural changes do not appear to have ever occurred in vernacular Afro-Brazilian Portuguese. 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.

3.13. 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) {HANDOUT #14}.

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 {HANDOUT #15}. This text contains use of copular sa(r), paragogic vowels, and a number of other phonological and grammatical modifications acknowledged for Afro-Portuguese pidgin.

3.14. Several folkloric fragments collected in earlier decades of the 20th century in Brazil also contain vestiges of earlier Afro-Brazilian pidgin. Bastide (1943: 72) gives the poem {HANDOUT #16}. Ramos (1935: 247) gives a longer variant of this poem {HANDOUT #17}. Both poems exhibit loss of nominal and verbal agreement; the second text also makes extensive use of paragogic vowels, a trait found in early Afro-European pidgins and creoles (including earlier varieties of Jamaican, Gullah, and Afro-Hispanic pidgin), and preserved in some contemporary creoles, considered among the most archaic and linguistically conservative (e.g. São Tomense, Sranan Tongo, Saramaccan).

4. Conditions which favored Afro-Portuguese retentions

4.1. In order to sustain the claim that ethnically marked forms of Portuguese persisted past the pidgin/bozal stage, to be natively acquired by blacks born and raised in Portugal, it is

necessary to demonstrate the existence of social and linguistic conditions which would permit, even force, such a condition. Due to time constraints, I can offer only a quick sketch here, but the more complete documentation is consistent with the notion of a marginalized 'black Portuguese,' identifiable by blacks and non-blacks alike well into the 19th century.

4.2. The use of sub-Saharan Africans as slaves in Portugal declined rapidly after the middle of the 17th century, and by the early decades of the 18th century, very few African-born bozales were entering Portugal. Within Portugal, the plight of the preto scarcely improved from slavery to free status. As in Spain, blacks were allowed to become apprentices and sometimes journeymen in the trades, but could never become master craftsmen. Most craft guilds excluded black members, and due to a combination of economic factors and social pressures blacks lived in quasi-segregated neighborhoods, at least in the larger cities. Many of the more menial occupations were virtually reserved for blacks, and thus was consolidated the vicious circle which equated Africans with servile labor. Blacks were associated, rightly or wrongly, with criminal elements, and persecuted accordingly, thus adding to their plight. As early as 1535, the Flemish priest Nicolau Clenardo declared that 'Os escravos pululam por tũa a parte. Todo o serviço é feito por negros e mouros cativos. Portugal está a abarrotar com essa raça de gente. Estou em crer que em Lisboa os escravos e as escravas são mais que os portugueses livres de condição' (Brásio 1944: 12). A French visitor to Lisbon in 1766 (Dumouriez 1797: 164) noted that 'a part of the common disturbances is caused by the Negroes and Mulattoes, of which there are supposed to be in Lisbon so many as 150,000; by the misery of the people, and the facility of finding hiding places in the subsisting ruins of this unfortunate city ...' Another traveller, Link, who visited Lisbon at the end of the 18th century, declared that 'la plupart des voleurs sont des Nègres; il en a ici un très-grand nombre; peut être plus que dans toutes les autres villes d'Europe, sans même en excepter Londres' (Brásio 1944: 112). A German visitor to Lisbon in 1842 (cf. Brásio 1944: 114) described thousands of blacks on the streets, and affirmed that the Portuguese treated them like an inferior race of domestic animals. Other travellers' accounts paint a similarly bleak picture. Brásio (1944) provides numerous pictures and accounts of blacks in Portugal throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century.

Miscegenation occurred at the periphery of the black-white interface, but was never socially accepted, and thus the large mestizo communities which partially ameliorated racial segregation in Latin America and even in Spain never formed in Portugal. Until their final blending into the demographic fabric of Portugal, late in the 19th century, the pretos were always held as different, both through language and in terms of societal expectations on their behavior. This discriminatory treatment and physical segregation provided the means by which ethnically distinct speech forms might survive and even flourish among the Afro-Portuguese community, much like the linguistic results of racial segregation in the United States.

4.3. Adding to the environment in which a 'different' language could be nurtured among Afro-Portuguese were the numerous religious and social organizations, often organized around individual African ethnic affiliations. The most numerous were the confrarias or religious brotherhoods, nominally associated with a parish church, which served as mutual aid societies for beleaguered Africans, and which also sponsored cultural events which enhanced African patterns. One of the most interesting societies revolved around the 'Congos' of Portugal. Since Portugal had acknowledged the Kongo Kingdom and its leader, the Manicongo, a special status

as a nominally sovereign nation, black slaves and freedmen in Portugal attempted to identify themselves with the Congos whenever possible. They organized themselves into the Confraria de Nossa Senhora do Rosário and began to reenact the 'coronations' of Kongo kings which took place in Africa. At first these imitations were simple parodies, but they grew in seriousness and gradually took on a life of their own. Among the black community of Lisbon, the crowning of the Congo king and court took place until the final decades of the 19th century (Tinhorão 1988: 142-6): 'Ainda assim, durante pelo menos três séculos, os negros conseguiram manter em Portugal a representação ideal de um reino africano, e não apenas em Lisboa (onde em 1894 Pedro de Azevedo via "na mesma cidade uma rainha do Congo como a sua côrte," mas ... também no Porto, onde até meados de Oitocentos os pretos festejavam em todos os meses de Julho o seu reino perdido ...' (Tinhorão 1988: 146). This fictitious recreation of a Congo kingdom has parallels in Brazil, and among the negros congos of Panama (Lipski 1989), and provided a powerful institution around which Afro-Lusitanian solidarity could foster extended use of distinctive speech forms.

