

LILIANA CRISTINA CORAGEM INVERNO

Contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in interior Angola

*Evidence from Dundo
(Lunda Norte)*



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Dissertação de **Doutoramento** em **Letras**, área de **Línguas e Literaturas Modernas**, especialidade de **Linguística Portuguesa**, apresentada à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, sob a orientação do **Professor Doutor John A. Holm**.

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Para a minha família, que fez tudo
para eu que pudesse ter alguma coisa

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Abbreviations and symbols

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	answer
AdvP	adverbial phrase
AVP	Angolan Vernacular Portuguese
BP	Brazilian Portuguese
BVP	Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese
C	consonant <i>or</i> Bantu noun class (when immediately followed by a cardinal number)
CARP	acronym for causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive (in Bantu verb forms)
COND	conditional (tense/mode)
DEF	definite
DO	direct object
DOC	direct object concord (in Bantu verb forms)
DVP	Dundo Vernacular Portuguese
EMPH	emphasis
EP	European Portuguese
EXT	extension (in Bantu verb forms)
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FUT	future tense
FP	far past = remote past (in Bantu verb forms)
FV	final vowel (in Bantu verb forms)
GER	gerund
HAB	habitual
HEST	hesternal past
HOD	hodiernal past
HON	Portuguese honorific title (e.g. <i>Dona, Senhor</i> , etc)
IMM	Immediate (past or future)
IMPF	past imperfect (i.e. “ <i>Pretérito Imperfeito</i> ” tense in EP)
IND	Indicative
INI	inherently negative indefinites (e.g. <i>nada, ninguém, nunca...</i>)
IO	indirect object
IOC	indirect object concord (in Bantu verb forms)
IPFV	imperfective (i.e. aspectual category)
INF	infinitive
IMP	imperative
L1	first language
L2	second language
M	masculine
NAR	narrative tense (in Bantu verb forms)
NC	negative concord
NCL	negative concord languages
NP	noun phrase
NPI	negative polarity item(s)

OBJ	object
OC	object concord (in Bantu verb forms)
OM	object marker (in Bantu verb forms)
PL	plural
PLUP	pluperfect (i.e. aspectual category and “Pretério-mais-que-perfeito” tense in EP)
PP	prepositional phrase
P/N	person-number
PFV	perfective (i.e. aspectual category)
PROG	progressive
PRT	preterite (i.e. “Pretérito Perfeito” tense in EP)
PRS	present tense
PST	past
PTCP	past participle
Q	question
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remoteness
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SC	subject concord (in Bantu verb forms)
SM	subject marker (in Bantu verb forms)
SEP	Standard European Portuguese
SG	singular
SUP	superlative
TA	tense and aspect
TAG-Q	tag-question
TL	target language
TMA	tense-mode-aspect
TV	thematic vowel
V	owel
VP	verb phrase
VT	verbal theme
∅	zero inflection
'	main stress
.	morpheme boundary
≈	equivalent

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Abstract

A vernacular variety of Portuguese with a structure clearly distinct from that of European Portuguese has developed in Angola. This study examines the linguistic structure of the Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (AVP) that developed in Dundo in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte by systematically comparing the structure of its noun phrase and verb phrase to that of European Portuguese and the Bantu languages with which it has been in contact. Interpreting the precise nature of this contact from the time the Portuguese arrived in what is now Angola in 1482 with the perspective of recent developments in contact linguistics has made it clear that the mixed language variety that emerged was neither a pidgin nor a creole but rather a partially restructured variety of Portuguese that developed out of a continuum of learners' interlanguages that eventually acquired norms and began to reapproach European Portuguese through secondary leveling. AVP was first described in print by Schuchardt (1888), but its use was long confined to certain social groups such as Afro-Europeans in coastal cities and later slavers in certain parts of the interior. It was not until the early 20th century when Portugal's attempt to make Angola the kind of colony of settlement that Brazil had been increased the number of European native speakers of Portuguese to the extent that a substantial portion of Angola's Bantu speakers needed AVP to get along. In the civil war following independence in 1975 the displacement of refugees increased the use of AVP among monolingual speakers. It was not until the second half of the 20th century that the political, economic and social conditions in Angola were met to trigger a shift from the local Bantu language, Cokwe, to an emerging Dundo Vernacular Portuguese (DVP). The features that distinguish DVP from other varieties of AVP (and their frequency) cast important light on the actual mechanisms of language shift and their sociolinguistic correlates.

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Resumo

Desenvolveu-se em Angola uma variedade vernacular do português com uma estrutura claramente distinta do português europeu. Este estudo analisa a estrutura linguística do português vernáculo de Angola (PVA) que se desenvolveu no Dundo, na província nordestina da Lunda Norte, através da comparação sistemática da estrutura do seu sintagma nominal e verbal com a do português europeu e as línguas banto com quais este esteve em contacto. A interpretação da natureza exacta deste contacto desde a chegada dos portugueses a Luanda em 1482 a partir da perspectiva de desenvolvimentos recentes no âmbito da Língua de Contacto torna claro que a variedade mista que se emergiu não era nem um pidgin nem um crioulo, mas antes uma variedade parcialmente reestruturada do português que se desenvolveu a partir do *continuum* de interlínguas e eventualmente adquiriu normas e começou a reaproximar-se do português europeu através de nivelamento secundário (*secondary leveling*). O PVA foi pela primeira vez descrito numa publicação de Schuchardt (1888), mas o seu uso esteve durante muito tempo confinado a certos grupos sociais, nomeadamente aos afro-europeus nas cidades costeiras e, posteriormente, aos traficantes de escravos em algumas partes do interior. Foi apenas no século XX, quando Portugal procurou fazer de Angola o tipo de colónia de povoamento que o Brasil fora, que o número de falantes nativos de português aumentou em proporções significativas para obrigar os falantes das línguas banto a necessitar do PVA para a sua sobrevivência. Durante a guerra civil que se seguiu à independência, em 1975, a deslocação de refugiados e a adopção do português como língua oficial aumentaram a utilização do PVA, difundindo a indigenização do mesmo entre falantes banto monolíngues. Seria apenas na segunda metade do século XX que se reuniram as condições políticas, económicas e sociais necessárias para despoletar uma mudança da língua local, o cokwe, para o emergente português vernáculo do Dundo (PVD). As características que distinguem o PVD de outras variedades do PVA (bem como a sua frequência) lançam luz sobre os reais mecanismos de mudança de língua e respectivas correlações sociolinguísticas.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to offer an overview at the linguistic issues which this dissertation addresses and to provide an outline of its goals and structure. Section 1.1 provides a brief profile of Angola and a description of the current sociolinguistic situation in the country. Section 1.2 gives a sociolinguistic description of Angola's province of Lunda Norte in general and of the town of Dundo in particular. Section 1.3 defines the object of study and the aims of this dissertation while section 1.4 outlines its structure. Section 1.5 provides information about the terminology and data sources used in this dissertation and describes the methodology used to collect and organize the data. Finally, section 1.6 explains the symbols and abbreviations found in this study. Needless to say, all the topics covered in this introductory chapter will be dealt with in more detail in the following chapters.

1.1. ANGOLA: A BRIEF PROFILE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Angola is located on the west coast of central Africa on the South Atlantic Ocean, between Namibia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The country covers an area of 1,246,700 km² and is divided into 18 provinces: Cabinda, Zaire, Uíge, Bengo, Luanda, Kwanza Norte, Kwanza Sul, Malanje, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul, Benguela, Huambo, Bié, Moxico, Namibe, Huíla, Cunene and Cuando-Cubango. The geo-political divisions of Angola are given in Map 1 below:

There are three major ethnolinguistic groups in the country: the Khoisan, the Vátwa and the Bantu. The Khoisan and the Vátwa, although the oldest ethnolinguistic groups in the country, are very few in number (i.e. 8000 and 6000, respectively) and mostly scattered across a few southern provinces, namely Huíla and Namibe (Fernandes and Ntondo 2002: 23-28). The overwhelming majority of the population belongs to the Bantu ethnolinguistic group, which covers all of the Angolan territory and is divided into nine major sub-groups. Table 1 below gives the designations used to refer to both the people and the language associated with each main ethnolinguistic group in Angola¹.

TABLE 1.

Ethnolinguistic groups in Angola (Bantu and Non-Bantu)
(based on Fernandes and Ntondo 2002: 23-56)

	PEOPLE	LANGUAGE
BANTU	Tucokwe	Cokwe
	Ambundu	Kimbundu
	Bakongo	Kikongo
	Vangangela	Ngangela
	Ovanyaneka-Nkhumbi	Olunyaneka
	Ovahелеlo	Oshihelelo
	Ovambo	Ovakwanyama
	Ovandonge	Oshindonga
	Ovimbundu	Umbundu
NON-BANTU	Khoisan	Khoisan
	Vátwa	Vátwa

However, while the different ethnolinguistic groups in Angola are fairly well studied, there are no exact figures concerning the size, age structure and ethnolinguistic distribution of the Angolan population². Building on data from 2004, the Angolan

¹ It should be noted that as far as the Bantu ethnolinguistic groups are concerned, the names of the people and that of the language derive from a common stem but they differ in the meaning of the prefix that is added to it. This is so because the Bantu languages have specific prefixes to refer to people as opposed to languages. Since the names of the people and of the language are often confused, both forms are given in Table 1 above. Throughout this dissertation, the proper distinction between language and people will be maintained.

² The last comprehensive population census was carried out in Angola in 1970. After the country's independence from Portugal in 1975, the Angolan government carried out a few population surveys in some provincial capitals, but the results of those surveys, namely that carried out in Luanda in 1983, are not believed to be fully accurate (cf. Carneiro 1987). In the absence of exact figures concerning the size, age structure and ethnolinguistic distribution of the Angolan population, I have chosen to use the population estimates given by the Angolan government because all other estimates, including those of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations, build on the numbers

Government estimates the population at roughly 14,767,655 (Ministério do Planeamento 2009: 2), 53.1% of which concentrated in the biggest urban centers in the western half of the country (*ibid.*). In fact, almost one-third of the population lives in the capital alone, Luanda. The geographic distribution of the population, according to Government estimates, is as shown in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2
Angolan population by province
(based on Ministério do Planeamento 2009)

PROVINCE	POPULATION (millions)	%
Bengo	474,670	3.22
Benguela	1.640,172	11.13
Bié	1.030,046	6.99
Cabinda	200,986	1.36
Cunene	419,519	2.85
Huambo	1.507,180	10.23
Huíla	1.217,830	8.27
Kwango Kubango	421,194	2.86
Kwanza Norte	390,702	2.65
Kwanza Sul	766,729	5.20
Luanda	2,968,090	20.14
Lunda Norte	401,631	2.73
Lunda Sul	474,670	3.22
Malanje	819,732	5.56
Moxico	386,468	2.62
Namibe	302,396	2.05
Uíge	981,883	6.66
Zaire	329,998	2.24
Total	14,733,896	100

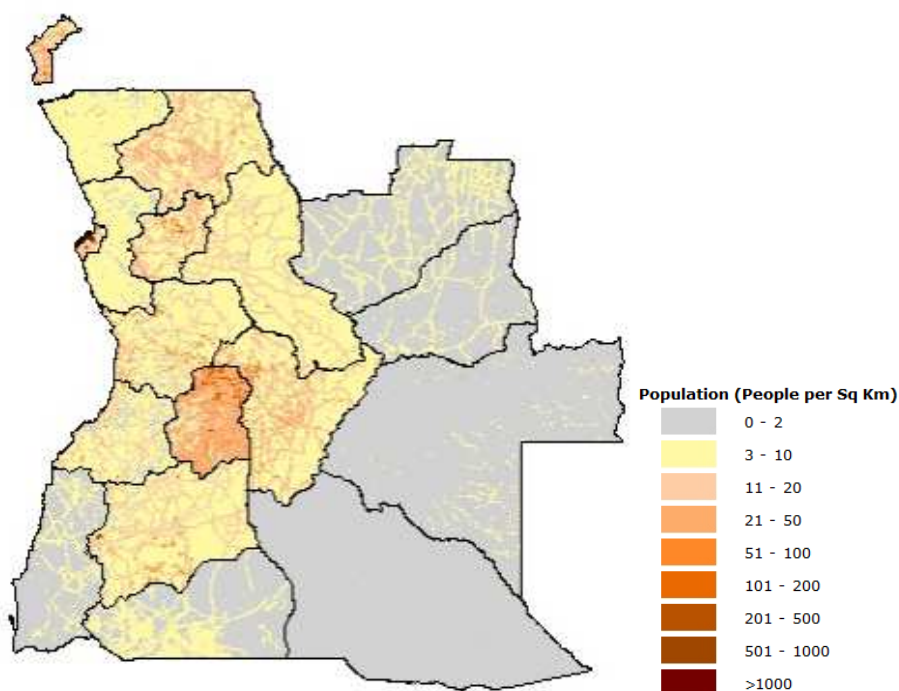
The sharp contrast between Luanda and the rest of the country, on the one hand, and between the coastal areas and the interior of the country, on the other, is not a new situation in Angola. In fact, as will be shown in chapter 3, this contrast has been a defining feature of the history of Angola since the Portuguese settled Luanda in 1575, but it reached current proportions following the country's independence from Portugal in 1975 and the constant displacement of the population during the following civil war that devastated the country until April 2002 (PNUD 2005: 36).

provided by the Angolan Government. Hopefully, better data will be available in the future; it has been announced by the Government that the 2010 State Budget will contemplate money to carry out a national population census in Angola by the year 2014 (cf. <http://www.minplan.gov.ao/NoticiaD.aspx?Codigo=8937>).

MAP 2

Population density in Angola

<http://www.fao.org/countryprofiles/Maps/AGO/10/pt/index.html>



The migration of the population towards major urban centers is a worldwide demographic tendency and therefore one that is likely to continue in Angola in the future. However, the end of the civil war in 2002 and the subsequent extension of the administrative presence of the Government in the country, namely by means of the construction of health and education infrastructures in the interior, may help make this contrast less noticeable (Ministério do Planeamento 2009: 4). In fact, it is estimated that by the end of August 2003, little more than a year after the end of the military conflict, over 3 million internally displaced Angolans had already voluntarily left Luanda and other major urban centers on the coast for their home areas in the interior (PNUD 2005: 18) and that at the beginning of 2004 half of the 450,000 refugees had repatriated to Angola (Halme 2005: 263).

Urban and rural Angola contrast not only demographically but also linguistically. Although Angola is in size the second largest Portuguese-speaking country and Hodges (2004: 24) claims that “nowhere else in Africa, apart from some island states, has a European language assumed such prominence as a lingua franca among the mass of the population”, according to data of the Angolan National Institute of Statistics quoted by the same author, Portuguese is now spoken natively by 26% of the population, mainly the elite

and the young in large urban centers, typically on the coast. Outside these areas, especially in rural areas and in the interior of the country, the majority of the population continues to use African languages in their daily life, even if they have varying degrees of proficiency in Portuguese, which they use as a second language (L2).

The most widely spoken languages are the Bantu languages, six of which were selected in the late 1970s as national languages: Umbundu, Kimbundu, Kikongo, Cokwe, Mbunda-Ngangela, and Ovakwanyama (INL 1980). Again, there are no exact figures concerning the number of speakers of these languages, but Bonvini (1994: 128) provides the following estimates: Umbundu (3,200,000), Kimbundu (2,000,000), Cokwe (1,300,00), Kikongo (1,000,000) and Ovakwanyama (200,000)³. The geographic distribution of the main Bantu languages spoken in Angola is as shown in Map 3 below:

MAP 3
Main ethnolinguistic groups in Angola
 (Fernandes and Ntondo 2002: 57)



In fact, until recently, the maintenance of Kimbundo, Umbundo, Kikongo, Cokwe, etc. as the population’s dominant languages was clear not only in the rural areas, but also

³ The webversion of *Ethnologue* provides considerably different figures for Umbundu (4,000,000), Kimbundu (3,000,000), Cokwe (456,000) and Kikongo (1,000,000). Neither *Ethnologue* nor Bonvini (1994: 127-128) indicate the source of their estimates.

in the main urban centers, including Luanda. According to the census carried out in the capital in 1983, 60% of its the inhabitants spoke an African language as their mother tongue and used it to communicate with people from the same ethnolinguistic group (Carneiro 1987: 53). The census also indicated that members of the same ethnolinguistic group tended to settle in the same neighborhoods as a means to reinforce group cohesion and reduce permeability to external influences (*ibid.*). In fact, in 1983, 2% of the population of Luanda still did not speak Portuguese at all (*ibid.*). Portuguese was used only as a *lingua franca* and as the language of the administration, education and the media, coexisting with the African languages in a diglossic situation.

Although people belonging to different ethnolinguistic groups continued to arrive in Luanda and other large urban centers, the maintenance of their African mother tongues as their primary language seems to have suffered a setback over the last couple of decades, as noted by Hodges (2004: 24-25):

The 1996 survey⁴ showed that Portuguese had become the second most widely spoken language in the country, as the mother tongue of 26 per cent of Angolans, well ahead of Kimbundu and Kikongo. The advance of Portuguese, at the expense of African languages, has been greatest among the Mbundu, but all African groups have been affected. (Hodges 2004: 24-25)

This change in the sociolinguistic setting in Angola is in part explained by the return of millions of refugees and internally displaced Angolans to their homelands after decades of living in areas where Portuguese was both the official and the vehicular language (Halme 2005: 263). These massive migratory movements were responsible for the diffusion of Portuguese to areas of Angola where it was seldom spoken or not spoken at all. Consequently, unlike their parents and grandparents before them, Angolans migrating to the cities today are no longer monolingual Bantu speakers but rather bilingual speakers of Portuguese and the Bantu languages. Other relevant factors in accounting for the recent changes in Angola's sociolinguistic setting include the following, noted by Hodges (*ibid.* 25):

Urbanization has been one of the driving forces of this process, interacting with other factors, such as the *expansion of education after independence* and the *impact of television*. Portuguese benefited from its status as the *sole official language* and its promotion by the post-independence government as an *instrument of national unity*. It has been the *exclusive medium of instruction* in the schools and has also been the *language of the military*, providing a common language for generations of conscripts.

⁴ Hodges (2004: 25) is referring to the survey carried out by the Angolan government in all 18 provinces in 1996.

The most significant trend in Angola's sociolinguistic situation today is the fact that "Portuguese is far more widely spoken by children than among adults" (Hodges 2004: 25), as shown in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3
Age distribution of Portuguese as a mother tongue in Angola
(based on Hodges 2004: 25)

AGE (YEARS)	PERCENTAGE (%)
Under 9	42%
10 - 19	34%
20 - 29	18%
over 40	10%

In fact, if one considers that over 45% of Angolans are under 15 years of age (Hodges 2004: 23) and that the prospect of a better life continues to attract them to the main urban centers, where the pressure from Portuguese is more intense, one can confidently expect the percentage of native speakers of Portuguese in Angola to increase even more in the near future. The impact that this will have on the linguistic diversity of the country remains to be seen, but Halme (2005: 263) seems confident that "although Portuguese is still the key to economic success, the national languages are also being valued more and more, and attitudes are changing to the benefit of multilingualism at both national and personal levels".

To sum up, the current sociolinguistic situation in Angola is one characterized by generalized diglossia and intense language contact. Portuguese is now the second most widely spoken language, especially in the big urban centers, but the majority of the population, especially in rural areas and in the interior of the country, still use one or more African languages as their primary language. The importance of these languages in the daily lives of Angolans is well illustrated by the need felt by the Government to include the study of African languages in the formation of future teachers of Portuguese. It is also reflected in the intense language policy debates that often appear in the media.

However, language contact in Angola includes not only contact of Portuguese with African languages but also contact between different varieties of Portuguese. In fact, while the number of speakers of Portuguese in the country is on the rise, not all speakers have

the same degree of proficiency in the language. European Portuguese (henceforth EP), both oral and written, is the official standard in Angola, but it does not seem to be the standard European variety of Portuguese that is spreading throughout the country. Portuguese speakers in the country have different degrees of proficiency in a variety of Portuguese which has been referred to in the literature as “português angolanizado” (Mendes 1985), “português angolano” (Marques 1983) or, more recently, “português vernacularizado” (Fernandes and Ntongo 2002) and “português popular de Angola” (2002). It is this vernacular, which I refer to as Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (henceforth AVP), that is the first language of 26% of Angolans and the second language of a considerable number of Angolans. Mingas (1998: 115) defines it as follows:

... uma nova realidade linguística em Angola, a que chamamos “português de Angola” ou “angolano”, à semelhança do que aconteceu ao brasileiro ou ao crioulo. Embora em estado embrionário, o “angolano” apresenta já especificidades próprias [...] Pensamos que, no nosso país, o “português de Angola” sobrepor-se-á ao “português padrão” como língua segunda dos Angolanos.

As will be shown in chapter 2, the existing literature on AVP makes it clear that the vernacular that is spreading throughout Angola as either the first or second language (henceforth L1 and L2, respectively) of the general population owes its structure to the contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese in the country. The impact of language contact on the linguistic structure of AVP is so significant that Mingas (2002: 45) argues that the language is “at risk” of undergoing creolization:

... a língua portuguesa, pela sua função veicular, corre o risco de criouliização, devido não só às condições do seu ensino como às situações de contacto linguístico que caracterizam o país.

Barros (2002: 35) takes Mingas’ claim a step further and argues that the creolization of Portuguese is already fully under way in Angola:

A inexistência de estudos científicos sistemáticos (há a realçar somente artigos e trabalhos dispersos) não tem podido dar conta da importância daquela convergência e da riqueza do PPA [i.e. *Português Popular de Angola*] que se encontra num processo de criouliização e, facilmente, se podem encontrar falantes de pidgin, crioulo, variedades do Português, assim como situações de bilinguismo, diglossia e poliglossia.

However, as will hopefully be shown in chapter 2, the linguistic evidence seems to point in a different direction in the sense that the features that distinguish AVP from EP display considerable influence from substrate languages, but they also retain enough

similarity to the superstrate to indicate that Portuguese in Angola is unlikely to have ever been fully creolized. Therefore, AVP is best analyzed as partially restructured vernacular.

1.2. LUNDA NORTE: PRELIMINARY SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

The province of Lunda Norte is in the northeastern corner of Angola, bordering the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the North and Zambia to the East. The province is the product of the post-independence division of the Lunda district, created by the Portuguese in 1885 in the aftermath of the Berlin Conference (Santos 2005: 39). Lunda Norte covers an approximate area of 103,000 km² and it is divided into nine municipalities: Tchitato, Cambulo, Chitato, Cuilo, Caungula, Cuango, Lubalo, Capenda Camulemba and Xá Muteba.

MAP 4
Lunda Norte
(<http://www.portalangop.co.ao>)



When the post-independence government created this province in 1978, the provincial capital was Lucapa. However, the capital was eventually moved to Dundo, the diamond-mining city located 24 km south of the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the cornerstone of Lunda Norte's economy since the establishment of the diamond-mining company DIAMANG there in 1917. Dundo, Lucapa and the capitals of

each municipality are the main urban centers in Lunda Norte, which is an essentially rural province.

The cornerstone of the province's economy is the exploitation of diamonds in the mines located southeast of Dundo (e.g. Camafuca-Camazango mine in Cambulo). However, the majority of the population either survives on agriculture, small commerce or is unemployed⁵. Access to Lunda Norte is extremely difficult due to the poor condition of the roads, the majority of which are either unpaved or have very deteriorated pavement, as illustrated in Pictures 3 and 4 in Annex I. The easiest and safest way to access the province is by plane, via Dundo, although from 2006 to 2008 access to the province was made even more difficult by maintenance work at the Dundo airport. In fact, this was one of the reasons why I was unable to return to Dundo after my stay there in 2004.

The total population of Lunda Norte is estimated at 401,631, i.e. less than 3% of the total population of Angola, mostly concentrated in the urban centers, especially in the surroundings, or scattered through small villages along the banks of the many rivers that cross the province (e.g. Luachimo, Cuango, Kasai)⁶. The overwhelming majority of the population in Lunda Norte belongs to the Tucokwe ethnolinguistic group, although the Luba, the Lunda, the Kete, and the Pende are also well represented. This means that the most widely spoken language in the province, in both urban and rural settings, is by far Cokwe (K11), followed by Luba-Kasai (L31a, also known locally as Ciluba), Luba-Katanga (L33, also known locally as Kiluba), Lunda (L52) Kete (L21) and, to a minor extent, Pende (L11), Kimbundu (H21) and other Angolan Bantu languages⁷.

With the exception of Kimbundu, all of the aforementioned languages are spoken not only in Angola but also in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. As will be shown in chapter 3, the presence of these languages in Lunda Norte is in part explained by historical reasons but also by the recent migratory exchanges between Angola and these two countries as a consequence of both the civil war and diamond trafficking. Alongside Kimbundu, other Angolan Bantu languages are also sporadically spoken in some areas of

⁵ Cf. Pictures 1 to 2 in Annex I.

⁶ Cf. Pictures 4 to 6 for an illustration of the different housing conditions in Dundo and surrounding urban areas, on the one hand, and more rural areas, on the other.

⁷ The language codes given here are those used in Maho's (2007) update of Guthrie's referential classification system for the languages of the Bantu branch. In this system, "each language is given a code consisting of three (occasionally four) characters, namely, one upper-case letter indicating a regional zone followed by two digits indicating language group and language and occasionally suffixed by a lower-case letter indicating dialect(s)." (*ibid.* 6, 9). Therefore, the code K11 refers to Zone K, Group 10, language 1, i.e. Cokwe.

Lunda Norte, namely Umbundu (R11), Kikongo (H16), Ngangela (K12) and Luchazi (K13) as a consequence of the migration movements that occurred during the civil war.

The aforementioned languages, while all members of the Bantu branch, are not mutually comprehensible. A minority of speakers, especially if they are Angolan, resort to Portuguese to bridge this communication gap, but the vast majority speaks one of the aforementioned Bantu languages as their L1 (typically Cokwe) and learn one or more of the others as their L2. Portuguese is typically only chosen as a *lingua franca* in urban centers, and typically only in institutional and professional settings because in the outskirts of the cities and in rural areas Bantu languages are the most widely spoken.

Therefore, unlike in other provinces, the bilingualism pattern in Lunda Norte tends to involve two or more Bantu languages rather than a Bantu language and Portuguese. In other words, Portuguese is less often chosen as a *lingua franca* in Lunda Norte than it is in other Angolan provinces, especially those in the western half of the country. In fact, this seems to be the typical sociolinguistic setting in most of rural Angola and it is not one triggered by recent developments. In fact, in a survey carried out in rural Angola in 1974, Heimer (1974) found that 59% of the those inquired claimed to have no proficiency whatsoever in Portuguese and only 0,8% claimed to use it often in their daily lives. As noted earlier, in the case of Lunda Norte, the vitality of the Bantu languages with regard to Portuguese is mostly explained by the fact that the aforementioned Bantu languages have coexisted in Lunda Norte for over two centuries. It may also be argued that the vitality of the Bantu languages in Lunda Norte can be accounted for by the fact that during most of the civil war the province was under the sphere of influence of UNITA, a political movement that put great emphasis on the need to maintain Angola's native languages.

No reliable estimates are available concerning the age structure and ethnolinguistic distribution of the population of Lunda Norte. There are also no estimates concerning the number of L1 speakers of Portuguese, but my informants in Dundo tell me that the number of these speakers is very low not only in the rural areas, but also in the capital. The number of L2 speakers of Portuguese in the cities, on the other hand, is much higher, especially among the youth. In fact, according to my informants, people are expected to speak Portuguese when they are in the city, although older and less educated speakers often do not and tend to use either Cokwe (or another Bantu language) or what Informant 7 (cf. Interview 0004a) calls *português de rua* 'street Portuguese' (i.e. code-switch between Portuguese and Cokwe). My stay in Dundo allowed me to confirm this informant's judgment. In fact, in the centre of the city, where most public services are located (e.g. library, church, provincial government, sports facilities, schools, restaurants,

police station, bank, etc) Portuguese is the most widely spoken language, but in more popular areas of the city, namely in the outskirts and the street market, it is Cokwe (and other Bantu languages) that are most widely used⁸.

The use of different languages according to context shows that different language attitudes exist towards Portuguese, on the one hand, and the Bantu languages, on the other. Therefore, Portuguese is perceived as the prestige language in institutional and formal contexts, less often at home, whereas Cokwe is associated with more familiar and personal contexts. For example, when asked which language he used at home, informant 7 claimed he spoke mostly Cokwe but also Portuguese. However, when asked which language he would choose to offend a friend he swiftly replied it had to be Cokwe (cf. Interview 0004a, especially lines 106 to 111).

The degrees of proficiency that speakers have in Portuguese and Cokwe are also different. L1 speakers of Portuguese, regardless of their age and level of instruction, typically do not speak a Bantu language, although those who are older claim they can understand at least bits of their parents Bantu L1. Younger and more educated L1 speakers of Portuguese typically do not speak or understand any Bantu language.

The situation of L2 speakers of Portuguese is more complex. In fact, while they all have native knowledge of at least one Bantu language, their degree of proficiency in Portuguese varies considerably depending on their age and level of instruction. Hence, younger and more educated speakers typically speak a variety of Portuguese that is closer to that spoken in Portugal, whereas the speech of those who are older and less educated covers a continuum of varieties that range from extremely simplified varieties of Portuguese to varieties that are very close to non-standard EP. As will hopefully be shown in this dissertation, in spite of the different degrees of proficiency in Portuguese depicted by younger and more educated speakers and those who are older and less educated, there is a wide number of linguistic features that are shared by all or most L2 speakers of Portuguese regardless of their age or level of instruction. In fact, some of these features can also be found in the speech of L1 speakers of Portuguese.

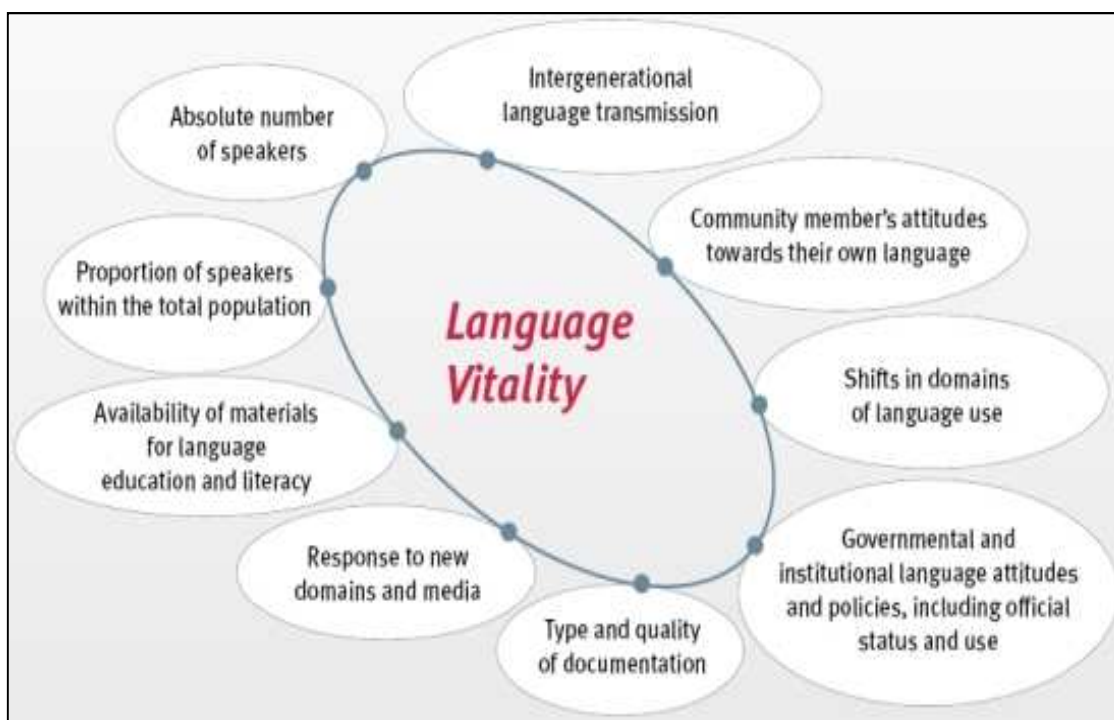
It is difficult to evaluate at this stage whether this sociolinguistic setting will be maintained in Lunda Norte, i.e. whether the province will continue to be characterized by widespread multilingualism and bilingualism in two or more Bantu languages or whether this setting will gradually be replaced by one in which the number of languages spoken

⁸ The main buildings and monuments at the town center in Dundo are given in Pictures 8 to 12. Dundo's street market is given in picture 13.

will decrease and the pattern of bilingualism will change to Portuguese and a single Bantu language or even monolingualism in Portuguese.

Ultimately, the shift or maintenance of the sociolinguistic setting described above will depend on whether any changes occur in the levels of vitality of each language spoken in Lunda Norte. According to UNESCO (2003), the vitality of a language can be assessed building on the nine criteria given in Figure 1 below. In UNESCO's language vitality assessment system, the language is given a grade ranging from 0 to 5 for each criterion. Higher grades indicate high levels of vitality whether lower ones indicate that the language is endangered.

FIGURE 1
UNESCO's nine criteria for assessing language vitality
(<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00142>)



However, even building on these criteria, it is very difficult to evaluate whether the current levels of vitality of the languages spoken in Lunda Norte will be maintained. This difficulty is illustrated by the assessment of Cokwe's current levels of vitality, which is given in Table 4 below:

TABLE 4
Assessment of Cokwe's language vitality
 (based on UNESCO 2003: 8-16)

CRITERIA	DEGREE OF ENDANGERMENT
Intergenerational language transmission	5- <i>Stable yet threatened</i> "The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts." (UNESCO 2003: 8)
Absolute number of speakers	Unknown
Proportion of speakers within the total population	Unknown
Shifts in domains of language use	4 <i>Multilingual parity</i> "Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions; the ancestral language usually is rare in the public domain." (UNESCO 2003: 10)
Response to new domains and media	1 <i>Minimal</i> The language is used in only a few new domains.
Materials for language education and literacy	1 A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written
Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies	3 <i>Passive assimilation</i> "No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain". (UNESCO 2003: 14)
Community members' attitudes towards their own language	4 Most members support language maintenance. (UNESCO 2003: 14)
Type and quality of documentation	2 <i>Fragmentary.</i> "There are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation." (UNESCO 2003: 16)

Table 4 illustrates why it is so difficult to make any predictions about the vitality of the languages spoken in Lunda Norte. On the one hand, we lack information about some of the criteria outlined in Figure 1, namely those referring to the absolute number of speakers of each language and the proportion of speakers within the total population. On the other hand, while community member's current attitudes towards their own language and the high levels of intergenerational language transmission give us good reason to believe in the maintenance of the high level of vitality of the Bantu languages in Lunda Norte, the lack of materials for language education and literacy in these languages, the governmental and institutional pressure towards Portuguese, the type and quality of the

documentation on the Bantu languages spoken in Lunda Norte, their response to new domains and media and shifts in domains of language use also give one reasons to expect an increase in the number of both L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese and a decrease in the number of Bantu languages speakers.

In fact, while the Bantu languages are associated with more intimate and personal contexts, it is Portuguese that one hears children speak when they score a goal or suffer a penalty and it is in Portuguese that soccer fans' banners are written to express support to their team⁹. It is also Portuguese that one hears most of the time on the radio or reads in blogs created by Lunda Norte citizens. Moreover, while there is a considerable number of fairly decent linguistic descriptions of Cokwe (Atkins 1954, 1955; Barbosa 1989; e.g. Chatelain 1894; Diarra 1990; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Martins 1990; Santos 1962; White 1947), for example, little investment has been made in expanding and updating this body of knowledge, which makes the existence of materials for language education and literacy even less likely in the future.

It should be noted, however, that regardless of what the prospects are concerning the evolution of the sociolinguistic setting in Lunda Norte in the long run, it is likely that in the near future Cokwe and related Bantu languages will continue to be the most widely spoken languages in the province as a whole, even if in the urban centers and its surroundings the number of L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese will most likely increase considerably.

1.3. OBJECT OF STUDY AND AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION

The first consistent references to AVP appeared in the literature only in the late 1980s. It was not perceived as a distinctively Angolan variety of Portuguese, but rather as a more or less systematic set of deviations from the norm of EP that could be found in the speech of second-language learners of Portuguese as a consequence of interference from their Bantu mother tongues. These early descriptions of AVP consist mostly of brief conference papers. In spite of their scientific quality and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the variety, these papers tend to be short collections of unrelated contact-induced features of AVP and the data used are typically drawn exclusively from literary

⁹ Cf. Pictures 14 and 15.

texts and often repeated in the works of different linguists¹⁰. Gonçalves (2004: 229) notes this problem as follows:

... up to now, the studies on this African variety of Portuguese [i.e. *Angolan Vernacular Portuguese*] have only been based on texts by Angolan writers, and not on data produced in natural contexts by L2 speakers of this speech community (cf. Gärtner 1996; Marques 1985; Mendes 1985; Mingas 2000). Furthermore, some of these writers (e.g. Luandino Vieira or Manuel Rui Monteiro) are L1 speakers of Portuguese, making it difficult to take their discourse as reliable evidence about the process of L2 acquisition of Portuguese in Angola. (Gonçalves 2004: 229)

Another important shortcoming of the early literature on AVP is the fact that it pays little or no attention to the detailed study of the sociolinguistic setting in Angola during the period of contact between Portuguese and the languages of the Bantu group.

The civil war that devastated the country since its independence from Portugal in 1975 until 2002 was in part responsible for this, in the sense that it made fieldwork in Angola difficult and dangerous, but the Portuguese neo-colonial myth of *Lusofonia*¹¹ was no less to blame, fostering a sentimental and false view of the country as exclusively Portuguese speaking (Lopes 2003), even if some differences between AVP and EP were recognized. This view did not lead to investing in the study of actual language use in Angola (Leonard 1995; Pérez 2000) and until recently, neither reference works in linguistics nor general works about varieties of Portuguese around the world mentioned the existence of an Angolan variety of Portuguese. In the former, Portuguese was described as an extremely homogeneous language and only two varieties were acknowledged, i.e. EP and Brazilian Portuguese (e.g. Castilho 1994). In the latter, the main emphasis was on the description of Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles. The works of Adolfo Coelho (1880-86) are paradigmatic in this regard. His papers are devoted to the description of the creoles based on Portuguese and on other European languages in Africa, Asia and the Americas. Of the non-creole varieties of Portuguese, only BP is analysed,

¹⁰ In fact, to the best of my knowledge, Cabral (2005), Chavagne (2005), Inverno (Inverno 2006) and the present study are the only sources of oral data produced by actual speakers of AVP.

¹¹ The word *Lusofonia* refers to the community of countries where Portuguese is used either as a first or a second language, i.e. Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique and East Timor. According to Pérez (2000:1), *Lusofonia* is simultaneously a common linguistic community and economic area, a political organization embodied by the CPLP (i.e. Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa), and a cultural organization achieved by a series of cultural agreements. The truth though is that after the independence of Portugal's ex-colonies, the concept of *Lusofonia* came to replace the colonial myth of taking these countries as solely Portuguese speaking, thus obscuring the fact that, apart from Portugal and Brazil, the majority of the population in the "países lusófonos" speaks Portuguese as second or third language rather than a first language. The general low academic success of students from the PALOPs (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa) in Portugal clearly illustrates the dramatic consequences of this myth on people's lives, i.e. they are assumed to be native speakers of Portuguese and are evaluated as such. As Léonard (1995:16) puts it "Le mythe est en marche". For a short but incisive and recent description of people's attitudes towards the minority languages in Portugal see Pereira (2002, 2007).

classified as “um português diferenciado [...] onde se manifesta uma tendência crioulezante” (1880-86: 160, 170). Therefore, while Coelho was “the first to articulate a theoretical position on the origin of creoles which came to be called the universalist theory” (Holm 2000: 27), as far as AVP is concerned, he provided no information whatsoever.

Surely, we have come a long way since that time. Nowadays AVP is not only the object of study of several master’s thesis (e.g. Cabral 2005; Inverno 2006), PhD dissertations (e.g. Chavagne 2005) and other academic works (Petter 2008), but it is also included in several linguistic corpora projects in Portugal¹² and selected as the topic of a growing number of papers offered in international conferences¹³, which has contributed to significantly change linguists’ perception of the variety.

The general perception today is that AVP, a contact-influenced vernacular, is developing into a full-fledged variety of Portuguese, as some of its distinctive features have been incorporated into the speech of most native speakers of Portuguese in Angola. The two quotes below by Cabral (2005) and Castro (2006) illustrate linguists’ acknowledgement of AVP, in Angola and Portugal respectively, as a variety of Portuguese on its own right:

A identificação e a descrição de tendências de mudança no Português em Angola devem (pre)ocupar professores e linguistas, podendo estes alertar para a necessidade de uma tomada de posição, por parte do governo, de modo a caminharmos para o estabelecimento da norma culta do Português em Angola, distinguindo aquilo que são construções transitórias, ou seja, próprias de processos de aprendizagem das línguas, daquelas passíveis de serem encontradas na produção de falantes adultos cultos. (Cabral 2005: 2)

Em suma, é apropriado, graças ao conceito de *variante nacional* (Celso Cunha), reconhecer que o sistema linguístico do português dispõe, no início do século XXI, de duas variantes nacionais plenamente desenvolvidas – a **variante portuguesa**, geralmente designada por “português europeu” ou PE, e **variante brasileira**, conhecida por “português brasileiro” ou PB (...). E reconhecer que, além disso, em África, se acham em formação uma **variante moçambicana** e uma **variante angolana**, que precisam de determinadas condições sociais para vingar. (Castro 2006: 12 - emphasis in the original)

¹² The Angolan variety of Portuguese has been included in several corpus projects at the *Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa* (CLUL), namely *Corpus de referência do português contemporâneo* and *VAPOR – Variedades Africanas do Português*, which are still in progress, and *Especificidades das Variedades Africanas do Português face à Norma-Padrão do Português Europeu* and *Recursos Linguísticos para o Estudo das Variedades Africanas do Português*. Detailed descriptions of these projects can be found at <http://www.clul.ul.pt/projectos.php>.

¹³ A good example of the growing interest of the international community of linguists in the description of the Angolan variety of Portuguese is the VI Meeting of the *Associação Brasileira de Estudos Crioulos e Similares* (ABECS), held in March 2010 at the *Universidade Federal da Bahia* (Salvador), which devoted an entire section of its program to the comparison of the Angolan and Brazilian varieties. For a list of the papers accepted for presentation see <http://www.abecs.net/site/index.php>

Due to this change of perception we now have not only a fairly comprehensive overview of the general lexical, semantic and morphosyntactic features that distinguish AVP from EP (cf. Chavagne 2005) but also detailed linguistic descriptions of some of those features (cf. Cabral 2005 on prepositional phrases and Inverno 2006 on the noun phrase). Recent studies have also offered us valuable general descriptions of the sociolinguistic setting in Angola since the early days of settlement in the 16th century to the present, as well as comprehensive overviews of the treatment given to AVP in the literature (e.g. Chavagne 2005; Inverno 2006).

Naturally, given the size of the country and its linguistic and political complexity, recent descriptions of AVP have helped fill some of gaps in the earlier literature but not all of them. In fact, these descriptions continue to focus exclusively on the varieties of Portuguese that are spoken in major urban centers, namely Luanda and Lubango. The overrepresentation of these varieties in the literature makes it impossible to evaluate not only the degree of regional variation in Angola but also the extent to which the degree of restructuring of Portuguese in the cities (where Portuguese influence is more noticeable) and in the interior (where the majority of the population are still monolingual in Bantu languages, or bilingual in one or more Bantu languages and Portuguese) is comparable.

Recent descriptions of AVP also continue to give little or no sociolinguistic information about the speakers and their speech communities. The lack of this information raises several problems. On the one hand, in making no distinction between L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese, it makes it impossible to identify any linguistic differences between native and second language varieties of Portuguese in Angola. On the other hand, the lack of information on the speakers' age, gender, profession and level of instruction, etc. makes it impossible to evaluate the role these factors play, if any, in shaping the linguistic structure of the Portuguese spoken in Angola. Moreover, while all authors acknowledge that AVP owes an important portion of its linguistic structure to the influence of the Bantu languages, very few authors actually compare their AVP data with similar data in the Bantu languages in order to make clear how that interference may have occurred (e.g. Inverno 2006; Mendes 1985; Mingas 2000).

Therefore, in an attempt to help fill these gaps in the recent literature on AVP, the present dissertation extends the scope of analysis to the description of the sociolinguistic setting and linguistic structure of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, the diamond-mining city that is the capital of the northeastern province of Lunda Norte. I use the term Dundo Vernacular Portuguese to refer to my object of study. It is used as a cover-term to refer to the continuum of varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, i.e.

to include both L1 and L2 varieties of DVP. Only when the distinction between L1 and L2 is relevant to the analysis of the data will a distinction be made between L1 and L2 DVP. It should be noted that the choice of this label does not entail any assumption that the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo is different from other varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. Consequently, the term *vernacular* in the label DVP should not be interpreted as referring to a language variety that is “native to a given community, as opposed to a learned or other second language” (Matthews 1997). In fact, evaluating the extent to which DVP differs or resembles other varieties of AVP so far described in the literature is one of the goals of this dissertation. Therefore, the term *vernacular*, as used in the label DVP, is meant to indicate that the variety under analysis is not standardized, regardless of whether it is spoken as a first or second language or its degree of similarity with other non-standardized varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola. Hence, the main goals of this dissertation are the following:

- To provide a comprehensive description of the contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese nominal and verbal morphosyntax in Dundo;
- To evaluate the role played by both the superstrate and the substrate languages in this restructuring by making a comprehensive comparison of the data on DVP, Portuguese and Cokwe;
- To evaluate how the contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese nominal and verbal morphosyntax in Dundo relates to sociolinguistic factors such as the speakers’ age, gender, profession, level of instruction and primary language(s);
- To compare the contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in Dundo with the kinds of restructuring found in other varieties of AVP, and, when relevant, in other contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as BVP and Mozambican Portuguese (henceforth MP).

The achievement of these goals will hopefully help us gain better insight into the kinds of restructuring that Portuguese is undergoing not only in the large urban centers in the western half of Angola but also in the interior and more rural areas of the country, and consequently offer a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic structure of AVP as a whole.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The present dissertation is divided into six chapters. The present chapter, the introduction, offers an overview of the linguistic issues which this study addresses. Chapter 2 provides an review of the literature on Angolan Vernacular Portuguese, in an attempt to give a comprehensive outline of the linguistic features that have hitherto been identified in the literature as distinguishing features of AVP, which may serve as a point of comparison with the contact-induced tendencies found in DVP. Chapter 3 analyzes the sociolinguistic setting in which contact between Portuguese and the languages of the Bantu branch developed, in an attempt to identify the general social and historical factors that were responsible for the kind of restructuring one finds in Angola in general and Lunda Norte in particular. Chapter 4 analyzes a set of contact-induced tendencies in DVP's nominal morphosyntax that includes the following: variable number and gender marking and agreement, neutralization of case contrasts in paradigms of person markers (i.e. personal pronouns in traditional grammar¹⁴), proclitic word order of object person markers, post-nominal word order of possessive determiners, omission of definite articles and peculiar uses of demonstrative determiners. Chapter 5 analyzes a set of contact-induced tendencies in DVP's verb phrase that includes the following: two competing strategies to mark the infinitive, replacement of the subjunctive by the indicative, preference for future and progressive analytic verb forms, the use of a single imperative form in both affirmative and negative sentences, simplification of person-number paradigms and variable subject-verb agreement, variable verb-predicate agreement, sentential negation strategies, lexical marking strategies of TMA categories, existential use of the verb *ter* 'to have' and omission of the preposition *a* in periphrastic verbal constructions. In both chapter 4 and chapter 5 the DVP data are compared to relevant EP and Cokwe data in an attempt to determine the role played by both the superstrate and substrate languages in the restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in Dundo. Finally, chapter 6 sums up the issues analyzed in the dissertation and presents the conclusions.

¹⁴ I follow Siewierska's (2004) option for the term *person marker* and *person form* in preference to *personal pronoun* as I agree that, indeed, "the term pronoun is open to a number of interpretations and even under the most liberal of these, not all grammatical markers of the category person are uncontroversially pronominal" (*ibid.* 2), e.g. EP expresses person not only by means of pronouns but also by means of nominal expressions (i.e. the so-called *courtesy pronouns*) and in Cokwe person is encoded by means of bound morphemes.

1.5. DATA SOURCES AND DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

1.5.1. DUNDO VERNACULAR PORTUGUESE

All of the data on DVP, unless otherwise identified, are drawn from a corpus of 27 semi-spontaneous interviews collected in Dundo during July and August 2004. While still there, I realized that this methodology needed to be complemented with other data collection methods, namely speakers' grammaticality judgements, specific eliciting tasks and a sociolinguistic questionnaire. However, my heavy teaching load as a *professora cooperante* and the long hours of lesson planning required did not leave much time to prepare and implement such data collection methods.

The duration of each interview varies greatly, ranging from one to fifty-two minutes. Thirty-one speakers were interviewed, each of which was given a number (e.g. *Inf1*), and sociolinguistic information on each of them was elicited during the interviews. For most speakers I was able to collect accurate information concerning their place of birth, primary and secondary language(s), level of schooling, profession, sex and age. However, this was not possible for all speakers, either because they were unable to provide the required information or because I felt at the time that questions about the speakers' background might compromise the accuracy of the information provided. The overwhelming majority of the speakers interviewed are L2 speakers of Portuguese whose L1 is Cokwe. The only exceptions are *Inf3*, *Inf10*, *Inf11*, *Inf12*, *Inf13*, *Inf 14* and *Inf15*, who are L1 speakers of Portuguese and claimed not to speak or understand any Bantu language. For a detailed description of the sociolinguistic information collected on each speaker see Annex II.

The interviews were recorded in mini-disks¹⁵, each of which was sequentially numbered. The recordings were then digitalized using the audio editing software *Audacity* and each was given a code consisting of five elements: number of the recording, original mini-disk number, name of the variety (i.e. DVP), year of recording and type of recording (i.e. audio or video). Hence, the code *1_d1_dvp_2004_aud* refers to the first audio recording of mini-disk number one and it contains DVP data recorded in 2004.

The transcription process of the interviews started after my return from Dundo in August 2004 and it was governed by two basic criteria: visual simplicity of the transcript and as much accuracy as possible in the reproduction of the informants' verbal

¹⁵ Cf. Picture 16.

production. As information on paralinguistic, non-verbal and actional phenomena (Perdue 1993: 108) that occur during the interviews is often crucial to achieving a more accurate reproduction of the verbal production, an attempt was made to include as much of this information as possible by means of the insertion of descriptive comments concerning background noises, speaker noises, technical noises, pauses, hesitations, body movement, etc.

An orthographic transcription was chosen over a phonetic or interlinear transcription as both of these would have made the text less readily usable to anyone other than linguists. Moreover, while an interlinear transcription (i.e. primary text, gloss and translation in a language of wider communication) would be more adequate to the nature and object of study of this dissertation, neither this nor the phonetic transcription allows the inclusion of paralinguistic, non-verbal and actional phenomena as clearly as an orthographic transcription. Hence, interlinear transcription has only been used in the linguistic examples listed in the dissertation. Due to the scarcity of available data on the varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola and in spite of the fact that this dissertation focuses on morphosyntactic phenomena only, an attempt is made to orthographically register in the transcripts certain phonetic phenomena, including those that are widespread in other partially restructured varieties of Portuguese, such as BVP, but rare or absent in EP (e.g. *cantá* for *cantar* 'to sing'). This occasionally makes the text less transparent, but it provides a significant amount of actual speech data which could in the future be used in in-depth comparative studies of these varieties as well as of the different varieties of AVP.

The choice of an orthographic transcription had consequences on the software used to transcribe and annotate the text. Instead of SHOEBOS, which would have been more suitable for an interlinear transcription, the software used was TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1 for Windows, an annotation software that enables the linguist to segment and align the recording with the transcription, as well as to insert all non-verbal information that may be found relevant, without changing the original audio file. The minimal unit of analysis while using TRANSCRIBER was participants' turns. However, in converting the software's file into the presentation format given in Annex III, each turn is segmented into sentences or clauses, each of which appears in a separately numbered line.

The orthographic transcription typically follows standard written Portuguese conventions concerning capitalization, orthography, word segmentation and spelling, except when these conflict with the need to document the distinguishing morphosyntactic or phonetic features of DVP, in which case these are always documented, to the detriment

of the aforementioned conventions. Punctuation marks are also typically those of standard written Portuguese. However, the comma and suspension points are also assigned the extra meanings indicated in Table 4 below.

It has been noted (e.g. Ramilo and Freitas 2001) that some events in the informants' speech are particularly difficult to transcribe orthographically, namely pauses, simultaneous speech and interjections. Building on the guidelines summarized in Ramilo and Freitas (2001), the transcription of these problematic events was dealt with in the following way: *contractions* are only used when they exist in standard written Portuguese (e.g. *p'lo, p'ra...*); *abbreviations* are not used, unless they are present in the informants' speech, in which case they are transcribed exactly as pronounced; *acronyms* are capitalized when pronounced as a single word and preceded by @; *numbers* are always written out as complete words; when the *mispronunciation of a word* is due to the omission of a segment and the mispronunciation is still an intelligible word, the segment is given in parenthesis; when the mispronunciation is not an actual word in the language, it is transcribed as spoken, preceded by an asterisk (*) and followed by the word that was intended enclosed in curly braces; *filled pauses, hesitation sounds and interjections* are always transcribed (cf. table on the abbreviations and symbols used in the transcriptions) and *overlapping speech* is registered by adding # at the beginning and end of the overlapping segments.

All transcriptions consist of two independent parts: the *metadata*, which was compiled immediately after each interview in 2004 and is given in a table at the beginning of each transcription, and the *data*, which refers to the transcript of the interview proper. The *metadata section* includes information on the identification number of each transcription, the title, the identification of the audio file the transcription refers to, the genre, duration, date and place of the recording, the identification of the collectors and speakers, including sociolinguistic information on the latter, a brief summary of the interview, the name of the transcriber(s) and statistical information on the transcription (e.g. number of lines, words, turns, etc). The *data section* includes both the linguistic data (i.e. speakers' actual utterances) and paralinguistic, non-verbal and behavioral data (i.e. noises, silences, hesitations, gestures, etc).

The transcript of each interview is organized in three columns. The first column provides the names of the participants (i.e. DOC for the interviewers and INF for the speakers), the second indicates the line numbers and the third column includes the transcript proper. Most paralinguistic, non-verbal and behavioral data is given as it occurs, except when it refers to lengthy events (e.g. singing a song, giving a gymnastics

demonstration, noise that cover several turns, etc), in which case it is given in a separate non-numbered line.

The abbreviations and symbols used in the transcription do not follow any particular convention or set of guidelines in particular. It is rather an amalgam of the abbreviations and symbols used by the *Transcriber* software on the one hand and several oral speech transcription projects on the other (e.g. NURC, Projecto Vertentes, Português Fundamental). Again, simplicity of the text and accuracy of the transcription governed the choice of the symbols and abbreviations, so whenever TRANSCRIBER's own symbols and abbreviations were thought to violate these criteria, they were edited so as to conform to them. The full list of abbreviations and symbols used in the transcriptions is as follows:

TABLE 5
Abbreviations and symbols used in the transcriptions of DVP data

()	a segment or a set of segments omitted by the speaker
(())	unsure transcription of a segment
(???)	hard to understand, unintelligible or inaudible segment(s)
[]	paralinguistic, non-verbal and behavioral comments
{ }	editorial comments (e.g. *trece(i)ra {i.e. terceira})
" "	quoted speech
'	contraction of two segments
~	spoken letter
^	proper nouns
-	partial word
--	interrupted/restarted speech
*	mispronounced word
@	acronym marker
< >	aside speech
# #	overlapping speech
.	end of sentence
...	hesitation
!	exclamation
?	interrogation
:	introduces quoted speech
,	brief pause; change of thought or of grammatical structure; repetition of segments or sequences of segments
+	before square brackets indicates that the notation refers to the previous word; after square brackets indicates that the notation refers to the following word
bantu	borrowing from Bantu, regardless of the degree of accommodation to the Portuguese word structure
conv	background conversation
idiosync	idiosyncratic word
laugh	laughter
mic	microphone noise
nontrans	non-transcribed segment
DOC	collector
INF	Informant(s)
US	unidentified speaker

1.5.2. EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

The term European Portuguese is used in this study as an umbrella term to refer to the different varieties (both regional and social) spoken in Portugal, which includes but also transcends standard European Portuguese (henceforth SEP), i.e. the variety spoken by the educated speakers in the Coimbra-Lisbon region (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 10). This perspective is different from that of most works on Angolan Vernacular Portuguese surveyed in chapter 2, since these seem to take SEP as the only “correct” variety of Portuguese and so tend to analyze the structure of AVP against the structure of this variety alone. All the other European varieties seem to be taken as deviating from this norm.

In contrast, in this study, all the European regional and social varieties of Portuguese are treated in the same way and are hence grouped together under the term European Portuguese. Several reasons justify the use of the term in this broader sense as well as the analysis of the surveyed morphosyntactic phenomena in varieties and registers of EP other than the written or oral educated standard. Firstly, the term *variety* is used here in the sense of Peres and Mória (1995: 34):

Uma *variante* (...) de uma língua distingue-se pela associação do núcleo de características centrais dessa língua – lexicais, sintáticas, fonológicas – a um conjunto de características particulares envolvendo um ou mais destes níveis. Naturalmente, estas características têm de apresentar alguma estabilidade ao longo de um período razoável de tempo e, acima de tudo, têm de ser sustentadas por uma comunidade linguística minimamente representativa. (*my emphasis*)

Hence, features that are traditionally defined as deviations from the standard are defined here as part of the norm of specific varieties of EP, which means that a particular utterance may be incorrect according to the norm of the standard but correct according to the norm of a given variety. The register used (e.g. formal, informal, written, oral, etc) is also relevant in determining the adequacy of a given utterance. Only the features that conform to Peres and Mória’s definition below are defined as true deviations from the norm (i.e. “errors” in traditional terminology) and are therefore preceded by an asterisk (*):

... as construções, ou realizações fonéticas – que para nós configuram um desvio linguístico têm de obedecer a pelo menos duas condições: (i) constituírem rupturas com o subsistema ou variante de que é suposto fazerem parte; e (ii) não serem integradas – pelo menos, plenamente – pela comunidade linguística de suporte. (Peres and Mória 1995: 41)

Secondly, the available data on the socio-economic background of the great majority of Portuguese settlers in Angola (i.e. mainly poor and uneducated) indicate that

SEP could hardly have been the target variety for the L2 learners there (cf. chapter 3). Hence, I agree with Perl's assertion that "les facteurs linguistiques des variantes nationales en évolution d'un niveau quelconque du portugais en Afrique ne peuvent être comparés qu'à des éléments corrélatifs de même niveau du portugais européen ou brésilien" (Perl 1989: 14). Finally, comparing the structure of DVP to varieties of EP other than the standard also enables a clearer evaluation of the origin of the DVP features surveyed in this study, i.e. whether these are the result of contact or of the natural drift of Portuguese¹⁶, by reducing the probability that features of everyday informal speech of EP speakers be erroneously considered typical of DVP simply because they are ungrammatical or awkward in SEP.

The bulk of the data on EP is drawn from the literature, except for those for which no source is given, which are my own. When the data is used to illustrate a given linguistic feature of EP they are not glossed and the orthography is that of the sources. However, when the data illustrates the EP equivalent of a DVP construction, morpheme boundaries and glosses are added to make the phenomenon under comparison clearer.

1.5.3. COKWE

Genealogically, Cokwe is a member of the Niger-Congo language phylum, which according to Williamson and Blench (2002: 11) is the largest in Africa¹⁷ and in the world (i.e. 1,436 languages spoken by over 360 million Africans). Cokwe is part of the Bantu branch of the Benue-Congo family. In his classification of the Bantu languages, Greenberg (1966) included Cokwe among the Cokwe-Luchazi group and gave it the code K11, which has been maintained in recent referential classifications of the Bantu languages (e.g. Maho 2007)¹⁸ and in Fernandes and Ntongo's (2002) description of the languages spoken in Angola.

Geographically, Cokwe is spoken in an area that for centuries has been characterized by continuous language contact and shift situations. Therefore, it shares a number of linguistic features with a group of languages referred to in the literature as Western Savanna languages. They are spoken in Guthrie's zones K and R in the Democratic

¹⁶ The discussion over the role played by internal as opposed to external factors in language change dates back to the late 19th century (cf. Chapter 2). Today, it is still one of the most disputed issues in the existing literature on the origin and synchronic structure of those language varieties that, like BVP, have fallen between "the cracks of theory, being neither unstructured overseas varieties nor fully restructured creoles" (Holm 2004: 144).

¹⁷ Four language phyla are spoken in Africa: Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo and Khoisan (Heine and Nurse 2002).

¹⁸ Only in Ethnologue/SIL's classification (cf. Gordon 2005) is Cokwe given a different language code, i.e. K20.

Republic of the Congo, Angola, Zambia, Namibia and Botswana and include the following eight language groups: Cokwe-Luchazi (K10), Lozi (K20), Luyana (K30), Subiya (K40), Umbundu (R10), Ndonga (R20), Herero (R30) and Yeyi (R40) (Sommer 2006: 566) .

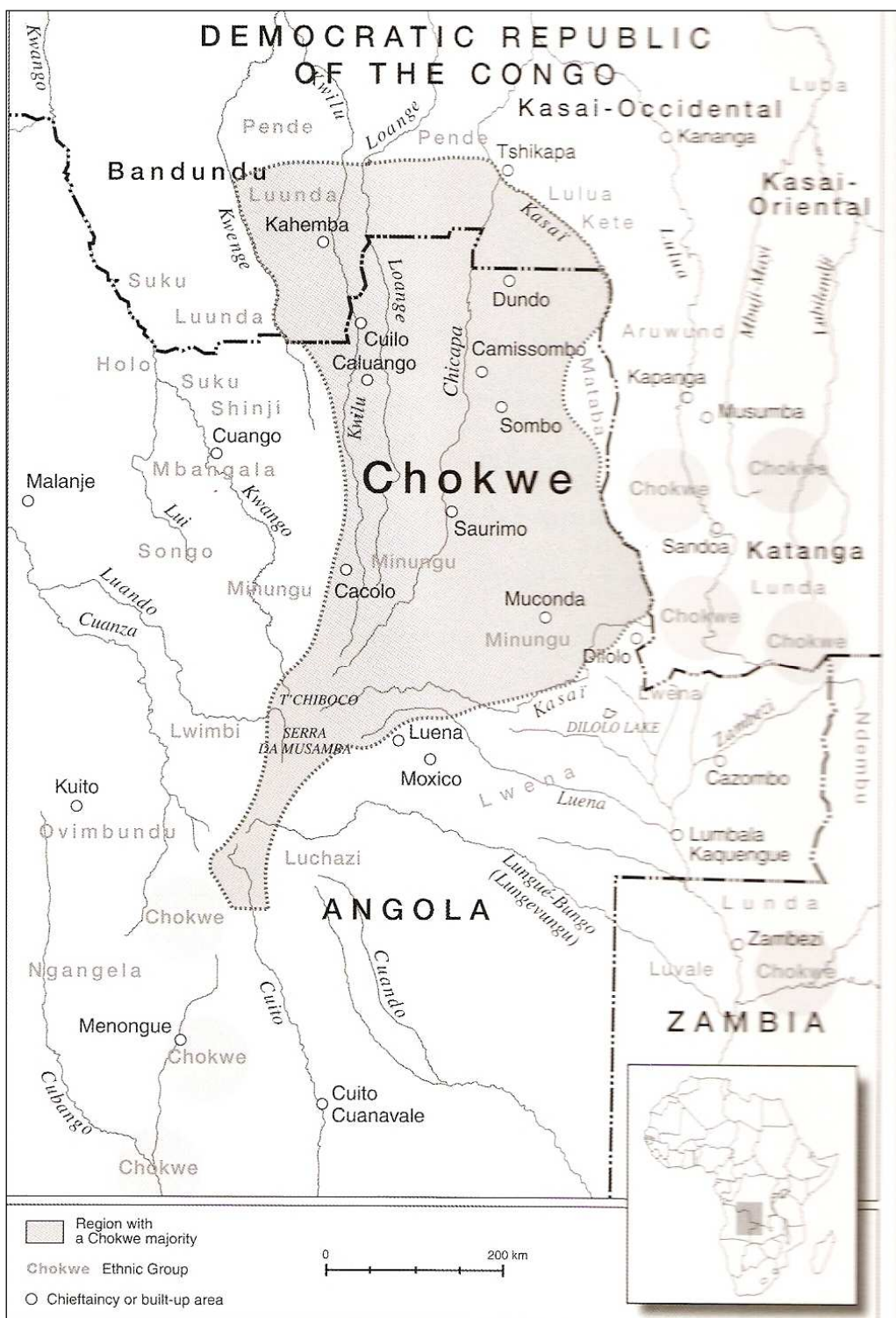
Cokwe is referred to in the literature by names as different as Chokwe, Ciokwe, Tshokwe, Tschioke, Shioko, Quioco, Djok, Imo (Gordon 2005). In this study, the preferred term is Cokwe, as this is the term used by the Angolan National Institute of Languages (cf. Fernandes and Ntongo 2002; INL 1980).

Cokwe is mostly spoken in the whole of the Angolan provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul, but also in the East of Bié, the West of Muxico and in isolated parts in central Kwandu Kubangu (Fernandes and Ntongo 2002: 42). Across Angolan borders, as noted by Gordon (2005) and Wastiau (2006: 7), Cokwe is spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (i.e. close to the Angola border in large areas in Kasai Occidental, south Bandundu and south-west Katanga provinces) and in Zambia (i.e. dispersed in various parts in the north-west). It is estimated that in the total of the three countries Cokwe has over 1 million speakers, approximately half a million of which in Angola alone (Gordon 2005). The geographical distribution of Cokwe in Angola, DRC and Zambia is illustrated in Map 5 below.

As noted above in section 1.2 above, the linguistic sources on Cokwe are fragmentary (UNESCO 2003: 16). They include two grammatical sketches in English (i.e. Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949), three grammars in Portuguese (i.e. Diarra 1990; Martins 1990; Santos 1962), two dictionaries, one in Portuguese (i.e. Barbosa 1989) and one in English (i.e. MacJannet 1949), three scientific papers in which internal structure of the verb in Cokwe is analyzed or referred to (Atkins 1954, 1955; White 1947), one comparative study of the Bantu languages noun class system in which Cokwe is referred to (Maho 1999), a collection of Cokwe folk-stories and fables (Barbosa 1973) and translations of the Bible and other religious texts. To these sources one can add the following, which are referred to in the literature but which I was not able to find: one anonymous vocabulary list, one anonymous grammatical sketch, one grammar in Dutch (Van Der Eynde 1960) and one scientific paper on Cokwe noun classes (White 1944).

In this study, only grammars, grammatical sketches, dictionaries and scientific papers are used as data sources. However, while they give a fairly comprehensive description of Cokwe's linguistic structure, these sources also have several scientific and methodological limitations.

MAP 5
Cokwe-speaking areas in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia
 (Wastiau 2006: 6)



Firstly, sources were produced in different periods and may therefore represent different stages of development of the language. Secondly, explanation of the methodology

used in collecting and analysing the data is fragmentary, which makes it difficult to evaluate the extent to which the linguistic data reflect real usage of the language by native speakers or what linguistic criteria determined the authors' description of the different categories. Thirdly, sources use different labels to refer to what seem to be the same grammatical categories, which requires an extensive analysis of the examples given in each source in order to evaluate whether there are any linguistic reasons that justify the use of different terms. This is particularly true of tense and aspect categories, which makes "a big difference to the number of tenses which we must postulate for Cokwe" (Atkins 1955: 262). In fact, this seems to be a tendency in most traditional linguistic descriptions of the Bantu languages, which has led Nurse (2006a: 99) to give the following warning:

When grammars claim that a language has several presents, we have to be skeptical. In my experience, these 'presents' are usually aspects rather than tenses (...) Often forms referring to 'present' are not marked, or are minimally marked, for time (...) Present is the default case after past and future.

Moreover, most sources, especially those published in Portugal, do not follow the terminological tradition established in Bantu literature, which makes comparative work difficult. Finally, while regional variation within the Cokwe-speaking area is widely acknowledged, most sources do not identify the variety they analyze (i.e. Atkins 1954; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Santos 1962; White 1947), which raises the possibility that some of the differences one finds in the descriptions of Cokwe's linguistic system (especially noun classes and tense-aspect-mood and person-number systems) may in fact reflect regional variation and consequently important linguistic differences that cannot be ignored. As noted by Atkins (1955: 263):

In our present state of knowledge it is therefore risky to make even the simplest comparisons between, say, the southern and northern tense forms. Some differences certainly exist (...) but it is quite uncertain whether these are absolute variants or merely partial ones. On closer study it might be found that one system of tenses is numerically richer than the other or has a greater flexibility in the use of adjuncts.

Therefore, in an attempt to reach as consistent a description as possible of the aspects of Cokwe's linguistic structure that are analyzed in this study, the following methodology was followed:

- § I compared the different sources on Cokwe in order to identify common grammatical categories and markers. The sources describing the variety of Cokwe spoken in Lunda Norte in general and Dundo in particular are taken as

the point of reference (i.e. Atkins 1955 and Martins 1990). The sources that either do not specify the variety they describe (i.e. Atkins 1954; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Santos 1962; White 1947) or describe varieties other than those spoken in Lunda Norte (i.e. Diarra 1990) were used to clarify inconsistencies found in the reference sources. Categories and markers in these sources that are not mentioned in the reference sources are identified as such.

§ I compared the relevant grammatical categories and markers mentioned in the above sources with those found in survey works on the Bantu languages [e.g. Bearth (2006), Güldemann (2006), Heine and Nurse (2002), Nurse (2006a, 2006b, 2007), Nurse and Phillipson (2006), Rose, Beaudoin-Lietz and Nurse (2002), Schadeberg (2006) and Sommer (2006)] and cross-linguistic surveys [e.g. Dahl (1985), Bybee *et al.* (1994), Corbett (1995, 2000, 2006), Siewierska (2004)].

The methodology described above builds on that suggested in Nurse (2008: 16-18) for analyzing linguistic data from secondary sources. The data were first arranged in paradigms and listed with the author's label and description of usage. Secondly, patterns in the data and forms encoding the grammatical categories under analysis were identified. Thirdly, forms encoding these categories were separated from forms representing other categories. Finally, each of the categories identified were given a label. Labels for central grammatical categories were drawn from cross-linguistic and cross-Bantu reference surveys, whereas the various authors' labels for peripheral categories were maintained.

1.6. SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

An attempt is made to use only those technical terms that are well established in the literature. However, when these terms are found to be inadequate or different definitions of the same term are found in the literature, the meaning with which they are used is clarified as they appear.

The linguistic symbols and abbreviations used here are those of the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* and are given in the List of Symbols and Abbreviation at the beginning of the dissertation.

Chapter 2

Overview of the literature

2.0. INTRODUCTION

The goal of the present chapter is twofold. On the one hand, section 2.1 seeks to summarize and critically evaluate the findings presented in the existing literature on AVP and its historical development in an attempt to produce a comprehensive outline of the linguistic features that have hitherto been identified as distinguishing features of this variety. This outline will be important for the conclusions on the contact-induced features found in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, in that it will hopefully help one understand how the linguistic structure of this variety relates to that of other varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. On the other hand, section 2.2 aims at presenting the theoretical foundations of this thesis by providing a brief overview of the most recent literature on contact linguistics and a critical analysis of the current debates within the field. Finally, section 2.3 builds on the information provided in sections 2.1 and 2.2 to formulate a working hypothesis to account for the origin of the synchronic structure of AVP.

2.1. ANGOLAN VERNACULAR PORTUGUESE: A STATE OF THE ART

It is well known that the description and classification of the Portuguese-based creoles in Africa goes back to the nineteenth century and that a growing body of work is being developed on the contact-influenced variety of Mozambican Portuguese, i.e. MP (e.g. Gonçalves 1985, 1990, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Gonçalves and Chimbutane 2004; Gonçalves and Stroud 1997-2000). However, as already noted in Chapter 1 (cf. section 1.3), until very recently little had been done regarding the description of the development and linguistic structure of AVP.

2.1.1. REFERENCE WORKS IN LINGUISTICS

Until the the first decade of the present century, if one looked under the entries *Portugal* or *Portuguese* in most reference works in linguistics, one would be left with the impression that there was no such thing as an Angolan variety of Portuguese. This is because Portuguese was described as an extremely homogeneous language and, it is also because only two varieties of Portuguese were acknowledged, i.e. EP and Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Castilho (1994: 3234) was a case in point. Apparently, he considered that the only difference between the Portuguese spoken in Portugal and Brazil and the Portuguese spoken in Africa was its socio-political status, i.e. native language as opposed to official state language, respectively. No African variety of Portuguese was referred to under the sections on the characteristics and varieties of Portuguese. This indicates that he believed that they were in no way different from EP, which he claimed to present “a notable lack of differentiation, with the variety of Lisbon providing the standard” (*ibid.* 3235).

Dictionary and encyclopedia entries on *Angola* were usually more enlightening, despite the fact that, for example, the estimated numbers of Portuguese speakers in the country were usually too low and imprecise. For example, Grimes (1996) estimated there were about 57 600 Portuguese speakers in Angola. However, not only did she not distinguish between native and non-native speakers but she also clearly overlooked the growing number of Angolans, especially those born in the cities to Bantu-speaking refugee families, who, due to the pressure of schooling and the media, now primarily speak Portuguese (both first and second language).

Still, the description of language use in Angola provided in these entries was often more realistic than that of Portuguese provided by Castilho (1994). Bonvini (1994: 127-128) was a case in point:

Portuguese was chosen as and confirmed the official language when Angola became independent in 1975, after having been introduced in the country in the fifteenth century by the first explorers, used as lingua franca for the slave trade and commerce, imposed as civilization language by the colonizers, and adopted as a prestige language by the ‘civilized’ (assimilados). In the last decade of the twentieth century it is used in all areas of public life (administration, mass media, education, and international relations) and spoken in particular by younger people and the elite especially in the bigger towns of the coastal area. However, it must be pointed out that through contact with the local African languages, especially in the rural areas, it has undergone significant changes both lexically and syntactically. As a result it gave rise to social variants, the most typical of which being the *linguagem dos musseques* in Luanda, which however did not reach the status of regional language specific to Angola.

Bonvini was not so much concerned with the socio-political status of Portuguese in Angola, which has continuously changed over the years, i.e. lingua franca, civilization language, prestige language and official language, but with the past and ongoing consequences of those different statuses, i.e. an extremely complex sociolinguistic situation in which a distinction must be made between L1 Portuguese, spoken by the young and the elite, mainly in the coastal cities, and L2 Portuguese, which Bonvini referred to as “contact Portuguese” or “social variants” of Portuguese, spoken especially in the interior and in the poorest urban neighborhoods, e.g. *musseques*.

While Bonvini (1994) was careful about acknowledging the existence of “a regional language specific to Angola”, his description of language contact in the country indicated that in the years preceding the publication of his description (i.e. 1994) the sociolinguistic conditions for such a variety to emerge had been met:

Various factors such as slavery, commerce, colonial wars and wars of independence have caused a permanent linguistic mix between Portuguese and the main African languages. Therefore the number of two-way borrowings is increasing, and there is a clearly diglossic situation¹ in coastal areas and towns. In the last decade of the twentieth century this situation has been reinforced through unprecedented massive migrations and urbanization owing to pre- and post-colonial wars. (*ibid.* 128)

Sixteen years after the publication of Castilho (1994) and Bonvini (1994), the perception of AVP in reference works in linguistics has changed significantly. Dictionary and encyclopedia entries on *Angola* continue to fail to provide accurate figures concerning the number of speakers of Portuguese in Angola but their description of AVP as a language variety in the making now seems to be shared by the overwhelming majority of other reference works in linguistics, including those published by Portuguese linguists. Castro’s (2006: 12) statement about Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese quoted in chapter 1 is a good example of the progress made:

Em suma, é apropriado, graças ao conceito de *variante nacional* (Celso Cunha), reconhecer que o sistema linguístico do português dispõe, no início do século XXI, de duas variantes nacionais plenamente desenvolvidas – a **variante portuguesa**, geralmente designada por “português europeu” ou PE, e **variante brasileira**, conhecida por “português brasileiro” ou PB (...). E reconhecer que, além disso, em África, se acham em formação uma **variante moçambicana** e uma **variante angolana**, que precisam de determinadas condições sociais para vingar. (Castro 2006: 12 - emphasis in the original)

¹ My fieldwork in Angola showed that there is some degree of diglossia in the urban centers, but it seems to be more characteristic of the rural areas, where most children and elders speak one or more indigenous languages as their first languages and use Portuguese only in formal contexts, e.g. school, or in contexts where this language is perceived as the norm, e.g. the center of the urbanized areas.

2.1.2. GENERAL WORKS ABOUT VARIETIES OF PORTUGUESE AROUND THE WORLD

While the accounts of early travelers provide occasional anecdotal references to the use of Portuguese outside of Portugal, the first general descriptive Portuguese studies of the language as spoken in areas other than Europe go back to the end of the nineteenth century only.

The main emphasis of these early works was on the description of Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles. The works of Adolfo Coelho (1880-86) are paradigmatic in this regard. All three papers are devoted to the description of the creoles based on Portuguese and on other European languages in Africa, Asia and the Americas. Of the non-creole varieties of Portuguese, only BP is analysed, classified as “um português diferenciado [...] onde se manifesta uma tendência crioulezante” (Coelho 1880-86: 160, 170). Coelho may have been “the first to articulate a theoretical position on the origin of creoles which came to be called the universalist theory” (Holm 2000: 27), but as far as AVP is concerned, he provided no information whatsoever.

The first description of AVP came from abroad, in the work of Hugo Schuchardt, who in 1888 published “On Creole Portuguese”, a paper mainly devoted to the description of the “mainland creole” (Schuchardt 1888: 60), spoken on the Gold and Slave Coasts, Angola and Mozambique. Schuchardt based his work on data and remarks collected from the reports of people living in those areas, most of whom described the Portuguese spoken in Angola as “quite corrupted” (*ibid.* 67). This has been interpreted by some as evidence for the existence of a widespread Portuguese pidgin or creole in Angola from which the present vernacular may have sprung. The most quoted of these remarks dates from 1886 and is that of Macedo Soares:

Dá-se mesmo um facto curioso em Angola e mais possessões portuguesas d’Africa Austral: a coexistência de três vocabulários: o *portuguez* fallado pelos portuguezes entre si; o *bundo*, pelos negros entre si; e um intermédio, a que chamaremos *mestiço* ou *crioulo*, usado nas relações dos negros com os brancos, e também pelos estrangeiros quando se querem entender com portuguezes ou com negros. O mestiço se compõe de palavras portuguesas accomodadas ao génio do bundo e tende a se generalizar e firmar, por isso mesmo que é percebido e fallado pelos três grupos da população: negros, portuguezes e estrangeiros. (Schuchardt 1888: 67 quoting Soares 1886: 14)

This remark tells us that the Portuguese and blacks in Angola used at least three different vocabularies, but not necessarily three completely distinct languages, i.e. Portuguese, Kimbundu and an intermediate language. Interpreting this as evidence for the existence of a Portuguese-based creole in Angola is probably a mistake. In fact, Schuchardt

(1888: 65) adds that “Portuguese gained a firmer hold in Lower Guinea than in Upper Guinea”, so it is doubtful that he was referring to a fully developed pidgin or creole in Angola, even if there were varying degrees of interference between Portuguese and the Bantu languages, depending on the geographic location of the speakers:

If the Blacks speak Portuguese most correctly in the main cities of the province where schooling is available to them, then they speak it less perfectly in those areas where it serves them in trade with other Europeans. This is primarily the case in the area north of Ambriz [i.e. *north of Luanda, on the Angolan coast*]. (Schuchardt 1888: 68)

Schuchardt (1888: 68-71) also elaborates on what he means by Bantu speakers using Portuguese “less perfectly”, but never does he conclude absolute regularity:

Of the phonetic features, the almost regular insertion of a vowel in words terminating in *l* or *r* is to be underlined, e.g. *mulhera, favoro, liquoro, papelo, solo* [...] It is with a certain comic regularity that *r* and *l* are interchanged for one another in Portuguese words, e.g. *rolla* ‘dove’ becomes *lora*”. (*ibid.* 68)

As far as morphosyntax is concerned, the variety was not stable yet, as shown by the fact that zero plural markers coexisted side by side with full inflectional plural marking according to Schuchardt (*ibid.* 69): “inflection has become extremely restricted. To be sure, the sigmatic plural² is in use, though not after numerals: *tres boi, dez casa*” (*ibid.* 69).

The verb morphology of Portuguese had also undergone restructuring. Schuchardt (1888) notes that “In the personal endings of the verbs, the third person ending stands for the other desinences: *eu tem, eu está, eu vae*” (*ibid.* 69) and that “the perfective (completely and definitely terminated time past) is almost never used, only the imperfective” (*ibid.* 70). However, while he considers these features typical of a creole in the making (*ibid.* 69), he notes that “inflected tenses have not died out” in the Portuguese spoken by blacks in Angola and therefore the occurrence of more creole-like features, such as the use of infinitives instead of finite verbs without preceding temporal markers, remained to be attested.

In short, even if we bear in mind that Schuchardt was working on incomplete and indirect data, the overall description of the Portuguese spoken by Africans in Angola provided by him appears to be one of a language variety in formation, most likely still undergoing leveling, not one of a fully developed pidgin or creole out of which AVP could have later sprung.

² I.e. plural expressed by an inflection.

The early 20th century would see the birth of Portuguese dialectology. However, this did not lead to any studies about the use of Portuguese in Angola. For example, while José Leite de Vasconcellos, who is unanimously recognized as the father of Portuguese scientific dialectology, devoted his 1901 PhD dissertation at the University of Paris to the description of all Portuguese varieties, both creole and non-creole, he makes no more than a few brief references to the description of AVP.

According to Vasconcellos (1901 [1987]: 27-29), Portuguese was composed of four different groups of “dialects”: “dialectes continentaux, dialectes insulaires (i.e. Azores and Madeira), dialectes d’outremer” and “Portugais des Juifs”. All restructured varieties of Portuguese, i.e. creole and non-creole, were included in the group of the “dialects d’outremer”. It is interesting to note that both creoles and BP are referred to as “dialects”, i.e. “dialectes creoles” and “dialecte brésilien” respectively, but AVP and Mozambican Vernacular Portuguese are merged into a generic grouping, i.e. “Portugais des côtes d’Afrique”. It is clear from Vasconcellos’ following statement that this was because he did not recognize much relevance to the particularities of those linguistic varieties:

Les conditions dans lesquelles le portugais s’est implanté dans de si diverses régions d’outremer ont donné lieu tantôt à des parlers spéciaux, comme les dialectes créoles, tantôt à de simples particularités dialectologiques de moindre importance. (*ibid.* 26)

According to Vasconcellos (1901 [1987]: 26) those “particularités dialectologiques” were basically a matter of lexical borrowing of Bantu into Portuguese and vice-versa, and of slight phonetic changes, e.g. “ô pour *ou*, ê pour *ei*, devant une consonne et à la fin de la phrase, par ex. *pôc, andô, Janêro, andê...*”, which he attributes to the influence of dialects of Southern Portugal (*ibid.* 157).

Based on his contact with an individual from São-Paulo-de-Luanda who had lived for a long time in Moçâmedes, Vasconcellos identifies other “particularities” of AVP, i.e. variation in the word order of pronouns, even in the local newspapers; errors in the use of the Portuguese preposition *em*, and difficulties in distinguishing the Portuguese *r* and *l* (*ibid.* 158). While Vasconcellos recognises that these are features shared with the creoles, he minimizes their importance, even when there are morphosyntactic consequences:

Parfois, des phénomènes très curieux ont lieu. Comme dans les idiomes bantous, le singulier se distingue du pluriel au moyen de préfixes, et en quimbundo au préfixe *ri-* au singulier correspond *ma-* au pluriel: il arrive dans le mot *machado* ‘hace’, qui, selon les lois phonétiques, est devenu *maxâlu*, les Nègres voient un pluriel formé à l’aide du préfixe *ma-*, et ils lui donnent un singulier *ri-xâlu*. Des faits de cette catégorie, quoiqu’ils soient curieux, n’ont cependant rien d’extraordinaire. (*ibid.* 159)

In fact, as far as AVP is concerned, Vasconcellos' work is relevant not for its detailed description of the vernacular, but for his important insights into the sociolinguistic conditions that could account for its development, and his comparison of it with those varieties from places where creoles and BP developed. In the following statement, for example, he not only points out adult second language acquisition as a determining factor for the restructuring of Portuguese, but also refers to the existence of different degrees of restructuring:

... les Portugais ont été obligés d'apprendre quelquefois les langues indigènes, et les indigènes d'apprendre la langue du Portugal. Le second fait est le seul qui m'intéresse pour le moment, parce qu'il en est résulté la formation des dialectes créoles, et d'autres variétés du portugais; entre les uns et les autres, on peut admettre des degrés. (*ibid.* 131-132)

In stating his agenda for Portuguese dialectology, he makes an apology for the use of a descriptive and sociolinguistic approach:

Donc la DIALECTOLOGIE PORTUGAISE doit être, d'après ce que l'on vient de dire, l'étude non seulement des parlars populaires du Portugal, du galicien et des idiomes de la frontière hispano-portugaise, mais aussi des modifications qu'a éprouvées notre langue dans les régions lointaines où elle a été portée par des conquérants, des colons, ou de simples groupes d'émigrants, et en même temps l'examen des conditions dans lesquelles se sont opérées ces évolutions... (Vasconcellos 1901 [1987]: 32)

Vasconcellos (1901 [1987]: 32) does not provide a definite classification for AVP, but he does state that while Angola and Mozambique were the two main Portuguese colonies, "aucun dialecte creole ne s'est développé dans ces provinces" (*ibid.* 157). Insufficient as it may seem, his work remains to this day the best overall contribution of Portuguese dialectology to the study of contact varieties of Portuguese; the dialectologists who followed, namely Boléo and Silva (1961) and Cintra (1971, 1983, 1995), would focus mainly on the description of continental Portuguese dialects. It is true that there was also a significant body of work published on varieties of Portuguese other than EP. However, its purpose was not the description of those varieties but rather the statement of the absolute homogeneity of Portuguese³:

Se pusermos de lado os crioulos pròpriamente ditos ... e que têm características próprias, o que surpreende e causa admiração nesta área tão extensa do português é a sua grande unidade. (Boléo 1955: 8-9)

³ This can be inferred from some of the titles of these works, i.e. *Unidade e diversidade da língua portuguesa* (Boléo 1955); *A difusão da língua portuguesa em África* (Carvalho 1971) and *O português entre as línguas do mundo* (Fonseca 1985).

While creoles were recognized as languages on their own right, the whole of Portuguese linguistic diversity was restricted to the only two standards acknowledged, i.e. the one of Portugal and that of Brazil. All other varieties of Portuguese represented no standards of their own. Moreover, while the differences between EP and BP were recognized, they were made synonymous with the lexicon and style only:

Essa unidade do português torna-se ainda mais flagrante se compararmos as diferenças relativamente pequenas, que existem entre o português europeu e o português do Brasil. [...] a língua portuguesa apresenta uma riqueza e variedade surpreendentes, tanto no que toca ao léxico como no que respeita às linguagens que se podem notar dentro da língua comum... (*ibid.* 9-10)

Interference resulting from contact between Portuguese and other languages was recognized and seen as a source of enrichment for both, but again only lexical borrowing and transfer were perceived as relevant. Therefore, most studies consisted almost entirely of extensive lists of words borrowed from Portuguese into African languages or vice versa (e.g. Martins 1958).

Different outcomes of language contact were acknowledged by some authors (e.g. Morais-Barbosa 1967) but overall the emphasis was on the description of Portuguese-based creoles, on the systemic unity of Portuguese as opposed to its lexical diversity and on the enforcement of language policies that might achieve the replacement of all indigenous languages by Portuguese. In general, Portuguese linguists gave little thought to the sociolinguistic history of the non-creole varieties of Portuguese in Africa.

The turning point in the study of language contact in Africa in general and of non-creole varieties of Portuguese in particular arrived in the mid 1970s, following the independence of most Portuguese ex-colonies. The emphasis of the works published during this period was still on the description of lexical borrowing and transfer, but unlike most Portuguese dialectologists, foreign linguists felt that a solid description of language contact in Africa implied an in-depth analysis of the sociolinguistic background against which the lexical borrowing and transfer had taken place. It is Bal (1979: 13) who sets the agenda for the study of language contact in Africa:

On devrait ensuite étudier ces phénomènes d'emprunt sous divers aspects, notamment sous un aspect interne: l'adaptation phonétique, morphologique, syntaxique et sémantique des emprunts au système des idiomes emprunteurs, et sous un aspect externe, socioculturel, dans la dimension historique et dans la dimension géographique: la motivation des emprunts, en relation avec des faits historiques, des contacts de cultures; la délimitation des aires de diffusion des emprunts et la mise en rapport de celles-ci avec l'histoire du commerce et des communications (ports, factoreries, marchés indigènes, pistes de caravanes) ainsi que de la pénétration européenne en Afrique.

Valkhoff (1975) is a clear example of this sociolinguistic approach to the study of Portuguese and African language contact in Africa. However, his greatest contribution to a new approach to the study of non-creole contact varieties of Portuguese was the emphasis on the role played by the Portuguese *lingua franca* spoken along the coasts of Africa from the second half of the 15th century to the end of the 18th century:

... no ano de 1974 a língua portuguesa surge como uma *lingua franca*, graças à qual não só os Africanos e os Portugueses, mas também pessoas que falam línguas africanas diferentes, se podem entender. Esta situação já é muito antiga. (...) Esta velha *lingua franca* portuguesa assumiu várias formas mais ou menos crioualizadas segundo os lugares e as circunstâncias. Além deste português crioulo ou *baixo português*, como se dizia em Ceilão, os oficiais holandeses e portugueses, por exemplo, falavam o *português alto* ou literário... (Valkhoff 1975: 9-10)

In fact, this idea had already been suggested in Valkhoff (1966), which is actually the very first attempt to account for the origin and synchronic structure of AVP. According to Valkhoff (1966), due to growing contact with standard European Portuguese, in Angola this *lingua franca* had developed into a variety closer to the standard but with sporadic deviations from it, i.e. a “secondary creole” (*ibid.* 34). Hence, according to this line of thought, synchronic features of AVP are to be taken as the remnants of this old Portuguese-based pidgin.

Valkhoff (1966) gives almost no linguistic examples other than the accounts of early travelers, most of whom could not speak or understand Portuguese. Still, Valkhoff (1966) was influential in at least three ways. First, he allowed for different degrees of restructuring of the *lingua franca* (depending on the geographical location and historical context) and for its coexistence with standard or literary forms of Portuguese, which opened the door for research into the sociolinguistic backgrounds that could account for these differences. Second, he laid the foundations for a monogenetic theory to account for the origin and development of AVP, i.e. the linguistic traits that distinguish it from EP, like those of most creoles in the world, can be traced to a single source: the Portuguese-based *lingua franca*. The most recent formulations of this hypothesis are Perl (1989) and Lipski (1994, 1995, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2009)⁴. Finally, he reinforced the tendency to focus on the description of lexical borrowing and transfer, since, to some extent the goal of the works on AVP following Valkhoff (1966) was to uncover the structure of the *lingua franca*:

⁴ The contribution of these authors to our understanding of the development and synchronic structure of AVP will be analyzed with greater detail later on.