4.4. Another institutionalized manifestation of Afro-Portuguese culture within Portugal were the numerous religious processions in which the black community participated every year. This tradition began at least as early as the beginning of the 17th century, with Africanized vilancicos being performed in chapels and churches, including at the royal court. Many of these texts were actually in Spanish pidgin rather than Portuguese (cf. Tinhorão 1988: 149), and few if any were performed by blacks. However, as soon as large numbers of blacks appeared in Portugal, they began to participate in religious processions and reenactments, beginning with the Corpo de Deus ceremonies. These ritualized events, and the black participation therein, lasted until the early 20th century in many parts of Portugal (Tinhorão 1988: 158). During these processions, blacks would depict increasingly African practices, including dancing and mock combat. This practice was already established by the early decades of the 18th century, when an Afro-Portuguese dancer at the celebration of Nossa Senhora do Cabo exclaimed (Tinhorão 1988: 159) {HANDOUT #19}

Sioro eu sava mui pequeno
quando vem do nosso terra,
ca sava mia companhello
elle ensiná palla mi;
is dipogi cus dinhello
za mi forrá.

When asked if similar dances were performed in Africa, he responded:

Sioro ganga, lá fazem
Só cos nosso frecha os buia,
Que lá os pistola na temo
Nem os polvora, nem os bala.

These dances and processions expanded to include other commemorative events, including Nossa Senhora da Atalaia, the Coração de Jesus, and Holy Week. At each occasion, blacks chanted and sang, often using elements associated with the early língua de preto, even past the time when blacks in Portugal had acquired Portuguese as a native language. As in similar folkloric manifestations throughout the world, the ritualized language of the songs could reinforce

ethnic solidarity, and solidify in non-ceremonial language as a defiant gesture against discrimination by the majority population.

5. Consistent features of early Afro-Portuguese language

5.1. Despite the considerable variability, a number of common features are found in Afro-Portuguese texts from the beginning of the 16th century to the end of the 18th century (cf. also Naro 1978). Given that these same features are also found, to some extent, in Afro-Portuguese creoles, and sometimes also in vernacular Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, it is likely that these traits were representative of Afro-Portuguese pidgin. Once Portuguese was acquired as a native language by European-born blacks, most of the rough pidgin features would be replaced by regional varieties of Portuguese, varying with the sociolinguistic milieu in which the Afro-Portuguese were living. As suggested earlier, there is some evidence that a number of traits found in the original pidgin were retained, or reintroduced, into later nativized 'black Portuguese' varieties, as used in ceremonial language and possibly within the confines of the Afro-Portuguese community. Although it is relatively straightforward to determine the common denominators of the non-native pidgin, the record is much less clear as regards the nature of an ethnically marked native variety of Portuguese. The pidgin traits in question include the following phonetic and grammatical features {HANDOUT #20}:

(1) pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as a (probably alveolar) occlusive of short duration, eventually being perceived as a flap [r]: rinheiro < dinheiro, rirá < dirá, turo < tudo(s), etc. This may have persisted into nativized varieties of Portuguese, at least for a time. Similar carryovers of stop pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ are found in Afro-Hispanic enclaves, e.g. in the Dominican Republic (Meggeney 1990b, Núñez Cedeño 1982, 1987), the Colombian Chocó (Granda 1977, Schwegler 1991), Panama (Lipski 1989), Venezuela (Meggeney 1988, 1990c), etc.

(2) Paragogic vowels used to break up consonant clusters and yield a series of open syllables of the general form CV-: boso < vos, deoso < deus, Furunando < Fernando, sapantaro < espantado, senhoró < senhor, furutai < furtai, faramosa < formosa, Purutugá < Portugal, etc. This is an active phenomenon only in the most rudimentary pidgins, and words with paragogic vowels are widely preserved in languages which creolized rapidly and/or remained isolated for long periods of time (e.g. São Tomense, Saramaccan, Sranan Tongo, etc.). Active use of paragogic vowels was not likely to have formed part of a nativized Afro-Portuguese vernacular, but the textual evidence suggests that some fossilized forms may have remained, including dioso, sioro, Furunando, and possibly boso.

(3) Many early examples illustrate the use of vowel harmony: boso < vos, deoso < deus, Furunando < Fernando, faramosa < formosa, Purutugá < Portugal, etc. Vowel harmony is frequent in many Kwa languages, and in Bantu languages. It can be found in the Portuguese-based creoles of the Gulf of Guinea, and in Papiamentu. This phenomenon would disappear together with the active use of paragogic vowels.

(4) (4) The palatal lateral /l/ is reduced to a fricative [y]: oio < olho(s), muiere < mulher, etc. This trait is also found in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, particularly in areas of heavy African influence. It may well have survived into an Afro-Portuguese vernacular.

(5) Final /t/ was lost in verbal infinitives. This trait is also common in varieties of Portuguese with a strong African influence, in Brazil, Angola, etc. It probably was found in Afro-Portuguese vernacular.

(6) Early texts, beginning with Gil Vicente, provide examples of loss of syllable-final /s/, but with morphological conditioning, being confined to the first person plural verb forms: vamo < vamos, temo < temos. Beginning with the song 'Sã qui turo,' we find the first suggestion of plural marking on the first word of noun phrases: huns may donzera, huns rey, huns fessa. This feature reappears in later texts, including the letter from the 'Rei Angola': dos may Zozefa. This pattern is typical of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, including varieties grouped under the heading caipira (Amaral 1955, Azevedo 1984, Bortoni-Ricardo 1985, Guy 1981, Jeroslow 1974, Megenney 1989, Pizzini 1985, Rodrigues 1974, Sarró López 1988), and is found at times in vestigial Afro-Hispanic dialect enclaves, which lends credence to the notion that early Afro-Iberian language often employed this strategy. All available evidence suggests that this feature was nearly categorical in later Afro-Portuguese vernacular, and was in fact one of the most characteristic features of 'black Portuguese' in both Portugal and Brazil.

(7) Shift of /t/ > [l] in onset clusters and intervocalically was common in early Afro-Iberian texts, but becomes less frequent by the end of the 17th century. It is unlikely that this pronunciation survived in Afro-Portuguese vernacular, given its extremely high level of stigmatization, but isolated forms may have been retained.

5.2. Among the common grammatical traits which may be posited for Afro-Portuguese pidgin, and in an attenuated form, to later nativized varieties of 'black Portuguese,' are:

(1) use of the portmanteau copula sa and its variants, replacing both ser and estar. In a few texts, santá(r) was also used as an invariable copula. This form appears to have been retained in Afro-Portuguese vernacular, providing another key indicator of ethnically marked Portuguese.

(2) use of (a)mi(m) as subject pronoun. This form appeared in the earliest Afro-Lusitanian examples, then virtually disappeared after its use by Gil Vicente and Chiado (Lipski 1991). In the 'Auto da bella menina,' mi alternates with eu, and the latter form is exclusively found in the remainder of the Afro-Portuguese texts. In the putative Brazilian 'O preto e o bugio,' use of (a)mim appears once more. This may be an echo of earlier stereotypes, but subject pronouns based on (a)mi(m) are found (often reduced to m- or a simple homorganic nasal clitic) in all Afro-Iberian creoles, including Cape Verdian (Lopes da Silva 1957, Theile 1991, Veiga 1982) and Guinea-Bissau (Bull 1975, Doneux and Rougé 1988, Kihm 1979, Morais Barbosa 1975, Scantamburlo 1981, Wilson 1962), São Tomense (Ferraz 1979, Valkhoff 1966, 1975), Princiense (Günther 1973), Annobonese (Barrena 1957, Ferraz 1984, Vila 1891), Papiamento (Birmingham 1970, Goilo 1983) and Palenquero (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983). Although this form was highly stigmatized, representing the maximum linguistic distance between 'European' and 'African' speech, it may have been occasionally used in later Afro-Portuguese vernacular, to reinforce ethnic solidarity.

(3) The use of vai/bai as an invariable verb meaning 'go,' was common beginning with Gil Vicente. Bai is also found in Cape Verdian creole, Papiamento and Palenquero. This form may have survived into a nativized Afro-Portuguese speech.

(4) General lack of gender/number concord. This is a feature of foreign varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, and is also found in all European-based pidgins and creoles. Blacks who acquired Portuguese natively were likely to use the same agreement strategy as other Portuguese speakers, but use of the invariant articles o and os with feminine nouns may have survived into Afro-Portuguese vernacular.

(5) General lack of verb conjugation, with gravitation towards the third person singular (normally the most frequent form, and regarded as the most unmarked) or the bare infinitive, usually lacking final /r/. This feature is common to all European-based pidgins and creoles. Afro-Portuguese vernacular apparently alternated between fully conjugated verbs and the occasional substitution of an invariant third person singular form.

(6) Occasional substitution/elimination of prepositions. This trait is common in all second-language varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, and is also found in most Ibero-Romance based creoles. Confusion of prepositions was not likely to be retained as an ethnolinguistic marker, although all vernacular varieties of Portuguese exhibit prepositional usage which is at odds with the standard language.