Ce qui ne fait pas doute, c'est l'existence et la large diffusion d'un pidgin portugais sur les côtes d'Afrique, à partir du XVI^e siècle. Ce pidgin, connu sous le nom de 'langue franque' et dit parfois *porto*, est bien attesté. [...] Il nous semble que les si nombreux emprunts d'origine portugaise que se rencontrent ... dans les idiomes les plus divers d'Afrique noire, ne remontent pas au portugais cultivé mais à cette «langue franque». La récolte systématique de ces emprunts, la comparaison avec les parlers créoles portugais d'aujourd'hui et avec la *língua de preto* notée aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles devrait permettre de reconstruire, dans ses grandes lignes, l'ancien pidgin portugais d'Afrique... (Bal 1979: 34)

Regardless of the reservations one may have about the role played by this *lingua franca* in the development of AVP⁵, one cannot dismiss the relevance of analyzing the phonetic, phonological, and morphosyntactic changes undergone by the extensive corpora of Portuguese loanwords provided by the works published during the 1970s. Concerning number and gender agreement in the noun phrase in AVP, an analysis of this sort could be of great help to our understanding of whether it is the random result of imperfect acquisition of Portuguese, which is the generally accepted theory, or whether it is the continuation of phonological and morphosyntactic mechanisms previously used in a language contact situation, i.e. decreolization.

Oliveira (1990: 69-89) illustrates the interest of this type of analysis when referring to the influence of Portuguese on Kimbundu, which was widespread and affected not only the lexicon (by means of loanwords) and phonology (by means of the adaptation of Portuguese loans to the phonology of Kimbundu, e.g. creating a syllabic pattern of CVCV by adding extra syllables to most words), but also affected the morphology of Portuguese loans to Kimbundu⁶:

Quanto à morfologia, as perdas das desinências de género e número são consequência da integração dos nomes [i.e. *from Portuguese*] nas classes nominais, inexistente a primeira distinção no Quimbundo, a segunda expressa pela variação dos prefixos de cada classe. Verifica-se, ainda, uma «preferência» pela integração dos substantivos importados na classe IX, supomos que pela circunstância de que, sendo essa, na opinião que nos parece mais válida, uma classe sem prefixo no singular, se encontra aberta a palavras com os mais diversos inícios. As escolhas de outras classes explica-se normalmente pela coincidência da sílaba inicial da palavra portuguesa com um dos prefixos nominais do Quimbundo que, em consequência, lhe determina a classe. Noutros casos, a anteposição de um prefixo à palavra portuguesa, talvez se possa explicar pela analogia ou pela integração semântica na categoria que a classe engloba. (*ibid.* 89)

Oliveira's explanation is very interesting but requires closer examination. First, if it is true that most loans from Portuguese lose their original number marking, the same does

⁵ A more detailed appraisal of this issue will be given in due place.

⁶ Other authors wrote about the influence of Portuguese on Angolan African languages. However, their emphasis was mainly on lexical influence. For examples of such analysis see Martins (1958) and Bal (1979) on the influence of Portuguese on several dialects of Kikongo.

not seem to happen with gender marking, whose marker is apparently interpreted as just another sound in the word. Examples of Kimbundu loanwords from Portuguese provided by Chatelain (1894 [2001]) seem to support this hypothesis:

- (1) *njanena* = 'window' (*ibid.* 35) vs. *jinjanena* = 'windows' (*ibid.* 30)
 (2) *diabu* = 'devil; demon' (*ibid.* 36) vs. *madiabu* = 'devils' or 'demons' (*ibid.* 31)

In both (3) and (4), what is traditionally called the gender marker in Portuguese⁷ is kept⁸, while the number (i.e. plural) marker disappears and is replaced by a Kimbundu noun class prefix. So, while Oliveira's explanation (1990: 89) seems to account for the addition of these prefixes to Portuguese loans in order to make grammatical (e.g. number) or semantic (e.g. \pm animate) distinctions, it does not explain the disappearance of the original number marker, unless we accept that Kimbundu speakers identify and consciously replace the Portuguese number markers (suffixes) with their own (prefixes). A phonological explanation seems to better fit the data, i.e. original gender morphemes in Portuguese loanwords are kept due to their vocalic nature ($\{-o\}$ for masculine and $\{-a\}$ for feminine), whereas the plural marker ($\{-s\}$) is deleted because all syllables in Kimbundu are open.

In fact, according to Oliveira (*ibid.* 69-89), the choice of the class into which to integrate Portuguese words also seems to be phonologically determined, in that most words are included in the class whose prefix is closer to the first syllable of the Portuguese word. It follows that most words are included in class IX due to its absence of a specific singular prefix, thus allowing for the inclusion of words with many different beginnings. Once again, the examples of Portuguese loans to Kimbundu identified by Chatelain (1894 [2001]) illustrate Oliveira's point (1990: 89):

- (3) *melekanu* = 'American' vs. *amelikanu* or *jimelekanu* = 'Americans' (*ibid.* 256)

Apparently, because the initial $\langle a \rangle$ in the Portuguese "americano" matches the plural prefix of Kimbundu class 1 the word is included in that class. However, the singular prefix in class 1 is *mu-* not *me-*, which may help explain why 'American' in Kimbundu has a second plural form starting with the class 9 prefix, i.e. *ji-*.

⁷ As will be analyzed in greater detail in chapter 4, it is not consensual among Portuguese linguists whether gender is actually a morphological category in Portuguese. Whereas traditional grammar (e.g. Bechara 2002; Cunha and Cintra 1995) consider $\langle -a \rangle$ and $\langle -o \rangle$ as the morphemes for feminine and masculine, respectively, there is a growing tendency to take them as thematic indexes of a particular noun class (Villalva 2000, 2003).

⁸ Cf. examples like *mulhera* ('mulher'), *favoro* ('favor'), *liquoro* ('liquor'), *papelo* ('papel'), *solo* ('sol') in which $\langle -a \rangle$ or $\langle -o \rangle$ are added to the word depending on whether it is feminine or masculine in European Portuguese (Schuchardt 1888:68 - quoted in page 15).

Following the publication of the works mentioned in this section very few linguistic descriptions were published that aimed at presenting a general overview of the varieties of Portuguese spoken around the world (e.g. Carvalho 1968; Fonseca 1985; ICLP 1990 (1983)). In fact, the main focus of Portuguese dialectologists was on the description of regional varieties of the two standards of Portuguese acknowledged as such (i.e. European and Brazilian Portuguese)⁹. All other varieties of Portuguese, including those spoken in Africa in general and in Angola in particular, were either simply left out of dialectological studies or given very little attention.

However, there is good reason to believe that in the years to come any linguistic description of Portuguese as a world language will most surely include the description of at least the Angolan and Mozambican varieties of Portuguese. This is so for several reasons. Firstly, from the late 1990s and early 2000s onwards a growing body of literature has been published on these two varieties (cf. sub-section 2.1.5 below), so that there is now a good overall understanding of their linguistic structure. Secondly, as already noted in Chapter 1 (cf. sub-section 1.3), several efforts have been made to complement the existing data on these varieties with more and better linguistic data (e.g. corpus projects such as the ones in progress at the Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa). Moreover, a new research trend that focuses on the comparison of African varieties of Portuguese to Brazilian Portuguese seems to be emerging, in attempt to better evaluate the role played by language contact in the emergence of the linguistic features that distinguish these varieties from EP. Petter (2008, 2009) are cases in point. They provide a comparison of several lexical and morphosyntactic aspects of the structure of Angolan, Brazilian and Mozambican Portuguese and argue that these three varieties represent an Afro-Brazilian continuum of contact-influenced Portuguese. Another example of the growing interest in African varieties of Portuguese from a contact linguistics perspective and as instances of the diversity of Portuguese as a world language is Carvalho (2009). In fact, it is the second volume of Vervuert/Iberoamericana's series on Luso-Brazilian Linguistics whose goal is precisely that of fostering an overall view of Portuguese linguistic diversity around the world. The volume includes linguistic descriptions of creole and non-creole varieties of Portuguese spoken in four continents: Africa, the Americas, Asia and Europe.

⁹ In fact, it was during this period that the bulk of the existing linguistic descriptions of these two varieties of Portuguese were produced (e.g. Boléo 1983; Carvalho 1962; Casteleiro 1975; Cintra 1971, 1983, 1995; Florêncio 2001; Maia 1975; Nunes 1902; Sousa 1929; Vasconcellos 1928, 1980-1982a, 1980-1982b, 1980-1982c, 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c).

2.1.3. AVP IN PORTUGUESE HANDBOOKS AND GRAMMARS

While the first grammars of Portuguese, i.e. Oliveira's (1536 [1975]) and Barros' (1540 [1971]), mirror an acute awareness of the social and geographical varieties of Portuguese, they do not cast much light on the type of Portuguese spoken in Angola at the time of their publication. Their statements are too vague and their goal is usually not to evaluate the status and structure of Portuguese there but rather to reinforce some previous statement. For example, Oliveira (1536 [1975]: 45) illustrates the importance of linguistic homogeneity as a source of peace and stability with the following remark about the linguistic situation in the Portuguese colonies:

... apliquemos nosso trabalho a nossa língua e gente e ficará com maior eternidade a memória dele e não trabalhemos em língua estrangeira, mas apuremos tanto a nossa com boas doutrinas, que a possamos ensinar a muitas outras gentes e sempre seremos delas louvados e amados porque a semelhança é causa do amor e mais em as línguas. E, ao contrário, vemos em África, Guiné, Brasil e Índia não amarem muito os portugueses que entre eles nascem só pela diferença da língua e os de lá nascidos querem bem aos seus portugueses e chamam-lhes seus porque falam assim como eles.

Oliveira (1536 [1975]) does not clearly state that the Portuguese spoken in the colonies was different from that spoken in Portugal, but we can infer from his words that the Portuguese in Portugal and the Portuguese born in the colonies made different evaluations of the language they spoke, i.e. the former considered the latter's language to be somehow different, whereas the latter saw no such difference and described their language as Portuguese.

Oliveira (1536 [1975]) gives no examples of what that "diferença da língua" might consist of but Barros (1540 [1971]) is more enlightening and refers to specific features of the Portuguese spoken by Africans, namely their pronunciation of some Portuguese words, which he refers to as "barbarismos". These include examples of *aphaeresis* (e.g. "terminar" < determinar), *epenthesis* (e.g. "tôdolos"), *syncope* (e.g. "viço" < vício), *paragoge* (e.g. "guardare" < guarder), *apocope* (e.g. "a mó de falar" < a modo de falar) and *metathesis* (e.g. "apretar" < apertar). These phenomena could also be found in 16th century EP, but, according to Barros (1540 [1971]), they were much more common in Africa due to language contact, which might help explain why these processes still find parallels today in contemporary AVP:

E em nenhuma parte da terra se comete mais esta figura da pronunção [i.e. "barbarismo"] que nestes reinos, por causa das muitas nações que trouxemos ao jugo do nosso serviço. (*ibid.* 47)

The incidental description of Portuguese language use in Africa and Angola made by early Portuguese grammarians is not always clear but it does suggest that some linguistic processes resulting from contact occurred in Portuguese Africa as early as 1536 and 1540, i.e. only 52 and 56 years, respectively, after the first Portuguese sailors reached the Congo basin and more than thirty years before the foundation of Luanda in 1576. This makes the almost complete lack of references to these phenomena in most contemporary handbooks and grammars of Portuguese all the more startling.

In fact, while all reference handbooks and grammars of Portuguese surveyed dedicate at least a chapter to the different varieties of the language spoken around the world (Azevedo 2005; Cuesta and Luz 1971; Cunha and Cintra 1995; Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003; Teyssier 1989), a glance through their tables of contents shows that EP and BP are still the only recognized standards of the language. These are the only varieties treated individually (Cuesta and Luz 1971; Teyssier 1997) or compared in separate chapters (Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003), the only ones for which an enumeration of dialects (Cuesta and Luz 1971) and a summary of the debate about its formation (Teyssier 1997) is provided or to which comparative studies are devoted (Teyssier 1989).

All other varieties, including AVP, are merged into generic groups, e.g. “O Português no resto do mundo” (Cuesta and Luz 1971); “O português na África e na Ásia” (Teyssier 1997); “O português de África, da Ásia e da Oceânia” (Cunha and Cintra 1995); “Variação no espaço: o português no mundo” (Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003); “The Portuguese language in the world” or “The expansion of European Portuguese” (Azevedo 2005).

Also, whereas great care is given to listing BP’s specific features and evolution, not a single line can be found on AVP’s specific structural features. In fact, AVP is never referred to as such. The preferred term is Portuguese in Angola, thus diverting attention from any specificity of the language as spoken in that country¹⁰.

Its typological classification is also vague. There is either no reference to it at all (Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003) or a distinction is made only between creoles and non-creoles (Cunha and Cintra 1995) and official Portuguese (Teyssier 1997)¹¹. The former, are said to be *languages* that grew out of a proto-pidgin that developed out of contact between Portuguese and African and Asian languages (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 23). The latter, in

¹⁰ The acknowledgement of the specificities of this variety is made indirectly only, e.g. “E não deixa de ser curioso que por certas particularidades ele [*African Portuguese*] se aproxime do «brasileiro»” (Teyssier 1997: 96).

¹¹ This seems to be a direct legacy from the linguistic works published by Portuguese linguists from the early 20th century until the mid 1970’s.

which AVP is included, are defined as more or less modified *varieties* of Portuguese which follow the European standard, except in their oral use (Teyssier 1997).

Part of the problem is that no thought is given to the contact of Portuguese with African languages (Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003) or the significance of such contact is disregarded or reduced to the mere borrowing of local lexical items:

Ao lado de numerosas línguas indígenas fala-se nelas [*Angola and Mozambique*] um português bastante puro, embora com alguns traços próprios, em geral arcaísmos ou dialectismos lusitanos semelhantes aos que encontramos no Brasil [...]. A influência das línguas negras sobre o português de Angola e Moçambique foi, no entanto, muito leve, podendo dizer-se que abrange somente o léxico local. Pelo contrário, dia a dia, com a incorporação de negros e mestiços na civilização europeia, sente-se aumentar a influência do idioma luso sobre os indígenas. (Cuesta and Luz 1971: 144-145)¹²

Implicit in these words is the homogeneity of the Portuguese language. While apparently recognizing its diversity to some degree, the majority of the authors surveyed here unanimously state that such diversity in no way jeopardizes the unity of the language, not even BP, which is agreed to constitute a “specific standard” (Teyssier 1997: 91):

Exceptuando-se o caso especial dos crioulos ... temos, pois, de reconhecer esta verdade: apesar da acidentada história que foi a sua expansão na Europa e, principalmente, fora dela, nos distantes e extensíssimos territórios de outros continentes, a língua portuguesa conseguiu manter até hoje apreciável coesão entre as variedades, por mais afastadas que se encontrem no espaço. (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 10)

The only exception to this seems to be Azevedo (2005), who not only acknowledges that in Angola “fluency in Portuguese is limited, and most speakers speak a variety of European Portuguese influenced by native languages” (*ibid.* 196) but also that this will have “specific implications for the future of the (Portuguese) language in Africa” (*ibid.* 193).

Concerning the linguistic and sociolinguistic processes underlying the formation of AVP, only Silva Neto (1957 [1986]) departs from the generalized omission or simplification of the aforementioned authors, devoting a considerable amount of thought to issues of language contact, namely to language shift. This, according to Silva Neto (1957 [1986]), is a highly complex process which involves a relatively long initial stage of bilingualism during which the practical use of both the spoken and written varieties of each of the languages in contact and the social status of the speakers will determine which

¹² None of the other authors discussed here makes such a blunt statement in this respect, but all of them share Cuesta & Luz's (1971) views (Teyssier 1997; Cunha & Cintra 1995;) even if they allow for a more widespread influence of African languages on Portuguese in Angola, i.e. on the level of morphology and syntax.

of the two languages will prevail (*ibid.* 38). According to him, this stage of bilingualism determines the structure and typology of the language that replaces other varieties:

Facilmente se compreende, todavia, que esse contacto, esse período de bilinguismo imprime um cunho na língua que se mantém. As consequências podem atingir uma escala ascendente de graus, que vai até ao esvaziamento da morfologia. Quando sucede este caso extremo, podemos dizer que estamos diante de uma língua mista. (*ibid.* 38)

Silva Neto allows for ascendant degrees of restructuring, the most extreme of which, i.e. those involving the loss of morphological features, are mixed languages. While he does not define the term, he does enumerate the linguistic processes experienced by the prevailing language during the initial stage of bilingualism, i.e. simplification of the grammar, hastening of internal drift due to a weakening of the norm, calques and maintenance of previous substrate linguistic habits¹³ (*ibid.* 39).

Another important aspect of Silva Neto's introduction (*ibid.* 42) is his emphasis on the need to distinguish between different types of acquisition of a new language, according to the contexts:

- 1 - o caso em que há uma aquisição por indivíduos ou grandes grupos transplantados - quando a assimilação é completa, seja em uma ou duas gerações, seja num período mais longo;
- 2 - o caso em que a aquisição da nova língua é feita por indivíduos que se mantêm no território onde falavam a língua precedente - caso em que verdadeiramente se pode falar de substrato.

Hence, it can be inferred that one must distinguish between the acquisition of Portuguese that led to the emergence of BVP or Portuguese-based creoles (i.e. type 1) and the one leading to the emergence of AVP (i.e. type 2). In fact, the emphasis on the study of the sociological contexts inherent to each language contact situation is the most distinctive feature of Silva Neto's work, which is summarized in the quote below:

Tudo dependerá, pois, de certas condições sociológicas, tais como o ambiente social, o contacto e a interação, o maior ou menor número de não aloglotas, o isolamento, o maior ou menor desejo de ascensão social. (*ibid.* 45)

In fact, when discussing the diffusion of the Portuguese language in Africa, and especially in Angola, Silva Neto gives great thought to the influence of sociolinguistic factors in the formation of this variety, even if not stating it explicitly. For example,

¹³ In this regard Silva Neto (1957 [1986]) considers that "ação do substrato consiste em que os hábitos e tendências lingüísticas de um grupo são mais ou menos perpetuados quando, por via do contacto, há a necessidade de aprender uma nova língua (...) Assim, a acção do substrato não se exercita propriamente na língua, mas no conjunto das tendências a ela imanentes, conferindo-lhes uma direção nova" (*ibid.* 40-41).

following the Portuguese historian Oliveira Martins¹⁴, Silva Neto (1957 [1986]: 430-431) states that different types of colonial settlement imply different means of transmission of the European language and therefore different linguistic outcomes:

Nas feitorias, o contacto é ainda espaçado e vacilante: propicia a formação de uma *lingua franca* intermediária. Nas fazendas, o contacto é íntimo e decisivo: proporciona a formação do *crioulo* como instrumento único de comunicação. Nas colónias, a situação é bem mais complexa, pois nelas se estabelece uma camada de *élite* branca.

Essa camada procura, ou não, manter e desenvolver os padrões culturais e os valores da mãe-pátria.

O destino linguístico de uma terra conquistada não dependeu, absolutamente, do substrato, mas sim do modo de transmissão da língua europeia.

Esse modo de transmitir o idioma é que lhe vai definir o futuro carácter. Se apenas se estabelecem relações comerciais ... só há o interesse de mútua compreensão, - desenvolve-se um falar de tipo crioulo.

Mas, se pelo contrário, se busca plantar uma nova pátria; se há fusão sob o signo da cultura dos mais bem dotados; se à transmissão oral da língua se acompanha a transmissão através da escola, - então mantém-se perduravelmente o essencial da língua europeia, que apenas oferecerá matizes de variantes. [...] Esses fatos repetiram-se no Brasil e na Hispano-América.

Taking into account that Angola had different colonial patterns of settlement at different moments of its history (i.e. *feitorias* from the 15th to the 17th century and *colónia* from the late 19th century onwards), one can, according to this line of thought, pose two hypotheses to account for the origin of AVP: (1) it is the result of a *lingua franca*, i.e. a “falar de tipo crioulo”, or (2) it is a contact-influenced regional variety of Portuguese. Accepting the first option as true, one could state that AVP’s synchronic structure sprung from the “português dos negros” or “falar crioulizante”¹⁵, which later on developed into a “semicreole”, i.e. a language variety that at a certain stage of its history underwent some degree of creolization only to later on decreolize as a consequence of increased contact with the standard:

¹⁴ While Oliveira Martins is the only source referred to by Neto (1957 [1986]: 430-1) a similar classification of creoles according to the circumstances of their formation can be found in Reinecke (1937), and later on in Chaudenson (1979) and Bickerton (1986). For a detailed analysis of the classifications proposed by these authors see Holm (2000: 40-41).

¹⁵ Silva Neto (1957 [1986]: 436) defines the “português dos negros” or “falar crioulizante” in the following terms:
Este não constitui um conjunto de caracteres definidos. É meramente individual: exemplifica-nos a fase inicial, e o primeiro contacto, que pode preparar o advento do crioulo [...] consiste na algarviada ocasional das tribos que, resistindo à assimilação, mantêm intactos os seus padrões culturais, inclusive, é claro a própria língua.

Nos crioulos há vários graus de aprendizagem, pois, segundo as circunstâncias, o primitivo falar xacoco mantém-se ou é aos poucos renovado pelo sangue novo da língua européia. De geração em geração, graças sobretudo à escola, vai-se aperfeiçoando e enriquecendo a primitiva fala de emergência [...] Daí o admitir-se a existência do *semicrioulo*, ou seja, o estágio mais aperfeiçoado da primitiva aprendizagem. Ele exemplifica-nos o choque entre o falar europeu e o crioulo. Este vai sendo, pouco a pouco, invadido por palavras e giros do falar das pessoas socialmente mais bem dotadas. O semi-crioulo encerra, pois, formas e torneios semicultos. (Silva Neto 1957 [1986]: 437)

However, none of the descriptions of Portuguese spoken in Angola quoted by Silva Neto seems to validate this hypothesis. In fact, in his description of the diffusion of the Portuguese language in Africa, Silva Neto (1957 [1986]) does provide a large body of testimonies reflecting Portuguese and foreign travelers' general perception of the language as spoken by Africans in Angola, but the earliest impressions quoted by Silva Neto are in straight opposition to the understanding of AVP as resulting from decreolization (which is implied by his definition of "semi-creole" above), because all of them range from describing Africans as quite knowledgeable about Portuguese (*ibid.* 513) or as least as possessing a reasonable knowledge of the language (*ibid.* 516). These reports are all the more relevant as they date to the 16th and 17th centuries, when the Portuguese presence in Angola was guaranteed by means of the *feitorias*, which according to Silva Neto (*ibid.* 430-1) should have resulted in the creation of an intermediary lingua franca. Only in the late 17th, 18th and early 19th century is the Portuguese spoken by Angolans described as corrupted Portuguese (*ibid.* 517).

La langue portugaise corrompue s'y est conservée jusqu'à présent, produit un jargon ou langue franque que presque tout le peuple entend, parle, de sort que ceux que savent le portugais, n'ont pas besoin d'interprète. (Labat 1730, quoted by Silva Neto 1957 [1986]: 515)¹⁶

Later on, Silva Neto (1957 [1986]: 517) quotes Corrêa, an historian of Angola, who referring to 18th century Angola describes it as mainly Kimbundu-speaking:

As senhoras, costumadas a fazerem-se entender às suas escravas por esta linguagem [*i.e. Kimbundu*], são verbosas nas conversações familiares e mudas nas públicas assembleias. A ..., baronesa de Mossâmedes, ardendo nos desejos de fazer brilhante o tempo do governo de seu ... esposo, as convocou, e reduziu a aparecerem vestidas ao uso da Europa, atraindo primeiramente à sua presença algumas meninas das principais famílias, as quais educou debaixo dos preceitos e maneiras europeanas, mandando-as ensinar a costurar, a bordar, a ler, a escrever, a contar, a música, a dançar e, por consequência, a falar... Os homens falam português, e são elegantes no ambundo. (Corrêa quoted in Silva Neto 1957 [1986]: 517)

¹⁶ While the words above constitute an invaluable source of information about 18th century Portuguese in Angola, they should perhaps be analyzed with caution, especially because these testimonies are usually made by non-native speakers of Portuguese whose knowledge of the language is seldom known and who some times report hear-say rather than their own personal experiences.

Regarding the 19th century, Silva Neto states that there is good information about the pronunciation of Portuguese in Angola and quotes a grammar of Kimbundo:

A maior frequência da lingua angolense entre os naturaes do paíz tem modificado a pronúncia da portugueza que é falada en Ngola (Angola) mais ou menos correctamente pelas pessoas civilizadas com a branda pronúncia do seu idioma patrio, mas com a acentuação das terminações semelhantes à de alguns paulistas¹⁷ (no Brasil), não tão forte, mas parecendo apenas que as vozes que terminam as palavras tem o som prolongado, como se fossem dobradas ou tivessem éco. Este vicio na pronúncia da lingua portugueza é devido à frequência das exclamações ou às particulas de interjeição da lingua Nbandu, sempre empregadas no fim das palavras ou das orações. (Oliveira & Francina quoted by Silva Neto 1957 [1986]: 517)

It is clear from the quotes above that most Angolans spoke an African language rather than Portuguese and that when they did speak Portuguese they used it fairly well, albeit with phonetic interference from their mother tongue. What is described above is not a creole undergoing decreolization but rather a whole new variety in the making.

While not developing a full theoretical model to account for AVP's origins and synchronic structure, Silva Neto (1957 [1986]) nonetheless provides some valuable insights into the cause/effect relationship between sociolinguistic factors and different degrees of restructuring, even if not clearly defining them. Furthermore, he quotes a significant number of sources describing the linguistic situation in Angola from the 16th to the 19th centuries as well as the language policies enforced there.

2.1.4. WORKS ON ANGOLA'S BANTU LANGUAGES

The first linguistic research on African languages was undertaken in Angola as early as the seventeenth century (Bonvini 1994: 127) and intensified during the eighteenth century, in part due to the increment of missionary action in Angola (especially by Jesuits and Capuchins) and the consequent growing contact with Angolans' native languages. Since the majority of these languages were completely unknown to missionaries, grammars and dictionaries were published to help them learn these languages (Cole 1971: 4). These publications were essentially descriptive in nature and contained little or no information regarding the use of Portuguese in Angola.

Nineteenth-century grammars and dictionaries are also not of much help in describing AVP. However, they offer important insights into the sociolinguistic scene in the country at the time of their publication.

¹⁷ Cf. with Schuchardt's reference to the "return of vast number of emancipated slaves from Brazil to these regions" (1888: 62-3) quoted earlier.

Firstly, they make clear that throughout the territories administered by the Portuguese, it was the Bantu languages and not Portuguese that were used as *lingua francas*. For example, Nascimento (1893: xii) claims that “quem souber a língua dos bienes [i.e. *Umbundo*], pode viajar por toda a Africa austral com a certeza de ser entendido por todos os povos ba-ntu”¹⁸. Consequently, he dedicates his work to the “negociantes, viajantes, funcionarios publicos, missionarios, militares, etc., que tenham de viver em contacto com os indigenas”.

Secondly, 19th-century grammars and handbooks show that the Bantu-speaking interpreters on which the Portuguese had relied for centuries for communication with the natives offered no guarantee of effective communication. According to Cannecatim (1804: iv-v):

... a intelligencia da Lingua Bunda, ou geral do Reino de Angola, he utilissima, e necessaria aos Ecclesiasticos no exercicio do seu ministerio; aos Governadores, e Magistrados na Regencia do Estado, e Administração da Justiça; aos Chefes Militares no acerto do seu Commando e na felicidade de suas operações; aos Comerciantes em fim no manejo do seu negocio, sendo huma ruina, e huma desgraça, que todas estas pessoas não vejam o objecto de suas funções, senão ao travéz da opaca sombra de um Negro interprete.

Os interpretes são negros do paiz, gente bruta, que ignora da sua própria língua uma grande parte, e que da portuguesa apenas sabe os termos mais vulgares e usuaes; frequentemente uns taes interpretes, ou não percebem a força e o verdadeiro espirito das palavras portuguezas, ou não sabem achar e escolher na sua língua termos que propriamente lhes corespondam, de que pode resultar o ensinar erros substanciais, assim a respeito do que devemos crer, como do que devemos obrar.

Carvalho (1890: I), the explorer of Lunda, reinforces Cannecatim’s characterization of Bantu-speaking interpreters in 19th-century Angola by stating the following:

Durante a missão de que fui encarregado nas terras do Muatiânvua, impoz-se-me logo em Malanje a obrigação de estudar as *línguas dos povos* com quem precisava de entreter relações, pois que já conhecia por experiência que um interprete como intermédio nestas relações, além de fastidioso, rouba muito tempo durante o dia, commette erros, mesmo no que nos é mais trivial; informador inconsciente, que, pelos interesses peculiares a que mira e ignorância da responsabilidade que assume, mente para nos ser agradável e torna-se, portanto, num perigo constante a nosso lado. (Carvalho 1890: I)

Thirdly, 19th-century grammars and dictionaries make clear that the more the Portuguese advanced into the hinterland, the less their language was of any use in the contact with the natives. As Chatelain (1894 [2001]: viii) puts it: Portuguese was to the majority of Angolans “what Latin is to the Lusitanian peasant”. This seems to have been

¹⁸ Umbundu is to this day one of the most important *lingua francas* in Africa (Moseley and Asher 1994: 289-309).

true not only of the population in general but also of interpreters in particular, whom according to Carvalho (1890: III) “quanto mais nos internâmos pela provincia de Angola, menos comprehendem a sua e a nossa lingua”.

The predominance of the local languages over Portuguese as *lingua francas* continued well into the mid-twentieth century. However, due to the increased influx of Portuguese settlers into the interior, the growing number of “assimilados” and the consequent expansion of the area of influence of Portuguese, the goal of most grammars and dictionaries of Angolan native languages was now not only to enable Europeans and assimilated Angolans to communicate with the natives, but above all to spread the Portuguese language among the latter (Maia 1961 [1994]: viii). A practical knowledge of the native languages was perceived as a crucial means to achieving linguistic and cultural assimilation of Africans (Maia 1957: viii; 1961 [1994]: vii), for despite Portuguese efforts the linguistic context described by Canecatim (1804) remained accurate:

... os primeiros missionários têm-se visto a braços com a dificuldade de se compreenderem ou de se fazerem compreender do povo nos pontos em que a Língua Portuguesa não atingiu ainda o necessário incremento. Aos funcionários Administrativos sucede por vezes o mesmo. Os srs. Aspirantes e Chefes de Posto veêm-se coagidos, pela necessidade de resolução de casos indígenas, ao estudo prévio das línguas nativas para não recorrerem sempre à intervenção de cabos de cipaios que lhes servem de valiosos intérpretes das questões diárias. (Ex-seminar student in the introduction to Maia 1994 [1961]: ix)

Curiously enough, none of the works surveyed here makes reference to contact-induced changes in Portuguese other than those found in the speech of interpreters, but rather to significant change and dialectal differentiation within the African languages. For example, Chatelain (1888-89 [1964], 1894 [2001]) clearly distinguishes between three dialects of Kimbundu based on the ethnicity of their speakers and their degree of contact with the Portuguese: the “intermediary dialects”, which he defines as mixtures of Kimbundu with Kikongo or Umbundu (*ibid.* xiii) spoken by “tribus independentes e até aqui refractarias à civilização e ao jugo portuguez” (*ibid.* xii) and the two dialects of what he terms “kimbundu proper” (*ibid.* xiii), i.e. the Kimbundu spoken in the hinterland of Luanda and the Kimbundu spoken in the city of Luanda. He claims that the former is the purest and the variety closer to the original language of the Ndongo kingdom, as opposed to the latter, “the form of speech in daily use among Loanda natives, needlessly mixed with Portuguese elements” which “offers poor material for the study of the genuine Kimbundu” (Chatelain 1894 [2001]: v). The same view is shared by Carvalho (1890: III), who claims that “não é no litoral, nem mesmo nas suas proximidades, que se deve fazer o estudo da *língua ambunda* (i.e. Kimbundu)”. Carvalho (*ibid.*) also makes reference to the

use of Portuguese in Kimbundu “com prefixos e terminações da região em que se encontra”.

Tavares (1915) further elaborates on this topic and while he tries to minimize the contact-induced changes undergone by the Angolan Bantu languages, the phenomena he refers to seem to indicate significant restructuring, i.e. the tendency to use abbreviated forms of agreement, the acquisition of whole new sets of grammatical words and the substitution of native words by the assimilated forms of their Portuguese equivalents:

A língua [i.e. *Kimbundu*], principalmente nos centros mais populosos e cultos, além de se apresentar com acentuada tendência para a realização de formas contractas, tem modificado, pôsto que de leve, algumas das suas leis de concordância suprimindo certos elementos morfológicos e adquirindo outros. [...] O contacto de quatrocentos anos com a língua portuguesa ... não alterou a pureza da língua. Os elementos estranhos, que são na verdade poucos, tem sido adaptados à gramática nativa: termos para os artigos que antes de nós não conheciam, alguns verbos, advérbios, preposições e conjunções, sendo porém de notar que foram desprezados alguns antigos termos nacionais, os quais foram substituídos pelos nossos, inteiramente assimilados. (Tavares 1915: vii-viii)

The reference to contact varieties of local Angolan languages as a result of both contacts with Portuguese and with other African languages is recurrent on more contemporary sources on language use in Angola, despite the fact that specific linguistic traits are seldom provided. As far as the first type of contact is concerned, Oliveira (1990: 74) refers to the existence of tertiary creoles¹⁹, such as Olumbali²⁰. The same author also refers to several “mixed languages”, such as the Quimbundo spoken in Nambuanguo and Bângala²¹.

To the best knowledge of the present author, no grammars or dictionaries of Angolan Bantu languages were published from the 1960s to Angola’s independence from Portugal (i.e. 1975). After independence, Angola adopted Portuguese as the official language, but the great linguistic diversity of the country and the general population’s limited knowledge of Portuguese led Angolan rulers to enforce measures with view to the

¹⁹ The term was first used in Valkhoff (1966), where it was defined as the result of “the Portuguese influence on Bantu languages” (p. 34). This is the meaning in which the term is used here.

²⁰ This is a language created in Moçâmedes (present day province of Namibe) by the “quimbares”, i.e. “todos os que surgem associados a europeus, designadamente pelo trabalho, deixando-se influenciar pela sua cultura” (Oliveira 1990: 74).

²¹ The only information provided by Oliveira (1990: 79-80) about these “mixed languages” is transcribed below:

Uma língua mista atestada por Atkins, na fronteira Norte com o Quicongo é o Quimbundo de Nambuanguo, variedade «peculiar a esta região. A estrutura gramatical parece-se mais com a do Quimbundo do que com a do Quicongo, mas a inversa é verdadeira para a fonologia. Estamos em face de uma língua mista que revela um alto grau de interferência recíproca das duas línguas também no vocabulário. Língua mista é também considerado por Atkins o Bângala, resultado da interferência intensa entre o Quimbundo e o Quicongo, e que se situa na fronteira entre estas duas línguas.

description of the indigenous languages and their subsequent use in literacy and schooling, e.g. the establishment of the *Instituto Nacional de Línguas* in 1979. Despite the fact that these measures had few practical results²², they nonetheless led to a growing debate about the linguistic situation in the country. In the period immediately following independence and during the 1980s, the focus of debate was essentially on Angola's African languages, termed "national languages", as opposed to Portuguese, i.e. the official language. The most important contribution of this stage of the debate was the identification of the most representative national languages²³, i.e. Kikongo, Kimbundu, Cokwe, Umbundu, Mbunda and Kwanyama, and the proposal of alphabets for each of them (INL 1980). By 2000 the awareness that the number of speakers of Portuguese in Angola, both first and second-language speakers, had increased brought the debate about the linguistic situation in Angola to a stage in which Portuguese was included among Angola's national languages²⁴:

Temos que reconhecer que ainda não está suficientemente claro para todos nós, Angolanos, o que será uma língua angolana. Em nossa opinião, esse termo aplica-se a todo o meio de comunicação, usado no país, de origem local ou não local mas que, como acontece com a língua portuguesa, ganhou esse direito, pelo seu percurso histórico no nosso país. (Mingas 2002)

As áreas de difusão da língua oficial, a Língua Portuguesa, correspondem em certa medida, aos limites fronteiriços do País. Ela cobre toda extensão do território Nacional e é falada de Kabinda ao Cunene, do Mar ao Leste. Implantada em Angola há mais de cinco séculos, enraizou-se profundamente na sociedade. Hoje, para além do seu estatuto de língua oficial, ela é a língua materna de muitos angolanos e com o seu alastramento constitui a língua nacional no sentido pleno e veicular para todos os angolanos, embora o grau de domínio não seja igual para todos. (Fernandes and Ntondo 2002: 19)

More important than the acknowledgement of Portuguese as one of Angola's national languages is the underlying assumption that due to contact with African languages, a whole new restructured variety of Portuguese has been forged and has spread throughout Angola, i.e. AVP:

A coabitação com as demais línguas angolanas originou o surgimento de uma variante nacional do português ao que chamaríamos "*português vernacularizado*" que, massificando-se, tornou-se *veicular*. (Fernandes and Ntondo 2002: 19)

²² My fieldwork in the country made it clear to me that the practical goals of these measures have yet to be achieved, i.e. there are no specialized teachers of national languages; there are very few, if any, text books to teach them; the orthography of the national languages remains an unsettled issue, etc.

²³ The term 'national language' referred to the indigenous languages as opposed to Portuguese.

²⁴ For a more detailed analysis of this ongoing debate in Angola see Cabral (2005: 20-23 and 26-22).

... a língua portuguesa realiza-se numa situação de contacto de línguas onde a mesma coexiste com as demais línguas Nacionais, não bantu e bantu. Hoje fala-se mesmo do português angolano por ter sido apropriado pelos angolanos e um bom número dentre eles, sobretudo cidadãos têm-na como língua materna. (*ibid.* 103)

Hence, according to Fernandes and Ntongo (2002: 19) it is AVP and not some transplanted standard of EP which is a national language in Angola and which is either the first or the second language of Angolans, even if the authors do associate AVP with a specific ethnolinguistic group, i.e. *descendentes*²⁵.

Fernandes and Ntongo (2002) do not clarify whether the Portuguese they describe is EP or AVP, but the fact is that the pronunciation suggested by their spelling for some Portuguese words does not match that of EP. For example, for the name of Portuguese letter the authors suggest the pronunciation [bé], with the low mid front vowel [ɛ] instead of the high mid front vowel [e] in EP (2002: 106). The pronunciation suggested for the <a> in “anel” is [a] rather than [ɐ] (2002: 111) in EP. No references are made to morphosyntax. Despite this, the relevant fact is that AVP is not some theoretical construct made up by foreign linguists, but rather the product of Angolans’ own perception of the variety of Portuguese spoken in Angola as distinct from EP, even if its full description remains to be done.

2.1.5. LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF ANGOLAN VERNACULAR PORTUGUESE

As already stated in chapter 1, specific work on the topic appeared only after the country’s independence from Portugal in 1975 and it was essentially concerned with the description of lexical borrowing and transfer. The first references to specific features of AVP other than lexical appeared only in the 1980s in literary criticism of the work of politically engaged Angolan writers who had taken an active role in the country’s fight for independence during the 1960s and 1970s by mirroring in their literature the socio-cultural context of their country (Menezes-Leroy 1989: 102). Language played a crucial role in this. While some only wrote in standard EP (e.g. Manuel Rui, Pepetela, Rui Duarte de Carvalho), others, like Luandino Vieira and Uanhenga Xitu, tried to echo the language of the common people, or what Óscar Ribas called “popular Portuguese” (in Laban 1991: 33-34), whose features included, for example, use of Kimbundu verbal roots with Portuguese

²⁵ The group is composed of the descendants of Europeans (mainly Portuguese) and the descendants of Europeans with Africans. According to the authors, the former speak Portuguese as their mother tongue, whereas the latter can be divided into those who speak Portuguese as their first language and those whose mother tongue is a Bantu language (Fernandes and Ntongo 2002: 101-2).

verbal endings, local phonetic variants of Portuguese words, lack of subject-verb agreement, lack of number and gender agreement.

To some extent this literary language echoes tendencies in the oral speech of most Angolans, but caution is needed in taking it at face value, since it illustrates the contact of Portuguese with Kimbundu only. Hence, the phenomena transferred from African languages to Portuguese which they illustrate may be similar to that of “*la langue populaire de la region de Luanda*” (Laban 1982: 61), i.e. the “*linguagem dos musseques*” (Laban 1991: 31; Perl and Hundt 1991: 51), where Kimbundu is actually the predominant language, but not necessarily similar to AVP as a whole (Perl 1989: 14). Moreover, the authors themselves were usually neither native speakers of Kimbundu nor of the variety of Portuguese they tried to mirror:

Embora eu conheça mais ou menos o português popular, mas depois tenho de estar a acertar: «Vamos cá ver se é assim... Não é bem assim!» e lá corrijo uma palavra... «Mas não é assim...», Bom a não ser que seja uma criatura que fale bem o português popular, que não é o meu caso. E então, depois de escrever o conto em português, a pessoa, o informante ouvia-o ler para ver se era mais ou menos assim, assim – uma frase ou outra: «Não é bem assim...» E eu corrigia. Quase todos os contos foram feitos assim, para lhes conceder maior cunho de autenticidade. (Óscar Ribas in Laban 1991: 34).

In short, the “português angolanizado” (Macedo 2002) used by the Angolan writers of the 1960s and 1970s was not intended to mirror the exact speech of the common people, but to empower and dignify all those who in Angola used non-standard varieties of Portuguese and who had so far been discriminated against in education and jobs for doing so (Macedo 2002).

Indeed, it was this concern over the educational consequences of speaking a “português angolanizado” rather than standard EP, i.e. the official language, that led to the emergence of the first strictly linguistic studies on AVP in the 1980s and 1990s. These were essentially about the teaching of Portuguese as a second language in Angola (Ançã 1998; Cuesta 1990; Marques 1983) and included interesting insights regarding the linguistic situation in the country. First, they showed that less than 20% of the country’s population spoke Portuguese natively, i.e. essentially residents in the coastal cities (Cuesta 1990: 15), against the 85% (Kounta 1980: 1) or 80% (Cuesta 1990: 15), especially in the rural areas, who spoke one or more Bantu languages natively and had little or no knowledge of Portuguese²⁶. Second, these studies provided examples of linguistic

²⁶ This fact has been acknowledged by many since colonial times, e.g. in 1968 Barreto presented a report about the teaching of Portuguese as a second language in Africa at the *I Simpósio sobre a Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea*, in which he acknowledged that 70% of the total population in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique had little or no knowledge of Portuguese (Barreto 1968: 147). Of course, the lack of efficiency of second language teaching of Portuguese in Africa in

interference in the speech of non-native speakers of Portuguese, offering as a possible explanation the contact between Portuguese and the Bantu languages:

A realização da língua portuguesa no nosso país [i.e. Angola] dá-se numa situação de plurilinguismo ... isto significa que o fenómeno do contacto linguístico e o que dele decorre – como por exemplo, as interferências linguísticas – não pode ser ignorado nem negligenciado. (Marques 1983: 209)

According to Marques (1983), this is illustrated by the lack of number and gender agreement in the noun phrase in the speech of Angolan speakers with little knowledge of Portuguese, since number and gender in Bantu are expressed by adding prefixes to the elements of the noun phrase, Angolans interpret the Portuguese article as the equivalent of those prefixes and therefore do not mark the plural or feminine at the end of nouns to establish agreement with its determiners in instances like *os pai* ‘the.PL father.SG’ and *as camarada* ‘the.PL comrade.SG’ (*ibid.* 219).

Interestingly, in Marques (1983) the examples of interference provided, e.g. the lack of number and gender agreement in the noun phrase²⁷, are not taken as “errors” but as specific features of what she calls “língua portuguesa falada em Angola” (*ibid.* 214) or “português angolano” (*ibid.* 215), i.e. AVP. In fact, she actually suggests a plan for its description with view to the establishment of a standard and the consequent revision and restructuring of descriptive and normative grammars of Portuguese:

- Um levantamento do português fundamental (mais usual) em Angola e o que ele traduz em termos de uso pela população angolana (estatísticas por áreas geográficas):
 - a) compreensão;
 - b) compreensão e expressão oral
 - c) compreensão, expressão oral e expressão escrita.
- A descrição do português de Angola (características fonéticas, morfo-sintáticas e semânticas).
Esta análise descritiva, a longo prazo, vai permitir igualmente delimitar:
 - a) as marcas do português de Angola que decorrem da evolução natural da língua (o dinamismo e evolução das línguas vivas);
 - b) as marcas do português de Angola que decorrem do seu contacto com as línguas nacionais (interferências, etc).

(*ibid.* 215)

There are two very interesting implications in Marques’ (1983: 215) words. First, in acknowledging that AVP includes dialectal differentiation and that its speakers have different degrees of proficiency, she implicitly emphasizes that AVP is not a unitary

colonial times was seen as a problem because it prevented assimilation, whereas from the 1980s onwards it has been a matter of concern because it prevents the majority of the population from attending school.

²⁷ The Angolan linguist also identifies other particularities of the “português de Angola” (1990 [1983]:215), namely lack of subject/verb agreement. For other features cf. Marques (1983: 217-23).

language variety and consequently that any serious attempt at describing it must take this fact into consideration. Second, any theoretical attempt at classifying AVP must pay equal attention to both contact with Bantu languages and the natural drift of Portuguese.

While Marques' (1983) plan has still not been implemented, it did propose a path for future investigations. Ançã (1998) is a case in point, in that it gave an interesting contribution to the better understanding of Angolans' linguistic competence in Portuguese and to the identification of their main difficulties in using the language. With these goals in mind, she gave a test to 64 Angolan and Cape Verdean students²⁸ (*ibid.* 1032-3) in which they were expected to recognize and produce correct Portuguese constructions. While most Cape Verdean students claimed Cape Verdean Creole was their mother tongue, the case with Angolans was more complex: 38 students stated Portuguese was their mother tongue and 26 replied theirs was either Kimbundu, Kikongo, Fiote or Umbundu. One would expect that all non-native speakers of Portuguese (both Cape Verdean and Angolan) would experience difficulties in most questions, as opposed to Angolan native speakers of Portuguese. However, the results showed no such distinction, for both groups (both native and non-native) experienced more difficulties on exactly the same questions: those related to the plural form of nouns, uniform adjectives²⁹, gender inflections in adjectives, word formation and identifying ungrammatical sentences. This is very interesting and completely in line with my observations of Angola's linguistic reality during my fieldwork there:

Embora, aparentemente, as línguas banto estejam a perder vitalidade na capital, elas continuam presentes no português que hoje se fala em Luanda, tanto a nível lexical, como morfo-sintático e fonético. (Ançã 1998: 1035)

Ançã (1998) concludes that partial knowledge of Portuguese is particularly visible in syntax, but that not all difficulties are of the same sort. Hence, she considers that most of the grammatical difficulties discussed above are what she calls "interlinguistic difficulties", i.e. they result from language contact and interference, whereas the difficulties in identifying ungrammatical sentences are what she calls "intralinguistic difficulties", i.e. resulting from hypercorrection, overgeneralization and analogy (*ibid.* 1039).

The first truly linguistic study of Portuguese language use in Angola was also published in the 1980s, i.e. Mendes (1985). The goals of the study were threefold:

²⁸ Only students living in the capitals of these countries took the test, Luanda and Praia, respectively. All of them were studying at "Instituições de Formação de Professores".

²⁹ In Portuguese traditional grammar this refers to those adjectives that possess a single form to both the feminine and the masculine, e.g. *feliz* ('happy'); *jovem* ('young'), etc.

...verificar quais as características actuais da língua portuguesa falada na situação de plurilinguismo da comunidade de discurso angolano, analisar as mudanças nela operadas em relação à norma e reflectir sobre as suas causas. (*ibid.* 1)

Hence, Mendes (1985) starts with a detailed description of the sociolinguistic situation in Angola in the 1980s, which in her opinion was highly complex due to the coexistence of three different linguistic groups, i.e. the national languages³⁰, Portuguese, and other foreign languages:

Uma grande parte da população é unilingue ou em português (centros urbanos) ou numa língua nacional (zonas rurais, principalmente); outra parte é bilingue e alguns são até plurilingues, empregando-se: uma língua nacional mais português; duas ou várias línguas nacionais; português mais outro (ou outros) sistema(s) linguísticos(s) estrangeiro(s); língua nacional mais língua portuguesa mais outra língua estrangeira. (*ibid.* 34)

The group of monolingual speakers includes Angolans (monolingual in a national language, mainly in the rural areas) and Portuguese cooperators and Angolans whose parents are Portuguese (monolingual in Portuguese, mainly in urban areas). The group of bilingual and plurilingual speakers includes Angolans, whose one of parents is Angolan and the other foreign, Angolans who studied abroad, and foreigners in general (*ibid.* 32).

While this characterization may be a bit of a generalization, Mendes' (1985) prediction of different sociolinguistic outcomes for the rural centers and the urban centers in the long run shows great linguistic awareness. In the rural areas, due to the rarity of interlinguistic contacts, the speakers' resistance to the social pressure of Portuguese, the inaccessibility of some regions and their distance from the capital, Mendes (*ibid.* 46) predicted that monolingualism or multilingualism in national languages would prevail to the detriment of bilingualism in Portuguese and Bantu languages. In the cities, the higher social, economic and cultural prestige of Portuguese, the growing concentration of services and refugees, the exclusive use of Portuguese in schooling and the war would in time lead to monolingualism in Portuguese through language shift (*ibid.* 40-3):

... a situação linguística actual em Angola tenderá a longo prazo para uma mudança de línguas, ou seja, que algumas das línguas nacionais angolanas desapareçam, evoluindo-se para uma situação de unilinguismo em proveito da língua portuguesa (naturalmente já distanciada da actual norma portuguesa). (Mendes 1985:46)

As far as the development of AVP is concerned, Mendes (1985) advocates that "O português falado em Angola parece ter seguido, na sua formação, dois caminhos: um

³⁰ The term here is synonymous with indigenous language.

conservador, que se tem desenvolvido lentamente, e outro inovador, a que condições sociopolíticas imprimem, por vezes maior velocidade” (*ibid.* 184).

The factors accounting for AVP’s conservative character are essentially (a) the conservative tendency of transplanted languages, (b) dialect leveling in consequence of the different geographic backgrounds of the Portuguese settlers and their concentration in small centers, (c) the archaic Portuguese spoken by the majority of the settlers, mostly from rural areas in Portugal with little or no contact with cultural centers, and (d) the role of missionaries and schools in spreading the literary norm of EP. The different word order of object personal pronouns in AVP, the use of the preposition *em* with verbs expressing movement, and the pronunciation of final “e” as [i] are some features used by Mendes (1985) to illustrate AVP’s conservative character. However, as will hopefully be shown in chapters 4 and 5, the fact that all these features also occur in EP does not mean one can exclude language contact as a possible explanation to account for them in AVP.

AVP’s innovative character depends on the acceptance by the community of individual innovation and on the role of several different social, political and historical factors which can accelerate or retard that acceptance. Mendes (1985) identifies three favorable stages to linguistic innovation in Angola: “a primeira logo no início da colonização, a segunda no último período colonial e finalmente a terceira é a fase actual, após a Independência” (*ibid.* 196). The first and the last stages are the most relevant. The first because the contact with a new reality resulted in lexical borrowing from Bantu languages, disappearance of certain words that were no longer needed, semantic and grammatical transformation of the most often used words, and imperfect learning of Portuguese by Angolans. The last stage was highly relevant because it brought about the mass movement of people due to the war and political, technical, social, economic and cultural changes favoring innovation³¹, especially in the capital.

Thus, according to Mendes (1985), AVP appears to be the product of a process similar to the one that originated BVP. In fact, when comparing both varieties, she states that they share several structural features, i.e. modification of EP phonology, lexical borrowings and calques, and the intensification of linguistic trends prior to the transplantation of the language. Still, she stresses that due to different sociolinguistic backgrounds “o português no Brasil viria a sofrer rumo diferente do que seguia em Angola” (*ibid.* 201).

³¹ Mendes (1985:198) includes in these changes the transformation of Angolan social structure, bigger freedom of speech, more contact of Angolans with the outside world and improvements in education.

According to Mendes (1985), *interlinguistic interference* is the one linguistic process which accounts for the growing differentiation between AVP and standard EP:

Sabemos que dada a situação sociolinguística actual de Angola as interferências tendem a aumentar provocando divergências na língua portuguesa falada nesse país e afastando-a progressivamente do português-padrão e que este processo de evolução continuará por certo tempo ainda mas pensamos que neste momento já pode ser feito um estudo sincrónico dessas interferências. (Mendes 1985: 66)

Lexical borrowings from Bantu (especially Kimbundu), BP and other foreign languages; lexical and semantic innovations in Angolan Portuguese and morphosyntactic and phonologic Bantu transfer into Angolan Portuguese are the main consequences of this process of *interlinguistic interference*, for which Mendes provides an extensive and valuable list of examples (*ibid.* 68-159). Extremely important and exhaustive as this is, Mendes's (1985) enumeration of transfer phenomena needs analysis, as all her examples are taken from a literary corpus³². Other shortcomings include the use of examples that can be misleading in that they are not exclusive of AVP³³, and the use of vague and not very technical terms to refer to the phenomena she surveys, be it lexical and semantic innovations in AVP (Mendes 1985: 102-31)³⁴ or morphosyntactic interferences in AVP (*ibid.* 133-57), i.e. “deslocamentos”³⁵, “acrescentamentos”³⁶ and “dificuldades”³⁷, which is not complemented with individual analysis or explanation of the examples.

As far as lack of agreement is concerned, Mendes (1985:149-51) identifies five instances:

A. lack of number and gender agreement between the determiner and the noun:

- (4) “Porque não tira o fotografia.”
 (5) “Tem muitas mulher_.”

³² See the discussion above in this section about the shortcomings of using literary works as linguistic corpora.

³³ For example, Mendes (1985:110) states that *afrente*, *agente* and *derepente* are examples of agglutination of the Portuguese expressions *à frente* (i.e. ‘ahead’), *a gente* (i.e. ‘we’), *de repente* (i.e. ‘suddenly’), which is true, but the examples she provides seem to indicate that these are not new Angolan Portuguese words but rather phonetic agglutinations identical to ones found in informal EP.

³⁴ For example, what does “deformação” and “aportuguesamento” mean? Have “alambamento” (i.e. from Kimbundu “kilembu” meaning “dowry”) and “funjada” (i.e. from Kimbundu “funji”, referring to a large quantity of “funge”, an Angolan typical dish) undergone the same morphological processes?

³⁵ This refers essentially to the different use of the personal pronouns in Angolan Portuguese, e.g. “já vou-me embora” (Mendes 1985:146); the use of the direct object before the verb, e.g. “mas cinco minutos nem que passaram” (*ibid.* 147); non-inversion of the subject in interrogative sentences, e.g. “Onde ele está?” (*ibid.* 148).

³⁶ This refers essentially to the insertion of words in the sentences for emphasis.

³⁷ The meaning of the word is unclear, but under this heading she includes difficulties in using relative clauses and sentences (e.g. “o nosso esquadrão **que** o Comandante lhe chamamos Kwenha”, *ibid.* 155); comparative forms (e.g. “É **mais pior** de ver”, “levantou a cabeça para ver **mais bem**”, *ibid.* 155); object pronoun with preposition (e.g. “Teu patrão um dia correu **na minha trás**”, *ibid.* 156); certain verb tenses and modes like the imperative (e.g. “Psiu, **vens cá**”, *ibid.* 156) and the subjunctive (e.g. “dar nos lombos de todos **que fazerem** barulho”, *ibid.* 157); and of passive sentences (e.g. “impedir que os garotos mais fracos **fossem batidos** pelos mais fortes”, *ibid.* 157).

B. lack of number and gender agreement between the noun and the adjective:

- (6) “As coisas estão muito fresco_”
 (7) “abriu a cancela pequeno do fundo do quintal”

C. lack of subject/verb agreement:

- (8) “as pessoas paga_ renda no fim do mês”
 (9) “tu quer_ ir mesmo com aquele rapaz”
 (10) “eu quando veio”

D. lack of tense agreement

- (11) “ Tanto estão bem connosco de manhã, como à tarde estarem a desejar a morte”
 (12) “O senhor Felito compra medicamentos e depois venha com o enfermeiro”

E. use of different verb persons to refer to the same interlocutor.

- (13) “O senhor quer ficar bem com a tua mulher”
 (14) “Querem-te roubar o ovo da sua mãe”

The reduced number of examples and the lack of individual analysis and explanation of each of them is unhelpful, especially when the only explanation provided is reduced to the interference of Bantu languages and simplification of the Portuguese grammar in the terms that follow:

No quimbundo o número recebe tantas variações quantas as classes (são dez as classes de substantivos e há dez prefixos que lhes correspondem). Por darem menos importância ao género aparecem no seu discurso discordâncias como “no mesmo barriga”. (Mendes 1985: 214).

In spite of the shortcomings mentioned above, in which the implicit belief in the homogeneity of AVP (*ibid.* 200) must be included, Mendes (1985) provides a remarkably lucid appreciation of the Angolan linguistic reality:

Não sabemos em que medida podemos falar de agramaticalidade em certas frases quando a sua estrutura não está inteiramente de acordo com as regras da gramática portuguesa. Alguns “angolanismos” são nitidamente marcados e por isso sentidos como incorrectos e pertencentes à linguagem popular. Outros vêm-se tornando comuns, instalando-se podemos dizer que definitivamente na norma, na futura norma do português angolanizado. (*ibid.* 213)

There are two important acknowledgments in Mendes’ statement, which had only been implicitly suggested in Marques (1983). First, that the linguistic features that separate AVP from EP, i.e. “angolanismos”, are not only lexical but also grammatical.

Second, that some of these were so widespread that they could no longer be considered errors but rather part of an emergent standard of Angolan Portuguese³⁸.

The goal of the works following Marques (1983) and Mendes (1985) in the late 1980s and the 1990s, when the first linguistic descriptions of AVP were published, was precisely that of identifying the linguistic features that distinguish the emergent Angolan variety of Portuguese from EP at all linguistic levels, be it neologisms and borrowings from Bantu or specific morphosyntactic features.

Endruschat (1989) focuses on new word formation mechanisms in AVP and concludes that the variety is typically characterized by three tendencies: preference for shorter and simpler structures, creation of new lexical items based on Portuguese and Bantu words, and transfer from the Bantu languages (*ibid.* 73). Despite the fact that Endruschat (1989) draws her data from articles published in the Angolan press between 1980 and 1983, she considers the aforementioned tendencies in AVP to be more frequent in oral rather than written usage; the two are to be treated separately, since “ces deux formes présentent des différences sur tous les niveaux de langue” (*ibid.* 70):

Les tendances que nous avons décrites sont surtout visibles dans la langue parlée. Dans l’usage officiel écrit (presse et autres publications), l’apparition de particularités est limitée, pour l’essentiel, au lexique. Les autres niveaux de langue sont caractérisés par une référence consciente à la norme littéraire du Portugal. En d’autres termes, les changements linguistiques sont d’abord vérifiés dans la formation de nouveaux lexèmes qui se réfèrent à la réalité angolaise. (Endruschat 1989: 73)

In fact, while she rejects the existence of a fully developed creole in Angola, she maintains that, due to Angolans’ insufficient proficiency in Portuguese, the Portuguese spoken in the cities shows evidence of being a “secondary creole” (Cf. Valkhoff 1966), e.g. “linguagem dos muceques” (Endruschat 1989: 70).

The central role played by oral usage in the development of AVP is reinforced in Endruschat (1990: 9-10), unlike the clear-cut distinction between oral and written features of AVP:

Um grande número de linguistas angolanos (...) e colegas estrangeiros analisaram aspectos da língua portuguesa falada em Angola e todos constataram que se está a desenvolver uma variedade angolana, distinguindo-se por particularidades a todos os níveis do sistema linguístico [...] Todas as particularidades nomeadas ainda não podem ser descritas como formando uma norma angolana do português, mas contudo é possível constatar algumas regularidades na produção oral de textos. Agora o nosso objectivo é demonstrar que estas particularidades entraram parcialmente já na língua escrita.

³⁸ It can not go unnoticed that both Mendes’ acknowledgments are in clear contradiction with the descriptions of AVP depicted in sections 2.1.1, 2.1.2. and 2.1.3., which until very recently did not recognize it as a specific standard.

Moreover, Endruschat (1990) shows that the distinguishing characteristics of written AVP are not limited to the lexicon but include morphosyntactic features too, for the influence of the Bantu languages covers both the lexicon and morphosyntax (*ibid.* 9). Endruschat (1990) puts great emphasis on the role played by the substrate in the development of AVP, and hence she only identifies two of its specific morphosyntactic features (both oral and written), i.e. the use of prepositions and word order of personal pronouns, the last of which is analyzed in greater depth in Endruschat (1993).

A more comprehensive and abundantly illustrated analysis of specific morphosyntactic features of AVP can be found in Gärtner (1989, 1997). The data are also drawn from written texts, but together with literary examples of the “*linguagem dos musseques*”, examples taken from readers’ letters to the editors of several magazines and essays written by school children are also included.

Based on the analysis of his extensive corpora, Gärtner agrees with the hypothesis that AVP’s differences from EP originate in Angolans’ oral use of Portuguese, especially that of rural Angolans (1997: 146), which shows “*não raras vezes, traços creolóides*” (*ibidem*), and that some of the traits of the substandard are now present in colloquial varieties of standard Portuguese (*ibid.* 147). However, unlike Mendes (1985) and Endruschat (1989), Gärtner (1989, 1997) does not perceive these features as part of an Angolan standard of Portuguese in the making, but rather as “*desvios do português padrão europeu que têm que ser considerados como fenômenos do substandard*” (Gärtner 1997: 147).

Another distinctive feature in Gärtner’s work is his analysis of AVP’s development and synchronic structure not only in comparison to EP but also to BP and Mozambican Portuguese (MP), which leads him to conclude that, despite some minor synchronic details, they have all developed in very similar ways:

Partimos da pressuposição de que os fenômenos análogos no português do Brasil são devidos a causas análogas. A diferença está em que estes surgiram nos primeiros séculos do Brasil colonial, ou seja, nos séculos 16 a 18, o que fez com que houvesse certas diferenças nos detalhes do resultado lingüístico actual, e que se lhes foi superpondo, a seguir, pelo menos parcialmente e em certas regiões urbanas, um processo de relusitanização. (Gärtner 1997:146)

Na maioria dos casos é de supor que tenha havido uma *simplificação* do português por falantes de línguas tipologicamente diferentes em situação de *bilingüismo*. Em alguns casos, as alterações daí resultantes coincidem com *tendências inerentes ao português ou às línguas românicas e indoeuropéias*, o que deu margem a diferentes hipóteses sobre a sua gênese. Em outros casos há-de se pensar na *transposição de fenômenos do substandard do português europeu* para o Brasil, Angola e Moçambique. (*ibid.* 172 – *my emphasis*)

Perl (1989) further elaborates on the hypothesis that Portuguese has developed in similar ways not only in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique, but also in the African countries where Portuguese-based creoles developed. He maintains that the emerging regional varieties of Portuguese in these countries are all a consequence of the social stratification of the language according to the level of instruction of the Portuguese settlers, their social and geographical provenance and the degree of contact they had with African languages. According to him, only a minority of the settlers were educated and proficient in standard EP. The majority of Portuguese speakers, due to different geographical origins and their lack of contact with Portugal, spoke “une variante de la langue courante” rather than the standard and a large number of uneducated bilingual speakers spoke a “secondary creole” “caractérisé par des interferences plus ou moins fortes, avec la majorité des langues bantoues”, e.g. “linguagem dos musseques” (*ibid.* 13).

However, none of these social variants can be interpreted as the standard because “pour l’essentiel la situation du portugais en Afrique est caractérisée par une dépendance des variants diatopiques, des variants diastratiques, provoqués par l’influence permanente de la langue par un nombre élevé de locuteurs bilingues” (*ibid.* 15). Of course, Perl admits regional differentiation according to “les différentes langues africaines de l’adstrat ou du substrat (p. ex. des langues bantoues en Angola et au Mozambique, le creole portugais à São Tomé et au Cap-Vert)” (*ibid.* 14), but maintains that “une variante généralisée d’un portugais africain est concevable étant donné que le développement de la langue est influencé de la même manière dans plusieurs pays car des locuteurs bilingues” (*ibid.* 25).

Hence, Perl (1989) refers to African Portuguese rather than to specific varieties of Portuguese in Africa, despite the fact that he acknowledges that “la planification du statut du portugais en Afrique est considérée dans tous les pays comme moyen de développement de variantes de langue avec une norme nationale indépendante”. In order to define this standard, Perl (1989) warns that “... les facteurs linguistiques des variantes nationales en évolution d’un niveau quelconque du portugais en Afrique ne peuvent être comparés qu’à des éléments corrélatifs de même niveau du portugais européen ou brésilien” (*ibid.* 14).

The hypothesis that there is such a thing as an African Portuguese (AP) can also be found in Vilela (1995, 1999), but unlike Perl (1989), he seems to use the term to refer to the Portuguese spoken in Angola and Mozambique only:

O português africano – angolanizado ou moçambicalizado – apresenta indícios claros de afirmação de uma norma própria: (1) na maneira original como adapta o seu vocabulário de origem bantu ao sistema do português – divergindo inclusivamente da norma europeia (lusitana), (2) no modo como simplifica a morfologia flexional do português, (3) como começa a optar pela ordenação dos elementos frásicos na sequência discursiva e, sobretudo, (4) como força o léxico do português a adaptar-se à mentalidade africana (...) o que implica, por vezes, uma reformulação do esquema frásico em alguns dos seus modelos proposicionais. (Vilela 1995: 698)

Nonetheless, Vilela (1995, 1999) also agrees that in studying AP “há toda uma gama de situações a destringir, de padrões de língua a definir” (Vilela 1995: 45) and identifies four types of AP, which must be treated separately since each represents a different standard: (a) the Portuguese spoken by those in closer contact with the Portuguese or who speak it as a mother tongue (i.e. very close to standard EP); (b) the Portuguese which sprang from the Portuguese colonization (i.e. colonists from different geographical and social strata); (c) the “secondary creoles” (i.e. *linguagem dos musseques*); and (d) the Portuguese taught in schools and used in adult schooling (Vilela 1995: 49).

Contrary to what one would expect, Vilela (1995, 1999) does not say in what ways these standards differ from one another. In fact, Vilela focuses on what they have in common, pointing out simplification at all linguistic levels (as a consequence of bilingualism and diglossia) as the most distinctive feature of AP and the factor mainly responsible for its growing differentiation from EP, which is similar to the differentiation between Latin and its offspring:

... estamos perante a formação de construções típicas, alterações sémicas e classemáticas, enquadramentos e simplificações: os mesmos fenómenos que se verificaram na formação dos idiomas românicos a partir do latim. (Vilela 1995: 68)

The major strength of Vilela (1995, 1999) is his abundant illustration of the specific features of AP. The data are drawn from the available literature. In fact, Vilela’s work is essentially descriptive in nature, focusing mainly on the synchronic structure of AP:

Para se poder deduzir com mais segurança as características do português de Angola e Moçambique, formulando princípios sobre interferências, entre essas línguas e a língua portuguesa falada e escrita, há que recorrer a construções frequentes e seus desvios relativamente à norma padrão do português europeu, há que procurar as palavras em domínios que denotam a realidade africana diferente da realidade europeia, etc. (Vilela 1995: 52)

Vilela (1995, 1999) shows little interest in investigating the sociolinguistic background responsible for the synchronic data he surveys, which is all the more

surprising considering his emphasis on the need to distinguish between different standards of AP according to the social stratification of the language.

Gärtner (1989, 1997), Perl (1989) and Vilela (1995, 1999) have had a lasting impact on the more general literature on non-creole varieties of Portuguese, where it is still possible to come across the assumption that since AVP, BP and MP share important synchronic features, they must have developed in pretty much the same way, which is usually unaccompanied of any analysis of the different sociolinguistic histories of the three countries. It should be noted, however, that the linguistic comparisons of AVP and BVP that have been published recently (cf. sub-section 2.1.2) no longer make this simplistic assumption and recognize that despite all linguistic similarities the sociolinguistic settings in Brazil and Angola were essentially different. As explained by Petter (2008):

Se o PA, PB e PM (*i.e. Angolan Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese and Mozambican Portuguese, respectively*) divergem do PE (*i.e. European Portuguese*), como atestam os trabalhos publicados, cabe confrontar essas variedades de português e investigar em que aspectos elas se aproximam e em que aspectos elas se distinguem. (Petter 2008: 9)

Cabe reconhecer que há uma ecologia linguística particular a cada um dos três países, evidenciadas pelo multilingüismo dos falantes africanos, usuários de línguas do grupo banto (LB), pela diversidade das línguas em presença no Brasil (línguas africanas, línguas indígenas e de imigrantes); pelo momento histórico distinto do contato e recontato com o português (século XVI e final do século XIX em Angola e Moçambique, quando realmente se deu a colonização portuguesa). Desse contexto decorre o estatuto linguístico específico para a língua portuguesa em cada território onde ela é falada, que não impede, no entanto, a existência de um *continuum* entre as variedades linguísticas seleccionadas (*ibid.* 12)

Despite the aforementioned interest in the comparison of AVP to BVP, this line of investigation was not followed by most of the relatively few linguists working on AVP in the 2000s, especially Angolan linguists, who reduced the scope of their work and focused on the description of AVP itself, which they define as a variety in the making. In fact, specialization is one of the features of the literature on AVP now being published even if it differs in scope. Hence, some works consist of the description of specific phenomena of AVP, such as the word order of personal pronouns (e.g. Miguel 1997), gender, tense, mode, aspect and textual cohesion (Costa 1997) or prepositional phrases (Cabral 2005). Others try to offer a more general overview of its synchronic structure, focusing on general trends in phonetics, morphology and morphosyntax (e.g. Barros 2002; Chavagne 2005; di Gregorio 2006; Figueiredo 2003; Holm 2009; Mingas 1998; Mingas 2000).

It should be noted that among the latter group, Chavagne (2005) is the most comprehensive linguistic analysis of AVP's linguistic structure published so far, covering a wide range of phonetic, phonological, lexicosemantic and morphosyntactic phenomena.

Moreover, unlike previous descriptions of this variety, Chavagne (2005) includes a detailed sociolinguistic history of Angola since the earliest times of contact to the present, suggesting that it should be divided into three clearly distinct periods:

- Une première période d’expansion maritime et commercial, très longue, s’étend du 15^{ème} au 19^{ème} siècle;
- Vient ensuite une période d’exploration et de colonization, qui prend fin en 1974
- Enfin, la période qui se poursuit actuellement et qui est celle de l’indépendance. (Chavagne 2005: 20-21)

Also unlike previous linguistic descriptions of AVP, Chavagne (2005) provides a brief but very well informed review of the existing literature on Angola and AVP and it builds its linguistic analysis on both oral and literary data (i.e. 10 hours of interviews of 163 Angolan speakers of Portuguese, 130 books by Angolan writers and 24 issues of Angolan newspapers, respectively), which are appended to his dissertation. Unfortunately, Chavagne (2005) provides little or no sociolinguistic information about his informants.

Another shortcoming of Chavagne (2005) is the fact that although his informants come mostly from the Luanda and Lubango regions, he generalizes his conclusions to AVP as a whole. For example, he claims the following about the status of Portuguese in Angola:

Considérer la langue portugaise comme une langue véhiculaire avant tout, et pour l’ensemble du territoire, prend l’allure d’une volonté politique plus que d’une constatation scientifique. On peut y voir le désir d’apporter une aide à la survie des langues africaines qui sont de fait menacées, ou un simple refus de la réalité (Chavagne 2005: 34)

The main reason for this is the fact that the main goal of Chavagne (2005) is to contribute to the definition of a standard for Angolan Portuguese (*ibid.* 19) and the fact that he seems to think that this standard is that spoken in Luanda and other major urban centers on the coast.

On sait aujourd’hui que les jeunes de Luanda ne parlent pour la plupart que le portugais. On sait que depuis plusieurs générations des familles angolaises sont monolingues et lusophones dans les villes et particulièrement à Luanda. C’est pourquoi la langue portugaise n’est plus seulement officielle et véhiculaire aujourd’hui, mais aussi vernaculaire pour certaines zones urbaines du pays, tout autant que les langues africaines le sont pour des zones rurales.

However, as will hopefully be shown at various points in chapters 4 and 5, this and other of Chavagne’s conclusions do not hold when confronted with data from more remote areas of Angola.

An interesting aspect of the linguistic descriptions of AVP analyzed in this section is that, albeit with differing degrees of detail, they all distinguish between general features of AVP and specific features according to the region where AVP is spoken. The former include both phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic phenomena, such as variable rules of number agreement. The latter refer essentially to varying phonetic features depending on speakers' native Bantu language. Surely, most of these references to dialectal varieties of AVP are still too general, but they show that regional variation must be taken into account in a more general description of AVP, which had already been suggested by Mendes (1983).

To the best of my knowledge, the only true contribution to our understanding of regional varieties of AVP is Mingas (2000), which provides the only book-length description up to now of the lexical, phonetic and morphosyntactic features of a specific variety of AVP, i.e. Luanda Portuguese (LP). According to Mingas (2000), these features are a consequence of the prolonged contact between Portuguese and Kimbundu. Hence, she focuses only on the features that reflect “interferência” and “adaptação” of Kimbundu words and morphosyntactic structures into LP (*ibid.* 23). These features are divided into two groups: lexical features (i.e. loanwords³⁹) and morphosyntactic features (i.e. lack of number and gender agreement in the noun phrase, word order of object pronouns, lack of subject agreement, and semantics of the prepositions). The data are essentially drawn from written material (i.e. literary works and some issues of the *Jornal de Angola*)⁴⁰.

These features had already been identified as typical of AVP in general, but Mingas was the first to list them for a specific variety of AVP. Moreover, Mingas (2000) not only shows the ways in which the Kimbundu lexicon, sounds and morphosyntactic structures are different from those of Portuguese, but she list some of the processes by which these entered LP. Mingas (2000: 78-9) makes the following remark regarding the incorporation of Kimbundu nominal loanwords in LP:

No que respeita aos nominais, eles podem ser divididos em três grupos. O primeiro engloba os nominais que foram lexicalizados com o respectivo prefixo singular de classe; o segundo reagrupa aqueles que entraram na variante angolana só com a estrutura da sua forma plural e o último integra os nominais lexicalizados sem perda do respectivo prefixo. A variante comporta, por outro lado, nomes que entraram no léxico do português de Angola com os dois prefixos, o do singular e o do plural.

³⁹ Mingas (2000) also includes in this group of features the phonetic adaptation of Kimbundu loanwords to Portuguese.

⁴⁰ Mingas (2002: 24) states that some of the data are oral sentences she collected during a short stay in Luanda. However, since Mingas does not indicate the source of any of the examples it is impossible to distinguish between written and oral data.

Mingas (2000) is essentially a synchronic analysis of LP which does not go back further than the late 19th century. In fact, as she stated earlier (Mingas 1998: 116), this is because she considers AVP to have developed only in the mid-twentieth century:

... verificou-se no período colonial⁴¹ uma interferência das línguas maternas africanas no português da época, interferência essa que se agudizou actualmente [...] Com efeito, no após independência, facilitado o contacto mais aberto entre os vários grupos linguísticos, bem como entre o campo e as cidades, devido ao factor guerra, a língua portuguesa atingiu níveis de interferência nunca antes alcançados.

Based on this understanding, Mingas (2002: 45) suggests that there is the strong possibility that a Portuguese-based creole is developing in Angola:

... a língua portuguesa, pela sua função veicular, corre o risco de criouliização, devido não só às condições do seu ensino como às situações de contacto linguístico que caracterizam o país [...] a não se verificar uma atitude responsável na solução destes problemas, concorrer-se-á, na melhor das hipóteses, para o aparecimento do fenómeno supra-citado de criouliização.

Barros (2002) is even more explicit, assuming that such a creole already exists:

A inexistência de estudos científicos sistemáticos (há a realçar somente artigos e trabalhos dispersos) não tem podido dar conta da importância daquela convergência⁴² e da riqueza do Português Popular de Angola que se encontra num processo de criouliização e, facilmente, se podem encontrar falantes de pidgin, crioulo, variedades do Português, assim como situações de bilinguismo, diglossia, poliglossia. (*ibid.* 35)

... o registo oral/popular angolano tende para a criouliização devido à aquisição deficiente do Português e fossilização dos erros; à ausência de código escrito e à exclusão da vida pública (consequência das desigualdades sociais), criando-se, assim, um novo sistema a partir do cruzamento das línguas em contacto. (*ibid.* 42)

These are strong and innovative statements which, unfortunately, are not backed up by any linguistic data. Nor are the terms *pidgin* and *creole* defined by Mingas and Barros, thus making it difficult to know whether their use of the terms is that of modern contact linguistics or Valkhoff's (1966). Still, Mingas and Barros' statements open new lines for the investigation of AVP, which, considering Angola's complex linguistic situation, are not only possible but necessary:

- a) Inventariar todas as situações de contacto linguístico, com indicações referentes não só ao número de línguas em presença, como também à percentagem de locutores das mesmas.

⁴¹ It must be noted that the expression "colonial period" refers to the period between the Conference of Berlin in 1885 (when Angola was acknowledged as a Portuguese province) and Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

⁴² Barros (2002) refers to the convergence between Popular Angolan Portuguese and Portuguese-based creoles.

- b) Inventariar o número assim como a complexidade, que caracterizam as situações em que a língua portuguesa está em contacto com outras línguas, permitindo uma informação sobre os diversos tipos de relações existentes entre as várias línguas que coexistem com a portuguesa. (Mingas 2002: 49)

The methodology suggested by Mingas (2002) implicitly restates the hypothesis that it is the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Angola that will enable us to fully understand AVP's synchronic structure. However, other linguists, such as Lipski (2005), following Valkhoff (1966), argue that this can only be achieved by an analysis of Angola's sociolinguistic background since the early days of settlement to the present. According to Lipski (1995: 35), the results of this analysis:

are consistent with the hypothesis that a stable pidgin and possibly even a creole Portuguese was maintained – perhaps very precariously and in only a few enclaves – in Portuguese southwestern Africa for several centuries, spreading to influence local second-language varieties of Portuguese in major slave-exporting ports such as Luanda and Benguela.

In fact, in referring to the *português dos musseques*, Lipski (1995: 16) states that “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”.

However, Lipski has recently dismissed the hypothesis that a creole ever developed in Angola (2005: 29):

Unlike in São Tomé, a creole Portuguese 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.

Of course, this does not dismiss the need for a thorough analysis of the available linguistic and sociolinguistic data on Angola in the past, for many of the features that have been identified as typical of AVP (e.g. lack of number and gender agreement in the noun phrase) also appear in the texts quoted by Lipski (1995, 2005), namely in 15th to 19th century literary imitations of Angolan's Portuguese and late 19th early 20th century reports of Angolans' use of Portuguese.

In fact, the question is not whether one should choose between a synchronic or a diachronic analysis of AVP and its sociolinguistic setting, but rather whether one studies AVP for its intrinsic interest only, or also “as hitherto neglected sources of data on Afro-European linguistic contacts worldwide” (Lipski 1995: 35). Unlike most of the studies

surveyed here, this thesis will try to analyze its object of study from the broader perspective of contact linguistics, the scope, methods and terminology of which are outlined in the following section .

2.2. CONTACT LINGUISTICS

The scientific study of the contact between typologically different languages around the world was only accepted as an independent academic discipline in the mid-twentieth century, and mostly from the perspective of pidgin and creole studies (Holm 1988-89, 2000). Key concepts in the field (e.g. pidgin, creole, restructuring, etc) have been used in various and often controversial ways in the literature, so subsection 2.2.1 seeks to provide their most commonly accepted definitions.

It is only recently that linguists have focused on outcomes of language contact that are neither pidgins nor creoles. Hence, pidgin and creole linguistics has now broadened its scope to become *contact linguistics* (Holm 2004; Thomason 1997, 2001; Winford 2003), including the study of a wider range of language contact phenomena, such as those linguistic varieties that share a significant number of structural parallels with pidgins and creoles, but retain enough similarity to their European lexical sources to indicate that they have never been fully creolized. Subsection 2.2.2 offers a summary of the theoretical scope of the discipline as laid down by Weinreich (1953) and more recently by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). Section 2.2.3 discusses the current debates concerning the continuum of language contact outcomes and argues for partial restructuring (Holm 2004) as a coherent theoretical framework to help resolve at least part of them.

2.2.1. KEY CONCEPTS IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS: INTRODUCTION

The first set of concepts that needs defining, as they are extensively used throughout this study and are not exclusive to *contact linguistics*, includes *superstrate*, *adstrate*, *substrate*, *lexifier* and *source/input language* as well as *restructuring*. Hence, a *superstrate language* is typically that of the socially or politically dominant group in a language contact situation. It is often used synonymously with *lexifier language*, i.e. the language that is the source of the majority of the lexicon of the new contact variety. A *substrate language* is that of the socio-politically subordinate group in a contact situation and an *adstrate language* is one spoken by populations that are neither dominant nor subordinate in the

contact situation but nonetheless contribute to the development of the new contact variety. *Source or input language* is an umbrella term to refer all the languages that contribute to the development of a new contact variety (Sebba 1997: 25-26). *Restructuring* is also an umbrella term to refer to:

... all structural modifications that a lexifier language undergoes in the selection and evolution of new linguistic elements, influenced by other, competing languages, in a contact situation. The final outcomes of this process is a new linguistic code which consists of a variable, fairly subtle mixture of both substrate and superstrate features. (Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider 2000: 6)

The term implies that the structure of a language undergoes significant changes, but does not specify what the outcomes of that change are (Sebba 1997: 26), as there is no consensus as to what these outcomes or the processes underlying their development may be. For example, *pidgins* are traditionally defined as reduced languages that arise in contact situations involving people who have no shared language and do not learn each other's languages as normally used among native speakers. As they are meant to be used in a limited range of contexts, e.g. trade, work or interethnic communication, they are usually no one's mother tongue; the lexicon is extremely reduced and mainly drawn from a single source, and their grammar derives from the simplification of the different input languages, e.g. no definite word order, reduced inflectional and derivational morphology, reduced number of grammatical words and simpler phonological systems than their source languages (Arends *et al.* 1995: 17-39; Holm 1988: 4-5; Sebba 1997: 37-69).

However, some languages traditionally defined as pidgins (e.g. Tok Pisin) have acquired native speakers (i.e. are nativized) and consequently have stabilized and expanded both their social functions and linguistic resources⁴³. These apparent exceptions have traditionally been dealt with in two ways. Some, like Thomason (2001: 161), assume that there are prototypical pidgins, that conform to the definition above of languages "restricted in functions and in linguistic material", and deviations from that prototype. Others, like Mühlhäusler (1997), assume that these languages are the intermediary stage of a pidgin developmental continuum that ranges from a pre-pidgin, with no fixed rules and no native speakers (i.e. jargon stage) to an expanded pidgin to a creole.

The idea that the nativization of a pidgin and consequently its social and linguistic stabilization and expansion are key factors in the development of creoles has been opposed by several linguists, who claim that social and linguistic expansion can occur

⁴³ There is no consensus on the nature of the process(es) leading to the stabilization of pidgins, but Whinnom (1971) suggests that it requires speakers of different substrate languages to adopt the pidgin for communicating with each other, i.e. *tertiary hybridization*.

without or before pidgins undergo nativization, that nativization does not always imply significant linguistic change, e.g. Tok Pisin (Samarin 1997; Thomason 2001: 161) and that not all creoles evolve from a pidgin, e.g. abrupt creoles (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

This controversy derives ultimately from the fact that different linguists have different theories concerning the genesis of pidgin and creole languages. These date back to the late 19th century and have been analyzed at length in several introductions to the field (e.g. Arends *et al.* 1995; Holm 1988-89, 2000; Mühlhäusler 1997; Sebba 1997). Hence, it will suffice to say here that the most widely debated theories are the *baby-talk hypothesis* (i.e. creoles reflect the simplified version of the lexifier languages used by Europeans when talking to their slaves and servants), the *superstratist hypothesis* (i.e. creoles are essentially nonstandard European dialects only slightly influenced by the substrate (e.g. Chaudenson 1979), the *monogenetic hypothesis* (i.e. all creoles derive, either directly or by means of word for word translation, from the 15th century Portuguese-based pidgin used in trade as a lingua franca along the coast of Africa), the *substrate hypothesis*, i.e. creoles are a combination of European lexicon and the grammatical structure of the substrate languages (e.g. Adam 1883; Alleyne 1980; Taylor 1977), and the *universalist hypotheses* (i.e. the specific features of pidgin and creole languages cannot be explained exclusively by reference to similarities among the input languages but rather by linguistic universals⁴⁴).

This disagreement results also in different theories concerning issues such as the role played by children versus adults in the formation of pidgins and creoles, the length of time needed for these languages to develop, and the features, both linguistic and social, if any, that distinguish them from other languages. For example, Bickerton (1984: 173 quoted in Winford 2002: 289-290) argued that “the innovative aspects of creole grammar are innovations on the part of the first generation of children who have a pidgin as their linguistic input, rather than features transmitted from pre-existing languages”, but this view has been discredited by recent sociohistorical evidence that shows that adults, and not children, were the key agents in creolization. Concerning the length of time needed for creoles to develop, the positions range from those who claim that creoles can arise abruptly (e.g. Bickerton 1981, 1984; Thomason and Kaufman 1988) and those who support more gradualist theories, according to which creoles arise during an extended period of time (e.g. Arends 1993). Concerning the differences between creole and non-creole languages, Bickerton (1981) and McWhorter (1998) have suggested that the

⁴⁴ The supporters of the later hypotheses diverge on whether the linguistic universals that play a role in the development of creoles are first (Bickerton 1984) or second-language acquisition universals (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

former differ from the latter in specific sets of linguistic traits. However, the generally accepted view is that, while it is possible to find features that seem to be more common in creole rather than non-creole languages (e.g. the use of free rather than bound morphemes), the differences between the two is not their linguistic structure but rather their sociolinguistic histories. The same applies to differences between creoles (Winford 2003: 308):

From this perspective, creoles are simply contact languages that emerged primarily in plantation settings in various European colonies throughout the world. Such settings shared a number of sociopolitical and demographic characteristics, including the use of large numbers of slaves who were transplanted from their homelands and placed under the control of a small minority of Europeans. [...] ... differences in the social settings of each colony led to diversification in the outcomes of the contact between Europeans and the oppressed groups.

In recent years, linguists have achieved great progress in the study of the sociolinguistic settings of the different creoles around the world. The sociolinguistic factors that have been found to be relevant in their development include demographics, degree of mortality in the plantation colonies, nature of community settings, codes of social interaction, duration of contact and degree of bilingualism (Winford 2003: 310-314).

It is clear from the discussion above that no single theory can account for the origin and synchronic structure of creoles as these languages display immense diversity. In fact, the majority of linguists today support the idea that the answer lies in the combination of all these theories. Hence, a comprehensive definition of creole could be the following:

A mixed language that is the native language of a speech community. Like pidgins, creoles develop in contact situations that typically involve more than two languages; also like pidgins, they typically draw their lexicon, but not their grammar, primarily from a single language, the lexifier language. Some creoles arise as nativized pidgins, some arise abruptly with no pidgin stage, and others arise gradually, with or without pidgin stage. Crucially, the creators of a creole (unless it is a nativized pidgin) are not bilingual in their interlocutors' languages. (Thomason 2001: 262)

2.2.2. CONTACT LINGUISTICS: THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The broadening of pidgin and creole linguistics to *contact linguistics* results from the general agreement today that the origin and synchronic structure of pidgins and creoles can only be fully understood from the perspective of a wider theory of language contact. A simple, straightforward definition of the discipline is that it is the sub-field of linguistics that seeks “to study the varied situations of contact between languages, the phenomena

that result, and the interaction of linguistic and external ecological factors in shaping these outcomes” (Winford 2003: 5), at the level of both the group and the individual who is bi- or multilingual.

Contact linguistics has only recently been established as an independent academic discipline, but the scientific study of language contact dates back to the late nineteenth century (*ibid.* 8), when there was a surge in the study of contact vernaculars as a means to counter-evidence the traditional claims in comparative historical linguistics that language change was internally-induced only and that hence language mixture was impossible. Schuchardt, in a series of papers written between 1880 and 1914, was particularly important in this regard (Winford 2003: 288). Research focused on a wide range of topics (e.g. types and mechanisms of cross linguistic interference; creation of new contact languages such as pidgins and creoles; constraints on language mixture, etc), using both linguistic and social criteria. However, the first comprehensive framework to study language contact was not provided until Weinreich (1953).

Weinreich (1953) emphasized the need for a “broad approach” (*ibid.*111) in contact linguistics, which he termed “interference studies”, that combined the analysis of not only the mechanisms and structural causes of language contact at all linguistic levels, but also of psychological theories of bilingualism and the socio-cultural setting of language contact because:

... certain forms of interference are called forth, facilitated, or inhibited by concrete structural differences of the languages. But (...) the total impact of the languages on each other – the extent to which interference of each structurally determined type is manifested – can hardly be accounted for by strictly linguistic data. [...] For practically every form of interference, there is an interplay of factors external to the structures of the languages which favor or inhibit the development of interference of that type.

Hence “to predict typical forms of interference from the sociolinguistic description of a bilingual community and a structural description of its languages is the ultimate goal of interference studies” (*ibid.* 86). Weinreich (1953) emphasized the unity of all contact phenomena but predicted two types of contact possibilities: *interference* and *language shift*. The former implies “the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary” (*ibid.* 1)⁴⁵. This rearrangement may crystallize and lead to the development of new languages such as pidgins and creoles. The criteria that contribute to the

⁴⁵ Cf. the definition of *restructuring* given at the beginning of section 2.2.1.

development of these new languages are both linguistic (i.e. degree of difference between the languages in contact) and social (i.e. stability of form, diversity of functions and speakers own perceptions). Hence, pidgins and creoles are defined by Weinreich (1953: 69) as languages that:

[...] have attained some or all of the following: (1) a form palpably different from either stock language; (2) a certain stability of form after initial fluctuating; (3) functions other than those of a workaday vernacular (e.g. use in the family, in formalized communication, etc.); (4) a rating among the speakers themselves as a separate language.

On the other hand, language shift, i.e. “the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (*ibid.* 106), is “entirely extra-structural”, since “the respective structures of the two languages in contact never determine which language is to yield its functions to the other” (*ibid.* 107). Even so, linguistic factors are still important in studying language shift for depending on a series of social factors (e.g. domains and functions of language use, social status, language loyalty, duration of contact, etc) “the speakers of the losing language may learn a new language so well as to leave no trace on it” or “they learn it in an imperfect manner, bequeathing the phonetic and grammatical peculiarities of their speech to future generations in the form of a substratum” (*ibid.* 109).

However, Weinreich (1953) offers “no means of predicting what types of contact-induced changes will occur when” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 13). According to the latter authors, this is because he believed that ultimately “the structure of a language determines what can happen to it as a result of outside influence” (*ibid.* 14). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) agree that linguistic constraints are important in language contact, but they warn that they have “no value for the development of a predictive theory of linguistic interference” (*ibid.* 34) because “it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved, that determines the direction and the degree of interference” (*ibid.* 19).

In fact, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) were the first to provide an overall predictive theory of contact-induced language change, which is today the most widely accepted in the field. Their goal was to “describe and analyze linguistic results of language contact situations, and to correlate these results with certain fairly general kinds of social factors” (*ibid.* 36). Hence, they draw a distinction between two different types of language contact situations, i.e. language maintenance and language shift, which are associated with two different mechanisms of interference: borrowing and interference, respectively.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) define *borrowing* as “the *incorporation* of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native

language is retained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features". *Interference via shift* is the result of "imperfect group learning during a process of language acquisition" (*ibid.* 38) in which "the errors made by members of the shifting group in speaking the target language then spread to the target language as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language" (*ibid.* 39). Interference via borrowing starts with the lexicon (though structural features may be borrowed under strong long-term cultural pressure from source-language speakers), whereas interference via shift begins with phonology and syntax, sometimes including morphosyntax and it is initiated by the shifting speakers, not the original target language (TL) speakers. However, Thomason and Kaufman (*ibid.* 45) warn that the two types of interference are not mutually exclusive as "target language speakers may be borrowing words and possibly even structural features from a language whose speakers are in the process of shifting to the target language and incorporating their learner's errors into it".

The relevant social factors in both language maintenance and shift are the relative population sizes and the intensity of contact, i.e. length of contact and the level of bilingualism, which Thomason and Kaufman correlate with different degrees of interference. For language maintenance Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-6) define a five-level borrowing scale: (1) casual contact: lexical borrowing only; (2) slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles); (3) more intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing (e.g. adpositions, derivational affixes; inflectional affixes in borrowings; personal and demonstrative pronouns); (4) strong cultural pressure: moderate structural borrowing (e.g. extensive word order changes, borrowed inflectional affixes added to native words); and (5) very strong cultural pressure: heavy structural borrowing (e.g. changes in word structure rules, addition of concord rules).

Concerning language shift, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) distinguish between language shift with normal transmission and language shift without normal transmission. The former comprehends three degrees of interference: (1) shift without interference (i.e. small shifting group relative to the numbers of TL speakers, slow shift and consequent bilingualism), (2) slight interference (i.e. essentially phonological and syntactic interference), (3) moderate to heavy interference, not only in phonology and syntax, but also in morphology (i.e. large shifting group, little access to the TL and consequent imperfect learning)⁴⁶. In language shift without normal transmission shift occurs rapidly

⁴⁶ The interference phenomena identified by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) in shift situations affect the phonology (e.g. phonemic mergers or replacement of more marked by less marked features; elimination of allophonic alternations),

and the shifting group is so large numerically that the TL model is not fully available to all its members, which leads to successful acquisition of the vocabulary only. The possible outcomes in shift without normal transmission are abrupt creoles, pidgins and bilingual mixed languages.

Departing from the standpoint of historical linguistics, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that the difference between *shift with normal transmission* and *shift with abnormal transmission* is that in the former, in spite of the structural interference features “enough inherited grammatical patterns remain that genetic continuity has clearly not been disrupted” (*ibid.* 129), whereas in the latter the grammatical structure of the resulting languages cannot be traced back to a single parent language.

The reason why Thomason and Kaufman (1988) are so important in contact linguistics is because they provided the theoretical framework that enabled linguists to realize that “the processes of change and restructuring that give rise to pidgins and creoles are different only in degree rather than kind from those that occur in many cases of language contact” and hence, rather than attempting to define “pidgins and creoles in relation to other languages”, linguist should focus on attempting to define “pidgins and creoles in relation to other kinds of contact languages, placing them within a typology of contact outcomes” (Winford 1997: 2-3).

However, the typology of contact outcomes proposed by Thomason in later research is not unproblematic, for it only comprehends three classes, i.e. pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages:

a contact language is a language that arose by some historical process other than normal transmission. Or, to put it in another way, a contact language is comprised of grammatical and lexical systems that cannot all be traced back to a single parent language. (Thomason 1997: 75)

According to Thomason (2001: 3):

there are prototypical contact languages in all three categories, and there are also various kinds and degrees of deviations from the prototype. All these deviations (e.g. “semi-creoles” and “koinés”) are best analyzed in relation to the prototype, as on a continuum, and not as separate types of contact languages.

Thomason (1997: 86) acknowledges that one must situate these deviations “with respect to the three main classes by showing how they differ from prototypical contact languages”, but she states that “there are no congruent social and linguistic correlates by

syntax (e.g. changes in the word order) and morphology (e.g. mergers of categories or their replacement by syntactic expressions – e.g. the loss of gender).

which they may be identified” (*ibid*). What Thomason (1997, 2001) seems to overlook is that while borderline cases such as semi-creoles may indeed not be classes of contact languages on their own, some orderly generalizations can be made regarding their development and synchronic structure, as the following section will hopefully show. Moreover, such a blunt statement about the impossibility of establishing “congruent social and linguistic correlates” by which these borderline cases may be identified strikes us as surprising at a time when case studies on these varieties are still in their infancy.

2.2.3. CONTINUUM OF CONTACT LANGUAGES AND PARTIAL RESTRUCTURING

It was only in the 1960s that linguists first suggested a theory to account for the origin and synchronic structure of those contact varieties that display a significant portion of the European languages’ morphosyntax as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features, i.e. one of the borderline cases identified by Thomason (1997, 2001). As summarized by Holm (2000: 10), it was assumed that due to continued contact with the lexifier language, the creole would gradually decreolize, i.e. lose its creole features, leading to a continuum of creole varieties:

from those farthest from the superstrate (*basilect*) to those closest (*acrolect*), with *mesolectal* or intermediate varieties between them. After a number of generations some varieties lose all but a few vestiges of their *creole features* (those not found in the superstrate) through decreolization, resulting in *post-creole* varieties such as (according to some) African American Vernacular English or Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese.

By the end of the 1970s, *decreolization* alone was generally agreed to explain why creoles displayed varying degrees of restructuring (Holm 2004: 7). This view came to be questioned in the 1980s as there was growing evidence that (1) not all creoles that remained in contact with the lexical source language had undergone decreolization (cf. the case of Palenque, Colombia), and (2) not all features traditionally defined as *acrolectal* in the creole continuum model were necessarily the product of gradual decreolization but might rather have existed in the variety since the early days of its development. Hence, referring to contact varieties such as African American English, Afrikaans and Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese as *post-creoles* was a misuse of the term, as they may have never undergone full creolization.

Over the last two decades, supporters of different theories of pidgin and creole genesis have tried to provide explanations to account for the development and synchronic structure of these varieties, but the most comprehensive theoretical model suggested so

far is *partial restructuring*⁴⁷, which was developed and re-formulated by Holm in several papers since the late 1980s, culminating in a recent book-length comparative analysis of five of such partially restructured vernaculars (henceforth PRVs), i.e. Afrikaans, African American English, Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, non-standard Caribbean Spanish and Réunionnais (Holm 2004).

The major strength of Holm (2004) is that, in comparing five different PRVs, he is able to provide an overview of the general structural and sociolinguistic tendencies of the languages that have undergone partial restructuring. The theory shows how particular sociolinguistic factors (i.e. demographic balance of native versus non-native speakers of the European source language during the first one hundred years of contact and the length of contact) and particular linguistic processes (i.e. language drift, leveling, imperfect language shift and language borrowing) combine to produce the specific structure of these PRVs (i.e. a contact variety characterized by the retention of a significant portion of the European languages' morphosyntax as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features).

Hence, according to Holm (2004), what distinguishes PRVs from their lexical source languages and the creoles and post-creoles of the same lexical base is the fact that PRVs emerge in a sociolinguistic setting in which, at the early period of their development, there is a more balanced ratio of native vs. non-native speakers of the lexical source language in a community whose populations speak different mother tongues⁴⁸ and are in the process of changing to a typologically different target language to which learners have only partial access due to social restrictions often connected to servitude. Under these sociolinguistic conditions the following linguistic processes can occur. First, the European language can undergo *language drift* and as its different regional and social varieties come into contact it can undergo *primary leveling*. Substrate speakers then imperfectly shift to the TL. *Imperfect language shift* is the key process in partial restructuring as shifting speakers pass on structural features of ancestral languages and interlanguages to their monolingual descendants. This is followed by *borrowing* of substrate features, but due to continued contact with the lexifier source language *secondary leveling* occurs, leading to the loss of

⁴⁷ Building on the work of early creolists such as Coelho (1880:43-4; 1886:160,170) and Schuchardt (1888:67), the theory was first discussed by Holm under the name *semi-creolization*. For a detailed account of the works of these creolists see Holm (2004: 1-23). For a first-hand explanation of the reasons that led Holm to replace *semi-creolization* with *partial restructuring* see Holm (2004: xi-xviii).

⁴⁸ The fact that partial restructuring occurs among a population speaking a number of different first languages distinguishes it from language shift by linguistically homogeneous groups, bringing it closer to full creolization (Holm 2004:142).

many of the features not found in the TL and consequently to a greater proximity with the latter.

Partial restructuring theory is not so much a claim in favor of a new type of contact language (cf. Thomason 1997), but an attempt to make an orderly generalization about the origin and synchronic structure of these segments in the continuum of language contact that have fallen between “the cracks of theory, being neither unrestructured overseas varieties nor fully restructured creoles” (Holm 2004: 144). And the reason why it is so helpful in increasing our understanding of the range of possible outcomes of language contact is because it shows that “there is no need to choose one linguistic process over the other in accounting for the structure of the new varieties” (*ibid.* 141). In short, it accepts the existence of fuzzy boundaries in language contact and provides a coherent theoretical framework to account for at least some of them.

2.3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The brief overview of the literature on AVP (Section 2.1) shows that it is one of the least studied non-European varieties of Portuguese. In fact, research on AVP is extremely recent. Early Portuguese grammarians refer to language contact phenomena in Angola as early as the 16th century and Schuchardt (1888) provides evidence of the development of a distinctive restructured variety of Portuguese in the country by the 19th century. However, early Portuguese dialectologists and contemporary grammars of Portuguese make no reference whatsoever to the existence of a distinctive Angolan variety of Portuguese. The emphasis has been put on the worldwide structural uniformity of Portuguese, allowing only for the description of minor phonetic and lexical contact-induced specificities (e.g. Martins 1958).

Only following Angola’s independence from Portugal in 1975 was there growing awareness among linguists, especially those in Angola, that a new contact vernacular in the making was spreading throughout the country as either a first or second language of the population, i.e. AVP. The few available works on this new variety consist mostly of enumerations of the features that distinguish it from EP, whether neologisms and borrowings from Bantu languages (Endruschat 1989; Mingas 2000) or specific morphosyntactic features (Endruschat 1990; Gärtner 1989, 1997; Vilela 1995, 1999). The data used in these works is not unproblematic, in that it is mostly drawn from written corpora (e.g. literary works, Angolan newspapers and magazines, and letters).

Moreover, none of the works surveyed in section 2.1 distinguish between features developing in the early days of contact and contemporary features, or between the AVP spoken in urban coastal cities (where the presence of L1 Portuguese is stronger) and that of the interior (where Bantu languages are dominant). Sociolinguistic factors relevant in language contact situations are neglected although their relevance is referred to (e.g. the extent of displacement of the speakers of the relevant substrates; the degree of learners' access to the TL; the nature and extent of contact; the ratio of native versus non-native speakers of Portuguese).

Nonetheless, the overview of the literature on AVP in section 2.1. suggests that, apart from the suggestion that AVP does not differ from EP except in its oral use (essentially at the phonetic and lexical levels, i.e. neologisms and borrowings from Bantu - cf. Boléo 1955; Carvalho 1971; Cuesta and Luz 1971; Teyssier 1997; Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003), there are at least two hypothesis to consider in accounting for the development and synchronic structure of general AVP. One hypothesis is that the synchronic features of AVP are simply the remnants of a 15th century Portuguese-based pidgin used as lingua franca in coastal Africa until the 19th century, which due to growing contact with Portuguese developed into a variety closer to the standard but with sporadic deviations from it (Cf. Valkhoff 1966; Lipski 1995, 2005). An alternative hypothesis, suggested by the majority of the works surveyed above, is that AVP never underwent full restructuring. Its creole-like features derive from the natural drift of Portuguese, dialect leveling and transfer from Angolans' L1 due to multilingualism and imperfect language shift in the 20th century, when a mainly Bantu-speaking population had to acquire some degree of proficiency in Portuguese. Hence, AVP's synchronic structure may be essentially a 20th century phenomenon.

The overview of the literature on contact linguistics in section 2.2, especially in subsection 2.2.3 shows that these two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and can be accommodated under the theory of partial restructuring. AVP's similarity to BVP, i.e. its retention of a significant portion of the morphosyntax of EP, as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features, seems to indicate that this hypothesis is worth careful investigation, despite the fact that while in Brazil the necessary conditions for partial restructuring to occur were present during the early days of settlement, in Angola this process is still going on, especially in the interior.

Chapter 3

A sociolinguistic history of Angola and Lunda Norte

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive outline of the sociolinguistic setting in which the contact between Portuguese and the main Bantu languages spoken in Dundo and surrounding areas developed. However, such an outline must necessarily be put in the perspective of the more general sociolinguistic setting in Angola, on the one hand, and of Lunda Norte on the other during the relevant period of contact (15th century to the present and late 19th century to the present, respectively).

Therefore, sections 3.1 to 3.7 analyze the general sociolinguistic setting in Angola in an attempt to identify the social and historical factors that were responsible for the kind of restructuring one finds in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese. Section 3.8 analyzes the evolution of the sociolinguistic setting in the area that today corresponds to Lunda Norte in an attempt to see how this differs from or matches the sociolinguistic setting in the rest of Angola. Finally, section 3.9 offers some conclusions concerning the differences and similarities between the sociolinguistic factors that were relevant to the shaping of the vernacular Portuguese in Angola in general and in Dundo in particular.

3.1. PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS EXPANSION UNTIL THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONGO

The Portuguese overseas expansion can be said to have been motivated by “(i) the crusading zeal against the Muslims, (ii) the desire for Guinea Gold, (iii) the quest for Prester John, and (iv) the search for Oriental spices” (Boxer 1997: 18). By 1482, the Portuguese had achieved the two first goals, securing key positions in the North of Africa against the Moors and establishing *feitorias* along the coast of West Africa as far as the Gold Coast which were used as trading posts for gold and slaves. Gold was used to sponsor

further journeys in search of India and Prester John¹, whereas slaves were taken to Europe or used in the settlement of the previously uninhabited Atlantic islands (e.g. Madeira, Açores, Cape Verde, São Tomé, etc).

However, once the transport and the profitability of West African gold and slaves was secured, the main goal of the Portuguese during the first stage of their overseas expansion (c. 1419 to 1499) was to find the maritime route to India rather than to increase their presence on the African continent (Boxer 1997: 15; Riley 1998-2000: 160-161). Consequently, only after Vasco da Gama returned from India in 1499 did the Portuguese crown focus on consolidating its possessions on the coast of West Africa, but only with the purpose of securing the acquisition of more slaves to take to India and later to Brazil. Hence, until 1499 the Portuguese presence on mainland Africa was limited to the few forts on the coast which supplied a growing slave trade (Riley 1998-2000: 161).

The sociolinguistic settings that resulted from this overseas expansion policy were different in the different areas of the African mainland. In Upper and Lower Guinea, where Portuguese-based creoles developed, as well as on the Gold Coast, slaves, gold and ivory were the principal commodities sought by the Portuguese, most of whom were exiled criminals (also called *lançados*) who often married African women. These Portuguese and their mixed-race children (*tango-maos*) functioned as principals or intermediaries in the trade, often penetrating a considerable distance into the interior and establishing Portuguese as the lingua franca of these regions (Boxer 1963: 9-11). In Upper and Lower Guinea and on the Gold Coast “the Portuguese relied not only on peaceful contacts but on a display of power and force, as exemplified by the erection of the castles at São Jorge da Mina (1482) and Axim (1503)” (*ibid.* 11).

The situation in the Congo, where Diogo Cão first arrived in 1482, was significantly different, especially concerning the social background of the Portuguese sent there and the type of relationship that was established between the Portuguese crown and its Congolese counterpart. This took on a diplomatic and institutional character that was to be unique in the history of Portuguese West Africa. The sociolinguistic consequences of this new expansion policy are analyzed below.

¹ For a survey of the reconnaissance journeys carried out by the Portuguese in mainland Africa see Santos (1988).

3.2. EARLY CONTACTS WITH THE ANGOLAN REGION (1482-1565): THE CONGO AND NDONGO KINGDOMS

On arriving at the regions south of the Gold Coast in search of the sea route to India in 1482, the Portuguese found a constellation of powerful kingdoms, the most powerful of which was the Congo kingdom, which was ruled by *Nzinga a Nkuwu*². It was densely populated; it had a highly structured society consisting of nobility, villagers and slaves, a very centralized government with a military and its own currency, called the *nzimbu* (Iliffe 1999: 109; Vansina and Obenga 1999: 274-276). The extensive sphere of influence of the king included not only the six provinces of the kingdom (i.e. Mpemba, Nsumdi, Mpangu, Mbata, Mbamba and Soyo) but also other Bantu-speaking kingdoms, such as the Ndongo, which paid tribute to him (Birmingham 1966: 4). The capital of the Congo was *Mbanza Congo*, located in the interior province of Mpemba. Its population “was estimated to be as much as 100,000 people” (*ibid.* 2)³. Kikongo was the language of the bulk of the population but it is likely that other related Bantu languages were also spoken, especially among the slaves taken from neighboring enemy kingdoms (cf. Map 6).

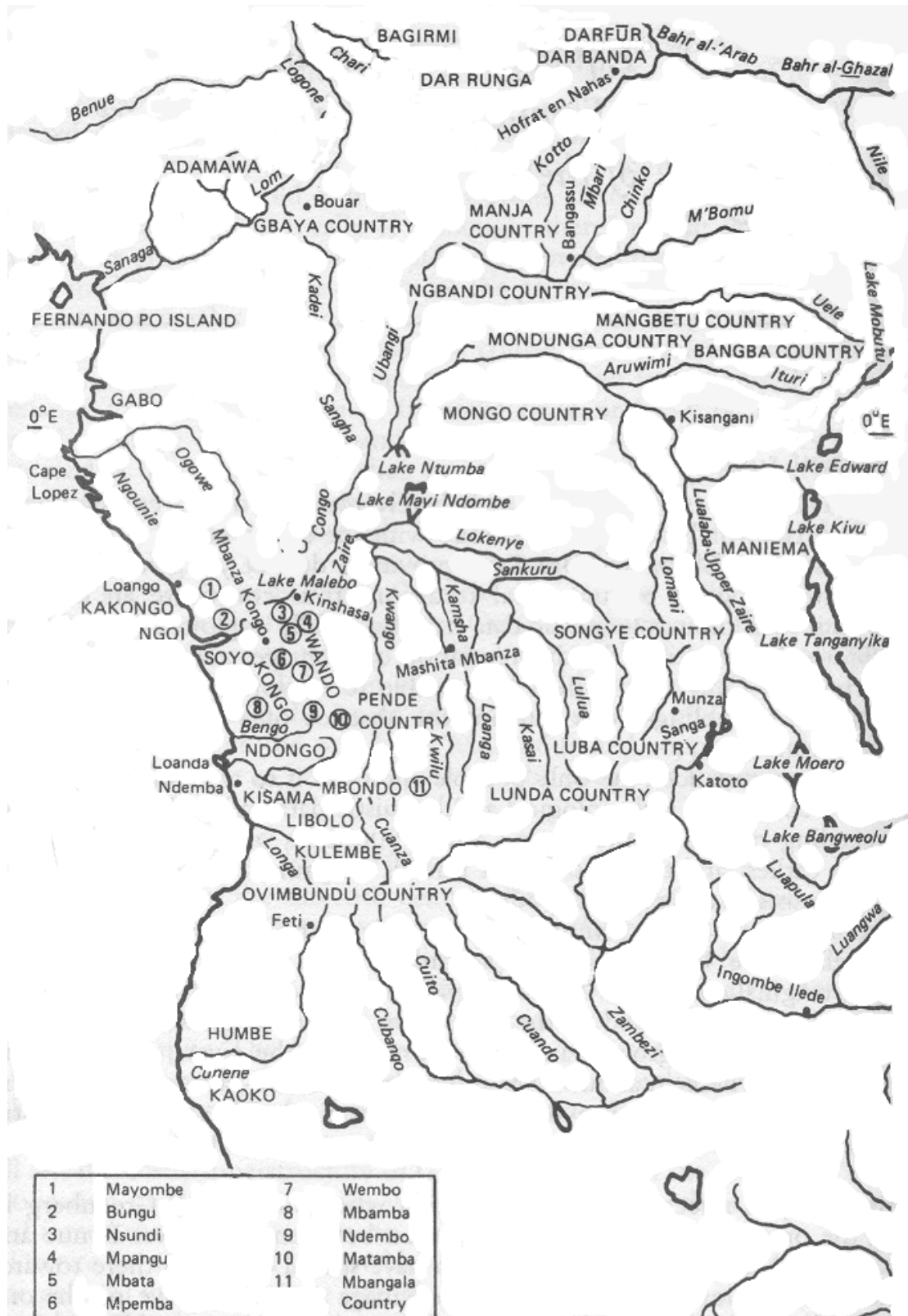
The Portuguese crown quickly realized that an alliance with such a powerful kingdom could be of great help in their search for Prester John and in their further exploration of mainland Central Africa (Santos 1988: 45-53). In other words, diplomacy and institutional cooperation had more to offer than war and conquest. Hence, a bilateral agreement was established between the two crowns during the reign of John II of Portugal (c. 1481-1495) and John I of the Congo (c. ?-1509), which was later reinforced during the reigns of Manuel I of Portugal (c. 1495-1521) and Afonso I of the Congo (c. 1509-1543). The Congo was to receive Portuguese missionaries, political counselors and specialized workers (e.g. masons, bakers, teachers, doctors, etc) and Portugal was to have the opportunity to spread the Catholic faith and acquire African slaves and goods such as gold and ivory (Russel-Wood 1998-2000a: 242-243).

² Other powerful kingdoms in the region were Loango, Lunda, Luba and Matamba. For a brief history of these kingdoms or states see Birmingham (1966), especially pages 1 to 20. For a recent political and social characterization of the Congo kingdom in particular and its relations with Angola see Gonçalves (2005).

³ For a detailed description of *Mbanza Congo* see Amaral (1987).

MAP 6

Central Africa, c. 1500
(Vansina 1997: 220)



The diplomatic and institutional nature of this agreement had an important effect on the social background of the Portuguese that were sent to the Congo and the type of activities they were involved in as well as their sphere of influence in the kingdom, and it also affected power relations between them and the native rulers. This contributed to a sociolinguistic setting that was different from that in Upper and Lower Guinea, where Portuguese-based creoles developed.

In fact, the few Portuguese that were sent to Congo were expected to act not as traders but as diplomats, providing political, military and religious assistance to the king. Consequently, due to an order of Manuel I in 1512, the Portuguese sent to the Congo did not include criminals or convicts, but only missionaries and noblemen, some of whom married women of the Congolese nobility with their children entering the line of succession (Russel-Wood 1998-2000a: 242). The majority of the Portuguese were accommodated at the king's court in Mbanza Congo in European-style houses especially built for them (Amaral 1987: 8). The only area where the Portuguese were allowed to settle other than the capital was at the port of Mpinda, where they built a fort to receive the slaves that were captured in the interior by the Congolese and who were to be sent to Portugal and São Tomé. In fact, the control of the territory's justice system and trade remained fully under the control of the king of the Congo, who controlled the movements of the Portuguese according to his own interests. For example, none of the expeditions that the Portuguese tried to make in the Congo in order to explore the Congo River and find Prester John received the necessary support from Afonso I (Santos 1988: 49). Power relations between Portugal and Congo were not as unbalanced as in other regions in Africa, where the Portuguese simply imposed their will on the native chiefs.

Moreover, with the exception of common slaves, the Africans taken to Portugal were mostly members of the Congolese nobility. In Lisbon, they were treated according to their social and political status, receiving expensive gifts and education, learning the basic principles of the Catholic faith and participating as guests of honor in the Portuguese court (Curto 1998-2000: 414). It is also interesting to notice that these noblemen were often young boys, whose proficiency in Portuguese was bound to be much better than that of the four adult noblemen who were taken to Lisbon by Diogo Cão earlier in 1482. Hence, unlike the Upper and Lower Guineans, the Central Africans taken to Europe included youngsters sent to learn the basics of Portuguese so as to be useful as interpreters in trade. They also included many young nobles who were to serve diplomatic functions between the two allied states and who consequently had to acquire good mastery of both spoken and written Portuguese and Latin.

Hence, Portuguese influence in the Congo was significant, but owing to their reduced numbers, their social and political background, their establishment in Mbanza Congo rather than in other parts of the kingdom and the fact that they had no jurisdiction over the kingdom's politics, commerce and army, their influence was restricted to what they could exert on the ruling classes (i.e. courtiers, provincial governors, etc), especially concerning clothing and titles of nobility (Amaral 1987; Santos 1988). Of course, many Portuguese loan words entered Kikongo (cf. Bal 1975, 1979; Martins 1958), but it is unlikely that Portuguese was ever widely used throughout the kingdom in contexts other than official correspondence between the Portuguese and Congolese kings and between the latter and their provincial governors, many of whom were the mixed-race children of the Portuguese.

In fact, there were very few reasons for any widespread use of Portuguese in the Congo. The Portuguese missionaries themselves either had very little contact with the general population as their main function was to help create a local clergy, or if they did, they adopted African languages. Among the ruling classes, communication was most often established by means of interpreters. This does not mean that the Congolese nobility had no knowledge of Portuguese, but it is important to notice that what they were exposed to was either European Portuguese (i.e. as spoken by the Portuguese among themselves) or a variety very similar to it, as suggested by the accuracy of the language used by the European-educated interpreters and secretaries in the aforementioned correspondence. In fact, according to Oliveira (1536 [1975]: 45), the Africa-born speakers of Portuguese perceived their speech as similar to that of their European counterparts, which is consistent with the hypothesis that the two varieties were quite similar. Moreover, the linguistic traits that were identified by Oliveira (*ibid.*) and Barros (1540 [1971]) include phonological phenomena only, all of which could also be found in 16th century EP (cf. chapter 2, section 2.1.3 for discussion of these features). Finally, slave traders were the least likely to need Portuguese as they operated essentially in the Kikongo-speaking provinces of the kingdom or in neighboring countries where closely related Bantu languages were spoken.

The language used by the lower social classes is not documented, but the socio-historical setting in the Congo suggests that they were likely to have continued to use their own languages as they had very little contact with the Portuguese. Moreover, that contact was usually of a religious nature and was with the local Kikongo-speaking clergy. The fact that the first catechisms in Bantu were published during this period (cf. chapter 2, section

2.1.4) also indicates that it was the African languages and not Portuguese that was widely used in Christianization, even when the missionaries involved were Portuguese.

Lipski (2005: 63) suggests that the common people “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”. Lipski’s lack of documentation makes it difficult to refute his theory, but the sociolinguistic setting described above suggests a cautious evaluation of this hypothesis. On the one hand, as will hopefully be shown in this chapter, there are significant differences between 15th and 16th-century Congo and present-day Angola. On the other hand, Portuguese-based pidgins or creoles have never been attested in contemporary Angola⁴.

The sociolinguistic setting described above refers to the first stage of Portuguese activity in the Congo. However, as the Portuguese empire expanded to India and Brazil and the sugar plantations in São Tomé prospered, Portugal’s diplomatic and missionary interest in the Congo dwindled. The Portuguese had not found Prester John, they had not got access to the copper mines of the Congo, and they were not getting as many slaves as the rapid expansion of their overseas empire demanded. In turn, Afonso I of the Congo had not received the skilled workers, technicians and missionaries he had been promised by the Portuguese. Moreover, he had to deal with the constant raids of slave traders from São Tomé. Hence, by the second decade of the 16th century it was clear to both him and Manuel I of Portugal that their bilateral agreement was not meeting their expectations.

The tension in the relations between Portugal and the Congo was exacerbated by the emergence of new independent states eager to take over the slave trade, which was officially under Portuguese control. One such state was Kimbundu-speaking Ndongo, south of the Congo in what is now Luanda province, which was then ruled by a king called the Ngola (Iliffe 1999: 185). Ndongo was known to the Portuguese at least since 1504, not only because it was the main supplier of the slaves brought to Mpinda by the envoys of Afonso I, but also because, despite D. Manuel’s 1504 prohibition of travel and trade beyond the Congo River, individual Portuguese had been trading along the coast of Ndongo. Moreover, there were reports that Ndongo was rich not only in slaves but also in silver and gold (Birmingham 1966: 25-29).

⁴ Barros (2002: 35) and Mingas (2002: 45) do suggest the existence of an ongoing process of creolization in Angola, but neither of them presents linguistic data to support their hypothesis, nor do they specify whether this process is occurring throughout Angola or just in some areas, namely in the rural areas as suggested by Lipski (2005: 63).

Portugal's first official contacts with Ndongo occurred at King Ngola's request, first in 1520 and later on in 1561. On both occasions Ngola revealed his interest in converting to Christianity and establishing a political and commercial agreement with Portugal, but when the Portuguese ambassador arrived at his court in Kabasa, he changed his mind and took the envoys hostage. Nonetheless, in the period between the two dates, illegal slave trade from the mouth of the Kwanza River prospered and a church was built by the small population of European and African men and women from São Tomé who had settled there (Russel-Wood 1998-2000a: 243). Ngola's attitude towards the Portuguese was most probably influenced by the Afro-Portuguese traders from São Tomé living at his court, who were not willing to give up their tax-free supply of slaves (Birmingham 1966).

The Ngola's attitude towards the Portuguese envoys, the political crisis in the Congo that followed the capture of Mbanza Congo by the Jaga⁵ in 1569, and the shift of the Portuguese trading base from the Congo to Ndongo led the Portuguese crown to reconsider its policy on the exploration of the western coast of Africa. Paulo Dias de Novais, who had been taken hostage by the Ngola in 1561 and released in 1565 was a key factor in the implementation of this new Portuguese policy, i.e. military conquest (Amaral 2000). Therefore, according to Birmingham (1966: 40), 1565 "can conveniently be taken to conclude the first stage of the history of Portuguese activity in West Central Africa".

3.3. THE FOUNDING OF LUANDA: THE EARLY DAYS OF THE COLONY OF ANGOLA

The illegal slave trade that prospered from the 1530s to the 1560s developed around the region of Luanda, which was governed by a petty king who paid tribute both to the king of the Congo and the Ngola⁶. This had long become the new Portuguese trading base, but the Portuguese had no firm hold there. So, in order to secure it, King Sebastião of Portugal nominated Paulo Dias de Novais as the first governor of the new colony of Angola, named after King Ngola. The charter ceding Angola to Novais was the foundation for a renewed Portuguese expansionist policy:

⁵ Group of unknown origin that invaded the Congo in the 16th century. For more information on this group and the role they played in the history of Angola see Birmingham (1965), Vansina (1966), Miller (1973; 1972) and Hilton (1981).

⁶ In fact, this region was the supplier of the *nzinbu*, i.e. the small shells that were the official currency in the Congo (Vansina 1997: 222).

A carta régia de Novais caracterizava-se pela falta de vontade dos Portugueses em perpetuar o *status quo*. Não foi apresentada ao *ngola* a possibilidade de negociação. A carta régia começava por afirmar que o reino de Angola devia ser dominado e conquistado, que iria verificar-se a conversão e que os benefícios comerciais seriam para D. Sebastião e Portugal (Russel-Wood 1998-2000a: 243)

Novais was not given any financial help, but he was awarded the area from the River Cuanza to the River Dande, including thirty-five more leagues south of the former, with no limits imposed on Portuguese progression towards the interior. Novais was also allowed to give land to those farmers he found deserving of it, and he had full jurisdiction over judicial, military and fiscal affairs. In return for these benefits, the new governor was expected to implement a detailed plan of settlement and colonization. Hence, within less than two years after leaving Lisbon he was expected to train 400 soldiers and to attract skilled Portuguese workers to the colony; within six years he was to settle 100 families and ten years after his arrival Novais was expected to have built three forts and several churches (Amaral 2000: 49-72).

In 1575, Novais arrived on the island of Luanda, whose population was estimated at 3,000 (Birmingham 1966: 48) and in 1576 he moved with some settlers to the mainland, where they founded the city of São Paulo de Luanda. The Portuguese were received by the “*principais da terra*” (i.e. local chiefs) and probably by some of the 40 wealthy Portuguese who had fled the Congo on occasion of the Jaga invasions. I was not able to find any references to the racial composition of the people that accompanied Novais or to the languages they spoke, but there is evidence that an interpreter was used in communications between Paulo Dias de Novais and the ambassadors of the Ngola. However, the use of this interpreter was apparently more a ritual than an actual need because Novais spoke fluent Kimbundu as a consequence of his four-year captivity at the court of the Ngola. What is interesting is that the interpreter used on this occasion was a white man said to speak Kimbundu as correctly as the ambassador himself (Amaral 2000: 92), hence showing that “on the mainland it was more a matter of the Portuguese traders and adventurers becoming Africanized than of the Negros becoming Europeanized” (Boxer 1963: 13).

In the case of 16th century Angola this statement was particularly true. The main reason for this was the very limited number of metropolitan Portuguese who settled there as well as the social background of those who did. In fact, the majority of these Portuguese came from other parts of the African empire, especially from São Tomé. They were mostly criminals and convicts who had entered the slave trade and had long abandoned the

Portuguese language and culture⁷. In fact, their linguistic knowledge and their diplomatic connections in the interior was the main reason why these convicts and their descendants were tolerated by the Portuguese authorities in Angola until the late 19th century (Russel-Wood 1998-2000b: 262).

The number of Portuguese women in the colony was even lower than in other parts of the Portuguese empire (Boxer 1977: 28-35). The largest immigration of metropolitan women to Angola in this period occurred in 1595 with the arrival of 12 converts from the Casa Pia das Convertidas (Amaral 2000: 103)⁸. The shortage of white women in the colony meant that “most of the children of settlers were educated by their African mothers and the slave women in the household, so that their mother tongue was African” (Vansina 2001: 269).

The reduced number of Portuguese in Angola was closely related not only to their lack of resistance to malaria and to the harsh tropical climate, but also to hunger, as a consequence of the climate’s being unsuitable to their agriculture, as shown by Santos (1998: 89):

Certos surtos endêmicos violentos, como os registados em 1576-1577, 1585 e 1626, e que dizimam a população europeia radicada em Angola, têm como causa imediata o flagelo da fome. A endemia de 1581, devida em grande parte à fome, segundo o Pe. Baltasar Afonso, vítima, no espaço de oito meses, cerca de 100 portugueses e 40 angolanos do exército conquistador e, ao fim do ano, já tem imoladas duas partes dos 300 soldados brancos.

Os efeitos do surto de 1595 não são menos catastróficos: mata mais de 200 europeus empenhados nas guerras do Bengo (...)

The continuous wars with the surrounding African kingdoms from 1579 until 1690 were another major constraint on the number of Portuguese settlers in Angola. In fact, the first years of the colony were characterized by friendly, peaceful relations with the Ngola. However, as the Portuguese pushed farther into the interior and approached the limits of the Ndongo and other Mbundu states, war eventually broke out (Russel-Wood 1998-2000c: 128). These wars had serious consequences on the already reduced number of Portuguese settlers in Angola. It is estimated that 2,340 Portuguese, mostly soldiers, were sent to the colony from 1575 to 1592, but only 300 were still in Luanda in 1592 because 450 had been killed in the wars and the others had either died of malaria or escaped into the interior, where they acquired the African culture and languages (Santos

⁷ In fact, those already living in the island of Luanda at the arrival of Paulo Dias de Novais were not comfortable with the idea of being summoned by the governor as he represented the return of the metropolitan law and taxes (Amaral 2000: 89).

⁸ These were orphan girls who had been living at the religious institution called *Casa Pia das Convertidas*.

1998: 85). The high rates of mortality among the Portuguese military meant that “the army depended largely on African slave-soldiers and the private armies of allied or conquered Mbundu chiefs” (Birmingham 1966: 52-53).

Angola’s total dependency on the slave trade also constrained the success of the colony’s settlement policy as it distracted attention from activities such as agriculture and fishing which might have helped create conditions more conducive to the development of a colony suitable for permanent settlement. In fact, the Portuguese penetration of the interior was more motivated by the wish for slaves than opening up permanent settlement areas. A clear example of this was the construction of forts in areas around Luanda along the Kwanza River such as Massangano, Cambande and Lumbo in the 1580s. In fact, according to Klein (2002: 77), “*todos os postos avançados dos europeus tinham por missão fundamental manter abertos os canais comerciais com os africanos ou garantir a continuidade do comércio, não tendo o propósito de criar enclaves nacionais ou coloniais*”. The founding charter further emphasized the development of a “*colónia de exploração*” rather than the establishment of a “*colónia de povoamento*” because it was financed by individual Portuguese rather than by the Portuguese crown. Hence, the interests of the latter were often overridden by those of the former, whose only purpose was to accumulate wealth and return to Portugal (Santos 1998: 91).

Due to all these factors, when Paulo Dias de Novais died, in Massangano in 1589, the Portuguese presence in Angola was restricted to Luanda, a few forts in the interior along the River Kwanza and the city of Benguela, “none of which were more than two hundred miles from the coast” (Boxer 1963: 39). Portuguese control of the coastal forts was secured not by the Portuguese themselves, whose presence was never numerically significant, but by an Afro-Portuguese elite, the outcome of the high degree of miscegenation between Portuguese men and African women (Russel-Wood 1992: 60-61). Klein’s (2002: 85) statement below about the role of the Afro-Portuguese in Angola’s slave trade is revealing:

... os portugueses instalaram colonos em Luanda e depois em Benguela, e aí nasceram, fruto desses esforços e de mercadores locais que se deslocaram para o interior, as maiores comunidades afro-portuguesas da África Ocidental. Embora os clãs de mercadores africanos controlassem a maior parte do comércio do norte de Luanda até à margem sul do Zaire, a maior parte do comércio de Luanda para sul estava nas mãos destes comerciantes afro-portugueses, pelo menos ao longo da costa e um pouco para o interior.

Bilingual in the Portuguese of their fathers and in the Bantu languages of their mothers, the Afro-Portuguese not only acted as slave hunters and protectors of the trade

routes in the interior, but also occupied high positions in the public administration in Luanda and Benguela.

The social setting described above is consistent with the hypothesis that from the foundation of Luanda in 1576 until c. 1600, Kikongo and later Kimbundu were the most widely spoken languages in the colony. In the words of Vansina (2001: 270) “while the immigrants did ensure that Portuguese remained the official language of the colony, they were not able to further increase the use of that language among the Africans in the city nor among the settler community”.

3.4. THE DUTCH CAPTURE OF ANGOLA AND BRAZILIAN RULE OF THE COLONY (1641-1700)

As shown in the previous section, the first fifty years of the colony of Angola were characterized by extensive wars with the neighboring African states for control of the slave trade and the silver mines which the Portuguese thought abounded in Angola. However, by the 1630s the Portuguese had managed to secure the area around Luanda, establishing peace agreements with most of the local chiefs. According to Vansina (2001: 270) “the settler community in Luanda was still small, but it was wealthy and thrived” like other centers in the interior:

Mas, também, o interior da colónia patenteia alterações significativas: aumento da população dos presídios e alastramento da mancha de povoamento. Nascerão, deste modo, outras pequenas povoações de colonizadores e Quionzo, Golungo, Bemba, Nambacalombe e Quilunda, como surgirão, ao longo dos rios Cuanza, Dande e Bengo, muitas “fazendas”, com as suas casas térreas, seus terreiros e outras dependências anexas, nomeadamente capelas (Santos 1998: 94).

However, the development of the colony suffered a setback in 1641, when the Dutch captured Luanda and Benguela with the help of King Garcia II of the Congo and Queen Nzinga of the Jagas. The Portuguese resisted the Dutch attacks on Luanda for three days, but they were finally forced to abandon the city, taking refuge near the River Bengo, where the Jesuits had their agricultural estates (Magalhães 1998-2000: 80-81).

The Dutch ruled Angola and Benguela for seven years, until 1648, when the Luso-Brazilian Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides succeeded in recapturing the two cities with an expedition of two thousand men. From this date onwards Angola was ruled from Brazil rather than Portugal itself as the governors appointed by the Portuguese king came mostly from Pernambuco (Magalhães 1998-2000: 81) as did the first settlers in southern Angola in the 18th century. The precise linguistic consequences of this influx of Brazilians in the

colony are unknown, but it is significant that as late as the 19th century a number of travellers noted the similarity between Brazilian and Angolan Portuguese (cf. chapter 2, sections 2.1.2. and 2.1.3).

One would expect that in the years following the Portuguese recovery of Luanda and Benguela, the Portuguese crown would have invested in the effective settlement of Angola. However, this was not what happened. The nomination of Brazilian governors had the main purpose of speeding up the flow of slaves to Brazil and the Spanish American colonies. Hence, the thirty years that followed the defeat of the Dutch were characterized by consecutive wars against the Mbundu states of Matamba, Kissama and Kassange, which had not only helped the Dutch but now also imposed severe constraints on the access of the Portuguese to the potential slaves in the interior. Securing extensive supplies of slaves was, once again, the main concern of the Portuguese crown in Angola.

As far as the sociolinguistic setting is concerned, Vansina (2001) argues that in the interior the use of Portuguese as a *lingua franca* expanded among chiefs and traders essentially because “reading and writing was useful ... to establish political rights, to secure inheritances by written wills, and to claim or object to claims concerning trading matters” (*ibid.* 272). However, it is likely that this expansion was also due to the fact that most of the few Portuguese whom the crown was able to draft to go to Angola were sent to the interior, where they were most needed to secure the *presídios* (i.e. forts) at a time of ongoing warfare with the Mbundu states. In fact, according to Boxer (1965: 133):

After the recovery of Luanda in 1648, it became customary to send out drafts of recruits for the garrison with the incoming governor every three years. The drafts were mainly raised from the overpopulated islands of Madeira and the Azores, particularly the former.

A significant number of these draftees came also from Pernambuco and Ceará in Brazil, as they were accustomed to the tropics and were more likely to survive in Angola (Boxer 1965: 134). Regardless of where they came from, these draftees were mostly *degradados* or convicts.

In contrast to this expansion of Portuguese as a *lingua franca* in the immediate vicinity of the forts in the interior, Kimbundu was the most widespread language in nearly all households in 17th century Luanda and in the daily life of the city. According to Vansina (2001: 271), the factor that contributed the most to this was the fact that, owing to the high rate of mortality among European settlers and the low influx of women into the colony, the large group of Afro-Portuguese “began to occupy more and more positions in the army and the local administration”. Hence:

As a result, Kimbundu, especially from the 1650's onwards, gradually came to be as essential in administration, the army, the church as it was for inland commerce, despite the official status of Portuguese and despite the fact that high officials or bishops sent out from Lisbon only knew Portuguese (*ibid*).

Another important factor for the consolidation of Kimbundu's position as the most widely spoken language in Angola was the fact that the majority of the slaves arriving in Luanda in the 17th century were Kimbundu speakers, as they were mainly drawn from the crumbling Mbundu states of Matamba, Kissama and Kassange. Consequently, Kimbundu was also the official language of missionary work, as shown by the fact that "slaves exported from Luanda, whatever their origins, learned some Kimbundu and were baptized in this language before their embarkation" (Vansina 2001: 273). The role of Kimbundu in missionary work is also shown by the publication of several catechisms in this language. These publications were of great importance in the standardization of the language. The exception that proves the rule appears to have been a closely-knit group of black, Portuguese-speaking, Roman Catholic families known in the history of Angola as the Old Creoles of Luanda (Birmingham 2002: 148)⁹.

3.5. ANGOLA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

3.5.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUANDA

From 1683 to 1730 there was peace in Angola (Marques 1995: 435). However, the expansionist policy of the colony still focused on the slave trade rather than the effective settlement of the territory. With the exception of the few forts along the Rivers Kwanza and Cunene, the effective Portuguese hold on the colony was restricted to Luanda.

In fact, with the intensification of the slave trade throughout the 18th century, Luanda was all that mattered. The city, whose population is estimated at 7204 inhabitants in 1796, was divided into two main parts: the center and the periphery. The former was also divided into two parts: (i) the *Cidade Alta*, which was the political, military and religious center of the city, and (ii) the *Cidade Baixa* or commercial zone (Venâncio 1996: 32).

According to Venâncio (*ibid.* 36), in 1793 the population of the *Cidade Alta* included 210 Europeans, 114 Euro-Africans, 96 free Africans and 848 slaves. Only three years later, in 1796, the population was distributed as follows: 85 Europeans, 109 Euro-

⁹ Notice that the meaning of the word *creole* is not that of contemporary contact linguistics. Rather, the word is used here to denote the Portuguese cultural heritage of these black families.

Africans and 708 Africans. Venâncio's account is interesting in two more ways. First, the use of terms *Europeans* and *Euro-Africans* as opposed to *Portuguese* and *Afro-Portuguese* suggests the presence of Europeans other than Portuguese. In fact, Venâncio acknowledges that the term European refers to the whites "com origem próxima e remota naquele continente" (*ibid.* 47), and includes Portuguese whites, Angolan whites and Brazilian whites. Second, his data show that only a small part of the existing social groups in Luanda lived in the *Cidade Alta*, i.e. 15,1% of whites, 8,6% of Afro-Portuguese and 13,1% of Africans¹⁰, suggesting a greater concentration of all social classes on the periphery.

In fact, the periphery, which included most of the poor houses of the Africans who worked in the *Cidade Alta* and the yards where the slaves brought from the interior awaited shipment to Brazil and other parts of the Americas¹¹, had a larger representation of all the social groups in the city. Hence, the ethnic composition of this part of Luanda in 1796 was as follows: 196 Europeans (i.e. 34,5% of them), 470 Afro-Portuguese (i.e. 37,7%) and 1810 Africans (i.e. 33,6%).

The exact percentage of Africans living in Luanda was constrained by the dynamics of the slave trade. For example, from 1781 onwards their number decreased, to a large extent due to the reduction in the number of slaves brought to Luanda (*ibid.* 47). Nonetheless, Africans always made up the majority of the city's population. The languages spoken by this group are likely to have been related to the area of the city they occupied. In fact, those living in the *Cidade Alta* are likely to have spoken Portuguese, despite the fact that their mother tongue was probably African. Those living on the periphery were most likely to have spoken Kimbundu¹².

¹⁰ The majority of this African population were women who worked as *mocambas* 'domestic slaves' (Venâncio 1996: 46). In fact, a census of the population of Angola in 1777-1778 showed that there were twice as women as there were men (Iliffe 1999: 191).

¹¹ According to Klein (2002: 129) "a maioria dos escravos passava um mínimo de seis meses a um ano desde a captura ao embarque nos navios europeus, sendo que o tempo passado na costa à espera do embarque era em média de três meses". It is not likely that slaves acquired any proficiency in Portuguese during their stay in Luanda, not only because three months was a too short period, but above all because most of the time waiting for embarkation was spent in the interior, where traders kept slaves for as long as it took to Europeans raise their bids (*ibid.* 90). During this period, slaves were used as carriers or farmers and are likely to have acquired at least basic proficiency in the African languages spoken by slaves working in those communities in the interior. This hypothesis is supported by Klein's following statement (*ibid.* 155 – my emphasis):

Assim, um dos poucos relatos de testemunha presencial da captura e transporte de escravo, feito pelo Igbo Oludah Equiano, feito escravo em 1750, ressalva com evidência que este rapaz passou pelas mãos de vários vendedores antes de chegar à costa. Além disso, passou determinada altura um mês inteiro a viver uma vida relativamente normal, tendo mesmo trabalhado como aprendiz de ourives. *Passou metade do tempo com povos que falavam línguas parecidas com a sua, várias das quais aprendeu, e participou na economia local.*

¹² In the 18th century most slaves came from the region of the Lunda, in the northeast (Iliffe 1999:199), but they were likely to speak Kimbundu also, not only because this was the mother tongue of the majority of Africans and Afro-Portuguese who lived with them in the periphery of Luanda but also because they were brought from the interior to Luanda by Kimbundu-speaking Africans who worked as intermediaries between the Portuguese and the Lunda chiefs. Hence, it is

While the Afro-Portuguese, i.e. mixed-race, ranked third in the population of the *Cidade Alta* they were in fact the second largest social group in Luanda. Their reduced numbers in the wealthier parts of the city is probably due to the fact that most of them were *degradados* who worked as slave traders and hence stayed with their property on the periphery. Nonetheless, regardless of the area of the city they lived in, they also occupied the majority of public offices in Luanda (*ibid.* 50) and their mother tongue was mostly Kimbundu (*ibid.* 53), despite their bilingualism in Portuguese.

The white population in Luanda was still small but it was much more representative than in previous periods in the city's history. The growth of the white population in Angola led to the emergence of the first conflicts between the Portuguese and the Afro-Portuguese, mostly as a consequence of the nationalist policies enforced by the governors appointed by the Marquês de Pombal. In fact, throughout the 18th century, the Portuguese resisted the growing Africanization of the Afro-Portuguese elite in Angola. For example, in 1760, the Marquês de Pombal ordered the closing of the Jesuit school, as he considered them responsible for the diffusion of Kimbundu rather than Portuguese. This measure was reinforced by Sousa Coutinho's decree in 1765 compelling all heads of households to enforce the use of Portuguese in the home, in the education of their children and in contacts with slaves. However, while better represented, the Portuguese were still too few to enforce the imposition of their language. The situation remained unaltered until the mid-19th century. Only after this period did Portuguese gradually become more widely spoken in the colony (Vansina 2001: 274-275).

It is unknown whether the sociolinguistic composition in the settlements in the interior was similar to those in Luanda, but in the latter native speakers of Kimbundu clearly outnumbered those of Portuguese.

3.5.2. THE EXPLORATION OF THE SOUTH

Another important feature of 18th century Angola was the attempt to explore the southern part of the colony. In the late 16th century, when Paulo Dias de Novais founded Luanda and the colony of Angola, the River Kwanza had been a key factor in the Portuguese penetration of the interior. In the late 17th century and early 18th century the Cunene River served the same purpose in their exploration of the Benguela region (cf. Map 7). In fact, this was the main area of intervention of the Portuguese during this period,

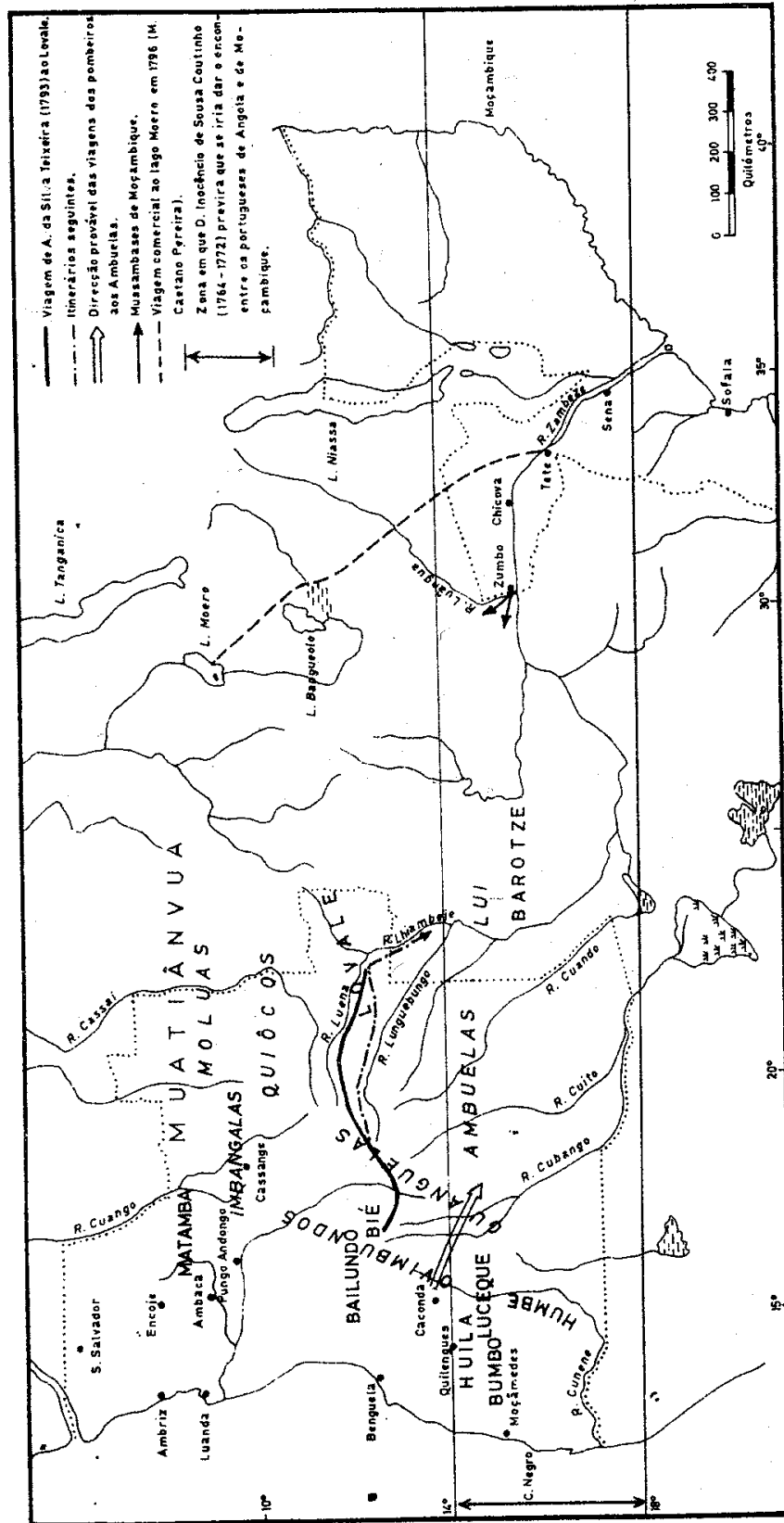
unlikely that a Portuguese-based pidgin or creole was spoken by these slaves as they could use Kimbundu, which was the *lingua franca* used in slave trade in the interior.

largely due to the need to find further supplies of slaves but also due to the Portuguese wish to find a direct route to connect Angola and Mozambique by land (Santos 1988: 135-141).

The Benguela region had been known to the Portuguese since the first journey of Diogo Cão to the Congo and part of it was included in the founding charter given to Paulo Dias de Novais. In fact, the exploration of Benguela's hinterland began in 1578 when Benguela-a-Velha was founded. In 1592, Domingos de Abreu Pinto, in his detailed report on the colony of Angola, noted the importance of the permanent settlement of that area as a means of connecting Angola and Mozambique by land and suggested that Filipe I assign a governor to the region. Of course, Pinto's recommendation was based on an assumption that the Cunene was connected to Zambezi River, which was disproved in the 19th century. Still, in 1617 Manuel Cerveira Pereira was appointed governor of Benguela and ordered the exploration of its hinterland. The harsh tropical climate, the lack of food, the mutiny of the *degradados* who accompanied him and the threat of a Dutch attack led him to abandon the enterprise. Nonetheless, in 1638 the settlement of Caconda was founded and in 1694 a fort was built on the beach in Benguela (Santos 1988: 139) as a consequence of the revived interest in the River Cunene in 1664 (Padrão 1998: 30).

These explorations of the hinterland of Benguela did not result in any consequent policy of settlement. In fact, were it were not for the fact that from the late 18th century onwards it received most of the slaves that were shipped from Angola to Brazil, the region would have remained in almost total abandonment until the early 20th century. Nonetheless, these exploratory journeys provided the Portuguese with important geographical information and the will to develop that region. As in most of Angola, the first attempts at settlement occurred only in the mid-nineteenth century, when the specter of the Berlin Treaty already loomed over Portuguese interests in the colony and Brazil had already become independent.

MAP 7
 Portuguese exploration journeys in Central Africa in late 18th century
 (Santos 1988:167)



3.6. THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE START OF PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN EMPIRE: THE CASE OF ANGOLA

The key event in the history of the Portuguese empire in the 19th century was the independence of Brazil in 1822. This was not only because this event represented the end of the second Portuguese overseas empire, but above all because it forced the Portuguese crown to focus on Africa for the first time since the beginning of overseas expansion¹³. In fact, in the years immediately following the independence of Brazil there was a widespread perception that unless the effective Portuguese holding in Africa were reinforced and expanded and commercial relations with the African colonies were increased, assets as important as Angola could follow Brazil's path to independence (Alexandre and Dias 1998: 23-ff).

The first step in bringing the metropolis closer to the African colonies was to put the latter on an equal administrative footing with the former. Hence, the liberal constitutions of 1822 and 1826 established that the colonies were to become provinces of Portugal and as such were entitled to representation in the parliament. The new provinces were also divided into districts, which in turn were divided into *concelhos*, and their laws and public offices were those of the metropolis (cf. Dias 1991: 15-32). Moreover, there was a clear intention to enforce effective settlement. Concerning Angola, the plan was to secure the north by building several establishments along the coast from Ambriz to the Congo, to reinforce the connection between Luanda and Benguela, and to explore the coast and the hinterland of the latter. However, these intentions had no effect on the settlement of the colony as a whole:

Por volta de 1830 ou 1840, a ocupação efectiva de Angola reduzia-se a uma estreita faixa costeira de 80 a 130 km de largura média, sem limites definidos para o interior. No Norte, o território ocupado alargava-se um tanto, abrangendo as duas margens do Zaire até à actual Matadi, 171 km distante da foz, onde a navegabilidade do rio se detém nas quedas de água Livingstone. No Sul o sueste de Benguela de hoje, a soberania portuguesa alcançava Caconda, uns 240 km a oriente do mar. A própria linha costeira só se conhecia com pormenor até Benguela antes da expedição naval das décadas de 1830 e 1840 que a traçou de forma científica até à Baía dos Tigres, 17^o de latitude Sul. (Marques 1998:140-1)

Moreover, the population in the centers administered by the Portuguese was extremely limited (i.e. 250,000 to 300,000), especially the white population (i.e. 1000 to

¹³ Despite the long-held myth in Portugal that there was only one Portuguese overseas empire and that it extended for a period of five hundred years, contemporary Portuguese historians tend to refer to the existence of three distinct empires: the Asian empire (c. 16th century), the Brazilian empire (c. 16th to the 19th century) and the African empire (c. late 19th century to 1975) (Alexandre 2000: 11).

2000 in total). The bulk of the population in the Portuguese settlements was made up of Afro-Portuguese settlers, officers and merchants. In short, in the early 19th century:

A presença portuguesa em Angola devia a sua sobrevivência à imbricação complexa dos interesses mútuos do governo colonial, das famílias Afro-Portuguesas do litoral e interior da colónia e dos titulares políticos dos “Estados” africanos autónomos do sertão. (Dias 1998: 366)

In fact, it was not until the 1850s that new settlements started in Angola, mostly due to the action of the Marquês de Sá da Bandeira, whose policy emphasized territorial expansion, the effective end of the slave trade and the development of a plantation economy (Alexandre and Dias 1998: 84)¹⁴. The enforcement of the plan implied large numbers of Portuguese settlers, but this was only possible in Moçâmedes, Porto Alexandre and Baía dos Tigres due to the arrival of a growing number of settlers from Pernambuco and the Algarve (Padrão 1998). I was not able to find any information regarding the ethnic origin, sex or age of these settlers, but it is likely that the ratio between blacks and whites was more balanced than in Luanda or in those countries where Portuguese-based creoles developed. While there are no completely reliable demographic data for this period and this region, it is useful to present the estimate quoted by Pélissier (1997a: 192) with regard to the demographics in the district of Moçâmedes:

TABLE 6
Demographics in the District of Moçâmedes (1854 and 1864)
(Pélissier 1997a: 192)

	1854	1864
Branços	256	1124 + 307 militares
Mestiços	29	127
Negros livres	59	862
Libertos	135	275
Escravos	481	2073

As far as language is concerned, it is important to notice that there are references in the literature to the development of a mixed language among the population working for the Portuguese in Moçâmedes:

¹⁴ In fact, according to Dias (1998: 357), until the 1850s the effective administration of the Portuguese in Angola was restricted to nine *presídios* (Ambaca, Duque de Bragança, Cambambe, Massangano, Muxima, Novo Redondo, Pungo Andongo, S. José de Encoje, Benguela e Caconda) and thirteen districts (Barro do Bengo, Barra do Dande, Barra de Calumbo, Dande, Icolo e Bengo, Zenza e Quilengues, Dembos e Golungo, Dombe Grande, Bailundo, Bié, Huambo, Quilengues de Benguela).

... a sociedade Africana da zona costeira de Moçâmedes formou-se a partir de uma população escrava, composta de libertos, do tráfico ilícito, cativos de guerras coloniais, e um número crescente de vítimas do tráfico entre as feitorias portuguesas na costa ao sul de Luanda e as sociedades autónomas do interior. Oriundos na maior parte, de diversas regiões a norte e leste do Cuanza, este *grupo heterogéneo* de pessoas desenvolver uma *identidade quimbari distinta, baseada na língua quimbundu e numa cultura sincrética, afro-portuguesa*¹⁵. Tornou-se assim culturalmente distinta de outros trabalhadores contratados mais tarde, oriundos sobretudo do planalto central, os quais mantiveram um pé nas suas comunidades de origem, embora alguns tivessem sido absorvidos na comunidade *quimbari* (Dias 1998: 446 - my emphasis).

What is interesting about Olumbali, the language spoken by the *Quimbari*, is that it shows that it was the African languages and not Portuguese that were more likely to undergo significant restructuring in Angola. In fact, there are several references in the literature to African mixed-languages in Angola, especially in borderline areas of the Bakongo, Ambundu and Kimbundu territories (cf. discussion in chapter 2, section 2.1.4).

Huíla was another area that received particular attention from the Portuguese crown during the mandate of Sá da Bandeira as president of the Concelho Ultramarino (i.e. 1856-1859)¹⁶. In 1857 he created the Kruss colony, a military settlement made up of twelve interns from the *Casa Pia* and twenty-nine Germans. As far as Huíla is concerned, it is interesting to notice Padrão's (1998: 137) comment concerning the ethnic composition of its settler community:

Um dos aspectos mais interessantes da colonização da Huíla é o do papel que muitos mestiços e autóctones desempenharam na consolidação da soberania de Portugal.

These experiences of effective settlement were not only innovative in comparison to previous experiences, but they were also profitable at first and contributed immensely to the increment of cotton and coffee production in the colony. An important factor was that the settlers in some of these communities included experienced Brazilian technicians and *feitores* (i.e. foremen). However, their success, especially in the interior, was short-

¹⁵ It should be noted that the term *Quimbari* is also used in the literature on Angola to refer to any culturally assimilated African and not just to those in the Moçâmedes region, as illustrated by the following reference by Heintze (2004: 61) to assimilated Africans in the Ambaca region:

Os Ambaquistas, por sua vez, adoptavam os valores dos Europeus para se distinguirem dos outros africanos «não civilizados», encarando-os correspondentemente como «selvagens». O prestígio destes ambaquistas era tão grande que nos sobados tradicionais surgiram numerosos imitadores seus – frequentemente designados por *quimbari*- que adoptavam os seus costumes e outras características exteriores e gostavam de se identificar como «filhos dos Ambaquistas».

Note, however, that the assimilation of Portuguese culture by the *quimbari* did not imply the adoption of the Portuguese language.

¹⁶ The *Concelho Ultramarino* was first created by John IV of Portugal in 1643. It was abolished in 1821 and recovered again in 1851. Throughout the century it was always the institution responsible administering everything related to the overseas territories (Dias 1991: 22-32).

lived. First, as there was almost no infrastructure for internal communication and travel, it was extremely expensive to transport produce from the interior to the coast, especially after Sá da Bandeira's prohibition on the hiring of African carriers. Second, while the Portuguese crown supported the creation of these communities politically, its financial support of these enterprises was very small.

However, the most important factor in the decline of the communities in the south was the fact that, in the 1860s, after Sá da Bandeira left the presidency of the *Concelho Ultramarino* following strong opposition to his policy from the governors in Angola and politicians in the metropolis, the official Portuguese attitude towards these communities changed once again. In fact, all ongoing campaigns for exploration and settlement were suspended, not only in the interior but also on the coast, and attention turned again to stimulating the slave trade as this was perceived as the only way to not only increase the profits of the colony but also to free Africans from their inherent savagery (Alexandre and Dias 1998: 84). If to this we add the violent insurrections of several African leaders that started in the south in the 1860s, we have all the ingredients to depict Africa and Angola in particular as a very dangerous place to invest in. This, of course, had damaging consequences on the number of white settlers in the regions that had attracted such a considerable quantity of them in the 1850s (Pélissier 1997a: 200).

Nonetheless, the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s brought about a renewed interest in Angola, not only because Portugal had achieved political and economic stability and the profits from the rubber trade in Angola were significant, but above all because other European colonial powers showed a growing interest in Africa in general and in the Portuguese possessions there in particular (Alexandre 2000: 17). In fact, the most important event in the 1880s in this respect was the Conference of Berlin in 1884, not only because it defined Angola's northern and south-eastern borders but above all because it triggered an extreme Portuguese nationalist feeling which led to the depiction of the African empire in general, and Angola in particular, as a symbol of Portuguese identity which had to be maintained and protected against all attacks¹⁷.

Hence, the last three decades of the 19th century were characterized by the proliferation of military campaigns and the establishment of new settlements, especially in the Huíla region. With the exception of the community of São Januário and Chibia, which were founded by Boer refugees from South Africa, the two most important settlements founded in Huíla were Sá da Bandeira and Lubango, both founded in 1885 by *degradados*

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of the impact of the Conference of Berlin and its aftermaths on Portuguese colonial policy in Angola in the late 19th and early 20th century see Jerónimo (2010).

from the overpopulated island of Madeira. As late as the mid-twentieth century, Sá da Bandeira and Lubango were to remain the only places in Angola where Europeans outnumbered Africans.

This period was also characterized by the organization of geo-military expeditions to regions in the interior where conflicts were likely to erupt when the Portuguese tried to establish a firmer hold there. The most important of those areas was the Lunda, which from the 18th century onwards had provided Luanda with the majority of the slaves shipped to Brazil and the Americas (Dias 1998: 335). It was also during the last three decades of the 19th century that the first investments were made in developing an embryonic net of internal communications, such the railways connecting Luanda with the interior in 1887 (Alexandre and Dias 1998: 114).

The 19th century also brought about significant sociolinguistic changes in Luanda as the white metropolitan population in the city doubled (Vansina 2001: 276). The influx of white settlers started right after Brazil's independence from Portugal, as Portuguese military were sent to Luanda to ensure that the faction of the Afro-Portuguese elite that supported the integration of Angola under Brazilian rule, i.e. to become a colony of Brazil, would not succeed (Alexandre and Dias 1998: 25-26). In the following years and throughout the 19th century the white population in Luanda increased as a consequence of the continuing arrival of settlers to the communities in the south, who often either stayed in Luanda or returned there when the aforementioned settlements failed to prosper. While most of these settlers were convicts and criminals, they also included skilled workers and the sons of the leading families in Luanda who had been sent to Brazil to study. Moreover, the growing presence of whites in Luanda brought about some investment in the creation of facilities for recreation (e.g. the theatre created in 1839) and education (e.g. the public school for boys opened in 1835 and another one for girls founded ten years later) as well as the development of an embryonic social life in which women, especially white women, started to have a role (Dias 1998: 508-512; Vansina 2001: 276).

According to Vansina (2001: 277) all these factors led "more men from the local elite to acquire a more thorough knowledge of Portuguese and to use the language more" and consequently "the Luso-African community eventually became completely bilingual". Vansina's hypothesis is corroborated by the American missionary Heli Chatelain, who states in the introduction to his compilation of Kimbundu folk-tales that he "was compelled to master Portuguese, which in Angola is indispensable for dealing with the educated classes, and is always of utility in the intercourse with the common natives" (Chatelain 1894 [2001]: v). The bilingualism of the Afro-Portuguese elite in Angola is also

attested by the publication of a bilingual weekly newspaper in Luanda in 1882 (Marques 1998: 161)¹⁸.

However, despite the increasing influence of metropolitan Portuguese, it is likely that the changes in the sociolinguistic setting were more significant in Luanda rather than in the interior of the district¹⁹. The following remarks by Heli Chatelain cast light on the relevance of Kimbundu as a *lingua franca* in the district of Luanda for people of all colors and classes:

... the political and commercial importance of the Loanda district, where Ki-mbundu is the vernacular, the number and partial civilization of the inhabitants, the vast extra-territorial use of the language - in the coast-belt, wherever there are to be found Portuguese traders, troops, or authorities, and eastwards as far as the Lualaba, wherever the ubiquitous Ambaquista (native of Mbaka) has penetrated - fully warranted the founding of a Kimbundu literature ... (Chatelain 1894 [2001]: vi).

The autodidactic and practical Ambaquistas of the interior have begun to perceive the superiority, for purposes of private correspondence, of their own tongue to the Portuguese, - to them what Latin is to the Lusitanian peasant; finally, indications are not wanting that the Portuguese authorities, civil and ecclesiastic, are becoming awake of the importance of a general language like the Ki-mbundu as a link between the official speech and the multitudinous Bantu dialects of their vast province of Angola. (*ibid.* viii)

O dialecto de Loanda é fallado no concelho d'este nome, isto é na capital e nos seus arredores immediatos, em toda a província pelas pessoas oriundas da metrópole, que acompanham ou precedem os brancos como criados, officiais, caixeiros, funcionarios publicos, traficantes ou aventureiros independentes. (Chatelain 1888-89: xiv)

In fact, even in Luanda and the surrounding areas, Portuguese was not able to supersede Kimbundu as the most widely spoken language. The two languages continued to co-exist in what appears to have been the beginning of a diglossic situation that has survived in Angola as a whole to the present. The members of the Afro-Portuguese elite or *filhos do país*, such as Manuel Francina and Alfredo Trony, who invested in the study and dissemination of the Kimbundu language, folklore and proverbs were a determining factor in this (Dias 1998: 518).

The contact between Kimbundu and Portuguese in the city and its vicinities is likely to have resulted in mutual interference. The references by Schuchardt (1888: 230)

¹⁸ The last decades of the 19th century witnessed the proliferation of several newspapers and magazines in Angola. For a list of the most important of these publication in the colony during this period cf. Dias (1998: 529-31).

¹⁹ Chatelain (1888-89: xii) described the limits of the district of Luanda, and hence that of the area where Kimbundu was spoken natively by the majority of the population, as follows:

A área em que se falla o kimbundu e aproximadamente igual á do actual Districto de Loanda, e comprehende portanto os concelhos de Loanda, Calumbo, Muxima, Massangano, Cambambe (Dondo), Pungo Andongo, Malange, Duque de Bragança, Ambaca, Cazengo, Golungo Alto, Zenza do Golungo, Alto Dande, Encoje, Ambriz, Barra do Dande, Barra do Bengo e Icolo e Bengo.

to the *mestiço* language of Luanda and by Valdman (1978: 22) to the *pequeno português* have been interpreted by linguists as evidence for the development of a pidginized or creolized variety of Portuguese in Angola from which the present vernacular may have sprung. However, Schuchardt's definition of *mestiço*, for example, is not consistent with this hypothesis (cf. discussion of this topic in chapter 2, section 2.1.2). If anything, *mestiço* is likely to refer to the variety of Kimbundu spoken in Luanda, which, according to Chatelain (1894 [2001]: v), is "needlessly mixed with Portuguese elements" and "offers poor material for the study of the genuine Ki-mbundu".

In fact, as an appendix to his *Folk-Tales of Angola* (1894 [2001]), Chatelain provides a list of 629 notes, about 90 of which refer to Portuguese loans in Kimbundu. It is interesting to notice that these loans are not only lexical (e.g. *palaia* < EP: praia 'beach', *kololo* < EP: corredor 'corridor') but also grammatical (e.g. *tandu* < EP: tanto 'so much', *poji* < EP: pois, *loko* < EP: logo). The aforementioned items refer to individual words, which have undergone significant phonetic changes. However, Chatelain (1894 [2001]) also provides examples of Portuguese expressions that are used in Kimbundu as single words, e.g. *maseka* (from EP *ama seca* 'nanny'), *azalma* (from EP *às armas* 'to the weapons'), *buajtadi* (from EP *boas tardes* 'good afternoon'), *andaxi* (from EP "ainda assim" 'even still') and *dikue* (from EP *do que* 'of which').

In the light of the limited existing data, which include not only lexical items but also conjunctions and adverbial particles, one can tentatively hypothesize that the significant linguistic traits that distinguished the variety of Kimbundu spoken in Luanda from those spoken in the interior (e.g. Kimbundu spoken in Ambaca) were the result of what Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-76) define as slight structural borrowing²⁰. The sociolinguistic setting in Angola at the time is consistent with this hypothesis. First, the borrowing process was initiated by the speakers of the borrowing population. Second, the native language of the borrowing speakers was maintained, despite their bilingualism in Portuguese. Third, while there was an increased contact with Portuguese, this was still reduced to specific contexts, as the majority of the population used mostly Kimbundu both in their daily life and in their correspondence.

It is likely that this structural borrowing continued well into the early 20th century. In fact, judging by the words of Tavares (1915: vii-viii) quoted in chapter 2 (i.e. section 2.1.4), it is likely that as the number of native speakers of Portuguese in Angola

²⁰ Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37) define *borrowing* as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is retained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features".

increased in the early 20th century, this structural borrowing actually intensified and was closer to level 4 or 5 of Thomason and Kaufman's five-level borrowing scale, i.e. moderate and heavy structural borrowing, respectively²¹. Similar examples of such structural borrowing can be found in the fifty tales in Cuanhama, Nhaneca and Humbe compiled in Estermann (1971). Examples include *masi* (from EP *mas* 'but'), *osaku* (from EP *saco* 'bag'), *para* (from EP *para* 'to'), *onombolo* (from EP *bolo* 'bread').

3.7. THE 20TH CENTURY AND THE EFFECTIVE COLONIZATION OF ANGOLA

3.7.1. THE PACIFICATION WARS, THE REPUBLIC AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE ESTADO NOVO (1900 – 1940)

While the Portuguese achieved an important expansion of their area of influence in Angola by means of military campaigns and the foundation of several agricultural settlements in the south, the effective settlement of most of the areas controlled by the Portuguese in the colony was not possible until the first three decades of the 20th century. The main reasons for the delay in the effective settlement of the territory before this date were the secondary role that Portugal played in the world economy and the fact that in the last three decades of the 19th century the Portuguese had to overcome the opposition of not only several African peoples but also that of the Afro-Portuguese elite, who opposed the growing discrimination against them in favor of the newly arrived metropolitan whites²² (Freudenthal 2001: 261-ff). Hence, in 1900 Portugal had direct rule over only 10% of the Angolan territory (*ibid.* 291).

The first obstacle Portugal had to overcome in Angola was the violent resistance of the important African states that, for centuries, had maintained commercial relations with the Portuguese but always refused to allow any interference in their internal political affairs, e.g. Lunda and the peoples of the central plateau (*ibid.* 272). Hence, from the 1890s to 1920 the main focus of the Portuguese in Angola was in the "pacification" of the territory, or in other words, in its military occupation. Hence, the pacification wars were the main characteristic of this period. The most important ones were those in Bié (1890-

²¹ Tavares (1915) refers to linguistic phenomena in Kimbundu that indicate significant restructuring, e.g the tendency to use abbreviated forms of agreement, the acquisition of whole new sets of grammatical words and the substitution of native words by the assimilated forms of their Portuguese equivalents. Thomason & Kaufman (1988:74-6) identify extensive word order changes and borrowed inflectional affixes added to native words as indicators of moderate structural borrowing (level 4), whereas changes in word structure rules and addition of concord rules indicate heavy structural borrowing (level 5).

²² For a detailed analysis of the Afro-Portuguese opposition in Angola during the last decades of the 19th century see Dias (1998: 519-542).

1904), Humbe (1891-1915), Ovambo (1904-1915), Seles and Amboim (1917-1918) and Congo and Dembos (1913-1919)²³.

The second major obstacle to Portuguese control of the territory was the ineffectiveness of its administration. Hence, the newly founded Portuguese Republic enforced a series of reforms that aimed to set the colony free from the excessively centralized administration that had prevailed previously²⁴. In 1911 the Ministry of the Colonies was created and in 1914 and 1917, the overseas territories were given administrative and economic autonomy by means of the *Leis Orgânicas* and the *Cartas Orgânicas*, respectively. In order to further enforce decentralization, Angola was submitted to the system of the *Altos-Comissariados* in 1920, and in 1921 Norton de Matos was appointed *Alto-Comissário* of Angola²⁵. However, this decentralization policy was reversed after 1926, with the start of the *Estado Novo* (Marques 2001: 25).

As far as the policy towards Africans was concerned, the first two decades of the 20th century continued the segregationist policy that had been started in the last three decades of the 19th century, establishing a clear distinction between the political and legal rights of the Portuguese as opposed to those of the *indígenas*. According to the *Carta Orgânica* of Angola (1917), in theory all the *indígenas* were granted the same civil and political rights as any white Portuguese citizen. The criteria laid down by the document were as follow:

... todos os indivíduos de cor, naturais da província de Angola e de maior idade, poderão entrar no pleno uso dos direitos civis e políticos inerentes aos cidadãos portugueses, quando satisfaçam às seguintes condições: 1.^o – saber ler e escrever a língua portuguesa; 2.^o – possuir os meios necessários à sua subsistência e à das suas famílias; 3.^o – ter bom comportamento, atestado pela autoridade administrativa da área em que reside; 4.^o – diferenciar-se pelos seus usos e costumes do usual da sua raça. (quoted in Marques 2001: 26)

In the first years of the *Estado Novo* the same policy was followed and established in the *Estatuto político, civil e criminal dos indígenas de Angola e Moçambique* (1926) and the *Código de trabalho dos indígenas das colónias portuguesas de África* (1928). Nonetheless, it is clear that color had become a more important issue than in 1917, as shown in the definition of *indígena* in *Estatuto* of 1926: "... indivíduos de raça negra ou

²³ For a detailed description of each of these wars see Pélissier (1997a, 1997b).

²⁴ This administrative centralization had not only had damaging economic consequences, but above all it had also been one the main reason for the growing tension between Portugal and the *filhos da terra* (i.e. Afro-Portuguese). Hence, administrative reform was needed to ensure a better economic development of the colony but also a more stable political context.

²⁵ Norton de Matos had already been governor of Angola from 1912 to 1915. For a description of his first mandate see Dáskalos (2008).

dela descendentes que, pela sua ilustração e costumes, se não distingam do comum daquela raça” (quoted in Marques 2001:26 – my emphasis). In the words of Freudenthal (2001: 306):

De facto, a legislação produzida entre 1926 e 1930 iria implantar os pilares da política colonial do Estado Novo em África, através de uma assimilação selectiva controlada, e eivada de preconceitos e de práticas racistas.

The ideology underlying the Portuguese policy towards the Africans in Angola in the two first decades of the 20th century and in the first years of the *Estado Novo* was a mixture of social Darwinism and condescending racism. The favourable outcome of the Conference of Berlin, which was against the interests of the more powerful European countries, and the Portuguese victory in the pacification wars had contributed to further exacerbate the radical nationalist feeling of the 1890s. This nationalism was grounded on the idea that Portugal had a colonial vocation and its people were superior to the savage African mobs, which of course was based on their assumption of a glorious past and on pride in the territorial extension of the empire. Hence, protecting and consolidating the empire was a matter of national identity (Paulo 2001: 86). It was also a matter of philanthropy as the Portuguese argued that it was their moral obligation to rescue the poor Africans from savagery by bringing them into contact with civilization²⁶.

The diffusion of this ideology by means of a colonial education in Portugal from the very beginning of the 20th century was an important means to overcome three major obstacles the Portuguese had to overcome in Angola, i.e. attracting white Portuguese settlers to the colony, rethinking the economic and administrative system in the colonies and improving the scientific knowledge of those territories (Paulo 2001: 31). Hence, from 1901, when the First Colonial Congress took place (1930), a powerful colonial propaganda machine was put to work:

Na verdade tratava-se da educação colonial da metrópole, visando a socialização da ideologia colonial, a formação especializada de pessoal técnico-administrativo e a constituição de núcleos de preparação de futuros investigadores em “ciências da colonização” (*ibid*).

However, until the 1930s the effects of this propaganda in attracting more white settlers to Angola were insignificant, despite the fact that, in comparison with the previous century, the number of such settlers increased substantially. According to Freudenthal’s

²⁶ For a detailed description of the ideology underlying the Portuguese policy towards the Africans in Angola in the early 20th century see Jerónimo (2010).

(2001: 309) analysis of the existing sources, the total population of the colony from 1897 to 1930 can be estimated as shown in table 7 below:

TABLE 7.
Population of the colony of Angola (1897-1930)
(Frendenthal 2001: 309)

Years	Blacks	Mestiços	Whites	Total
1897	99,3%	–	0,7%	848 963
1898	98,3%	–	1,7%	672 082
1899	98,8%	–	1,2%	966 501
1900	99,7%	0,06%	0,2%	4 789 946
1913	99,5%	0,13%	0,3%	4 520 100
1920	99,3%	0,14%	0,5%	4 278 200
1922	98,9%	0,23%	0,8%	3 461 100
1924	98,6%	0,28%	0,3%	3 445 902
1925	2 438 411	–	–	–
1927	98,2%	0,4%	1,4%	2 989 308
1928	2 438 671	–	–	–
1929	2 533 229	–	–	–
1930	98,3%	0,5%	1,2%	2 547 294

While no demographic data before the census in 1940 are completely reliable or accurate, especially concerning the numbers of Africans, the data provide valuable information concerning Angolan demographics in the forty-year period surveyed, i.e. the ratio was, in the first three decades of the 20th century, unfavourable to *mestiços*. Black Africans continued to constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

Due to the increased numbers of white metropolitan settlers in Angola and the growing association between individuals' knowledge of Portuguese and their degree of "civilization", it is likely that the Afro-Portuguese had to improve their mastery of the language, but in the early 1920s Kimbundu was still the most widely used language in Luanda and the surrounding interior areas:

... a utilização da língua portuguesa pela minoria social de ascendência luso-africana não impediu que essa elite angolense praticasse o bilinguismo nas suas relações sociais. Porém, em ambiente familiar africano, falar português não era prática generalizada nem sequer em Luanda, apesar de, um século atrás, Sousa Coutinho ter proibido aos *moradores*, criarem seus filhos na "língua ambunda" como era corrente no século XVII (Frendenthal 2001: 415-416).

The maintenance of Kimbundu as the mother tongue of the Afro-Portuguese elite at a time when there was a significant increase in number of white settlers in Angola seems to support the tentative hypothesis formulated above that structural borrowing in Kimbundu is likely to have intensified in the early 20th century.

However, while an increased number of white settlers in Angola was common to the colony as a whole, the demographic data presented in Table 7 obscures the fact that this increase had specific demographic dynamics in particular regions. Hence, considering that the influx of white settlers was mostly felt in the cities, Table 8 presents Amaral's (1962) estimate concerning the demographic population ratios in the main Portuguese urban centers in Angola in 1930.

TABLE 8
The population in the cities of Angola according to race in 1930
(adapted from Amaral 1962)

CITIES	WHITES	MESTIÇOS	BLACKS	OTHER	TOTAL
Luanda	12%	11%	77%	0,04%	50 588
Malanje	13,7%	11,5%	74%	0,32%	4 340
Benguela	8,8%	8,4%	82,7%	0,03%	12 674
Lobito	10%	4,2%	85,8%	–	11 970
Nova Lisboa	17%	8%	74,4%	–	14 064
Silva Porto	10,2%	8,3%	82%	–	4 218
Sá da Bandeira	39,3%	6%	54,9%	–	7 692
Moçâmedes	42,7%	8,8%	48,5%	–	4 558
TOTAL	15,2%	9,1%	75,7%	–	110 104

While the data on Table 8 are only estimates, they indicate two clear demographic patterns. First, whereas in the coastal cities of Luanda, Benguela, Lobito and Nova Lisboa and in the interior cities of Malanje and Silva Porto the ratio of whites to mestiços is balanced, in the southern cities of Sá da Bandeira and Moçâmedes the former clearly outnumber the latter. Second, Sá da Bandeira and Moçâmedes were also the only cities where the ratio of whites to blacks was relatively balanced.

The main reason for the reduced number of mestiços in Moçâmedes and Sá da Bandeira derives from the different types of exploration and settlement that were enforced in that region. In fact, whereas Luanda, Benguela, Lobito, Nova Lisboa, Malanje and Silva Porto were always dominated by trade, Sá da Bandeira and Moçâmedes were the scene of the first serious efforts to settle a significant number of whites. Consequently, the type of settlement that prevailed in the north was that of the trading post and the *presídio*, whereas in the south it was that of agricultural settlements (Amaral 1962: 31-32). Moreover, the fact that the settlers arriving in the south came in relatively large numbers, usually arriving at the same time and from the same geographical areas (i.e. Pernambuco, Algarve and Madeira) contributed to the development of a stronger sense of community, which decreased the likelihood of miscegenation (*ibid.* 34).

In the light of this setting it is likely that the more balanced proportions of whites vs. Africans (both mixed-race and blacks) in Moçâmedes and Sá da Bandeira also corresponded to a more balanced ratio of native versus non-native speakers of Portuguese, both in the cities themselves and in the surrounding agricultural and penal settlements. However, at least at the start of the 20th century, this is not likely to have resulted in a more generalized use of Portuguese among the African populations. The main reason for this was the fact that, as a consequence of the type of settlement, racial segregation was much more deeply rooted in Moçâmedes and Sá da Bandeira than in any other place in Angola. If to this we add the fact that, unlike Luanda and the cities in the north, the black population in Moçâmedes and Sá da Bandeira was linguistically very heterogeneous, one comes up with a sociolinguistic setting in which a very clear-cut division is established between the area of influence of Portuguese and that of the Bantu languages.

In short, despite a significant increase in the number of white Portuguese settlers in Angola, which had different dynamics in the north and south of the country, one can state that the early 20th century in the colony was characterized by the more widespread use of the Bantu languages as opposed to Portuguese.

3.7.2. FROM THE 1950S TO 1975

The sociolinguistic setting described in the previous section was to remain unaltered until the 1950's, when the arrival of a growing number of white Portuguese settlers significantly altered the demographics of the colony. The racial composition of the population in Angola is given in Table 9 below:

TABLE 9
Racial composition of the Angolan population (1940-1970)
(Bender 2004: 71)

	1940	1950	1960	1970
Africans	98,1%	97,4%	95,3%	–
Whites	1,2%	1,9%	3,6%	5,1%
Mestiços	0,75%	0,72%	1,1%	–

The data above confirms the demographic trends that were already noticeable in the early 20th century in that it shows that Africans never constituted less than 95% of the population and that the proportion of *mestiços* in the Angolan society remained stable in

comparison to the tremendous influx of white settlers. However, despite the fact that the white population of Angola nearly doubled every ten years, in the overall picture of the colony it never represented more than 5,1% of the total population.

The increase in the arrival of Portuguese settlers in the 1940s and 1950s was mostly due to the enforcement of the old policy of establishing big agricultural settlements in the interior, i.e. *povoamento planeado*. In the 1940s this policy had not produced any significant results, essentially due to the fact that most settlers preferred to work in commerce in the cities than in agriculture in the interior. In the 1950s the *povoamento planeado* produced better results, especially because, for the first time, the metropolitan government appeared to have the financial means to support these agricultural settlements (Bender 2004: 185). The most significant of these in the 1950s were Cela (in the central plateau) and Matala (along the River Cunene). The social setting in these rural colonies is not likely to have favoured much contact between the Portuguese and the Africans as the latter were not only removed from their lands but also forbidden from living in these settlements (*ibid.* 188).

However, in the 1960s, with the beginning of the first pro-independence conflicts in Angola, the metropolitan government was forced to enforce a policy of settlement that included more black settlers. The first step for this new policy was the abolition of the *Estatuto do Indígena* in 1961 and the sending of some Cape Verdean free workers to the new multiracial agricultural settlements in the interior (Bender 2004: 192). However, this was insufficient to secure the success of these settlements, as most settlers, both European and Cape Verdean, while continuing in Angola, left the rural areas for the urban centers on the coast. Hence, it is only natural that, as shown in Tables 10 to 12²⁷, the racial composition of the population in the main cities also underwent significant changes:

²⁷ The data referring to the years 1940 and 1950 are based on the censuses that were carried out in those years. The data referring to 1955 are an estimate.

TABLE 10:
Urban population in Angola (1940)
(adapted from Amaral 1962)

CITIES	1940				
	WHITES	MESTIÇOS	BLACKS	OTHER	TOTAL
Luanda	14,7%	10,1%	75,2%	0,04%	61 028
Malanje	16,3%	15,5%	67,8%	0,3%	5 299
Benguela	9,6%	7,3%	83%	0,03%	15 243
Lobito	11,9%	4%	84%	0,007%	13 592
Nova Lisboa	19,7%	8,9%	71,4%	0,006%	16 288
Silva Porto	14,2%	8,3%	77,5%	–	4 671
Sá da Bandeira	39,4%	5,5%	55%	–	8 521
Moçâmedes	44%	8,8%	47,2%	–	4 926
TOTAL	17,2%	8,8%	74%	–	129 568

TABLE 11
The population in the cities of Angola (1950)
(adapted from Amaral 1962)

CITIES	1950				
	WHITES	MESTIÇOS	BLACKS	OTHER	TOTAL
Luanda	14,6%	6,9%	78,4%	0,04%	141 647
Malanje	16,8%	7,3%	75,9%	–	9 473
Benguela	22,8%	5,7%	71,5%	–	14 690
Lobito	17%	0,2%	81%	–	23 897
Nova Lisboa	16,8%	4,2%	79%	0,03%	28 296
Silva Porto	14%	4,2%	82%	0,01%	8 840
Sá da Bandeira	53,2%	4,7%	42,1%	–	11 654
Moçâmedes	41,3%	4,4%	54,3%	–	8 576
TOTAL	18,4	5,6%	75,8%	-	247 073

TABLE 12
The population in the cities of Angola (1955)
(adapted from Amaral 1962)

CITIES	1955				
	WHITES	MESTIÇOS	BLACKS	OTHER	TOTAL
Luanda	18%	6%	75,8%	0,05%	189 590
Malanje	16,6%	5,3%	78,2%	–	12 815
Benguela	31,7%	5%	63,3%	–	15 399
Lobito	20,2%	1,3%	78,5%	–	31 630
Nova Lisboa	15,4%	3%	81,6%	0,03%	37 381
Silva Porto	13,7%	3%	83,4%	0,008%	12 146
Sá da Bandeira	59,6%	4,2%	36,3%	–	13 867
Moçâmedes	60,2%	4,9%	35%	–	7 185
TOTAL	21,1%	5%	73,9%	–	320013

If one compares the total number of whites in the cities in 1940 (i.e. 22,289), 1950 (i.e. 45,453) and 1955 (i.e. 67,642) with the total numbers of whites in the colony as a whole in those years, respectively, 44,083; 78,826 and 109,568 (Amaral 1962), it is clear that the majority of the Portuguese preferred to settle in the urban centers, especially those along the coast (cf. the reduced number of white settlers in Malanje and Silva Porto in comparison to the other cities). Here, they occupied the positions previously held by the Afro-Portuguese elite in the public sector as well as in the economy and politics, and they enforced a climate of discrimination and repression against black and Afro-Portuguese Angolans that made the ability to speak Portuguese *a sine qua non* for any possibility of social advancement or even escape from the system of forced labor. The *Estatuto do Indígena* had been revoked but assimilation was still a key factor in Portugal's colonial policy in Africa.