5.3. There is at present insufficient evidence to postulate that the features just surveyed were found in the speech of most or all Africans taken to Portugal. There is no doubt that certain forms became inseparably associated with Africanized language, e.g. sioro < senhor, Dioso < Deus, and perhaps copular sa. At least some of these elements might have been learned through imitation by recently arrived African bozales, and it is conceivable that even some Africans with long residence in Portugal, or even born there, may have used marked Africanized forms as a gesture of ethnic solidarity. Copular sa is one good candidate, as it appears in the letter from the 'Rei Angola,' and in a few Afro-Hispanic texts apparently written by Africans. However, many features of early Afro-Portuguese language are the simple result of imperfect learning, plus phonetic traits associated with particular African substratum groups. There are undeniable similarities between these early Afro-Portuguese texts and stable Afro-Portuguese creoles, such as subject mi, copular sa, the verb bai, etc., and this may mean that certain pidgin features were in wide enough circulation to become permanently implanted as Portuguese creolized along the West African coast. However, to date the data do not support the idea that a stable Afro-Lusitanian creole was ever present in continental Portugal. What may have survived is an ethnically marked Afro-Portuguese vernacular, essential nativized European Portuguese, with a handful of phenomena carried over from the pidgin stage.

6. A closer look at copular sa

6.1. One of the common threads running through Afro-Portuguese pidgin on five continents and across four centuries is the generic copula sa and its morphological variants. This form first appears in the early 16th century, in the Cancioneiro Geral, and recurs in Afro-Portuguese texts through the 18th century, as well as being found in vestigial folkloric fragments. This verb quickly made its way into Afro-Hispanic literary texts produced in Spain. For example Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, in the 'Farsa del moysen,' and 'Farsa de la nechicera,' produced in the second quarter of the 16th century, has sar and esar. Among minor works of the same time period, Juan Pastor's 'Farsa de Lucrecia, tragedia de la castidad' (ca. 1529)

provides a few instances of what could be legitimate Afro-Hispanic language. This curious fragment, although too short to probe for consistent pidgin traits, shows some Afro-Portuguese characteristics, and two instances of the copula sa. The major 16th century Spanish author to employ Afro-Hispanic pidgin in his writings was the playwright Lope de Rueda, in plays written in between 1538 and 1545. Rueda evidently had firsthand knowledge of the speech of Africans in Spain, and it has been suggested that he himself may have played the part of Africans in productions of his plays. Close inspection of Lope de Rueda's habla de negros reveals complete consistency with Afro-Iberian texts from all time periods, as well as the first inklings of phenomena which became common in later texts (Sarró López 1988). Rueda's examples give the first convincing evidence that something resembling a consistent and coherent Afro-Hispanic pidgin might once have been spoken by first-generation Africans in Spain. Excluding phenomena which are simply the results of foreign-talk Spanish (e.g. uninflected infinitives, lack of agreement, loss of prepositions), the recurring pidgin traits, almost all of which can be independently verified, include widespread use of copular sa. Veres (1950: 216) attributes use of san as first person singular to confusion with the third person plural. He seems to concede little linguistic importance to this verb, which is in fact a key common element in most Afro-Iberian texts, dismissing it as a 'pintoresca conjugación de las negras.'

6.2. In the 17th century, the verb sa is found consistently, in the Afro-Hispanic imitations of Simón de Aguado (Entremés de los negros), Góngora, Lope de Vega, Andrés de Claramonte (El valiente negro en Flandes), Vélez de Guevara (El negro del seraphín), Mira de Amescua (El negro del mejor amo), Calderón de la Barca, and a number of lesser skits, poems, and songs. This form also carried over to 17th century Afro-Hispanic language used in the Americas, most prominently in the poetry of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, but also attested for several South American colonies. Around the turn of the 18th century, the trail of sa abruptly disappears, despite the renewed interest in the literary representation of Afro-Iberian pidgin in Spanish America, and to a lesser extent in Brazil. This rather erratic trail of written attestations, further exacerbated by the fact that nearly all the literary documents make use of crude humor and racial stereotyping, casts doubt on the very existence of sa, or at least of its persistence past the early 16th century Iberian Peninsula. Did sa ever really form part of Afro-Iberian pidgin, and if so, for how long, and over how wide of an area?

6.3. The only collateral evidence that can be mustered by way of a response is the consideration of Iberian-based creoles throughout the world, most of which were formed between the end of the 16th century and the early 18th century. Among Iberian-based creoles, sa is found in the Gulf of Guinea creoles, Annobonese and São Tomense/Principense. Usage parallels that of the earliest Afro-Portuguese texts, except for differences in subject pronouns (derived from disjunctive object pronouns mi(m), tí, etc. in the creoles). In São Tomense, for example, sa replaces both Portuguese ser and estar, with predicate nouns and adjectives (occasional fossilized forms remain, as s^ytava 'I was'). According to the sketchy data provided by Valkhoff (1966: 107-8), Principense uses the preverbal particle sa in an aorist sense: e sa subi 'he climbs,' e sa diimi 'he sleeps,' etc. Annobonese uses xa in identical constructions. Based on comparative reconstruction, Valkhoff proposes that São Tomense once used the particle sa ('... the ordinary copula, which corresponds to the Ptg. são ...' p. 107) in a present completive tense: *e sa fla 'he has spoken.'

6.4. The other major group of Afro-Portuguese creoles, Cape Verdian and its mainland homologues Guinea-Bissau and Ziguinchor creole do not use copular sa, but particularly in Cape Verde, decreolization in the direction of Continental Portuguese may have obliterated traces of an earlier invariant copula. Guinea-Bissau creole, for example, uses sedu, alternating with i as invariant copula. Most predicate nominative expressions have no verb at all; (s)ta is used to indicate location, much like Portuguese estar. The situation in the Cape Verdian creole dialects is similar. The basic copula is usually é, while (s)ta is used to express location, or with some predicate adjectives. In the Sotavento varieties, the aspectual particle sta alternates with sa (n'sa ta flâ 'I am talking') (cf. Almada 1961: 111-2 for possible derivations). It appears that sa in this case is a simple phonetic variant of sta, and not a continuation of an earlier invariant sa. However, the similarity with São Tomense ska < sa ka, with identical morphological function, is noteworthy. In Cape Verdian and Guinea-Bissau creoles, ta/sta is virtually never used where the Portuguese copula ser would appear, unlike the use of sa in early Afro-Portuguese language, which directly replaces ser.

6.5. In the Americas, sa is not found in the Afro-Iberian creoles Papiamentu and Palenquero, nor does it appear in most of the Afro-Asian creoles. Interestingly, sa, with almost identical copular functions, is used in the now defunct Macau creole Portuguese.

6.6. The origins of sa and its congeners in early Afro-Portuguese pidgin must be sought in the interface between 15th century Portuguese and a cross-section of West African languages. There are no common denominators among the latter languages which would provide a ready model for pidgin Portuguese sa, unlike the development of (a)mi as subject pronoun in Afro-Iberian pidgin, which combined a Romance disjunctive pronoun with a fortuitously similar first person singular pronoun in many West African languages, from the Atlantic, Kru, Kwa, and Bantu families. The only likely African contribution to the development of sa is the general use of a single uninflected copular verb. At the same time, many West African languages make extensive use of 'adjectival verbs,' which eliminate the need for a separate copular verb. There is also not a single unequivocal source in Portuguese, although a much clearer reconstruction can be posited.

6.7. In modern Portuguese, the forms of the verb ser are highly differentiated, cogante with the corresponding Spanish forms: sou, es, é, somos, sois, são. However, early Portuguese forms were often quite different, particularly the first person singular and the third person plural. In the first person singular, Latin sedeo (from the verb sedere) gave sejo, but this early form was soon replaced by the reflexes of Latin sum (from the verb esse). In the earliest Portuguese documents, the corresponding form appears as som or sõ, representing a nasalized vowel. Occasionally, this form was written são in Old Portuguese. For a time, som, são, sou and so apparently coexisted, with sou eventually triumphing. In the first Portuguese grammar, published in 1536 by Fernão de Oliveira, the coexistence of these forms is explicitly mentioned (Oliveira 1988: 103). Latin sunt also gave som in Old Portuguese, yielding modern Portuguese são following the regular diphthongization of final [ã] and [õ].

6.8. In the early Cancioneiros, both first person singular and third person plural were represented by similar or identical forms, involving nasalized [õ]. Dating the transition from nasalized [ã] and [õ] to the diphthong -ão is a complex and controversial affair, exacerbated by the fact that orthographic vacillation persisted for several centuries. Williams (1962: 176)

concludes that all relevant forms had become diphthongized by the second half of the 15th century, based on the fact that they rhyme consistently with each other in the Cancioneiro Geral. This is a relevant observation, since the first attestations of Afro-Portuguese pidgin come in the same compilation. Williams (1962: 177) suggests that this merger/diphthongization began sometime in the 13th century. This attempted explanation leaves several facts unaccounted for. First, there is no principled reason why -om should be replaced by -am rather than vice versa. The major choice available to Portuguese scribes would be to retain etymological spellings even when the relevant vowels had diphthongized, or represent all diphthongized vowels as -ãõ, the eventual solution in final stressed position. If simple orthographic confusion based on the gradual merger of [-õ] and [-ã] as -ãõ were at stake, we should expect a rather haphazard mix of -am > -om, as well as the opposite shift. In fact, -am > -om was found only in some verb forms (particularly in unaccented final position), and disappeared by the time of the Cancioneiro Geral. The Cancioneiro Geral of Garcia de Resende is an appropriate document to consider carefully, since it contains the first specimens of Afro-Portuguese pidgin. The following examples are taken from t. V (Guimaraes 1917). In this collection nãõ is generally represented as nam. Of more interest are the first person singular and third person plural forms of ser, all generally represented as sam, by a variety of authors spanning more than half a century. The third person plural is occasionally represented as sãõ, but this spelling is never used for first person singular. Typical examples include {HANDOUT #18}. These examples must be interpreted with considerable caution, but they do suggest the beginnings of the invariant copula sa (at times also represented sã or sam) in early Afro-Portuguese pidgin. The most important consideration is the fact that two of the six present-tense forms of ser were identical, exhibiting moreover a canonical CV ([s] + V) shape which was ideal for adaptation by a wide cross-section of speakers of West African languages. The second and third person singular forms, es and é, respectively, would be confused by speakers whose phonotactic systems did not parse syllable-final /s/; the minimal syllable [e] did not enjoy the sort of prominence that makes for ready borrowing into pidgins. The second person plural, sois, when stripped of its final /s/ by the same phonotactic minimality, would fit into the [s] + V pattern of the {1 sg.}/{3 pl.} forms. Only the first person plural, somos, was both prosodically prominent and phonotactically parseable (through loss of the final /s/) by the common denominators of West African languages in contact with late 15th century Portuguese. Eventually this form would be drawn into pidginized Portuguese and Spanish, as samo; at times, this form would replace sa as the invariant copula. Thus from the outset late 15th century Portuguese contained the seeds for the use of an invariant copula with the canonical form [s] + V.