The majority of Portuguese settlers were still mostly undereducated and poor; hence, most of them actually joined the large masses of Africans in the poor neighborhoods of Luanda (i.e. *musseques*) and other coastal cities, where they took the unskilled jobs available. Their low social status, however, did not correspond to a more humane attitude towards the Africans. The Colonial propaganda during the early 1900s and throughout the *Estado Novo* was far too deeply rooted in racism to allow it.

In fact, the sociolinguistic setting in the cities was more complex than in previous centuries. In fact, after 1961 the large numbers of rural Africans who did not cross the border into Zaire to escape the conflict flocked to Angolan cities along the coast in search of better living conditions. This led to the concentration of large numbers of Africans from different linguistic backgrounds in the *musseques*. Due to their contact with whites, they acquired some degree of proficiency in Portuguese, but they still made up the majority of the population. In fact, according to Mendes (1966: 274) European workers in the urban centers in Angola constituted 33,5% of the population, whereas African workers constituted 66,5% (according to Kasack 1996: 72 the Portuguese constituted only 73,77% of the total population of the *musseques*). Hence, Africans were able to continue using their mother tongues. In the light of this sociolinguistic setting, primary dialect leveling is likely to have occurred as a consequence of different regional and social varieties of both Kimbundu and Portuguese coming into contact in the *musseques*.

In the interior, the population remained almost immune to Portuguese influence until the 1970s. However, in response to the growing influence of the nationalist movements in Angola, the Portuguese government invested heavily in increasing its presence in the interior and throughout the early 1970s the Portuguese military grouped

much of the population in the interior, especially in the east, in the *aldeamentos*, i.e. “vast villages often surrounded by barbed wire, where previously dispersed Africans populations were kept together” (Bender 2004: 264-265). One of the consequences of this policy was the mass exodus of Africans to neighboring countries, especially Zaire, which in turn led to the need to import labor from other provinces. Hence, in the *aldeamentos*, as in the urban centers, the sociolinguistic setting included the presence of large numbers of Africans from different linguistic backgrounds.

However, Portuguese is not likely to have been chosen as a lingua franca in these settings. Although they eventually led to the acquisition of some degree of proficiency in Portuguese, this does not seem to have been significant, since as late as the eve of Angola’s independence from Portugal in 1975 the majority of the population in the interior was still not proficient in Portuguese and only a minority actually used it frequently. This is shown in Tables 13 and 14 below:

TABLE 13
Level of proficiency in Portuguese (rural areas in Angola)
(Heimer 1974: 75, cited in Bender 2004: 2353)

Perfect	0,1%
Relatively reasonable	0,4%
Reasonable.....	16%
Rudimentary	24%
No proficiency	59%

TABLE 14
Frequency of use of Portuguese (rural areas in Angola)
(*ibid.*)

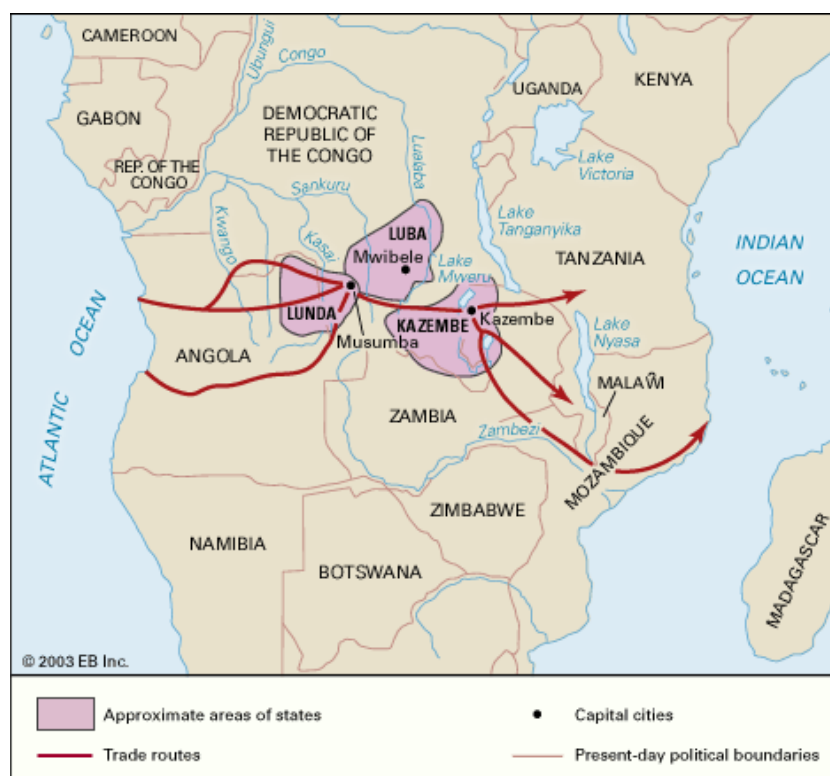
Habitual	0,1%
Some frequency	0,8%
Very rarely	31%
Never	59%

3.8. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING IN LUNDA NORTE: 19TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

It has been repeatedly shown in this chapter that it was not until the 20th century that Portugal was able to extend its influence and administration to the whole of Angola. The area that today constitutes Lunda Norte is a case in point in that it was one of the last of Angola’s territories to be settled by the Portuguese.

The Lunda empire or commonwealth (Vansina 1998), the powerful confederation of Bantu-speaking states that, as shown in Map 8 below, comprised the area that is Lunda Norte today, was known to the Portuguese since at least the 18th century.

MAP 8
Luba-Lunda states
(Enciclopædia Britannica, Inc.)



In fact, the empire of the Mwata Yamvo (i.e. the title given to the rulers of the Luba-Lunda empire) was the source of a considerable amount of the slaves that the Portuguese bought from the Kimbundu-speaking Mbangala traders in Malanje and then shipped to Brazil. During the 19th century, following growing international opposition to the transatlantic slave trade, the Portuguese had to look for alternative sources of profit, which they found in trading wax, ivory and rubber. The Lunda commonwealth soon became one of the most important suppliers of these goods, but until 1860-1861 direct access to it was blocked by the Mbangala, who were not willing to give up their century-old monopoly of trade with the land of the Mwata Yamvo (Heintze 2004: 185)²⁸. After several military actions against them in 1850-51, 1852 and 1860-61, the Portuguese were finally able to gain direct access to the Lunda region. In fact, from the mid-19th century

²⁸ According to von Oppen (1993: 56) Mbangala caravans had been trading with the Lunda empire since the 1650s.

onwards several Afro-Portuguese traded in slaves, wax and ivory with the Mwata Yamvo on behalf of the Portuguese and at least two diplomatic missions were sent to Luanda by the Lunda ruler. In fact, from 1862 to 1887 an Afro-Portuguese colony existed near Mussumba, the capital of the Lunda empire. Heintze (2004: 34) notes that many of the members of this colony spoke Portuguese and some could also read and write it, but she also gives evidence that their proficiency in the language varied greatly:

(...) tinha tido uma educação europeia, sabia ler e escrever e estivera sempre ao serviço de europeus. [...] António Bezerra vivera também bastante tempo entre os Mbangala, os Songo, os Chokwe, os Lunda e os Luba e conhecia por isso as línguas desses povos, embora, segundo consta, as misturasse com frequência e a sua tradução dessas línguas para português fosse muito insatisfatória." (Heintze 2004: 98)

Joanes era cristão, trajava à moda europeia, dominava a língua portuguesa, revelando, aliás, um grande talento no que respeita à aprendizagem de línguas, sabia ler e escrever e granjeou grande popularidade em todo o lado devido à facilidade com que estabelecia contactos com as populações. No tempo de Wissmann, Joanes vivia perto de Malanje, numa localidade denominada Mieketa" (*ibid.* 106-7)

Roberto nasceu em Benguela, mas vivia já há muitos anos como carregador de maxila em Luanda. Tinha uma presença humilde ou mesmo submissa e era muito solícito, mas continuava a ter dificuldade em falar e escrever o português". (*ibid.* 141)

Paulo falava um português muito simples e rudimentar em termos gramaticais, pelo que nem sempre era fácil perceber o sentido exacto daquilo que ele pretendia exprimir. Contudo, os seus conhecimentos linguísticos foram suficientes para desempenhar a função de intermediário dos portugueses e é fundamentalmente aos seus esforços de persuasão que se deve a assinatura de um contrato oficial de protecção e submissão entre Muteba, o Caungula do Lóvua, e Henrique Dias de Carvalho (pelo rei de Portugal) a 31 de Outubro de 1885" (*ibid.* 151)

Heintze's description of the linguistic skills of the Afro-Portuguese who lived in the Lunda are particularly interesting when compared to the descriptions provided by other authors concerning the Portuguese spoken by Afro-Portuguese traders in interior Angola (e.g. Valkhoff 1966). In fact, Heintze's quotes above suggest that what others have termed pidginized or creolized varieties of Portuguese in Angola, hence suggesting the existence of relatively stable restructured varieties of Portuguese there, were most likely interlanguage varieties of Portuguese which differed according to the degree of proficiency of the speakers. In other words, these quotes suggest that the Portuguese used by these Afro-Portuguese traders in interior Angola was no more a Portuguese-based pidgin or creole than the simplified varieties of English used by native speakers of Portuguese with little proficiency in English to communicate with members of the British

community in Portugal are English-based pidgins or creoles. For both the Afro-Portuguese traders in Angola and the native speaker of Portuguese in Portugal, Portuguese and English, respectively, are foreign languages which they only use to communicate with people who have these languages as their primary languages. However, in their daily lives they use their mother tongue (i.e. a Bantu language in the case of the Afro-Portuguese trader and Portuguese in the case of the Portuguese). Surely, if it were possible to compare the speech of two Afro-Portuguese traders with similar levels of proficiency in Portuguese, one would most likely find recurrent linguistic traits, the same way one finds similar linguistic tendencies in the speech of two native speakers of Portuguese with similar levels of proficiency in English. However, these similarities are more the product of the extent of contact with their respective target languages and the number of contexts in which they used them than the product of pidginization or creolization. In short, Heintze's quotes above seem to support the claim made earlier in this study that the hypothesis of a stable, widespread Portuguese-based pidgin or creole ever having developed in Angola is unlikely.

In fact, the low proficiency in Portuguese depicted by such prominent members of the Afro-Portuguese colony in the Lunda suggests that the language was mostly useful in diplomatic contacts between the Portuguese and the Lunda nobility only. In daily-life communication with the population, Kimbundu, Luba and other related Bantu-languages, or even mixed varieties of the Bantu languages, were the most widely used languages in the region during this period (Heintze 2004: 75). In fact, as already noted, it was the fact that the Afro-Portuguese could speak these languages fluently that made them so valuable for Portuguese interests in the Lunda in particular and in interior Angola in general.

In 1884, an official Portuguese expedition, led by Major Henrique Dias de Carvalho, was sent to the court of the Mwata Yamvo at Mussumba. According to publications of the time (i.e. Jesus 1896 - June: 244), the three main goals of the expedition were those of establishing official contact with the Mwata Yamvo, exploring the little known territories east of Malanje and founding a religious and commercial mission. However, the true motivation behind Carvalho's expedition to the Lunda, which was sponsored by the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, was collecting geographic and ethnographic data on the Lunda that might strengthen Portugal's case for including the region within the borders of colonial Angola. In fact, from the 1870s onwards, the region had attracted the interest of several European powers, who argued that the Cuango river should be the limit of the Portuguese colony of Angola; they had sent travelers to the region to explore its geography and peoples as well as to investigate the true extent of Portuguese rule there. This explains

why on his way to Mussumba, Carvalho signed protection treaties with several Lunda chiefs (Pélissier 1997a: 354).

On arriving in Mussumba, Carvalho found an empire on the verge of collapse due to successive invasions by the Cokwe, a Bantu people who had started migrating north from southern Angola in the 1840s (von Oppen 1993: 63-ff) in search of new sources of bee wax and ivory, which they sold in large quantities to the *sertanejos* in Bié and the Mbangala in Kassanje. At first, the Cokwe maintained good relations with the indigenous peoples of the areas they migrated to. According to von Oppen (1993: 68-69):

They achieved these good relations partly because they settled in the remotest places and did not compete with the residents for scarce resources. They recognized local power structures and paid for example every second tusk they hunted to the Mwata Yamvo, who began to depend on them for his ivory exports. It is probable that much of the 'great amount of ivory' exported from Nuclear Lunda in the 1850s was actually produced by Cokwe hunters, since Nuclear Lunda were generally described as being poor hunters and traders. Cokwe immigrants also brought labour which they were willing to hire out locally to the residents, and they knew subsidiary skills, such as divining, ironwork and carving.

However, in the 1880s, as the demand for both slaves and "legitimate goods" such as rubber increased and the Lunda rulers became increasingly dependent on "armed bands of Chokwe as mercenaries for internal power struggles" (*ibid.* 85) the relations between the two peoples deteriorated:

Na outrora tão poderosa 'Commonwealth' lunda, que não possuía reservas de borracha e cuja influência se devia principalmente ao seu papel de fornecedora de escravos, os Chokwe em expansão imiscuíam-se com um prontidão crescente nas querelas entre os dirigentes em disputa por cargos e influência, contribuindo, com os seus assaltos para captura de escravos e com a sua disponibilização de mercenários para confrontos internos, significativamente para a desestabilização e a decadência do estado. O culminar deste processo, cuja complexidade não é possível reproduzir aqui, consistiu finalmente na conquista e devastação da capital lunda pelos Chokwe" (Heintze 2004: 73-74)

Therefore, in an attempt to obtain Portuguese military support against the Cokwe, the Mwata Yamvo agreed to submit his territory to Portuguese protection (Pélissier 1997a: 355). In 1891, in a conference held in Lisbon, Portugal and Belgium reached an agreement as to the partition of the Lunda territory. Portugal lost Mussumba but got to keep the area between the Rivers Kuango and Kasai. Therefore, the Lunda district was officially created by the Portuguese in 1895:

... englobava todas as terras compreendidas entre o Cuango, o curso inferior do Cassai e a fronteira com o Estado independente [*i.e. the Congo Free State*], ou seja: tudo o que os portugueses tinham salvo das garras de Leopoldo II. A sede era fixada, teoricamente, em Capenda Camulemba [*i.e. 500 Km from Dundo*] e, praticamente, em Malanje. Estavam previstos para lá 240 soldados de primeira linhas, duas companhias móveis e uma bateria. O primeiro governador foi Dias de Carvalho. (Pélissier 1997a: 359 - my emphasis)

However, until 1913, the Lunda district was the stage of several military confrontation between the Portuguese and the Cokwe over the control of the territory and no real settlement policy was enforced there. Some stations were created by Henrique Dias de Carvalho in 1896 when he returned to the region as the first governor of the newly-founded Lunda district²⁹. However, despite the establishment of these stations, Portuguese had virtually no effective rule over the territory. In fact, it is probably not a coincidence that the creation of the Lunda district coincides with the return to their homelands of the Afro-Portuguese who had settled around the Lunda capital in the 1860s:

Devido aos distúrbios políticos na ‘commonwealth’ lunda, já pouco restava naquela época do esplendor de outrora. Os colonos empobrecidos, que só com muito esforço conseguiam manter a sua neutralidade em relação aos conflitos entre os diversos grupos lunda ou entre os Lunda e os Chokwe e que se sentiam ameaçados pelas bexigas que há anos assolavam a região e pelos invasores chokwe, já só esperavam uma oportunidade para abandonar a sua pátria recente e regressar a Angola. Essa oportunidade surgiu com a expedição de Carvalho, pelo que, em Julho de 1887, Rocha, com a sua família e uma série de outros ambaquistas, deixou Luambata para sempre.

Moreover, the troops stationed at the few military posts established in the district were overwhelmingly African (Pélissier 1997a: 362). Therefore, it is likely that the most widely spoken languages in the region during this period continued to be Lunda, Luba, Cokwe and Kimbundu.

The last two decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th witnessed several military confrontation between the Cokwe and the Lunda, on the one hand, and between the Cokwe and the Mbangalas and the Portuguese on the other, especially in the area that is today occupied by Lunda Sul. However, as noted by Pélissier (1997a: 351):

Apesar da multiplicidade das campanhas (umas vinte) ... a resistência dos Ambundos e dos Lundas-Quiocos seria pouco convincente. Cada uma das tribos dessa região subpovoada foi derrotada sem necessidade de operações muito importantes. [...] uma etnia belicosa como a dos Quiocos, em plena febre conquistadora, seria aliada objectiva dos Portugueses. Ao desfazer o poderio do mwata Yanvo, destruiu o império Lunda e, com ele, um centro potencial de resistência.

²⁹ According to Jesus (1896 - June: 247) these were *Ferreira do Amaral* (military post), *Ferreira de Almeida* (village), *Costa e Silva* (military post), *Álvaro Ferreira* (military station) and *Paiva de Andrada* (military post).

In fact, as the slave trade became impossible and the ivory and rubber trade dwindled, the Portuguese had very few reasons to invest heavily in the effective settlement of such a remote and sparsely populated region (Pélissier 1997a: 352). However, this situation changed in 1912, when diamonds were found in Chiumbe (the current province of Lunda Sul). In the following years several prospecting expeditions were organized along the frontier with the Belgian Congo (Pélissier 1997a: 380-ss) and in 1917, the *Companhia de Pesquisas Mineiras de Angola* (PEMA), founded in 1912, created DIAMANG (*Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola*) to whom it transferred its diamond prospecting and mining rights. As noted by Pélissier (1997a: 387), DIAMANG revolutionized the power relations between Europeans and Africans in Lunda:

Enquanto que, antes de 1913, a Lunda era uma região afastada e sem maior importância política que no Moxico, que Portugal ia ocupando lentamente à sua maneira, a Diamang, a partir de 1917, exigia trabalhadores, muitos trabalhadores, para que as jazidas fossem rendosas. Onde encontrá-los senão nos sobados locais? O recrutamento de contratados iria, pois, introduzir na sociedade tradicional novas e brutais tensões que, por vezes, entre os Quiocos, deram origem a explosões. (*ibid.* 387)

The first headquarters of DIAMANG were in Chitato but in 1920 they were moved to Dundo, where they stayed until Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975 and the creation of ENDIAMA in 1981. As Pélissier (1997a) puts it: "Do nada de 1917, a DIAMANG ia, em poucos anos, transformar-se no maior empregador de Angola" (*ibid.* 389). A giant step towards this was the division of the Lunda district into two parts in 1917 (i.e. the Lunda district, whose capital was Saurimo, was separated from the district of Malanje) and the agreement that DIAMANG signed with the Portuguese government in 1921:

O contrato estabelecido com o governo da colônia de Angola era excepcional. A companhia detinha a exclusividade da prospecção de diamantes em todo o território. Além disso, estava isenta do pagamento de impostos relativos a bens alimentícios e têxteis, máquinas e outros equipamentos industriais relativos à prospecção mineradora. Outro privilégio da Diamang referia-se à exclusividade de toda e qualquer atividade comercial na área da sua concessão. O contrato também obrigava o Estado a ajudar no recrutamento de mão-de-obra indígena necessária ao funcionamento da companhia. Por seu lado, a companhia deveria prestar assistência médica, instruir e elevar o moral dos nativos. O Estado receberia, em troca da concessão, 40% dos lucros da empresa, índice que posteriormente foi elevado para 50%. (Varanda 2004: 262)

However, before DIAMANG could take full advantage of this agreement, the last rebellious Cokwe chiefs within the company's concession area had to be militarily subdued. According to Pélissier (1997a: 395) this was easily achieved by the Portuguese military in 1926/28. According to the same source, from this date onwards all organized

resistance against the Portuguese (and DIAMANG's) presence in the Lunda district was definitively defeated:

A história da Diamang não entra na história da resistência da Lunda, pois esta cessou praticamente assim que se consolidou aquela gigantesca organização, que, pelo sistema de vigilância inerente à sua actividade, pelo enorme poderio económico, tanto no plano internacional como no plano interno, pelas suas necessidades de mão-de-obra (6000 homens por ano na década de 1930), pelo seu paternalismo eficiente e asséptico, iria ser o motor da Lunda e encarnar em muitos aspectos, até aos nossos dias, o mundo branco e mesmo o Estado, que durante muito tempo se manteria secundário na concessão, de tal maneira o pesa da Diamang influenciava as suas decisões. (Pélissier 1997a: 396)

The establishment of DIAMANG led large amounts of Cokwe people to cross the border to the Congo and Zambia and consequently to the need to recruit workers from the neighboring Kimbundu-speaking district of Malanje. Nonetheless, many Cokwe remained in the concession area of DIAMANG, so that, as noted by Pélissier (1997a: 389), it was among the Cokwe that the company would recruit most of its workers. This was true during the entire period of DIAMANG's activity in Lunda. In fact, as shown by Mendes (1966: 60), in the 1960s, Lunda was among the regions of Angola that most heavily depended on local workers for the success of its economy (i.e. 25,000 workers), even if significant short duration migratory movements from Malanje, the Congo and Zambia are recorded (cf. Martins 1963; Rela 1970: 55). Therefore, it is not likely that significant changes occurred in the district's sociolinguistic setting, i.e. the predominant languages in the region continued to be Cokwe, Kimbundu, Lunda and Luba.

White workers were also sent to Lunda to perform more specialized tasks, but their numbers were very low compared to the large mass of unskilled Bantu-speaking workers:

Em 1920 existiam vinte empregados brancos e 2.300 trabalhadores indígenas. A década de 1930 viu este número subir para 150 empregados brancos e dez mil trabalhadores nativos. No final do decênio seguinte havia 240 empregados e 15 mil trabalhadores indígenas, enquanto no final dos anos 1960 poder-se-iam encontrar mais de seiscentos empregados brancos e cerca de 25 mil empregados indígenas.(Varanda 2004: 263)

Moreover, many of the highly skilled white workers, including those hired to manage African workers, were not Portuguese, so it is unlikely that their arrival in Lunda during the entire period of DIAMANG's activity there brought along any significant increase in the number of Portuguese speakers in the region. This is so not only because there is evidence that in the early days of DIAMANG English was the *lingua franca* (Martins

1963: 19), but also because, in fact, well into the 1960s, the white population of the district in general was very small:

... exceptuando a cidade do Luso e os estabelecimentos da Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola instalados nos postos administrativos do Candulo e do Luachimo, e uma ou outra vila ou povoação mais importante (Teixeira de Sousa, p.e.), o povoamento branco resume-se a alguns e muito dispersos estabelecimentos, em que a existência é devido à malha administrativa. (Rela 1970: 32-33)

Therefore, the penetration of the Portuguese language in the overwhelmingly Bantu-speaking environment of the Lunda was achieved not by the influx of white Portuguese-speaking workers itself but by subsidiary activities of DIAMANG in the region, namely those of its health department:

As ambulâncias ... percorriam cada setor sanitário-administrativo ... mapeando os indivíduos e visitando todas as aldeias existentes. Diversas ações profiláticas e curativas eram levadas a efeito, assim como o recenseamento das populações, persuasão dos doentes a submeterem-se a tratamento (que, no caso da doença do sono, chegava a durar nove meses) e reorientação dos casos mais graves e de grávidas para os prédios sanitários centrais. As campanhas móveis provaram ser um importante instrumento na criação de um conhecimento minucioso da área e de suas populações. [...] As campanhas ... promoviam o contato de membros da companhia com os indígenas que habitavam zonas distantes. [...] Graças a essas campanhas de profilaxia a Diamang conseguiu penetrar em áreas da vida dos indígenas — casas, hábitos, corpos — que de outro modo — administrativa ou militarmente — não conseguiria. Os habitantes da região passaram a estar sob a protecção e influência da companhia, outorgando-lhe uma maior possibilidade de incorporação na força de trabalho. (Varanda 2004: 264)

The success of DIAMANG's health department actions was reinforced by other initiatives, namely:

... políticas de repovoamento e fixação de populações na sua região. Tais iniciativas eram conduzidas por meio de diversos incentivos como disponibilização de terra e sementes, 'ofertas' de contratos de trabalho que incluíam ordenado, habitação e comida, bem como serviços de saúde que atendiam o trabalhador e sua família. (Varanda 2004: 263)

Another support service provided by DIAMANG to the African population in general and their workers in particular was schooling. According to Mendes (1966) the effects of schooling were as follows:

A escolarização, que constantemente vai aumentando e atingindo mais as populações fixadas em regiões longínquas, leva à infância e adolescência novos conhecimentos e conceitos, a ideia de um mundo extraordinário para além do seu próprio e pequeno horizonte final e, o que é mais importante, aspirações que não se coadunam com os seus hábitos e vida tradicionais. (*ibid.* 162)

Other support services provided by DIAMANG to their workers included meeting centers, sports (especially soccer), folklore shows and movie projections.

The labor force on DIAMANG's pay role included not only mine workers but also farmers and construction workers (Mendes 1966: 60). In fact, one of the most important consequences of the implantation of DIAMANG in Lunda was the proletarianization of a significant portion of the district's population (Hodges 2004: 197). Surely, this proletarianization and the support services provided by the company must have brought more and more Cokwe-speaking people into contact with the Portuguese language and created more contexts in which they were required to learn it (even if imperfectly) and to use it. However, several factors seem to have contributed to preventing widespread diffusion of the language among the majority of the population. The most important factor was probably the way in which the typical work journey of DIAMANG's workers was organized. In fact, instead of opting for a system in which workers were required to work the whole day, DIAMANG chose to adopt a task system. In other words, workers were given a task (e.g. extracting a given amount of diamonds per day) and once they had finished it they were free from work. Considering that the work day in interior communities in Africa in general and Angola in particular starts at sunrise, this means that with an average of four or five daily work hours the workers had earned their salary and were free to carry on with their usual daily activities outside the workplace (Mendes 1966: 123).

Another important factor that contributed to slow down the penetration of the Portuguese language among the African population in Lunda was the fact that women were typically not hired as paid workers, not only because they were perceived as physically less able than men but also because their social function continued to be that of providing food for their family. The role played by this factor in slowing down the diffusion of the Portuguese language (and culture) is acknowledged by Mendes (1966):

*E é pena que as empresas, por motivos de ordem económica, não revelem maior interesse pelo trabalho feminino, porque a sua presença nos locais de trabalho, além de constituir forte motivo da estabilização da mão-de-obra masculina, *daria azo a uma larga difusão dos conceitos e técnicas ocidentais precisamente através do mais importante vector cultural africano, que é a mulher.* (ibid. 250 – my emphasis).*

Finally, the fact that, unlike in most of Angola (with the exception of the South), the Portuguese that settled in Dundo brought their families with them to live in their company-built houses in Dundo and other urban centers within DIAMANG's prospecting area is likely to have also hindered the diffusion of the Portuguese language in the sense that it kept the number of interracial marriages to a minimum.

The sociolinguistic setting described above is likely to have undergone few changes from the implantation of DIAMANG in the Lunda district until the 1960s. In other words, although the number of Bantu-speaking people with some degree of proficiency in Portuguese is likely to have increased, the Bantu languages continued to be the most widely spoken languages among the bulk of the African population, even if changes occurred during this period with regard to which one was most widely spoken. Martins' (1963) quote below about the competition between Cokwe and Ciluba in the municipality of Chitato (near Dundo) is enlightening:

Sendo a Língua Txiluba estranha ao território angolano (era a Língua Indígena oficial, na Província do Kasai, no vizinho Congo ex-belga, até à independência deste, em Junho de 1960, pelo menos) e tão grande e forte a relutância da esmagadora maioria de portugueses (metropolitanos e euro-africanos) em *aprender* as línguas indígenas, é caso deveras estranho e muito de lamentar até, o incremento francamente encorajador de que esta Língua goza na área deste Concelho, em absoluto e inofismável detrimento da Língua da região – a Txokwe, a ponto de os indivíduos que vão d'além fronteira não se sentirem necessitados de aprender não só esta Língua como propriamente a nossa (com os brancos fazem-se entender em Francês e aos da sua cor, vão impondo a sua própria Língua) tornando-se, deste modo, simplesmente incontrolável a influência que esta população mais que «flutuante» - duvidosa, exerce sobre os Povos propriamente nativos. (Martins 1963: 11)

In fact, the Portuguese language had to compete not only with the Bantu languages but also with other European languages. A clear example of this is given by (Martins 1963: 19), when he states the following about the word *boia* or *baia-cuco*:

Deturpação do termo da Língua Inglesa: BOY-COOK que, à letra significa: Rapaz – Cozinheiro (moço ou ajudante de cozinheiro, para nós portugueses) a qual é largamente utilizada por brancos e pretos, para designar precisamente o moço da cozinha e recados que é, em geral, um rapazote.

Não há em Chokwe vocábulo especial que exprima precisamente esta ideia. Tanto este como outro vocábulo de origem inglesa que vamos encontrar são *reminiscências do recuado tempo em que na Empresa Mineira se fazia uso desta Língua.* (my emphasis)

Like others before him, Martins (1963) also gives plenty of examples of Portuguese loanwords to the Bantu languages spoken in the region, namely *palata* 'silver' (EP: 'prata'), *ngalasa* 'grace' (EP: 'graça'), *ngeleja* 'church' (EP: 'igreja'), *fwandinga* 'customs service' (EP: 'alfândega'), *kukazala* 'to marry' (EP: 'casar'), *salakau* 'salted' (EP: 'salgado'), *sapalalo* 'Saturday' (EP: 'Sábado'), etc. None of these loanwords include grammatical words. The only grammatical loanword mentioned by Martins (1963) is *ngi* 'much', which the Cokwe used instead of their own corresponding adverb.

Martins (1963) also makes reference to the fact that it was still normal for the local leaders to send someone in their place to discuss business with the Portuguese authorities (*ibid.* 36-37), which echoes the ancient tradition in Angola to use interpreters in contacts with the Portuguese and illustrates how little the language had taken root among the African population.

The status of DIAMANG as a state within the State started to change in the late 1960s as a consequence of the extension of the pro-independence struggle to the Lunda region described below:

No final de 1967, a subversão tinha alastrado a regiões onde até então não se tinha ainda manifestado. (...) o MPLA, que no Sul tinha sido repellido ... para além do Cuando, consegue não só estender a subversão a grande parte do saliente do Cazombo mas ainda expandir-se ao longo dos vales do Luena e Lungué-Bungo em direcção ao Luso e ao distrito da Lunda. (...) A UPA, cujas actividades em 1965 e 66 se limitaram a manter escritórios na RDC (i.e. Democratic Republic of the Congo), começou novamente a interessar-se, em 1967, pelo distrito da Lunda onde se encontram os centros mineiros da DIAMANG. E em 1968 infiltraram-se, pela fronteira Norte do distrito, elementos do ELNA que raptaram elementos da população que sempre tinham dado provas de fidelidade à Bandeira Portuguesa. (EME 1969: 25)

The extension of the conflict to Lunda had significant impact on the life of the population even if not necessarily on the sociolinguistic setting in the region. In fact, the security problems led not only to the dispersion of the population in general but also to the exodus of DIAMANG's managers and other skilled workers in the 1970s, hence driving away the few Portuguese speakers there.

In response to the subversive methods used by the different pro-independence movements³⁰, the Portuguese military responded with grouping the population in the aforementioned *aldeamentos*, i.e. the “vast villages often surrounded by barbed wire, where previously dispersed Africans populations were kept together” described in Bender (2004: 264-265). However, the success of these *aldeamentos* was limited, as shown by the fact that Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975, less than a decade after the *aldeamento* policy had started.

The years immediately following Angola's independence from Portugal were particularly harsh on the Lunda people. The district was flooded by *garimpeiros* from across the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia. By the late 1980s until the early 1990s UNITA was able to secure control over most of Lunda Norte

³⁰ The main pro-independence movements in Angola at the time were MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola), UPA (União dos Povos de Angola), FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola).

and significant areas in Lunda Sul (Hodges 2004: 170, 176). According to Hodges (2004: 177) it is estimated that UNITA had a workforce of about 100,000 miners.

It is difficult to know what the sociolinguistic setting in Lunda was like during this period. It is likely that Portuguese became important as an oral and written *lingua franca* among guerrillas from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, but the Bantu languages are also likely to have continued to be widely spoken at least among those who shared the same ethnolinguistic background. In fact, given the long multilingual tradition in the region, it is not unlikely that at least some of them also continued to be used as *lingua francas*. What is known for sure is that one of the main goals of the post-independence Angolan government was to regain control over diamond-rich Lunda district. In 1978, the MPLA divides the Lunda district in two: Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul. In 1981 it created ENDIAMA (Empresa de Diamantes de Angola), “a new wholly state-owned company” (Hodges 2004: 171) and in 1988 it formally dissolved DIAMANG (*ibid.*). From 1998 to 2000, following harsh international sanctions against UNITA, the MPLA was able to reoccupy most of the main diamond mining areas previously exploited by the latter (Hodges 2004: 174) and to initiate a process of educational and cultural development that in 2004, when I was in Dundo, was very evident but still in its infancy. Portuguese was to play a key role in this process in that it was the language used in the many schools that were being built, on television and radio and in the administration being extended to areas of the province previously ruled by Bantu-speaking local authorities.

3.9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The early contacts in the Congo were mainly between the Portuguese and the Congolese nobility, and the use of Portuguese is likely to have been limited to the official communication between them. Consequently, the general population is likely to have continued speaking their mother tongues. As a consequence of the limited number of white settlers in the colony, especially women, the Portuguese were only capable of securing key trading posts along the coast and the River Kuanza, mostly by means of their mixed-race children.

In the Ndongo the Portuguese adopted a more expansionist rather than diplomatic policy. However, due to the inherent conditions in Angola (e.g. diseases, wars, harsh tropical weather) and their inability to attract enough settlers, especially women, to the newly founded colony, the Portuguese had to marry local women and to rely either on their mixed-race children or the native traders to penetrate further into the interior.

Hence, Kikongo and later Kimbundu were the languages most widely spoken by both the white and black population in 16th century Angola.

The Portuguese dependence on their Kimbundu-speaking mixed-race children or on Africans continued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, especially as a consequence of the intensification of the slave trade with Brazil and the Americas. This sociolinguistic situation remained practically unchanged until the first half of the 20th century, largely due to such factors as the resistance of Angolans to the Portuguese presence, the inhospitable conditions of the Angolan interior, an ineffective Portuguese administration until the 19th century, the failure of several methods of mainland colonization (e.g. establishment of penal colonies in the interior during the 1880s and 90s and the planned colonization in the 20th century), the delay in the construction of adequate roads and railway lines, the preference of the Portuguese for Brazil as a destination for emigration and their preference for settling in Angola's urban centers rather than in rural areas (Bender 2004). In short, well into the 20th century the Portuguese language in Angola was restricted to the major urban centers of the coast and to the educated elite.

This analysis of the sociolinguistic setting in Angola from the early days of contact to its independence from Portugal is consistent with the hypothesis that a Portuguese-based pidgin or creole never became established in Angola in general and in Lunda Norte in particular. Hence, the structural features of contemporary AVP are most likely to be the result of a process of impartial language shift that did not begin in earnest until the first half of the 20th century. In fact, it was not until then that the conditions were met for the population, especially the bilingual Afro-Portuguese in the cities, to have enough contact with Portuguese or enough motivation to learn it to start the process of language shift. Several factors would seem to account for this. First, the great influx of white settlers put a significant part of the Angolan population in contact with Portuguese for the first time. Second, it was only during this period that most Angolans had enough motivation to learn Portuguese, either because of the prospect of upward social mobility or because of their need to cope with coexisting in the same community with other populations speaking different indigenous mother tongues. The years that followed Angola's independence from Portugal reinforced Angolans' need to shift to Portuguese, not only because it was chosen as the official language and consequently the language of the state, media, culture, religion and the military, but also because the civil war that followed it brought a growing number of refugees to the cities along the coast, especially to Luanda, where "power and status depended on a firm grasp of Portuguese" (Birmingham 2002: 157).

Chapter 4

Contact-induced tendencies in DVP's noun phrase

4.0. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter analyzes a set of morphosyntactic tendencies in the noun phrase (henceforth NP) of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo that distinguish it from European Portuguese and bring it closer to the structure of contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as Brazilian and Mozambican Portuguese. These tendencies include variable number and gender marking and agreement, the case and word order of person markers (i.e. personal pronouns in traditional grammar¹) and the word order of possessive adjectives. The chapter evaluates the role played by the structure of both the superstrate (i.e. Portuguese) and the substrate languages (principally Cokwe) in the emergence of these tendencies and seeks to determine how the internal structure and inflectional morphology of the noun phrase in DVP indicates the degree of contact-induced restructuring that Portuguese is undergoing in that part of interior Angola, i.e. the extent of the retention of its morphosyntax as opposed to the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features.

In order to evaluate the influence of both EP and Cokwe in the restructuring of DVP's noun phrase, section 4.1 provides a brief outline of the internal structure and inflectional categories of the noun phrase in these two languages. No attempt is made to give a full account of the noun phrase in either language. The goal of section 4.1 is rather to provide necessary information about EP and Cokwe at the beginning of the chapter to avoid having to repeat it later on.

Building on the insights gained in section 4.1, section 4.2 provides a description and analysis of the contact-induced tendencies found in DVP's noun phrase, namely variable number marking and agreement (sub-section 4.2.1), variable gender marking and

¹ I follow Siewierska's (2004) option for the term *person marker* and *person form* in preference to *personal pronoun* as I agree that, indeed, "the term pronoun is open to a number of interpretations and even under the most liberal of these, not all grammatical markers of the category person are uncontroversially pronominal" (*ibid.* 2), e.g. EP expresses person not only by means of pronouns but also by means of verbal inflections and nominal expressions (i.e. the so-called *courtesy pronouns*) and in Cokwe person is encoded by means of bound morphemes.

agreement (sub-section 4.2.2), word order and case of person markers (sub-section 4.2.3), word order of possessive determiners (sub-section 4.2.4) and the omission of definite articles and the reduction of distance degrees in DVP's demonstrative system (sub-section 4.2.5). The specific linguistic structures in EP and Cokwe that are not analyzed in section 4.1 but which are relevant to understanding the aforementioned tendencies in DVP are analyzed in the corresponding sub-sections. Finally, section 4.3 summarizes the findings in this chapter and evaluates how the noun phrase in DVP indicates the degree of contact-induced restructuring that Portuguese underwent in this region of Angola.

The findings in this chapter build on Inverno (2006), but they extend it in four important ways. Firstly, following a more detailed analysis of the DVP corpus, the contact-induced tendencies analyzed in Inverno (2006), i.e. sub-sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.4, are described here in greater detail and illustrated with more examples. Secondly, this chapter includes the analysis of contact-induced tendencies that are here noted or analyzed for the first time, e.g. reduction in the number of distance distinctions in DVP's demonstrative system. Thirdly, tendencies already identified in the literature as distinguishing features of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general (i.e. omission of definite articles), are here illustrated for the first time with data from a variety of AVP other than that spoken in Luanda. Finally, a thorough comparative analysis of the different sources on Cokwe has allowed a more detailed and productive analysis of substrate influence on DVP.

An attempt is made to use only those technical terms that are well-established in the literature. However, when these terms are found to be inadequate or when different definitions of the same term are found in the literature, the meaning with which they are used in this chapter is clarified as they occur. Finally, all of the data on Cokwe and other relevant Bantu languages and the bulk of the data on EP are drawn from the existing literature². The data on DVP is exclusively drawn from my own fieldwork in Dundo. When relevant, this is complemented with data drawn from the existing literature on other varieties of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese in an attempt to understand better how DVP relates to the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general.

² All EP examples for which no source is given are my own.

4.1. THE NOUN PHRASE IN EP AND COKWE: INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

4.1.1. EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

As summarized in Mira Mateus *et al.* (2003: 325-370), the internal structure of the noun verb in EP can be simple or complex, depending, respectively, on whether the head noun occurs alone, as in (1), or with determiners (i.e. articles, demonstratives and possessives), as in (2) to (4), quantifiers (i.e. indefinites and numerals), as in (5) to (6), and/or modifiers (i.e. adjectives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses), as in (7) to (9):

- (1) EP: *Angola é fantástica!*
'Angola is fantastic!'
- (2) EP: *O debate foi interessante.*
'The debate was interesting.'
- (3) EP: *Esse debate foi interessante.*
'That debate was interesting.'
- (4) EP: *O vosso debate foi interessante.*
'Your debate was interesting'
- (5) EP: *Alguns debates foram interessantes.*
'Some debates were interesting.'
- (6) EP: *Houve dois debates.*
'There were two debates.'
- (7) EP: *Debates interessantes deveriam ter muito público.*
'Interesting debates should have a good audience.'
- (8) EP: *Raramente há debates interessantes na televisão.*
'There are seldom interesting debates on television.'
- (9) EP: *O debate que vi ontem foi interessante.*
'The debate I watched yesterday was interesting.'

The head noun in both subject and object noun phrases can be replaced by person markers. Subject noun phrases can be replaced by independent person markers only, i.e. stressed personal pronouns in traditional terminology (Cunha and Cintra 1995). Object noun phrases, on the other hand, can be replaced by both dependent and independent person markers. Table 15 below summarizes subject and object person markers in EP:

TABLE 15
Person markers in EP

	INDEPENDENT MARKERS		DEPENDENT MARKERS	
	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Direct object</i>	<i>Indirect Object</i>
1SG	eu	mim, comigo		me
2 SG	tu	ti, contigo		te
3 SG	ele, ela	ele, ela, si	o, a	lhe
1PL	nós	nós, conosco		nos
2 PL	vós	vós, convosco		vos
3 PL	eles, elas	eles, elas, si	os, as	lhes

Concerning the word order of noun phrase constituents, while EP allows a certain amount of variation there are word order constraints worth mentioning because some of them, as will be shown in section 4.2 below, differ significantly from the word order found in DVP. Hence, the following constraints on word order of non-nuclear elements in relation to the head noun occur in EP:

- a. Definite and indefinite articles always precede the head noun:

(10) EP: *Ela viu **a** carta* 'She saw the letter.'

(11) EP: *Ela viu **uma** carta.* 'She saw a letter.'

- b. Demonstratives typically precede the head noun but they can also occur after the head noun in exclamations:

(12) EP: *Que vida **esta!*** 'What a life!'

- c. Possessives typically precede the head noun as in (13), but they can follow the head in some exclamations or when preceded by a quantifier as in (14) and (15) below:

(13) EP: *O **meu** trabalho de campo em Angola foi muito produtivo.*
'My fieldwork in Angola was very productive.'

(14) EP: *Filhos **nossos** não farão isso!* 'Our children will not do that.'

(15) EP: *Vi **sete** amigos **meus.*** 'I saw seven friends of mine.'

- d. Adjectives can follow or precede the head noun depending on the pragmatic intention of the speaker (i.e. restrictive or subjective):

(16) EP: *Um homem **pobre.*** 'A man who is poor'.

(17) EP: *Um **pobre** homem.* 'An unfortunate man'.

Concerning the position of non-nuclear elements in relation to other non-nuclear elements in EP noun phrase, the following word order constraints have been noted in the literature (e.g. Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003):

e. Definite and indefinite articles never co-occur with demonstratives:

- (18) EP: **Ela viu a esta carta.* * 'She saw the this letter.'
 (19) EP: **Ela viu uma esta carta.* * 'She saw an this letter.'
 (20) EP: *Ela viu esta carta.* 'She saw this letter.'

f. Indefinite articles can never follow quantifiers:

- (21) EP: **Duas umas cartas.* * 'Two an letters.'
 (22) EP: **Todas umas cartas.* * 'All an letter.'
 (23) EP: *Duas cartas.* 'Two letters'
 (24) EP: *Todas as cartas.* 'All the letters'

g. Demonstratives can either occur as determiners or on their own as pronouns:

- (25) EP: *Este professor chegou atrasado.* 'This teacher was late'
 (26) EP: *Este chegou atrasado.* 'This one is was late'

h. Possessives follow the definite articles, demonstratives and some quantifiers:

- (27) EP: *Esse teu comportamento é irritante.*
 'This behaviour of yours is annoying.'
 (28) EP: *Os nossos amigos franceses chegam amanhã.*
 'Our French friends arrive tomorrow.'
 (29) EP: *Todos os nossos amigos.*
 'All our friends.'

Two grammatical categories are morphologically encoded in EP noun phrase: number and gender. Concerning number, only two degrees are distinguished in EP: *singular* (one item) and *plural* (more than one item)³. The latter is the only degree of numerosity that is morphologically marked in EP. It is encoded by adding the plural suffix marker {-s} to the head noun. Number agreement is encoded by adding the same suffix {-s} to all variable determiners, quantifiers and modifiers accompanying the head noun⁴.

³ For a brief overview of number systems that allow for other degrees of number (i.e. dual, trial, paucal, multiple, etc) see Cruse (1994). For a detailed cross-linguistic analysis of the different typologies of number systems see Corbett (2000).

⁴ Concerning number agreement with numerals, it should be noted that, according to Cunha and Cintra (1995: 368-371), the only numerals that are marked for number in EP are cardinal numerals ending in <ão> (e.g. *um milhão* 'one million' vs. *dois milhões* 'two millions'), ordinal numerals (e.g. *o primeiro* 'the first' vs. *os primeiros* 'the first') and fraction numerals, which agree with the cardinal numbers that indicate the number of parts (e.g. *um terço* 'one third' vs. *dois terços* 'two thirds').

Hence, number marking and agreement in EP are inflectional mechanisms, as they are both obligatory (i.e. they affect all variable nouns and non-nuclear elements in the NP) and systematic (i.e. they affect all variable nouns and non-nuclear elements in the NP in the same way).

(30) EP: *Aquele_ gato_ branco_*
 DEM:SG cat:SG white:SG
 'That white cat'

(31) EP: *Aquele-s gato-s branco-s*
 DEM-PL cat-PL white-PL
 'That white cat'

As far as gender is concerned, traditional grammars of EP consider it an inflectional category that distinguishes between two values: feminine and masculine, encoded, respectively, by the markers {-a} and {-o}. However, there are two problems with this traditional approach to gender in EP. On the one hand, unlike number contrasts, gender contrasts in EP do not seem to be obligatory, i.e. only variable adjectives (cf. *novo/nova* 'new'; *inovador/inovadora* 'innovative') and some nouns referring to animate beings (cf. *menino/menina* 'boy/girl'; *gato/gata* 'cat' vs. *panda* 'panda'; *pessoa* 'person') contrast in gender. On the other hand, unlike number, gender marking in EP is not systematic, as different mechanisms are used to mark it, e.g. lexical mechanisms (cf. *homem/mulher* 'man/woman') and morphological mechanisms such as derivation (cf. *conde/condessa* 'count/countess') and composition (*águia-macho/águia-fêmea* 'male eagle/female eagle') (Villalva 2000: 212, 219).

Hence, Villalva (2000: 212-245) refuses the traditional definition of suffixes {-a} and {-o} as inflectional markers of feminine and masculine, respectively⁵. She argues that these suffixes are morphological specifiers of the stem (i.e. *índice temático*) that enable the grouping of both nouns and adjectives into thematic classes similar to the Latin declensions. This is a highly complex system because nouns and adjectives are included into a particular thematic class depending on three factors: (a) the phonetic nature of the specifier, which establishes a distinction between *theme -a*, *theme -o*, *theme -e*, *theme Ø* and athematic words; (b) the existence of one as opposed to two forms for each gender, which distinguishes between variable and invariable nouns and adjectives; and (c) the gender of each word, which distinguishes between feminine and masculine nouns and

⁵ This view seems to be shared by Bechara (2002: 132), who states that "a inclusão num ou outro género depende directa e essencialmente da classe léxica dos substantivos". For a list of other authors who share a similar view see footnote 13 in Villalva (2003a: 930).

adjectives. Villalva (2000) identified 15 nominal thematic classes and 6 adjectival thematic classes, but Villalva (2003a: 917-938), a contribution to Mira Mateus *et al.* (2003) regarding the basic morphological structure of words in EP, extends the number of classes for nouns and adjectives to twenty-three and nine, respectively, as shown in Tables 16 and 17 below.

Concerning gender marking in nouns, Table 16 shows that while nouns ending in {-a} tend to be feminine and those ending in {-o} tend to be masculine (Villalva 2003a: 293), {-a} and {-o} cannot be interpreted as inflectional markers of feminine and masculine gender, respectively, because, as Villalva (2000:243) points out, except for *theme -o* variable nouns, which are always masculine, it is possible to find (a) invariable *theme -o* nouns which are feminine (cf. *tribo* 'tribe') or both feminine and masculine (cf. *um/uma modelo* 'a model'); (b) *theme -a* nouns which are masculine (cf. *poeta* 'poet'; *patriarca* 'patriarch'; *mapa* 'map') or both feminine and masculine (cf. *um/uma artista* 'an artist'); (c) the gender of *theme ∅* and athematic nouns is completely arbitrary (cf. *o pente* 'comb' vs. *a lente* 'lens'; *o arroz* 'rice' vs. *a noz* 'nut').

TABLE 16
Nominal thematic classes in European Portuguese
[adapted from Villalva (2003a: 924)]

THEMATIC CLASSES (variable nouns)					
	-a	-o	-e	-∅	athematic
MASC.	poeta	aluno	infante	apresentador	avô
FEM.	aluna	--	--	imperatriz	avó
THEMATIC CLASSES (invariable nouns)					
MASC.	patriarca mapa	ídolo livro	abutre dente	furriel mar	tatu café
FEM.	mosca casa	tribo	gente semente	variz	manhã
MASC./FEM.	artista	modelo	agente	mártir	selvagem

TABLE 17
Adjectival thematic classes in European Portuguese
[in Villalva (2003a: 924)]

THEMATIC CLASSES (variable adjectives)					
	-a	-o	-e	-∅	Athematic
MASC.	--	claro	--	falador	bom
FEM.	clara	--	--	--	Sã
THEMATIC CLASSES (invariable adjectives)					
MASC./FEM.	careca	--	leve	cortês	ruim

Unlike the gender of nouns, gender is not inherent to adjectives and it has no referential content, i.e. gender in adjectives is exclusively grammatical because it is contextually determined by agreement with the noun. Nonetheless, building on Table 17 above, two generalizations can be made: (a) all *theme -o* adjectives are masculine and (b) all *theme -e* adjectives are invariable (e.g. *leve* 'light'). Unlike verbs, the inclusion of nouns and adjectives into classes has no consequences at the level of person-number inflection (i.e. the person-number inflections on the verb are always the same regardless of the noun class of the subject).

In short, in Villalva's (2000; 2003a) approach, gender is a morphosyntactic category in EP (i.e. it is a property involved in agreement mechanisms) but it is not an inflectional category in nouns and adjectives in that it does not affect all members of those syntactic categories in the same way. Therefore, according to Villalva (*ibid.*), what traditional grammars define as feminine vs. masculine gender markers in nouns and adjectives are in fact morphological class markers. Nouns and adjectives are included in a given class depending on three factors outlined above (i.e. the phonetic nature of the specifier, the gender value of each noun/adjective, and the existence of one as opposed to two forms according to gender). However, the inclusion of a noun in a given class does not predict its gender value (i.e. feminine vs. feminine), rather the gender value of a noun in EP is lexically determined according to a predominantly semantic criterion, i.e. sex-differentiable nouns denoting males are masculine and those denoting females are feminine (Villalva 2000: 239)⁶ and is then reflected in the other elements of the noun phrase by means of agreement, i.e. "a systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another" (Steele 1978: 610 quoted in Corbett 2006: 4). The essential notion in agreement is covariance in that, as noted by Corbett (*ibid.* 4), "it is not sufficient that two items happen to share properties; the sharing must be systematic, and we see this by the fact that as one element varies so will the other". Hence, in EP, if a noun is feminine, all gender agreement targets⁷ in the noun

⁶ This criterion does not account for all the nouns in EP that are not sex-differentiable (e.g. *pedra* 'stone'). However, this is likely to be due to the current lack of systematic studies of semantic gender assignment criteria in EP. In fact, while "it has been stated that there is no real semantic basis for gender assignment of the better-known Indo-European languages" (Aikhenvald 2003: 24) there is evidence that the assignment of gender in German, for example, is associated with the semantic group of nouns (*ibid.*). Hence, "masculine gender is used for types of cloth, of precipitation and wind, and minerals. Types of knowledge and disciplines have feminine gender, and games and types of metal – with the exceptions of alloys – have neuter gender" (*ibid.*). A systematic study of semantic gender assignment criteria in EP might reach similar conclusions (e.g. *a ciência* 'the science', *a matemática* 'math', *a química* 'chemistry', *a física* 'physics', *a linguística* 'linguistics', *a engenharia* 'engineering', etc).

⁷ Agreement-related terms used in this study are those defined in Corbett (2006: 4). Hence *target* refers to "the element whose form is determined by agreement", which in EP are typically adjectives, demonstratives, articles, possessives, numerals, relative pronouns and adverbs. Other relevant agreement-related terms are: *controller* ("the element which determines the agreement"), referring to the noun; *domain* ("the syntactic environment in which agreement occurs"),

phrase will occur in their feminine form (e.g. *Esta mulher especial* 'This special woman' vs. *Este homem especial* 'this special man').

Villalva (2000; 2003a) shows that, from a cross-linguistic perspective, EP is among the group of languages that uses noun classes or genders as its main noun categorization device⁸. Aikhenvald defines it as follows:

Noun classes or genders are grammaticalized agreement systems which correlate – at least in part – with certain semantic characteristics (particularly in the domain of human and animate referents). They are sometimes called concordial classes; they include grammaticalized 'gender' systems of the Indo-European type. They are realized outside the noun itself, usually on modifiers which most often include adjectives, but may also include modifiers from closed classes (demonstratives, interrogatives, possessives, the predicate, or even on adverbs). (Aikhenvald 2003: 19)

Although, as noted by Idiata (2005), the terms noun class and gender are often used interchangeably in the literature (e.g. Corbett 1995) to refer to the noun categorization device defined above, I will follow Aikhenvald (2003: 19) and “reserve the term gender for small systems of two to three distinctions (always including masculine and feminine), like the ones typically found in Indo-European, Afroasiatic, and Dravidian languages. The main reason for this is that while sharing many characteristic, noun class systems in the world's languages differ significantly concerning not only the number of available noun classes/genders, but also concerning the semantic and morphological transparency of the noun class assignment criteria and the degree of grammaticalization of the system (Idiata 2005). Hopefully, this will be made clear in the next section, where a detailed description of Cokwe's highly complex and grammaticalized noun class system is given.

4.1.2. COKWE AND THE LANGUAGES OF THE BANTU BRANCH

The most prominent morphosyntactic feature of the Bantu languages, and the one that best attests to their agglutinating character, is their complex noun class system⁹ (Aikhenvald 2003: 20), which Maho (2009) summarizes as follows:

referring to the noun phrase; and *feature* (“when we indicate in what respect there is agreement”), referring to gender in this case.

⁸ For a description of the noun categorization devices used in the world's languages see Aikhenvald (2003).

⁹ In fact, according to Katamba (2006: 103), “noun class systems are a strong areal feature in Africa”. Therefore, they can be found not only in the languages of the Bantu branch but in languages of all branches of the Niger-Congo family except Mande (*ibid*).

Bantu noun classes are morphologically realized as prefixes on nouns and as agreement markers (concord) on other syntactic constituents, like adjectives, numerals, verbs, etc. For instance, the Swahili noun *kitabu* 'book' is composed of a noun prefix *ki* (indicating noun class belonging, just like *le* and *la* indicate gender belonging in French) and a nominal root *tabu*. Furthermore, in the phrase *kitabu kidogo* 'small book', we find an adjective *kidogo* 'small', which is composed of an agreement marker *ki* and an adjectival root *dogo*".

In other words, a noun class is "a combination of a given noun prefix (NP) with a given set of concords (C)" (Maho 1999: 145). Therefore, all nouns bearing the same noun class prefix and requiring the same concords on targets are said to belong to the same noun class¹⁰. In some Bantu languages the class prefix and the concords are identical in shape and therefore these languages are said to depict *alliterative concord* (Katamba 2006: 111), as opposed to languages where there is a formal mismatch between the noun class prefix on the noun and the agreement markers on the determiners, i.e. *quirky agreement* (Aikhenvald 2003: 38).

Noun class prefixes encode not only noun class belonging information but also grammatical number information, i.e. the noun class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes for noun class and number (Aikhenvald 2003: 248). This means that "singular and plural forms of a noun are classified in different noun classes" (Maho 2009), or in other words, a given noun belongs to class *x* in the singular and to class *y* in the plural. The association between singular and plural classes is not random, in that a given singular class is typically associated with a given plural class, i.e. a given noun typically belongs to class *x* in the singular and to class *y*, but not class *z*, in the plural. These pairs of noun classes (one singular, one plural) are often referred to in the literature as genders (Katamba 2006: 103), but I will use the term pairing in order to avoid confusion with sex-based gender systems found in, say, EP. Singular noun classes that are not associated with a corresponding plural noun class are referred to as *single noun classes* (i.e. nouns in those classes cannot be pluralized).

Therefore, number marking in the languages of the Bantu branch is not essentially different from number marking in languages like EP, in that in both EP and the Bantu languages number is an inflectional category and only singular vs. plural contrasts are allowed. However, there are two fundamental differences between number marking in the latter group of languages and EP that must be mentioned. Firstly, in most Bantu languages

¹⁰ When noun class belonging is clear not only from the agreement pattern but also from a prefix on the noun, one talks of *overt noun classes*. When nouns do not take a noun class prefix and their noun class belonging is clear only from their agreement pattern one talks of *covert noun classes*. However, this distinction is not always straightforward. For example, the languages of the Bantu branch, and Cokwe in particular, typically depict overt noun classes, although some nouns take no specific noun class prefix (Aikhenvald 2003: 57).

number is encoded by means of prefixes, whereas in EP suffixes are used to encode it. Secondly, whereas in EP plural number is typically always morphologically marked and the singular unmarked¹¹, in the languages of the Bantu branch, as shown in Inverno (2006: 116-119) for Kimbundu, Kikongo, Cokwe and Umbundu, at least four strategies seem to be possible concerning the formal encoding of number: **(a)** both singular and plural number are overtly marked (the most common strategy); **(b)** only singular number is overtly marked (i.e. plural number is left unmarked on the noun and only encoded by means of agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements), **(c)** only plural number is overtly marked (i.e. singular number is left unmarked on the noun and only encoded by means of agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements), and **(d)** neither singular nor plural number is overtly marked (i.e. singular vs. plural contrasts are expressed by means of the agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements).

Most noun classes display only one type of strategy for all nouns, but some display two or more strategies. The data analyzed in Inverno (2006) seem to indicate that the noun classes that allow for different number marking strategies are usually those including nouns lower in the Animacy Hierarchy, e.g. borrowings, abstract entities, mass nouns, collective nouns, deverbal nouns and nouns denoting irrational entities¹².

The fact that the languages of the Bantu branch use different strategies concerning the formal encoding of number is relevant to the goals of this study because it shows that while overt marking of both singular and plural number on the noun is indeed the most common type of number marking strategy in these languages, in some noun classes only singular or plural number are overtly marked on the noun, which may help explain why number is typically not overtly marked on DVP's nouns but rather only in the non-nuclear elements of the noun phrase.

Following the tradition set by Wilhelm Bleek and Carl Meinhof (and others) in the late 19th and early 20th century, each individual noun class in a given Bantu language is

¹¹ Exceptions to this rule include words like *lâpis* 'pencil', whose number value is determined by means of agreement (i.e. *o lâpis* 'the pencil' vs. *os lâpis* 'the pencils') and *férias* 'vacations', whose number value is plural and when used in the singular (i.e. *féria*) means 'salary'.

¹² Indeed, variation concerning the types of nominals that display singular-plural contrasts, the obligatory or optional character of these contrasts as well as variation concerning the encoding of number by means of inflections on the noun or concords on agreeing elements is not uncommon in the world's languages and seems to be related to constraints imposed by the Animacy Hierarchy (cf. Corbett 2000: 56). According to Corbett (2000) the Animacy Hierarchy constrains number in three important ways:

- I. The singular-plural opposition in a given language must affect a top segment of the Animacy Hierarchy (*ibid.* 56), i.e. **speaker** > addressee > 3rd person > kin > human > animate > inanimate;
- II. Lexical items may be irregular in terms of number marking with respect to the Animacy Hierarchy and regular in terms of agreement (*ibid.* 67);
- III. As we move rightwards along the Animacy Hierarchy, the likelihood of number being distinguished will decrease (*ibid.* 70).

customarily referred to with a number (i.e. typically odd number for the singular and even number for the plural). The total number of noun classes identified for Proto-Bantu (i.e. the protolanguage from which the languages of the Bantu branch are historically derived) is twenty-three¹³. However, not all of them occur today in individual Bantu languages. This leads to a distinction between canonical and reduced noun class systems, i.e. “languages with numerous noun classes are said to exhibit the canonical Bantu noun class system, while others with ‘reduced’ noun class systems have only retained a rump of the original set” (Katamba 2006: 108).

Diachronic studies show that noun class assignment in Proto-Bantu was almost exclusively determined by semantic criteria, i.e. nouns were grouped into classes depending on their meaning. The main semantic categories reconstructed for Proto-Bantu include humans (classes 1/2), plants (classes 3/4), fruits (classes 5/6), liquids (class 6), inanimate objects (classes 7/8), animals (classes 9/10), flat objects (classes 10/11), small objects (classes 13/12), abstractions (class 14), parts of the body (classes 14/6), infinitives (class 15) and locatives (classes 16, 17 and 18) (Idiata 2005: 36).

Inverno (2006: 108-114) reflected this vision of semantic noun class assignment in the Bantu languages. However, recent synchronic studies have shown that “Bantu noun classes have lost their mythical semantic nature” (Idiata 2005: 39), in that most noun classes in modern Bantu languages includes nouns that, semantically, should be included in other noun classes (*ibid.* 35). The erosion of the semantic noun class assignment system in Proto-Bantu is best illustrated by research on the acquisition of modern Bantu languages by children, which shows that “in the acquisition of noun class systems, children do not pay attention to any semantic information in the organization of noun classes” (*ibid.* 139). In fact, in a first stage of acquisition children do not use any noun class prefixes or concords (i.e. only the lexical stem is used) and, in a second stage, they start using an erroneous prefix (i.e. a single vowel) which they over-generalize to all classes. It is only in the third and final stage of acquisition that the correct noun class prefixes and concords start being used (*ibid.* 87, 98). The relevance of this for our understanding of DVP's number marking and agreement will be analyzed in section 4.2.1.

The comparison of the different sources on Cokwe shows that its noun class system is clearly consistent with the prototypical system described above for the languages of the Bantu branch. Hence, as shown in Table 18 below, Cokwe has a canonical

¹³ Several scholars contributed to the reconstruction of the noun class system of Proto-Bantu (e.g. Bleek, Meinhof, Meeussen). For a brief description of the contributions given by each scholar see Katamba (2006: 103-105) and Idiata (2005: 20-27).

noun class system, depicting 19 individual noun classes, 6 of which can occur as single classes, and 11 noun class pairings. The vast majority of nouns in Cokwe depict alliterative agreement with their targets, in that the noun class prefixes and agreement markers have the same shape. While the sources tend to associate each class with nouns bearing a given semantic content, the detailed analysis of the data suggests that except for classes 1 and 2, which only include nouns denoting humans (or personified animate beings), all other classes include nouns bearing semantic meanings other than the ones identified by the sources as typical of those classes.

Portuguese authors do not follow the tradition established in Bantu linguistics concerning the numbering of each noun class. In fact, each source uses a different numbering system. Consequently, in order to arrive at a description of Cokwe's noun class system, I compared each author's system with that in use in contemporary Bantu linguistics. Nouns having the same class prefix and concord and similar semantic descriptions were included in the same noun class, regardless of the numbering system used by each author. Each of these classes was then numbered according to the system used in contemporary Bantu linguistics. I first presented the outcome of that comparison at a seminar on the structure of the Bantu languages at SOAS in December 2007. The noun class system given in Table 4 below is the corrected version of that and it incorporates the suggestions made then by the Bantuists Lutz Martens and Nancy Kula.

Although the semantics of the noun classes suggested by the sources on Cokwe does not seem to be a determining criterion in noun class assignment in Cokwe, it is given in Table 19 below for two reasons. On the one hand, semantic content was a valuable clue in helping make sense of each author's description of Cokwe's noun class system. On the other hand, semantic content allows one to compare the data on Cokwe given here with those of other Bantu languages spoken in Angola (or elsewhere).

TABLE 18

Noun class system in Cokwe

(based on Barbosa 1989; Diarra 1990; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Martins 1990; Santos 1962)

CLASS PAIRING	SINGULAR CLASS			PLURAL CLASS		
	PREFIX	CONCORD	EXAMPLE	PREFIX	CONCORD	EXAMPLE
1/2 <i>mu-/a-</i>	<i>mu-</i> (C) <i>mw-</i> (V)	<i>u-</i> ; <i>mu-</i>	<i>mutfu</i> 'person'	<i>a-</i> ; <i>e</i> (i)-	<i>a-</i>	<i>atfu</i> 'people'
1a/2 <i>∅/a-</i>	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>_tata</i> 'father' <i>? mujikulo</i> 'grandson'			<i>atata</i> 'fathers' <i>ajikulo</i> 'grandsons'
3/4 <i>mu-/mi-</i>	<i>mu-</i> (C) <i>mw-</i> (V)	<i>u-</i> <i>mu-</i>	<i>mutondo</i> 'tree' <i>munjapela</i> 'pocket' <i>mwiku</i> 'air'	<i>mi-</i> \emptyset --	<i>i-</i> ; <i>mi-</i> --	<i>mitondo</i> 'trees' <i>_njapela</i> --
5 ¹⁴ /6 <i>ri- or li-/ma-</i>	<i>l/ri-</i> \emptyset	<i>li-/ri-</i>	<i>r/lizo</i> 'tooth' \emptyset <i>limi</i> 'tongue'	<i>ma-</i> <i>me-</i> (i)	<i>a-</i> <i>ma-</i>	<i>mazo</i> 'teeth' <i>meya</i> 'water' <i>malimi</i> ¹⁵
7/8 <i>t-/i-</i>	<i>t-</i> \emptyset	<i>t-</i>	<i>tuma</i> 'thing' <i>tpapo</i> 'breast' --	<i>i-</i> (C) <i>y-</i> (V) --	<i>i-</i> <i>y-</i> --	<i>yuma</i> 'things' -- <i>yifwo</i> 'meat'
9/10 <i>N-/N- or ∅</i>	<i>/N/</i> \emptyset	<i>/N/</i> \emptyset	<i>njimi</i> 'peasant' <i>ngalavata</i> 'tie' <i>_phoko</i> 'knife'	<i>n</i> \emptyset	<i>n</i> <i>ji-</i> \emptyset	<i>njimi</i> 'peasants' <i>jingalavata</i> 'tie' <i>_phoko</i> 'knives'
11	<i>lu-</i> (C) <i>lw-</i> (V)	??	<i>lukambwe</i> 'thread of hair'	\emptyset	--	<i>_kambwe</i> 'hair'
11/6 <i>lu-/ma-</i>	<i>lu-</i> (C) <i>lw-</i> (V)	<i>lu-</i> (C) <i>lw-</i> (V)	<i>lunga</i> 'man'	--	<i>ma-</i> (6)	<i>malunga</i> 'men'
11/10 <i>lu-/N- or ∅</i>	<i>lu-</i> (C) <i>lw-</i> (V)	<i>lu-</i> (C) <i>lw-</i> (V)	<i>lwano</i> 'footprint' <i>lumutondo</i> 'big tree'	--	<i>ng-</i> (10) <i>i-</i> ; <i>y-</i> (10)	<i>ngano</i> 'footprints' <i>yimitondo</i> 'big trees'
12/13 <i>ka-/tu-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka</i> 'dog' <i>kakawa</i> 'little dog' <i>kachokwe</i> 'chokwe'	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i> <i>a-</i> (2)	<i>tuwa</i> 'dogs' <i>tutuwa</i> 'little dogs' <i>achokwe</i> 'chokwes'
14 <i>u- or w-</i>	<i>u-</i> (C) <i>w-</i> (V)	<i>u-</i>	<i>wenvu</i> 'beard' <i>usepha</i> 'friendship'	--	--	--
14/6 <i>u-;w-/ma-</i>	<i>u-</i> (C) <i>w-</i> (V)	<i>u-</i>	<i>uta</i> 'gun'	--	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mawta</i> 'guns'
15 <i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kuria</i> 'food'	--	--	--
15/6 <i>ku-/ma-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kurya</i> 'food'	--	<i>ma-</i>	<i>makurya</i>
16 <i>ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ha</i> 'on' <i>hari</i> 'by' <i>homa</i> 'on'	--	--	--
17	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku</i> 'to' <i>kuiche</i> 'under' <i>kuma</i> 'to'	--	--	--
18	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu</i> 'in the middle of' <i>muma</i> 'inside'	--	--	--

¹⁴ "Class 5 nouns are sometimes difficult to distinguish from class 9/10 nouns" (Welmers 1973: 174).¹⁵ "/ji-/ appears before monosyllabic stems with an initial consonant [...] and] also appears before consonant-initial stem usually found in other classes but used in 5 with an augmentative significance; in such cases it is treated as part of the base of the noun, and the class 6 plural prefix is added to the entire singular form rather than replacing the singular prefix." (Welmers 1973: 168).

TABLE 19

Semantics of noun classes in Cokwe

(based on Barbosa 1989; Diarra 1990; Louittit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Martins 1990; Santos 1962)

NOUN CLASS	SEMANTICS
1	Humans
1a	Kin & personified animals
2	Regular plural of classes 1 and 1a; also used as an idiomatic plural in coordination
3	Trees and plants
4	Regular plural of class 3
5	Body parts, liquids and paired things
6	Regular plural of class 5, 11, 14 and 15
7	Things and languages (primary class). Also used derivationally to form augmentatives of nouns from other classes
8	Regular plural of class 7
9	Miscellaneous, animals, foreign words
10	regular plural of classes 9 and 11
11	Unspecified in the sources
12	Diminutives, derogatives and ethnic groups
13	Regular plural of class 12
14	Abstracts. Typically used as a single class
15	Noun derived from infinitive verb forms
16	Locatives (near or explicit location)
17	Locatives (remote or general location)
18	Locatives (inside location)

Notice that in Cokwe biological sex is not a class assignment criteria (i.e. feminine vs. masculine). In fact, biological sex-based contrasts in Cokwe differ from those in EP in four important ways. First, Cokwe distinguishes between three sex-based gender distinctions, i.e. feminine, masculine and neuter. Secondly, only nouns are assigned a sex-based gender value (i.e. adjectives and other non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase do not depict biological sex-based contrasts). Thirdly, biological sex-based contrasts in Cokwe are lexical, not morphological. In other words, they do not involve any changes in the internal structure of words, but are expressed by means of a noun stem meaning 'male' or

'female'. Different stems are used depending on the semantics of the noun. Hence, *lunga* 'man' and *pfwo* 'woman' are used for humans and personified things, *ndemba* 'male' and *tchhari* 'female' are used for birds, *tchuma* 'thing' is used for unspecified things, and *kunji* 'male' and *tchihwo* 'female' for all animate entities, except humans and personified things).

Finally, being expressed lexically, biological sex-based contrasts in Cokwe can be encoded by different word orders, i.e. (a) after the noun when it refers to things or humans and personified things, and (b) either after or before the noun when it refers to birds and other animate entities. Martins (1990: 35) comments on the relation between semantics and word order in biological sex-based contrasts in Cokwe as follows:

Até nisto eles [i.e. *Cokwe-speaking people*] distinguem bem as pessoas de qualquer outro ser animado, porque como eles dizem, nenhum outro animal sabe pensar e raciocinar como o homem.

In a nutshell, sex-based gender contrasts in Cokwe can be summarized as follows:

Exceptuando as pessoas e alguns animais, que têm nomes especiais para cada sexo, todos os restantes são comuns de dois, ou epicenos, havendo, assim, cinco formas de géneros, a saber:

Dois géneros distintos (masculino e feminino), para as pessoas ou coisas personificadas, dois para as aves, um neutro para as pessoas ou coisas personificadas, um neutro para coisas indeterminadas e, por fim, dois para designar duma maneira geral todos os seres animados, com excepção das coisas personificadas. (Martins 1990: 33)

Therefore, when neither the context nor the noun itself specifies its biological sex-gender, this is assigned as illustrated in Table 20 below. Notice that the different noun stems used to specify the sex-gender value of the noun are typically preceded by the corresponding genitive marker *a* and respective noun class concord.

TABLE 20
Sex-based gender oppositions in Cokwe
 (based on Martins 1990: 33-34)

SEMANTICS	SEX-GENDER	EXAMPLES	WORD ORDER
Things	<i>Neuter</i>	(32) <i>tchuma</i> 'thing' ~ <i>yuma</i> 'things' (33) <i>imate</i> 'thing' ~ <i>yamate</i> 'things'	After the noun
Birds	<i>Masculine</i>	(34) <i>ka-jia wa ndemba</i> C10-bird GEN male 'male bird'	Before <i>or</i> after the noun
		(35) <i>ndemba ka-jia</i> male C10-bird 'male bird'	
	<i>Feminine</i>	(36) <i>ka-jia wa tchari</i> C10-bird GEN female 'female bird'	
		(37) <i>tchari ka-jia</i> female C10-bird 'female bird'	
Human (personified things)	<i>Masculine</i>	(38) <i>mu-tfu wa lunga</i> C1-person GEN male 'man' or 'male person'	After the head noun
	<i>Feminine</i>	(39) <i>mu-tfu wa pfw</i> C1-person GEN female 'woman' or 'female person'	
	<i>Neuter</i>	(40) <i>mu-tfu</i> C1-person 'person'	
Animate	<i>Masculine</i>	(41) <i>kunj' a panga</i> male GEN sheep 'male sheep' or 'sheep of a male'	Before <i>or</i> after the noun
		(42) <i>panga wa kunji</i> sheep GEN male 'male sheep' or 'sheep of a male'	
	<i>Feminine</i>	(43) <i>tchihwo tcha panga</i> Female GEN sheep 'female sheep' or 'sheep of a female'	
		(44) <i>panga wa tchihwo</i> sheep GEN female 'female sheep' or 'sheep of a female'	

As far as the internal structure of the noun phrase is concerned, Cokwe follows the general pattern found in the languages of the Bantu branch. Therefore, the noun phrase may be constituted by the head noun alone or it may comprise the head noun plus determiners (i.e. demonstratives and possessives), quantifiers (i.e. indefinites and

numerals) and/or modifiers (i.e. adjectives, prepositional phrases, relative clauses), as illustrated in (45) to (49) below:

(45) COKWE: *mutfu yono* (Martins 1990: 67)

mu-tfu *yo-no*
C1-person C1-DEM1
'this person'

(46) COKWE: *kabinji k'ami* (*ibid.* 53)

ka-binji *k-ami*
C12-slave C12-POSS.1SG
'my slave'

(47) COKWE: *tchuma tchimwe* (*ibid.* 73)

tch-uma *tch-imwe*
C7-thing C7-INDEF
'some/a thing'

(48) COKWE: *mitondo awana* (*ibid.* 59)

mi-tondo *awana*
C4-tree four
'four trees'

(49) COKWE: *tchuma tchipema* (*ibid.* 67)

tch-uma *tchi-pema*
C7-thing C7-good
'good things'

Concerning word order, the examples above show that, unlike EP, the head noun in Cokwe is typically the left-most element in the noun phrase, i.e. all non-nuclear elements must follow it. There are specific word order constraints governing the position of non-nuclear elements in relation to one another, but these will be analyzed in due course in section 4.2 below.

The head noun in Cokwe can be replaced by free person markers (i.e. personal pronouns in traditional terminology), but only when they denote a [+ human] subject (i.e. class 1/2 nouns). The free person markers in Cokwe are given in Table 21 below:

TABLE 21

Free [+ human] subject markers in Cokwe

(based on Barbosa 1989; Diarra 1990; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Martins 1990; Santos 1962)

PERSON NUMBER	MARKER
1SG	<i>yami</i> 'I'
2SG	<i>yena</i> 'you'
3SG	<i>yie, mwene</i> 'he/she'
1PL	<i>yetwe</i> 'we'
2PL	<i>yenuwe</i> 'you'
3PL	<i>ene, yo, ayo</i> 'they'

Object noun phrases, on the other hand, cannot be replaced by free person markers in Cokwe. In fact, both direct and indirect object noun phrases are encoded by means of bound person markers on the verb, which are formally the same as those used to encode agreement between the subject and the verb. The fact that Cokwe's person markers, regardless of whether they refer to the subjects or objects, are part of the internal structure of the verb and not of the noun phrase would require that they be described and analyzed in Chapter 5 and not here. However, while this chapter focuses on the noun phrase rather than the verb phrase, it makes sense to describe Cokwe object markers here for two reasons. Firstly, these markers do indeed refer to noun phrases. Secondly, as will be shown in section 4.2.3 below, understanding how Cokwe encodes objects in the verb phrase is of key importance in understanding the behavior of free object person markers in DVP.

There are two sets of bound object/subject person markers in Cokwe: those referring to humans (i.e. class 1/2), which distinguish between first, second and third-person singular and plural, and those referring to non-humans, which refer to the third person only and are formally the same as the concord of their respective noun classes (cf. Table 4 for a list of each class concord). Person markers used for humans are given in Table 22 below¹⁶:

¹⁶ The set of person-number markers that are given on Table 8 are not only the same in all the sources consulted on Cokwe but also consistent with what is known about P/N markers and categories in the languages of the Bantu branch in general. Their spelling varies slightly with each source, but this reflects a well-attested phenomenon in the description of African languages by Europeans (i.e. different perception of the same sounds according to the author's mother tongue) and is not likely to be associated with any different morphosyntactic behavior of the P/N markers. This was confirmed not only by means of an analysis of the syntactic behavior of the markers in the examples given in each source but also by means of consultation with a native speaker of Cokwe and cross-referencing with reference works on the Bantu languages.

TABLE 22.
Person-number categories and markers in Cokwe verb forms
 Based on (Martins 1990)

CATEGORY	MARKER(S)	EXAMPLE(S) (Martins 1990: 96)
1SG	<i>ngu-</i> or <i>n-</i> (before consonant or vowel, respectively)	<i>ngu-na-zang-a</i> 1SG-PRS-love-FV 'I love' <i>n-aku-zang-a</i> 1SG-HAB-love-FV 'I love (often)'
2SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-na-zang-a</i> 2SG-PRS-love-FV 'You love'
3SG	<i>ka-</i> <i>a-</i> or <i>u-</i> (when TMA marker is verb-initial)	<i>ka-na-zang-a</i> 3SG-PRS-love-FV 'He/she loves'
1PL	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-na-zang-a</i> 1PL-PRS-love-FV 'We love'
2PL	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-na-zang-a</i> 2PL-PRS-love-FV 'You love'
3PL	<i>ka-</i> <i>aa-</i> or <i>a-</i> (when TMA marker is verb-initial)	<i>ka-na-zang-a</i> 3PL-PRS-love-FV 'They love' <i>m'a-zang-a</i> FUT.3PL-love-FV 'They will love'

Concerning the encoding of objects, two strategies are used in Cokwe depending on the valency of the verb. Hence, in monotransitive uses of the verb, the object occurs in pre-stem position as a prefix (i.e. referred to as OM¹ slot in section 5.1.2 of chapter 5). This is illustrated in examples (50) to (51) below:

- (50) COKWE
Yie ka na ri zang a (Martins 1990: 86)
 He 3SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
 'He loves himself'

- (51) COKWE
Yena u na ngu zang a (Martins 1990: 164)
 You 2SG.SBJ PROG 1SG.OBJ love FV
 'You want/love me'

In ditransitive uses of a verb, on the other hand, the direct object occurs in post-stem position whereas the indirect marker (and locatives) occur in pre-stem position, as illustrated in examples (52) and (53) below:

(52) COKWE
a ngu h-el-e yo (Martins 1990: 51)
 3PL.SM 1SG.IO give-APPL-FV it:3SG.DO
 'They gave it to me'

(53) COKWE
ua ngu fúét-el-e jo (Atkins 1955: 266)
 3SG.SM 1SG.IO pay-APPL-FV it.3SG.DO
 'He paid it to me (money)'

It should be noted that the first object marker (henceforth OM) in examples (52) and (53) above is clearly a prefix, whereas more data than those given in the sources are necessary to determine the morphological status of the second OM. However, building on what is known about Bantu languages allowing both pre- and post-verbal OM it can be claimed that the second OM in the examples above is most likely either an enclitic or a post-verbal pronoun (cf. Nurse 2008: 216). This hypothesis seems to be reinforced by the fact that some sources note that the second OM can be preceded either by a preposition or the objects's noun class concord when referring to objects and animals (e.g. Santos 1962: 53).

Cokwe also displays a single reflexive/reciprocal person marker, which, unlike EP, is the same for all persons and numbers, i.e. *ri*. The use of this marker is illustrated in examples (54) to (55) below:

(54) COKWE
Yami ngu na ri zang a (Martins 1990: 86)
 I 1SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
 'I love myself'

(55) COKWE
Yena u na ri zang a (Martins 1990: 86)
 you 2SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
 'You love yourself'

The relevance of substrate contribution to the structure of the noun phrase in Dundo Vernacular Portuguese is analyzed in section 4.2 below.

4.2. CONTACT-INDUCED TENDENCIES IN DVP'S NOUN PHRASE

DVP does not differ from EP regarding the number of elements in the noun phrase or their grammatical categories. However, it does display significant differences regarding the word order of those elements, especially possessive and person markers. Number and gender marking and agreement also obey patterns that are essentially different from those used in EP. The following sections provide a description of these differences and seek to account for them.

4.2.1. NUMBER: VARIABLE MARKING AND AGREEMENT

As shown in section 4.1.1, EP requires that all variable nouns and agreeing targets be marked for number by adding the plural number marker {-s} (Mira Mateus *et al.* 2003: 330)¹⁷. This is illustrated in the example below:

(56) EP: *Todos estes livros novos são importantes* 'All these new books are important'

However, several linguists have shown that in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola, the head of the noun phrase is seldom marked for number, as plurality is often indicated by adding {-s} only to the leftmost elements in the noun phrase. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| (57) | AVP: | <i>Tem muitas mulher_</i> | 'He has many women' | (Mendes 1985: 149) |
| | EP: | <i>Tem muitas mulheres</i> | | |
| (58) | AVP: | <i>Vigia as criança_</i> | 'Watch over the children' | (Mingas 2000: 67) |
| | EP: | <i>Vigia as crianças</i> | | |
| (59) | AVP: | <i>Estas duas mulher_</i> | 'These two women' | (Cabral 2005: 75) |
| | EP: | <i>Estas duas mulheres</i> | | |

¹⁷ For an opposing view see Naro and Scherre (2000), who claim that "despite the monolithic anti-variation front we encountered among fellow linguists in Portugal, there are some exceptions in the literature. The most notable is a monograph entitled *A linguagem dos pescadores da Ericeira* by Joana Lopes Alves, first published in Lisbon in 1965" (*ibid.* 239). Moreover, Naro and Scherre (2000) argue that "Texts from earlier stages of Portuguese, particularly those from the period before grammatical norms were established during the classical stage of the sixteenth century, also occasionally show lack of agreement markers" (*ibid.* 242). Hence, Naro & Scherre declare themselves under "the impression that variable agreement can be found throughout the entire territory of Portugal, both within the noun phrase and between the verb and the subject" (*ibid.* 241). This hypothesis is interesting, but it strikes us as premature, not only because evidence of variable agreement is "statistically rare" (*ibid.*), but also because the occurrence of this phenomenon in most of the data provided by Naro and Scherre (2000) can be accounted for by different semantic and pragmatic explanations (e.g. *foi há muito ano* 'that was many years ago' and *andei por muito sítio* 'I've been to many places' are indeed common sentences in EP, but these seem to be best interpreted as emphatic set expressions). Consequently, further studies are needed before one can state beyond doubt that variable agreement is in fact a structural feature of EP rather than the result of performance errors (cf. the definition of error given Chapter 1, section 1.5.2). The fact that "the current state of the art in linguistic theory" cannot specify at what "input level there is a switch from performance to competence" (*ibid.*) cannot be used as an argument in favour of the validity of Naro and Scherre's hypothesis.

Consequently, in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola, the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase seldom agree in number with the head noun. In fact, Cabral (2005: 73), building on the analysis of 135 written documents produced by Angolan students (of whom 60 attend primary school, 50 attend secondary school and 23 were applying to a university), shows that the lack of number agreement (both nominal and verbal) is not only the most common morphosyntactic feature in his corpus (i.e. 32%) but also one whose incidence is apparently not constrained by formal instruction (i.e. 53 instances in primary school students, 40 in secondary school students and 53 instances in university applicants).

My analysis of DVP shows that regarding nominal number marking and agreement this variety does not differ significantly from the other varieties of Angolan vernacular Portuguese hitherto described in the literature, in that plural number in DVP is also typically only marked on the non-nuclear elements of the noun phrase whereas the head noun is typically left unmarked (i.e. occurs in the SG form). This is illustrated in examples (60) to (63) below:

- (60) a. DVP: *a-s* *folha_* *é* *verde*
 the.F-PL leaf.SG is green.SG
 'The leafs are green'
- b. EP: *a-s* *folha-s* *são* *verde-s*
 the.F-PL leaf.PL are green.PL
 'The leafs are green'
- (61) a. DVP: *a-s* *mulher_* *é* *seis*
 the.F-PL woman.SG is six
 'There are six women'
- b. EP: *a-s* *mulheres* *são* *seis*
 the.F-PL woman.SG are six.
 'There are six women'
- (62) a. DVP: *o-s* *pai_* *do* *gigante*
 the.M-PL parent.SG of.the giant
 'The giant's parents'
- b. EP: *o-s* *pai-s* *do* *gigante*
 the.M-PL parent.PL of.the giant
 'The giant's parents'
- (63) a. DVP: *ajudo* *o-s* *papai_* *em* *casa*
 help:PRS.IND.1SG the.M-PL parent PREP home
 'I help my parents at home'
- b. EP: *ajudo* *o-s* *papai-s* *em* *casa*
 help:PRS.IND.1SG the.M-PL parent-PL PREP home
 'I help my parents at home'

For Marques (1983: 219), Gärtner (1989: 159) and Vilela (1999: 56) the lack of number marking on the head of the noun phrase is a consequence of the fact that in the Bantu languages number is marked on nouns by means of prefixes rather than suffixes, as shown in Table 18 above. Hence, the aforementioned linguists argue that, in acquiring Portuguese, Angolans interpret the Portuguese article as equivalent to the Bantu prefix that typically marks class-number on the head noun.

The problem with this explanation is that it can only account for instances in which the noun phrase is composed of an article and a head noun, as in examples (60) to (63) above, but it does not account for instances such as those illustrated in the examples below, in which the head noun is preceded by non-nuclear elements that belong to grammatical categories other than articles. Examples (64), (66) and (68) were uttered by older and uneducated L2 speakers of Portuguese, whereas examples (65), (67) and (69) were uttered by L2 speakers who are younger and more educated:

- (64) a. DVP: *é mãe de três filho_*
 be:PRS.IND.3SG mother of three child
 'I am a mother of three'
- b. EP: *sou mãe de três filho-s*
 be:PRS.IND.1SG mother of three child-PL
 'I am a mother of three'
- (65) a. DVP: *duas prova_ cada dia*
 two test.SG each day
 'two tests every day'
- b. EP: *duas prova- cada dia*
s
 two test.PL each day
 'two tests every day'
- (66) a. DVP: *tem muita-s língua_*
 be many.F-PL language
 'There are many languages'
- b. EP: *há muita-s língua-s*
 exist many.F-PL language.PL
 'There are many languages'
- (67) a. DVP: *ele marca muito-s golo_*
 he scores many-PL goal
 'He scores many goals'
- b. EP: *ele marca muito-s golo-s*
 he scores many-PL goal-PL
 'He scores many goals'

- (68) a. DVP: *aquele-s* *prédio* *que* *estão* *ali*
 that-PL building that are there
 'Those buildings there'
- b. EP: *aquele-s* *prédio-s* *que* *estão* *ali*
 that-PL building-PL that are there
 'Those buildings there'
- (69) a. DVP: *nesse-s* *área*
 in.that.M-PL area
 'In those areas'
- b. EP: *nessa-s* *área-s*
 in.that.F-PL area
 'In those areas'

It is interesting to notice that the fact that the head noun is systematically left unmarked for number in DVP contrasts with Schuchardt's (1888: 69) description of late 19th century Angolan Portuguese, which allegedly only lacked the inflectional plural marker on nouns occurring after numerals. As noted by Chavagne (2005: 241), it is likely that the lack of plural number marking is more systematic on nouns following numerals, in that numerals are inherently plural (except for 0 and 1), but as shown in examples (64) to (69) and regardless of the grammatical category of the non-nuclear elements the head noun is systematically left unmarked for plural number in DVP, which indicates that the simplification of the nominal inflectional paradigm today in this interior variety of Portuguese is more intense than the inflectional simplification found by Schuchardt in late 19th century Portuguese spoken on the cities along the coast of Angola.

The noun phrases illustrated in examples (60) to (69) have two elements only (i.e. the head noun and one non-nuclear element). However, it does not seem to be the number of elements in the noun phrase either that explains the mismatch between the number marking of the head noun (i.e. SG) and that of the non-nuclear elements (i.e. PL) of the noun phrase in DVP. This mismatch seems to be systematic regardless of the number of elements in the noun phrase, as illustrated in examples (70) to (73) below, in which the head noun co-occurs with more than a non-nuclear element (i.e. a definite article and a possessive determiner) and only the latter are marked for plural:

- (70) a. DVP: *o-s* *meu-s* *filho*
 the.M-PL my.M-PL child
 'my children'
- b. EP: *o-s* *meu-s* *filho-s*
 the.M-PL my.M-PL child-PL
 'my children'

- (71) **a. DVP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *estudo_*
the.M-PL my.M-PL study
‘my studies’
- b. EP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *estudo-s*
the.M-PL my.M-PL study-PL
‘my studies’
- (72) **a. DVP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *colega_*
the.M-PL my.M-PL colleague
‘my colleagues’
- b. EP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *colega-s*
the.M-PL my.M-PL colleague-PL
‘my colleagues’
- (73) **a. DVP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *passatempo_*
the.M-PL my.M-PL hobby
‘my hobbies’
- b. EP:** *o-s* *meu-s* *passatempo-s*
the.M-PL my.M-PL hobby-PL
‘my bobbies’
- (74) **a. DVP:** *a* *maioria* *d-o-s* *meu-s* *amigo_*
the.F.SG majority of-the.M-PL my.M-PL friend
‘the majority o my friends’
- b. EP:** *a* *maioria* *d-o-s* *meu-s* *amigo-s*
the.F.SG majority of-the.M-PL my.M-PL friend-PL
‘the majority o my friends’
- (75) **a. DVP:** *se* *o-s* *meu-s* *pai_* *tiverem* *dinheiro*
if the.M-PL my.M-PL parent have money
‘if my parents have money’
- b. EP:** *se* *o-s* *meu-s* *pai-s* *tiverem* *dinheiro*
If the.M-PL my.M-PL parent-PL have money
‘if my parents have money’

The semantic features of the head noun (i.e. animate, inanimate, etc) do not seem to be a relevant criteria either in accounting for the kind of number marking and agreement strategies one finds in DVP. This is made clear by the fact that the lack of plural number marking and agreement in DVP occurs with both animate and inanimate head nouns, as illustrated in the examples given above.

It should be noted that with the exception of example (62), all of the other examples given above were produced by L2 speakers of DVP, which shows that the lack of plural number marking and agreement is a linguistic feature that can be found mainly in

the speech of L2 speakers of DVP. L1 speakers of DVP do sometimes fail to make the head noun and its targets agree in number, but in most cases they follow the European norm and mark plural number in both the head noun and its agreeing targets.

It should also be noted that of the DVP examples given above, only examples (60), (61), (64), (70) and (71) were produced by older L2 speakers of DVP. All the remaining examples were produced by young, educated L2 speakers of Portuguese, which is a good illustration of the degree of dissemination of lack of nominal number agreement phenomena among L2 speakers of all ages and levels of instruction in Dundo.

In fact, the data on DVP suggests that in the speech of L2 speakers of this variety plural number tends to be systematically marked exclusively by means of agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements but not on the head of the noun phrase. This seems to be so regardless of the number of elements in the noun phrase, the grammatical category of its non-nuclear elements, the semantic features of the head noun or the age and level of instruction of the speakers. The strength of this hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the plural marker {-s} disappears even in some nouns in which it is not a plural number marker, as illustrated in (76) below:

(76) a. DVP:	<i>quando</i> when 'when the holidays are over'	<i>acabar</i> end	<i>a-s</i> the.F-PL	<i>féria_</i> holiday
b. EP:	<i>quando</i> when 'when the holidays are over'	<i>acabarem</i> end	<i>a-s</i> the.F-PL	<i>féria-s</i> holiday-PL

Therefore, in light of the analysis given above, it is argued here that the lack of plural number marking on the head of the noun phrase in DVP can be accounted for by substrate influence, although not for the reasons pointed out by Marques (1983: 219), Gärtner (1989: 159) and Vilela (1999: 56). Several factors support this hypothesis. Firstly, as shown above, lack of plural number marking and agreement is typical of L2 rather than L1 varieties of DVP. In other words, it occurs in the verbal production of those speakers whose L1 is Cokwe but seldom in the speech of those who are monolingual in Portuguese. Secondly, while mismatches between the number marking of the noun and that of its target have been attested in Archaic Portuguese texts, this can hardly account for similar phenomena of agreement mismatches in DVP, not only because instances of variable plural agreement in Archaic Portuguese are 'statistically rare' (Naro and Scherre 2000: 241), but also because the use of Portuguese was not widespread in interior Angola until the mid-twentieth century (especially in the eastern provinces of the north and south of

Angola). Moreover, for one to accept this superstratist explanation as valid, one would have to explain why number marking and agreement has become obligatory in EP but not in DVP (or BVP and Mozambican Portuguese, for that matter). The explanation that best seems to account for this difference between these varieties of Portuguese is the prolonged contact with African languages, especially those of the Bantu branch.

Three aspects of the structure of Cokwe seem to have been relevant in determining the kind of plural number marking and agreement strategies one finds in DVP: Cokwe's tendency to mark number noun-initially or exclusively by means of agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase in some noun classes and its tendency for open syllables. In fact, in Cokwe, and in the majority of the Bantu languages with which Portuguese was in contact in Angola (cf. Inverno 2006), number is marked noun-initially by means of the noun class-number prefixes. Moreover, syllables typically end in a vowel. Therefore, in learning Portuguese, Cokwe-speaking Angolans did not interpret the Portuguese plural marker {-s} as such and the marker was systematically deleted in Portuguese loans to Cokwe regardless of their endings. Plural number was marked on loans by means of Cokwe noun class prefixes, as illustrated in the examples below:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------|--------------------|-----|----------------------|---------------------|
| (77) | COKWE: | <i>_njapela</i> | vs. | <i>ma-njapela</i> | (Barbosa 1989: 372) |
| | | pocket | | C6-pocket | |
| | | 'pocket' | | 'pockets' | |
| (78) | COKWE: | <i>_phalasuku</i> | vs. | <i>ma-phalasku</i> | (Barbosa 1989: 424) |
| | | bottle | | C6-bottle | |
| | | 'bottle' | | 'bottles' | |
| (79) | COKWE: | <i>_ngalavanta</i> | vs. | <i>ji-ngalavanta</i> | (Martins 1990: 46) |
| | | 'tie' | | C10-tie | |
| | | 'tie' | | 'ties' | |

In loans ending in a consonant, whose plural marker in EP is *-es*, only the vowel was maintained, probably as a means of fitting the loan to the structure of Cokwe syllables. In fact, there is evidence in the literature that this was a process that occurred throughout Bantu-speaking Angola and not only in Cokwe-speaking Dundo, as illustrated by Oliveira (1990: 89) and Chatelain's (1894 [2001]: 255) quote below concerning the treatment given to Portuguese loans in Kimbundu:

As the Portuguese were the first whites with whom the Angolans came in contact, and as the natives take at first all whites to be kinsmen, the name *Putu* was extended to all "white man's land" [...] Thus my native lad from Malanje called America *Putu ia ngeleji*, i.e., "the Putu of the English". In Angola, when a white man is found not to be a Portuguese, he is called a *ki-ngeleji*, pl. *I-ngeleji*, from the Portuguese "Inglez" [*emphasis in the original*].

This phonological rule (i.e. deletion of *-s* in Portuguese loanwords ending in a consonant) seems to be active still in DVP, as I was able to find utterances in my corpus in which the plural marker *-s* disappears but the vowel [i] is maintained. Example (80) below was produced by a 17-year-old woman, and (81) was uttered by an old man whose age I was unable to confirm:

- (80) **a. DVP:** *outro bebé só tem dez mesi*
 other baby only have ten month
 'the other baby is only 10 months old'
- b. EP:** *outro bebé só tem dez mes-es*
 other baby only have ten month-PL
 'the other baby is only 10 months old'
- (81) **a. DVP:** *ante portuguesi irem embora*
 before Portuguese go away
 'before the Portuguese left'
- b. EP:** *antes do-s portugues-es irem embora*
 before of:the.M-PL Portuguese- PL go away
 'before the Portuguese left'

Moreover, as shown in section 4.1.2, the data from 19th and early 20th century grammars of Cokwe indicate that in a considerable number of noun classes the plural number markers were often not used, so plural number was exclusively marked by means of agreement markers on the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase¹⁸. This is the case of some nouns in classes 4 (e.g. *mwalwa* 'sun(s)'), 8 (e.g. *papo* 'breast(s)') and 10 (e.g. *phoko* 'knife(s)'), to give just a few. Recent research on the acquisition of the Bantu languages by children has also shown that in an initial stage, no noun class markers are used on the head noun (cf. discussion in section 4.1.2). This indicates that unlike in EP, in Cokwe, plurality is not a feature of the noun but rather of the noun phrase (cf. contributions to Katamba 1995). The analysis of the DVP data suggests that the same is true of DVP, which explains the variety's tendency to mark plural number only on the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase¹⁹. This is likely to have reinforced the previous use of a phonological rule of *-s* deletion in Portuguese loans to Cokwe and other languages of the Bantu branch spoken in Angola.

¹⁸ This is the case of some nouns in classes 4 (e.g. *mwalwa* 'sun(s)'), 8 (e.g. *papo* 'breast(s)') and 10 (e.g. *phoko* 'knife(s)'), to give just a few.

¹⁹ This hypothesis, if tested with data from BVP, can offer a view of the origin of similar phenomena of variable number agreement in BVP other than the one presented by Naro and Scherre (2000), i.e. a European origin.

Nonetheless, the fact that number in Cokwe (and in the other Bantu languages spoken in Angola) is marked to the left of the noun by means of prefixes must also be considered a plausible explanation to account for number marking strategies in DVP and in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general. In fact, leftmost elements do tend to attract plural number marking in DVP, regardless of whether they are the first element in a compound noun, as in (82) and (83), or the complex head of the noun phrase, as in (84) and (85):

- (82) **a. DVP:** *Afro-s-americano_*
Afro-PL-American.M
'Afro-Americans'
- b. EP:** *Afro-americano-s*
Afro-American-PL
'Afro-Americans'
- (83) **a. DVP:** *guarda-s-chuva*
keep-PL-rain
'umbrellas'
- b. EP:** *guarda-chuva-s*
keep-rain-PL
'umbrellas'
- (84) **a. DVP:** *há coisas que ele-s próprio_ exigem*
exist things that 3PL self demand
'there are things they themselves demand'
- b. EP:** *há coisas que ele-s próprio-s exigem*
exist things that 3PL self-PL demand
'there are things they themselves demand'
- (85) **a. DVP:** *você-s branco_ tem bué de dinheiro*
you-PL white have much of money
'you whites have lots of money'
- b. EP:** *você-s branco-s têm muito dinheiro*
you-PL white-PL have much money
'you whites have lots of money'

In fact, it is the attraction of plural number marking by the leftmost elements in the noun phrase that seems to account for those instances in which the head noun in DVP is exceptionally marked for number, as in (86) and (87) below:

- (86) **a. DVP:** *em Angola temos muita-s língua-s materna_*
in Angola have many-PL language-PL maternal
'there are many mother tongues in Angola'

- b. EP:** *em Angola temos muita-s língua-s maternal-s*
 in Angola have many-PL language-PL maternal- PL
 'there are many mother tongues in Angola'
- (87) **a. DVP:** *uma da-s língua-s mais falada_*
 one of:the.F-PL language-PL more spoken
 '[Portuguese] is one of the most widely spoken languages [in the world]
- b. EP:** *uma da-s língua-s mais falada-s*
 one of:the.F-PL language-PL more spoken-PL
 '[Portuguese] is one of the most widely spoken languages [in the world]

Similar instances in which the head noun is atypically marked for number have been attested in the literature on other varieties of AVP, as illustrated in (88) below:

- (88) **a. DVP:** *conheço outra-s ciência-s auxiliar_* (Cabral 2005: 31)
 know other.F-PL science-PL auxiliary
 'I know other auxiliary sciences'
- b. EP:** *conheço outra-s ciência-s auxiliar-es*
 know other.F-PL science-PL Auxiliary-PL
 'I know other auxiliary sciences'

In fact, there is evidence in the literature that the tendency to only mark number in the leftmost elements in the noun phrase is not restricted to DVP but can be found in all varieties of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola and Brazil (cf. Holm 2004: 102 citing Guy 1989) hitherto described in the literature. Moreover, as noted earlier, the overwhelming majority of linguists agree that this tendency in AVP is explained by the fact that number is marked noun-initially in the languages of the Bantu branch spoken in the country. This is illustrated below with a quote by Chavagne (2005):

La syntaxe du kimbundu et des langues bantu en général ne fait donc jamais porter la marque du pluriel à la fin des mots, d'où l'hypothèse admise que la réduction de ces flexions serait due à l'influence du système de classes à préfixe des langues bantu. Mais une autre raison pourrait être phonologique étant donné que tous les mots kimbundu se terminent par une voyelle. Dans les trois syllabes de *os outros* c'est la dernière qui a la moins d'intensité, qui est donc la moins perceptible, et la consonne finale est plus faible que la voyelle par le fait qu'elle n'existe pas dans cette position en kimbundu. Nous avons donc deux influences convergentes et toutes deux du substrat bantu. (*ibid.* 241)

Therefore, building on what is known about number marking and agreement in the noun phrase in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general and on our analysis of the DVP data above, I believe there is solid evidence to make the following claims: (i) in L2 DVP the head noun is typically unmarked for number. Its number value is typically only made clear by means of the plural number suffixes added to the non-nuclear elements in

the noun phrase; (ii) this is true regardless of the number of non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase, their grammatical category and semantic features or the speakers' age and level of instruction; (iii) when the noun phrase is headed by a compound noun or nominal expression its first element can exceptionally take the plural number marker {-s} due to the speakers' L1 tendency to mark number to the left of the noun.

4.2.2. GENDER: VARIABLE MARKING AND AGREEMENT

As shown in the previous section, linguists are agreed on the existence of variable number marking and agreement in the noun phrase of AVP as a consequence of its tendency to mark plural number only on leftmost elements. An analysis of the available data on DVP allowed the identification of stable patterns of number marking in this variety which can be traced back to the structure of Cokwe, the Bantu language with which Portuguese was in closest contact in this region of Angola. However, as far as sex-gender marking and agreement are concerned, there is very little available information in the literature on the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. On the one hand, linguists' remarks on this topic are often too brief and simplistic, as illustrated by the two following quotes:

Sendo a distinção sexual inexistente em Kimbundu, os locutores da variante [i.e. Luanda Portuguese] apresentam uma incapacidade em fazer a diferença entre o acordo do determinante com um nome do género masculino e/ou feminino... (Mingas 2000: 83)

No quimbundo o número recebe tantas variações quantas as classes (...) Por darem menos importância ao género aparecem no seu discurso discordâncias como "no mesmo barriga". (Mendes 1985: 214)

On the other hand, because there are so few linguists working on the description of the linguistic structure of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola and because so far they have tended to produce descriptions that are too general rather than detailed analyses of specific linguistic phenomena, the data are few and most often repeated in publications by different authors. Nonetheless, the data allow us to conclude that whereas AVP distinguishes between masculine and feminine sex-gender values, there is seldom agreement between the head noun and the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase, in that there is often a mismatch between the sex-gender of head nouns (i.e. feminine) and that of non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase (i.e. masculine), as illustrated in the examples below.

- (89) a. DVP: *no* *mesmo* *barriga* (Mendes 1985: 149)
 in:the.M same.M womb.F
 'in the same womb'
- b. EP: *na* *mesma* *barriga*
 in:the.F same.F womb.F
 'in the same womb'
- (90) a. DVP: *cancela* *pequeno* (*ibid.*)
 gate.F small.M
 'small gate'
- b. EP: *cancela* *pequena*
 gate.F small.F
 'small gate'
- (91) a. DVP: *lixo* *d-o* *nosso* *cidade* (Cabral 2005: 48)
 garbage of-the.M POSS.2SG.M city.F
 'te garbage from our city'
- b. EP: *lixo* *d-a* *nossa* *cidade*
 garbage of-the.F POSS.2SG.F city.F
 'te garbage from our city'

Similar patterns of lack of sex-based gender agreement have also been attested in some varieties of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, e.g. in that of Helvécia. According to Baxter (in Mello, Baxter, Holm and Megenney 1998: 117), “o principal aspecto desta variação tem a ver com a ocorrência de núcleos de SN femininos com modificadores masculinos, por exemplo: *o moça, tia cego*”.

My analysis of the DVP corpus indicates that in the speech of older and less educated L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo there seems to be a similar tendency to use masculine non-nuclear elements with feminine theme *-a* or athematic head nouns:

- (92) a. DVP: *o-s* *palavra*
 the.M-PL word.F
 'the words'
- b. EP: *a-s* *palavra-s*
 the.F-PL word.F.PL
 'the words'
- (93) a. DVP: *esse-s* *visita*
 DEM.M-PL visit.F
 'those visitors'
- b. EP: *essa-s* *visita-s*
 DEM.F-PL visit.F-PL
 'those visitors'
- (94) a. DVP: *nesse-s* *área-s*
 DEM.M-PL area.F-PL
 'in those areas'

- b. EP:** *nessa-s área-s*
DEM.F-PL area.F-PL
'in those areas'
- (95) **a. DVP:** *todo família*
all.M family.F
'the whole family'
- b. EP:** *toda a família*
all.F the.F family.F
'the whole family'
- (96) **a. DVP:** *outro filha*
other.M daughter.F
'the other daughter'
- b. EP:** *a outra filha*
the.F other.F daughter.F
'the other daughter'
- (97) **a. DVP:** *ficou só n-o terceira [classe]*
stay.PRT.IND.3SG only in-the.M third.F class
'I only studied until the third class'
- b. EP:** *fiquei só pel-a terceira [classe]*
stay.PRT.IND.3SG only by-the.F third.F class
'I only studied until the third class'
- (98) **a. DVP:** *o mamã*
the.M mummy.F
'mummy'
- b. EP:** *a mamã*
the.M mummy.F
'mummy'
- (99) **a. DVP:** *mãe-s quioco-s*
mother.F-PL Cokwe.M-PL
'Cokwe mothers'
- b. EP:** *mãe-s quioca-s*
mother.F-PL Cokwe.F-PL
'Cokwe mothers'

However, at the present stage of knowledge one cannot affirm that this is the default sex-based gender marking rule in DVP's noun phrase. There are two reasons for this. First, the phenomenon tends to occur only in the speech of older and less educated L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo. In the speech of L1 and younger and more educated L2 DVP speakers there is typically agreement between the gender value of the head noun and that of the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase. Second, there are innumerable counter-examples to this rule in my corpus, i.e. theme *-o* and athematic masculine nouns

occurring with feminine non-nuclear elements. This is illustrated in examples (100) to (102) below:

- (100) a. DVP: *Primeira filho já tem trinta e oito anos*
 first.F son already has thirty and eight years
 'my oldest son is 38-years old already'
- b. EP: *Primeiro filho já tem trinta e oito anos*
 first.M son already has thirty and eight years
 'my oldest son is 38-years old already'
- (101) a. DVP: *eu tinha minha-s irmão-s*
 I had my.F-PL sibling.M-PL
 'I had siblings/brothers/sisters'
- b. EP: *eu tinha o-s meu-s irmão-s*
 I had the.M-PL my.M-PL sibling.M-PL
 'I had siblings/brothers'
- (102) a. DVP: *fui lá em baixo n-a minha mano*
 went.1SG there in down in-the.F my.F brother
 'I went to see my brother downtown'
- b. EP: *fui lá abaixo n-a minha mano*
 went.1SG there down in-the.F my.F brother
 'I went to see my brother downtown'

Therefore, my analysis of the DVP corpus shows that as far as gender marking and agreement are concerned this variety does not seem to differ significantly from other varieties of AVP hitherto described in the literature, in that there is a systematic mismatch in DVP between the sex-gender value of the head noun and that of the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase. However, unlike other contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as BVP, it is unclear at this stage what the sex-based gender value assignment rule is in DVP in that, as illustrated in the examples above, while there is indeed a tendency to use feminine head nouns with masculine non-nuclear elements, numerous counter-examples can also be found in which the opposite occurs.

Hence, rather than lack of sex-gender agreement, what one finds in DVP's noun phrase is the occurrence of variable agreement between the head noun and its agreeing targets. As stated earlier in this section, the existing literature on other varieties of AVP does not provide any explanations to account for this variation and the interpretation of the DVP data is difficult, as there seem to be no rules governing sex-gender marking and agreement in the noun phrase in this variety. In fact, the variation is such that it is often possible to find conflicting strategies of sex-based gender marking in the speech of a single informant, which in the case of [+ animate] head nouns such as those in examples (103)

and (104) below makes it difficult to evaluate whether the speaker is referring to a male or female entity, even when agreement targets outside the noun phrase are taken into consideration:

- (103) DVP: *agora a senhora ficou sozinho.*
 now the.F lady was alone
 'Now you are alone.'
- Depois a senhora começa a dizer:*
 then the.F lady starts to say
 Then you start saying:
- Eu tinha mesmo minha-s irmão-s*
 I had really my.F-PL brother.M-PL
 I used to have my siblings/brothers/sisters
- e tinha toda família*
 and had all.M family.F
 and my whole family'
- (104) DVP: *só neta já tem bué de neta*
 only granddaughter.F already have SUP of granddaughter.F
 'I already have lots of granddaughters'
- É mãe d-o vinte cinco neto*
 is mother of-the.M twenty five grandson.M
 I have twenty-five grandsons/granddaughters (?)
 I am a mother to my twenty-five grandsons/granddaughters (?)

Notice that in example (103) above, for example, there is gender agreement within the noun phrase (e.g. *a senhora* 'you') but no agreement with targets outside the noun phrase (e.g. *sozinho* 'alone'). In example (104) above, on the other hand, gender agreement within the noun phrase is not an issue because the head noun occurs on its own (e.g. *neta*), but it is still impossible to know whether the speaker is referring to a male or a female because in the next clause the speaker uses *neto* 'grandson', a masculine noun, to refer to the same person it earlier referred to by means of the feminine noun *neta* 'granddaughter'.

However, it may be the case that the arbitrariness of the DVP data is only apparent. In fact, a pattern seems to emerge when one analyzes the DVP examples above: nouns referring to males seem to always occur with feminine determiners and modifiers, whereas nouns referring to females seem to always occur with masculine determiners and modifiers. In fact, the same pattern emerges when one analyzes examples of lack of gender agreement in other varieties of AVP described in the literature (cf. examples 89a to 91a, in which all feminine nouns occur with masculine determiners).

In my view this systematic gender mismatch in the speech of older and less educated L2 speakers of DVP is the product of two converging factors: opaque superstrate input, on the one hand, and substrate interference²⁰, on the other.

In fact, it is clear for anyone learning EP that gender is a key morphosyntactic category in the language in that the inherent sex-based gender value of the head noun determines the gender of its determiners and modifiers. The picture gets blurred when the learner tries to pinpoint gender marking mechanisms in EP and finds that while nouns ending in *-o* tend to be masculine and those ending in *-a* tend to be feminine, this is often not the case (cf. section 4.1.1 above for examples). In fact, the learner quickly realizes that gender distinctions are often not expressed by noun-endings but by mechanisms such as lexical pairs, derivation and composition. However, the linguistic input fails to make clear to the learner not only what the gender-assignment rules are in EP but also the contexts in which each of them applies.

In Cokwe, on the other hand, as noted in section 4.1.2 above, sex-based gender is not a relevant morphosyntactic category. Sex-based distinctions are encoded by the use of a noun stem meaning 'male' or 'female' and only when they cannot be inferred either from the noun or the context. Three sex-based gender values are allowed in Cokwe: neuter (i.e. things and humans), masculine and feminine (i.e. birds, humans and animate beings). The stem is different depending on whether the noun refers to humans, animate beings, birds or things. However, it is interesting to notice that for nouns referring to humans and animate beings masculine stems typically end in *-a* whereas feminine stems typically end in *-o* or *-u* (cf. examples in Table 20 above).

Therefore, it does not seem to be a coincidence that in both L2 varieties of DVP and in Cokwe feminine gender is associated with *-o* ending determiners whereas masculine gender is associated with those ending in *-a*. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that this association is common to the majority of the Bantu languages with which Portuguese was in contact in Angola. For example, in both Kikongo and Kimbundu the stems used to encode feminine gender end in *-u* (e.g. *nkentu* 'female' in Kikongo and *hetu* 'female' in Kimbundu) and those used to encode masculine gender end in *-a* (e.g. *kala* 'male' in Kikongo and *ndata* 'male' in Kimbundu). In fact, the "use of L1 content or function morphemes to convey meanings for which the L2 means of expression has not (yet) been

²⁰ The term *substrate interference* is used interchangeably with *L1 transfer* and it refers to "the process by which certain L1 categories and structures are retained and projected onto L2-derived forms" (Winford 2003: 251). It should be noted, however, that "L1 categories and structures may not be replicated exactly in the IL (i.e. interlanguage grammar). Learners may create compromises between L1 and L2 grammar, or other innovations that have no exact counterparts in either of the source languages" (*ibid.*)

acquired" (Winford 2003: 250) has been attested in the literature on second language acquisition and shift:

We saw examples of this in the early interlanguage of German-speaking learners of L2 English, who use words like *brills* for 'eyeglasses', and German plural inflection, as in *doge* 'dogs'. In all these cases, learners seem to follow the maxim, "When in doubt, fall back on L1 knowledge" (Winford 2003: 250)

The hypothesis for substrate influence on the kind of sex-based gender agreement patterns described above is reinforced by the fact that it only occurs in L2 varieties of DVP. In the speech of L1 speakers of DVP, gender agreement seems to follow the same rules as in EP.

Similar instances of apparently random sex-based gender marking and agreement have been attested in several other contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese, especially in Brazil. For example, Bonvini (2000: 402) attests that in the ritual *Língua dos Pretos Velhos* (lit. 'Old blacks' language') not only sex-gender marking but also agreement is random:

Although in Standard Brazilian Portuguese and in Popular Brazilian Portuguese there are two genders – masculine and feminine – in the LPV both gender marking and agreement are random:

(a) markers:

— this fluctuation affects both Portuguese and African nouns regardless of whether they refer to: (i) nouns denoting persons or objects: *criança* (F) 'child' > **kianfo** ~ **kianfa**; *moleque* 'young child' (< Kimbundu *mulèke* 'young child') > **mureku** ~ **mureka**; *garrafa* 'bottle' > **garafu**; (ii) derived nouns: *cachoeira* 'waterfall' > **cachuado**; *queda* 'fall' > **kaidaku**

(b) lack of agreement is systematic:

— phrases: *esse moleque* 'that young girl' > **eji mureka**; *meu povo* 'my people' > **mia povu**; *o meu nome* 'my name' > **eja mia nomi**; *uma queda grande* 'a big fall' > **um caída gandi**

— sentences: *a terra foi criada* 'Earth was created' > **terà foi kiadu**

(Bonvini 2000: 402 - my translation from the French)

A similar situation is found in the *Língua do Negro da Costa*, spoken in Bom Despacho, Minas Gerais. In this language variety, described in Queiroz (1998), the gender value of [-animate] nouns is variable. Hence, agreement with the head noun is determined either by the gender value it has in Portuguese or by the final vowel of the corresponding African noun, as illustrated respectively in examples (105) and (106) below:

- (105) LÍNGUA DO NEGRO DA COSTA
num caxo ingura nenhum (Queiroz 1998: 85)
 NEG have:1SG.PRS.IND money:M none.M
 'I don't have any money'
- (106) LÍNGUA DO NEGRO DA COSTA
num caxo ingura nenhuma (*ibid.*)
 NEG have:1SG.PRS.IND money:M none.F
 'I don't have any money'

Concerning [+ animate] nouns, Queiroz shows that sex-based gender distinctions in the *Língua do Negro da Costa* are encoded exclusively by means of lexical mechanisms, i.e. either by means of word pairs, as in example (107) below, or the addition of the noun *cuete* 'man' for the masculine and *ocaia* 'woman' for the feminine, as in (108) and (109), respectively:

- (107) LÍNGUA DO NEGRO DA COSTA
cuete 'man' vs. ocaia 'woman' (Queiroz 1998: 85)
- (108) LÍNGUA DO NEGRO DA COSTA
moná cuete vs. moná ocaia (*ibid.*)
 child man child woman
 'boy' 'girl'
- (109) LÍNGUA DO NEGRO DA COSTA
gombé cuete vs. gombé ocaia (*ibid.*)
 cattle man cattle woman
 'bull' 'cow'

Both the ritual *Língua dos Pretos Velhos* and the *Língua do Negro da Costa* are mixed languages (i.e. Kimbundu lexicon with Portuguese grammar) spoken by descendants of Angolan slaves in geographically or socially isolated communities in Brazil. The sex-based gender marking and agreement patterns in these varieties differ from that found in DVP in the sense that there is not a clear association between the final vowel of the stems used in Kimbundu to encode sex-based gender distinctions and the gender value of the noun. However, the patterns are similar to those found in DVP in the sense that the sex-based gender value of the head noun is expressed not by the noun itself but by its determiners and modifiers.

The most comprehensive study of similar phenomena of variable sex-gender agreement in the noun phrase in contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese is Lucchesi's (2000) PhD dissertation on the *Helvécia* variety of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese. Building on a variationist approach, Lucchesi (2000) evaluates the ways in which the internal structure of the noun phrase, the morphological properties of elements in the

noun phrase and social variables interfere with the variation in sex-gender agreement in the variety's noun phrase. Lucchesi (2000: 198-199) concludes that the internal structure of the noun phrase constrains the sex-gender agreement in *Helvécia* Portuguese in several important ways:

- (i) simpler noun phrases (i.e. head noun + a determiner) tend to display agreement;
- (ii) determiners, modifiers and quantifiers to the right of the head noun tend not to agree with it;
- (iii) variable head nouns facilitate agreement, whereas invariable ones do not;
- (iv) the semantic traits of the head noun do not constrain agreement;
- (v) the existence of number agreement implies the existence of sex-gender agreement

Concerning the morphological properties of the elements in the noun phase in *Helvécia* Portuguese, Lucchesi (2000: 219) concludes that determiners, rather than quantifiers and modifiers, are the elements that most often receive gender marking, especially those that appear to the left of the head noun or closer to it.

With regard to the constraints imposed by social variables, Lucchesi (2000: 236) concludes that younger and middle-aged speakers tend to use sex-gender agreement, as opposed to older speakers; men tend to use agreement more often than women; speakers who spent time outside of the speech community, especially younger speakers, present less variation in agreement; educated or semi-educated speakers use agreement more often than those who are uneducated.

Building on these linguistic and social data Lucchesi (2000: 219) notes that:

Na comunidade de fala de *Helvécia-Ba*, observa-se um uso muito generalizado da regra de concordância de gênero (RCG), o que pode caracterizar uma tendência histórica à fixação dessa regra em termos categóricos na gramática desse dialeto, a exemplo do que já acontece em praticamente todas as demais variedades da língua portuguesa. Desse modo, constata-se na localidade de *Helvécia-Ba* o desaparecimento iminente de uma das marcas que indicam que essa comunidade de fala passou por um processo de transmissão lingüística irregular durante a sua constituição.

What is interesting about Lucchesi's findings is that - excepting (ii), which holds, and (iii), which is unattested in my corpus - none of them holds in DVP. In fact, the linguistic data show that in DVP:

- (a) the number of elements in the noun phrase does not seem to constrain sex-based gender assignment and agreement in that both simpler and more complex noun phrases display a mismatch between the gender values of the head noun and corresponding targets;
- (b) there does not seem to be any correlation between number and sex-gender agreement, in that the occurrence of the former does not imply that of the latter;
- (c) the grammatical category of the non-nuclear elements does not appear to constrain the degree of variation in sex-gender agreement, in that this phenomena is attested with elements belonging to all major grammatical categories;

An anonymous reviewer of Inverno (2009) argued that interference from speakers' L1 cannot be used as an explanation to account for lack of sex-based gender agreement in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola because the same phenomenon is found in Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, whose speakers are monolingual in Portuguese. There are three problems with this objection. Firstly, it disregards the fact that Portuguese was not always spoken as an L1 in Brazil in general and in the aforementioned linguistic communities in particular. Secondly, it disregards the fact that a considerable number of those L2 speakers of Portuguese in Brazil were indeed L1 speakers of languages of the Bantu branch. Finally, it disregards a common path of contact-induced language shift processes:

the creation of new contact vernaculars involves a stage of continuing interaction and competition among individual interlanguage grammars that is eventually resolved into a shared communal system. The actual resolution depends on a variety of sociolinguistic factors, including the demographics of the groups in contact, the extent of inter-group interaction, the length of contact, the power relationship between the groups, their attitudes towards each other , and so on. (Winford 2003: 236)

The comparison of the sex-based gender marking and agreement patterns in DVP, *Língua dos Pretos Velhos*, *Língua do Negro da Costa* and the variety of Portuguese spoken in Helvécia shows that L1 transfer or substrate interference is undeniably an important factor in accounting for the linguistic structure of language varieties produced by the contact between Portuguese and languages of the Bantu branch, regardless of the degree of similarity or difference between the sex-based gender marking and agreement strategies found in each variety. In fact, these differences and similarities are explained by

the adoption of different L1 transfer strategies by Bantu-speaking learners of L2 Portuguese and the specific sociolinguistic setting in which each variety developed.

In other words, the different sex-based gender marking and agreement patterns found in the aforementioned varieties albeit motivated by the same linguistic process (i.e. substrate interference) reflect different sociolinguistic constraints. Therefore, DVP, *Língua dos Pretos Velhos*, *Língua do Negro da Costa* and Helvécia Portuguese can be said to represent different stages of a continuum of language contact situations, i.e. the three first varieties represent initial stages of acquisition of Portuguese under less than perfect conditions of access to the target language, as shown by partial retention of the speakers' L1 gender assignment strategies, whereas the latter, Helvécia Portuguese, represents a later stage of the acquisition process, as shown by the variety's tendency to conform to EP gender marking and agreement rules:

... o processo de mudança encontra-se em um dos seus estágios finais. Consideramos que, nesse estágio em que a mudança tende a se completar, opera-se um movimento de homogeneização dos padrões de uso lingüístico dentro da comunidade, diferentemente do que ocorre nos estágios intermediários da mudança, ou nas situações de variação estável, em que são muito nítidas as distinções na forma do encaixamento das variantes na estrutura lingüística e social. Se o momento em que a mudança se completa é aquele em que se uniformizam os usos lingüísticos em toda a estrutura da comunidade de fala, é natural que haja uma tendência a uniformização quando a mudança está prestes a se completar. (Lucchesi 2000: 236)

Hence, the comparison of the sex-based gender marking and agreement patterns in DVP, *Língua dos Pretos Velhos*, *Língua do Negro da Costa* and the variety of Portuguese spoken in Helvécia provides good evidence not only of substrate influence but also of DVP's recent development.

4.2.3. PERSON MARKERS

DVP makes the classical distinction between “the speaker of an utterance, the addressee of that utterance and the party talked about that is neither the speaker nor the addressee” (Siewierska 2004: 1), i.e. first, second and third persons, respectively. As far as the morpho-phonological form of person markers is concerned, DVP uses both independent (or free forms) and bound (or clitic forms)²¹. Both EP and Cokwe make the same person distinctions as DVP and both have free and bound person markers, as shown,

²¹ For a full account of the typology of person markers concerning their morpho-phonological form, see Siewierska (2004:16-40).

respectively, in Tables 15 and Tables 21 and 22 in section 4.1 above. However, as shown in the two following sections, this does not mean that no significant differences exist between DVP and EP concerning person markers (i.e. personal pronouns in traditional terminology).

4.2.3.1. Neutralization of case contrasts

The independent subject person markers attested in my DVP corpus are the same as those found in EP (i.e. *eu* 'I', *tu* 'you', *você* 'you', *ele* 'he', *ela* 'she', *nós* 'we', *vocês* 'you', *eles* and *elas* 'they')²². However, whereas in EP independent person markers contrast in case for all persons-numbers (i.e. there is a distinction between subject and object forms) in DVP no such contrast seems to exist for the third person. In fact, all EP third-person direct object clitic forms (*o*, *a*, *os*, *as*) seem to have disappeared from the variety and are systematically replaced either by the corresponding free subject person marker *ele* 'he' or *ela* 'she' (and corresponding plural forms *eles* and *elas*), or by the indirect object clitic form *lhe*. This is illustrated, respectively, in (110) and (111) below:

- (110) a. DVP: *Deixa ele falar!*
 let he:DO talk
 'Let him talk'
- b. EP:
Deixa-o falar!
 let 3SG.M.DO talk
 'Let him talk'
- (111) a. DVP:
É uma sigla porque lemos-lhe letra por letra
 is one acronym because read:1PL.PRS.IND-3SG.DO letter by letter
 'It's an acronym because we read each letter at a time'
- b. EP:
É uma sigla porque a lemos letra por letra
 is one acronym because 3SG.F.DO read letter by letter
 'It's an acronym because we read each letter at a time'

The third-person direct object clitic marker in DVP can sometimes be omitted, as in the example below:

- (112) a. DVP: *os filhos demoravam ou Deus recebia_*
 The sons took time or God received
 'It either took time to have children or they died'

²² Only the second-person plural marker *vós* is not attested in my DVP corpus.

- b. EP: *os filhos demoravam ou Deus recebia-* **os**
 The sons took time or God received DO.3PL.M
 'It either took time to have children or they died'

The person markers *me* (1SG), *te* (2SG) and *nos* (1PL), which in EP can be used both as direct and indirect object markers, occur only as indirect object markers in my DVP corpus. This does not mean that these forms do not exist as direct object markers in DVP, only that they were not attested in the corpus. This is indicated by the asterisk (*) in Table 23 below, which summarizes the object person marker system attested in the DVP corpus:

TABLE 23
Object person markers in DVP

	DIRECT OBJECT	INDIRECT OBJECT
1SG	*	<i>me</i>
2SG	*	<i>te</i>
3SG	<i>ele, ela, lhe</i>	<i>lhe</i>
1PL		<i>nos</i>
2PL	*	*
3PL	<i>eles, elas, lhes</i>	<i>lhes</i>

Exception made to the use of *lhe* as a third-person direct object marker, which is felt to be ungrammatical even among uneducated speakers of EP²³, the use of *ele, ela* instead of *o, a* as third-person bound object markers is a common emphatic strategy in the casual speech of native speakers of EP, as illustrated in example (113) and (114) below:

- (113) EP: *Olha ele!* 'Just look at him' (Bechara 2002: 175)
 (114) EP: *Vi-a a ela a passear.* 'I saw her going for a walk'

However, this use of *ele, ela* as direct objects markers is only possible in contemporary EP for the emphatic purposes illustrated above²⁴, even if its unmarked pragmatic use has been attested in archaic Portuguese:

Na literatura antiga encontra-se por vezes o pronome *el* ou *ele* empregado também como acusativo ou complemento directo; assim, no *Livro de Esopo* (edição de Leite de Vasconcelos) lê-se a pág. 33 *que enforcariam ell*. Veja-se exemplo idêntico em documento do século XIII, publicado por P. de Azevedo na *Revista Lusitana*, VIII, pág. 39. (Nunes 1989: 238)

²³ The use of direct object forms after verb forms ending in *-r, -s, or -z* are problematic for uneducated speakers of EP, who might say *É uma sigla porque lemos-a letra por letra*. They would not, however, use the marker *lhe*.

²⁴ Person emphasis can also be expressed in EP by means of (a) the words *mesmo* and *próprio* (e.g. *Tu mesmo disseste isso*. 'You said that yourself'; *Eu própria falarei com o João* 'I will talk to João myself.') or (b) the invariable expression *que* (e.g. *Eu é que vou falar com o João* 'I am the one who will talk to João'; *Tu é que vais falar com o João* 'You are the one who will talk to João'; *Ele é que vai falar com o João* 'He is the one who will talk to João.'). Both strategies can only be used with subject person markers (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 289).

In fact, *ele* or *ela* can be used in EP to express both direct and indirect objects, but only after verbs that are followed by prepositions, as in (115) and (116) below, or in the very reduced set of syntactic contexts listed in Bechara (2002: 174).

- (115) EP: *A ele cumpria encher as guias.* (Bechara 2002:174)
'His job was to fill in the guides'
- (116) EP: *Remeti os livros a ele e ao tio.* (Bechara 2002:174)
'I sent the books to him and his uncle'

In all other contexts in EP the third-person bound direct object is expressed by *o* or *a* and the indirect object by *lhe*, as illustrated in (117) and (118) below²⁵:

- (117) EP: *Eu respeito-o muito.* (Cunha e Cintra 1995: 302)
'I respect him very much'
Cf. **Eu respeito-lhe muito.*
* 'I respect him very much.'
- (118) EP: *Ele viu-lhe a cara.* 'He saw her face'

In light of this, it could be argued that the replacement of EP third-person direct object markers *o(a)*, *a(s)* by third-person independent subject markers in DVP may be either a retention of archaic structures of EP²⁶ or the product of analogy with similar uses of *ele(s)*, *ela(s)* for emphatic purposes in EP. This seems to be the argument made by Mendes (1985: 139). However, none of these explanations seems to account for the lack of case distinctions in DVP's person markers paradigm. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, as noted by Gärtner (1989: 43), the use of Portuguese was not widespread in Angola before the effective colonization of the territory in the late 19th century, or early 20th century in the case of Lunda Norte and most of interior Angola. Secondly, the analogy hypothesis does not account for the instances in which the direct object clitic markers are replaced by *lhe*, a strategy that is ungrammatical in EP.

In Inverno (2006: 141) I justified the use of *lhe* as a direct object marker in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola as follows:

Considering AVP's tendency to omit word final consonants, example (185) seems to be a means of avoiding the occurrence of two contiguous vowels, which is not possible in most Bantu languages, by using a person marker starting with a consonant, i.e. *lhe*.

²⁵ This is true only of third person markers. First and second person clitic markers *me*, *te*, *nos*, *vos* can be used both as direct and indirect objects (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 302).

²⁶ In fact, this is the explanation advanced in Gärtner (1989: 43) to account for the use of *lhe* as a direct object marker in Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP).

As will be shown in chapter 5, DVP does indeed tend to follow the consonant-vowel syllabic pattern found in Cokwe. It is also true that the disappearance of third-person direct object markers in DVP is indeed motivated by the linguistic structure of Cokwe, but not in the way suggested in Inverno (2006), which does not account for the use of *ele(s)*, *ela(s)* as direct object markers in DVP.

Therefore, a more detailed analysis of the Cokwe data allows me to confidently hypothesize that two aspects of the linguistic structure of Cokwe account for the replacement of direct object clitics *o(s)*, *a(s)* in DVP by *ele,ela*, on the one hand, and *lhe*, on the other. Firstly, as shown in section 4.1.2 above, there is no distinction between subject and object person markers in Cokwe, i.e. they are formally the same. Secondly, there is also no formal distinction between direct and indirect object markers in Cokwe. As also shown in sub-section 4.1.2 above, it is the order in which the markers occur in the verb form that encodes case distinctions, i.e. subject markers occur verb-initially, whereas object markers are either encliticized or suffixed to the verb form depending on the valency of the verb. This explains why DVP uses the same markers to encode both subjects and objects, i.e. *ele/ela(s)*, on the one hand, and *lhe* to encode direct and indirect objects on the other. The fact that EP allows the use of these markers to encode objects in some contexts is likely to have only reinforced Cokwe-speakers' tendency to use the same markers to encode both subjects and objects, on the one hand, and direct and indirect objects, on the other.

The replacement of EP object markers *o* and *a* by either *ele* 'he' / *ela* 'she' or *lhe* as a consequence of substrate interference seems to be a general feature of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola, rather than an exclusive feature of the variety spoken in Dundo. In fact, Chavagne (2005: 227) defines the use of *lhe* as a direct object marker as "une veritable tendance en Angola". Concerning the use of *ele/ela* as direct object markers, the author states that "le phenomena existe en Angola mais il est loin d'avoir la fréquence de l'emploi de *lhe* dans la meme fonction (*ibid.* 229). Mendes (1985: 139) and Marques (1983: 222-223) also include this accusative use of *ele/ela* and *lhe* among the defining features of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. In fact, Marques (1983: 222-223) clearly states that the replacement of *o* and *a* by *ele/ela* and *lhe* is motivated by interference from the structure of the speakers' Bantu L1s:

Não será já esta construção uma marca do português de Angola, de tal maneira ele já está vulgarizado por todo o nosso país? Reparemos ainda no seguinte: o pronome pessoal complemento directo ou indirecto em kikoongo, umbundu e kimbundu não ocupa a mesma posição que ocupa na língua portuguesa, pois que naquelas línguas o pronome antepõe-se ao verbo, contrariamente ao que acontece na língua portuguesa em que a posição do pronome é no fim do verbo. O que se passa com a 3ª pessoa, passa-se com todas as outras pessoas (...) No nosso caso, as interferências das línguas nacionais são uma *hipótese de explicação imediata*. (Marques 1983: 222-223)

The use of *ele/ela* and *lhe* as direct object markers as a consequence of substrate influence has also been attested in other contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese, namely Mozambican African Portuguese. For a detailed analysis of this phenomenon in that variety see Gonçalves (1992, 2002, 2004).

4.2.3.2. SOV word order of object person markers

DVP also differs from EP concerning the word order of bound object person markers. In fact, whereas DVP's independent object person forms follow the pattern found in EP (i.e. after the verb), as illustrated in example (119) below, DVP's bound object forms clearly diverge from EP word order by typically appearing before the main verb, regardless of whether they are reflexive/reciprocal person markers, as in (120) to (122) below, direct object markers, as in (123) below, or indirect object markers, as in (124) to (126) below. This tendency is found in the speech of both L1 and L2 speakers, regardless of their age and level of instruction.

(119) a. DVP: *Estava a brincar contigo!*
 be:IMPF.IND.3SG PREP play:INF 2SG
 'I was kidding you'

b. EP: *Estava a brincar contigo!*
 be:IMPF.IND.3SG PREP play:INF 2SG
 'I was kidding you'

(120) a. DVP: *Eu me chamo MS*
 I REFL call:1SG.PRS.IND MS
 'My name is MS'

b. EP: *Eu chamo me MS*
 I call:1SG.PRS.IND REFL MS
 'My name is MS'

(121) a. DVP: *Ela se preparou muito bem*
 she REFL prepare:3SG.PRT.IND very well
 'She prepared herself very well'

- b. EP:** *Ela preparou se muito bem*
 she prepare:3SG.PRT.IND REFL very well
 'She prepared herself very well'
- (122) **a. DVP:** *se casaram*
 REFL marry:3PL.PRT.IND
 'They got married'
- b. EP:** *casaram se*
 marry:3PL.PRT.IND REFL
 'They got married'
- (123) **a. DVP:** *fica a lhe usar ela*
 stay:3SG.PRS.IND PREP DO use DO
 'They use her'
- b. EP:** *fica a usá-la*
 stay:3SG.PRS.IND PREP use DO
 'They use her'
- (124) **a. DVP:** *Podemos lhe chamar mundele*
 can:1PL.PRS.IND IO call:INF white
 'we can say you are white'
- b. EP:** *podemos chamar-lhe mundele*
 can:1PL.PRS.IND call:INF IO white
 'we can say you are white'
- (125) **a. DVP:** *não vão lhe dizer nada*
 NEG go IO say nothing
 'Do not go tell him anything'
- b. EP:** *não lhe vão dizer nada*
 NEG IO go say nothing
 'Do not go tell him anything'
- c. EP:** *não vão dizer lhe nada*
 NEG go say IO nothing
 'Do not go tell him anything'
- (126) **a. DVP:** *às vezes nos dá sem pagar*
 PREP:DEF.PL times IO give without pay
 'sometimes he gives (it) to us for free'
- b. EP:** *às vezes dá-nos sem pagarmos*
 PREP:DEF.PL times give IO without pay:1PL.PRS.SBJ
 'sometimes he gives (it) to us for free'

In EP, on the other hand, bound object markers typically appear after the verb (Brito, Duarte e Matos 2003: 852). This is made clear by several studies which show that Portuguese children and youngsters tend to display the enclitic pattern, as illustrated, respectively, in examples (127) to (128) and (129) to (130) below:

- (127) EP: *não chama-se nada* (M., 20 months old in *ibid.* 850)
 (128) EP: *porque é que foste-me interromper* (R, 29 months, *ibid.*)
 (129) EP: *porque não apercebeu-se que ...* (12 years old, written text, *ibid.* 851)
 (130) EP: *Também sabe-se que existe uma certa altura da criança*
 (undergraduate student, *ibid.* 852)

However, in certain syntactic, semantic and prosodic contexts, bound person markers must occur either between the past participle auxiliary and the main verb as in (131), “inside” the verb form (i.e. mesoclitic position) with future and conditional verb forms, as in (132) and (133), or before the verb (i.e. proclitic position) in negative sentences or phrases, as in (134), in interrogative and relative clauses, as in (135), in subordinate clauses, as in (136) and (137), and with preverbal numerals and indefinite determiners, as in (138) and (139):

- (131) EP: *A prenda foi-nos oferecida pela avó.*
 ‘The gift was given to us by our grandmother.’
 (132) EP: *Dir-lhe-ei como fazer isto* ‘I will tell you how to do this.’
 (133) EP: *Dir-lhe-ia para ir ao médico.* ‘I would tell you to see a doctor.’
 (134) EP: *O João não/nunca me telefonou.* ‘João did not/never call me.’
 (135) EP: *Quem te disse isso?* ‘Who told you that?’
 (136) EP: *Quando eles os viram foram cumprimentá-los.*
 When they saw them they went to talk to them.’
 (137) EP: *Se eles os encontrassem, era ótimo.*
 ‘It would be great if they found them.’
 (138) EP: *Todos se levantaram.* ‘They all got up.’
 (139) EP: *Alguém a viu?* ‘Has anyone seen her?’

Notice that in the examples of both DVP and EP given above one finds a monotransitive use of the main verb (i.e. takes a single object). However, whereas in EP the position of the person marker varies, in DVP it systematically occurs before the verb. This suggests that the origin of the proclitic use of person markers in DVP is not EP. It is true that until the 17th century, person markers in EP also typically occurred pre-verbally²⁷. However, because the settlement of Angola by the Portuguese was so much later, this does not seem to be a convincing explanation for the pre-verbal use of person

²⁷ The use of bound object markers after the verb in EP is in clear opposition to the typical position of these markers in 15th century EP, i.e. before the verb. The change seems to have taken place in the 17th century, which leads Brito, Duarte e Matos (2003: 850) to conclude that “a inversão dos padrões proclítico e enclítico pode ser atribuída a uma mudança na gramática do português ocorrida em meados do século XVIII, com várias consequências”.

markers in DVP. The consistency of the DVP data suggests that the source of this phenomenon in this variety is Cokwe, which also requires the pre-verbal encoding of the object in monotransitive uses of the verb, as illustrated in examples (50) and (51) in subsection 4.1.2. It is only in ditransitive uses of the verb that direct and indirect objects in Cokwe occur in different positions, i.e. post-verbally and pre-pre-verbally, respectively.

The consistency of the data presented above are solid evidence that the word order of object person markers in DVP is motivated by interference from speakers' L1, in that the position of these markers is systematically consistent with that found in Cokwe and other Bantu languages with which Portuguese was in contact in Angola. However, more data are needed to determine whether the word order of object person markers matches that of Cokwe not only in monotransitive but also in ditransitive uses of the verb. Neither my DVP corpus nor the literature on other varieties of AVP contain examples of ditransitive uses of the verb in which object person markers are used. This is a gap in our knowledge of the linguistic structure of the vernacular varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola that future research must seek to fill.

The pre-verbal occurrence of person markers in DVP is so systematic that even when the marker is a reflexive or reciprocal person marker in periphrastic tense constructions it is inserted between the auxiliary verb and the root of the main verb:

- (140) a. DVP: *Muitos estavam a se interrogar*
 many be:IMPF.IND.3PL PREP REFL interrogate:INF
 'Many people were asking themselves
se a IGM é angolana
 if DEF IGM is Angolan
 whether IGM is Angolan'
- b. EP: *Muitos estavam a interrogar-se*
 many be:IMPF.IND.3PL PREP interrogate:INF REFL
 'Many people were asking themselves
se a IGM é angolana
 if DEF IGM is Angolan
 whether IGM is Angolan'

In fact, the influence of the substrate in DVP's use of reflexive or reciprocal person markers is also noticeable in the fact that third-person reflexive/reciprocal *se* seems to be used for all persons but the 1SG, which is encoded by *me*. This is illustrated in example (141) to (143) below:

- (141) a. DVP: *Eu me chamo AMA*
 I REFL.1SG call:PRS.IND.1SG AMA
 'My name is AMA'

- b. EP:** *Eu chamo me AMA*
I call:PRS.IND.1SG REFL.1SG AMA
'My name is AMA'
- (142) **a. DVP:** *isso se pratica mais nos bairro*
that REFL.3SG practice:PRS.IND.3SG more in.the.PL quarter
'That is played mostly in the quarters'
- b. EP:** *isso pratica- se mais nos bairros*
that practice:PRS.IND.3SG REFL.3SG more in.the.PL quarters
'That is played mostly in the quarters'
- (143) **a. DVP:** *Nós conseguimos se entender*
we can:PRS.IND.1PL REFL understand:INF
'We can understand each other'
- b. EP:** *Nós conseguimos- nos entender*
we can:PRS.IND.1PL 1SG.REFL understand:INF
'We can understand each other'
- c. EP:** *Nós conseguimos entender- nos*
we can:PRS.IND.1PL understand:INF 1SG.REFL
'We can understand each other'

The generalization of *se* as the single reflexive/reciprocal marker for all persons seems to be widespread throughout Angola, as noted by Chavagne (2005: 231):

Il y a une réelle tendance à attribuer à toutes les personnes le pronom réfléchi *se* normativement réservé à la troisième, qui vient donc en remplacement du pronom réfléchi de la première ou de la deuxième personne.

Chavagne (*ibid.*) does not give any explanation to account for this tendency, but the parallel between the DVP examples given above (and Chavagne's examples) and data from Cokwe suggests that the generalization of *se* for all persons in DVP, and the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general, is motivated by interference from the substrate languages. In fact, as shown in Inverno (2006) all the major Bantu languages spoken in Angola (e.g. Kimbundo, Umbundo, Kikongo, Cokwe) have a single reflective/reciprocal marker for all persons and numbers. In Cokwe, that person marker is *-ri-*, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (144) COKWE
Yami ngu na ri zang a (Martins 1990: 86)
I 1SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
'I love myself'
- (145) COKWE
Yena u na ri zang a (*ibid.*)
you 2SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
'You love yourself'

- (146) COKWE
Yie ka na ri zang a (ibid.)
 He 3SG.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
 'He loves himself'
- (147) COKWE
Yetwe tu na ri zang a (ibid.)
 we 1PL.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ love FV
 'We love ourselves'
- (148) COKWE
Yenwe nu na ri lamb a (ibid.)
 we 2PL.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ hit FV
 'You hit yourselves'
- (149) COKWE
Yetwe Tu na ri kwat a (ibid.)
 we 3PL.SBJ PROG REFL.OBJ grab FV
 'They grab temselves'

Curiously, however, there are cases in which the reflexive pronoun *se* is omitted in DVP, as illustrated in (150) and (151) below:

- (150) a. DVP: *O professor só ∅ limita a ler*
 DEF teacher only REFL limit:PRS.IND3SG to read
 'The teacher limits himself to reading'
- b. EP: *O professor só se limita a ler*
 DEF teacher only REFL limit:PRS.IND3SG to read
 'The teacher limits himself to reading'
- (151) a. DVP: *Ele chama ∅ MS*
 he call:PRS.IND.3SG REFL MS
 'His name is MS'
- b. EP: *Ele chama-se MS*
 he call:PRS.IND.3SG REFL MS
 'His name is MS'

This tendency to omit the reflexive/reciprocal does not seem to be restricted to the variety of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, in that Mendes (1985) has included it among the linguistic features that are specific to the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general:

- (152) AVP: *Cansada, sentou_ no caixote* (Mendes 1985: 157)
 'Tired, she sat down on the box'
 EP: *Cansada, sentou-se no caixote*
- (153) AVP: *Ele chama_ MS.* 'Her name is MS'
 EP: *Ele chama-se MS.*

The analysis of case and word order of person markers in DVP given above provides clear evidence in favor of substrate interference as a major factor to account for the kind of restructuring one finds in this variety. My analysis of DVP contradicts claims in the literature according to which the word order of object person markers in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola does not obey precise rules. This position is best illustrated by Chavagne (2005):

Notre idée est qu'en Angola la place du pronom n'obéit pas à des règles précises. Il peut être placé indifféremment ou après de verbe et la mésoclitise, déjà très rare au Portugal, y est encore plus rare. Cependant, le discours sera plus angolais lorsque le pronom occupera, par rapport au verbe, la place symétrique à celle que lui assigne la norme portugaise.

The mismatch between Chavagne's findings and my own can be accounted for by the fact that the French linguist does not compare his data on AVP with data from relevant Bantu languages spoken in Angola. An alternative explanation to account for this mismatch is that it reflects a structural difference between coastal and interior varieties of AVP. However, this is a hypothesis that can only be fully corroborated by the collection of more data, especially data containing both monotransitive and ditransitive uses of the verb in which object person markers are used.

4.2.4. POSSESSION: POST-NOMINAL WORD ORDER

In EP, possession is typically indicated by possessive determiners when referring to first and second-person possessors, both singular and plural, as illustrated in examples (154) to (157) below:

- (154) EP: *A minha caneta* 'my pen'
 (155) EP: *A tua caneta* 'your pen'
 (156) EP: *A nossa caneta* 'our pen'
 (157) EP: *A vossa caneta* 'your pen'

Moreover, the possessive determiners in EP agree in both number and gender with the possessed object, but not with the possessor. This illustrated in the examples below:

- (158) EP: *João, as tuas canetas?* 'John, where are your pens?'
 (159) EP: *Maria, os teus lápis?* 'Mary, where are your pencils?'
 (160) EP: *Meninos, a vossa mãe?* 'Boys, where is your mother?'
 (161) EP: *Meninas, o vosso pai?* 'Girls, where is your father?'

In DVP, possession is also typically indicated by possessive determiners when referring to first and second-person possessors. However, when the possessor refers to the third person, the tendency is to use the preposition *de* and the third-person marker *ele* (M) or *ela* (F), as illustrated below:

(162) DVP: *Ele tinha filho dele-s pequeno*
 3SG.M had son POSS.3SG.M-P small.M
 'Their children were small!'

(163) DVP: *uma_ pessoa-s tinha o irmão dele*
 INDEF.F.SG person-PL had DEF brother POSS.3SG.M.SG
 'One had one's brother/siblings'

In the formal speech of educated speakers of EP, *seu(s)/sua(s)* 'your(s)' is the preferred form to indicate possession by a third-person possessor. However, the agreement of possessive determiners with the possessed noun but not with the possessor leads to ambiguity when the latter refers to the third person, as illustrated in example (164) below:

(164) EP:
José, Pedro levou o seu chapéu (Bechara 2002: 181)
 José Pedro took DEF.M.SG POSS.3SG.M Hat
 'José, Pedro took his hat' or 'José, Pedro took your hat'

Therefore, to clarify the ambiguity, possessive determiners are often replaced with the amalgam of the preposition *de* and the third-person marker *ele* (M) or *ela* (F), as in example (165) below.

(165) EP:
José, Pedro levou O chapéu dele (Bechara 2002: 181)
 José Pedro took DEF.M.SG hat POSS.3SG.M-P
 'José, Pedro took his hat' or 'José, Pedro took your hat'

In this case, the preposition can never be omitted in EP, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of example (166) below:

(166) EP:
 **José, Pedro levou o chapéu _ele* (Bechara 2002: 181)
 José Pedro took DEF.M.SG hat POSS.3SG.M-P
 LIT: 'José, Pedro took **he** hat'

Nonetheless, the fact that *de* + third-person marker is also commonly used in EP to avoid any ambiguity regarding the possessor, does not exclude substrate contribution to this structure in DVP. In fact, in Cokwe possession is typically also encoded by means of

possessive determiners which agree in class and number with the possessed noun, as shown in Table 24 below:

TABLE 24
Possessive determiners in Cokwe
(Martins 1990: 53)

	FORM	EXAMPLE
1SG	<i>ami</i>	'my, mine'
2SG	<i>we</i>	'your, yours'
3SG	<i>enye</i>	'his, her, hers, its'
1PL	<i>etwe</i>	'our, ours'
2PL	<i>enwe</i>	'your, yours'
3PL	<i>wo</i>	'their, theirs'

Possession in Cokwe can also be encoded by means of the genitive particle *a*, which is realized by a preposition whose meaning is similar to the preposition *de* in EP. This genitive particle is preceded by the class concord of the possessed object, as illustrated in the example below:

- (167) COKWE:
kasumbi ka tata
ka-sumbi k-a tata
 C12-hen C12-GEN father:1SG.POSS
 'My father's hen'

Therefore, the use of the preposition *de* in conjunction with the third person marker *ele* (or *ela*) in DVP is the result of convergent structures in the superstrate and in the substrate languages (i.e. both EP and Cokwe allow this strategy to avoid ambiguity).

The word order of possessive determiners in DVP, on the other hand, is likely to result mainly from substrate influence. In fact, the structure of Cokwe demands that possessive determiners (and the genitive particle) always immediately follow the possessed noun regardless of person, number or grammatical categories of the non-nuclear elements in the NP, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (168) COKWE:
Ngombe j'ami jiatu (Martins 1990: 163)
Ng-ombe j-ami ji-tatu
 C10-ox C9-POSS.1SG C10-three
 'My three oxen'

- (169) COKWE:
Demba we munene (Martins 1990: 164)
demba we mu-nene
 rooster:C1 POSS-2SG C1-big
 'Your big rooster'
- (170) COKWE:
Mutondo wenye (Martins 1990: 53)
Mu-tondo w-enye
 C3-tree C3-POSS.3SG
 'His/her tree'

The same word order is found in DVP, which seems to require that possessive determiners always follow the possessed noun regardless of the number and syntactic categories of the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase. This word order does not seem to be constrained by either the speakers' age or level of instruction, but it does seem to be associated with L2 speakers of Portuguese only. This is illustrated in the examples below:

- (171) a. DVP:
Eu tenho horário meu
 I have schedule POSS.1SG.M
 'I have my own schedule'
- b. EP:
Eu tenho o meu horário
 I have DEF POSS.1SG.M schedule
 'I have my own schedule'
- (172) a. DVP:
um dos aluno-s seus
 INDEF of:DEF.PL student-PL POSS.2PL.M
 'one of your students'
- b. EP:
um dos seus aluno-s
 INDEF of:DEF.PL POSS.2PL.M student-PL
 'one of your students'
- (173) a. DVP:
condições que não temos na escola nossa
 conditions that NEG have:1PL in:the school POSS.1SG.F
 'the conditions that we do not have in our school'
- b. EP:
condições que não temos na nossa escola
 conditions that NEG have:1PL in:the POSS.1SG.F school
 'the conditions that we do not have in our school'

(174) a. DVP:

quioco é a língua nossa materna
 Cokwe is DEF language POSS.1PL.F maternal
 'Cokwe is our mother tongue'

b. EP:

quioco é a nossa língua materna
 Cokwe is DEF POSS.1PL.F language maternal
 'Cokwe is our mother tongue'

The strength of DVP's tendency to use possessive determiners immediately after the possessed noun as in Cokwe is particularly noticeable in example (174), where the compound noun *língua materna* 'mother tongue' is not interpreted as such and is split up by the possessive determiner in order to fit the speaker's L1 word order, i.e. noun + possessive + adjective.

The DVP and Cokwe examples above show that the word order of possessive determiners in these two languages contrasts significantly with the word order found in EP, where possessive determiners typically precede the possessed noun. In fact, as illustrated in Mira Mateus *et al.* (2003: 349-351) and Cunha and Cintra (1995: 320-321), only in a very limited set of contexts do possessive determiners follow the noun in EP, i.e. (a) when the possessed noun is not preceded by an article or when it is used with an indefinite (e.g. *tens aí livros meus* 'you have books of mine there' or *tens aí alguns livros meus* 'you some books of mine there'), (b) when the possessed noun is preceded by an interrogative quantifier (e.g. *tens aí quantos livros meus?* 'how many books of mine do you have there?'), (c) in some exclamations (e.g. *filhos nossos não farão isso!* 'No child of ours will ever do that!'), and (d) when the head noun is preceded by a cardinal numeral (e.g. *vi sete amigos meus* 'I've seen seven friends of ours').

In typically using possessive determiners after the possessed noun, DVP resembles the word order found in Portuguese-based creoles, as illustrated below with examples from Cape Verde Creole (CVC) and Anobón Creole in (AC) in the Gulf of Guinea:

(175) CVC: *nv ja brába di mi*
 in island Brava of me
 'in my Brava island' (quoted in Holm 1989: 274)

(176) AC: *omã di'nepi dɔs 'limpi*
 hands their two clean
 'their two clean hands' (quoted in Holm 1989: 284)

In fact, the DVP corpus contains other instances which seem to be the result of direct transfer of possessive determiners from Cokwe but since each only occurs once, no

definite conclusions can be drawn as to their relevance to an overall description of possession in AVP:

- (177) AVP: *N casa é aqui ... a nosso casa é aqui* 'Our house is here'
 EP: *A nossa casa é aqui ... a nossa casa é aqui.*
- (178) AVP: *Sim, trabalhar aí seḡ casa.* 'Yes, I work there at your place'
 EP: *Sim, trabalho aí na casa de vocês. or* *Sim, trabalho aí na vossa casa.*

The origin of *seḡ* in (178) is uncertain, but it is interesting to notice the formal similarity between *N* in (177) and Cokwe's 1SG object person marker *ngu*. In fact, the co-occurrence of Cokwe and Portuguese person markers in general, not only possessive determiners, is worth exploring, as illustrated in example (179) below:

- (179) a. AVP: *Ami eu não falo essa língua* [i.e. Cokwe].
 'I don't speak that language'
 b. EP: *Eu não falo essa língua.*

Ami is the 1SG marker in Cokwe, which the twelve-year-old boy who uttered this sentence claims not to speak. However, the 1SG marker in Kimbundu is formally very similar to *ami* and since the boy was brought up in Luanda this might explain the use of this person marker. The parallel with the use of *ami* 'I' as an emphatic particle in some varieties of creole Portuguese is also interesting, as shown in the example from Guinea Bissau Creole (GBC) below:

- (180) GBC: *Ami N tene un karu*
 enf 1sg have:1sg.prs one car
 'I am the one who has a car' or 'It's me who has a car'

4.2.5. TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

4.2.5.1. Omission of definite article

It has been noted in the literature that there is a tendency to omit definite articles in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. Examples given include the following:

- (181) a. AVP: *Ele abateu licópetro* (Mendes 1985: 133)
 He shoot down:PRT.IND.3SG helicopter
 'He shot down the helicopter'
- b. EP: *Ele abateu o licópetro*
 He shoot down:PRT.IND.3SG DEF helicopter
 'He shot down the helicopter'

- (182) a. AVP: *Faço todos anos* (Chavagne 2005: 250)
do:PRS.IND.1SG every:PL year:PL
'I do it every year'
- b. EP: *Faço todos os anos*
do:PRS.IND.1SG every:PL DEF:PL year:PL
'I do it every year'
- (183) a. AVP: *meu pai trabalha, trabalha lá em baixo* (*ibid.* 251)
my father works works there in low
'my father works down there'
- b. EP: *o meu pai trabalha, trabalha lá em baixo*
DEF my father works works there in low
'my father works down there'

The contexts in which the omission of the definite occurs in AVP have not yet been clearly identified nor have researchers established the degree of dissemination of this tendency throughout Angola. However, Chavagne's (2005) data seem to suggest that the omission of the definite article in AVP is more frequent in contexts in which the indefinite quantifier *todo(s)* 'all' and possessive adjectives are involved, as illustrated in (181) and (183) above. Concerning the dissemination of this phenomenon in AVP, Chavagne (2005) only adds that in his oral corpus the definite article is more often used than omitted (*ibid.* 251).

The analysis of my DVP corpus also revealed instances of definite article omission. As in Chavagne's (2005) data, most instances occur in possessive noun phrases and in noun phrases involving the indefinite quantifier *todo(s)* 'all', as illustrated in examples (184a) and (185a) below, but also in contexts such as the ones illustrated in examples (186a) and (187a) below, i.e. prepositional phrases. In all these contexts, EP requires that the definite article be used, as illustrated in examples (184b) to (187b) below:

- (184) a. DVP: *quioco é nossa língua materna* HA R3
Cokwe be:PRS.IND.3SG POSS:F language mother
'Cokwe is our mother tongue'
- b. EP: *quioco é a nossa língua materna*
Cokwe be:PRS.IND.3SG DEF POSS:F language mother
'Cokwe is our mother tongue'
- (185) a. DVP: *na cidade todas casas são iguais* Kelson R
in:the city all:PL houses be:PRS.IND.3SG equal:PL
'In the city all houses look the same'
- b. EP: *na cidade todas as casas são iguais*
in:the city all:PL DEF:PL houses be:PRS.IND.3SG equal:PL
'In the city all houses look the same'

- (186) a. DVP: *Tenho medo de português* US R3
 have:PRS.IND.1SG afraid of Portuguese
 'I am afraid of the Portuguese (people)'
- b. EP: *Tenho medo de portugueses*
 have:PRS.IND.1SG afraid of Portuguese-PL
 'I am afraid of the Portuguese (people)'
- c. EP: *Tenho medo d-os portugueses*
 have:PRS.IND.1SG afraid of-DEF Portuguese-PL
 'I am afraid of the Portuguese (people)'
- (187) a. DVP: *Pára com pressão* APB R3
 stop:IMP.2SG with pressure
 'Stop pressuring me'
- b. EP: *Pára com a pressão*
 stop:IMP.2SG with DEF pressure
 'Stop pressuring me'

The omission of the definite article illustrated above can be found in the speech of L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo regardless of their age and level of instruction, even if, numerically, more examples were found in the verbal production of those that are older and less educated and speak Portuguese mostly as a second language.

The DVP data are solid enough to corroborate the claim made in the literature that the omission of definite articles is indeed a linguistic trait of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola, especially in possessive and indefinite noun phrase constructions, but they are insufficient to allow a full description and account of this phenomenon. For example, the data are insufficient to determine whether the omission of definite articles is restricted to the contexts illustrated above or whether, like attested in contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as BVP or Portuguese-based creoles such as Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), it can be found in other contexts, namely in generic reading noun phrases like *Vaca come erva* 'Cows eat grass'²⁸.

Without a full description of the contexts in which definite articles can be systematically omitted in DVP it is very difficult to evaluate the exact role played by either Portuguese or Cokwe in the development of this phenomenon. In fact, concerning the role played both by the superstrate and the substrate, the omission of definite articles in DVP can have the same explanation for all contexts in which it occurs, it can have different explanations for each context or more than one explanation for some or all contexts.

²⁸ For a brief analysis of the omission of definite articles in possessive and generic reading noun phrases in Brazilian Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole see Inverno and Swolkien (2003).

For example, Inverno and Swolkien (2003) have suggested that the omission of the definite article in generic noun phrases in BVP and Cape Verdean Creole has been motivated exclusively by language contact, whereas its omission in possessive noun phrases can be accounted for by the convergence of both internal (i.e. diachronic development of Portuguese) and external factors (i.e. language contact). The external factors pointed out by Inverno and Swolkien (2003: 189-191) to account for the omission of the definite article in BVP and CVC are the following:

- contact with languages without definite articles (e.g. Niger Congo languages and restructured varieties of Portuguese spoken by African slaves, as well as Tupi-Guarani languages spoken by native Brazilians)
- contact with languages which have no possessive pronouns or adjectives but rather have personal pronouns in the genitive case (e.g. Tupi-Guarani languages spoken in Brazil and Niger-Congo languages spoken in Africa)

In future research, the omission of definite articles in DVP is clearly a topic worth exploring and one should bear in mind that this category does not exist in either Cokwe or the majority of the Bantu languages with which Portuguese has been in contact in Angola.

It is also worth investigating why alongside the omission of the definite article in the contexts described above, the DVP corpus also contains instances in which the article is inserted in contexts where EP requires its omission, namely when speakers present themselves to someone, as in (188) below:

- (188) a. DVP:
O²⁹ meu nome é a MM
 DEF POSS:M name is DEF MM
 'My name is MM'
- b. EP:
O meu nome é MM
 DEF POSS:M name is MM
 'My name is MM'

4.2.5.2. Demonstratives

Diessel (2008) defines demonstratives as “deictic expressions” that “indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation *vis-à-vis* the deictic center. The

²⁹ In example (188) the speaker uses the definite article before the possessive adjective, but throughout the rest of the interview the same speaker will consistently omit the definite article before possessive adjectives. Chavagne (2005: 251) found similar cases of variation in his corpus.

deictic center, which is also called the *origo*, is roughly equivalent to the speaker's location at the time of the utterance".

In EP and DVP there are three degrees of distance contrasts, which are summarized in Table 25 below:

TABLE 25
Demonstratives in EP and DVP

DISTANCE CONTRASTS	MASCULINE		FEMININE		INVARIABLE	
	SG	PL	SG	PL		
I. Away from speaker	<i>este</i>	<i>estes</i>	<i>esta</i>	<i>estas</i>	<i>isto</i>	'this/these'
II. Away from hearer	<i>esse</i>	<i>esses</i>	<i>essa</i>	<i>essas</i>	<i>isso</i>	'that/those'
III. Away from both speaker and hearer	<i>aquele</i>	<i>aqueles</i>	<i>aquela</i>	<i>aquelas</i>	<i>aquilo</i>	'that/those (over there)'

The fact that all EP demonstratives are attested in my DVP corpus suggests that no significant differences exist between the two varieties concerning this grammatical category. However, while this is true of the speech of L1 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo regardless of their age or level of instruction, in the speech of L2 speakers of Portuguese, especially of those who are older and less educated *esse* 'that' is often used instead of *este* 'this', as illustrated in the examples below:

(189) a. DVP: *Eu n-esse momento sou solteiro*
I in-that.M moment be.PRS.IND.1SG single
'I am single at this moment'

b. EP: *Eu n-este momento sou solteiro*
I in-this.M moment be.PRS.IND.1SG single
'I am single at this moment'

(190) a. DVP: *É o mesmo, igual como esse*
is the.M same equal as that.M
'It's the same, it's just like this (one)'

b. EP: *É o mesmo, igual a este*
is the.M same equal to this.M
'It's the same, it's just like this (one)'

(191) a. DVP: *não tenho tempo com esse trabalho*
NEG have.PRS.IND.1SG time with that job
'I don't have the time with this job'

b. EP: *não tenho tempo com este trabalho*
NEG have.PRS.IND.1SG time with this job
'I don't have the time with this job'

The replacement of *este* 'this' by *esse* 'that' in the speech of old and uneducated L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo is all the more interesting as this alleged reduction in the number of distance contrasts in DVP's demonstrative paradigm is unlike the structure of both EP and Cokwe, both of which depict three-way distance contrasts in their demonstrative paradigms.

However, at the present moment, the data are insufficient to allow any conclusions concerning reasons that may explain this phenomenon in the speech of L2 speaker of Portuguese in Dundo. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, no similar instances were found with the corresponding feminine and invariable forms of the demonstrative determiner *esse* 'that', which makes it impossible to evaluate whether the reduction in the number of distance contrasts in Dundo affects all members of the demonstratives paradigm (i.e. masculine, feminine and invariable forms). Secondly, while the replacement of *este* by *esse* is commonly heard in Dundo in the speech of L2 speakers of Portuguese, very few examples were actually recorded in the corpus, which makes it difficult to evaluate whether this phenomenon is generalized or limited to some syntactic contexts. Finally, the description of pronominal and adnominal demonstratives given in Cokwe grammars are not very detailed, which makes it impossible to identify any relevant differences that may exist between EP and Cokwe despite the fact that both depict three-way distance contrasts in their demonstratives paradigms. Therefore, this is an aspect that is worth further exploration in future research.

4.3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The comparison of the structure of the noun phrase in DVP, EP and Cokwe carried out in this chapter shows that the morphosyntax of the continuum of varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo depicts clear signs of contact-induced restructuring, although the degree of such restructuring varies depending on the speaker's age and level of instruction and knowledge of Portuguese as either a first or second language.

Concerning number marking and agreement (cf. sub-section 4.2.1) an analysis of the DVP data shows that in both L1 and L2 varieties of DVP the distinction between singular and plural number is maintained. The number markers in DVP are the same as those in EP, i.e. \emptyset for the singular and {-s} for the plural. However, unlike in EP, in plural noun phrases the head noun is systematically left unmarked and only the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase are marked as plural in DVP. This mismatch between the

number value of the noun (SG) and that encoded on the non-nuclear elements (PL) can be found in the speech of both L1 and L2 speakers of DVP, although the analysis of the data indicates that variable number agreement in DVP is essentially an L2 feature. In fact, only those L1 speakers who are older and less educated have it in their speech. Among L2 DVP speakers, variable number marking is equally widespread in the speech of both older and less educated speakers and those who are younger and more educated. The number of elements of the noun phrase and the semantic features of the head noun do not seem to impose any constraints on variable number agreement in DVP either. The comparison of the DVP data on number marking and agreement with those of Cokwe and the fact that it is typically found in the speech of L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo indicates that the patterns of plural number marking one finds in this variety are motivated by interference from the speakers' L1. In fact, in both L2 DVP and Cokwe, but not in EP and L1 DVP, plurality is a feature of the noun phrase rather than of the head noun, which explains why the latter is typically left unmarked for number in the former but not in the latter.

Concerning sex-based gender marking and agreement in DVP (cf. sub-section 4.2.2) an analysis of the linguistic data on this variety indicates that in the speech of L2 speakers of DVP, especially those who are older and less educated, there is a systematic mismatch between the sex-based gender value of the head noun and that encoded on the non-nuclear elements in the noun phrase. Therefore, theme *-a* nouns and nouns denoting a female typically occur with masculine determiners and modifiers, whereas nouns denoting a male and theme *-o* nouns typically occur with feminine non-nuclear elements. Athematic nouns (i.e. ending in a nasal), on the other hand, can occur with both feminine and masculine non-nuclear elements³⁰. This pattern is the opposite of that found in EP, where the aforementioned nouns occur, respectively, with feminine and masculine non-nuclear elements, as the grammar of the language requires that the sex-based gender value encoded on these elements is the same as that of the head noun. Building on the comparison of the linguistic data from DVP with those from other contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese spoken in Brazil, it is argued in this chapter that the patterns of sex-based gender marking and agreement found in DVP can be attributed to substrate interference, in the sense that Bantu-speaking L2 learners of Portuguese rely on the structure of their mother tongue to cope with the opaque nature of EP input. In fact, the analysis of sex-based gender marking and agreement strategies in Cokwe shows that gender contrasts are encoded by means of the addition of an *-a* ending stem to indicate

³⁰ Cf. Table 2 in section 4.1. for a list of thematic nominal classes in EP.

masculine gender and an *-o* ending stem to indicate feminine gender, which is believed to account for the association between *-a* and *-o* ending determiners in DVP with, respectively, masculine and feminine gender. The fact that Bantu sex-based gender marking strategies are also used in other contact-induced varieties of Portuguese seems to corroborate this hypothesis, although the different ways in which the structure of the Bantu languages are used in each of these varieties points to different stages of development due to the different sociolinguistic settings in which these varieties developed.

The analysis of the linguistic data on DVP showed that the morphosyntax of person markers (i.e. personal pronouns in traditional terminology) is the area in which interference from the speakers' L1s is clearer (cf. sub-section 4.2.3). In fact, unlike EP, DVP does not seem to make a distinction between subject and object person markers, on the one hand, and direct and indirect object person markers, on the other. Moreover, the person markers *me*, *te* and *nos*, which in EP can encode both direct and indirect objects, are used in DVP to encode indirect objects only. This neutralization of case contrasts in DVP's person markers paradigms is similar to the pattern found in the languages of the Bantu branch, which use the same forms to encode both subjects and direct and indirect objects. In these languages, case contrasts are encoded by different word orders rather than different person forms.

The word order of person markers in DVP also indicates interference from the speakers' L1. In fact, while free object markers in DVP, like in EP, occur after the verb, bound object forms such as *me*, *te*, *nos* and reflexive *se*, which in EP occur before or after the verb depending on a number of syntactic constraints, typically occur before the verb (i.e. in proclitic position) in DVP. In this respect, DVP follows the pattern found in Cokwe, which always encodes objects before verbs that are used monotonically.

The neutralization of case contrasts and the proclitic use of person markers can be found in both L1 and L2 varieties of DVP, regardless of the speakers' age or level of instruction, which suggests that this is a stable linguistic trait of the vernacular variety of Portuguese spoken in Dundo. The findings in this chapter concerning person markers in DVP contradict the claims in the literature that the word order of these forms in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola is random. In fact, the data from DVP suggests that the apparent randomness of person marker word order can in fact be accounted for if the structure of the relevant substrate languages is taken into consideration.

Concerning possession (cf. sub-section 4.2.4), a comparison of the data from DVP, EP and Cokwe shows that the three varieties use the same encoding mechanisms:

possessive determiners for the first and second-persons and a genitive construction for the third person. However, this comparison also shows that the word order of possessive determiners found in the speech of L2 speakers of DVP, regardless of their age or level of instruction, is closer to that of the Bantu languages than to EP. In fact, in both L2 DVP and Cokwe, but not EP, possessive determiners typically occur immediately after the possessed noun, regardless of the person, number or grammatical category of the other elements in the noun phrase.

An analysis of the linguistic data from DVP also shows that the variety differs from EP with regard to use of the definite article (cf. sub-section 4.2.5) and demonstrative determiners (cf. sub-section 4.2.6). However, due to insufficient data, no conclusions are drawn on the reasons for the omission of definite articles and the reduction of distance degrees in DVP's demonstrative system.

Nonetheless, the data analyzed in this chapter are solid enough to show that while DVP retains many of the morphosyntactic features of its superstrate, it also displays a significant tendency for the kinds of restructuring which tend to make it more like its substrate languages, especially Cokwe.

Chapter 5

Contact-induced tendencies in DVP's verb phrase

5.0. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter analyzes a set of morphosyntactic tendencies in the verb phrase (henceforth VP) of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo that distinguish it from European Portuguese (henceforth EP) and bring it closer to the structure of contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as Brazilian and Mozambican Portuguese. The main goal of this chapter is to evaluate the role played by the structure of both the superstrate (i.e. Portuguese) and the substrate languages (i.e. principally Cokwe) in the emergence of these tendencies, in an attempt to determine the degree of contact-induced restructuring that Portuguese verbal morphosyntax is undergoing in this region of interior Angola.

It should be noted that while this chapter does seek to understand how the verb phrase in DVP differs from or resembles that of its superstrate and substrate languages, no attempt is made to provide a full account of the verb phrase in either Portuguese or Cokwe; a comprehensive comparison between the structure of these languages is beyond the scope of this chapter as well as this study. Hence, only a brief outline of the overall structure of the verb phrase in these two languages is given in section 5.1, but throughout the rest of the chapter only the linguistic structures in Portuguese and Cokwe that are relevant to understanding morphosyntactic tendencies in the DVP's verb phrase are analyzed.

The chapter is organized according to the morphosyntactic tendencies analyzed, most of which have already been identified in the literature as distinguishing features of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese in general (i.e. the tendency to reduce or simplify EP person-number inflectional morphology, the tendency to fail to make the subject and the verb agree, the tendency to omit the preposition in periphrastic verbal constructions). However, this is the first time that they are illustrated with data from a variety of AVP other than that spoken in Luanda. Some other tendencies, on the other hand, are here noted or analyzed for the first time, e.g. the use of grammaticalized lexical items to mark

tense-mood-aspect (henceforth TMA) in ways which are unknown in EP, the occurrence of true bipartite negation phenomena and the tendency to fail to make the subject and the predicative element agree in copular sentences.

The key technical terms used in the chapter, especially those concerning TMA categories, have been extensively analyzed in the literature, but the labels used and the definitions suggested for each of them vary greatly depending on both the theoretical framework of different linguists and the language or language family in which they are specialists. Therefore, the meanings of those terms as used in this study are clarified as they appear.

All of the data on Cokwe and other relevant Bantu languages and the bulk of the data on EP are drawn from the existing literature¹. The data on DVP is exclusively drawn from my own fieldwork in Dundo. When relevant, this is complemented with data drawn from the existing literature on other varieties of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese in an attempt to better understand how DVP relates to the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola in general.

5.1. THE VERB (PHRASE) IN EP AND COKWE: INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

In both EP and Cokwe, the limits of the verb phrase can coincide with those of the head verb (i.e. the verb phrase can consist exclusively of the head verb). However, due to the genealogical and typological differences between the two languages (i.e. Romance vs. Bantu; inflectional vs. agglutinating), the nature and amount of grammatical information encoded in the head verb, as well as the mechanisms used to encode it, differ(s) significantly in each of them. For example, while in EP only person-number and TMA categories are encoded inflectionally on the verb, in Cokwe these categories are only two of many inflectional categories, such as negation, focus, etc, usually encoded on the verb. Moreover, whereas the complements of the head verb in EP are typically noun phrases (NP), prepositional phrases (PP), adverbial phrases (AdvP) or clauses, as illustrated below in examples (192 to 194), (195), (196) and (197), respectively, and adjuncts are typically PPs or AdvP, as in (198) and (199), respectively², in Cokwe both complements and

¹ All EP examples for which no source is given are my own.

² The difference between complement PPs and AdvP and adjunct PPs and AdvP is not always obvious in EP. For a summarized description of the tests used to determine whether these are verb complements or adjuncts in EP see Brito (2003: 414-17).

adjuncts can be, and often are, part of the internal structure of the head verb via inflectional or derivational affixes, as in example (200):

- (192) EP:
O João comprou estes livros policiais (Brito 2003: 413)
 DEF John buy:PRT.IND.3SG these books police:PL
 'John bought these police books'
- (193) EP:
O João comprou-os
 DEF John buy:PRT.IND.3SG DO.3PL
 'John bought them'
- (194) EP:
O João comprou-lh os
 DEF John buy:PRT.IND.3SG IO.3PL DO.3PL
 'John bought them for him'
- (195) EP:
Eles partiram para Lisboa (Brito 2003: 413)
 They leave:IMPF.IND.3PL to Lisbon
 'They went to Lisbon'
- (196) EP:
Eles chegaram muito perto
 They arrive:IMPF.IND.3PL very close
 'They got very close'
- (197) EP:
Penso ter visto uma pessoa
 think:PRS.IND.1SG have:INF see:PSTP one person
 'I think I saw someone'
- (198) EP:
A Maria foi para férias na semana passada
 The Maria go:PRT.IND.3SG to holidays in week past
 'Mary went on holidays last week'
- (199) EP:
A Maria saiu de casa por causa do calor
 The Maria leave:PRT.IND.3SG of house for cause of heat
 'Mary left the house because of the heat'
- (200) COKWE: *Ayo kanatuzanga* (Martins 1990: 164)
Ayo ka na tu zang a
 They.SBJ 3PL.SBJ PROG 2PL.OBJ want FV
 'They want/love us'

The data above show a key structural difference between EP and Cokwe, i.e. Cokwe encodes grammatical information in the head verb that in EP is typically expressed by separate phrases or clauses (i.e. complements and adjuncts). This difference in the

structure of the two languages is of key importance in any attempt to account for the emergence of the morphosyntactic tendencies of the verb phrase in DVP that are analyzed in this chapter. Therefore, sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 below analyze the structure of the head verb in EP and Cokwe, respectively, in an attempt to facilitate the analysis and explanation of the DVP data analyzed later on in this chapter.

It should be stated from the start that the analysis of the data on EP is deliberately shorter and less detailed than that of Cokwe (and Bantu). There are several reasons for this.

Firstly, while there are plenty of recent detailed descriptions of verb phrase phenomena in EP, no such descriptions exist for Cokwe. Therefore, while giving a more detailed analysis of EP verb phrase data adds nothing new to the current state of knowledge, giving a fairly detailed analysis of Cokwe data hopefully will.

Secondly, the terminology used to describe the languages of the Bantu branch is very different from that traditionally used in the description of western European languages such as Portuguese, which not only makes comparison difficult and confusing but also leads linguists to focus exclusively on what distinguishes the two groups of languages. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the Cokwe data will not only help avoid the terminological chaos (to the extent that it will help ascertain whether different labels correspond to different linguistic phenomena or simply to different descriptive traditions) but will also help clarify the differences and similarities between the verb phrase in EP and Cokwe, both of which are equally important in accounting for the linguistic structure of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola.

Finally, all previous descriptions of AVP agree that the variety owes an important portion of its structure to substrate influence, but the overwhelming majority of researchers support their claims with statements about the structure of the Bantu languages in general rather than specific examples from the relevant Bantu languages spoken in Angola. Unless we accept, against all existing evidence, that all Bantu languages share the exact same structure, this approach can only offer a simplistic account of the substrate contribution to the restructuring of AVP. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the Cokwe data will hopefully help fill this gap in the literature.

In short, while sections 5.1.1 and especially section 5.1.2 make this chapter longer and delay the analysis of the DVP data proper, they will hopefully help make it more accurate and make the conclusions reached more solid and insightful.

5.1.1. EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

The verb in EP typically consists of four morphological elements: the derivational stem and the thematic vowel (henceforth TV), which constitute the verbal theme (henceforth VT), and the TMA and person-number inflections (henceforth P/N), as shown in (201):

(201) EP: *amávamos*

<i>am</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>mos</i>
STEM	TV	TMA	1PL

‘We used to love’

Of course, it should be noted that as explained by several authors and systematized in Mira Mateus *et al.* (1990: 116), due to historically motivated phonological changes, several exceptions to the structure outlined above can be found.

Firstly, while verbs are typically assigned to one of the three conjugations depending on the thematic vowel they take (i.e. [a] for the 1st conjugation, [e] for the 2nd conjugation and [i] for the 3rd conjugation), one finds instances in which the thematic vowel is either omitted (i.e. 1SG forms of the indicative present and all forms of the subjunctive present) or changed (i.e. in preterite indicative forms of the 1st conjugation it occurs as *e* before *i* and as *o* before *u*).

Secondly, the verbal theme is not the same for all tenses. In fact, as shown in the three major reference grammars of Portuguese, i.e. Cunha and Cintra (1995: 387-392), Bechara (2002: 236-238), Mira Mateus *et al.* (2003: 926), there are three available verbal themes in EP to which the corresponding TMA markers are added to form the different verb tenses:

- (a) the present indicative theme, composed of the stem only (i.e. 1st conjugation: *cant-*; 2nd conjugation: *beb-* and 3rd conjugation: *dorm-*) and which is common to the preterite indicative, present subjunctive and imperative;
- (b) the past indicative theme, composed of the stem + TV (i.e. 1st conjugation: *canta-*; 2nd conjugation: *bebe-* and 3rd conjugation: *dormi*) and which is shared by the pluperfect indicative, preterite subjunctive and future subjunctive;
- (c) the infinitive theme, composed of the stem + TV + INF marker *-r* (i.e. 1st conjugation: *cantar-*, 2nd conjugation *beber-* and 3rd conjugation *dormir-*), from which the future indicative, the conditional, the inflected infinitive and the past participle are derived;

Thirdly, the paradigm of TMA inflections is both defective and irregular. As shown in Table 1 below, the TMA inflectional paradigm in EP is defective in the present and preterite³ forms of the indicative and in the imperative forms, where TMA inflections do not occur. It is irregular in the past imperfect forms of the indicative, where the TMA inflection has two forms depending on whether the verbs belongs to the 1st or 2nd and 3rd conjugations (i.e. *-va-* and *-ia-* respectively). Moreover, the first of these TMA inflections (i.e. *-va-*) has yet another allomorph in 2PL forms (i.e. *-ve-*).

Table 26 below, which summarizes the available TMA morphemes and categories in EP, shows that EP follows the well established cross-linguistic tendencies concerning the expression of major TMA categories identified in Dahl (1985). This is clear in four ways. Firstly, in EP the three central cross-linguistic tense categories⁴ (i.e. present, past and future) are typically marked morphologically rather than periphrastically (Dahl 1985: 171, 187). Secondly, the morphological marking of tense in EP is typically conveyed by suffixation, a strategy that, according to Dahl (1985: 185), “appears to be much more common than prefixation”. Thirdly, the two central cross-linguistic aspectual categories are also marked morphologically (i.e. synthetically), i.e. the perfective (conveyed by the preterite) and the imperfective (conveyed by the past imperfect). Finally, as is typically the case in the world’s languages, although not illustrated in Table 1, the central cross-linguistic aspectual category of the progressive as well as peripheral aspectual categories such as the perfect and the pluperfect are marked periphrastically in EP, i.e. the progressive is conveyed by the construction *estar + a + infinitive* (e.g. *estou a estudar* ‘I am studying’), perfect is conveyed by the construction *ter + past participle* (e.g. *tenho estudado*

³ Following Oliveira and Lopes (1995) and the tradition followed in most English language works on the EP verb system, the terms *preterite* and *past imperfect* will be used throughout this chapter to refer to tenses referred to as *pretérito perfeito* and *pretérito imperfeito*, respectively, in reference grammars of Portuguese and related literature. In the glosses, PRT refers to the preterite and IMPF refers to the past imperfect. Although there is a very strong relation between these two tenses and the aspectual notions of perfective and imperfective, I chose to use the corresponding glosses, i.e. PFV for the perfective and IMPFV for the imperfective, only when aspect is the key element under analysis.