6.9. The textual data surveyed above, as well as the comments by Oliveira, reveal that the {1 sg.} and {3 pl.} forms of ser were identically pronounced at the time period in question, and represented graphically as sam. It has also been suggested that this grapheme already represented diphthongized -ãõ in all instances, but the textual data are more ambiguous in this respect. In particular, although the case that -am and -om represented the same sound is rather strong, the deduction that both sounds were also identical with -ãõ is more tenuous.

7. Summary and conclusions

7.1. To conclude, an Afro-Portuguese pidgin was evidently used in continental Portugal at least through the early part of the 18th century, although the most publicly visible manifestations had disappeared nearly a century earlier. Moreover, etholinguistic features identifiable as 'black Portuguese' continued to be used by the more marginalized members of Portugal's black community well into the 19th century and perhaps even later. Literary representations of this speech tended to exaggerate the comic element, but the linguistic features are consistent with accurately documented Afro-Iberian language contacts. Africans taken to Brazil also spoke a Portuguese pidgin during the first stages of their language acquisition, and many of the features of the pidgin documented for Portugal probably arose in Brazil as well. At the same time, the demographic profile of Africans in Brazil quickly shifted to favor speakers from the Congo Basin, providing a more homogeneous substrate than the apparently heterogeneous mix of African language families represented in Portugal. The extent to which a Bantu-influenced Afro-Portuguese pidgin permanently affected vernacular Brazilian Portuguese is still an open question, but several features, such as double and postverbal negation (of the form *sei não*), are arguably derived from such a restructuring process.

7.2. A deeper study of Afro-Portuguese documents, with an eye towards reconstructing earlier stages of Portuguese pidgin, and of the prolonged use of ethnically marked speech varieties within Portugal, will deepen our knowledge of the growth and diversification of the Portuguese language throughout the world. The present remarks have not offered solutions to the many complex issues, but rather serve to direct attention once more at an easily overlooked facet of the Portuguese language.

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(1) From `Carta de D. Affonso rei do Congo, a elrei D. Manuel [Portugal]--5 de outubro de 1514'7

Muito alto e muy poderoso pryncype Rey e Senhor. Nos dom affonso por graça de deus Rey de conguo e senhor dos ambados 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 hum 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 EllRey 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 ...

(2) Fragment from Fernam de Silveyra (ca. 1455)

A min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa,
lonje muyto terra onde viver nos,
andar carabela, tubão de Lixboa,
falar muyto novas casar pera vos.
Querer a mym logo ver-vos como vay;
leyxar molher meu, partir, muyto synha,
porque sempre nos servyr vosso pay,
folgar muyto negro estar vos rraynha.
Aqueste gente meu taybo terra nossa
nunca folguar, andar sempre guerra,
nam saber quy que balhar terra vossa,
balhar que saber como nossa terra.
Se logo vos quer, mandar a mym venha
fazer que saber tomar que achar,
mandar fazer taybo, lugar des mantenha
e loguo meu negro, senhora, balhar.

(3) Fragment from Anrique da Mota (in *Cancioneiro Geral*--1516)

a mym nunca, nunca mym
entornar
mym andar augoá jardim,
a mym nunca ssar rroym,
porque bradar?
Bradar com almexerico,
Alvaro Lopo também.
Vos loguo todos chamar,
+vos beber,

vos pipa nunca tapar,
vos a mym quero pinguar,
mym morrer.

(4) Fragments from Gil Vicente

O clérigo de Beyra (ca. 1530)

Ja a mi forro, nama sa cativo.
Boso conhece Maracote?
Corregidor Tibão he.
Elle comprai mi primeiro;
quando ja paga a rinheiro,
deita a mi fero na pé.
He masa tredora aquelle,
aramá que te ero Maracote ...
Qu'he queisso que te furtai?...
Jeju, Jeju, Deoso consabrado!
Aramá tanta ladrão!
Jeju! Jeju! hum caralásão;
Furunando sá sapantaro.

Fragoa d'amor (ca. 1524)

Porro que perguntá bos esso?
Mi bem la de Tordesilha;
que tem bos de ber co'esso,
qu'eu bai Bastilla, qu'eu bem Castilla? ...

(5) Fragments from Antonio de Chiado (ca. 1550)

Auto das regateiras

A mim frugá, boso matá;
boso sempre bradá, bradá;
cadela, cadela, cadela!
Bendê-me pera Castela! ...
A boso sempre sa graia ...
A mi não cabá bessi...