⁴ The distinction between central and peripheral TMA categories is that made by Dahl (1985), according to whom a distinction must be made between central tense (i.e. present, past and future) and aspectual categories (i.e. perfective, imperfective, progressive) on the one hand, and peripheral tense (e.g. predicative future, prospective future, etc) and aspectual categories (e.g. habitual, habitual generic, habitual past, perfect, resultative, experimental, quotative, etc) on the other. In distinguishing between major and minor tense-aspect categories Dahl (1985: 188) used the following criteria: type of marking, obligatoriness of expression, frequency (i.e. “number of languages in which a category is instantiated and the text frequency of each language-specific instance of the category”) and relative precedence (i.e. “which one out of two categories will be used if the conditions for both are fulfilled”). Dahl’s (1985) claim is not “that all languages use the same TMA categories but only that the overwhelming majority of all categories found in the TMA systems of the world’s languages are chosen from a restricted set of category types” (*ibid.* 31). In doing so he successfully overcomes some of the shortcomings of earlier studies on TMA categories (e.g. Comrie 1976, 1985) which he lists in the introduction to his study: the fact that they are typically “built on limited databases, even when they make universal claims” (*ibid.* 1), the fact that “it is usually impossible to know to what extent the claims and the conceptual apparatus of these works can be extended to other languages” (*ibid.* 2), the fact that they give “almost no information at all about the use of TMA categories except for the labels that the grammarians has chosen to apply to them” (*ibid.* 2) and the fact that “even if these labels are not just taken over from school grammar – as it is often the case – the terminology tends to be too idiosyncratic to warrant proper comparisons with other languages” (*ibid.* 2). Throughout the present chapter (and study) Dahl’s terminology will be used.

'I have studied') and the pluperfect is conveyed by the construction imperfect past of *ter* + *past participle* (e.g. *tinha estudado* 'I had studied'). Other peripheral aspectual categories, which are usually referred to in traditional grammars of Portuguese as "*tempos compostos*", are also expressed periphrastically.

TABLE 26.
TMA inflectional morphemes and categories in EP
[based on Mira Mateus *et al.* (1990: 380-381) and Oliveira and Lopes (1995: 97)]

TMA MORPHEME		EXAMPLE
INF (imper.)	-r	<i>cantar</i>
INF (pers.)	-r	<i>cantar, cantares...</i>
PRS IND	∅	<i>canto, cantas, canta...</i>
IMPF IND	-va- (1 st conj.) -ia- (2 nd /3 rd conj.)	<i>... cantávamos, cantáveis⁵, cantavam</i> <i>... bebíamos, bebiéis, bebiam</i> <i>... dormíamos, dormíeis, dormiam</i>
PRT IND	∅	<i>cantei, cantaste, cantou...</i>
PLUSP IND	-ra-	<i>... cantáramos, cantáreis, cantaram</i>
FUT IND ⁶	-r+e- (1SG, 1/2PL) -r+a- (2/3SG, 3PL)	<i>cantarei, cantaremos, cantareis</i> <i>cantarás, cantará, cantarão</i>
PRS SBJV	-e- (1 st conj.) -a- (2 nd /3 rd conj.)	<i>cante, cantes, cante...</i> <i>... bebamos, bebeis, bebam</i> <i>durma, durmas, durma...</i>
IMPF SBJV	-sse-	<i>cantasse, cantasses, cantasse...</i>
FUT SBJV	-r- -re- (2SG)	<i>cantar, cantar, cantarmos, cantardes, cantarem</i> <i>cantares</i>
COND	-r+ia-	<i>... cantaríamos, cantaríeis, cantaríamos</i>
GER	-ndo	<i>cantando</i>
IMP	∅	<i>--, canta, cante, cantemos, cantai, cantem</i>

A detailed analysis of the periphrastic expression of aspect in contemporary EP can be found in Barroso (1994). When relevant the exact aspectual categories expressed by such periphrases will be analyzed here, but for the purpose of this section it suffices to underline at this stage that EP typically uses morphological (synthetic) mechanisms to express tense and central aspect categories and periphrastic (analytic) mechanisms to express peripheral aspectual categories. Dahl (1985: 171) summarizes the major TMA categories in EP as shown in Table 27 below:

⁵ The vowel *a* is realized as *e* due to assimilation of the following *i*. The same phenomenon occurs in 2PL forms in the following tenses: pluperfect of the indicative mode, subjunctive present and conditional.

⁶ The use of the symbol + between the consonantal and vocalic elements of the morpheme indicates that clitic pronouns can be inserted between them (Mira Mateus *et al.* 1990: 380).

TABLE 27.
Major TMA categories in Portuguese
 (Dahl 1985: 171)⁷

DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS	MARKING TYPE
Present	Default	Morphological
Simple Past	PFV	Morphological
Imperfect	Past <i>i</i>	Morphological
Future	FUT	Morphological
<i>Estar + a + INF</i>	PROG	Periphrastic
<i>ir + a + INF</i>	FUT	Periphrastic
<i>ter + PAST PARTICIPLE</i>	PFCT	Periphrastic
PAST IMPERFECT of <i>ter + PAST PARTICIPLE</i>	PLPFCT	Periphrastic

Concerning the marking of person and number on the verb, EP distinguishes between three persons (i.e. first, second and third) and two numbers (i.e. singular and plural). As it is not possible to clearly separate the person marker from that of number, one traditionally refers to person-number markers. There are six of these in EP: 1SG, 2SG, 3SG; 1PL, 2PL and 3PL. However, as shown below in Table 28, these markers are not the same for all tenses and modes. In fact, while the 1PL inflection is the same for all tenses (i.e. *-mos*) and the remaining person-number inflections tend to be so for most of them (i.e. \emptyset for 1SG and 3SG forms, *-s* for 2SG forms, *-is* for 2PL forms and *-m* for 3PL forms), there are important exceptions in the present and preterite indicative forms as well as in the imperative mode. In the present, the only exception is the 1SG inflection, which is *-o* instead of \emptyset . In the imperative there is also one exception: that of the 2SG, which is \emptyset instead of *-s*. However, in the preterite all person-number inflections, with the exception of the 1PL, are different from those in other tenses. Hence, the 1SG inflection in the preterite is *-i*, the 2SG is *-ste*, the 3 SG is *-u*, the 2PL is *-stes* and the 3PL is *-ram*.

⁷ The abbreviations in Table 2 are those of Dahl (1985). Their meaning is given in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this study.

TABLE 28.
Person-number morphemes and categories in EP verb forms
 [based on Mira Mateus *et al.* (1990: 380-381)]

TENSE	PN MORPHEMES	EXAMPLE
PRS IND	1SG -o	<i>canto, bebo, durmo</i>
PRT IND, FUT IND	-i	<i>cantei, cantarei; bebi, beberei; durmi,</i>
	∅	<i>durmirei</i>
<i>Other</i>		--
PRT IND	2SG -ste	<i>cantaste, bebeste, dormiste</i>
IMP	∅	--
<i>Other</i>	-s	<i>cantas, beberás, dormirás</i>
PRT IND	3SG -u	<i>cantou, beheu, durmiu</i>
<i>Other</i>	∅	--
<i>All</i>	1PL -mos	<i>cantamos, cantávamos, etc</i>
PRT IND	2PL -stes	<i>cantastes</i>
<i>Other</i>	-is	<i>cantais, beberíeis, dormiríeis, etc</i>
PRT IND	3PL -ram	<i>cantaram, beberam, dormiram</i>
<i>Other</i>	-m	<i>cantavam, beberiam, dormissem</i>

Notice that the 1PL is the most regular person-number form in EP, in that it is the same for all tenses and modes, and that the 3SG is the simplest, in that it is ∅ for all tenses but the preterite indicative.

In spite of the aforementioned exceptions to the structure of the head verb in EP, it should be noted that in all three conjugations only two inflectional categories are encoded in the head verb (i.e. TMA and P/N) and that both of them always follow the verb stem⁸.

5.1.2. COKWE AND THE LANGUAGES OF THE BANTU BRANCH

The internal structure of the single inflected verb⁹ in the languages of the Bantu branch differs significantly from that of EP, as shown in Figure 2 below, where the agglutinating character of the verb in Bantu is very clear¹⁰:

⁸ In fact, regardless of the grammatical category of the word (i.e. noun, verb, adjective, etc), all inflections in EP occur after the stem and are therefore suffixes (Villalva 2003b: 941). In EP prefixes occur only in derivational processes.

⁹ It corresponds to Atkins' (1955) *one-word verb* and it refers to a non-derived synthetic verb form, as opposed to verbal constructions in which the lexical verb occurs with one or more auxiliary verbs. Nurse (2008: 28-30) identifies three types of such compound verb structures: (a) inflected auxiliary + infinitive main verb, (b) inflected auxiliary(ies) + inflected main verb and (c) root reduplication structures (i.e. infinitive main verb + inflected form of the main verb).

¹⁰ This structure was first described by Meeussen (1967), who defined it as a "very clear structure with definable elements occurring in a fixed order" (quoted in Nurse 2008: 31). He used structural labels to refer to each of those elements (e.g. pre-initial, initial, post-initial, formative, limitative, infix, etc), but while these labels helped identify the structural slots into which the verb in Bantu was divided, they failed to capture the function of the morphemes that occurred in them. Therefore, more recent descriptions tend to use a combination of structural and functional labels to describe the linear ordering of the internal constituents of the verb in Bantu. The present study follows this trend.

FIGURE 2.
Internal structure of the single inflected verb in Bantu
 (Nurse 2008: 40)

Pre-SM + SM + (NEG²) + TA + OM + **root** + EXT + FV + Post-FV

The *pre-subject marker* slot (Pre-SM), also referred to in the literature as the prefix (e.g. Nurse & Philippson 2006a: 156) or pre-initial (e.g. Rose et al. 2002: 2), is where typically either a negative marker or a bound (object) relative marker occur, although other grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, conditional and focus may also be encoded here (Nurse 2008: 32)¹¹.

The *subject marker* slot (SM), also referred to in the literature as initial, is where the subject marker occurs. The SM is obligatory regardless of whether the lexical subject is present or not because it encodes agreement with the subject. In fact, this is why the SM slot is sometimes referred to in some sources (e.g. Rose *et al.* 2002: 17) as subject concord (SC)¹².

The *tense-aspect* slot (TA) corresponds to Meeussen's formative and limitative slots and it is the preferred location for the occurrence of tense and aspect markers, although as noted by Nurse and Philippson (2006a: 156) the languages of the Bantu branch depict a fairly diverse set of mechanisms to mark tense and aspect:

In a few languages (...) tense is encoded at TA marker, and aspect at FV. In many languages the FV encodes aspect (and mood). In many languages (...) tense and aspect appear at TA marker, while the FV has a limited role. Some languages express individual tenses or aspects by a combination of morphemes at TA marker and FV. It is even possible for FV to express tense, because over the millennia the suffix *-ile*, which probably started life as an aspectual marker (anterior/perfect), has changed semantically and come to represent past tense in some languages.

In general, the Bantu languages have between two and five past tenses and one or three futures. Concerning aspect, the most common categories are perfective, imperfective, progressive, habitual, anterior (also called 'perfect') and persistent. According to Nurse (2008: 80), "where tense and aspect are encoded in separate slots, tense is to the left. This is a tendency rather than a universal, because it characterizes

¹¹ Note that the negative marker in the pre-SM slot does not usually co-occur with the negative marker in the NEG² slot. In fact, according to Nurse (2008: 44), the primary negative (i.e. that encoded in the Pre-SM slot) typically only occurs with main clauses, whereas the secondary negative (i.e. that encoded in the NEG² slot) typically only occurs with subjunctives, relatives and other subordinate clauses.

¹² Note that in Rose *et al.* (2002: 17) "The term concord is used to refer either to the process of concordance (= agreement) or the actual morpheme expressing this process".

most, but not all, Bantu languages". The tendency to mark tense on the left of the verb stem is a tendency even in periphrastic verbal constructions, where tense is typically marked on the auxiliary verb and aspect is marked on the main verb. Tense can co-occur with most aspect categories, so a single verb can have several aspects but only a single tense.

The *object marker* slot (OM) is the typical location for object markers to occur, although not all languages encode object here. As shown in Beaudoin-Lietz *et al.* (2004) quoted by Marten & Kula (in progress), the languages of the Bantu branch can be divided into "those with only pre-verbal object markers (Type 1), those with only post-verbal object markers (Type 2), and those with both pre-verbal and post verbal object markers (Type 3). In Type 1 and Type 3 languages object is encoded at the OM slot. In Type 2 languages object is encoded at the FV or Post-FV slot.

The *root*, alongside the FV, is the only obligatory verbal constituent in Bantu (Nurse 2006b: 683) and with the *extensions* it constitutes the derivational stem of the verb. The *extension* slot (EXT) is where valency¹³ changes are typically marked. The most common extensions (i.e. with wide distribution across Bantu) include causative, applicative, impositive, neuter/decausative, positional reciprocal/plurational, repetitive, extensive, tentative, reversive, and passive (Nurse 2006a)¹⁴. As noted by Nurse (2008: 37) "when they co-occur they tend to do so in a canonical (neutral) order (e.g. 'CARP' = causative, applicative, reciprocal, passive (Hyman 2002)). This order may vary somewhat, depending on syntax and meaning, and depending on language-specific constraints".

The *final vowel* (FV) is where verbal suffixes occur (Nurse and Philippson 2006: 194). Although changes in FV often combine with tense-aspect markers in TA to mark tense and aspect, the main function of this slot is to encode mood categories, namely the indicative and the subjunctive. The morpheme *-a* is usually associated with the indicative mode, but because *-a* is also the neutral final vowel in most Bantu verb forms, the subjunctive, marked by *-e*, is said to be the only mood category overtly marked on the Bantu verb (Nurse 2006a; Nurse and Philippson 2006a).

Finally, the *post-final vowel* slot (Post-FV) is where 2PL imperative markers occur. It is therefore a slot where mood is encoded, although Nurse (2008: 39) notes that it also

¹³ The term is used here to refer to the "number of nominal phrases (called 'arguments') which are required or allowed to occur in combination with a given verb or class of verbs by virtue of the latter's inherent lexico-semantic properties" (Beard 2006: 122).

¹⁴ Other labels for these extensions include dative or prepositional for the applicative, associative for the reciprocal, separative for the reversive, intransitive or neuter for the stative and contactive for the reciprocal (Nurse 2008: 37).

attracts new grammaticalized material such as locatives, object pronouns, focus, TA and negative clitics.

Naturally, although the structure outlined in Figure 2 above depicts the canonical template of the single inflected verb in the languages of the Bantu branch, “the specific slot system for any given individual language looks different from case to case” (Maho 2007: 213). In the particular case of Cokwe, an analysis of the sources shows that in spite of the expected language-specific variation, the internal structure of the single inflected verb conforms to the template described above for the languages of the Bantu branch in general. The full structure of the single inflected verb in Cokwe is given in Figure 3 below, although only the marking of person-number, tense-aspect-mood and negation will be analyzed in this section, as these are the most relevant mechanisms to our understanding of the morphosyntactic phenomena in DVP analyzed throughout the rest of this chapter.

FIGURE 3.

Internal structure of the single inflected verb in Cokwe

(based on Atkins 1954, 1955; Diarra 1990; Louttit 1916; MacJannet 1949; Martins 1990; Santos 1962; White 1947)

$$PRE-SM/TA^1 + SM + TA^2 + OM^1 + STEM + extension(s) + FV + OM^2/NEG^2$$

It should be noted that the structure given in Figure 2 is not taken from any single source on the language, but is rather the product of a long and extensive process of comparison of the information found in each source as a consequence of the inherent limitations of the available sources on Cokwe listed in chapter 1 (cf. explanation given in Chapter 1, section 1.5.3).

5.1.2.1. Person and number in Cokwe

My analysis of the Cokwe data showed that concerning the marking of person and number on the verb, Cokwe, like EP, distinguishes between three persons (i.e. first, second and third) and two numbers (i.e. singular and plural). Also like in EP, it is not possible to clearly separate the person marker from that of number in Cokwe, so one traditionally refers to person-number markers (P/N), which are given in Table 29 below¹⁵.

¹⁵ The set of P/N markers that are given on Table 4 are not only the same in all the sources consulted on Cokwe but also consistent with what is known about P/N markers and categories in the languages of the Bantu branch in general. Their spelling varies slightly with each source, but this reflects a well-attested phenomenon in the description of African languages by Europeans (i.e. different perception of the same sounds according to the author's mother tongue) and is not likely to be associated with any different morphosyntactic behavior of the P/N markers. This was confirmed not only by

TABLE 29.
Person-number categories and markers in Cokwe verb forms

CATEGORY	MARKER(S)	EXAMPLE(S) (Martins 1990: 96)
1SG	<i>ngu-</i> or <i>n-</i> (before consonant or vowel, respectively)	<i>ngu-na-zang-a</i> 1SG-PRS-love-FV 'I love' <i>n-aku-zang-a</i> 1SG-HAB-love-FV 'I love (often)'
2SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-na-zang-a</i> 2SG-PRS-love-FV 'You love'
3SG	<i>ka-</i> <i>a-</i> or <i>u-</i> (when TMA marker is verb-initial)	<i>ka-na-zang-a</i> 3SG-PRS-love-FV 'You love'
1PL	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-na-zang-a</i> 1PL-PRS-love-FV 'We love'
2PL	<i>nu-</i>	<i>nu-na-zang-a</i> 2PL-PRS-love-FV 'You love'
3PL	<i>ka-</i> <i>aa-</i> or <i>a-</i> (when TMA marker is verb-initial)	<i>ka-na-zang-a</i> 3PL-PRS-love-FV 'They love' <i>m'a-zang-a</i> FUT.3PL-love-FV 'They will love'

In spite of the aforementioned similarities, the use of person-number markers in Cokwe differs from EP in five major ways.

Firstly, in Cokwe the same P/N markers are used to express not only P/N agreement with the subject of the verb, but also to express the direct and indirect objects (Martins 1990: 164). In other words, a given P/N marker in Cokwe (e.g. 1SG) typically has the same morphological form regardless of the grammatical role it plays (e.g. subject vs. object) and differs only in terms of the position it occupies within the internal structure of the verb. The only exception to this is the reflexive subject marker, which is not only formally different from all other P/N markers but is also the same for all persons and both numbers, i.e. *ri-* or *li-*. In EP, on the other hand, the P/N markers on the verb are used to either identify the subject or mark agreement with it, whereas reflexive subjects and direct and indirect objects are identified by clitics that are formally different from the P/N markers used to express agreement with the subject.

means of an analysis of the syntactic behavior of the markers in the examples given in each source but also by means of consultation with a native speaker of Cokwe and cross-referencing with reference works on the Bantu languages.

Secondly, whereas in EP the same third-person marker is used for [+ human]/[+ animate] and [- human]/[- animate] referents alike (i.e. the 3SG past marker on the verb is always *-u*, regardless of whether it refers to a man or a car), in Cokwe different markers are used depending on whether their referent is [+human]/[+ animate] or [- human]/[- animate]. Hence, third-person referents that are [+ human] or [+ animate] take the third-person markers given in Table 4, whereas third-person entities that are [- human] or [- animate] take the marker of the noun class they belong to. Therefore, unlike EP, Cokwe's person-number markers on the verb are sensitive to the gender¹⁶ of their referents¹⁷ (cf. Table 18 in Chapter 1, section 4.1.2, for list of noun class markers in Cokwe).

Thirdly, although it has been argued that P/N markers in Cokwe vary according to the tense of the verb (e.g. Santos 1962) as they do in EP, this does not seem to be the case. In fact, a paradigmatic analysis of P/N markers in Cokwe shows that, as noted in Table 4, although some phonetic changes sometimes occur depending on whether the marker is preceded or followed by a TMA marker (e.g. 3PL) and on whether that TMA marker begins with a vowel or a consonant (e.g. 1SG), the core of the person-number marker remains morphologically stable in most tenses. In EP this is only the case with the 1PL marker, which is always *-mos* regardless of the tense, aspect or mode of the verb, as shown in Table 28 above.

Fourthly, whereas in EP the singular vs. plural distinction is relevant for all person categories (i.e. different markers are used for singular person categories on the one hand and plural ones on the other), the analysis of the sources indicates that in Cokwe this is only the case for the first and second person categories. In fact, while in Cokwe there are SG and PL paradigms for both the first and the second persons, there is only a single marker for the 3SG and the 3PL. As noted by Siewierska (2004: 93), the neutralization of number oppositions in the third person, but not in the first and second persons, is "widely attested, particularly among dependent person forms". However, it is interesting to notice that while such neutralization occurs in Cokwe but not in EP, it is a widespread tendency in DVP, as will be shown in sub-section 5.3.4.

¹⁶ The use of the term *gender* here is that of Corbett (1995), i.e. a system of classification of nouns, and includes not only the sex-based gender systems one finds in, say, the Romance languages, but also those found in the Bantu languages, often referred to as noun classes.

¹⁷ This is a common cross-linguistic tendency, in that in the world's languages "gender oppositions are characteristic of third rather than first or second person" (Siewierska 2004: 104). In fact, as noted by Siewierska (*ibid.* 205), "gender in the second and first persons (...) is strongly tied to area or genetic affiliation". According to the same source, the reason for this cross-linguistic tendency is the fact that unlike first and second persons, the gender of third persons is not obvious to the speech participants as third parties are often not present in the speech situation. Therefore "gender marking of third person ... helps the interlocutors to keep track of which third-person referent is being talked about" (*ibid.*).

Finally, in Cokwe person-number categories are typically overtly marked on the verb, whereas in EP person-number categories such as the 3SG are often characterized by the absence of an overt marker.

Concerning the encoding of objects, as shown in Figure 3 and already illustrated in chapter 4 (i.e. section 4.1.2), two strategies are used in Cokwe depending on the valency of the verb. Hence, in monotransitive uses of the verb, the object occurs in pre-stem position (i.e. OM¹ slot) as a prefix, as shown in example (202) below:

(202) COKWE
Yena u na ngu zang a (Martins 1990: 164)
 You 2SG.SBJ PROG 1SG.OBJ love FV
 'You want/love me'

In ditransitive uses of a verb, on the other hand, the direct object occurs in post-stem position (i.e. OM²) whereas the indirect marker (and locatives) occur in pre-stem position (i.e. OM¹), as illustrated in example (203) below:

(203) COKWE
a ngu h-el-e yo (Martins 1990: 51)
 3PL.SM 1SG.IO give-APPL-FV it
 'They gave it to me'

The fact that “the Cokwe verbal can take two attached objects simultaneously, the first in immediately pre-radical position and the second attached to the suffix” (Atkins 1955: 266), makes it a Type 3 language according to Beaudoin-Liets *et al.* (2004) typology. This pattern of OM collocation in Cokwe is similar to “the most common pattern with two pronominal arguments” in Bantu, which is “to locate IO/Beneficiary/Recipient at pre-stem position, with other argument (DO/Patient or other object) post-verbally or verb-finally” (Nurse 2008: 224). The pattern of OM collocation in Cokwe also seems to reinforce the assumption made in Beaudoin-Liets *et al.* (2004) that all K10 group languages work as Lucazi (K13), i.e. “one object... occurs in OM, while the other object, as well as locatives, occurs post-verbally (Nurse 2008: 223).

The fact that all lexical objects may be expressed by object markers inside the verb is consistent with the hypothesis that Cokwe is an OM-2 language according to Bearth's (2006: 124) typology. However, examples in which both the lexical objects and the OMs occur are needed to unequivocally corroborate this hypothesis because OM-2 languages are characterized not only by the possibility of lexical objects being encoded by OMs inside the verb but also by the requirement that the latter agree in person and number with the former. The sources on Cokwe do not include such examples, but MacJannet (1949: 7)

does states that “when the verb takes a direct and indirect object, the direct object is placed at the end of the verb, the pronoun then for the direct object being ‘*o*’ with the class prefix”, which suggests that Cokwe requires the OMs inside the verb to agree in person and number with the nouns they refer to. Moreover, Naturally, because MacJanett (1949) does not specify the variety of Cokwe it describes, only examples elicited from native speakers of Lunda Norte Cokwe can either corroborate or disprove the hypothesis above.

Unlike EP, Cokwe encodes tense in single inflected verb forms (i.e. synthetic) not by means of a single tense marker, but rather by the co-occurrence of tense morphemes in two or three different slots in the verb string. Hence, the typical mechanism to encode tense is by means of a combination of pre-stem markers occurring in TA² (less often in TA¹ or in TA¹ and TA²) and changes in the FV.

5.1.2.2. Infinitive in Cokwe

The infinitive is marked by prefixing *ku-* to the stem plus FV *-a*, as in example (204) below:

- (204) COKWE
ku zang-a (Martins 1990: 95)
 INF love-FV
 ‘to love’

According to Diarra (1990: 63), the infinite can co-occur with object or reflexive markers, as shown respectively in examples (205) and (206) below:

- (205) COKWE:
Kùkùmòná
kù kù mòn à
 INF 2SG.OBJ see FV
 ‘to see you’

- (206) COKWE
Kùlizàngà
kù li zang à
 INF REFL love FV
 ‘to love oneself’

Typical contexts for the occurrence of the infinitive are “after a verb of motion with the conjunctive formative ... or with *mu-* (...) and after many verbs indicating wanting, liking, intending, etc” (White 1947: 2)¹⁸.

¹⁸ For other uses of the infinitive in Cokwe see White (1947: 1).

5.1.2.3. Present tense in Cokwe

The present is listed in all sources as an existing tense category in Cokwe. Some authors even identify more than one present tense in the language, as is the case with Martins (1990: 96, 99), who identifies three present tenses: *Indicativo Presente Efectivo*, *Indicativo Presente Continuo* and *Conjuntivo Presente*. The sources, however, do not clearly identify the tense marker(s) that encode those different degrees of present reference.

The preliminary comparison of the examples given in each source as having present reference suggested *-na-* as the present tense marker in Cokwe, as this was the recurrent marker in all examples. However, further analyses showed that the same marker also occurred in past tenses, which was inconsistent with *-na-* being the marker for the present.

In fact, the analysis of the data suggests that Cokwe, like most languages in the Bantu branch, does not overtly mark the present (Nurse 2006a: 99) but rather has an unmarked or zero present, which consists of a \emptyset marker in the TA² slot and neutral FV *-a*. The use of unmarked presents is a widespread tendency in Bantu and is accounted for as follows by Rose *et al.* (2002: 69):

Since the present is most often a very short period of time, and since it is quite obvious to the participants in a conversation, it does not need to be indicated. For the participants, what is more important than time reference is how the action is distributed over time relative to the present.

Nurse (2008: 236) characterizes the unmarked present in Bantu as follows:

It is characterized by an absence of structural marking for aspect or tense and the high tone on the final syllable has no demonstrable grammatical or lexical value. It is thus the ultimate unmarked form. It refers to no particular time, so highlights the action ('buying'), and if there is a time it is the 'vast present', stretching on either side of the time of speaking. So there is a pleasant fit between form (no marking= and meaning (no particular time).

Therefore, the marker *-na-* in Cokwe is most likely a progressive aspect marker rather than a tense marker, progressive being defined as representing "a situation in progress at and around reference time" (Nurse 2008: 139). Five factors seem to confirm this hypothesis.

Firstly, *-na-* is identified by Nurse (2008: 142-143) as the source (via semantic extension and grammaticalization)¹⁹ for the progressive aspect marker in the region

¹⁹ Nurse (2008: 288) states the following concerning the processes of change involving *-na-* across Bantu:

where Cokwe and closely related languages such as Lucazi and Lunda are spoken (i.e. K10-L52). Examples from all three languages are given by Nurse (*ibid.*) to illustrate his point:

- (207) LUCAZI (K13)
Ngw-a-pw-anga na ku-tángisa (Nurse 2008: 142)
 'I was teaching (P2)', etc (-pw 'be')
- (208) LUNDA (L52)
Wu-di-na-ku-hema (*ibid.*)
 3sg-be-with-to-play/playing
 'He is playing'
- (209) COKWE (K11)
Ngú-na-lim-i (*ibid.* 143)
 'I am hoeing'

Secondly, *-na-* is typically followed by *ku* (INF), which according to Nurse (2008: 294) is a well established tendency in the languages where *-na-* encodes progressive aspect. This is illustrated in examples (207) and (208) above for Lucazi and Lunda, respectively, and below in example (210) for Cokwe:

- (210) INDICATIVO PRESENTE CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 96)
- | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| <i>ngunapu nyi kuzanga</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>ngu</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>pu</i> | <i>nyi</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>zang</i> | <i>a</i> |
| SM | PROG | be | with | INF | love | FV |
| 'I am loving' (EP: 'Eu estou amando' or 'Estou a amar') | | | | | | |

Thirdly, the fact that *-na-* occurs with both present and past tenses is consistent with the claim made by Dahl (1985: 92-93) that the progressive is "usually independent or almost independent of time reference – in other words, it is used both with the present, the past and the future", although "if there are any restrictions, it is rather the present than the past that is favoured with the progressives". It is also consistent with what is known about the behavior of this marker in many of the languages of the Bantu branch, namely that it "has no obvious semantic core, being present in verbal forms translated by 'narrative, progressive/imperfective, not yet, future'" (Nurse 2008: 250).

Fourthly, the fact that the progressive is a sub-category of the imperfective and that *-na-* also occurs with the so-called past imperfect, the prototypical imperfective

Comitative > various: Bantu *na* appears as a conjunction ('and'), preposition ('with') and as the basis for 'have' ('be with'). As a preposition and conjunction, it primarily links nominals, including the verbal noun (infinitive: *ku-*). As 'have' it is followed by nominals, including the verbal noun. In some cases it is clear whether the preposition or 'have' is the source, in other cases less so. Likewise some of its functions (progressive, narrative) are clear, while others (in pasts, futures, subjunctives) are not. This also occurs in wider Niger-Congo (e.g. Kordofanian (Moro), Gur (Supyire), and Ubangi (Zande)).

category, also seems to reinforce the hypothesis that *-na-* marks progressive aspect in Cokwe.

Finally, most periphrastic constructions in Cokwe that the sources identify as denoting an action in progress (exception made to the future progressive) contain the marker *-na-*. Examples (211) to (214) below illustrate the existing progressive periphrases in Cokwe.

(211) PRESENTE CONTÍNUO and PERFEITO REMOTO COMPOSTO (in Martins 1990: 96-97)

Ngunapu nyi kuzanga
ngu na pu nyi ku zang a
 1SG PROG be with INF love FV
 'I am loving (someone)' or 'I have been loving'
 (EP: 'Estou amando/a amar' or 'Tenho amado')

(212) PRETÉRITO IMPERFEITO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 96)

Té ngunapu mu nyi kuzanga
té ngu na pu mu nyi ku zang a
 then 1SG PROG be when With INF love FV
 'I was loving' (EP: 'Eu estava amando')

(213) PRETÉRITO REMOTO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 97)

Napwile nyi kuzanga
na pw ile nyi ku zang a
 1SG.PROG be FP with INF love FV
 'I had loved' or 'I had been loving' or 'I used to love'

(214) FUTURO CONTÍNUO COMPOSTO in Martins (1990: 98)

Kumugnupw akuzanga
ku mu ngu pwa ku zang a
 EMP FUT 1SG be INF love FV
 'I will be loving' (EP: 'Eu estarei amando')

Nonetheless, the classification of *-na-* as a progressive aspect marker in Cokwe should be regarded as tentative because more data are needed to either confirm or disprove this hypothesis. The available data are not only old²⁰ but also drawn from written sources and most likely do not reflect recent grammatical developments in the language. Recent data are particularly important in the case of progressive aspect categories because they have been shown to easily grammaticalize into imperfective or present categories. According to Bybee *et al.* (1994: 127-ss) this is because progressives,

²⁰ Exception made to Diarra (1990), which is not a primary source on the variety spoken in Lunda Norte, most of the data sources on Cokwe consulted in this study were collected during the first half of the 20th century. Half a century is usually not enough time for considerable structural changes to occur in a language. However, language contact is well known to reduce the time needed for these changes to occur. Consequently, considering that it was during the last fifty years that Cokwe was in more intense contact with Portuguese, it is wise to allow for the possibility that the existing data may be outdated.

imperfectives and presents share the same lexical sources, the progressive being “the sense that occurs early in the process of grammaticization²¹”. Interesting as this topic is, its description is not part of the goals of the present study and will therefore not be further discussed. The point is that the available data indicate that *-na-* is not a present tense marker in Cokwe, as it occurs with overtly marked past tenses.

5.1.2.4. Past tenses in Cokwe

The past is also referred to by all sources as a tense category in Cokwe. All of them also converge in identifying five different degrees of past reference in Cokwe, namely *immediate past*, *hodiernal past*, *hesternal past*, *far/remote past* and *narrative past*.

The *immediate past*, also referred to as *Pretérito Perfeito Presente* (Martins 1990: 96), A5 (Atkins 1955: 269), *completed present perfect* (White 1947: 6) and *'just' past* (MacJannet 1949: 30), refers to a “barely or just completed action” (Atkins 1955: 269). It is encoded by a combination of three markers: initial TA¹ marker *hi-*, TA² marker *-a-* and FV *-a* or *-i*²², as illustrated in examples (215) and (216) below:

(215) COKWE
hinazanga (Martins 1990: 96)
hi na zang a
 IMM 1SG.PST love FV
 'I have just loved'

(216) COKWE
hingulimi (Atkins 1955: 268)
hi ngu lim i
 IMM 1SG hoe FV
 'I have just hoed'

The *hodiernal past* refers to an action completed earlier on the day of speaking and is encoded by a combination of two markers: TA² marker *-a-* plus FVs *-ang-a*. Labels used in the sources to refer to it include *pretérito perfeito* (Martins 1990: 96), A7 or *earlier today past* (Atkins 1955: 270), *near past tense* (White 1947: 6), *recent past* (Louttit 1916: 20), *little while past* (MacJannet 1949: 30) and *passado recente/presente* (Diarra 1990: 65). The hodiernal past in Cokwe is illustrated below for all persons with examples from Martins (1990: 96):

²¹ The term is synonymous with the more widely used term *grammaticalization*.

²² The *-i* that occurs in FV position in the immediate past in Cokwe is traditionally referred to in the literature as *vowel copy suffix* in that it reflects the height of the vowel of the root (Nurse 2008: 271). This mechanism is very commonly used in the Savanna languages, especially those of K10 group, like Cokwe, to encode near past or anterior reference in positive verb forms (Nurse and Philippson 2006a: 186).

(217) COKWE

a. nazanganga			
<i>n</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
1SG	PST	love	HOD-FV
'I loved'			
b. wazanganga			
<i>w</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
2SG	PST	love	HOD-FV
'You loved			
c. kazanganga			
<i>k</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
3SG	PST	love	HOD-FV
'He/she loved			
d. twazanganga			
<i>tw</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
1PL	PST	love	HOD-FV
'We loved			
e. nwazanganga			
<i>nw</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
2PL	PST	love	HOD-FV
'You loved			
f. kazanganga			
<i>k</i>	a	<i>zang</i>	ang-a
3PL	PST	love	HOD-FV
'They loved'			

In reference surveys of Bantu in general and western Savanna languages²³ in particular, the marker *-ang-* is usually associated with habitual and progressive meanings. However, as noted by Nurse and Philippson (2006: 190), the marker is known for having “extended to past and future tense reference”. In fact, Sommer (2006: 578) notes that in some neighboring Savanna languages such as Luvale this marker is used to encode recent past reference. Therefore, the use of *-ang-* in Cokwe to mark hodiernal past is fully consistent with the pattern found in neighboring languages.

The *hesternal past*, which refers to an action taking place the day prior to the day of speaking, is encoded by a combination of the marker *-naka-* in TA² plus FV *-a*. Some of the labels used in the sources to refer to it include *pretérito perfeito recente* (Martins 1990: 97), *A8* or *before today past* (Atkins 1955: 270), *indefinite past* (MacJannet 1949: 29), *passado de ontem ou passado indeterminado* (Diarra 1990: 66) or *distant present perfect*

²³ As summarized by Sommer (2006: 566), Western Savanna languages is a genealogical subclassification used to refer to eight groupings of Bantu languages spoken in the Savanna region, namely *Chokwe-Luchazi* (K10, Zaire, Angola, Zambia), *Lozi* (K20, Zambia, Namibia), *Luyana* (K30, Angola, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana), *Subiya* (K40, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana), *Umbundu* and *Ndonga* (R10, 20, Angola, Namibia), *Herero* and *Yeyi* (R30, 40, Namibia, Botswana). Sommer (*ibid.*) notes that “there are a number of features currently characterizing Western Savanna languages which seem to be due to the effects of language contact and shift situations”.

(White 1947: 6). The hesternal past in Cokwe is illustrated below for all persons with examples from Martins (1990: 96):

(218) COKWE:

a. *ngunakazanga*

<i>ngu</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
1SG	HEST	love	FV

'I loved'

b. *unakazanga*

U	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
2SG	HEST	love	FV

'You loved'

c. *kanakazanga*

<i>ka</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
3SG	HEST	love	FV

'He/she loved'

d. *tunakazanga*

<i>tu</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
1PL	HEST	love	FV

'We loved'

e. *nunakazanga*

<i>nu</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
2PL	HEST	love	FV

'You loved'

f. *kanakazanga*

<i>ka</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>zang</i>	<i>a</i>
3PL	HEST	love	FV

'They loved'

The *far past* (also remote past) in Cokwe refers to actions having taken place some months past and is encoded by a combination of the marker *-a-* in TA² plus FV *-ile*²⁴. Some of the labels used to refer to the far past in Cokwe include *pretérito perfeito remoto simples* (Martins 1990: 97), *A9* or *remote past* (Atkins 1955: 270), *historic past* (White 1947: 6) or *passado longínquo* (Diarra 1990: 66). The far past in Cokwe is illustrated below for all persons with examples drawn from Martins (1990: 97):

²⁴ The far past suffix *-ile* undergoes several phonetic changes depending on the quality of the preceding vowel, the presence or absence of a pure nasal consonant in the stem and the syllabic structure of the verb stem. This leads to the occurrence of different allomorphs of *-ile* (i.e. *-ile*, *-ele*, *-ine*, *-ene*). For a detailed analysis of these changes, see Atkins (1954) and White (1947: 6-7).

(219) COKWE:

a. nazangile
n a zang ile
 1SG PST love FP
 'I loved'

b. wazangile
w a zang ile
 2SG PST love FP
 'You loved'

c. kazangile
k a zang ile
 3SG PST love FP
 'He/she loved'

d. twazangile
tw a zang ile
 1PL PST love FP
 'We loved'

e. nwazangile
nw a zang ile
 2PL PST love FP
 'You loved'

f. kazangile
kn a zang ile
 3PL PST love FP
 'They loved'

In having a remote past, Cokwe is consistent with the pattern found in Western Savanna languages, all of which “employ a final element *-ile* or *-ire* which together with postinitial morpheme *-a* is used to mark remote or indefinite past” (Sommer 2006: 579 - *my emphasis*). The combination of *-a-* and *-ile* to mark remote past is also consistent with a common pattern found across Savanna languages (Nurse 2008: 266).

The **narrative past** is formed by prefixing **(y)i** to the SM plus FV *-a*. Atkins (1955: 270) refers to it as A10 and defines it as an “indeterminate past” that is used “depending on a previous tense in the narrative to set the time reference, thereby saving the monotonous repetition of tenses”. Other labels used to refer to the narrative in Cokwe include *past in continuous narrative* (White 1947: 7) or *narrative* (MacJannet 1949: 30). Examples for the first-person singular and plural are given below:

(220) COKWE

(y)ingulima (Atkins 1955: 270)
(y)i *ngu lim a*
 NAR 1SG hoe FV
 'I have hoed'

- (221) COKWE:
Yitulinga (White 1947: 7)
yi tu ling a
 NAR 1PL do FV
 'We have just done'

The existence of a narrative tense in Cokwe includes it among the group of Bantu languages that use a special device in narratives. Nurse (2008: 120) explains as follows the functioning of that device in the languages of the Bantu branch:

The time of the situation is first established, either explicitly in the first verb string, or implicitly, because participants know the context, which therefore doesn't need mentioning. All following verbs in the sequence are then marked by a special narrative marker, which replaces the tense marker appropriate to the time established by the first verb. Just because most sequences deal with past events, this special marker is most frequent in past narratives, less frequent in timeless events, followed by futures. [...] Use of the special marker can be suspended and then deliberately reintroduced by the speaker to stress continuity. A final feature characterizing this marker is that it tends to reduce the number of tense distinctions and in some languages to neutralize them entirely.

The morphology of the narrative marker in Cokwe (i.e. *-yi-*) is completely different from that found in most Bantu languages (i.e. *-ka-*). This is so because in Zone K languages such as Cokwe *-ka-* is very seldom used as a narrative marker (Nurse 2008: 242). The marker *-ka-* does exist in these languages, but with other functions (see Nurse 2008: 240-246 for a description). In Cokwe, for example *-ka-* is an itive aspect marker, i.e. expresses 'location away from the event away from the deictic centre' - (Botne 1999: who calls it distal - quoted in Nurse 2008: 2242). Being an aspect marker it is used, as shown above, after both past and future tense markers to express the notion of remoteness.

It should be noted that White (1947: 7) notes the idiomatic use of the immediate future to express past reference in a continuous narrative, which he accounts for as follows²⁵:

When a sequence of past actions is being narrated (...) it is usual to use the immediate near future to describe these actions. This construction is best regarded as a vivid form of reconstruction, in which the speaker is recapitulating the entire sequence of actions, and each successive act is visualized as being future to the last one. An alternative explanation might be advanced that this was in fact a narrative past tense (...) and similar in form to the immediate near future; but I believe that to regard it purely as a vivid construction is the better view.

²⁵ While it is not a widespread phenomenon, there is evidence of future forms expressing past reference (sometimes even aspectual distinctions) in the world's languages. For example, Bybee *et al.* (1994: 158) note that in Inuit "the future marker *ssa* signals past habitual when it is used in a past narrative context".

As will be shown below, the immediate future in Cokwe is encoded by prefixing the marker *hi-* to the future form of the verb. What is interesting about this idiomatic use of the immediate future is that the literal translation of *hi-* is 'already', or *já* in Portuguese. Therefore, the explanation given by White (1947) to account for the idiomatic use of the future in narrative contexts might be useful in helping account for the use of *já* in narrative contexts in DVP.

It is clear from the above description that, exception made to the narrative past, all past forms in Cokwe have some reflex of *-a-* in TA² position, being the changes in the final vowel that specify the degree of past reference. In this regard, Cokwe is fully consistent with the pattern found across Bantu languages concerning the encoding of past reference. In fact, according to Nurse (2008: 82):

It can be seen that 78 per cent of the languages in the database have a form of *-a-* with some past reference. 'Past reference' might mean that it is the only pre-stem marker of past, or marks one form of past (near, far) and not another, or is present in several forms of past, or combines with another marker to mark past, or represents anterior.

5.1.2.5. Future tenses in Cokwe

The future is also listed in the sources as a major tense category in Cokwe. The future reference marker is *mu-*, which is the only tense marker in Cokwe that is used verb-initially, as shown in example (222) below:

(222)	COKWE:	(Martins 1990: 97)
	a. <i>munguzanga</i>	
	mu <i>ngu</i> <i>zang</i> a	
	FUT 1SG love FV	
	'I will love'	
	b. <i>muuzanga</i>	
	mu <i>u</i> <i>zang</i> a	
	FUT 2SG love FV	
	'You will love'	
	c. <i>muazanga</i>	
	mu <i>a</i> <i>zang</i> a	
	FUT 3SG love FV	
	'He/she will love'	
	d. <i>mutuzanga</i>	
	mu <i>tu</i> <i>zang</i> a	
	FUT 1PL love FV	
	'We will love'	
	e. <i>munuzanga</i>	
	mu <i>nu</i> <i>zang</i> a	
	FUT 2PL love FV	
	'You will love'	

f. *m'azanga*
m' *a* *zang* **a**
 FUT 3PL love FV
 'They will love'

Example (222) above illustrates the tense referred to in the literature as *general future* (Atkins 1955: 270). However, two further degrees of future reference are identified in the sources, namely the immediate future and the remote future. These are encoded by adding aspectual particles to the verb string. Hence, the *immediate future* is encoded by prefixing the particle *hi-* to the future form of the verb, as illustrated in example (223) below:

(223) COKWE
himutulima (White 1947: 9)
hi **mu** *tu* *lim* **a**
 IMM FUT 1PL hoe FV
 'I will hoe'

White (1947: 9) claims that an alternative way to express immediate future is by prefixing *ku-* to the general future form of the verb, as in example (224) below:

(224) COKWE:
umulima
ku **mu** *lim* **a**
 EMPH FUT cultivate FV
 'I will cultivate'

According to White (1947), this verb form “indicates that a future act will take place very soon, but not that it is about to be done as is indicated by the immediate near future”. For this reason, the author calls it “intermediate near future”. Atkins (1955: 271) also states that *ku-* can be added to the general future “to strengthen a prediction”.

The *far future* (also remote future), on the other hand, is encoded by adding the itive aspect marker *-ka-* to the general future verb form, as in example (225) below.

(225) COKWE:
mungukazanga (Martins 1990: 97-98)
mu *ngu* **ka** *zang* **A**
 FUT 1SG REM love FV
 'I will love'

The marker *-ku-* is often also prefixed to far future forms to strengthen a prediction as in *ku-mu-ngu-ka-zang-a* 'I will want'.

The far future can also be expressed by means of the periphrastic construction illustrated in example (226) below, i.e. future form of the verb *iza* 'come' plus infinitive form of the main verb. In fact, according to Martins (1990: 89), this periphrastic structure is the preferred strategy to mark the remote future in Cokwe:

- (226) COKWE:
munguiza kuzanga (ibid.)
mu *ngu iza ku zang a*
 FUT 1SG come INF love FV
 'I will love (someday)' or literary 'I will come to love'

5.1.2.6. Perfective vs. imperfective aspect in Cokwe

Aspect in Cokwe is encoded by means of four major mechanisms: inflection, reduplication, verbal periphrases and pre-verbal particles. The major aspectual categories in Cokwe are perfective, imperfective, progressive, habitual, frequentative and itive.

Past tenses in Cokwe all seem to be associated with perfective aspect. However, this aspectual category does not seem to be overtly marked on the verb string. The marker *hi-* that occurs in the immediate past and immediate future could be the only exception to this in that it expresses the notion of completion and could therefore be considered a perfective aspect marker. The classification of *hi-* as an aspect marker is suggested by Atkins (1955: 262):

The commoner aspects of **hi-** all centre around the notions of completed, or recently completed or already completed action. In other words, the ASPECTUAL RANGE of **hi-** can be defined as completed action *coupled with* recentness or with the fulfillment of one action before the beginning of the next (*SMALL CAPS - my emphasis*)

However, *hi-* occurs to the left of the tense markers (*-a-* for the past and *mu-* for the future), which violates the strong tendency found in the languages of the Bantu branch to mark aspect after tense. Some Bantu languages do allow aspect to be marked before tense but this does not seem to be the case in Cokwe, as shown by the fact that the itive aspect marker *-ka-* always occurs after tense markers. Moreover, if *hi-* were a perfective aspect marker one would expect it to occur with all the other tense categories that express a completed action (e.g. all degrees of past reference). Therefore, it is argued here that Cokwe, like many languages of the Bantu branch, does not overtly mark perfective aspect in the verb string (Nurse 2008: 136). While it is clear that *hi-* adds the notion of completion and recentness to the verb form it occurs with, it is most likely best understood as a clitic rather than a bound aspect marker. Using Nurse's (2008)

terminology, *hi-* is better described as a *shifter*, i.e. a clitic, which added to an existing tensed form, shifts its reference further away from the reference point (past or future)' (Nurse 2008: 316). This is best illustrated by the past conditional form in Cokwe, which is shown in (230) below.

The morphological status of the imperfective aspect in Cokwe, on the other hand, is not clear from the sources because only one of the primary sources identify imperfective uses of tenses in Cokwe (i.e. Martins 1990). Imperfective is not used here to include more specific imperfective categories such as progressives, presents and habitual, but rather to refer to the more general category that contrasts with the perfective. Thus, imperfective is used here to refer to the aspectual category that views a situation as unbounded, as “part complete, part incomplete” (Nurse 2008: 312), and that “is used in discourse to setting up background situations” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 125-126). Building on this definition of imperfective, the analysis of the data suggests that the notion of imperfectivity is encoded in Cokwe by means of the pre-verbal particle *té*. Barbosa (1989: 580) defines it as follows:

Part. ou conj. coord. (Estabelece certa relação de coordenação entre duas proposições, exprimindo, contemporaneidade, etc. Provavelmente, proveniente de = *ta²*). Muze yaxíkanga ngùnga, te yàmi hinápwa um cikolo, quando tocou o sino, (então) estava já à porta. Táta wangutáyisa ku ùlo, àmi mwéne te càzangiléko, o pai é que me fez aceitar casar, eu própria (até) não queria.

It is clear from the definition above that the semantics of *té* is less clear than that of *hi*. However, it seems fairly obvious that it is associated with the notion of imperfectivity. Like *hi*, *té* also does not seem to be a bound inflectional aspect marker, but rather a pre-verbal particle that adds aspectual information to a tense inflected verb form. The development path from independent (non-verbal) item > clitic > affix is well attested in Bantu (Nurse 2008: 287) and it may well be that both *hi* and *té* will grammaticalize into aspect markers, but the existing data suggest that they have not yet reached the last stage of the grammaticalization path. Two factors seem to corroborate this claim. Firstly, both *hi* and *té* occur verb-initially, before any tense marker. Secondly, most sources spell these particles as independent words and not as internal constituents of the verb string.

Therefore, *té*, like *hi*, is used to encode aspectual information but it is not a bound aspect marker like, say, *ka* (iterative) or *-aku-* (habitual). It expresses imperfectivity of the action expressed by the verb and it occurs in the following verb forms (the labels used to refer to each form are those of the source):

- (227) COKWE: PRETÉRITO IMPERFEITO in Martins (1990: 96)

Té ngunazanga

té *ngu* *na* *zang* *a*
 then 1SG PROG love FV
 'I was loving' (EP: 'Eu amava')

- (228) COKWE: PRETÉRITO IMPERFEITO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 96)

Té ngunapu mu nyi kuzanga

té *ngu* *na* *pu* *mu* *nyi* *ku* *zang* *a*
 then 1SG PROG be when with INF love FV
 'I was loving' (EP: 'Eu estava amando')

- (229) COKWE: CONDICIONAL PRESENTE in Martins (1990: 98)

Té munguzanga

té *mu* *ngu* *zang* *a*
 then FUT 1SG love FV
 'I would love' (EP: 'Eu amaria')

- (230) COKWE: CONDICIONAL PRETÉRITO in Martins (1990: 98)

Té hinazanga

té *hi* *na* *zang* *a*
 then IMM PROG love FV
 'I would have loved' (EP: 'Eu teria amado')

- (231) COKWE: CONDICIONAL PRETÉRITO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 99)

Té hi namuzanga

té *hi* *na* *mu* *zang* *a*
 then IMM 1SG.PROG FUT love FV
 'I would be loving' (EP: 'Eu estaria amando')

5.1.2.7. Habitual aspect in Cokwe

The habitual aspect (also called iterative in general linguistics literature), expresses actions that take place habitually or repeatedly over an extended period of time (Dahl 1985: 95; Nurse 2008: 143). In Cokwe, the habitual is encoded by means of the inflectional marker *-aku-* at the TA² slot plus FV *-a*, as shown in example (232) below:

- (232) COKWE:
Nakuzanga (Martins 1990: 99)
N *aku* *zang* *a*
 1SG HAB love FV
 'I usually love'

5.1.2.8. Frequentative aspect in Cokwe

The frequentative aspect “adds to the habitual the requirement that the situation be frequent during a period of time” (Nurse 2008: 311 - quoting Bybee *et al.* 1994: 127).

As in many languages of the Bantu branch, the frequentative aspect in Cokwe is encoded by full reduplication of the verb stem. It is classified as a tense by Martins (1990:101) but evidence that the frequentative is an aspect category rather than a tense in Cokwe can be found in White (1947), where the reduplication of the stem as a means to indicate a frequent action occurs with forms expressing not only present but also past and future reference. This is illustrated in examples (233), (234) and (235), respectively:

(233) COKWE:

Tuli nikulimalima (White 1947: 4)

<i>tu</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>ni</i> ²⁶	<i>ku</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>
1PL	be	with	INF	cultivate	FV	cultivate	FV

'We are always in the act of cultivating'

(234) COKWE:

Twapwile nikulimalima (White 1947: 7)

<i>tw</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pw</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>
1PL	PST	be	FP	with	INF	cultivate	FV	cultivate	FV

'We were always in the act of cultivating'

(235) COKWE:

Mutulimalima (White 1947: 10)

<i>mu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>lim</i>	<i>a</i>
FUT	1PL	cultivate	FV	cultivate	FV

'We will always be cultivating'²⁷ or 'I will continue to cultivate'

5.1.2.9. Mood categories in Cokwe: indicative, subjunctive and imperative

Mood categories are encoded in the FV slot in Cokwe. The indicative is the unmarked category, although all indicative tenses, with the exceptions of the far past, share *-a* as their FV. The subjunctive is the marked category and it is encoded by the FV *-e*. In fact, the analysis of the data in the sources shows that all degrees of past and future reference can occur in the subjunctive mode, the only formal difference between these forms and those of the indicative being the use of *-e* instead of *-a* in the FV slot. The imperative mood, regardless of whether it expresses a true imperative, a prohibitive, an optative, an hortative, an admonitive or a permissive²⁸, exists in two forms in Cokwe:

²⁶ Different spelling for Martins' (1990) *nyi* 'with'.

²⁷ An alternate translation for this form is 'We will continue to cultivate', as suggested by White's (1947: 10) definition of its meaning, i.e. "the future action is to be continued or made habitual". White (ibid.) uses the label *continuous future* to refer to this verb form.

²⁸ The terms are used here as defined in Bybee *et al.* (1994: 179), namely:

- Imperative:** the form used to issue a direct command to a second person;
- Prohibitive:** a negative command
- Optative:** the wish or hope of the speaker is expressed in a main clause;
- Hortative:** the speaker is encouraging or inciting someone to action;
- Admonitive:** the speaker is issuing a warning;
- Permissive:** the speaker is granting permission.

second person singular and second person plural. The second-person singular imperative consists of the verb stem without any TMA or person-number markers attached to it other than the object concord markers plus FV *-a*, as in example (236) and (237) below:

- (236) COKWE
tàl-à (Diarra 1990: 63)
 look-FV
 'look'

- (237) COKWE
ngù-tàl-è (Diarra 1990: 64)
 1SG-look-FV
 'look at me' or 'see me'

However, when the verb stem is monosyllabic (White 1947: 2) or has a CV structure (Diarra 1990: 64), the second-person singular imperative is encoded by suffixing the marker *ko* to the otherwise unmarked verb stem, as illustrated in example (238) below:

- (238) COKWE
y-á-ko (Martins 1990: 129)
 go-FV-2SG.IMP
 'go'

The plural imperative, on the other hand, is encoded by suffixing the marker *-enu* to the verb stem, as illustrated in example (239) below:

- (239) COKWE
andjikik-ênu (Santos 1962: 122)
 speak-2PL.IMP
 'you talk'

While the form illustrated in (239) is used also for the first and third persons, when the imperative is used as an hortative and the speaker wishes to include themselves or a third person as subjects of the imperative, the 1PL or third-person markers can be prefixed to the plural imperative, which is then interpreted as *Let us...* This is illustrated in example (240) below:

- (240) COKWE
tu-andjikik-ênu (Santos 1962: 122)
 1PL-speak-2PL.IMP
 'Let us talk'

5.1.2.10. Periphrastic verb forms in Cokwe

Alongside the single inflected verb forms analyzed in sub-sections 5.1.2.1 to 5.1.2.7 above the sources also identify several periphrastic verb forms in Cokwe consisting of an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *pwa* 'to be' plus the infinitive of the main verb preceded by the conjunction *nyi* 'with'²⁹:

- (241) COKWE: PRESENTE CONTÍNUO and PERFEITO REMOTO COMPOSTO in Martins (1990: 96-97)

ngunapu nyi kuzanga

ngu na pu nyi ku zang a

1SG PROG be with INF love FV

'I am loving' (EP: 'Eu estou amando')

'I have loved' (EP: 'Eu tenho amando')

- (242) COKWE: PRETÉRITO IMPERFEITO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 96)

Té ngunapu mu nyi kuzanga

té ngu na pu mu nyi ku zang a

then 1SG PROG be when with INF love FV

'I was loving' (EP: 'Eu estava amando')

- (243) COKWE: PRETÉRITO REMOTO CONTÍNUO in Martins (1990: 97)

napwile nyi kuzanga

n a pw ile nyi ku zang a

1SG PST be FP with INF love FV

'I had loved' (EP: 'Eu tinha amado')

- (244) COKWE: FUTURO CONTÍNUO COMPOSTO in Martins (1990: 98)

kumungupwa kuzanga

ku mu ngu pwa ku zang a

EMP FUT 1SG be INF love FV

'I will be loving' (EP: 'Eu estarei amando')

Notice that in all periphrastic constructions above it is the auxiliary verb that receives all TMA markers (Martins 1990: 165), which is consistent with the tendency found in the overwhelming majority of the languages of the Bantu branch.

It is important to notice that, as stated earlier, the periphrastic verb forms illustrated in examples (241) to (244) are mostly used to convey the notion that the action expressed by the verb is in progress. In other words, they are mostly associated with the progressive aspect and can have present, past or future reference, as illustrated in the examples above (the TMA labels are those of the source).

Building on the analysis above, Table 30 below summarizes the major TMA categories and markers in synthetic and analytic affirmative verb forms in Cokwe. The

²⁹ According to Martins (1990: 116) the verb *pwa*, when followed by the preposition *nyi* means 'to have'.

same TMA categories and markers are found in negative verb forms in Cokwe, but in the negative conjugation it is the negative form of the auxiliary verb *kuri* or *kupwa* 'to be' and not the main verb that receives all TMA markers. Further comments on the negative conjugation in Cokwe are made in section 5.5. below when relevant to the analysis of the DVP data.

TABLE 30.
TMA categories and markers in the affirmative verb forms in Cokwe

TMA CATEGORIES		SYNTHETIC FORMS			ANALYTIC FORMS	
		TA ¹	TA ²	FV		
MOOD	INF	--	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--	
	IMP	2SG polysyllabic verbs	--	--	<i>-a</i>	--
		2SG monosyllabic verbs	--	--	<i>-ko</i>	
		2PL	--	--	<i>-enu</i>	
		1PL hortative	--	<i>tu-</i>	<i>-enu</i>	
	IND	--	--	<i>-a</i>	--	
SBJV	--	--	<i>-e</i>	--		
COND	--	--	--	--		
TENSE	PRS	--	∅	<i>-a</i>	(only in combination with PROG aspect) Bare <i>pwa</i> 'be' + <i>nyi</i> + INF main verb	
	PST	General	--	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--
		Immediate	<i>hi</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--
		Hodiernal	--	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-ang-a</i>	--
		Hesternal	--	<i>-naka-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--
		Far or Remote	--	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-ile</i>	(only in combination with PROG aspect) Far past of <i>pwa</i> 'be' + <i>nyi</i> + INF main verb
Narrative	--	<i>-(y)i-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--		
FUT	General	<i>mu-</i>	--	<i>-a</i>	--	
	Immediate	<i>hi + mu-</i>	--	<i>-a</i>	--	
	Far	<i>mu-</i>	--	<i>-a</i>	Far future of <i>iza</i> 'come' + INF of main verb	
ASPECT	PROG	--	<i>-na-</i>	<i>-a</i>	Inflected <i>pwa</i> 'be' + INF of main verb	
	HAB	--	<i>-aku-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--	
	Itive	--	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>-a</i>	--	
	PFV	--	--	--	--	
	IPFV	<i>te</i>	--	--	--	

5.2. RESTRUCTURING OF TMA CATEGORIES IN DVP

A review of the existing descriptions of the linguistic structure of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola shows that very little attention has been paid to the ongoing restructuring of European Portuguese TMA inflectional categories in that variety. In fact, in reading the literature one learns in passing that in AVP the infinitive marker {-r} is sometimes deleted (i.e. Barros 2002: 38; Chavagne 2005: 116) or a paragogic vowel is added to EP infinitive verb form (i.e. Barros 2002: 38) and that the subjunctive tends to be replaced by the infinitive (e.g. Barros 2002; Chavagne 2005; Gärtner 1989, 1997; Laban 1982; Mendes 1985), but one cannot find an overall evaluation of how the marking of TMA categories in AVP differs from or resembles that found in EP. The present section analyzes the marking of TMA categories in DVP in an attempt to evaluate how it differs from or resembles EP, and hence contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of TMA marking strategies in AVP as a whole. Building on an analysis of the DVP data, it is argued that there is a clear tendency in DVP to simplify European Portuguese TMA inflectional paradigms.

5.2.1. THE INFINITIVE: TWO COMPETING MARKING STRATEGIES

Unlike EP, which has a single morphological strategy to mark the infinitive (i.e. addition of {-r} to the verbal theme), DVP seems to have two competing strategies. On the one hand, one finds the deletion of the EP inflection {-r} alongside the maintenance of the stress and eight of the EP thematic vowels, which become the only markers of the infinitive in DVP³⁰. Hence, [a] marks 1st conjugation infinitive forms, [e] marks 2nd conjugation forms and [i] marks 3rd conjugation forms³¹:

³⁰ The same phenomenon has been attested in BVP, although it should be noted that in this variety, unlike in DVP, the height of the final stem vowel in 2nd conjugation verb forms differs from that found in EP (cf. EP: [kri'ver] 'escrever' vs. BVP: [kre've] 'escrever'). This difference in the pronunciation of DVP and BVP infinitive verb forms may indicate different periods of development of the two varieties.

³¹ In the examples referring to DVP, word stress and the height of the vowel are indicated by means of the orthographic symbol (^) in the verbs belonging to the 1st and 3rd conjugations (i.e. /a/ and /i/, respectively) and (^) in those belonging to the 2nd conjugation (i.e. /e/). In the examples referring to EP, the height of the vowel is not indicated so as to maintain the standard orthography, but stress is marked by means of the IPA stress symbol, i.e. (').

(245) a. DVP

Pa(ra) repe't-í_ o nome?
 To repeat-INF the name
 '(Am I) to repeat the name?'

b. EP:

Pa(ra) repe'ti-r o nome?
 To repeat-INF the name
 '(Am I) to repeat the name?'

(246) a. DVP:

Eu não posso rí_
 I NEG can:PRS.1SG laugh-INF
 'I cannot laugh'

b. EP:

Eu não posso ri-r
 I NEG can:PRS.1SG laugh-INF
 'I cannot laugh'

(247) a. DVP:

Não sabem lê_
 NEG know:PRS.3PL read-INF
 'They can't read'

não sabem escre'v-ê_
 NEG know:PRS.3PL write-INF
 'they can't write'

b. EP:

Não sabem le-r
 NEG know:PRS.3PL read-INF
 'They can't read'

não sabem escre've-r
 NEG know:PRS.3PL write-INF
 they can't write'

(248) a. DVP:

Podia dá_ uma música
 can:IPFV.3SG give-INF one music
 'You could play some music'

p'ra uma pessoa can't-á_
 for one person sing-INF
 for us to sing'

b. EP:

Podia to'ca-r uma música
 can:IPFV.3SG play-INF one music
 'You could play some music'

p'ra uma pessoa can'ta-r
 for one person sing-INF
 for us to sing'

On the other hand, as illustrated in examples (249) and (250) below, in addition to the deletion of EP infinite marker one finds yet another strategy in DVP to mark the infinitive, i.e. the addition of a paragogic vowel, typically *[i]*, to the EP infinitive form of the verb:

- (249) a. DVP:
Andava \emptyset *ven'de-ri* *com'pra-ri* *kamanga*
 walk:IMPF.IND.1SG PREP sell-INF buy-INF diamonds
 'I used to sell and buy diamonds'
- b. EP:
Andava *a* *ven'de-r* *com'pra-r* *kamanga*
 walk:IMPF.IND..1SG PREP sell-INF buy-INF kamanga
 'I used to sell and buy kamanga'
- (250) a. DVP:
(Es)tá-s *a* 've-ri ?
 be:PRS.2SG PREP see-INF
 (Do) you see?
- b. EP:
(Es)tás *a* *ve-r ?*
 be:PRS.2SG PREP see-INF
 (Do) you see?

The analysis of the data seems to indicate that the frequency of each of these strategies is constrained by the age and level of instruction of the speaker. Hence, the deletion of the infinitive marker seems to be characteristic of the speech of younger speakers, both educated and uneducated, as shown in (246a), (247a) and (248a) above, whereas the addition of a paragogic vowel seems to be the preferred strategy in the speech of older uneducated speakers, as in (249) and (250), even if instances of infinitive marker deletion can also be found in the verbal production of these speakers, as in (54a) above.

The different frequencies of deletion of the infinitive marker in DVP according to the age and level of instruction of the speaker seem to indicate two different stages of acquisition of the verbal category infinitive constrained by the sociolinguistic setting of acquisition. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that both the apocope of the infinitive marker and the insertion of paragogic vowels in Portuguese infinitive verb forms can be found in documents ranging from the early Afro-Portuguese texts (cf. Lipski 2005: 56-ss) to Barros' (1540 [1957]) grammar of Portuguese and Schuchardt's (1888) remarks about the Portuguese spoken in Africa in general and Angola in particular.

It is likely that at an early stage of acquisition, in a setting in which the access to the target language (henceforth TL) and the number of contexts for using it were very limited, the speakers of Bantu languages tried to fit the phonology and morphology of Portuguese words to that of their L1³². In fact, as shown in sub-section 5.1.2 above, in Bantu not only are syllables in general typically open (i.e. end in V) but also the unmarked verbal form in particular is typically marked by a final vowel. In Cokwe, this final vowel is *-a* for the infinitive and indicative, and *-e* for the subjunctive and remaining verbal modes. Hence, the adaptation of the Portuguese loans to the phonology and morphology of Cokwe (and of other Angolan Bantu languages) could be achieved by either dropping the final *-r* or by adding a vowel to it. It is not clear why [i] was chosen instead of other vowels, although the fact that the same phenomenon occurs in several dialects of EP (e.g. *can'tar[i]* instead of *can'ta[r]* 'to sing'), especially those spoken in the South, may help explain this choice³³.

In places where Portuguese-based creoles developed, or in places where no widespread creoles developed but which were also characterized by the displacement of the substrate speakers, the lack of a common language and an even greater restriction of access to the target language, the most simplified strategy was favored as the privileged means to mark the infinitive, i.e. apocope of *{-r}*. This was what happened in Brazil, although no widespread creole ever developed there. In fact, in some varieties of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese such as the *Língua do Negro da Costa*³⁴, spoken in Bom Despacho (Minas Gerais) and described in Queiroz (1998), not only is the infinitive *{-r}* deleted from

³² The adaptation of Portuguese loanwords to the phonological and morphological structure of the Bantu is attested by Schuchardt (1888: 66-67), who "managed to excerpt a few hundred such Portuguese words from Cannecattim's (1804) dictionary of the Bunda language", including "particles, e.g. *a, té, pala (para), sé (sem), se, chim (sim), mas* (also *machi* = the widely distributed creole *mas que*), nunca". Soares, who also analyzed Cannecattim's dictionary (i.e. Cannecatim 1804) and is quoted by Schuchardt (ibid.: 67), makes reference to a variety he calls *mestiço* and which he defines as "palavras portuguesas acomodadas ao génio do Bundo".

³³ EP may well be the main source for the infinitive [i] in southern varieties of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (e.g. Benguela, Moçâmedes, Huambo, etc), in that Padrão (1998) shows evidence that the settlers arriving in these parts of Angola in the 19th century came mostly from Madeira, Azores, Algarve, etc, where centro-meridional varieties of EP are spoken.

³⁴ Queiroz (1998: 100) suggests that the *Língua do Negro da Costa* spoken by blacks in Bom Despacho (Minas Gerais, Brazil) originates from the evolution of a pidgin or creole spoken by slaves in this region. The author describes the development path of the *Língua do Negro da Costa* as follows:

Admitamos a existência de um *pidgin* na região de Bom Despacho. Desse *pidgin* à *Língua do Negro da Costa* teria havido uma série de transformações no que diz respeito à função reservada à língua nas relações sociais e, paralelamente, em aspectos de sua estrutura formal. Assim é que, servindo a princípio de meio de comunicação entre negros escravos, o *pidgin* se constitui unicamente de formas tomadas a línguas africanas: ao ser utilizado, entretanto, também pelos senhores, em seus contatos com os escravos, ele passa a incorporar vocábulos e construções da língua portuguesa. O uso crescente desta língua por parte dos africanos e seus descendentes determina a evolução do *pidgin* no sentido de um distanciamento progressivo de suas origens africanas, a ponto de se transformar num português com léxico africanizado e flexões reduzidas ao mínimo indispensável para os fins da comunicação. Esse português relexificado e desflexionado seria a *Língua do Negro da Costa*. (Queiroz 1998: 102-103)

the infinitive but also the thematic vowel *-a* becomes the sole marker for the infinitive for verbs regardless of the conjugation³⁵.

In places like Angola, both the apocope of *{-r}* and the insertion of the paragogic vowel *[i]* continued to be used, as the substrate speakers were not displaced from their homeland and were able to continue using their Bantu L1s. However, the growing number of Portuguese settlers in these countries from the start of the 20th century onwards and the choice of Portuguese as the official language following independence forced a growing number of monolingual Bantu speakers to acquire a higher degree of proficiency in Portuguese, even if the majority continued to use mainly their Bantu L1 in their daily lives, and the younger generations to be educated in Portuguese, even if their L1 was Bantu and their main source of Portuguese input was from their parents, neighbors and peers. This changed the sociolinguistic setting in Angola from one mainly characterized by language maintenance to one characterized by language shift, in which there exists a continuum of regional and social L2 varieties of Portuguese and these lects interfere with one another.

The growing pressure from Portuguese is likely to have led some interlanguage features to be associated with the speech of older and uneducated speakers (e.g. insertion of paragogic vowels), while other features have either continued or entered the speech of younger and more educated speakers of Portuguese, including those who speak it as their L1. This explains why although one can find instances of paragogic vowels in the speech of the latter, they are much less frequent than in the speech of the older generations. It is also the ongoing leveling of the different L2 varieties of Portuguese in Angola that, in my opinion, explains the selection of the apocope of *-r*, and not the insertion of the paragogic vowel, as the preferred means to mark the infinitive. The popularity of Brazilian TV shows in Angola among middle class youngsters may be another factor to take into consideration in accounting for the generalization of the apocope of *-r* in their speech.

The importance of social factors (e.g. the degree of contact with the TL and the age of the speakers) versus linguistic factors (e.g. dialect leveling), as well as the hypothesis that the addition of the paragogic vowel *[i]* and the apocope of EP infinitive marker *{-r}* correspond to different stages of acquisition of Portuguese, seems to be corroborated by

³⁵ Queiroz (1998: 80), explains as follows the inclusion of all verbs in a single conjugation marked by the vowel *[a]* in the *Língua do Negro da Costa*:

Tendo em vista a coerência do sistema derivacional da Língua do Negro da Costa, atribuímos ao sufixo verbal *-á*, como a todos os outros, uma origem portuguesa. Levamos em conta ainda que o sufixo *-ar* (popular *-á*) marca precisamente a conjugação mais numerosa e produtiva do sistema verbal português. Entretanto, neste caso, a explicação por uma herança africana seria igualmente possível, já que, nas línguas do grupo banto, o morfema de infinitivo da maior parte dos verbos é também *-a*. Provavelmente, essa coincidência favoreceu a constituição de uma única classe de infinitivos verbais na Língua do Negro da Costa.

the following statements by Barros (2002: 38) about the specific ways in which the speakers of Umbundu and Kimbundu, respectively, speak Portuguese (*my emphasis*):

Aprendem o *Português* como *Língua Segunda* (L2), excepto nas cidades de Benguela e Lobito, e falam-no [...] fazendo a *paragoge do [i]*, no *infinitivo* dos verbos.

[...]

Aliás, na *cidade de Luanda*, como consequência da guerra, existem representantes dos *diferentes grupos étnicos*, alguns deles constituindo bairros próprios, mas a tendência geral é a da utilização do *Português*, que é a *L1* da maior parte dos *jovens da capital* (e das *cidades* de Benguela e Lobito). Falam-no (*i.e. native speakers of Kimbundu*) com a *apócope do [r]* do *infinitivo* dos verbos [...]

It is interesting to notice that the apocope of {-r} is associated with L1 urban speakers of Portuguese, whereas the paragogic [i] is associated with L2 (rural?) speakers. While it might be claimed that the option for different strategies may rather be constrained by the structure of the different Bantu languages in question (i.e. Umbundu and Kimbundu), this is unlikely to be of any relevance since, as stated above, TMA marking in the Bantu languages spoken in Angola is quite similar. Therefore, it is surely not a coincidence that the apocope of {r} seems to be more common in the places where the presence of Portuguese is older and more intense (i.e. urban centers on the coast). The fact that in Dundo both infinitive marking strategies can be found indicates a more recent contact between Portuguese and Cokwe.

If the present tendency for the generalization of Portuguese as the first language of the Angolan youth continues in the future (cf. Hodges 2004: 25), dialect leveling may lead to the reintroduction of the EP infinitive marker {-r} (or at least to a decrease in the assimilation of {-r} deletion) in the speech of young educated speakers. This process may have started already in the main urban centers on the coast, as Chavagne (2005) found the deletion of the infinitive {-r} to be residual in the speech of his 163 interviewees, most of whom come from or live in Lubango and Luanda. In analyzing the deletion of {-r} in word final position, Chavagne (*ibid.* 116) makes the following remarks [*my emphasis*]:

Au Brésil, il est assez fréquent, dans la langue courante, de ne pas entendre ce -r final, et pas seulement dans les infinitifs. Les créoles à lexique portugais ont supprimé ce -r en adoptant les infinitifs portugais. *Malgré cette tendance générale affirmée, nous n'en avons relevé que trois occurrences dans notre corpus oral et chez seulement deux locuteurs différents.*

The two speakers Chavagne (2005) refers to are 16 and 50 years old, respectively, but no information is given concerning their level of instruction, which makes it difficult to evaluate the extent to which the occurrence or deletion of the infinitive {-r} is determined

by their sociolinguistic background. In spite of this difficulty, I think that the reduced number of {-r} deletions identified by Chavagne may indicate a sharp contrast between the frequency of this phenomenon in the varieties of AVP spoken on the coast, where Portuguese is now the first language of a considerable number of speakers, and those spoken in the interior (e.g. DVP), where speakers are still in the process of acquiring it as a second language.

Moreover, my data suggest that some phonological contexts do seem to favor the occurrence of the infinitive marker in the speech of younger educated L1 speakers of DVP (e.g. when the following word starts with a vowel). A more in-depth and systematic analysis of these phonological contexts is still needed to confirm the hypothesis that the infinitive {-r} is being reintroduced in the daily speech of young educated speakers of AVP due to the pressure of EP. This analysis is all the more relevant as it is well known that pressure from the superstrate does not necessarily imply the loss of interlanguage features. In fact, BVP provides a very clear example of how previous interlanguage features may become crystallized in the speech of L1 speakers if the necessary conditions are met, such as the level of social stratification, schooling, access to the media and the type of language policies.

5.2.2. REPLACEMENT OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE BY THE INDICATIVE

The analysis of the DVP corpus suggests a reduction in the number of available tenses and modes in this variety as consequence of the well established tendency to use the indicative mode in contexts where EP requires the subjunctive. In fact, this tendency seems to be a linguistic trait of AVP in general, as it is referred to in the majority of its linguistic descriptions (e.g. Barros 2002; Chavagne 2005; Gärtner 1989, 1997; Laban 1982; Mendes 1985). It is clear from the examples given in the literature that the replacement of the subjunctive inflections with those of the indicative covers verbs belonging to all three conjugations and affects all tenses of the subjunctive mode, but the exact syntactic contexts in which this happens are not specified. Moreover, it is also not clear from the literature whether there are any constraints on which indicative tenses can replace the corresponding subjunctive ones.

My analysis of the DVP corpus showed no examples of preterite tenses and as far as syntactic contexts are concerned, only instances of clauses beginning with indefinite pronouns, as in (251) to (253), and subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *que*, as in (254), were found. However, the data do seem to suggest that the subjunctive tenses

are not randomly replaced by indicative tenses. Rather, there seems to be a tendency to typically replace the subjunctive tenses with their indicative counterparts. Hence, in DVP the present subjunctive tends to be replaced with the present indicative, as shown in examples (251) to (254) below:

(251) a. DVP

Há quem pensa ...
 There is who think.PRS.IND.3SG
 'There are those who think (that)...'

b. EP

Há quem pens-e ...
 There is who think-PRS.SBJV.3SG

(252) a. DVP

Há quem diz ...
 There is who say.PRS.IND.3SG
 'There are those who say (that)...'

b. EP

Há quem dig-a ...
 There is who say-PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'There are those who say (that)...'

(253) a. DVP

Há quem sai d-a sua casa
 There is who leave.PRS.IND.3SG of-the POSS.FEM house
 'There are those who leave their house'

b. EP

Há quem sai-a d-a sua casa
 There is who leave.PRS.SBJV.3SG of-the POSS.FEM house
 'There are those who leave their house'

(254) a. DVP

A família quer que ela fica
 The family want.PRS.IND.3SG that she stay. PRS.IND.3SG
 'The family wants her to stay'

b. EP

A família quer que ela fiqu-e
 The family want.PRS.IND.3SG that she stay. PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'The family wants her to stay'

The fact that no examples of the replacement of past subjunctive tenses with the corresponding indicative forms occur in my corpus does not mean that such replacement cannot occur in DVP. In fact, this replacement has been attested in other varieties of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese, as illustrated by Chavagne (2005: 232), who gives examples of the replacement of the past imperfect subjunctive with both the conditional

and the past imperfect and preterite indicative, as illustrated respectively in (255), (256) and (257) below:

(255) *"Começamos a esperar que eles iriam lhe mostrar para nós"*

(256) *"Há quem sentia-se melhor vivendo no Lubango"*

(257) *Talvez já fui, mas não sei, nunca tinha ouvido"*

Concerning the future subjunctive, the analysis of the DVP corpus suggests that it is typically replaced with the infinitive form of the verb, as shown in (258) below.

(258) a. DVP:

<i>aluno</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>fazer</i>	<i>aquilo</i>
student:MASC	that	do.INF	that
'The student who does that...'			

b. EP:

<i>aluno</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>fizer</i>	<i>aquilo</i>
student:MASC	that	do.FUT.SBJV	that
'The student who does that...'			

Chavagne (2005: 232) gives examples illustrating the replacement of the future subjunctive not only by the future indicative, as in example (259), but also by the present indicative, as in (260) below.

(259) *Se um dia teremos um grande ajuda sobre o ~ instalações é dali é que vamos tentar a recolher os que tão a pulando na rua*

(260) *de tal forma que se as coisas continuam assim, eles vão acabar por virar inimigos públicos*

Whether the examples above evidence a structural difference between DVP and the vernacular Portuguese spoken elsewhere in Angola remains to be confirmed by more data on both DVP and other regional varieties of Angolan Portuguese.

It is likely that that further investigation will confirm the general tendency to replace the subjunctive by the indicative mood in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola. However, more data are necessary to determine whether the reduction in the number of available tenses in DVP is related only to the replacement of the subjunctive mood by the indicative or whether it is also related to the existence of creole-like features similar to the ones described in Mello (1997: 129-133) for BVP, namely the use of present forms to indicate futurity (e.g. *eu vô* 'I go' instead of *eu irei* 'I will go) and past reference (e.g. *eu pega Mário e mandou ele cortar* 'I take Mario and told him to cut'), the expression of the conditional by means of the past imperfect (e.g. *eu dizia* 'I was saying' instead of *eu*

diria 'I would say')³⁶ and the use of an infinitive form to express tense (e.g. *Como inda no Mutum mesmo onde eu morá* 'Still like in Mutum (itself) where I used to live').

5.2.3. PREFERENCE FOR FUTURE AND PROGRESSIVE ANALYTIC VERB FORMS

Analysis of the data indicates that DVP differs from EP concerning the marking of the future indicative tense and progressive aspect.

Concerning the encoding of futurity, which in EP can be expressed either by means of inflections or periphrastic constructions, the data show that in DVP only the periphrastic option is available in informal everyday speech. In other words, where EP offers both a synthetic (i.e. inflectional) and an analytic (i.e. periphrastic) option, DVP typically only offers the latter. Therefore, in DVP the preferred strategy to express the future indicative is by means of the periphrastic construction *ir* 'go' + *infinitive of main verb*, which is illustrate in (261) below:

(261)	DVP:	
	<i>vou</i>	<i>fazeri</i>
	go:1SG.PRS.IND	do:INF
	'I will do'	

The preference for the periphrastic expression of the future indicative in DVP can be found in the speech of all L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese, regardless of their age or level of instruction. However, this tendency is not surprising. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, alongside the present indicative, the periphrastic construction *ir* 'go' + *infinitive* is the preferred strategy to mark the future indicative in most varieties of Portuguese, including EP (Oliveira 2003: 158) and BVP (Mello 1997: 129)³⁷. In these varieties, as in DVP, the inflectional forms of the future are restricted mostly to formal registers and writing. Secondly, there is a well established cross-linguistic tendency for the future to be more often expressed periphrastically than other central tense categories such as the past (Dahl 1985: 189). In fact, as shown at the end of sub-section 5.1.2.4, Cokwe also tends to use the periphrastic construction *iza* 'come' + *infinitive* to encode distant futurity. Therefore, it is the fact that both the superstrate and the substrate

³⁶ Note that in example (68) above, drawn from Chavagne (2005: 232), it is the past imperfect that is replaced by the conditional. Considering the opposite tendency found in both BVP and EP, it is likely that example (68) is simply an instance of hypercorrection. Therefore, more data are needed to determine whether the tendency Angola is to replace the conditional by the past imperfect or vice-versa.

³⁷ According to Mattos e Silva (2008a: 444) this tendency was already noticeable in Archaic Portuguese, in which the construction *ir* + INF was already used as a means to express future reference.

reinforce the cross-linguistic tendency to express futurity analytically that seems to account for DVP's preference for expressing this TMA category periphrastically.

Concerning the encoding of progressive aspect in DVP the situation is more complex. In fact, whereas the inflectional form of the future can sometimes be found in the written language and formal situations in DVP, the inflectional gerund form, which in EP conveys the notion of action in progress (Cunha and Cintra 1995: 394), seems to have disappeared altogether. I was not able to find a single instance of an inflectional gerund occurring either in isolation (e.g. *comendo* 'eating') or as part of the progressive periphrasis *estar* + GERUND (e.g. *Estou comendo* 'I am eating'). In fact, the preferred strategy to encode progressive aspect in DVP is by means of the periphrasis *estar* + (preposition *a*) + INFINITIVE, as illustrated in example (262) and (263) below. Notice that, as shown in example (263), the preposition *a* 'to' can be omitted.

(262) DVP:

<i>eu</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>falá</i>	<i>Quioco</i>
I	be:1SG.PRS.IND	PREP	talk:INF	Cokwe
'I am speaking Cokwe'				

(263) DVP:

<i>não</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>trabalhá</i>
NEG	be:3SG.PRS.IND	work:INF
'I am not working'		

The tendency to express progressive aspect periphrastically in DVP does not seem to be constrained by the speakers' age, level of instruction or degree of proficiency in Portuguese because it can be found in the speech of both older and younger speakers, both educated and uneducated, both L1 and L2 speakers of the language.

The replacement of the inflectional gerund by the infinitive in the progressive constructions in (262) and (263) is contradictory with the claim made in reference grammars of Portuguese that the construction *estar* 'be' + GERUND (e.g. *estou fazendo* 'I am doing') is the preferred strategy to mark progressive aspect in both Brazilian and African varieties of Portuguese (see Cunha & Cintra 1995: 394). The fact that this strategy, "a mais antiga no idioma" (ibid.), is indeed the preferred strategy in BVP, but not in DVP, is a further argument in favor of the latter's much more recent formation, i.e. 19th-century. This claim is supported by Petter (2008):

Foi no século XIX que o português se implantou em Angola e Moçambique, num momento em que essa língua já se afastara sensivelmente do português brasileiro, pois, como informa Bechara, “entre outros fatos dignos de nota demarca o século XVIII um maior afastamento entre o português europeu e o português do Brasil (*ibid.* 31)

O processo de instalação da língua portuguesa em Angola e Moçambique começou mais ou menos na mesma época que no Brasil, no século XVI, mas em condições diferentes. No Brasil, os colonos logo constituíram família e ocuparam a quase totalidade do território. Angola só foi ocupada completamente no século XX; antes dessa época a presença lusófona era fraca numericamente e limitada a uma rede de pontos estratégicos do território (...) é o português do século XIX, no momento da colonização efetiva de Angola e de Moçambique, que vai atuar na formação das variedades africanas. (*ibid.* 45)

In fact, when the first Portuguese settlers arrived in Brazil in the 16th century, the gerund co-existed with periphrastic constructions like *estar a + INFINITIVE*³⁸, but it was still the preferred strategy to express progressive aspect in both literary and spoken Portuguese (Paiva 1988: 61), which explains why this tendency is maintained in BVP to this day (Azevedo 2005: 243). In fact, Lipski (2009: 21-22), building on Maler (1972: 267), shows that even well into the 18th century the number of occurrences of the construction *estar + GERUND* continued to outnumber those of *estar a + INFINITIVE* in EP and that it was only in the 19th century that the latter started appearing regularly in EP literary texts³⁹. Moreover, it is only in some 17th century poems that Lipski (*ibid.*) identifies the only instance of *estar a + INFINITIVE* in association with the speech of blacks. Building on this, Lipski (2009: 22) concludes that:

a combinação *estar a + INFINITIVO* ainda não formava parte do pidgin afro-lusitano estereotipado mas pertencia à linguagem ‘normal’ dos brancos; os pretos bozais ainda preferiam os infinitivos invariáveis e os verbos conjugados na terceira pessoa do singular

Therefore, the fact that in DVP it is the construction *estar a + INFINITIVE* that encodes progressive aspect clearly shows that when the shift to Portuguese started in Angola this construction had already established itself in the language.

This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the progressive marker *ta*, whose source in the Portuguese-based creoles has long been claimed to be the construction *estar a + INFINITIVE*, is not attested in the literature until the 18th century (Lipski 2009:21-23).

³⁸ According to Silva Neto (1986: 256) the replacement of the gerund by the infinitive in all contexts but the ablative started in Vulgar Latin.

³⁹ It should be noted that normally the inflectional form of the gerund can be found in everyday speech only in the southern varieties of EP (i.e. centro-meridional varieties), where it occurs in the periphrasis *estar + gerund*, but other than that, the inflectional gerund is found mostly in set phrases and literary registers in EP.

It should also be noted that, as shown in section 5.1.2.2 above, progressive aspect marker *na* in Cokwe is not only similar in meaning to the Portuguese auxiliary *estar* (i.e. 'be with') but also typically followed by the infinitive form of the main verb.

Another difference between DVP and EP that is worth exploring is the frequent omission of the preposition *a* in the progressive periphrasis illustrated in (262) above. However, because the deletion of prepositions in periphrastic constructions in general is a common phenomenon in DVP, it will be described in more detail in section 5.6.3 below.

5.2.4. SINGLE IMPERATIVE VERB FORM IN BOTH AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE CONTEXTS

The analysis of the data shows that in imperative sentences in DVP there is a widespread tendency to use a single verb form in both affirmative and negative sentences, regardless of the degree of intimacy between speakers, as shown in examples (264) and (265) below.

(264) DVP – speaker is on intimate terms with the interlocutor
(affirmative sentence)

<i>Depois</i>	<i>começa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>até</i>	<i>áí</i>
Then	start:IMP.2SG	PREP	go	until	there
'Then start going there'					

(265) DVP – speaker is not on intimate terms with the interlocutor
(negative sentence)

<i>Não</i>	<i>complica</i>
NEG	complicate:IMP.2SG
'Don't complicate'	

Examples (264) and (265) above seem to suggest that the form that tends to occur in imperative sentences in DVP is a true imperative form in that it is morphologically distinct from corresponding 2SG verb forms in the subjunctive and indicative moods – cf. IMP: *começa* 'sing' vs. PRS SBJV *comeces* vs. PRS IND. *começas*.

In EP, on the other hand, as illustrated in example (266) below, the true imperative is only used in affirmative sentences in reference to second-person subjects the speaker is on intimate terms with (i.e. usually expressed by the intimate pronoun *tu*). In turn, as illustrated in examples (267 a, b, c, d, e) below, in negative imperative sentences and in affirmative imperative sentences addressed to third-person (both SG and PL) or 2PL subjects the speaker is not on intimate terms with (i.e. usually expressed by the non-

using a single imperative form in all the contexts illustrated above (i.e. familiar vs. formal and affirmative vs. negative) in DVP is not likely to be the product of an analogy with the aforementioned instances in informal registers of EP. Rather, the generalization of a single imperative form in DVP is likely to be the product of its tendency to replace subjunctive verb forms with their indicative mode counterparts and to use 3SG verb forms with most persons and either number (i.e. singular vs. plural). In fact, as noted by Bybee *et al.* (1994: 213), cross-linguistically, the replacement of subjunctive forms with the corresponding indicative ones is not surprising. On the one hand, this is because “it is unclear whether subjunctive forms actually carry meaning, or whether they are semantically empty elements that show up by virtue of syntactic requirements” (*ibid.*). On the other hand, it is also because there are plenty of good examples of the development of subjunctive tenses from indicative ones (*ibid.* 231).

Hence, the present subjunctive forms which in EP are used to indicate the non-intimate negative imperative were replaced in DVP with the corresponding present indicative forms, from which the former derive. However, due to the tendency to use 3SG forms with most persons and either number and the formal coincidence between the 3SG present forms and the only genuinely imperative form (i.e. 2SG), the latter was chosen as the preferred form to indicate the imperative in both affirmative and negative sentences, regardless of the degree of intimacy between the speaker and their interlocutors.

Cokwe and other Bantu languages with which Portuguese was in contact in Lunda Norte are also likely to have contributed to the generalization of the 2SG form as the single imperative form for all persons in DVP. In fact, as shown in section 5.1.2.9, the second-person imperative form is used in Cokwe for all person values in both affirmative and negative sentences. Only in plural imperatives are there two forms: one for the 1PL (Cokwe: *tuandjikikênu* ‘Let us talk’) and another one for all other persons (Cokwe: *andjikikênu* ‘Let you/them speak’).