Prática de oito figuras

Nunca elle mim acha
muito caro, nunca bem,
mim da-le treze vintem
pr'o dôzo; não querê dá.

(6) Fragment from *Auto da bella menina*, of Sebastião Pires (early 16th century)

hora beyio sua pee co sua caracanbar merado
mi trazey ca hu recado pera bay a bosso merce.
Eu sa negro de bosso yrmão que onte de Brasil chegou ...
Portugal sa elle agora tam bragante hora tam fermosante ...

(7) Fragment of Anon. `Auto de Vicente Anes Joeira' (mid 16th century)

mui gram trabaio que tem
homem que mi sere sentar,
sempre homem andar, andar ...
gaiar a mi quebra dentes
o tera muito roim
e o gimbo pera mim
pera pagai nam tem gentes
e responde bai-te daí ...

(8) Fragment of anon. `Sã qui turo' (ca. 1647)

Sã aqui turo zente pleta
turo zente de Guine
tambor flauta y cassaeta
y carcave na sua pé.
Vamos o fazer huns fessa
o menino Manué
canta Bacião, canta tu Thomé,
canta tu Flansiquia, canta tu Catarija,
canta tu Flunando, canta tu Resnando,
oya, oya, turo neglo hare cantá.

(9) Letter from 'Rei Angola' to 'Rei Minas' (Lisbon, 1730)

seoro cumpadra Re Mina Zambiapum taté, sabe vozo, que nossos festa sa Domingo, e que vozo hade vir fazer os forgamenta, ya vussé não falta vussé cumpadra, que os may Zoana os fia dos may Maulicia, e dos may Zozefa sa biscondessa dos taraya, nos proçessão hade vozo cantar o Zaramangoé, e traize vussé nos forfa que o pay Zozé nos fezo o cutambala, zuambala cuyé numas minueta, agora se vozo vem zangana se não zangana vussé homemo Zambiapum taté muitos ano.

(10) Fragment from *Plonostico culioso, e lunario pala os anno de 1819, telceila depoize dos bissexto*

Aviso ós pubrico: Amado Flegueza, mim vai a continuar com os Repertoria dos plesente Anno, e zurgo dever repetir os Advertencia, que os Repertoria que tiver nos Flontespicia, ou Subslita: Porto, na Oficina de Viuva Alavarez Ribeiro, e Filhos ser mia, e outlo quaisquer de Pleto, que appaleça debaixo dos mia nome, não sendo ali implesso, ser falso; tomo vozo tento, pala nã ser enganaro.

(11) Examples from black Portuguese in Damão (18th century ?): 'The Negroes and St. Benedict's Feast'

Minha senhora Maria
já trazê para vos brincá
com meu Deus que ja nascê
tá sabê tuca sua bobra
tá sabê buli seu pê.
Este negro carrapito
com seu olho de combé
seus dentes de marfim
meu filho assim não é.
Este preto azavich
posto junto do seu pê
tá servi para olhar
para piquenino que já nascê.
Balha minha carrapito
dança para vos combe
vos tem mais preto
mais preto que cachundê.
Vos ja seri adorado
ja veio bijar seu pê
nós todos temos Macuane
já veio olhar para você.
Meu Deus, meu coração

minha flôr de Nazareth
tá embrulhad na sua palhinha
dormindo no seu presepe.
Catelo torcido cafarinho despido
toda gente fala tem cafre de Selfala
balha com igual ...
festa de Natal ...
cafarinho tem pret torcido e bemfêta
balhando na cama, cafre de Macua ...
seus beijos cumprido, seus olhos torcido
rosto de rabana, tem cafre de Inhabano ...
beicinho furado, seus dentes limada,
cafarinho pangaio, pinchado na praia, ...
todos assim dizem: chapado nariz,
cabeça piquena, tem cafarinho de Somaliz ...

(12) Fragment from `Visitação de Santa Isabel' (Vinhais, Portugal, transcribed in early 20th century)

Levar nada ó esprétio
que sas um negro mui pobre
em casa de mi siôr
matar su escravo com fome...
Mi levar um esmigação
de goma d'escorimá,
se mi siôr dar licença
que muleque também vá...
Doce nino de mi ogos
amante de mi osinia
anti nia de mi alma
ante alma de mi vida...
que inda em ser negro
mi coraçon ser blanco
quando falar em Jazú
logo mi alegre tanto...
Cativo no siôr,
non dar nara que non ter,
io trago um esmigação
para o nino comer...

`Entrada dos reis'

Vos por aqui Rei de Cameada

vosso pensamento onde levava,
o mé Jazú platino
me descubla o seglêro
que faze o Messias
guiar o estrêlo ...
Sim siôr Rei Belchior
nos também ser régio
bem poderosos e soberanos...
ficar certo meu amigo
que em notre pobrece
consenti em minha oferta
não ha mais pequena falta
Vejo bem meu cameada
vamos convocar no chão
adorar com ternura
oflecer o uoração...
Vós aqui nas palhinhas
amora da minha vida
tam esporvetinha
entre brutos metida.
Consinte que mui reverente
um vago de mirra ofereça
consenti em minha oferta
por vossa suma beleza.
Para xempre, xempre
seja louvado o xanto menino
o xanto José e a senhora mia..