However, it must be noted that in spite of the widespread tendency to use true imperative verb forms instead of subjunctive or infinitive forms in DVP, one can still find plenty of instances in which no such substitution occurs, especially in the speech of more educated L2 and L1 speakers of Portuguese. Therefore, it is necessary to collect more data in the future to evaluate whether this tendency definitively establishes itself in DVP or disappears (possibly under the pressure from standard EP in education and the media). To a large extent the outcome of this process will depend on the development of several other processes of restructuring ongoing in DVP, namely those concerning the restructuring of person-number verbal inflections (see section 5.3, especially 5.3.2), the restructuring of

negation marking strategies (see section 5.5.) and the restructuring of the word order of clitic pronouns (see chapter 4).

In fact, cross-linguistically, the encoding of the imperative mood has been shown to be related to the number of person-number distinctions available in the language, as well the position of the negative markers and clitic pronouns in relation to the verb. For example, as noted by Scherre *et al.* (2007: 213), pre-verbal negation languages typically do not negate the imperative (i.e. like EP they use a true imperative in affirmative sentences and surrogate verb forms in negative contexts), whereas post-verbal negation languages tend to allow the negation of the imperative (i.e. like DVP they tend to use the same true imperative form in both affirmative and negative contexts). Moreover, also as noted in Scherre *et al.* (2007: 200), languages that do not allow the negation of the imperative, like EP, also tend to depict different clitic word orders with true imperative verb forms, on the one hand, and subjunctive and indicative verb forms on the other.

The application of these criteria to Brazilian Portuguese led Scherre *et al.* (2007) to reach the following conclusion concerning the encoding of the imperative in this variety:

A forma de imperativo verdadeiro no português brasileiro não apresenta morfologia própria (devido ao sincretismo com a forma indicativa); ocorre em estruturas de negação (embora com tendências bastante sistemáticas relacionadas à posição da partícula negativa); não apresenta sintaxe específica no que diz respeito à colocação do clítico (que ocorre preferencialmente proclítico com qualquer tipo oracional, uma característica inovadora do português brasileiro, a que se associa a ocorrência de pronomes (fortes) não cliticizados na posição de objeto).

(...)

Nesse sentido, embora não seja possível falar em um imperativo verdadeiro tal como encontrado no espanhol, nas línguas dos Balcãs, no grego, não é possível tampouco falar em imperativo supletivo como no francês. O exame das regularidades distribucionais veio, porém, confirmar a existência de um sistema de imperativo gramatical no português brasileiro, embora com formas variáveis.

Building on the existing data I would intuitively argue that, unlike BVP, the single imperative form used in DVP in both affirmative and negative sentences regardless of the degree of intimacy between speakers is a true imperative verb form. However, as already noted, more data are needed to support this hypothesis. Consequently, it will not be pursued further here.

At this stage, concerning the restructuring of TMA categories in DVP, suffice it to say that in light of the discussion in this section, one can tentatively suggest that the TMA marking system in DVP is as outlined in Table 30 below:

TABLE 31.
TMA categories and markers in DVP

TMA CATEGORIES	TMA MARKING STRATEGY	
	Synthetic	Analytic
INF	∅ or <i>-ri</i>	--
PRS IND	∅	--
IMPF IND	<i>-va-</i> (1 st conj.) <i>-ia-</i> (2 nd and 3 rd conj.)	--
PRT IND	∅	--
PLUP IND	rare	
FUT IND	--	<i>ir + INF</i>
PRS SBJV	<i>replaced with PRS IND</i>	
IMPF SBJV	<i>replaced with IMPF IND ?</i>	
FUT SBJV	<i>replaced with INF</i>	
COND	rare	
GER	--	--
IMP	∅	--
PROG	--	<i>estar a + INF</i>

5.3. PERSON-NUMBER INFLECTIONS AND VARIABLE SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN DVP

Linguists studying the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola thus far have only analyzed the restructuring of person-number in the variety from a syntactic perspective, i.e. subject-verb agreement. In other words, it is clear from their data that person-number is the verbal inflectional category that undergoes the highest level of restructuring in AVP, but it is not clearly specified which persons and numbers are affected by the lack of agreement with the verb nor is any relation established between the lack of subject-verb agreement and the morphological simplification of the person-number paradigm in AVP. Chavagne (2005: 234-237) is the only author who lists the exact person-number categories involved in the lack of agreement, but he seems to consider that such lack of agreement is motivated simply by the replacement of 1SG/PL, 2SG, 3PL forms by the corresponding 3SG form, stating that “des substitutions de flexion convergeant toutes vers la troisième du singulier” (*ibid.* 235). However, he does not analyze the processes of morphological simplification that explain AVP’s tendency to fail to make the subject and the verb agree. The present section seeks to fill this gap by analyzing the morphological simplification of person-number paradigms and their relation to variable subject-verb agreement in DVP.

5.3.1. FIRST PERSON SINGULAR (1SG)

The analysis of the DVP corpus shows that in the speech of older, less educated L2 speakers of Portuguese, there is a generalized tendency to use 1SG subjects with 3SG verb forms in the present and preterite tenses of the indicative mode. In other words, in the speech of these DVP speakers, but not in the speech of younger, more educated L1 speakers of Portuguese, the EP 1SG markers for the present (i.e. *-o*) and preterite indicative (i.e. *-i*) seem to have been replaced by the corresponding 3SG markers (i.e. \emptyset for the present indicative and *-u* for the preterite indicative). This morphological simplification leads to the occurrence of 1SG subjects with 3SG verb forms and consequently to the lack of person agreement between the subject and the verb, as illustrated in the examples (268a) and (269a) below:

(268) a. DVP:

Eu faz o trabalho
 I do:PRS.IND.3SG the work
 'I do the work'

b. EP:

Eu faç-o o trabalho
 I do-PRS.IND.1SG the work
 'I do the work'

(269) a. DVP:

Eu já começ-ou mesmo a trabalhari
 I already start:PRT.IND.3SG indeed to work:INF
 'I have already really started working'

b. EP:

Eu já comec-ei mesmo a trabalhar
 I already start:PRT.IND -1SG indeed to work:INF
 'I have already really started working'

The use of 3SG verb forms with 1SG subjects seems to be more frequent in the preterite (cf. example 269a) than in the present (cf. example 268a). No instances were found in other tenses, but considering the extensive reduction in the number of available tenses in DVP analyzed in section 5.2.2, this lack of examples is not surprising. However, I did find one example of the periphrastic construction *ir + infinitive verb form*, which in DVP often replaces the future indicative:

(270) a. DVP

Vou *fa'ze-ri*, *depois* *dá* *seu* *Migueli*
 go:PRS.IND.1SG do-INF then give:PRS.IND.3SG Mr. Miguel
 'I am going to do it, then I will give it to Mr. Miguel'

b. EP

Vou *faze-r*, *depois* *dou* *ao* *Sr. Migueli*
 go:PRS.IND.1SG do-INF then give:PRS.IND.1SG to Mr. Miguel
 'I am going to do it, then I will give it to Mr. Miguel'

Notice that in example (270a), the auxiliary verb is in the 1SG form, but the verb 'to give' in the second clause, although it refers to the same 1SG subject, occurs in the 3SG form. However, a single example is insufficient to allow any conclusions concerning the marking of the 1SG person in periphrastic constructions in DVP.

Concerning a possible explanation for the lack of agreement between the 1SG subjects and the verb in DVP, it is important to notice that the 1SG morpheme of the preterite indicative forms of the first conjugation is often simplified in the southern varieties of EP, in that one finds, for example, *comeci* or *comecê* 'I started' instead of the standard form *comecei* 'I started' (Maia 1975: 95). However, this simplification is exclusively phonetic and has no consequences at the level of subject-verb agreement, which makes it unlikely for the use of 3SG verb forms with 1SG subjects in DVP to have developed from any morphological simplification in the superstrate. Concerning present indicative 1SG forms, no instances of simplification were found in the literature on EP.

5.3.2. SECOND PERSON SINGULAR AND PLURAL (2SG/PL)

Second person subjects in DVP, like in EP, can be either nominal or pronominal⁴¹. Nominal subjects are expressed by non-intimate address forms⁴² such as *professor* 'teacher', *senhor* 'Mr.', etc, which can occur in both their singular and plural forms.

⁴¹ The terms are used here as defined in Dryer (2005: 410). Hence, *nominal subject* refers to "a subject consisting of a noun, plus possibly some modifiers" and *pronominal subject* refers to those instances in which "there is no nominal subject and where the subject is expressed at most by a morpheme or morphemes coding semantic or grammatical features of a subject, such as person, number or gender".

⁴² These refer to those forms that Pountain (2003: 147) defines as "third-person courtesy formulae with second-person meaning" and refers to as "third-as-second person" forms. These forms are very common in the Romance languages in general, in EP in particular, and they typically consist of honorific (e.g. *Vossa Excelência* 'Your Excellency') and professional titles (e.g. *professor* 'teacher' or 'professor'). In the Portuguese and Brazilian grammatical tradition these forms are referred to as *pronomes de tratamento* (Cunha & Cintra 1995: 292) or *formas substantivas de tratamento/formas pronominais de tratamento* (Bechara 2002: 165).

Pronominal subjects, on the other hand, are only used in the singular, by means of the 2SG pronoun *tu* 'you', as the 2PL pronoun *vós* 'you' seems to have been virtually lost in DVP⁴³.

However, while DVP and EP share similar mechanisms to express second person lexical subjects, they differ significantly concerning their grammatical expression on the verb, both when the subject is nominal and when it is pronominal.

Hence, unlike EP, second person pronominal subjects in DVP (i.e. expressed by *tu* 'you') do not seem to require person to be redundantly marked on the verb by means of the second person inflections *-ste* (in the imperative and the preterite indicative) and *-s* (in all other tenses). Instead, in DVP the second person pronominal subject *tu* tends to occur with 3SG verb forms. While examples of this phenomenon (i.e. deletion of 2SG markers on the verb) were not attested in my DVP corpus, I did hear it in Dundo in the speech of older uneducated L2 speakers. Hence, it will be argued that the simplification of DVP person-number morphology also affects the 2SG pronominal subjects in the Portuguese of these speakers, even if more attestations are needed to fully describe it. The recording of dialogues between speakers who are familiar with one another (i.e. licensing context for the occurrence of the 2SG pronoun *tu* 'you') will certainly help fill this gap in the corpus.

Secondly, also unlike EP, nominal subjects in DVP (i.e. realized by non-intimate address forms like *você* 'you', *professora* 'teacher', etc) do not necessarily occur with third-person verb forms. In fact, it can be claimed that this is a general feature of AVP, in that it is often referred to in the literature (e.g. Gärtner 1989: 41; 1997: 157; Marques 1983: 220). Although it is not stated by the authors, an analysis of their examples suggests that the agreement between non-intimate subject address forms and the verb in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola is different depending on whether the address form is singular or plural. The DVP corpus shows that this is indeed the case in this variety.

In fact, when the address form is in the singular, as illustrated in example (271a) below, instead of using a 3SG verb form as required in EP, DVP often uses a 2SG verb form. In other words, the subject and the verb agree in both person (second) and number (SG), as the 2SG inflections are used on the verb to redundantly mark the person of the subject:

(271) a. DVP

você *fica-s* *com* *este* *peso* *todo* *em* *cima* *de* *ti*
 you stay:PRS.IND-2SG with this weight all in top of you
 'You carry all this weight on your back'

⁴³ It should be noted that although the pronoun *vós* is still listed in reference grammars of EP as the preferred strategy to mark the 2PL, it is actually only used in everyday conversation in the more conservative varieties spoken in the north of Portugal. Hence, in either DVP or EP *vós* is virtually not used in everyday speech.

b. EP

você fica com este peso todo em cima de si
 you stay:PRS.IND-3SG with this weight all in top of you
 'You carry this weight on your back'

Notice that in example (271a) above, 2SG agreement is marked not only on the verb form but also on the pronominal object. In fact, in some cases it is also marked on the possessive form, as illustrated in example (81a) below:

(272) a. DVP

Até a professora fazer trinta anos
 until the teacher make thirty years
 'By the time the teacher is thirty years (old)

as tuas amigas já são casadas
 the.PL your.PL friends already are married
 your friends will already be married'

b. EP

Quando a professora faz trinta anos
 When the teacher make thirty years
 'By the time the teacher is thirty years (old)

as suas amigas já são casadas
 the.PL your.PL friends already are married
 your friends will already be married'

As noted by Pountain (2003: 154), although the mechanisms used to express second-person deixis in the world's languages vary considerably, linguists tend to study them "in isolation from one another, chief attention being paid to the subject personal pronouns". However, as noted by the same linguist, second-person deixis is reflected not only in the personal pronoun paradigm but also in verb inflections and possessive adjectives and pronouns. It is therefore relevant that DVP, unlike EP, requires that not only the (object) personal pronoun, but also the inflections on the verb and the possessive adjective agreeing with the nominal subject be those of the second person. While this may indicate a systemic difference in the ways DVP and EP express second-person deixis, it should be noted that at this stage it is unclear whether this is a tendency that will become an established feature of DVP's grammar in the future in that alongside the use of non-intimate address forms with 2SG verb forms one finds, in the speech of the same speaker, instances in which as in EP these also occur with a 3SG verb form. This is illustrated below in example (273a), which was uttered by the same speaker as examples (271a) and (272a) above:

(273) a. DVP:

... *você encontra setenta alunos*
 you find.3sg seventy students
 '(There are classes where) you find seventy students'

b. EP

... *você encontra setenta alunos*
 you find.3sg seventy Students
 '(There are classes where) you find seventy students'

When the address form is in the plural, the lack of agreement between the subject and the verb affects both the category of person and number, in that DVP uses 3SG verb forms with the 2PL non-intimate address forms. In other words, as shown in example (274a) below, when the address form in DVP is plural, there is neither person nor number agreement between the subject and the verb.

(274) a. DVP:

ucês branco_ tem bué de dinheiro
 2PL white:M.SG have:PRS.IND.3SG lots of Money
 'You white people have lots of money'

b. EP

vocês brancos têm bué de dinheiro
 2PL white:M.PL have:PRS.IND.3PL lots of money
 'You white people have lots of money'

It is interesting to notice that this contrasts with the treatment of address forms in BVP, which typically occur with 3SG verb forms regardless of whether they are singular or plural. This difference between the two varieties attests to the fact that although they emerged out of similar linguistic processes, their different sociolinguistic histories ultimately led to significant differences in their linguistic structure. Gärtner (1989: 41-42) seems to share this view when he states the following about the different treatment given to address forms in BVP and AVP⁴⁴:

Les deux phénomènes peuvent être réduits à la même cause. La ressemblance de la fonction communicative (traitement familier) des substantifs de traitement (*você, o menino*, etc) et du pronom *tu* mènent à ce qu'ils soient combinés avec la même personne du verbe. Au Brésil, l'imposition de la troisième personne était appuyé par l'usage progressif de *você* (P. Teyssier, 1982, 86) aussi bien que des autres substantifs de traitement comme *o pai, a mãe, o tio, o compadre* etc dans le traitement familier, tandis qu'à l'époque de la pénétration des Portugais à l'intérieur de Mozambique e d'Angola et de l'intensification de la colonisation depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle, dans la communication avec les Africains, qui se trouvaient dans une position sociale inférieur, les colonialistes portugais auront utilisé de préférence le pronom *tu* suivi de la deuxième personne du verbe, ce qui

⁴⁴ The terms DVP and BVP are not those used by Gärtner (1989). He refers to these varieties simply as "Portugais en Angola" and "Portugais au Brésil".

aura mené à ce que cette forme du verbe soit combinée aussi avec les substantifs de traitement familier. D'ailleurs il ne faut pas perdre de vue que – il y aura eu une réduction générale de la flexion verbale (...)

The different treatment of non-intimate address forms in DVP and EP is interesting for yet another reason. It shows that in DVP the morphological marking of person-number on the verb, unlike EP, is not used as an indicator of politeness or of the degree of intimacy between speakers. Ultimately this may indicate that the mechanisms used to express politeness and degree of intimacy between speakers in DVP, on the one hand, and in EP, on the other, are different in nature. Building on Pountain (2003: 151), one can argue that whereas the expression of politeness in EP is iconic in nature, in that it is “indicated by using a form which is, in a sense, not the expected one” (i.e. use of third-person verb forms to refer to a second person), the expression of politeness and degree of intimacy between speakers in DVP is essentially explicit in nature in the sense that it is encoded by “a word or phrase” (i.e. a non-intimate address form such as *você* ‘you’, *o senhor* ‘Mr.’, *a professora* ‘teacher’).

The hypothesis that the morphological marking of person-number on the verb in DVP is not used as an indicator of politeness, courtesy or degree of intimacy between speakers seems to be further supported by the tendency analyzed in section 5.2.4 above to use a single 2SG form in both affirmative and negative imperative sentences, regardless of whether this refers to interlocutors the speaker knows well or interlocutors who are either older than the speaker or higher in the social scale. The generalization of true imperative forms in DVP in contexts where EP uses other verbal moods (i.e. subjunctive) or tenses (i.e. infinitive) depending on the degree of intimacy between speakers clearly favours the hypothesis that person-number inflections on the verb in DVP are not used to encode politeness or courtesy distinctions.

5.3.3. FIRST PERSON PLURAL (1PL)

The analysis of the corpus indicates that, as shown in examples (275a) to (280a), the final *-s* of the 1PL marker *-mos* is often deleted in the speech of both L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo. In some instances, like in example (275a) below, the same speaker uses both the abbreviated and the full form of the 1PL marker (i.e. *-mo* and *-mos*, respectively) in the same utterance. However, the corpus is insufficient to allow the identification of the contexts that favor the deletion and hence account for the alternation found in example (275a).

(275) a. DVP

fi'ca-mos *em casa,*
 stay:PRS.IND-1PL at home
 'We stay at home,

prati'ca-mo_ *desporto*
 practice:PRS.IND-1PL sports
 we practice sports'

b. EP

fi'ca-mos *em casa,*
 stay:PRS.IND-1PL At home
 'We stay at home,

prati'ca-mos *desporto*
 practice:PRS.IND-1PL sports
 we practice sports'

(276) a. DVP

primeiro *'te-mo_* *que* *ler*
 First have:PRS.IND-1PL that read:INF
 'First, we have to read'

b. EP

primeiro *'te-mos* *que* *ler*
 First have:PRS.IND-1PL that read:INF
 'First, we have to read'

(277) a. DVP

'va-mo_ *lá* *passar* *um* *tempo*
 go:PRS.IND-1PL there spend:INF one time
 'We go spend some time there'

b. EP

'va-mos *lá* *passar* *um* *tempo*
 go:PRS.IND-1PL there spend:INF one time
 'We go spend some time there'

(278) a. DVP

fi'ze-mo_ *só* *duas* *provas*
 do:PRT.IND-1PL only two:FEM.PL tests
 'We only did two tests'

b. EP

fi'ze-mos *só* *duas* *provas*
 do:PRT.IND-1PL only two:FEM.PL tests
 'We only did two tests'

(279) a. DVP

Ou'vi-mo_ *que* *tem que* *se* *implementar*
 hear: PRT.IND-1PL that have to:PRS.3SG REFL implement:INF
 'We heard it has to be implemented'

b. EP

Ou'vi-mos *que* *tem que* *se* *implementar*
 hear: PRT.IND-1PL that have to:PRS.3SG REFL implement:INF
 'We heard it has to be implemented'

- (280) a. DVP
De'vía-mo_ *fazer* *um* *grupo*
 should:IMPF.IND-1PL do.INF one group
 'We should create a group'
- b. EP
De'vía-mos *fazer* *um* *grupo*
 should:IMPF.IND-1PL do.INF one group
 'We should create a group'

The analysis of the corpus indicates that the deletion of the final *-s* of the 1PL inflection does not affect all tenses in the same way, either in terms of frequency (i.e. number of occurrences) or scope (i.e. conjugations). The least common type of *-s* deletion occurs in the past imperfect, for which I was only able to find one example, i.e. (280a), whereas the most common occurs in the present. Moreover, it was only in the present that I was able to attest the apocope of *-s* in verbs from all three conjugations (cf. examples 275a to 277a). In the past tenses I was only able to find instances of verbs belonging to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations (cf. examples 278a to 279a). Whether this is a distinguishing feature of DVP or a product of insufficient data remains yet to be confirmed.

An interesting aspect of the dropping of *-s* in 1PL forms in DVP is the fact that all but two instances identified in the corpus were produced by speakers who are young, educated and speak Portuguese as both L1 and L2. This is not likely to be because the 1PL marker is simply not deleted in the speech of older uneducated speakers, but rather because 1PL subjects are more often expressed by means of the 3SG collective *a gente*, which typically takes 3SG verb forms in DVP, rather than the 1PL form of the verb⁴⁵. Hence, the probability of coming across typical 1PL verb forms, and consequently of instances of *-s* deletion, are lower in the speech of older speakers. However, a more extensive corpus is likely to show that the apocope of *-s* is in fact a feature of DVP which can be found in the output of all speakers, regardless of their age, level of instruction and degree of proficiency in Portuguese (i.e. L1 vs L2), even if its frequency may to some extent be constrained by these factors.

Finally, another interesting aspect of the loss of *-s* is the fact that, unlike BVP, which realizes the thematic vowel in both present and perfect past forms as [ɐ] (Câmara Jr. 1996 [1970]: 72), DVP follows the EP pattern and realizes the thematic vowel as [ɐ] in the present and [a] in the past.

⁴⁵ In standard EP the 3SG collective noun *a gente* also always occurs with 3SG verb forms. However, in non-standard varieties *a gente* it is most often used 1PL verb form, as in *a gente queremos comer* 'we want to eat'. The same phenomenon has also been attested in Maputo Portuguese (Gonçalves and Stroud 1997-2000: 123).

5.3.4. THIRD PERSON PLURAL (3PL)

The European Portuguese markers for the 3PL have survived in DVP in the speech of the vast majority of L1 speakers of Portuguese and educated L2 speakers of the language. In other words, the majority of these speakers distinguish 3PL verb forms from their 3SG counterparts by nasalizing and diphthongizing the last vowel of the verb. Hence, they pronounce *canta* 'he sings' as [[kã'tɐ] and *cantam* 'they sing' as [kã.tãw].

However, in the speech of older less educated L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo, no such distinction exists between the singular and the plural of third person verb forms. In fact, the 3PL markers (i.e. *-ram* for the preterite indicative and *-m* for all other tenses) seem to have been lost in the speech of these speakers, who tend to use 3PL subjects with 3SG verb forms, hence leading to instances of lack of agreement between the number value of the subject (i.e. PL) and that of the verb (i.e. SG).

- (281) a. DVP
Eles fala *quioco*⁴⁶
 They speak:PRS.IND.3SG quioco
 'They speak *quioco*
- b. EP
Eles fala-m *quioco*
 They speak:PRS.IND-3PL quioco
 'They speak *quioco* (i.e. Cokwe)'
- (282) a. DVP
áí começa os problemas
 Then start:PRS.IND.3SG the:PL problem:PL
 'Then the problems start'
- b. EP
áí começam os problemas
 Then start:PRS.IND.3PL the:PL problem:PL
 'Then the problems start'
- (283) a. DVP
não aparece as técnicas próprias
 NEG appear:3SG.PRS.IND the:PL technique:PL appropriate:PL
 'The appropriate techniques do not appear'
- b. EP
não aparecem as técnicas próprias
 NEG appear:3PL.PRS.IND the:PL technique:PL appropriate:PL
 'The appropriate techniques do not appear'

⁴⁶ Portuguese word for Cokwe.

(284) a. DVP

a *minha* *mãe* *e* *o* *meu* *pai*
 the my mother and the my father
 'my mother and my father'
me *deu* *o* *nome*
 REFL give:PRT.3SG the name
 gave me the name'

b. EP

a *minha* *mãe* *e* *o* *meu* *pai*
 the My mother And the my father
 'my mother and my father'
deram-me *o* *nome*
 give:PRT.3PL- REFL the name
 gave me the name'

(285) a. DVP

Eles *faz-ia* *assim...*
 They do-IMPF.IND.3SG this way
 'they did it this way...'
educa-va *peessoas*
 educate- IMPF.IND.3SG people
 (they) educated people'

b. EP

Eles *faz-ia-m* *assim...*
 They do-IMPF.IND-3PL this way
 'they did it this way...'
educa-va-m *peessoas*
 educate-IMPF.IND-3PL people
 (they) educated people'

The frequency of this instance of lack of agreement between the subject (3PL) and the verb (3SG) seems to be constrained not only by the age and level of instruction of the speaker (i.e. older and uneducated) but also by the tense of the verb. In fact, the generalization of the 3SG verb forms with 3PL subjects is more common in the present indicative than in the preterite, although it can be found in the past imperfect.

A possible explanation for the low number of occurrences of 3PL subjects with 3SG verb forms in the preterite is the fact that the denasalization and the loss of the glide element that occur in the present and past imperfect 3PL forms would mean making the preterite 3PL forms morphologically and phonologically equal to the pluperfect 3SG form (i.e. PRT: *cantaram* [kã'ta.rãw] 'they sang' vs. PLUP: *cantara* 'he had sung' [kã'ta.rɛ]). In short, alongside the neutralization of the SG vs. PL opposition one would also have the neutralization of the opposition between the preterite and the pluperfect.

Another factor to take into consideration in accounting for the low number of occurrences of 3PL subjects with 3SG preterite verb forms seems to be the fact that SG and PL third-person verb forms in the preterite are different from one another in more ways than the corresponding third person forms in all other tenses, hence making it more difficult for speakers to neutralize the differences between them and make them morphologically the same. In fact, 3SG and 3PL preterite forms differ not only in terms of the presence and absence of nasalization but also in terms of the number of syllables (i.e. two in the SG and three in the PL) and the quality of the vowel in the marker (i.e. [o] in the SG and [ɐ] in the PL), whereas 3SG and 3PL forms in other tenses differ only in terms of the presence and absence of nasalization.

The analysis above shows that the traditional phonological argument of denasalization cannot account for the use of 3PL subjects with 3SG verb forms in contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as DVP. In fact, a phonological explanation can only account for the instances involving present and past imperfect forms. Had denasalization done it all, the third-person preterite forms occurring in DVP with 3PL verb forms would be *dera* and not *deu* as in (284), *bebera* and not *bebeu*, *dormira* and not *dormiu*. Considering that the pluperfect is virtually non-existent in DVP, the formal coincidence between these third-person preterite forms and those of the pluperfect would not even be problematic.

In analyzing the contribution of the superstrate to the generalization of 3PL subjects with 3SG verb forms in DVP, it should be noted that the 3PL morpheme is not always realized as [ãw] in all varieties of EP. For example, according to Boléo (1983: 598), the 3PL morpheme is often realized as [u] in the present and preterite indicative in Angra do Heroísmo and Ponta Delgada in the Azores, as well as in the variety of EP spoken in Minho. Boléo illustrates his statement with the following examples: *os donos é quem trato* 'it is the owners who take care of that' and *dissero* 'they said'. Maia (1975) argues the same phenomenon can also be found in the variety of EP spoken in Baixo Alentejo and the Algarve (*ibid.* 36), not only in the present and preterite but also in the past imperfect of the indicative (*ibid.* 94). I would argue, with Florêncio (2001: 65-66), that both in Baixo Alentejo and the Algarve it is even more common to find the 3PL morpheme realized as [õ] in the preterite indicative of all three conjugations and in the present of the 1st conjugation

and the past imperfect of the 2nd and 3rd conjugations, as shown below in examples (286), (287) and (288), respectively⁴⁷:

(286) EP (Alentejo variety)

Eles am-[õ]
they love-PRS.IND.3PL
'they sing'

(287) EP (Alentejo variety)

Eles ama-r[õ]
they love-PRT.IND.3PL
'They sang'

(288) EP (Alentejo variety)

Eles ama-v[õ]
they love-IMPF.IND.3PL
'They (used to) sing'

What is interesting about this variation in 3PL verb forms in EP is that it never implies a morphological coincidence between 3PL and 3SG verb forms which might account for a possible use of 3SG verb forms with 3PL subjects in DVP. Therefore, this variation in EP is unlikely to be the source for this phenomenon in DVP.

However, it is well known that while subject-verb agreement is obligatory in EP, one can find instances in which it is optional, in the sense that speakers can choose to use either a 3SG or a 3PL verb form. This is true of both standard and non-standard varieties of EP, but as Peres and Mória (1995) note, only in very specific semantic and syntactic contexts, namely in instances of logical agreement, complex subjects, post-verbal subjects, subjects including a phrase introduced by *com* and in instances in which an element is inserted between the subject and the verb, as illustrated below in examples (289) to (293) respectively:

(289) *Vinte estudantes foram a exame. A maioria **passou/passaram**.*
'Twenty students took the exam. The majority (of the students) passed.'
(Peres and Mória 1995: 449)

(290) *Espero que te **ajude o estudo e alguma sorte**.*
'I hope that studying and luck will help you' (Peres and Mória 1995: 447)

(291) *Desta vez **coube-nos em sorte três novelas de Mateus Maria Guadalupe (...)***
'This time we got three novels by Mateus Maria Guadalupe' (*ibid.* 453)

⁴⁷ The realization of the 3PL morpheme as [õ] in past and pluperfect verb forms in EP was already found in Archaic Portuguese (Mattos e Silva 2008a: 408).

- (292) *O Paulo, com os seus amigos, organizou a festa de fim de curso*
 'Paulo organized his graduation party with his friends' (ibid. 458)
- (293) *A suspeita de que o Estado – e em particular a magistratura – protegiam os criminosos...*
 'The suspicion that the State – and in particular the judges – protected criminals' (ibid. 461)

While the lack of subject-verb agreement in example (289a) can be accounted for by semantic factors, in the remaining examples it is the relative order of the subjects and verb forms that explains the lack of agreement between them⁴⁸. In other words, it is a very specific syntactic context (i.e. the fact that the subject occurs after the verb or is separated from it by other elements) that accounts for most cases in which no agreement exists between the person-number of the subject, i.e. 3PL, and that of the verb, i.e. 3SG (Carrilho 2003).

The same situation was already found in Archaic Portuguese⁴⁹, which, like contemporary EP, required the verb to agree with the subject in all contexts. In fact, according to Mattos e Silva (2008b: 52):

A primeira formulação prescritiva da gramática do português – a de Fernão de Barros, em 1540 – já apresenta a concordância verbonominal como uma regra categórica (...) No período arcaico, essa regra é geralmente obedecida.

The only contexts in which the verb has been attested not to agree with the subject are the following: (i) when the subject is complex, (ii) when the subject refers to a semantically collective entity, (iii) when the subject follows the verb, and (iv) when the subject is distant from the verb (ibid. 53). This leads Mattos e Silva (2008b: 53) to conclude the following concerning subject-verb agreement in Archaic Portuguese:

Do conjunto de dados observados, nos textos dos séculos XIV e XV referidos, podemos inferir que a variação na concordância decorria de factores semânticos e de factores sintácticos. (...) Na documentação sobre a variação na concordância que reuni, a presença / ausência ocorre tanto com verbos em que a distinção fónica entre o singular e o plural da 3ª pessoa é mínima (apenas o travamento nasal distingue singular e plural do verbo), mas também com verbos em que a distinção mórfica é “saliente”, como destaquei acima. Parece assim que o factor fónico não interferia na variação analisada.

⁴⁸ For detailed analysis and explanation of the semantic and syntactic contexts in which no subject-verb agreement occurs in EP, see Peres and Mória (1995: 443-519).

⁴⁹ According to Mattos e Silva (2008a) the period in the history of Portuguese known as Archaic Portuguese extended from the second half of the 12th century to the mid-16th century. For a description of the socio-historical and linguistic criteria used by the different authors to identify the limits of this period see Mattos e Silva (2008a: 15-24).

In other words, when in the 16th century the first Portuguese settlers arrived in Angola, subject-verb agreement was already obligatory in the language, except in the very same contexts where it is still optional in contemporary EP.

The fact that third person subject-verb agreement in both Archaic Portuguese and contemporary EP can be optional in some contexts might lead us to hypothesize that this is why no such agreement exists in DVP. In fact, Naro and Scherre (2000) use this argument to justify similar instances of lack of agreement between the subject and the verb in BVP, which they refer to as “non-standard dialects of Brazilian Portuguese”. Building on the analysis of eight texts written in Archaic Portuguese in which the “proportion of non-agreeing data (...) is usually less than 1%” (*ibid.* 242), Naro and Scherre (*ibid.* 248) conclude the following:

(...) the view of variable agreement in Brazil as being a phenomenon of a radically non-European type is falsified by the results presented here, which show that variable agreement in both present-day spoken European Portuguese and medieval written European Portuguese exhibits the most fundamental structural characteristics found in modern spoken Brazilian Portuguese. The differences between the European and Brazilian phenomena are a matter of degree, not type. (Naro and Scherre 2000: 248)

Therefore, Naro and Scherre’s hypothesis to account for variable agreement in BVP postulates that:

(...) the original source of variable concord phenomena came from Portugal, but that conditions of endemic pidginization and adult second language acquisition learning that predominated throughout the history of Brazil, even before the arrival of Africans, accelerated and exaggerated the original trend during the process of nativization of the Portuguese language by communities of particularly diverse backgrounds. (Naro and Scherre 2000: 237)

However, an analysis of the DVP data shows that an explanation of this kind applied to DVP could only account for the lack of agreement in examples (282a) to (283a) and (284a), where the subject is, respectively, post-verbal and complex. The remaining examples involve subjects expressed by either a personal pronoun or a single noun phrase, both of which are immediately adjacent to the verb, contexts in which neither in Archaic Portuguese nor contemporary EP lack of agreement between the subject and the verb has been attested. Moreover, the lack of 3PL agreement in DVP occurs even in coordinated clauses that share the same subject and in which the only manifestations of that subject are the person-number inflections on the verb of the coordinating clause, as illustrated below in example (294):

- (294) a. **DVP**
São *do Moxico, mas*
 be:PRS.IND.3PL from:the Moxico but
 'They are from Moxico but'
falava *a mesma língua*
 speak:PRT.IND.3SG the same language
 they spoke the same language'
- b. **EP**
São *do Moxico, mas*
 be:PRS.IND.3PL from:the Moxico but
 'They are from Moxico but'
falavam *a mesma língua*
 speak:PRT.IND.3PL the same language
 they spoke the same language'

The explanation that seems to best account for all instances in which 3PL subjects occur with 3SG verb forms in DVP is indeed a substratist one. In fact, the lack of number agreement one finds in DVP between 3PL subjects and 3SG verb forms seems to be better explained by the fact that in Cokwe no such agreement exists. As shown in examples (295) to (298) below, Cokwe does not make a morphological distinction between 3SG and 3PL verb forms, so *he speaks* and *they speak*, for example, are both conveyed in Cokwe by the verb form given in (295) below:

- (295) COKWE
kana *andjika*
 3SG/PL speak
 'He/she speaks' (Santos 1962: 123)
- (296) COKWE
kana *txikima*
 3SG/PL shiver
 'He/she shivers' (Santos 1962: 124)
- (297) COKWE
kana *te*
 3SG/PL prepare
 'He/she prepares (something)' (Santos 1962: 124)
- (298) COKWE
kana *se*
 3SG put
 'He/she puts' (Santos 1962: 124)

Moreover, when the clause has more than one subject in Cokwe, the verb always agrees with the subject that occurs last. This is illustrated in example (299) below:

(299) COKWE: *Nzwo nyi mahina nyi imuna nyi yuma yeswe ipema awema*
(Martins 1990: 164)

<i>n-zwo</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>ma-hina</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>i-muna</i>	<i>nyi</i>
C6:PL-house	and	C6:PL-cloth	and	C8:PL-cattle	and
'the houses, the clothes, the cattle and					
<i>y-uma</i>	<i>yeswe</i>	<i>i-pema</i>	<i>a-wem-a</i>		
C8:PL-thing	C8:PL-all	C8:PL-good	PST-burn-FV		
Everything that was good burned down'					

The analysis above clearly suggests that it is in Cokwe and not in EP that one finds the kind and frequency of linguistic structures that account for the lack of agreement between 3PL subjects and 3SG verb forms. It is unlikely that in a context of extremely restricted access to the Portuguese language, the rare instances of lack of agreement between the subject and the verb in EP could have served as positive input to such a widespread phenomenon in DVP. Therefore, unlike Naro and Scherre (2000), I argue that the original source of variable concord phenomena in DVP is indeed African. In fact, the lack of person-number agreement between the subject and the verb in contexts in which neither Archaic Portuguese nor contemporary EP lack it seems to be a common feature of Portuguese varieties spoken in areas where Bantu languages are spoken. According to Gonçalves and Stroud (1997-2000: 123), this is the case in the variety of Portuguese spoken in Maputo, which these authors refer to as *Português Oral de Maputo* (POM):

Os desvios de concordância verbal, em pessoa e número, constatados no POM, ocorrem quer em construções com um só sujeito, quer em frases com sujeitos colectivos, quer ainda quando o sujeito é o pronome relativo *que*.

Relativamente à concordância em pessoa, os casos mais frequentes são os de ausência de concordância com o sujeito, na 1ª pessoa, em que o verbo está flexionado na 3ª pessoa. (...) No que diz respeito à concordância em número, os casos mais frequentes envolvem a ausência de concordância com o sujeito, no plural, em que o verbo está flexionado no singular. Estes casos ocorrem tanto quando o sujeito precede o verbo ... como quando está posposto à forma verbal. (*ibid.*)

Building on the analysis outlined in section 5.3 one can tentatively hypothesize that the person-number inflectional paradigm in DVP is as systematized in Table 32 below:

b. EP
A-s palavras são todas igua-is
 The-PL word:PL be:PRS.IND.3PL all:PL same-PL
 'Words are all the same'

(302) a. DVP
Outro-s já estão grande_
 other:PL already be:PRS.IND.3PL big:SG
 'The others are already grown'

b. EP
Outro-s já estão grande-s
 other:PL already be:PRS.IND.3PL big:PL
 'The others are already grown'

(303) a. DVP
Nós aqui fo-mo muito fechado_
 1PL here be:PRT.IND-1PL very closed:SG
 'We were very isolated here'

b. EP
Nós aqui fo-mos muito fechado-s
 1PL here be:PRT.IND-1PL very closed-PL
 'We were very isolated here'

As illustrated in the examples above, the lack of agreement between the subject and the predicative elements does not affect all person-number categories in the same way. In fact, only the 1PL and 3PL forms lack agreement with the predicative element in the corpus, as I was not able to find any instances of first or second-person singular subjects occurring with plural predicative elements.

Concerning the copulative verbs involved in this phenomenon, I was able to find instances with *ser*, *estar* and *ficar*, which are the key copulative verbs in Portuguese. Nonetheless, it is likely that a more extensive corpus of DVP will provide examples with other copulative verbs, such as *andar*, *continuar*, *parecer*, *permanecer*, *revelar-se* and *tornar-se*.

Regarding the role played by the age and level of instruction of the speakers, the data are not conclusive, although most of the instances of lack of subject-predicative agreement occur in the speech of older but not necessarily less educated L2 speakers. In fact, only one of the examples, i.e. (300), was uttered by a young speaker who was at the time of the recording enrolled in the third grade.

5.5. SENTENTIAL NEGATION STRATEGIES IN DVP

Negation is often said to be a linguistic universal (Dahl 1979: 79), in that all known languages have been shown to have “some basic way(s)... for negating declarative verbal main clauses” (Miestano 2003: 3). In other words, all known languages have at least one construction of standard negation:

whose function is to modify a verbal declarative main clause expressing a proposition p in such a way that the modified clause expresses the proposition with the opposite truth value to p , i.e. $\sim p$, or the proposition used as the closest equivalent to $\sim p$ in case the clause expressing $\sim p$ cannot be formed in the language” (Miestano 2003: 53).

Structurally, negative constructions can be symmetric or asymmetric. The former “in addition to the presence of (a) negative marker(s) show no further formal structural differences in comparison to the corresponding affirmative”, whereas the latter do (Miestano 2003: 7). Syntactically, the negative markers can have scope over the whole sentence, i.e. *sentential negation*, or over a single constituent, i.e. *constituent negation* (Payne 1985: 198) and they can take different syntactic forms, including that of negative verbs, negative particles, morphological negatives, inherently negative quantifiers and adverbs, etc (Payne 1985: 197). Formally, negative markers can be non-inflecting free elements or bound inflecting elements (Miestano 2003: 5). Concerning the position of negative markers in SVO languages (i.e. subject-verb-object), Dryer (1989: 94-95) found four patterns: NegSVO, SNegVO, SVNegO and SVONeg⁵⁰, the most common of which being SNegVO.

However, as noted by Zeijlstra (2004: 52) “languages do not only differ cross-linguistically in the way they express sentential negation; languages also vary diachronically”. This was demonstrated by Jespersen (1917), who compared the evolution of negation in English and other languages and identified the following pattern:

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

The developmental cycle of negation identified by Jespersen (1917) came to be known as the Jespersen Cycle and is systematized in Zeijlstra (2004: 56) as follows:

⁵⁰ For a list and explanation of the position of negative markers in SOV, SVO and VOS see Dryer (1989).

→	Phase I	Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.
	Phase II	The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes phonologically too weak to express negation by itself and a second negative adverb becomes optionally available.
	Phase III	Sentential negation is obligatory expressed by the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb and the adverbial negative marker.
	Phase IV	The negative adverb is the obligatory marker for negation and the use of the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes optional.
	Phase V	The negative adverb is the only available negative marker. The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb is no longer available.
	Phase VI	The negative marker is available in two forms: it can appear either as negative adverb or as a negative marker that is attached on the finite verb, though sometimes simultaneously.
	Phase VII = I	Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

Therefore, describing negation in a language or language variety implies analyzing not only the syntactic mechanisms used to express it (i.e. number, syntactic position and syntactic status of negative markers) but also the development stage it is in. It also implies analyzing less transparent phenomena such as the interpretation of instances of multiple negation (i.e. instances in which more than one negative element is used in the same clause), the expression of negative imperatives and the interpretation of universal quantifier subjects preceding negation (Zeijlstra 2004: 1-6). These are the aspects concerning negation in DVP that the present section focuses on.

However, the depth of the analysis of each of these aspects is inherently related to the amount and quality of the linguistic data available. This is so because negative constructions, regardless of the syntactic or morphological mechanisms used, are highly marked and as such they have a much lower rate of frequency than their corresponding affirmative constructions. Moreover, in languages or language varieties allowing more than one negation marking strategy, it is often the case that one (or more) of those strategies is more marked than the other(s), hence making it even more difficult to come across instances of their occurrence.

For this reason, the choice of the data collection technique is very important when one is studying negation marking strategies in a language. Making the wrong choice can hinder the results of the research considerably, as illustrated by Cunha (2001), who focuses on the description of the three main types of negation marking strategies in BVP,

i.e. single pre-verbal *não*, simultaneous use of a pre and a post-verbal *não*, and single final *não*. According to Cunha (*ibid.* 9), the low frequency of final negation instances in her corpus of the variety of BVP used in the city of Natal was due to the use of semi-spontaneous interviews as the main source of data in that these tended to involve very little turn-taking between the informant and the linguist and hence made it difficult for *yes/no* questions (i.e. the main context of occurrence of final negation in BVP) to occur.

During the stay in Dundo that allowed the collection of the linguistic data used in this section semi-spontaneous interviews ended up being the only data collection method possible. There was much turn taking between myself and the informants, but very few of this consisted of *yes/no* question contexts. Therefore, it is not surprising that my DVP corpus contains fewer examples of negative constructions than needed to allow a full account of sentential negation phenomena in DVP. Consequently, while this section captures and describes the diversity of sentential negation strategies in DVP, more and better data are needed to allow a more comprehensive explanation of such strategies.

5.5.1. SINGLE PRE-VERBAL MARKER (NEG V)

The standard sentential negation strategy in DVP is the use of a single negative marker (i.e. *não* 'no') before the verb. This is so in declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences alike, as illustrated in examples (304a) to (306a), respectively. In this regard, DVP is no different from EP, as illustrated in examples (304b) to (306b):

- (304) a. DVP
Não *entendi*
 NEG understand:PRT.IND.1SG
 'I did not understand'
- b. EP
Não *entendi*
 NEG understand:PRT.IND.1SG
 'I did not understand'
- (305) a. DVP
Não *há* *professores* *porquê?*
 NEG be:PRS.IND.3SG teachers why
 'Why are there no teachers?'
- b. EP
Não *há* *professores* *porquê?*
 NEG be:PRS.IND.3SG teachers why
 'Why are there no teachers?'

- (306) a. DVP
Não fica com vergonha
 NEG stay:PRS.IND.3SG with shame
 'Don't be ashamed'
- b. EP
Não fiques com vergonha
 NEG stay:PRS.IND.2SG with shame
 'Don't be ashamed'

Also like in EP, sentential negation in DVP can be encoded by means of inherently negative indefinites such as *nunca*, as illustrated in examples (307a) and (308a) below for affirmative and imperative sentences⁵¹:

- (307) a. DVP
Nunca mais voltes
 never more return:PRS.SBJV.2SG
 'Don't (you) ever return'

- b. EP
Nunca mais voltes
 never more return:PRS.SBJV.2SG
 'Don't (you) ever return'

- (308) a. DVP
A professora nunca vai encontrar em
 DEF teacher never go:3SG.PRS.IND find in
 'The teacher will never find in
Angola estudante que quer seguir línguas
 Angola student that want:3SG.PRS.IND follow languages
 Angola a student who wants to specialize in languages'
- b. EP
A professora nunca vai encontrar em
 DEF teacher never go:3SG.PRS.IND find in
 'The teacher will never find in
Angola estudante que queira seguir línguas
 Angola student that want:3SG.PRS.SBJV follow languages
 Angola a student who wants to specialize in languages'

More data are needed to evaluate whether in addition to *não* 'no' and *nunca* 'never' other inherently negative indefinites such as *jamais* 'never' and *nada* 'nothing' in EP can also be used to mark sentential negation in DVP. There are two reasons for this need. Firstly, no instances with *jamais* occur in the DVP corpus. This can be either because it is simply not used in DVP to mark negation, which seems unlikely, or because as in EP its use

⁵¹ The DVP corpus does not contain instances of *nunca* in interrogative sentences.

is constrained by the degree of formality of the speech situation and the level of instruction of the speaker, which is probably the case in DVP as well. Secondly, while *nada* 'nothing', also an inherently negative indefinite, does occur in the DVP corpus, the data are insufficient to evaluate whether their syntactic behavior is the same as in EP.

Despite this shortcoming, the data are solid enough to sustain the claim that in DVP sentential negation constructions are always symmetric in that what distinguishes them from the corresponding positive constructions is the presence of the negative particle(s). In this regard DVP differs from EP in that in the latter variety negation is symmetric in affirmative and interrogative sentences but asymmetric in negative imperative sentences. The explanation for this structural difference lies in the fact that in DVP, as already shown in sub-section 5.2.4 above, *não* does not necessarily require the verb to be conjugated in the subjunctive mood in negative imperative contexts, despite instances like the one in example (307a) above⁵². In EP the opposite occurs, i.e. both *não* and *nunca* require a subjunctive form of the verb in negative imperative sentences (Gonçalves 1994: 135). Consequently, unlike in DVP, negative imperative sentences in EP are asymmetric because they differ from the corresponding positive sentences not only because of the presence of the negative marker but also because the verb is obligatorily conjugated in the subjunctive mood.

Concerning the word order of sentential negation markers in *NEG V* constructions in DVP, one finds that *não* not only always precedes the element it negates but it must also always occur in an adjacent position to it. The same situation is found in EP, where only clitic pronouns can occur between *não* and the verb, regardless of the type of sentence, i.e. declarative, interrogative or imperative (Matos 2003: 774-775). More data are needed to evaluate whether the word order constraints on DVP and EP are the same concerning the occurrence of clitics in *NEG V* constructions, although the fact that DVP tends to replace clitic pronouns with the corresponding stressed forms (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2.3.1), which cannot occur between *não* and the verb, leads us to hypothesize that such word order constraints are indeed different in the two varieties. In other words, it seems that whereas EP negative sentences follow the pattern *SNegOV* when a pronominal object is involved (e.g. EP: *Eu não o comprei* 'I did not buy it'), DVP tends to follow the pattern *SNegVO* (e.g. DVP: *Eu não comprei ele* 'I did not buy it'). Should future research support this hypothesis, one will have a further argument to support the claim that even when

⁵² It should be born in mind that the producer of example (307) is a 9 year-old girl in the 4th grade whose mother is a teacher and whose family speaks Portuguese as their first language. Inf11 has always had access to formal instruction, books and television (including cable TV).

pronominal objects are involved, negation in DVP is always symmetric (cf. DVP: *Chama ele* 'call him' and *Não chama ele* 'Don't call him'). One will also have a further argument to support substrate influence as a major source of innovation in DVP. In fact, as noted in section 5.1.2.1 above, in both negative and affirmative sentences the direct object in Cokwe, as in DVP, typically occurs after the verb and is encoded in a free morpheme. In this regard, Cokwe and DVP differ from EP, which always encodes direct objects by means of clitics whose word order varies depending on whether the sentence is positive (i.e. post-verbal) or negative (i.e. pre-verbal).

More data are needed to describe the word order of *nunca* in DVP. In the corpus it always occurs before the verb, although not necessarily in an adjacent position, as illustrated in (307) above. No instances were found in which *nunca* occurs after the verb, forming a "discontinuous constituent" with it (Gonçalves 1994: 126) as in the EP construction illustrated in (309) below:

- (309) a. EP
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>O</i> | <i>João</i> | <i>não</i> | <i>foi</i> | <i>nunca</i> | <i>ao</i> | <i>cinema</i> |
| The | John | NEG | go:PRT.IND.3SG | NEG | to:the | cinema |
| 'John never went to the cinema' | | | | (Gonçalves 1994: 126) | | |

Determining the word order of *nunca* in DVP is important to evaluate whether it can co-occur with *não*. In EP, only when *nunca* comes after the verb is this co-occurrence licenced (e.g. EP: *Não me deixes nunca* 'Don't ever leave me'). The construction *não V nunca* is attested in EP at as early a stage as Archaic Portuguese (Gonçalves 1994: 131), but it has lost its status as a major negation strategy in EP and come to be used only for emphatic purposes (Gonçalves 1994: 134). Determining whether this construction is possible in DVP and whether it plays the same emphatic role in DVP that it plays in EP may give us valuable hints about the development of the vernacular variety of Portuguese spoken in Angola.

5.5.2. MULTIPLE NEGATION

While the use of a single negative marker is the standard strategy used to encode sentential negation in DVP, the corpus contains several instances of multiple negation, i.e. sentences containing more than one negative element.

In the literature on contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese, authors tend to use the term double negation to refer to such instances of multiple negation (e.g. Azevedo 2005: 242; Lipski 2001). However, this use of the term is confusing and unnecessary not

only because “semantically there is, of course, only one negation in such sentences” (Haspelmath 1997: 201), but also because double negation has long been used in the literature to refer to a specific type of multiple negation, i.e. instances in which the co-occurrence of two negative markers corresponds to two semantic negatives which, as in formal logic, cancel each other and make the proposition semantically equivalent to its corresponding affirmative (e.g. EP: *Não podes não pagar impostos* ‘You have to pay taxes’). More importantly, in using the same term to refer to all instances of multiple negation phenomena in all varieties authors obscure the fact that not all of those instances have the same semantic and syntactic status in each variety, as will hopefully be shown in section 5.5.2.2 below.

Therefore, to avoid unnecessary terminologic confusion in this study, a distinction is made between the different types of multiple negation phenomena attested cross-linguistically. In doing so, I follow Wouden (1994), Giannakidou (2003) and Zeijlstra (2004), to name just a few, who show that, cross-linguistically, when a negative element is added to a sentence that is already negative four major phenomena may occur:

- (a) **Negative concord** or **negative attraction**: “nothing happens semantically: the construction containing several negations is equivalent to one with only one negation” (Wouden 1994: 93); “two or more negative elements yield one negation in semantics” (Zeijlstra 2004: 58)
- (b) **Paratactic** or **weakening negation**⁵³: “the two negations weaken each other: the result is less negative (or less positive) than would be the case if only one negation were present, but it is more negative than without any negation at all” (Wouden 1994: 93); “one negative element weakens the negation of another negative element. The result is somewhere between a positive and a negative” (Zeijlstra 2004: 58)
- (c) **Double negation** or **denial**: “the two negations cancel each other: just as is the case in logic, the result is no negation” (Wouden 1994: 93); “two negative elements cancel each other out and yield an affirmative” (Zeijlstra 2004: 57)
- (d) **Emphatic** or **resumptive negation**: “the two negations enhance each other: the result is more negative than the same construction with only one negation” (Wouden 1994: 93).

⁵³ This type of negation is sometimes referred to in the literature as expletive or resumptive negation (Zeijlstra 2004: 65). However, this usage of the terms creates unnecessary terminological confusion in that they are more often used in reference to types of negation other than paratactic negation. It is this more widespread usage of the terms that is adopted in this study. Therefore, in this study, the term expletive negation refers to the sub-type of emphatic negation as defined by Jespersen (see section 5.5.2.2). Resumptive negation will not be used in this study, but it is taken as referring to those specific instances in which the sentential negation marker does not convey a negative interpretation to the sentence, as is the case in many Romance languages, namely in EP, e.g. *A quantidade de coisas que eu não li sobre este assunto!* ‘The amount of things I’ve already read about this topic!’ (Matos 2003: 785)

According to Wouden (1994), negative concord (i.e. the multiple occurrence of negative constituents expressing a single negation) may take two forms: negative spread and negative doubling. In instances of negative spread “the negative feature is ‘spread’ or distributed over any number of indefinite expressions within its scope” (Wouden 1994: 95) or in other words “two indefinite expressions are morphologically marked for negation” (Zeijlstra 2004: 61). This is the case of negative constructions involving the language’s standard negative marker and one or more *n*-words, as in Portuguese *Eu não vi ninguém* ‘I did not see anyone’. In instances of negative doubling “a distinguished negative element shows up in all sentences that contain a negative expression”. This is the case of Afrikaans *Ek het hom nie gesien nie* ‘I have not seen them’ and BP *Não vi ele não* ‘I have not seen him’.

However, unlike the distinction between the different types of multiple negation phenomena given above, the distinction between negative spread and negative doubling has not yet established itself in the specialized literature. Therefore, in this study, instead of negative spread and negative doubling I will use the terms negative concord and bipartite negation, respectively, which are more common in the literature. Hence, in this study, negative concord refers to those cases of multiple negation involving the language’s standard negative marker on the one hand and one or more *n*-words on the other⁵⁴. Bipartite negation refers to those cases in which the same negative marker occurs twice in the same syntactic domain.

In the sub-sections below, I will analyze the three types of multiple negation that occur in DVP and compare them with instances of multiple negation in both EP and Cokwe, i.e. negative concord (sub-section 5.5.2.1), bipartite negation (sub-section 5.5.2.2) and emphatic negation (sub-section 5.5.2.3).

5.5.2.1. Negative concord (*não V n-word*)

The DVP corpus does not contain many examples of negative concord constructions. Moreover, the ones that do show up in the corpus all involve the *n*-word *ninguém* ‘nobody’. No examples were found with other *n*-words, neither on their own nor in combination with *ninguém*.

⁵⁴ According to Zeijlstra (2004: 45), “An *n-word* is an indefinite or quantifying element that only under certain well-defined conditions introduces a negative context.” It includes expressions like the French *personne* ‘nobody’ and *rien* ‘nothing’, Italian *nessuno* ‘nobody’ or Portuguese *ninguém* ‘nobody’, *nada* ‘nothing’, *nenhum* ‘none’, etc. According to Corblin *et al.* (2004: 428) *n*-words owe their name to the fact that “in most Romance languages, they start with the letter ‘n’. An alternative label for *n*-words is negative concord items.

However, the fact that negative concord constructions occur in both the speech of older uneducated L2 speakers and younger educated L1 speakers, suggests that DVP, like EP, is a negative concord language (i.e. its structure allows a negative marker and an *n*-word to co-occur in the same syntactic domain to express a single negation). This is illustrated in examples (310) and (311) below:

(310) a. DVP:

Não *tenho* **ninguém**
 NEG have:1SG.PRS.IND nobody
 'I don't have anybody' [Inf30 *m* R24 D6 p19]

b. EP:

Não *tenho* **ninguém**
 NEG have:1SG.PRS.IND nobody
 'I don't have anybody'

(311) a. DVP:

Não *tinha* **ninguém** *ao* *lado,* **nem** *um*
 NEG have:1SG.IMP.F.IND nobody at.DEF side neither an
 'I did not have anyone by my side, neither an
tio **nem** *um* *primo*
 uncle nor a cousin
 uncle nor a cousin'

b. EP:

Não *tinha* **ninguém** *ao* *lado,* **nem** *um*
 NEG have:1SG.IMP.F.IND nobody at.DEF side neither an
 'I did not have anyone by my side, neither an
tio **nem** *um* *primo*
 uncle nor a cousin
 uncle nor a cousin'

The examples above suggest that no significant differences exist concerning the marking of negative concord in DVP and EP when the *n*-word occurs post-verbally, i.e. both varieties require that the *n*-word be preceded by the pre-verbal negative marker *não* 'no'. However, as noted in section 5.5.1, the data are insufficient to sustain a similar claim concerning instances of negative concord in which the *n*-word occurs pre-verbally. In EP, when the *n*-word occurs pre-verbally it cannot co-occur with the preverbal negative marker *não* 'no', but when it occurs post-verbally co-occurrence with the negative marker is obligatory, as illustrated in example (312):

(312) a. EP:
Nunca as crianças viram esse filme!
 never DEF:PL children saw that movie
 'Never have the children watched that movie' (Matos 2003: 776)

b. EP:
As crianças não viram esse filme nunca
 DEF:PL children NEG saw that movie never
 'The children have never watched that movie' (*ibid.*)

The fact that it is the position of the *n*-word that determines whether it must co-occur with the negative marker makes EP a Non-Strict NCL, as opposed to the Slavic languages and Greek, which require the negative marker to always accompany *n*-words regardless of their position in the sentence, therefore making them Strict-NCL (Zejlstra 2004: 63).

Collecting more and better data on DVP will help situate the variety in the continuum of NCLs (i.e. Strict vs. Non-Strict NCLs), although it should be noted that the fact that DVP allows true negative imperatives (cf. section 5.2.4) may indicate that DVP, unlike EP, is a strict NCL in that cross-linguistically it has been shown that "all Non-Strict NC languages disallow negative imperatives" whereas "Strict NC languages may vary with respect to the availability of true negative imperatives" (Zejlstra 2004: 134).

5.5.2.2. Bipartite Negation (*NEG V NEG*)

As shown in section 5.5.1, in instances of sentential negation, the negative marker *não* 'no' in DVP typically occurs only once in each negative domain. However, in the daily speech of L2 speakers of Portuguese in Dundo one frequently hears sentences in which a second *não* 'no' occurs in the same negative domain. In fact, the reduplication of *não* 'no' seems to be the second most common mechanism to encode sentential negation in DVP, although in my corpus only the two following examples of this negation marking strategy were found. Example (313) was uttered by a 7th grade male student aged 15. Example (314) was uttered by a 35-year old adult whose level of instruction is unknown:

(313) DVP:
eu não cresci muito assim com
 I NEG grow up:1SG.PST.IND much like with
 'I did not grow up with
os meus pais muito tempo não
 the:PL my:PL parents very time NEG
 my parents for very long'

(314) DVP:

já não considera como na cidade não
 already NEG considers like in:the city NEG
 'It is no longer considered (as part of the) city'

The reduplication of *não* 'no' has also been attested in EP, but only in a very restricted set of contexts, namely in emphatic answers to an order, in sentences that express a threat or in an emphatic order or advice (Gonçalves 1994: 221). In these contexts a second *não* can occur after the verb, as illustrated in examples (315) and (316), respectively:

(315) EP:

Order: *Vai pôr a mesa!*
 go:IMP.2SG lay:INF the table
 'Go lay the table'

Reply: *Não vou não!*
 NEG go:PRS.IND.1SG NEG
 'No, I will not go'

(316) EP:

Não tomes cuidado não!
 NEG take:IMP.2SG care NEG
 'You'd better be careful!' (Gonçalves 1994: 221)

A double occurrence of *não* can also be found in emphatic exclamations like those in (317) and (318) below, in which a *não* occurs in isolation either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence:

(317) EP

Não saio de casa hoje, não!
 NEG leave:PRS.IND.1SG of house today NEG
 'I will not leave the house today' (Matos 2003: 776)

(318) EP

Não, não queremos pensar mais nisso!
 NEG NEG want:PSR.IND.1PL think:INF more in.that
 'We do not want to think about that anymore' (*ibid.* 777)

The reduplication of *não* 'no' also occurs in Brazilian Portuguese. In fact, Azevedo (2005: 242), Cunha (1998a: 7) and many others include it among the major sentential

negation marking strategies in that variety, as illustrated in examples (319) and (320) below:

(319) BP: *Você quer mais sobremesa?* (Azevedo 2005: 242)
 'Do you want some more desert?'
Não quero não, obrigado!
 'No, I don't, thank you'

(320) BP: *não vou falar agora a letra do cântico não* (Cunha 1998b: 7)
 'I am not going to sing the lyrics of the chant now'

The fact that the duplication of *não* occurs in both EP and BP leads authors to make claims such as the following by Azevedo (2005: 242):

(...) double (and even triple) negatives are normal in BP (...) This *não...não* construction also occurs in EP. (...) Double negatives are an old feature of the language and can be found in old Portuguese texts.

The problem with this claim is that it assumes that the reduplication of *não* 'no' one finds in EP and BP are the exact same type of phenomena. However, this is not the case. In fact, as is made clear by the examples above, while both EP and BP have this *não ... não* construction, the reduplication of the negative marker plays different semantic and pragmatic roles and has different syntactic status in each variety.

Semantically, the double occurrence of *não* in BP brings no semantic change to the sentence, which is equivalent to a sentence containing only one negation (i.e. *Não quero, obrigado* 'I do not, thank you'). On the other hand, the reduplication of *não* in EP can either have an emphatic reading (i.e. the two markers enhance each other) as in (315), (317) and (318) or a double negation reading (i.e. the two negative markers cancel each other out and the sentence is equivalent to the corresponding positive), as illustrated in example (316) above.

The different semantic interpretations of the reduplication of *não* in BP and EP are a consequence of the fact that whereas in BP both negative markers have scope over the same negative domain, in EP each marker has scope over different negative domains. In other words, in BP the *não... não* construction constitutes a "pair of linked negatives" (Payne 1985: 224) similar to the French *ne ... pas*, whereas in EP it does not because the two negative markers have different negative domains. Therefore, the reduplication of *não* in BP constitutes a proper case of bipartite negation (i.e. there is only one semantic negation but it is expressed simultaneously by two separate negative markers), whereas in

EP it is either a case of emphatic negation (i.e. the two negations enhance each other) or double negation (i.e. the two negation cancel each other and there is no negation).

The different semantic and syntactic status of the reduplication of *não* in EP and BP suggests that the two varieties are at different stages of development of the linguistic phenomenon referred to as Jespersen's Cycle, i.e. a "cyclic weakening and simultaneous reinforment (i.e. grammaticalization) of the sentence negation" (Haspelmath 1997: 203), whose full description is given at the beginning of section 5.5, but which can be summarized as follows:

I. original situation	<i>jeo ne di</i>	'I do not say'
II. negation reinforced	<i>je ne di pas</i>	'I do not say'
III. loss of original negator	<i>je dis pas</i>	'I say not'

(Haspelmath 1997: 203)

Hence, if the reduplication of *não* in EP was indeed a proper instance of bipartite negation, one would expect sentences like *Sei não* 'I do not know' to be grammatical in EP as in BP or in the colloquial French *Je sais pas*. However, as noted by Gonçalves (1994: 221), this is not the case, in that in EP only the post-verbal negative marker can be deleted. This indicates that, unlike French and BP, there is no true bipartite negation in EP, as the two languages are at different stages of development of the Jespersen cycle. In fact, in EP the standard position of sentential negation markers is always before the verb, whereas in French *pas* can only be a marker of sentential negation when it occurs in post-verbal position (Corblin *et al.* 2004: 22). Moreover, as already noted, in EP the post-verbal occurrence of the main sentential negation marker (i.e. *não*) can only occur in a reduced set of emphatic contexts. In other words, bipartite negation, or the use two negative markers within the same negative domain, is not a productive sentential negation strategy in EP.

The best evidence that the reduplication of *não* in BP and EP are indeed different phenomena is the fact that the duplicated negative markers have different syntactic scopes in each variety. In fact, the comma indicating a pause in examples (317) and (318) shows that the second *não* in (317) and the first in (318) are best understood as belonging to a different sentence, in which the verb is not expressed. In fact, the occurrence of *não* without a verb is not uncommon in EP, especially in interrogative sentences. Matos (2003: 781) provides the following explanation for this:

O conteúdo negativo do marcador de negação frásica é especialmente evidente. Ele pode ocorrer isoladamente, recuperando para si só o conteúdo elíptico de uma frase negativa. É o que acontece na resposta dada à pergunta formulada em (5):

P- Os jornais noticiaram o desastre?

R – Não.

In accordance with the reasoning described above, Gonçalves (1994: 222) concludes the following with regard to the existence of bipartite negation in EP, which she refers to as “negação abraçante”:

É possível concluir que a expressão pós-verbal de negação, mesmo em estrutura “abraçante” (no sentido lato) é muito limitada em PE em termos sintáticos e ainda mais em termos semânticos. Ela é instanciada em contextos claramente marcados, podendo-se até especular que o seu tratamento não deve ser incluído numa gramática da frase.

Matos (2003: 776-777) seems to share the same opinion and states that both the second *não* in (317) and the first in (318) occur in a peripheral position in the sentence. In light of the analysis outlined above, the double occurrence of *não* in (315) to (318) can be best understood as an instance of resumptive negation, which is a form of emphatic negation defined as follows by Jespersen (1917), quoted in Wouden (1994: 149):

A second class [of emphatic negation] comprises what may be termed resumptive negation, the characteristic of which is that after a negative sentence has been completed, something is added in a negative form with the obvious result that the negative result is heightened. This is covered by Delbrück's expression “Ergänzungsnegation”. In its pure form, the supplementary negative is added outside the frame of the first sentence, generally as an afterthought, as in “I shall never do it, not under any circumstances, not on any condition, neither at home nor abroad”, etc. [...] But as no limits of sentences can be drawn with absolute certainty, the supplementary negative may be felt as belonging within the sentence, which accordingly comes to contain two negatives.

The reason why it is so important to clarify the status of the multiple occurrence of *não* in EP is the fact that this is one of the features that distinguishes this variety from lexically related partially restructured ones such as BVP. Gonçalves (1994: 226) summarizes as follows the differences between EP and BVP with regard to this negative construction:

Em termos comparativos, como previmos, esta forma de negação “abraçante” é muito mais frequente em PB, quer em número de contextos (*types*), quer em número de ocorrências (*tokens*).

Moreover, in BVP as in French, as noted earlier, it is possible to find instances in which it is the first negative particle which is deleted. This is illustrated below with a dialogue from Azevedo (2005: 242):

- (321) - *Tem correspondência para mim, seu Pedro?*
 'Is there mail for me, Mr. Pedro?'
 - *Tem não, doutor.*
 'No, doctor, there isn't.'

The similarity between French and BVP negation marking strategies is noted by Cunha (2001: 26):

As semelhanças entre o ciclo de negação no francês e no português brasileiro sustentam a interpretação de que a negativa dupla em português representa um estágio de transição no processo de gramaticalização. Após um período de estabilidade relativa desse padrão, com a coocorrência dos dois marcadores negativos, é possível que o *não* que antecede o SV seja completamente omitido na fala, via reanálise, tendo com resultado a estrutura SV + *não*, que, por sua vez, passa a sofrer o processo de gramaticalização, a exemplo do que se deu no francês.

It is the similar development of negation marking strategies in BVP and French that ultimately explains why the pre-verbal *não* in BVP, unlike that in EP, is no longer an obligatory negative marker. It is also this similarity that enables Cunha (2001: 22) to make the following suggestion:

Uma vez que a mudança parece ser unidirecional, é possível prever a negativa final como o próximo estágio no desenvolvimento da negação. (...) Desse modo, a negativa dupla reflete um caminho plausível de mudança na ordenação da negativa no português do Brasil.

According to Gonçalves (1994: 216-217), the similarity between French and BVP with regard to negation is consistent with the claim that pro-drop languages typically have pre-verbal negation, whereas languages that do not allow null subjects typically have post-verbal negation. Hence, she concludes the following:

... se o PE é uma língua de sujeito nulo "pura", o PB encontra-se reconhecidamente numa fase de mudança paramétrica.

[...]

... podemos predizer que se verifique igualmente ao nível do sistema da negação uma situação de transição: a negação estará a tender de pré para pós-verbal. Note-se no entanto que não se prevê já uma situação terminal no ciclo de Jespersen, uma vez que todo o processo de mudança se desenrola ainda.

Hence, the duplication of *não* in EP and in BVP has different semantic and syntactic status, i.e. in the former it is a semantically marked form of emphatic negation, whereas in

the latter it has lost this emphatic function and it has become one of the standard mechanisms to encode negation. This is clearly stated by Cunha (2001: 20), who notes the following concerning the function of the post-verbal *não* in BVP:

... estou postulando que, de uma perspectiva diacrônica, o *não* pós-verbal é originalmente introduzido na negativa como um elemento de reforço opcional. À medida que a frequência de ocorrência desse padrão aumenta, o marcador pós-verbal perde sua natureza enfática e se torna regular. Assim, a negativa dupla deixa de ser um modo “inesperado” de reforçar um ponto discursivo e começa a ser interpretada como o modo “normal” de procedimento.

The fact that Azevedo (2005: 242) considers that “in replying to a question, a single negative..., while correct, may be perceived as less courteous than a double one” in BVP seems to validate the claim that the second *não* in this variety has lost its emphasis. According to Cunha (2001: 20), the emphatic function of the second negative marker in bipartite negation constructions (which she refers to as double negation constructions⁵⁵) is only maintained in written Brazilian Portuguese, where, as in EP, the second *não* is separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma indicating a pause.

As noted earlier, the different syntactic status and semantic and pragmatic interpretations of the reduplication of *não* in BP and EP indicate that the two varieties are at different stages of the Jespersen Cycle. Hence, EP is a Phase I language, in that “it expresses negation by means of a single preverbal negative marker” (Zeijlstra 2004: 129). In turn, BP seems to share features of both Phase III and Phase IV languages, in that it encodes negation by means of two negative markers in some contexts (i.e. *não ... não*) and by means of a single post-final negative marker in others⁵⁶.

The data on DVP are insufficient to allow definite claims about the status of the reduplication of *não* in this variety. In other words, the reduced number of examples attested in the corpus makes it difficult to evaluate the discourse contexts in which the duplication of *não* ‘no’ occurs in DVP and consequently it makes it difficult to ascertain whether it serves an emphatic function (as in EP) or whether it has lost that function (as in BVP) and is now used in some contexts as the standard negation marking strategy.

Nonetheless, the examples recorded in the corpus, as well as those heard in Dundo, seem to illustrate instances of true bipartite negation rather than instances of emphatic negation in that both negative markers seem to have scope over the same syntactic domain. Therefore, concerning the duplication of *não*, DVP seems to be closer to the

⁵⁵ See section 5.5.2 for an explanation of the reasons why the term double negation is replaced in this study by the term bipartite negation.

⁵⁶ For a list of the criteria used to classify languages as Phase I, II, III, IV, etc see Zeijlstra (2004: 121-149).

syntactic structure of BP than to that of EP, although it is not possible at this stage to evaluate whether the semantic and pragmatic contexts for the occurrence of this construction in DVP are the same as in BP.

In fact, it is likely that despite the syntactic similarity between the duplication of *não* in DVP and BP the two varieties do not share exactly the same mechanisms for encoding sentential negation. For example, unlike BP, no examples were found of a single sentence-final marker encoding negation in DVP. As a matter of fact, when confronted with the request to produce a grammaticality judgement about examples (313) and (314), speakers agreed that the sentences would be “strange” if the first negative marker was omitted, although they did not discard the possibility of that omission being grammatical.

This seems to indicate that DVP and BP are also at different stages of development of the Jespersen cycle, meaning that BP is closer to Phase III and Phase IV languages, as already noted, whereas DVP seems closer to Phase II languages. Zeijlstra (2004: 132) defines Phase II languages as follows:

In Phase II languages, the second negative marker is optional and therefore these languages can be seen as transit languages. These languages are on their way from Phase I to Phase III. Hence, these languages are not stable with respect to the expression of sentential negation (...)

One argument in favor of the classification of DVP as a Phase II language variety may be the fact that it seems to allow inverse readings of sentences in which a universal quantifier subject precedes the negative marker, as illustrated in example (322) below:

- (322) DVP
- | | | | |
|--|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>Todos</i> | <i>nós</i> | <i>não</i> | <i>sabemos</i> |
| all:PL | us | NEG | know:1PL.PRS.IND |
| 'None of us knows (how to play guitar) | | | |
| <i>mas</i> | <i>vamos</i> | <i>tentar</i> | |
| but | go:1PL.PRS.IND | try:INF | |
| But we are going to try' | | | |

To sum up, bipartite negation seems to be a productive mechanism to encode sentential negation in DVP, although more and better data are needed not only to definitively confirm or disprove this hypothesis and allow a full description of the phenomenon in this variety, but also to facilitate its comparison with similar phenomena in other partially restructured varieties of Portuguese. In BVP, for example, it has been shown that the three main negation marking strategies have different syntactic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic distributions, which is summarized as follows by Cunha (2001: 25):

Vimos que a distribuição da negativa dupla está relacionada ao grau de escolaridade do falante e à modalidade: em meus dados, esse tipo de negativa ocorre predominantemente nos textos falados dos estudantes da 8ª série (mais jovens do que os do 2º e 3º graus). Quanto à negativa final (*não* + SV), sua ocorrência parece estar condicionada a fatores pragmáticos já que seu contexto de uso típico corresponde a respostas a perguntas diretas. Logo, tal como se dá com a supressão de *ne* em francês, as construções negativas emergentes no português também estão condicionadas por fatores gramaticais, pragmáticos e sociais, o que caracteriza o processo de gramaticalização.

Further, interesting information provided by Cunha (*ibid.*) that reinforces the importance of comparing negation strategies in DVP and BVP is that whereas bipartite negation is used throughout Brazil, the use of a single post-verbal negative marker seems to be restricted to the northeast part of the country and to some regions in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro, which coincidentally are the three regions in Brazil that received the largest number of slaves from Africa in general and Angola in particular. The collection of more data on negation marking strategies in DVP would therefore be an important contribution to our evaluation of the role played by African languages in the restructuring of Portuguese in both Brazil and Angola.

5.5.2.3. Resumptive negation

Wouden (1994: 150), in analyzing Jespersen's (1917) examples of resumptive negation, identified three major subtypes: the *not in my life* sub-type, in which "the appendix consists of a copy or a variant of a negative constituent of the sentence"; the *not even* sub-type, in which "the negated sentence is followed by something headed by *not even* (or its counterpart in other languages)"; and the *neither* sub-type, in which "the negated sentence is followed by an appendix headed by the conjunct *neither* or its counterparts" (Wouden 1994: 150). Wouden (*ibid.* 162) also notes that "another important means of strengthening negation is the use of negative polarity items (henceforth NPIs).

In DVP, the mechanism used to encode resumptive negation is that of the first type (i.e. *not in my life* type), which as in EP involve the reduplication (sometimes triplication) of *não* 'no', as illustrated below in examples (323) to (326):

- (323) DVP:
Não. Não entendo.
 NEG NEG understand:1SG.PRS.IND
 'No, I do not understand'

(324) DVP:

Não. Nós não jogamos com ele.
 NEG we NEG play:1PL.PRS.IND with him
 'No, we do not play with him'

(325) DVP:

A casa onde eu vivo não, não é igual.
 The house where I live NEG NEG is equal
 'No, the house where I live is not like (this one)'

(326) DVP:

Não, batata aqui não. Batata arena aqui não.
 NEG potato here NEG Potato⁵⁷ here NEG
 'No, there is no potato here. There is no potato here'

Notice that although none of the examples includes the phrase *not in my life*, which gives the name to this sub-type of resumptive negation, all of them meet the criteria of inclusion in this sub-type identified by Wouden (1994: 152-153), i.e. (i) the negative expression in the main clause and the one in the appendix are of the same semantic strength, (ii) the negative elements in the main clause and in the appendix both belong to the same syntactic category, and (iii) the negative in the appendix is at least as informative and as emphatic as the one in the main clause.

Resumptive negation differs from bipartite negation on two levels. Syntactically, the different negative markers have scope over different syntactic domains and, semantically, negation is reinforced. Moreover, unlike bipartite negation, the number and location of the negative markers in instances of resumptive negation in DVP is not fixed. In other words, whereas in bipartite negation there are necessarily only two markers, the first in immediate adjacency to the verb and the second in clause(sentence)-final position, in resumptive negation more than two negative markers can occur in varying positions in the sentence.

The kind of resumptive negation one finds in DVP is semantically and syntactically the same as that found in EP in the instances of reduplication of *não* 'no' analyzed in the previous section. In fact, examples given in (323) to (326) are fully grammatical in EP as well.

⁵⁷ The meaning of the word *arena* is unknown. It most likely refers to a type of potato. However, it should be noted that *arena* is the name of an herbicide used in growing potatoes and tomatoes, as indicated on the website of the retailer *SAPEC Agro* (cf. http://www.sapecagro.pt/internet/produtos/produto.asp?id_produto=68).

The sources on Cokwe do not provide data that allow one to attest or exclude the existence of resumptive negation in that language.

5.5.3. *AINDA* 'YET' AS A NEGATIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER ?

One of the most interesting sentential negation phenomena in DVP occurs in negative answers to direct *yes/no* questions. In this context, *ainda* 'still, yet' occurs without the negative marker *não* 'no' but the interpretation of the utterance is still semantically negative. This is a fairly common phenomenon in DVP, but due to the very specific context in which it occurs it was not recorded in my corpus. Therefore, examples (327) to (329) below are taken from my fieldnotes and have no corresponding audio record:

(327) DVP:

Q: *A Sr^a já encontrou o código?*
 DEF 2SG.POL already find:PRT.IND.3SG DEF Code
 'Have you found the code yet?'

A: **Ainda.**
 '(Not) yet'

(328) DVP:

Q: *Foram buscar as fotocópias?*
 go:PRT.IND.3PL get:INF DEF:PL copies
 'Did you go get the copies?'

A: **Ainda.**
 '(Not) yet'

(329) DVP:

Q: *Viu o meu colega?*
 see:PRT.IND.3SG DEF my.M colleague.M
 'Have you seen my colleague?'

A: **Ainda.**
 '(Not) yet'

Despite the absence of similar examples in my audio corpus and the lack of further examples in my fieldnotes, it can be claimed that this usage of *ainda* 'yet' is widespread not only in DVP but also in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese as a whole. This is sustained by Mendes (1985: 138) and Chavagne (2005: 257), both of whom include it among the general morphosyntactic features of Angolan Portuguese. In fact, it is Chavagne (*ibid.*) who best illustrates the generalization of this usage of *ainda* without *não* in Angolan Portuguese (*my emphasis*):

Ce particularisme, *qui est un des premiers que nous avons constatés*, parce qu'il pose un problème d'intelligibilité, *nous a été confirmé comme vivant par nos informants*.

There is also evidence in the literature that this usage of *ainda* 'yet, still' is not a recent development in Angolan Portuguese. In fact, Schuchardt (1888: 70) had already noted that in the Portuguese spoken in 19th century-Angola "the negative is sometimes omitted after *ainda* 'still, yet', e.g. *Queres ir commigo? – Ainda* ('not yet')". More importantly, the German linguist suggests that "this usage must be rooted in Bantu".

Schuchardt (*ibid.*) does not add any further information to support his hypothesis, but in light of what is known about the semantics of *ainda* 'yet' in EP, on the one hand, and the negation marking mechanisms in the languages of the Bantu branch, on the other, it seems very likely that Schuchardt was correct in his assumption.

In fact, according to Martins (1990: 85), the notion of 'not yet' in Cokwe is expressed by a single word: *kanda* 'not yet', whose use he describes as follows:

Também se pode formar a negativa transitiva de qualquer verbo em qualquer modo ou tempo, antepondo-lhe a palavra *kanda*, que significa "ainda não", seguida do verbo pronominal auxiliar. Esta é uma forma transitiva determinando a acção que ainda se não passou mas que virá a passar-se num futuro próximo.

Barbosa (1989: 157) also translates *kanda* in Cokwe as 'not yet' and illustrates this use of the adverb with the example given in (330) below:

- (330) COKWE: (Barbosa 1989: 157)
- Ami kánda ngucíya*
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| <i>Ami</i> | <i>kánda</i> | <i>ngu</i> | <i>cí</i> | <i>ya</i> |
| 1SG | not yet | 1SG | be:1SG.NEG | go:FV |
| 'I am not going yet' | | | | |

Notice that, as described by Martins (1990: 85), in Barbosa's example *kanda* co-occurs with one more marker of negation (i.e. the negative auxiliary verb *kuri* 'to be'). However, Martins' examples seem to suggest that the adverb *kanda* in Cokwe, like *ainda* in DVP, is in itself negative and therefore dispenses with the occurrence of further negative markers to express the notion of 'not yet'. This is illustrated in examples (331) and (332) below, where the negative auxiliary does not occur:

- (331) COKWE: (Martins 1990: 85)
- | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| <i>kanda</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>zang</i> | <i>a</i> |
| not yet | 1PL | love | FV |
| 'I have not loved yet' | | | |

- (332) COKWE: (ibid.)
kanda *nu* *ring* *a*
 not yet 2PL do FV
 'I have not done (it) yet'

The negative properties of *kanda* in Cokwe are best illustrated by the fact that, according to Barbosa (1989: 157), when used with an imperative verb form *kanda* occurs without any other negative markers and means 'no'. This is illustrated in example (333) below:

- (333) COKWE: (Barbosa 1989: 157)
kánda *úya*
 NEG go
 'Do not go'

The Cokwe data presented above suggest that it is very likely that the use of *ainda* as a synonym of *não* in DVP is the product of analogy with the corresponding structure in Cokwe. However, the use of *ainda* in examples (327) to (329) seems to suggest that *ainda* in DVP is used not only to negate the action expressed by the verb in the questions but also to add aspectual information about its imperfectivity.

The hypothesis that the use of *ainda* in DVP is a means to mark both negation and imperfective aspect is consistent with the use of the corresponding adverbs in both Cokwe (i.e. *kanda*) and EP (i.e. *ainda*). Notice that Martins clearly states that *kanda* is used in Cokwe to indicate that while the action expressed by the verb has not happened yet it will take place in the near future. Moreover, Longhin-Thomazi (2005) has shown that ever since Archaic Portuguese (i.e. mid-12th to mid-15th century) the most common uses of *ainda* in EP are to convey the idea that an action is still unfinished or in progress (e.g. *Caí há dois meses e ainda me dói o braço* 'I fell two months ago and my arm still hurts') or that it will take place in the future (e.g. *Se sair já, ainda o apanho* 'If I leave now, I will still catch him').

In examples (327) to (329) the DVP speakers are conveying two pieces of information to their interlocutors. On the one hand they are denying, respectively, that they have not been successful in finding the code, getting the copies or seeing the interlocutor's colleague. On the other hand, speakers are also saying that while that is the case at present, they believe that in a near future they will be successful in performing each of those actions. In EP, on the other hand, these two pieces of information can only be expressed simultaneously by the simultaneous use of *não* and *ainda*. Therefore, the fact that DVP allows both pieces of information to be expressed simultaneously by *ainda*

constitutes an innovation that, to my knowledge, has not been attested in any stage of development of EP⁵⁸.

In contexts other than answers to *yes/no* questions, *ainda* in DVP seems to behave similarly to *ainda* in EP. In those contexts, the main function of *ainda* is to indicate that the action is still in progress, as illustrated in examples (334) to (335):

(334) DVP:

ainda (es)tá (a)panhar medicação
still be:PRS.IND.3SG get:INF medication
'He is still being medicated'

(335) DVP:

eles têm falado uma língua que
they have:PRS.IND.3PL speak:PTCP INDF language that

eu ainda não me habituei
I yet NEG REFL get used to:PST.IND.1SG
'They have spoken a language that I have not got used to yet'

In short, while in most contexts the adverb *ainda* in DVP retains the same uses it has in EP, in the specific context of an answer to a Yes/No question, it serves both as a negative marker and an imperfective aspect marker. This innovative use of *ainda* in DVP seems to be motivated by a similar use of the adverb *kanda* in Cokwe and it has also been attested in other varieties of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola as early as the 19th century. However, further data are needed to evaluate whether it is specific to L2 speakers of Portuguese or whether it has already entered the speech of L1 speakers as well.

5.6. TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The morphosyntactic tendencies in the verb phrase analyzed so far are widespread in Dundo and can be found to varying degrees in the verbal output of both L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese, both educated and uneducated, old and young. The collection of more data will surely contribute to deepen our understanding of these tendencies, but existing data are solid enough to allow their classification as major morphosyntactic tendencies in DVP and to sustain the preliminary descriptions put forward in this chapter.

⁵⁸ In fact, the requirement that *ainda* co-occurs with *não* to allow a negative interpretation of the sentence seems to have been present in EP since as early as Archaic Portuguese, which allowed some variation concerning the order of *não* and *ainda* in the sentence, but did not allow a negative interpretation of *ainda* without the co-occurrence with *não*. (Mattos e Silva 2008b: 276).

However, there are other morphosyntactic phenomena in the corpus that while frequent will not be analyzed in detail here. These include the lexical marking of TMA categories, the occurrence of the verb *ter* 'to have' with existential meaning and the omission of the preposition in periphrastic verbal constructions.

It is likely that the collection of more data will prove these phenomena to be as widespread in DVP as the ones analyzed in the sections above. However, it is impossible at this stage to provide any solid analyses however preliminary. There are several reasons for this. Concerning the lexical marking of TMA categories, there are three reasons: the corpus contains very few examples of this phenomenon, they all occur in the speech of a single speaker and in a very specific discourse context (i.e. storytelling). Concerning existential *ter* 'to have' and the omission of the preposition in periphrastic verbal constructions, while there are plenty of instances in the speech of several speakers, they do not occur in as many contexts as needed for an explanation that might account for their occurrence.

However, considering that some of these phenomena (e.g. existential *ter* 'to have') have been attested in contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as BVP (e.g. Mello 1997) and that the omission of the preposition in verbal periphrases has been identified as one of the distinguishing features of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola (e.g. Cabral 2005; Chavagne 2005; Mendes 1985), it is likely that future research will show them to be relevant to our understanding of DVP as well.

Therefore, for the value they might have for future research, the three following sub-sections provide the relevant data available in my DVP corpus on the lexical marking of TMA categories (cf. 5.6.1), the use of the verb *ter* 'to have' with existential meaning (cf. 5.6.2) and the omission of the preposition in verbal periphrases (cf. 5.6.3).

5.6.1. LEXICAL MARKING OF TMA CATEGORIES IN DVP

Most languages use more than one mechanism to encode aspectual information. This is true of both Cokwe and EP, which use a combination of different morphosyntactic, semantic and lexical strategies to encode aspectual categories. Therefore, as noted in section 5.1.2.6 above, Cokwe uses inflections (i.e. habitual *-aku-* and itive *-ka-*), reduplication (i.e. frequentative aspect), verbal periphrasis (i.e. progressive aspect) and pre-verbal aspect particles such as *té* 'when, then' (i.e. imperfective) and *hi* 'already' (i.e.

perfective). Similar strategies are used in EP, as summarized in Oliveira (2003: 133) below:

Em português (...) para além da **natureza semântica dos predicados**, as informações aspectuais distribuem-se pelos **afixos** que contêm também informação temporal, pelas **construções com auxiliares e semi-auxiliares** (*tem lido, começou a ler, está a ler*), e também através da combinação de vários elementos na frase associados aos anteriores, como sejam certos **adverbiais** e a natureza sintáctico-semântica dos sintagmas nominais, em particular dos que constituem complementos subcategorizados.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the most productive strategies to encode aspectual categories in DVP are inflections, periphrastic constructions and adverbials. In general, regardless of the type of mechanism used (i.e. morphosyntactic, semantic or lexical), DVP does not seem to differ significantly from EP. In fact, both the inflections (i.e. past imperfective *-va-* and, to a lesser extent, conditional *-ia-*) and the verbal periphrases (e.g. progressive *estar (a) INF*) used to encode aspect in DVP are the same as those used in EP. The same is true of most adverbs used to convey aspectual information in DVP.

However, DVP does seem to differ from EP concerning the aspectual value of the adverb *já*, as suggested by the examples below. All examples are drawn from recording 0008, in which Inf10, a 5th grade eleven year-old female, whose L1 is Portuguese, tells the Portuguese children's story *A Carochinha e o João Ratão*⁵⁹. Similar examples are only found in the speech of Inf18, a thirty-six year-old male teacher, whose L1 is Cokwe.

(336) a. DVP:

Ele chegou lá, levou já material
 He arrived there take:PRT.IND.3SG already material
 'He arrived there (and) already brought material with him'

b. EP

Ele chegou lá, levou logo material
 He arrived there take:PRT.IND.3SG already material
 'He arrived there (and) already brought material with him'

(337) a. DVP:

A filha tam(b)ém ficou já
 DEF daughter also stay:PRT.IND.3SG immediately
 The daughter was also already
muito vaidosa
 very proud
 very proud'

⁵⁹ *Carochinha* is the name of the female beetle that alongside *João Ratão*, a male mouse, is the main character in the well known Portuguese children's story *A Carochinha e o João Ratão*.

b. EP

A *filha tam(b)ém ficou logo*
 DEF daughter also stay:PRT.IND.3SG immediatly
 The daughter was also already
muito vaidosa
 very proud
 very proud'

(338) a. DVP:

A *Dona Carochinha foi já na igreja*
 DEF HON Carochinha be:PRT.IND.3SG immediately in:the church
 'Dona Carochinha immediately went to the church'

b. EP

A *Dona Carochinha foi logo à igreja*
 DEF HON Carochinha be:PRT.IND.3SG immediately in:the church
 'Dona Carochinha immediately went to the church'

(339) a. DVP:

O *João Ratão virou já João Feijão*
 DEF João Ratão turn:PRT.IND.3SG ? João Feijão
 'João, the Mouse, became João, the Bean'

b. EP

O *João Ratão virou João Feijão*
 DEF João Ratão turn:PRT.IND.3SG João Feijão
 'João, the Mouse, became João, the Bean'

(340) a. DVP:

Casaram-se. Já viveram felizes
 marry:PRT.INF.3PL-REFL ? live:PRT.IND.3PL happy:PL
 'They married each other. They lived happily.'

b. EP

Casaram-se. Viveram felizes
 marry:PRT.INF.3PL-REFL live:PRT.IND.3PL happy:PL
 'They married each other. They lived happily.'