(13) Fragment of 'O preto, e o bugio ambos no mato discorrendo
sobre a arte de ter dinheiro sem ir ao Brazil' (1789)

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 pleto, 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 infelicitá. 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.

(14) Purported early Afro-Brazilian text (Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil*)

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 difacarinha
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.

(15) Purported representation of indigenous-based Portuguese pidgin in Brazil, ca. 1620 (Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil*)

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 muto 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 baixá 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 mutto 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.

(16) Afro-Brazilian folkloric fragment, transcribed 20th century (Roger Bastide, *A poesia afro-brasileira*)

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

(17) Variant of the same fragment (Arthur Ramos, *O folk-lore negro do Brasil*)

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 fuijão,
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 fôrro, liberto
agora chega ni terra di branco
ta no cativoiro.
Nóis in terra di branco
ta passando má
la in terra nosso
tamo liberto.

(18) Examples of use of *sam* in the *Cancioneiro Geral* of Garcia Resende (t. V)

JORGE DE RRESENDE:

... meus dias nysto ssoo *sam* acupados ... que meus dias nam *ssam* em al acupados. (26-7)
... mas se *sam* do coraçam, que~ *ssa* de calar coelas. (40)
Os meus dias sacabaram, por que estes ja nam *ssam* ... eu nam posso sentir o que mais *ssão*
me sseria ... (42-3)
Minha vida *ssam* tristezas ... vosas obras *sam* cruezas ... (47)
... aos que vossos nam *ssam* (48)

JOAM DA SYLUEYRA:

Sa~ gentys home~s q~ farte ... (58)

ALUARO FERNANDEZ D'ALMEIDA:

As trouas *ssam* acabadas ... malas v' *ssam* doluidar ... (67)
... mas cuidarey que ssinays *sam* profiçyas mayores (69)

SYMÃO DE SOUSA:

... senhora, eu contrafaço, & *sam* perdido ... posto que seião tamanhos como *ssam* (106-7)
... Da senhora dona Joana de mendoza me chamo eu, por esta *ssam* ja sandeu (115)

FRANÇISCO MENDEZ:

Nam *ssam* frade pera sser santeficado (145)
... direy que *ssam* frade ... (148)

ANRRIQUE DA MOTA (a huma negra):

eu *ssam* aquy o culpado, & outrem nam, eu *ssam* o denificado & eu *ssam* o magoado, eu o
ssam (198)
Goayas, que *sam* destroçado ... (202)
... segundo me tem amor, por que *ssam* sseu servidor ... (205)
... eu o *ssam* (212)
... *sam* prantadas por estas santas mãos mi~has (214)
... assas demffada *ssam* de chorar (242)
... mas cuydo q~ *ssam* pecados ... (250)
... por que *sam* de concertar o precurador co juiz (265)

GARÇIA DE RRESENDE:

Eu *ssam* muy antremetido ... eu *ssam* muy gentil galante ... *sa~* *be~* desposto ... sey bem cantar, & tanjer, algu~s *ssam* em mim deuotos, e *ssam* prezado das damas ... eu *ssam* muyto destimar ... *sam* destarte zombador ... (410-12)

(19) Declaration of Afro-Portuguese dancer at the feast of Nossa Senhora do Cabo (Lisbon, ca. 1730)

Sioro eu sava mui pequeno
Quando vem do nosso terra,
Ca sava mia companhello
Elle ensiná palla mi,
is dipogi cus dinhello
Za mi forrá...

Sioro ganga, lá [em Africa: JML] fazem
Só cos nosso frecha os buia
Que lá os pistola na temo
Nem os polvora, nem os bala.

(20) Possible features of early Afro-Portuguese pidgin. * = probable retention in later nativized Afro-Portuguese vernacular in Portugal

- *a. Intervocalic /d/ pronounced [r] (*turo* < *tudo*);
- b. Paragogic vowels (*seoro* < *senhor*); [isolated forms only]
- c. Vowel harmony (*Purutugá* < *Portugal*);
- *d. Delateralization of /ʔ/ (*muiere* < *mulher*);
- *e. Loss of final /r/ in infinitives (*cantá* < *cantar*);
- *f. Loss of final /s/ in *-mos*;
- *g. /s/ only on first element of plural noun phrases (*dos may Zozefa*);
- h. Shift /r/ > [l] in syllable onset (*agola* < *agora*, *pleto* < *preto*);
- *i. Use of invariant copula *sa*;
- j. Use of (*a*)*mi* as subject pronoun; [very occasionally retained]
- *k. Use of invariant *bai/vai* for 'go'
- l. General lack of gender/number agreement [occasional invariant *o/os*]
- m. Minimal verb conjugation; use of 3sg. or infinitive [occasional]
- n. Occasional substitution/omission of prepositions