(341) a. DVP:

Eles começaram já a namorar
 They start: PRT.IND.3PL immediately to date
 'They started dating'

b. EP

Eles começaram logo a namorar
 They start: IMPF.IND.3PL immediately to date
 'They started dating'

(342) a. DVP:

Eles foram já qué p(ar)a co'mê
 They go:PRT.IND.3PL immediately so as to eat:INF
 'They left immediately to eat'

b. EP:

Eles foram logo p(ar)a comer
 They go:PRT.IND.3PL immediately to eat:INF
 'They left immediately to eat'

Building on the examples above, the following generalizations can be made concerning the use of the adverb *já* in DVP and EP:

- in DVP it is only attested with preterite indicative verb forms, whereas in EP, as shown in Campos (1987), it is attested with both present, past and future tenses, albeit with different aspectual values;
- in DVP it is only attested with third-person subjects, both singular and plural, while in EP there do not seem to exist any person-number constraints associated with the use of *já*;
- in DVP it is only attested with the following verbs: *começar* 'to start' and *ir* 'to go' (twice each); *levar* 'to take', *ficar* 'to stay', *viver* 'to live' and *virar* 'to turn' (once each);
- in DVP it only occurs in contexts in which EP does not use *já*. This includes contexts in which EP uses the adverb *logo*, either meaning 'already' as in (336) or 'immediately', as in examples (337), (341) and (342), and contexts in which typically no similar adverbial is used in EP, as in (339) and (340);
- in DVP *já* always occurs after the verb form, whereas in EP it typically only occurs pre-verbally; it is *logo* that typically occurs post-verbally in EP;
- in examples (336a), (337a), (341a) and (342a), *já* seems to maintain the aspectual value of *logo* in the corresponding EP examples, i.e. perfective aspect, while also adding the notion of immediacy of the action expressed by the verb, hence resembling the usage of the pre-verbal particle *hi* in Cokwe (cf. sections 5.1.2.4 and 5.1.2.5 above);
- in examples (339) and (340) the aspectual value of *já* in DVP is unclear;

In short, the linguistic data above suggest that *já* clearly plays a role in encoding aspect in DVP that is not necessarily the same as that played in EP. However, the data are insufficient to determine the exact aspectual category(ies) encoded by this adverb in DVP

and how its syntactic and semantic behavior differs from EP. Consequently, the data are also not sufficient to evaluate the role played by either the substrate or the substrate in determining the aspectual value(s) of *já* in DVP.

Therefore, attempts at describing and accounting for the aspectual value(s) of *já* in this variety necessarily involve the collection of more linguistic data and the evaluation of the degree of dissemination of this usage among DVP speakers. The following research questions may prove to be helpful in accounting for the aspectual values of *já* in DVP:

- can *já* occur with tenses other than the preterite indicative and verbal persons other than the third? If so, are there different aspectual readings?
- does *já* always occur post-verbally? If not, does the marker encode different aspectual categories depending on word order?
- can *já* occur with all types of verbs (e.g. dynamic vs. stative)? If not, what are the *aktionsart*-related constraints on the occurrence of *já*?
- is there a relation between *já* in DVP and the pre-verbal marker *hi* in Cokwe, which means *já* and is used to mark not only perfective aspect but also to indicate immediacy of the action expressed by the verb?
- does *já* occur in contexts other than story-telling? If not, is there a relationship between the function played by *já* and that played by Cokwe's narrative past marker (cf. section 5.1.2.4)?
- has the wide range of meanings associated with both *já* and *logo* in EP⁶⁰ played a role in determining the aspectual value of *já* in DVP?

5.6.2. EXISTENTIAL *TER* 'TO HAVE'

The use of the verb *ter* 'to have' with existential meaning can be found very frequently in the speech of speakers of Portuguese in Dundo regardless of whether this is their L1 or L2 and independently of the speakers' age or level of instruction. This is illustrated in examples (343) to (347) below:

(343) a. DVP:

um pouco longe tinha uma casinha
 IND little far have:IMPF.IND.3SG DEF small house
 'a bit far, there was a small house'

⁶⁰ *Já* can mean 'now', 'already' or 'immediately' in EP. *Logo* can mean 'immediately' or 'later', depending on the context, as illustrated by the EP sentence *Trago-te os documentos logo*, which can mean either 'I will immediately bring you the documents' or 'I will bring you the documents later'.

b. EP:

um pouco longe havia uma casinha
 IND little far be:IMPF.IND.3SG DEF small house
 'a bit far, there was a small house'

(344) a. DVP:

aqui tem homem que cozinha
 here have:PRS.IND.3SG man that cook:PRS.IND.3SG
 'There are men who cook here'

b. EP:

aqui há homens que cozinham
 here be:PRS.IND.3SG man:PL that cook:PRS.IND.3PL
 'There are men who cook here'

(345) a. DVP:

tem kikongo tem baluba...
 have:PRS.IND.3SG Kikongo have:PRS.IND.3SG Baluba
 'There is Kikongo, Baluba...'

muitas línguas que existem
 many languages that exist:PRS.IND.3SG
 'many languages exist (here)'

b. EP:

há kikongo há baluba...
 be:PRS.IND.3SG Kikongo be:PRS.IND.3SG Baluba
 'There is Kikongo, Baluba...'

muitas línguas que existem
 many languages that exist:PRS.IND.3SG
 'many languages exist (here)'

(346) a. DVP:

cá tem falta d'água
 here have:PRS.IND.3SG lack of water
 'There is lack of water here'

b. EP:

cá há falta d'água
 here have:PRS.IND.3SG lack of water
 'There is lack of water here'

(347) a. DVP:

Tam(b)ém tem vezes
 Also have:PRS.IND.3SG times
 'Sometimes also (...)'

b. EP:

Tam(b)ém há vezes
 Also be:PRS.IND.3SG times
 'Sometimes also (...)'

In fact, the preference for *ter* to the detriment of *haver* in existential constructions seems to be a feature of all varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola and not only of that spoken in Dundo, in that Mendes (1985: 142) includes it among the general features of Angolan Portuguese, as shown in examples (348) and (349) below:

- (348) AVP: *Tinha pouca gente* que reparava nela. 'Few people noticed her'
 (349) AVP: *Mas agora tem escola de noite.* 'But now there's school at night'

In the DVP and AVP examples above the existential reading of the verb *ter* is clear, especially in example (345), where this reading is reinforced by the use of *existir* 'to exist'. Moreover, as is the case with existential *haver* 'be' in EP, existential *ter* in DVP only occurs with third-person verb forms, typically in the present indicative.

However, there are other instances where the reading of *ter* is unclear due to DVP's tendency to use third-person verb forms as the default verb form for all persons and numbers but the 1PL. This makes it difficult to evaluate whether the use of the third person in (350) to (352) below is an instance of lack of agreement between the subject and the verb in which the latter has a possessive reading or an instance of existential reading of the verb *ter*:

(350) a. DVP:

<i>tem</i>	<i>alguns</i>	<i>amigos</i>	
have:PRS.IND.3SG	some:PL	friends	
'There are/He has some friends			
<i>que</i>	<i>passam</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>aqui</i>
REL	pass:PRS.IND.3SG	through	here
who pass here'			

b. EP:

<i>Ele</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>alguns</i>	<i>amigos</i>
He	have:PRS.IND.3SG	some:PL	friends
'He has some friends			
<i>que</i>	<i>passam</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>aqui</i>
REL	pass:PRS.IND.3SG	through	here
who pass here'			

c. EP:

<i>Há</i>	<i>alguns</i>	<i>amigos</i>	
be:PRS.IND.3SG	some:PL	friends	
'There are some friends			
<i>que</i>	<i>passam</i>	<i>por</i>	<i>aqui</i>
REL	pass:PRS.IND.3SG	through	here
who pass here'			

(351) a. DVP:

Tem *muitos* *carros*
 have:PRS.IND.3SG many:PL cars
 'There are/I have many cars'

b. EP:

Eu tenho *muitos* *carros*
 I have:PRS.IND.1SG many:PL cars
 'I have many cars'

c. EP:

Há *muitos* *carros*
 be:PRS.IND.3SG many:PL cars
 'There are/I have many cars'

(352) a. DVP:

tinha *tam(b)ém* *vizinhos* *que* *eram* *quioco*
 have:IMPF.IND.3SG also neighbors REL were Tucokwe
 'There were also/I also had neighbors who were Tutockwe.'

b. EP:

eu tinha *tam(b)ém* *vizinhos* *que* *eram* *quioco*
 I have:IMPF.IND.3SG also neighbors REL were Tucokwe
 'I also had neighbors who were Tutockwe.'

c. EP:

havia *tam(b)ém* *vizinhos* *que* *eram* *quioco*
 be:IMPF.IND.3SG also neighbors REL were Tucokwe
 'There were also neighbors who were Tutockwe.'

In spite of examples (350) to (352), the existing data strongly suggest a predominant use of *ter* to the detriment of *haver* in existential constructions in DVP. In contact-influenced varieties of Portuguese such as BVP *ter* is also the preferred verb to encode existential meaning (Avelar and Callou 2007; Mello 1997: 144-146). This phenomenon is already found in written texts produced in Brazil during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, but it is only from the 19th onwards that *ter* comes to definitively replace *haver* in existential constructions in BVP (cf. Avelar 2005, 2006; Avelar and Callou 2007). In EP, on the contrary, from as early as the 13th century, it is *haver* that is favored in these constructions.

In Cokwe, as in DVP and BVP but not in EP, a single verb encodes both existential and possessive constructions, i.e. *pwa* 'be'. According to Martins (1990: 116) this verb accumulates the meanings of the Portuguese verbs *ter* 'have', *estar* 'be' and *haver* 'exist'.

The exact meaning of the verb depends on the pre- and post-verbal particles it occurs with, as explained by the same source below:

... para se formar o verbo “ter” basta acrescentar a partícula *nyi* [i.e. ‘with’] ao verbo *ku-pwa* enquanto o verbo “estar” e “haver” se formam antepondo a partícula *ku* ao mesmo verbo.

This and the fact that BVP, a variety whose linguistic structure is known to have received significant grammatical input from African languages, favors *ter* in existential constructions, unlike EP, suggests that language contact is a key factor to take into consideration in accounting for the use of *ter* in existential constructions in DVP.

5.6.3. OMISSION OF THE PREPOSITION *A* IN PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The omission of prepositions in contexts where its occurrence is obligatory in EP has been identified by Mendes (1985: 133-135) and Chavagne (2005: 252-255) as one of the linguistic features that distinguishes the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola from EP. This phenomenon has been attested in AVP with most prepositions, namely *a* ‘to’, *para* ‘to’, *de* ‘of/from’, *em* ‘in’, *por* ‘by’ and *com* ‘with’, as illustrated in examples (353) to (360) below:

- (353) a. AVP: *Fica Ø mais de 6 Km^s* (Mendes 1985)
‘It’s more than 6 Km^s away’
b. EP: *Fica **a** mais de 6 Kms*
- (354) a. AVP: *Temos que avançar Ø lá rápido* (*ibid.*)
‘We have to go there quickly’
b. EP: *Temos que avançar **para** lá rápido.*
- (355) a. AVP: *deparou Ø um vulto humano* (*ibid.* 135)
‘She/he bumped into a human figure’
b. EP: *deparou **com** um vulto humano*
- (356) a. AVP: *(...) ontem assistimos Ø um jogo (...)* (Chavagne 2005: 254)
‘yesterday we watched a game’
b. EP: *ontem assistimos **a** um jogo*
- (357) a. AVP: *você acredita Ø essas coisas* (*ibid.* 255)
‘you believe those things’
b. EP: *você acredita **nessas** coisas*
- (358) a. AVP: *você só gosta Ø bandidos* (*ibid.*)
‘you only like bandits’
b. EP: *você só gosta **de** bandidos*

- (359) a. AVP: *acabou Øficar dois anos* (*ibid.* 256)
'He/she ended up staying for two years'
b. EP: *acabou **por** ficar dois anos*
- (360) a. AVP: *nos informaram Øesse caso* (*ibid.* 256)
'They informed about that case'
b. EP: *informaram-nos sobre esse caso*

However, the preposition for whose omission more data are available and to which authors dedicate more attention is a 'to' in *estar + INF* periphrastic verbal constructions, as illustrated in examples (361) and (362) below taken from Chavagne (2005):

- (361) a. AVP: *Estou Øpreparar o futuro* (*ibid.* 252)
'I am preparing the future'
b. EP: *Estou **a** preparar o futuro*
- (362) a. AVP: *tá Øapanhar tratamento e tá Ørecuperar* (*ibid.*)
'He's being medicated and he's getting better'
b. EP: *Está **a** levar tratamento e está **a** recuperar*

The following quote from Chavagne (2005: 252) illustrates not only the interpretation he makes of this *estar + inf* construction in AVP (i.e. periphrastic expression of progressive aspect) but also the extent to which it is widespread in Angola:

Dans les périphrases verbales avec le verbe *estar* (être), nous savons qu'il existe une différence normative entre le Portugal et le Brésil: lorsqu'on dit *estou a trabalhar* (je suis en train de travailler) au Portugal, on dit *estou trabalhando* au Brésil. En Angola, une troisième périphrase est utilisée, *estou trabalhar*, qui revient à priver la périphrase portugaise de sa préposition.

Pour montrer à quel point cette particularité est une forte tendance, citons une de nos informatrices:

Je me rappelle (...) que quand j'avais 12/13 ans, une dame, (professeur de portugais d'origine angolaise et qui est toujours amie de la famille), insistait pour qu'on dise "está brincar". Selon elle, c'était le portugais correct et je suppose qu'elle l'enseignait à l'école. (ibid.)

Chavagne (2005: 253-254), also attests the omission of the preposition *a* in periphrastic verbal constructions involving auxiliary verbs other *estar*, namely *começar* 'to start', *continuar* 'to continue', *andar* 'lit. to walk', *ficar* 'to stay' and *obrigar* 'to oblige', but the data he uses is drawn exclusively from the work of the Angolan writer Luandino Vieira, as illustrated in examples (363) to (367). In his own oral corpus, Chavagne (*ibid.*) only finds instances with the verb *andar* and *começar*, which he classifies as rare. This is illustrated in examples (368) and (369) below:

- (363) a. AVP: *começo* Ø*estar cansado* (Chavagne 2005: 254)
'I'm starting to be tired'
b. EP: *começo a estar cansado*
- (364) a. AVP: *continuámos* Ø*cozinhar* (*ibid.*)
'we continued to cook'
b. EP: *continuámos a cozinhar*
- (365) a. AVP: *andei* Ø*procurar trabalho* (*ibid.*)
'I've been looking for a job'
b. EP: *andei a procurar trabalho*
- (366) a. AVP: *ficou* Ø*olhar o mar* (*ibid.*)
'he stayed looking at sea'
b. EP: *ficou a olhar o mar*
- (367) a. AVP: *me obrigaram* Ø*falar meu nome* (*ibid.*)
'they made me say my name'
b. EP: *obrigaram-me a dizer o meu nome*
- (368) a. AVP: *cartas que ele anda* Ø*escrever não dá para conduzir* (*ibid.*)
'the letters he writes do not license him to drive'
b. EP: *as cartas que ele anda a escrever não dão para conduzir*
- (369) a. AVP: *começo* Ø*escutar* (*ibid.*)
'I start hearing'
b. EP: *começo a escutar*

Therefore, it is not surprising that in DVP one also finds innumerable instances in which the preposition *a* is omitted in periphrastic verbal constructions. The periphrasis for which the corpus contains a larger number of examples is the progressive aspect construction *estar* + INF, as illustrated in examples (370) to (373), which is fully consistent with the findings on other varieties of Angolan vernacular Portuguese:

- (370) a. DVP:
É *assim* *que* *tou* *falá*
be:PRS.IND.3SG thus that be:PRS.IND.1SG speak:INF
'That's what I am saying'
- b. EP
É *isso* *que* *estou* *a* *falá*
be:PRS.IND.3SG that that be:PRS.IND.1SG PREP speak:INF
'That's what I am saying'
- (371) a. DVP:
Tá *vê*
be:PRS.IND.3SG see:INF
'You see?' or 'Do you understand?'
- b. EP
Está *a* *ver*
be:PRS.IND.3SG PREP see:INF
'You see?' or 'Do you understand?'

- (372) a. DVP:
o outro tava trabalhá
 DEF other be:PRT.IND.3SG work:INF
 'The other one was working'
- b. EP
o outro estava a trabalhar
 DEF other be:PRT.IND.3SG PREP work:INF
 'The other one was working'

- (373) a. DVP:
tamos andar duas pessoa
 be:PRS.IND.1PL walk:INF two person
 'Two people are walking'
- b. EP
estão a andar duas pessoas
 be:PRS.IND.3PL PREP walk:INF two people
 'Two people are walking'

While the omission of the preposition is more frequent with third-person auxiliary verb forms, the examples above on AVP show that it can also occur with other person-number values, namely 1SG (cf. 369), 1PL (cf. 373) and 2SG (cf. 371).

The DVP corpus also contains examples of omitted preposition in periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary verb *começar* 'to start'. It is not as frequent in the corpus as the omission of the preposition in *estar + INF* constructions, but it is also attested with different person-number values. Examples (374), (375) and (376) illustrate the omission of *a* with 1SG, 3SG and 3PL forms, respectively:

- (374) a. DVP:
começou trabalhar aqui
 star:PRT.IND.1SG work:INF here
 'I started working here'
- b. EP
comecei a trabalhar aqui
 star:PRT.IND.1SG PREP work:INF here
 'I started working here'
- (375) a. DVP:
começou atirar umas frutas duras
 start:PRT.IND.3SG throw:INF IND:PL fruits hard:PL
 'He started throwing some hard fruits'
- b. EP
começou a atirar umas frutas duras
 start:PRT.IND.3SG PREP throw:INF IND:PL fruits hard:PL
 'He started throwing some hard fruits'
- (376) a. DVP:
começaram andá
 start:PRT.IND.3PL walk:INF
 'They started walking'

b. EP

começaram *a* *andá*
 start:PRT.IND.3PL PREP walk:INF
 'They started walking'

The DVP also contains one example of omission of *a* with the verb *andar* 'lit. to walk', which is consistent with Chavagne's findings:

(377) a. DVP:

eu *andava* *vender* *na* *praça*
 I walk:IMPF.INF.1SG sell:INF PREP:DEF market
 'I used to sell (things) at the market'

b. EP

eu *andava* *a* *vender* *na* *praça*
 I walk:IMPF.INF.1SG PREP sell:INF PREP:DEF market
 'I used to sell (things) at the market'

The data presented in this section shows that the omission of prepositions in periphrastic verbal constructions in general and the omission of the preposition *a* in particular are worth exploring in future research on DVP. At present, the available data on DVP are insufficient to allow descriptions that are more detailed than the one given here.

It should be noted that the syntactic behavior of prepositions in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola has already been studied in detail by Cabral (2005). The author analyzes a written corpus produced by students of basic, intermediate and superior level education in the city of Lubango (Huíla Province) and concludes that the use of prepositions in AVP differs from that found in EP in three major ways. Firstly, some prepositions in AVP are replaced by prepositions other than the ones used in EP in similar contexts - cf. AVP: *O nome específico que atribuo para o texto é Ténis de Campo* vs. EP: *O nome específico que atribuo ao texto é Ténis de Campo* (Cabral 2005: 99). The preposition that is most frequently replaced in AVP is *a* (*ibid.* 99). Secondly, AVP omits prepositions in contexts where EP requires their use - cf. AVP: *e ele continuava \emptyset não dar sinais de vida* vs. EP: *e ele continuava a não dar sinais de vida* (*ibid.* 100). Finally, AVP uses prepositions in contexts EP does not - cf. *não devemos de deixar de agradecer os pessoa* vs. EP: *não devemos deixar de agradecer às pessoas* (*ibid.* 100).

While I think that, exception made to the instances of preposition omission, some of the AVP examples given in Cabral (2005) can also be found in non-standard varieties of EP, his study suggests that AVP and EP differ significantly concerning the use and function of prepositions and that this difference reflects major differences concerning core areas of grammar, namely mechanisms used to encode case. In fact, not only AVP but also

Mozambican Portuguese seem to differ significantly from EP concerning the use and function of prepositions. According to Gonçalves (2002) this difference is due to the influence of the speakers' Bantu L1s, which begs that future research analyzes in detail how the Bantu languages spoken in Dundo may have contributed to the use of prepositions one finds in DVP⁶¹.

5.7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main goal of the present chapter was to evaluate the role played by both EP and Cokwe in the emergence of a number of morphosyntactic tendencies that distinguish the verb phrase in DVP from that of EP and bring it closer to the structure of contact-induced varieties of Portuguese such as those spoken in Brazil and Mozambique. Therefore, following the description of the main aspects of the internal structure and inflectional categories of the verb phrase in both EP and Cokwe, sections 5.2 to 5.5 focused on the description of the contact-induced tendencies found in DVP's verb phrase, namely the restructuring of European Portuguese TMA categories (sub-section 5.2), the simplification of person-number inflections and variable subject-verb agreement (sub-section 5.3), variable verb-predicate agreement (sub-section 5.4.) and the coexistence of multiple sentential negation strategies in DVP which are unattested or rare in EP. The goal of the present section is to summarize the findings in each of those sections.

An analysis of the data carried out in section 5.2 indicates that European Portuguese TMA categories have undergone significant restructuring in Dundo. Firstly, DVP, unlike EP, has two competing strategies to mark the infinitive, i.e. the deletion of the EP infinitive marker {-r}, which is common among all speakers regardless of their age or level of instruction, and the addition of the paragogic vowel [i] to the EP infinitive verb form, typically in the speech of older uneducated speakers of DVP. The first strategy is found in both L1 and L2 DVP, but the second can usually only be found in L2 DVP. Secondly, there is also a widespread tendency in DVP to use the indicative mood in contexts in which EP requires the subjunctive. The data are insufficient to allow definite conclusions concerning the exact syntactic contexts in which this replacement takes place, but they are consistent enough to suggest that this replacement is not random concerning the tenses that are affected by it (i.e. there is a clear tendency for the subjunctive tenses to be

⁶¹ For a description and explanation of how speakers' Bantu L1s contributed to the type of case assignment mechanisms found in Mozambican Portuguese see Gonçalves (Gonçalves 1990, 1992).

replaced only by their indicative counterparts). Thirdly, both L1 and L2 speakers of DVP, regardless of their age and level of instruction, tend to use periphrastic rather than inflectional verb forms to encode both the future indicative (i.e. *ir* 'go' + infinitive of the verb) and the progressive aspect [i.e. *estar* + (a) + infinitive form of the verb]. Finally, DVP, unlike EP, has a single imperative 2SG verb form for both affirmative and negative contexts, regardless of the degree of intimacy between speakers. The fact that this form is morphologically distinct from corresponding 2SG verb forms in the subjunctive and indicative moods (cf. IMP: *começa* 'start' vs. PRS SBJV *comeces* vs. PRS IND. *começas*) suggests that DVP, unlike EP, has a true imperative form. Moreover, the fact that the same form is used regardless of the degree of intimacy between speakers indicates that in DVP, but not in EP, the morphological marking of person-number on the verb is not used as an indicator of politeness or of the degree of intimacy between speakers.

Concerning PN inflections and variable subject-verb agreement, the analysis of the DVP data carried out in section 5.3 shows that alongside the EP six-form person-number paradigm, one also finds in DVP a simplified version of this which consists of two forms only: the 1PL form (i.e. *-mo*) and the 3SG form, which is used with all other persons and both numbers. The 1PL marker is the same for all tenses (i.e. *-mo*) and the 3SG marker is the same for all tenses but the preterite indicative. In non-copular sentences, this simplification of DVP's person-number inflectional morphology often leads to a mismatch in the P/N value of the subject and that encoded on the verb. This mismatch is systematized in Table 32 below:

Table 33
Variable subject-verb agreement patterns in DVP

SUBJECT	VERB FORM
1SG	3SG
2SG (<i>tu</i>)	
2PL (<i>vocês</i>)	
3PL	
2SG (<i>você</i>)	2SG

Although the subject-verb agreements patterns shown in Table 32 above can be found in both L1 and L2 DVP regardless of the age and level of instruction of the speakers, it is more frequent in L2 DVP in the speech of those speakers who are older and less educated.

Concerning copular sentences, the analysis of the data carried out in sub-section 5.4 shows that while typically no lack of subject-verb agreement exists, there is a tendency to fail to make the verb and the predicate agree when the latter refers to the first and third persons plural. The data are insufficient to allow definite conclusions concerning possible correlations between this phenomenon and the age and level of instruction of the speakers, but they do suggest that this is a phenomenon that occurs mostly in the speech of older L2 speakers of DVP.

Concerning sentential negation strategies in DVP, an analysis of the data carried out in section 5.5 shows that although this variety, like EP, typically uses a single negative marker (i.e. *não* 'no') to encode sentential negation, there are significant differences between the two varieties. Firstly, sentential negation in DVP, unlike EP, is always symmetric, in the sense that what distinguishes negative sentences in DVP from their positive counterparts is the presence of the negative marker. Secondly, there is evidence to suggest that word constraints in negative sentences are different in DVP and EP in the sense that in DVP negative sentences seem to always follow SNegVO word order whereas in EP the word order changes to SNegOV when pronominal objects occur in the sentence.

DVP and EP also depict considerable differences concerning the use of multiple negative markers. On the hand, while both DVP and EP are negative concord languages (i.e. sentences with more than one negative marker are semantically the same as sentences with a single negative marker), there is reason to believe that whereas EP is a non-strict negative concord language, DVP may fall into the category of strict negative concord language varieties. On the other hand, whereas in EP the reduplication of *não* typically serves an emphatic purpose and each negative marker has scope over different syntactic domains, the DVP data seem to suggest that in this variety the reduplication of *não* has lost its emphatic function and constitute instances of bipartite negation (i.e. both negative markers have scope over the same syntactic domain so that a sentence with reduplicated *não* is semantically equivalent to a sentences in which a single *não* occurs). Another difference between DVP and EP concerning the encoding of negation seems to be the use of *ainda* as a negative marker, which is a phenomenon attested in Angola since the 19th century.

An analysis of the data carried out in section 5.6 identified three morphosyntactic phenomena that are attested in the corpus but for which there are insufficient data to allow any definite conclusions concerning their origin and degree of dissemination among the population in Dundo: lexical marking of TMA categories in DVP, the use of the verb *ter*

'to have' with existential meaning and the omission of the preposition *a* in periphrastic constructions.

Most of the aforementioned instances of contact-induced restructuring in DVP have been attested in other varieties of Portuguese, namely in those spoken in the main urban centers on the coast, which indicates that they are linguistic features of AVP as a whole rather than specific features of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, even if their frequency in each variety may differ as a result of different sociolinguistic histories of the region where they are spoken.

Concerning the reasons that account for the kinds of morphosyntactic restructuring described above, a comparison of the DVP data with relevant linguistic data on EP and Cokwe shows that while DVP retains much EP verbal morphosyntax it also has a considerable number of morphosyntactic tendencies that cannot be fully accounted for by the structure of EP, but rather reflect a high degree of contact-induced restructuring of EP verbal morphosyntax.

The morphosyntactic tendencies in DVP's verb phrase that can be accounted for by the linguistic structure of EP, or cross-linguistic universals, are the replacement of the subjunctive mood by the indicative and the preference for periphrastic verb forms to encode future reference and progressive aspect. In fact, it is a cross-linguistic tendency for the subjunctive to be a highly marked mood category which tends to be replaced by the indicative. This is so in both EP and Cokwe. It is also a cross-linguistic tendency shared by both EP and Cokwe for future reference and progressive aspect to be encoded periphrastically. This accounts for DVP's tendency to use the indicative mood instead of the subjunctive and to use periphrasis instead of inflectional to encode both future reference and progressive aspect.

However, even those tendencies which seem to be motivated by the linguistic structure of EP partly owe its emergence in DVP to the structure of the languages of the Bantu branch, especially Cokwe. This is the case of the periphrastic construction used in DVP to encode progressive aspect, i.e. *estar (a) + infinitive* instead of *estar + a + gerund* which was most likely chosen over the inflectional gerund and the periphrasis *estar + gerund* that one finds in other varieties of Portuguese because it is the structure that most resembles that found in Cokwe, i.e. progressive marker *na* followed by the infinitive of the main verb. The use of *estar (a) + infinitive* as the preferred strategy to encode progressive aspect in DVP is probably one of the best pieces of evidence of the variety's recent formation.

In fact, an analysis of the linguistic data above suggests that interference from the substrate language(s) and the sociolinguistic setting in which this interference occurred are the factors that best account for the emergence of most of the morphosyntactic tendencies found in DVP's verb phrase.

It is true that southern speakers of EP are known for adding *-i* to the infinitive. However, suggesting this as a possible source for the same phenomena in DVP implies showing that southern varieties of Portuguese constituted the source variety for Angolan learners of Portuguese throughout the country. In southern parts of Angola, namely in Benguela and Lobito, a considerable number of settlers did indeed come from the Algarve, and Barros (2002: 38) notes that in those regions L2 speakers of Portuguese do add *-i* to the infinitive form of the verb. However, she also notes that in Luanda, for example, the general tendency is for both L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese to omit the infinitive marker *-r*, which is a phenomenon unattested in EP. Therefore, any explanation of infinitive marking strategies in DVP must be able to account for these two competing marking strategies (i.e. apocope of *-r* and addition of paragogic *-i*) in Angola. The explanation that seems to do this best is speakers' attempts to fit the phonology of Portuguese words to that of their L1s by making syllables open, a purpose served by both of these infinitive marking strategies. The importance of substrate interference to account for this phenomenon in DVP is made clear by the fact that in areas where a growing number of Angolans speak Portuguese rather than a Bantu language as their primary language, very few instances of [r] deletion or addition of [i] are found.

Similarly, the tendency to replace subjunctive tenses by their indicative counterparts seems to be motivated by the fact that the former is a highly marked category in Cokwe, often being replaced by the indicative. The use of a single imperative verb form for all contexts also seems to be motivated by the fact that a single imperative verb form is used in Cokwe for all person values and in both affirmative and negative sentences (i.e. second-person).

The simplification of P/N inflectional categories and consequent lack of subject-verb agreement in DVP are also good examples of substrate interference. While, those person-number categories that are maintained in DVP are the ones that are more regular in EP (i.e. 1PL and 3SG), the degree of regularity in the person-number paradigms in EP (likely to have favored a better acquisition of the 1PL and 3SG forms in particular), only partially explains the type of morphological restructuring one finds in DVP concerning the variety's P/N inflectional paradigm. In fact, it can account for the choice of the 3SG form as the default person-number form (i.e. it is the most common and morphologically simplest

person-number form in EP, in that with the exception of the preterite indicative, it is always marked \emptyset for all tenses and modes and hence it is formally equal to the 1SG forms in all tenses but the present, preterite and future indicative) and the maintenance of the 1PL form (i.e. it is the same for all tenses and modes and it has been so since Archaic Portuguese).

However, the regularity of these person-number forms in the superstrate cannot account for the type of restructuring one finds in DVP concerning 1PL forms. Indeed, the deletion of the final *-s* in the 1PL marker *-mos* seems to be better understood in the light of substrate influence, as the 1PL marker, alongside the 2SG/PL markers, is the only one that ends in a consonant and hence violates the open syllable tendency in the Bantu languages⁶². The neutralization of the opposition between 3SG and 3PL verb forms in DVP also seems to be motivated by interference from the speakers' L1, in the sense that in Cokwe no such opposition exists either.

Therefore, the type and degree of restructuring one finds in the person-number inflectional paradigm in DVP seems to be the product of a convergence of both superstrate and substrate input. To illustrate the reason why it should not be regarded exclusively as a product of the natural internal evolution of EP is the fact that the types of restructuring one finds in DVP person-number inflectional paradigm are unknown to EP. For example, 2SG/PL forms do indeed show a high degree of variation in EP (e.g. an *-s* is sometimes added to the 2SG form of the preterite indicative by analogy with the 2SG forms in all other tenses). There is also variation in the pronunciation of 1PL forms in the present subjunctive in EP, which are sometimes pronounced [*pɔ.sɐ.muʃ*] instead of [*pu'sɐ.muʃ*]. However, in neither case are the person-number markers ever fully or even partially deleted in EP as they are in DVP.

In fact, the scenario one finds in DVP seems to be one in which the verb is only the locus of P/N marking for the 1PL and 3SG, as for all other P/N categories, the lexical subject itself is the only manifestation of the person and number values of the subject. This scenario is the opposite of the one found in EP, where the person and number values of the subject are expressed not only by the lexical subject but also redundantly marked on the verb form at all times. Therefore, the kind of simplification one finds in DVP cannot be fully accounted for by the structure of EP, and equal attention must be paid to both substrate contribution and interlanguage innovations.

⁶² The 3PL is spelled with a consonant at the end (i.e. <-m>), but this merely represents the nasal character of the diphthong [*ãw*] similar in function to that of the tilde in words like *pão* 'bread' or of the <-n> in *canta* 'he/she sings'.

The most obvious reason for this is the fact that the instances of verbal inflectional simplification one finds in EP are exclusively phonetic and have no consequences whatsoever in the agreement between the subject and the verb in that both maintain the same person-number value. Moreover, the cases in which there is indeed a mismatch between the person-number values of the subject and those marked on the verb in EP only involve the third-person and are restricted to a very limited number of semantic and syntactic contexts (e.g. instances of logical agreement, complex subjects, post-verbal subjects, including a phrase introduced by *com* and in instances in which an element is inserted between the subject and the verb). However, not even these instances of optional third person agreement in EP can account for the kind of lack of agreement one finds in DVP because in this variety 3SG verb forms occur with 3PL subjects not only in those contexts where EP allows optional agreement but also in those in which agreement between the subject and the verb is obligatory, namely when the subject is expressed by a personal pronoun.

The argument that the use of 3PL subjects with 3SG verb forms is a simple matter of denasalization does not seem to hold either, in that it can only account for present and past imperfect verb forms in DVP. Therefore, the explanation that seems to better account for the morphological coincidence between 3SG and 3PL verb forms in DVP is the fact that the same morphological coincidence exists in Cokwe, which does not make a morphological distinction between 3SG and 3PL (i.e. *he speaks* and *they speak* are both conveyed in Cokwe by the same verbal form).

In fact, if one compares the data on DVP with the structure of Cokwe, one finds parallels that cannot be ignored in accounting for the kind of simplification one finds in DVP. For example, all verb forms in Cokwe end in a vowel. In fact, the stem and the final vowel are the only internal constituents of the verb in Cokwe (and most Bantu languages) that are obligatory. It is therefore not by accident that in DVP all strategies of phonetic simplification of both person-number and TMA inflectional morphology (i.e. deletion of the 1PL *-s*, deletion of the infinitive *-r* and addition of *-i* to infinitive forms), which are unattested or highly marked in EP, lead to verb forms ending in a vowel. The typical CV shape of the syllable in Bantu is also a factor to take into consideration in accounting for the choice of the 3SG as the default verb form in DVP, in that this form is fully consistent with the CV pattern found in Cokwe.

Building on the analysis above, a possible explanation for the kind of simplification one finds in DVP's person-number morphology is as follows:

- Cokwe, like EP, requires that the verb agrees in person and number with the

subject, but unlike EP, it encodes this agreement to the left of the verb stem by means of prefixes.

- EP not only encodes subject-verb agreement by means of suffixes but also has different suffixes for the same person-number category depending on the tense of the verb. In Cokwe, person-number prefixes are always the same, regardless of the tense, mood or aspect.
- This morphological variation in EP is likely to have made it more difficult for Angolan learners to recognize the EP suffixes as markers for person-number, an exception being made of the 1PL and 3SG markers, which in EP are either the same for all tenses or differ only in the preterite. This explains why in DVP only these two person-number categories were retained as verbal inflectional categories;
- The role of encoding the other person-number categories was left to the lexical expressions of the subject, which accounts for AVP's tendency to express the lexical subject, as opposed to EP, which typically omits it.

The reasons that account for the diversity of sentential negation marking strategies in DVP are more difficult to pinpoint and more and better data are needed to allow any definite conclusion.

Nonetheless, the comparison of the structure of the verb phrase in DVP, EP and Cokwe carried out in this chapter clearly shows that the morphosyntax of the continuum of varieties of vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo evidences clear signs of contact-induced restructuring, even if the degree of such restructuring may vary depending on the speakers' age and level of instruction and the status of Portuguese as either a first or second language. It also shows that the two most noticeable morphosyntactic tendencies in DVP's verb phrase are the extreme simplification of Portuguese TMA and P/N inflectional paradigms and the indigenization of innovative interlanguage features such as the deletion of EP infinitive marker {-r}, the generalization of a single imperative verb form for all sentence types and regardless of the degree of intimacy between speakers, the generalization of 3SG verb forms with all subjects but those referring to the 1SG, the use of negative concord structures which unlike those used in EP are typical of non-strict negative concord languages, the use of true bipartite negation marking strategies, the use of lexical mechanisms to encode TMA categories that in EP are encoded otherwise and the omission of prepositions in contexts in which they are obligatory in EP. Finally, my analysis of the DVP data and its comparison to relevant linguistic data in EP and Cokwe

suggests that as a consequence of this simplification of EP inflectional verbal morphology and the indigenization of interlanguage features in DVP, there is a growing typological gap between this variety and EP in core areas of their grammars.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.0. INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this dissertation has been to provide the first description of the sociolinguistic setting as well as the linguistic structure of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo, the diamond-mining city that is the capital of the northeastern province of Lunda Norte in Angola.

After a brief description of the current sociolinguistic setting in Angola in general and Lunda Norte in particular in chapter 1, chapter 2 surveyed a number of the many different types of sources that are helpful in understanding what we currently know of the linguistic structure and sociolinguistic development of AVP. Chapter 3 offered a brief sociolinguistic history of Angola and Lunda Norte from the 15th century to the present day, as a comprehensive outline of the sociolinguistic setting in which the contact between Portuguese and the Bantu languages developed. Finally, chapters 4 and 5 analyzed the contact-induced tendencies in DVP's noun phrase and verb phrase respectively, in order to evaluate the extent of the retention of EP morphosyntax as opposed to the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features in DVP. The concluding sections of each chapter provide a general – and quite lengthy -- overview of my findings. Here, I shall spell out my understanding of how these social, historical and linguistic data fit together.

6.1. FROM AVP TO DVP: THE PARTIAL RESTRUCTURING OF A VERNACULAR

My analysis shows it was not until the late 19th and early 20th century that the sociolinguistic conditions were met for a full-fledged Angolan variety of Portuguese to form. This new variety first emerged in the cities and only in the second half of the 20th century were the sociolinguistic conditions right for it to spread into the interior.

The sociolinguistic setting in Angola and Lunda Norte during the relevant period of contact with Portuguese and the kind of linguistic features in both AVP and DVP both indicate that they are not the product of decreolization but the result of what Holm (2004) terms *partial restructuring*. They display a considerable influence from substrate

languages, but they also retain enough similarity to the superstrate to indicate that Portuguese in Angola is unlikely to have ever been fully creolized.

6.1.1. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Although early Portuguese grammarians and several travelers make reference to a number of phonetic and lexical specificities of the Portuguese spoken by Africans in Angola and a number of researchers argue for the existence of a Portuguese-based pidgin or creole widely used throughout Angola as a *lingua franca* from the 15th to the 18th century, it is only in the late 19th century that clear evidence of a contact-induced Angolan variety of Portuguese appears in the literature – one with, for example, reduced inflectional paradigms. In fact, the sociolinguistic factors in Angola in general and in Lunda Norte in particular during the entire period of the Portuguese presence there are not consistent with those that lead to the widespread use of a pidgin or creole.

There seems to be no doubt that a Portuguese-based pidgin developed and was used as a *lingua franca* in trade on the coast of Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries, but it is unlikely that it continued to be widely used in Angola. Several points support this hypothesis. Firstly, as the Portuguese continued their exploration of the African coast towards Angola they progressively gained better knowledge of the African languages spoken there; they took captured Africans to Portugal to be trained as interpreters. Interpreters were used in Angola until well into the twentieth century. Since the Portuguese and the interpreters had to have Portuguese in common, and the interpreters had the Bantu languages required to talk to African people and rulers, they had no need to form a new language like a Portuguese-based pidgin. Secondly, the reduced number of Portuguese women in Angola well into the 20th century led to the Portuguese marrying African women. This is likely to have led these Portuguese to acquire at least some proficiency in the language of their wives and of their predominantly African community and their mixed-race children to become bilingual in Portuguese and the African language of their mothers. The existence of such bilingualism dispenses with the need to use a pidgin. Thirdly, there is plenty of evidence in the literature that it was Bantu languages rather than Portuguese that were used as *lingua francas* in Angola; all the authors of the dictionaries and grammars of Bantu languages surveyed in chapter 2 (section 2.1.4), including those published in the 20th century, claim their work is useful in giving Portuguese and foreign missionaries and traders access to those languages.

After an initial period in which a Portuguese-based pidgin was probably used in Angola, the sociolinguistic setting in the colony until well into the late 19th and early 20th century was characterized by the predominant use of Bantu languages by the majority of the population with the use of Portuguese largely confined to the Afro-Portuguese elite in the urban centers on the coast, the Afro-Portuguese slave traders in the interior and the Africans who served as interpreters in the contact between Portuguese envoys and Bantu-speaking African rulers. In fact, as shown by Vansina (2001), even among this population, which was bilingual in Portuguese and the Bantu languages, the latter were typically their primary languages, which suggests the use of Portuguese only in a very reduced set of contexts.

The degree of proficiency in Portuguese among each of these groups is not likely to have been the same because the frequency with which they used the language and the purposes for which they used it were very different. Rather, there seems to have existed a *continuum* of interlanguage varieties of Portuguese that ranged from those closer to the input received from EP native speakers in the urban centers on the coast to varieties further from it spoken in the interior.

The Afro-Portuguese in the cities, especially those on the coast, are likely to have spoken the varieties closest to native speakers' Portuguese. Given Portuguese unwillingness to venture into the interior and their tendency to settle in the cities, the urban Afro-Portuguese there were the only learner group in Angola with enough access to Portuguese to learn it successfully. Moreover, the Afro-Portuguese were the *de facto* administrators of the colony, and consequently the ones who most needed to use the language, both orally and in writing. It should be noted, however, that the input received by the urban Afro-Portuguese elite was not standard Portuguese, but rather a range of regional varieties of EP and, from the mid-17th century onwards, contact-influenced varieties of Brazilian Portuguese. They also continued to use their Bantu L1s in most contexts in their lives. Therefore, despite its similarity to metropolitan Portuguese, it is likely that the Portuguese spoken by the Afro-Portuguese elite included not only dialectal features of EP but also contact-induced traits due to interference from their Bantu L1s. It is also likely that some of these features, especially those at the phonetic and lexical levels, became fossilized and were then transmitted to future generations as norms.

In turn, the Afro-Portuguese slave traders in the interior are likely to have had a lower level of proficiency in Portuguese than those living in the cities, mostly because their job was not to administer the colony but to capture enough slaves to keep the colony going. They spent most of their time in the interior, where the Bantu languages were the

business languages both for negotiating with African rulers and for communicating with the slaves during the long journey towards the coast. In their business some proficiency in Portuguese, both spoken and written, might be necessary to document the treaties and alliances with African leaders, but ultimately it was their command of the Bantu languages that raised the odds of their doing good deals.

Finally, African interpreters and guides most likely had lower levels of proficiency in Portuguese because they only used the language occasionally, and their interlocutors (i.e. the Afro-Portuguese traders and African rulers) spoke the Bantu languages natively or at least fluently.

From the 17th to the 19th centuries, the different varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola by both Europeans and Africans certainly underwent some degree of what Holm (2004: 143) terms primary leveling, i.e. “preserving lexical or structural features that are archaic, regional, or rare in the target language, sometimes extending them to new contexts”. By the end of the 19th century Schuchardt (1888: 67-71) was able to identify a number of contact-induced linguistic tendencies in the Portuguese spoken by Africans in Angola, such as the insertion of vowels after words ending in consonants, the interchange of *l* and *r*, the reduction of inflections (i.e. zero plural markers on nouns, especially after numerals), the replacement of clitic pronouns by the corresponding stressed ones, the use of the feminine form of the possessive adjective regardless of the gender of the possessed, the generalization of third person verb forms, generalized use of the indicative mood instead of the subjunctive, omission of the negative marker before *ainda*, reduced demonstratives paradigm, use of the verb *ter* ‘to have’ with existential meaning and the use of *nada* to strengthen negation. For Schuchardt L1 (i.e. substrate) interference is the main reason for most of these features, which is consistent with the findings in this dissertation concerning the sociolinguistic setting in Angola at the time (cf. chapter 3, section 3.6).

It was only in the first half of the 20th century, as growing numbers of Portuguese settlers arrived in the colony as a consequence of the Portuguese government’s attempts to establish a true settlement colony in Angola, that the sociolinguistic setting in urban areas started to change. The Bantu languages continued to be widely used in the interior, but in the cities the rise in the number of Portuguese settlers increased the number of contexts in which Portuguese was mandatory, changing the power relations between Portuguese and the Bantu languages. So far Portuguese had been the official language of the colony but the Bantu languages were not only the L1s of the majority of the population but also the languages that were most useful in making a living, since they were the

languages used in gathering the colony's greatest wealth from slaves, wax, ivory and rubber. For survival, it mattered more to speak an African language. However, with the arrival of large numbers of white settlers, some of whom settled in the interior, who took over the economy and the administration as a consequence of the clear political goal of turning Angola into a settlement colony, Portuguese became not only the official language but also the language one had to master to be part of the colony's new economy. This led the Afro-Portuguese elite to become fully bilingual and eventually to shift to Portuguese entirely and a growing number of previously monolingual Bantu speakers began acquiring some degree of proficiency in Portuguese.

Africans learning Portuguese in Angola had more access to native EP than those trying to learn it in colonies where creoles had become established, but access to the target language was still limited. There were not enough native speakers of EP to provide the necessary input for learners and the shifting population was pushed away from what input there was by limited access to schooling and ghettoization on the periphery of the cities (i.e. *musseques*). Moreover, throughout the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, this shifting population was constantly enlarged by a growing number of African workers from the interior with different linguistic backgrounds. In the past, the linguistic gap created by such linguistic diversity had been bridged by resorting to whatever Bantu language was most widely spoken in the region where slaves were captured (Kikongo in 15th and 16th century Congo, Kimbundu in 17th and 18th century Luanda and its hinterland, Umbundu in 18th century Benguela and Bié regions and again Kimbundu, Umbundu and, to a minor extent, Lunda and Cokwe in 19th century eastern Angola). The Bantu language could be used to communicate both with monolingual Bantu-speakers in the interior and bilingual Afro-Portuguese traders in the cities. However, for African workers arriving in the cities in the 20th century, their native Bantu language was only of use in communicating with workers speaking the same Bantu language; they needed Portuguese to communicate with monolingual Portuguese-speaking settlers and African workers from different linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, the language shift that occurred in Angolan cities in the first half of the 20th century was what Holm (2004: 143) terms a process of "imperfect language shift by the entire population perpetuating structural features from ancestral languages and interlanguages in the speech of monolingual descendants".

The incorporation of substrate and interlanguage features in the varieties of Portuguese spoken by Africans in the cities was intensified after Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975 with the continuous arrival of large numbers of refugees from the interior as a consequence of the civil war that followed. However, it was also during this

period that what Holm (2004: 143) terms secondary leveling -- “the possible loss of features not found in the target language” -- is likely to have started among the shifting population with more contact with Portuguese. This secondary leveling is likely to have been more intense since the 1990s because more than 20 years had gone by since Portuguese had been made the official language of independent Angola and access to the standard had been made available to a growing number of Angolans through contact with the administration, schooling, the media and the military. Most importantly, Portuguese was no longer associated with the language of the colonizer but was rather an important part of Angola’s national identity.

The fact that, today, the number of native speakers of Portuguese in Angola is higher than it was in the 1950s, at the peak of the Portuguese immigration to Angola during colonial times (Sapage 2010: 36), the fact that fewer Angolans from the still predominantly Bantu-speaking interior migrate to the cities on the coast and that when they do they already possess some degree of proficiency in Portuguese may intensify the process of secondary leveling, although the outcome will ultimately be determined by speakers’ perception of the relative prestige of their partially restructured variety of Portuguese.

The situation in the interior of the country was quite different: the contact of the Bantu-speaking population with the Portuguese language and culture occurred much later than it did in the urban centers on the coast, so that the sociolinguistic conditions for the shift to Portuguese were not met until the last decades of the 20th century. In Lunda Norte it was only in the early 1990s that the region finally came under the effective control of the Angolan Government. This extension of the State apparatus, along with the improvement in communications and the impact of twenty years of using Portuguese as the official language of schooling, the administration and the media of independent Angola forced a significant number of Bantu speakers to have contact with Portuguese and the daily need to use it. This triggered a shift from the local Bantu languages, especially Cokwe, to an emerging Dundo Vernacular Portuguese.

Lunda had for centuries been characterized by multilingualism and bilingualism in the Bantu languages. The Portuguese did not even have direct contact with the region until the end of the 19th century; before that, trade was entirely in the hands of Kimbundu, Umbundu and Cokwe-speaking traders. Unlike in areas around cities and forts on the coast, no settlement policy followed when the Portuguese gained administrative control of Lunda in the early 20th century, and there were no well-established Portuguese-speaking communities in the region during that period. While in the early 20th century the

continuum of interlanguage varieties of Portuguese was already undergoing primary leveling and the sociolinguistic conditions would soon be met for Africans and the Afro-Portuguese in the urban centers on the coast to be forced to shift to Portuguese, in Lunda they could continue using their Bantu L1s.

During most of the 20th century (i.e. 1917 to 1980s), Lunda Norte and Dundo in particular were effectively governed by the rule of DIAMANG. The company invested heavily in creating education, health and recreation facilities for its workers but access to those was mostly restricted to those who were European or were considered *assimilado* (i.e. Europeanized). The relatively few settlers in Dundo, technicians qualified for the diamond trade, brought wives and families from Europe against the Portuguese imperial tradition of exogamy and their enclosed lives had no significant impact on the diffusion of the Portuguese language among the general population. The linguistic impact of the community of native speakers of Portuguese in the region was even less than elsewhere in Angola.

Until the 1960s there is no evidence there of any growth in the number of Bantu speakers with proficiency in Portuguese. That situation changed as DIAMANG's operations created an African élite who needed to be functionally bilingual in Portuguese and their Bantu language, and also as the struggle for Angolan independence was extended to Lunda and the Portuguese military began to group populations into *aldeamentos*. Even so, most workers at DIAMANG were recruited either locally or from areas which had *lingua francas* which had been used for centuries, and they had no need of Portuguese to communicate with one another.

After independence, the Lunda region was controlled by UNITA, which meant isolation from the Portuguese-influenced culture of the MPLA government, an isolation that was long and effective. The vitality of Bantu languages in the region is still markedly higher than in other parts of Angola where the Portuguese presence is older and the MPLA kept control, and that is in part for political reasons: since DIAMANG began operations in 1917, hugely profitable to outsiders but not to local people, Portuguese was identified with exploitation while Bantu languages, especially Cokwe, the mother tongue of most people in Lunda, was linked to the community of the exploited.

The necessary conditions for language shift are, therefore, not present in Lunda Norte until the early 1990s, when the region came under the effective control of the Angolan Government; and the extension of the State apparatus with its twenty-year history of using Portuguese as the official language, for schools and media as well as administration, meant that a growing number of Bantu speakers had both regular contact

with Portuguese and a more pressing need to use it. The political change triggered a shift from the local Bantu languages, especially Cokwe, to an emerging Dundo Vernacular Portuguese; and the shift coincided with rapid urbanization, better access to schooling and a buoyant economy which could afford mass media, so that even without any increase in the number of native speakers, exposure to Portuguese language increased dramatically.

By the time the shift to Portuguese occurred in Dundo, AVP had already put down roots as both the L1 and the L2 of a growing number of Angolans elsewhere; it served as the model for the Bantu-speaking population shifting to Portuguese in Lunda Norte. On the other hand, improved access to schooling and television also allowed a growing number of Cokwe speakers to have contact with standard and non-standard native speaker models of Portuguese, both Brazilian and European; the latter clearly has more prestige as the language of schooling, while the former is associated with *telenovelas* and popular culture. Angolans coming to Dundo from other parts of Angola will often use AVP with local people even if they share a Bantu *lingua franca* just because Portuguese is considered the national language.

And yet this shift is happening in an area where the shifting population still takes much pride in their L1s, especially Cokwe. They continue using them and they teach them to their children, for whom Portuguese is mostly a second language. This powerful sense of language as a marker of identity, an identity seen as valuable, has direct linguistic consequences: it explains the continuation of the key role played by substrate interference in the emergence of the morphosyntactic tendencies analyzed in chapter 4 and 5.

6.1.2. THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The systematic comparison of the grammar of the noun phrase (chapter 4) and verb phrase (chapter 5) of the vernacular Portuguese of Angola in general and Dundo in particular with the corresponding features in EP on the one hand and in Bantu and Cokwe on the other shows that DVP has a number of morphosyntactic tendencies that make it structurally different from EP. These are summarized in Table 33 below, which also includes information about whether these tendencies have been attested in other varieties of AVP and what their relation is to sociolinguistic factors such as the age and level of instruction of the DVP speakers.

TABLE 34
Summary of key morphosyntactic tendencies in AVP and DVP and relevant sociolinguistic factors

	AVP	DVP			
		L1	L2	AGE	EDUCATION
Noun phrase					
1. <i>variable number marking and agreement</i>	+	0	+	n/r	n/r
2. <i>variable gender marking and agreement</i>	+	0	+	older	uneducated
3. <i>neutralization of case contrasts in third-person markers</i>	+	0	+	older	n/r
4. <i>SOV word order of object person markers ≠ EP</i>	+	+	+	n/r	n/r
5. <i>use of a single reflexive/reciprocal person marker for all persons but the 1SG</i>	+	+	+	n/r	n/r
6. <i>post-nominal possessive determiners</i>	0	0	+	n/r	uneducated
Verb phrase					
7. <i>deletion of infinitive marker {-r}</i>	+	+	+	young	educated
8. <i>addition of a paragogic vowel to indicative verb form</i>	+	0	+	old	uneducated
9. <i>replacement of the subjunctive by the indicative</i>	+	+	+	n/r	n/r
10. <i>preference for analytic future verb forms</i>	0	+	+	n/r	n/r
11. <i>preference for progressive verb forms with the infinitive</i>	0	+	+	n/r	n/r
12. <i>single imperative verb form (true imperative)</i>	0	+	+	?	?
13. <i>reduction of P/N inflections and variable subject-verb agreement</i>	+				
a. 1SG		0	+	old	uneducated
b. 2SG/PL		0	+	n/r	n/r
c. 1PL (deletion of final -s)		+	+	young	n/r
d. 3PL		0	+	old	uneducated
14. <i>variable verb-predicate agreement</i>	0	0	+	older	n/r
15. <i>symmetric negation</i>	0	+	+	n/r	n/r
16. <i>bipartite negation</i>	0	0	+	n/r	n/r
17. <i>'ainda' as a negative marker</i>	+	0	+	?	?

LEGEND:

+ = attested presence of feature

0 = feature has not been attested

? = unknown

n/r = not relevant, i.e. attested for both older and young or both educated and uneducated

The morphosyntactic tendencies attested in DVP are consistent with those found in what Holm (2004) terms partially restructured varieties, in that they display considerable influence from substrate languages, but they also retain enough similarity to the superstrate to indicate that it was never fully creolized. Therefore, DVP is closer to partially restructured varieties of Portuguese such as BVP than it is to EP.

In some cases, interference from the substrate manifests itself in the introduction of overtly L1 features into DVP. This is what seems to account for the neutralization of case contrasts in third-person markers, SOV word order of object person markers, use of a

single reflexive/reciprocal person marker for all persons but the 1SG, the postnominal word order of possessive determiners, the use of a single imperative verb form and the lack of a formal distinction between the 3SG and the 3PL in DVP. Therefore, these morphosyntactic tendencies in DVP can accurately be termed “L1 retentions” (Winford 2003: 210). In other cases, substrate interference does not lead to structural features of Cokwe (or related Bantu languages) being replicated in DVP but it does determine the ways in which cases of opaque superstrate input or cross-linguistic universals are dealt with in this variety. The innovative gender and subject-verb agreement patterns in DVP as well as the replacement of the subjunctive by the indicative and the preference for periphrastic future verb forms and the progressive with infinitive are the clearest examples of such covert substrate interference.

My analysis also shows that all the features that have been attested in AVP also occur in L2 DVP varieties, but only a reduced set of them occurs in both AVP and L1 and L2 DVP (i.e. 4, 5, 9, 13), which indicates that these are not specific to the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Dundo but are rather tendencies of the continuum of vernacular varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola in general. In turn, there are several tendencies that have been attested in AVP but that do not occur in L1 DVP (i.e. 1, 2, 3, 8, 13a, 13b and 17). The fact that these are highly marked in EP might suggest that DVP has already undergone secondary leveling. Although it is likely that improved access to schooling and the media made access to the target language easier and that secondary leveling may already be under way in L1 DVP, there is also evidence that it is still incorporating features from both the substrate and L2 DVP, as shown by the fact that it has a number of tendencies that have not been attested in AVP (e.g. 10, 11, 12, 15) but which were noted by Schuchardt (1888) at the time AVP was being formed (i.e. 10 and 11) and which are still present in L2 DVP. Therefore, while complex, the DVP data reflect the complexity of a sociolinguistic background that is much less straightforward than that found in the early 20th century in the cities on the coast, i.e. one in which the Bantu languages are still significant markers of identity.

6.2. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Contact linguists have for decades debated the origin of those contact varieties that, like AVP, show a significant portion of the superstrate language’s morphosyntax as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features. The two hypotheses concerning the origin of AVP’s creole-like features presented in chapter 2, whether they

derive from decreolization or else from natural language drift, from dialect leveling or from substrate interference, form part of this debate. Earlier discussions of AVP have mentioned a selection of general factors, linguistic and sociolinguistic, that are likely to be relevant, and used them to support one or another of the current hypotheses. Valkhoff (1966) argued that the creole-like tendencies of AVP are the product of the decreolization of a Portuguese-based creole that may have been used in Angola from the 15th to the 18th century. But until this work, what has been missing is a systematic account of all those factors which can be identified from the literature and from fieldwork.

Holm (2004) demonstrated that the presence of creole-like tendencies in a contact-influenced variety does not necessarily presuppose it having undergone decreolization but could also reflect the combined action of a specific set of linguistic and sociolinguistic processes during the first century of formation of the new variety. Among speakers of the language to which a linguistically heterogeneous group is shifting, the ratio of native to non-native speakers is more evenly balanced than in areas where full creoles develop, although access to the target language is still limited. He demonstrates this for a number of varieties, from Afrikaans to Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese.

This study of AVP supports the theoretical model that Holm proposed, and identifies in DVP and AVP many of the social and linguistic factors that he notes in, for instance, BVP, e.g. “the demographic balance, during the first century of a new language’s development, of native speakers versus non-native speakers of the European source language” (Holm 2004: 135) and the heterogeneous character of the shifting population (*ibid.* 142). In the case of DVP, the processes can be observed in their earlier stages, and my study suggests that in the late 20th-century the processes of partial restructuring were under way. The increased access to target language input has not necessarily required the existence of increased numbers of actual native speakers of the superstrate, in that this could easily be achieved, and in Lunda Norte it has been, by increased access to schooling and the media at a time of rapid urbanization and economic growth. My study of DVP also suggests that factors such as speakers’ attitudes towards the languages in contact can often override factors such as the heterogeneous character of the shifting population. The fact that the partial restructuring of AVP in Dundo started when colonial rule was over seems to explain the need to add these important specific factors in addition to the ones that Holm identified. Despite these differences the present study shows that Holm’s model of partial restructuring is an important tool for understanding varieties he did not study, but whose origins have proved controversial among contact linguists.

Another theoretical implication of the present study is that it contributes new evidence to support the claim that the main difference between AVP and BVP is that the “overridingly important process in partial restructuring”, language shift (Holm 2004: 142), started so much later in Angola than it did in Brazil—in the early 20th century in most coastal cities and the late 20th century in most of the interior, as in Lunda Norte. It also shows that this difference has had linguistic consequences. For example BVP and AVP both use periphrastic verbal constructions to encode progressive aspect, but the former uses the *estar a + inflectional gerund* (e.g. *Estou escrevendo a tese* ‘I am writing the dissertation’), which is older in the history of Portuguese than *estar (a) + infinitive*, the preferred strategy in AVP and DVP, which began to appear in EP literary texts only in the 19th century. In providing evidence of these linguistic consequences, the present study of the vernacular Portuguese spoken in Angola supports the hypothesis suggested in Petter (2008) that AVP and BVP seem to form part of a continuum of contact varieties

6.3. FURTHER RESEARCH

To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation is the first attempt at a systematic analysis of the sociolinguistic history and linguistic structure of a variety of AVP spoken in interior Angola. It is therefore bound to be incomplete, as it is not humanly possible to analyze every single aspect, linguistic or sociolinguistic, of a language, if for nothing else because languages keep changing.

Until recently the enterprise of providing comprehensive analyses of the linguistic structure and historical development of the vernacular varieties of Portuguese spoken in Angola was made even more difficult by the fact that there were so very few linguistic data available. This situation has changed following Cabral (2005) and Chavagne’s (2005) publication of their linguistic corpora of AVP and the publication of my own data on DVP at the end of this dissertation. There is also a considerable number of individual examples in the sources surveyed in chapter 2 and in other similar sources which I was unable to survey. The compilation of all these data, organized according to the region and period they refer to, the type of AVP they illustrate (e.g. oral, written, formal, informal, etc.) would be an important contribution to a better understanding of the ways in which Portuguese has been and is still being restructured in Angola.

The collection of more oral data, including relevant sociolinguistic information on the speakers and the context in which they were produced, must also be at the top any list of priorities. In fact, as noted in sections 4.2.5 and 5.6, there are a number of linguistic

tendencies already noted in the literature on partially restructured varieties of Portuguese for which it is not possible to provide satisfactory explanations unless more data are collected. This is the case of the omission of definite articles, the reduction in the number of distance contrasts in demonstrative paradigms, the use of lexical items to mark TMA categories, the existential use of the verb *ter* 'to have' and the omission of the preposition *a* in periphrastic verbal constructions.

Updating (and in some cases correcting) the available linguistic and sociolinguistic data on the most widely spoken Bantu languages in Angola from the perspective of contemporary Bantu linguistics is also needed. This can take the form of Fleisch (2001) or of the description of individual aspects of the structure of these languages, especially those that have been noted to have shaped the linguistic structure of AVP. Areas in need of updated description are the noun class system, possession marking strategies and word order, person marker paradigms, the internal structure of the verb and negation marking strategies.

So far linguists have tended to focus on the impact that the Bantu languages have had on the restructuring of Portuguese in Angola, but it would be very useful to also analyze the impact that Portuguese has had on the restructuring of these African languages. Similarly, it would be interesting to analyze the possible influence of AVP on EP. Both these analyses could cast light on the directionality of contact-induced change and on the linguistic and sociolinguistic processes that constrain it.

It is also necessary to survey more sources that might contain information on the ways in which Portuguese was spoken in Angola during the colonial period of the Portuguese presence there, especially those referring to the 19th and 20th centuries. In the case of Angola, travelogues of German and British explorers offer good prospects of productive outcomes concerning the identification of the actual *lingua francas* used in the country and the degree of contact with and proficiency in Portuguese that people had in the interior. Equally promising is the analysis DIAMANG's reports on the health, education and recreational facilities created by the company in Lunda Norte, in that it could provide important information concerning the number of people that actually benefited from these services and who are more likely to have acquired proficiency in Portuguese.

It is also necessary to continue extending the scope of analysis to those varieties of AVP that have not yet been described in the literature and to include not only the analysis of their linguistic structure but also comprehensive descriptions of the sociolinguistic setting in which they developed. This will not only help cast light on the degree of regional

differentiation of AVP but also help support or dismiss the hypotheses raised so far about the linguistic and sociohistorical factors that account for the variety's linguistic structure.

Finally, it is important that linguists working on partially restructured varieties of Portuguese compare the results of their research with those working on similar varieties of other European languages spoken in Africa and throughout the world. A comparison of this kind is a key tool for broadening our understanding of the social and linguistic factors involved in the creation of these languages.

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PICTURE 1
Women working in the “mandioca” fields around Dundo



PICTURE 2
Clothes shop - Dundo



PICTURE 3
Main road to Catxupinge



PICTURE 4
Road to Dundo's electric central



PICTURE 5:
Dundo (town center)



PICTURE 6
Dundo (urban surrounding)



PICTURE 7
Rural area - road to Dundo's electric central



PICTURE 8
Dundo's public library



PICTURE 9
Dundo's Catholic church



PICTURE 10
Dundo National Museum



PICTURE 11
One of Dundo's primary schools



PICTURE 12
Escola Superior Pedagógica da Lunda Norte – Dundo
(North Lunda School of Higher Education – Dundo, Angola)



PICTURE 13
Dundo street market



PICTURE 14
Children playing soccer in Dundo



PICTURE 15
Banner of Sagrada Esperança supporters - Dundo



PICTURE 16
Interview



APPENDIX II: SPEAKERS' SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

ID	Age	Place of birth	Civil Status	Job	Education	Place of education	L1	L2	Foreign language(s)	Family language	Recordings
<i>Inf1.</i>	?	?	?	police	?	?	?	AVP	?	?	1_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf2.</i>	?	?	?	police	?	?	?	AVP	?	?	1_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf3.</i>	12	Dundo	single	student	Grade 5	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	3_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav 4a_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav 4c_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf4.</i>	15	?	single	student	Grade 6	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	3_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf5.</i>	?	?	single	student	Grade 5	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	3_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf6.</i>	?	?	single	student	Grade 5	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	3_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf7.</i>	?	?	single	student	?	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	4a_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf8.</i>	?	?	single	student	?	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	4a_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav 4c_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf9.</i>	12	?	single	student	Grade 3	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	4b_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf10.</i>	11	Lubango	single	student	Grade 5	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	5_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 8_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf11.</i>	9	Lubango	single	student	Grade 4	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	5_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 7_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 8_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 9_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf12.</i>	5	Lubango	single	student	Grade 1	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	5_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf13.</i>	9	Benguela	single	student	?	?	AVP	?	?	?	9_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf14.</i>	7	Lubango	single	student	?	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	7_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 8_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav 9_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf15.</i>	6	Lubango	single	student	?	Dundo	AVP	?	?	?	9_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf16.</i>	17	Dundo	single	maid	?	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	11_d3_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf17.</i>	?	Dundo	married	maid	?	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	11_d3_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf18.</i>	36	Dundo	?	teacher	1st year at University	Namibe	Cokwe	AVP	?	Cokwe Kimbundu	12_d3_dvp_2004_aud.wav 13_d4_dvp_2004_aud.wav

APPENDIX II: SPEAKERS' SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

ID	Age	Place of birth	Civil Status	Job	Education	Place of education	L1	L2	Foreign language(s)	Family language	Recordings
<i>Inf19.</i>	?	Dundo	single	student	?	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	14_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf20.</i>	?	Dundo	single	student	Grade 3	Chitato	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	15a_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav 15b_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf21.</i>	17	Dundo	single	student	Grade 7	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	16_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf22.</i>	12	?	single	student	Grade 7	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	17_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf23.</i>	11	?	single	student	Grade 2	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	17_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf24.</i>	15	Cambulo	single	student	Grade 7	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP Fiote	?	Fiote	18_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf25.</i>	35	Dundo	single	teacher	1st year at University	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	20_d5_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf26.</i>	35	Dundo	single	driver	?	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	21_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf27.</i>	55	Dundo	?	cleaner	?		Cokwe	AVP	?	?	23_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav 24_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav 25_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf28.</i>	37	Dundo	?	cleaner	Grade 7	Dundo	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	23_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav 24_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf29.</i>	47	Caluango	married	buttlar	Grade 3	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	26_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav 27_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf30.</i>	?	?	?	?	?	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	26_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav
<i>Inf31.</i>	?	?	?	?	?	?	Cokwe	AVP	?	?	27_d6_dvp_2004_aud.wav

ID_nº: 0001	
Title	The two policemen
Aud_file_ID	1_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:14:00
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Front garden of the collectors' home in Dundo
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira)
Speakers	INF1 and INF2: both policemen; day and place of birth, languages spoken and instruction level unknown. <i>Chorus</i> (INF1 and INF2)
Summary	Speakers explain the origin of the music one can hear in the background and talk about their work as policemen.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno at SOAS on 2006-10-26 using ELAN 2.6.3.
Trans_info	single section, 1 topics, 38 turns, 2 speakers and 2 collectors, 357 words

- DOC1: 1 São visitas?
Chorus: 2 Vieram de Luanda, sim.
DOC1: 3 Ai vêm de Luanda! [*mic*].
4 Mas é alguma festa agora nesta altura?
DOC: 5 Calma...
Chorus: 6 É a festa da igreja.
7 Da igreja deles.
DOC: 8 Pronto, já está! [*breath*]
9 Então... vamos às apresentações...
INF1: 10 OK.
DOC: 11 O nome?
INF1: 12 Chamo-me ^INF1.
DOC: 13 ^M?
INF1: 14 Sim.
DOC: 15 E já (es)tá aqui a trabalhar há muito tempo?
INF1: 16 Sim...eu estou aqui caminho há **cinco ano**.

- DOC: 17 Cinco anos? Já?!
- INF2: 18 Sim.
- DOC: 19 Humm... [mic]
20 E aqui deste lado...?
- INF2: 21 Eu **me** chamo ^AMA.
- DOC: 22 E já está aqui há muito tempo a trabalhar?
- INF2: 23 Sim, sim.
24 Eu estou aqui há muito tempo.
25 Estou aqui tam(b)ém há **quatro ano**.
- DOC: 26 Ai é?!
- INF2: 27 Sim, sim.
- DOC: 28 Então já há imenso tempo que...
- DOC1: 29 ^MA?
- INF1: 30 Sim, sim.
- DOC1: 31 ^MA.
- INF2: 32 ^MA.
- DOC: 33 ^MA?
- INF1: 34 Sim.
- INF1: 35 ^M... ^AMA.
- DOC: 36 Hum.. então agora... (es)pera aí... agora p'ra nós nos localizarmos... o...
podia repetir só o nome?
- INF1: 37 P'(r)a repeti(r) o nome?
- DOC: 38 Sim.
- INF1: 39 Chamo-me ^HJM.
- DOC: 40 O ^H é que é o mais velho, não é?
- INF2: 41 Sim.
- DOC: 42 E depois... o ^M...
- INF2: 43 ^AMA.
- DOC: 44 OK... mais novo...ok...

ID_nº: 0002	
Title	Acrobatics
Aud_file_ID	2_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:4:34:00
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Agostinho Neto Square in Dundo, a diamond mining city in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte, Angola
Genre	Audio backup of video files 1_dvp_2004_vid.mpg and 2_dvp_2004_vid.mpg
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira)
Speakers	Unidentified children (day and place of birth, languages spoken and education level also unknown)
Summary	Speakers had asked DOC1 to make a video of them jumping. DOC1 makes the video and then shows them to the children.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno at SOAS on 2006-10-26 using ELAN 2.6.3.
Trans_info	3 sections, 3 topics, 59 turns, 2 speakers and 2 collectors, 574 words

Section 1 – Acrobatics

- DOC1 1 Têm que se misturar todos.
- DOC 2 Não, não é isso! Eles querem é fazer aquilo ... as cambalhotas!
- DOC1 3 Ahhh!!
- DOC 4 Não é ... as cambalhotas? [*car noise*]
- 5 Então vá! [*car noise - - mic*]
- DOC1 6 Eu preferia filmar, pá!
- US1 7 Encosta um pouco aqui, (es)tá bene?
- 8 Depois começa a ir até aí.
- [noise of boy jumping]*
- DOC 9 # 1 E vocês sabem canções também? #
- US1 10 # 2 Ya. #
- US2 11 Sim.

- US1 12 Diga?
 DOC 13 Canções?
 US1 14 Sim.
 DOC1 15 Vaiiii, podem.
 DOC 16 Então, podem cantar entretanto, enquanto eles fazem! [*car noise*]

[*boys jumps*]

- DOC1 17 (Es)pera, (es)pera! [*car noise*]

[*boys approach DOC1 to watch the video*]

- US2 18 <Num mexa!
 19 Num pega pessoa ali-->
 US1 20 <Ehh!!
 21 Sempre (es)tá fazê!
 22 Controle!
 23 Sempre (es)tá repetí a mesma coisa, controle > [*silence*]
 US2 24 Ahhh!!!! [*laugh*]
 DOC1 25 Deu p'ra filmar. [*car noise*]
 DOC 26 Deu?
 DOC1 27 Deu. (Es)pera aí... vamos fazer (???)
 DOC 28 (Es)tá bem (???)
 DOC1 29 Calma ... só quando eu disser, boa? [*mic*] [*car noise*]
 30 Vaiiii.

[*boy jumps*]

- US1 31 <Será que ele vai conseguir?
 32 Parece (???) [*car noise*]
 33 Não, foi fixe! >
 DOC1 34 # 1 Olha, pára, pára... espera aí!
 35 Tens de começar de novo.
 36 Anda cá.
 37 Tens de começar de novo que isto não deu. #
 US2 38 # 2 <Assim não (???)!> #
 US1 39 # 3 <É isso mesmo!> #
 US2 40 Já (es)tá? [*car noise*]
 DOC1 41 Já. [*car noise*]
 42 Querem tirar uma (fotografia) todos juntos?
 US1 43 # 1 Sim. #

US2 44 # 2 Sim. #

Section 2 – Angola’s national anthem

DOC1 45 Quere-, sabem cantar músicas?

46 Querem cantar uma música?

US1 47 # 1 Sim. #

US2 48 # 2 Sim. #

DOC1 49 # 1 Querem cantar e eu gravo e filmo? #

US2 50 # 2 (‘???) hino nacional-- #

US1 51 -- Sim, sim.

52 Hino nacional d’Angola.

DOC1 53 Hino nacional d’Angola?!

US1 54 # 1 Sim. #

US2 55 # 2 Sim. #

DOC1 56 Querem cantar o hino?

US1 57 # 1 Sim. #

US2 58 # 2 Sim. #

DOC1 59 Conseguem cantar bem o hino?

US2 60 # 1 Sim. #

US1 61 # 2 Conseguimo #

DOC1 62 Então, vá!

US1 63 <Quem não sabe aqui p’ra falar.

64 (???) quem (???) hino nacional?

65 Quem? >

US2 66 Eu sei! (???) um pouco ba(i)xo assim.

DOC1 67 Não... podem cantar aí, (es)tá bem? [*sets up the camera*]

68 Então quando eu disser: um, dois, três, vocês começam.

US2 69 Sim. [*car noise*]

[boys prepare themselves to sing]

DOC1 70 Então vá.

71 Até o quatro, ya?

72 Um, dois, três, quatro.

[boys start singing but then stop]

US1 73 Um... dois... três...

[boys sing Angola's national anthem]

[car noise]

- DOC1** 74 Boa!
DOC 75 Sim senhora!
76 Sabiam todos os hino!

Section 3 – watching the video

[shows video to the boys]

- DOC1** 77 Oh pá... só não ouço...
78 não dá é para ouvir, (es)tá bem?
79 Agora não dá para ouvir.
US1 80 (???) é verdade (???)
US2 81 <Ali sou eu (???)>
DOC 82 Ok.

ID_nº: 0003	
Title	Young soccer players
Aud_file_ID	3_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	0:07:27.04
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Garden by the Largo Agostinho Neto in Dundo, a diamond mining city in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte, Angola
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	INF3 (JST, 5 th grade male student in Dundo, 12 years old, born in Dundo, brought up in Luanda, L1 is AVP) INF4 (DM, 6 th grade male student in Dundo, 15 years old. L1 is Cokwe. Place of birth unknown) INF5 (CAC, 5 th grade male student in Dundo, L1 is Cokwe. Age and place of birth unknown) INF6 (APB, 5 th grade male student in Dundo, L1 is Cokwe. Age and place of birth unknown)
Summary	After having sung Angola's national anthem, after having explored the potential of the digital camera (i.e. photo and video), and after having looked at the recorder with suspicion, the boys ask to be interviewed. They talk about their daily life and their hobbies.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Loulé on 2006-12-20 using ELAN 2.6.3.
Trans_info	7 sections, 7 topics, 198 turns, 7 speakers and 2 collectors, 1288 words

Section 1

- DOC 1 Ok.
2 Vá.
3 (O) primeiro.
4 Primeiro, tens de dizer o teu nome, onde é que nasceste--
- INF3 5 Chamo-me ^JST.

- 6 Naici cá na província da Lunda Nortí.
- 7 Tenho... tenho doze, do-, doze anos de idade,
- 8 estudo a quinta classe no segundo nível.
- DOC 9 Ai é?!
- 10 E gostas de estudar?
- INF3 11 Gosto, sim.
- DOC 12 O que é que tu fazes quando não (es)tás a estudar?
- INF3 13 Humm... (???) gos-, gosto de brincá com, com os meus amigos.
- DOC 14 Brincar ao quê?
- INF3 15 Humm... mais, mais ou menos fazê... banana e passear um pouco.
- DOC 16 Passear onde? Junto ao rio?
- INF3 17 Não entendi.
- DOC 18 [*car noise-*] Junto ao rio?
- INF3 19 Sim.
- DOC 20 O que é que vocês fazem junto ao rio?
- 21 Vão pescar?
- INF3 22 Vamos buscar água--
- DOC 23 Um hum.
- INF3 24 -- vamos buscar água, tomamos lá banho e trazemos água porque cá
(es)tá ...
- 25 tem falta d'água
- 26 ... nós temos água daqui e vamos ao rio buscar água que é, que é p'ra
tomar
- 27 banho lá em casa.
- DOC 28 Hummmm... [*pause*]
- 29 Quem é que quer mais?

Section 2

- INF4 30 Eu.
- DOC 31 É?!
- 32 O nome?
- INF4 33 Me chamo-me ^DM.
- DOC 34 Sim.
- INF4 35 Tenho quinze ano de idade, *naici cá na província da Lunda Norte,
- 36 estudo... sexta classe.
- DOC 37 Sexta classe?
- INF4 38 Sim.

- DOC 39 E gostas de estudar?
- INF4 40 Eu sim, gosto muito de estudar.
- DOC 41 É?
- 42 E o que é que fazes quando não (es)tás a estudar?
- INF4 43 Eu?
- DOC 44 Sim.
- INF4 45 Quando num [*i.e. não*]... não temos aula na escola, gosto revisar muito,
46 lá na escola.
- DOC 47 E mais? [*pause*]
- 48 O que é que fazes mais?
- 49 Vais passear, jogas à bola--
- INF4 50 Sim.
- 51 Jogo muito, jog- ... gosto muito de jogá bola.
- DOC 52 Qual é que é o teu, qual é que é o teu clube?
- 53 Tens algum clube, de futebol?
- INF4 54 Sim.
- DOC 55 Qual? [*conv*]
- INF4 56 Meu clube chama-se... (???)
- DOC 57 É daqui?
- INF4 58 Sim.
- DOC 59 [*conv-*] E quem é assim, qual é o teu jogador favorito? [*-conv*]
- INF4 60 + [*conv*] Diga?
- DOC 61 Qual é o teu jogador favorito? [*conv*] +
- INF4 62 Não estou a oiçar + [*lex = verb analogy*] ?
- DOC 63 Qual é o teu jogador favorito, o que tu gostas mais?
- INF4 64 Gosto do... Paulão.
- DOC 65 Paulão?
- INF4 66 Sim.
- DOC 67 E ele é quê?
- 68 Avançado?
- 69 Defesa?
- INF4 70 Sim sim.
- DOC 71 Marca muitos golos?
- INF4 72 Sim, ele marca muitos golo.
- DOC 73 Ããã... mais alguém?

[*boys decide who is going to talk next – unintelligible*]

Section 3

- DOC 74 Então?!
- US 75 Eu falo espanhol.
- DOC 76 Quem é que fala espanhol?
- US 77 Sim.
- DOC 78 Falas espanhol?
- US 79 Sim, falo.
- DOC 80 Então fala um bocadinho espanhol comigo!
- US2 81 Ah!
- 82 Ele num [*i.e. não*] sabe!
- DOC 83 #1 Hablas español? Ah! #
- US2 84 #2 Ah!
- 85 Quem vai copiar aqui? Ah! #
- DOC 86 Eles não copiam nada.
- 87 Eles são simpáticos.
- US2 88 #1 Quem quer falar aqui? #
- US3 89 #2 Quem quer falar? [*conv*] + #
- US 90 + [*conv*] Tenho medo de português!
- INF3 91 #1 Fala (???)! #
- DOC 92 #2 É?! #

Section 4

- INF5 93 Eu vou falá.
- DOC 94 É?!
- 95 Então diz.
- 96 Diz o teu nome--
- US2 97 Senta!
- 98 Baixa!
- DOC 99 Senta e diz o teu nome, essas coisas todas.
- INF5 100 O meu nome?
- 101 ^CAC.
- DOC 102 É?!
- 103 E o que é qu-, estás a estudar?
- INF5 104 Sim, estou a estudá.
- DOC 105 O quê?
- INF5 106 [*conv*] + (Es)Tou a estudá quinta classe.
- DOC 107 Na quinta classe?

- INF5 108 Sim.
- DOC 109 E o que é que fazes quando não (es)tás a estudar?
- INF5 110 Quando não estou a estudá?
- DOC 111 + [conv] Sim.
- INF5 112 Ajudo os papai em casa.
- DOC 113 Ajudas, ajudas os pais em casa?
- INF5 114 Sim.
- DOC 115 Humm!
- 116 E brincas com os teus colegas tam(b)ém?
- INF5 117 Sim, os meus colega tam(b)ém.
- DOC 118 O que é que, o que é que vocês fazem?
- INF5 119 Nós?
- 120 Ficamos em casa [pause] praticamo desporto.
- DOC 121 Que desporto?
- INF5 122 Internacional... tam(b)ém... do futebol.
- DOC 123 Do futebol?
- INF5 124 Sim.
- DOC 125 Tens algum clube de futebol?
- INF5 126 Sim sim.
- DOC 127 Qual é o que tu gostas?
- INF5 128 Qual é qu'eu gosto?
- DOC 129 Sim.
- INF5 130 Selecção angolana.
- DOC 131 A selecção angolana?
- 132 E qual é o jogador favorito?
- INF5 133 Favorito... é o ^Akwa.
- DOC 134 Quem?
- INF5 135 ^Akwa.
- DOC 136 ^Akwa?
- INF5 137 Sim.
- DOC 138 E conheces o Mantorras?
- INF5 139 Conheço, sim.
- DOC 140 E sabes onde é que ele (es)tá a jogar?
- INF5 141 Sim.
- DOC 142 Onde?
- INF5 143 No Benfica.
- DOC 144 Agora está lesionado.

- 145 Agora ele não (es)tá a jogar.
INF5 146 Sim, mas estava a jogar!
 147 Como (es)tá em *lesionadi [*i.e. lesionado*] ainda (es)tá apanhá medicação.
DOC 148 Pois.
 149 Sabes que eu sou do Benfica, por isso é que eu sei isso tudo.
INF5 150 [*smile*]
DOC 151 Então, por isso é que eu sei essas coisas todas.
 152 (Es)tá bem.
 153 Ninguém mais quer dizer nada?!

Section 5

- US** 154 Agora não.
DOC 155 Não?! [*getting up*] Ah!
US 156 São medroso.
 157 Não gostam de falá.
 158 É assim!
DOC 159 Quem é que não gosta de falar?! [*US responds by pointing to one of the boys*]
 160 Não gostas de falar?! [*boy nods his head*]
 161 Não gostas?!
 162 Porquê?!
 163 Diz-me só o teu nome.
INF3 164 Fala nome!
 [*Several boys speak at the same time, trying to encourage a colleague to talk*]
US 165 Fala.
 166 Fala isso aí. + [*conv*]
US4 167 #1 Deixa ele falar!
 168 Deixa ele falar! #
DOC 169 #2 Então assim eu vou parar. #

Section 6

- INF4** 170 Não.
 171 <Qual é teu nome? >
DOC 172 O nome?
 173 Então vá.
 174 Como é que te chamas?
INF3 175 #1 <O teu nome completo! > #
INF4 176 #2 <Chama ele! > #

- INF6 177 ^APB.
 DOC 178 Sim, e, estudas?
 INF6 179 Sim, eu estudo.
 DOC 180 E qual é a tua cl-, em que classe?
 INF6 181 Quinta classe.
 DOC 182 Na quinta classe?
 INF6 183 #1 Sim. #
 DOC 184 #2 Jogas futebol. #
 INF6 185 Não, eu não pratico futebol.
 DOC 186 Não?
 187 O que é que fazes, quando não estás a estudar?
 INF6 188 Jogo coiso... ténis(s).
 189 Eu sou tenista.
 DOC 190 És tenista?!
 INF6 191 Sim.
 DOC 192 Uh!
 193 Eu nunca consegui jogar bem... assim ténis, não tenho muito jeito p'ráquilo .
 194 O que é que é preciso para jogar bem ténis?
 INF6 195 #1 Sim, podes entrar aí e o... o treinador é que-- #
 INF3 196 #2 --(???) muita força-- #
 INF6 197 <--Força de quê? >
 198 É, é treinar aí... o treinador pode praticar, você tam(b)ém vai saber.
 DOC 199 Ai é?
 INF6 200 Sim.
 DOC 201 E o q- qual é a primeira coisa que o treinador ensina?
 INF6 202 Ensina primeiro é parar com... com a posição--
 DOC 203 --Sim.
 INF6 204 #1 --da bola-- #
 INF4 205 #2 Como se chama a primeiro... a primeira posição? #
 INF6 206 #1 <É assim que (es)tou a falar, ya?! Pára com a posição! [laugh]
 207 Não complica o outro! > #
 INF3 208 #2 (???) posição inicial (???) #
 INF6 209 <É assim que tou falá poi->,
 210 primeiro tenho que parar a posição inicial, depois abriu e bateu.
 DOC 211 Sim.
 INF6 212 Depois você aprende.

- DOC 213 É?
214 E depois é uma questão de treino.
- INF6 215 Sim.
- DOC 216 E voc-, há muita gente a jogar ténis aqui?
- INF6 217 Sim.
- INF4 218 Muitas!
- INF6 219 #1 Muita gente! #
- DOC 220 #2 Muitas pessoas a jogar? #
- INF6 221 #1 Sim. #
- INF4 222 #2 Sim. #
- INF4 223 #1 Até o governador tam(b)ém (???) ténis. #
- INF6 224 #2 Até o governador, sim. #
- DOC 225 E vocês jogam com ele?
- INF4 226 #1 Sim. #
- INF6 227 #2 Não. Nós não jogamo com ele. #
- DOC 228 Ah!
229 Mas ele treina aqui?
- INF6 230 Sim.

Section 7

- DOC 231 Então e quem é que joga futebol?
- INF3 232 Eu.
- DOC 233 É? É?
234 E quem é que vai, e quem é que vai, quem é que vai ao campeonato, agora?
- INF3 235 Vai ao campeonato?
- DOC 236 #1 O interprovincial, aquele que vai jogar na Lunda Sul. #
- INF4 237 #2 Vai falar! Vai falar! #
- INF3 238 Na Lunda Sul...
- DOC 239 Não é?!
240 Quem é que disse que ia haver um campeonato, de futebol?
- INF3 241 (Es)tão treinando aqui.
- DOC 242 (Es)tão a treinar no campo?
- INF3 243 Sim.
- DOC 244 #1 E têm treinador? Já me disseram que têm. #
- INF4 245 #2 Esse quer falar. #
- US 246 Sim, tem.

- 247 Mas de patrocinador nós não temos.
- DOC** 248 #1 Não têm patrocinador?
- 249 Mas isso é complicado arranjar, não é? #
- US** 250 #2 <Não. Não fala. Eu também quero.> # Sim.
- DOC** 251 #1 Quem é que patrocina normalmente, as equipas? #
- US2** 252 #2 Aqui? #
- DOC** 253 Sim.
- US2** 254 #1 Nada.
- 255 Aqui nada, ninguém. #
- INF3** 256 #2 Ninguém patrocina.
- 257 Ninguém patrocina. #
- DOC** 258 Ninguém patrocina?!
- 259 Então t--
- INF3** 260 Sim.
- 261 Nós jogamos assim mesmo.
- 262 Associámos... e comprámos a bola e jogamos.
- DOC** 263 E jogam aqui, mas vocês jogam bem que eu há bocado estava a ver e
vocês
- 264 jogam... jogam bem. [*mic*]
- INF3** 265 Precisamos de... precisamos-, precisamos de... coiso... o--
- US** 266 --equipamento!
- INF3** 267 #1 --equipamento, materiais próprios p'ra... p'ra jogar à... p'ra jogar-- #
- INF4** 268 #2 --chutelas + [*lex = idiosyn*] . #
- INF3** 269 #1 --futebol não temos. #
- DOC** 270 #2 Do equipamento e do quê? #
- INF4** 271 É.
- 272 Equipamento e chutelas + [*lex = idiosyn*] .
- INF3** 273 Equipamento, chutel-
- INF4** 274 E meias também.
- INF3** 275 --chutelas, meias e equipamentos de Angola.
- DOC** 276 Pois é, pois, realmente isso dava jeito porque ali, mas, quer dizer,
277 vocês vão sempre treinando.
- INF3** 278 #1 Sim. #
- INF4** 279 #2 Sim. #
- DOC** 280 #1 Mas como é que vocês fazem isso depois com a escola?
281 Quando, de que horas a que horas é que vocês têm escola?
282 De manhã? #

- INF4** 283 #2 De manhã. #
- INF3** 284 Nós vamos de manhã e saímos às 12, almoçamos, descansamos e...
285 estudamos e íamos brincar.
286 Quando acabar a brincadeira vamos... vamos tomar banho.
287 Quando vi... jantar e dormir.
- DOC** 288 Vocês dormem cedo aqui?
- INF3** 289 Sim, eu durmo cedo.
- DOC** 290 A que horas?
- INF3** 291 Durmo às vinte horas.
- DOC** 292 Vinte?!
293 E depois levantam-se a que horas?
- INF3** 294 [*car noise*] + Humm... levanto-me às 6 horas em ponto.
- DOC** 295 Pois, porque eu já reparei que vocês levantam-se todos aqui muito cedo.
296 Eu é que costumo dormir até mais tarde, mas pronto. Vamos só ouvir esta?
- INF4** 297 #1 Ele vai falar em português. #
- DOC** 298 #2 Então, vá [*mic*] . #

ID_nº 0004a

Title	Portuguese versus Cokwe
Aud_file_ID	4a_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:06:30.38
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Garden by the Largo Agostinho Neto in Dundo, a diamond mining city in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte, Angola
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira)
Speakers	INF7 (HA, male student in Dundo, L1 is Cokwe. Age, place of birth and grade unknown) INF3 (JST, 5 th grade male student in Dundo, 12 years old, born in Dundo, brought up in Luanda, L1 is AVP) US3 (Unidentified Speaker).
Summary	The recording starts with INF7 translating someone else's presentation into Cokwe. Speakers then talk about the use of Portuguese, Cokwe and "português de rua" in the community. INF7 and INF3 talk about the governor's knowledge of Cokwe and geographical origin. Speakers explain the meaning of the word "mundele", i.e. "white person".
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-12-20 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	4 sections, 4 topics, 102 turns, 3 speakers and 2 collectors, 1180 words

- DOC 1 -- como é que vocês chamam os portugueses?
 INF3 2 Os portugueses?
 3 Nós chamamos povos da língua portuguesas.
 DOC 4 É?
 INF3 5 Sim.
 DOC 6 Porque a mim disseram-me,

- 7 eu tenho uma amiga angolana que vive em Portugal,
8 e ela disse que eu quando chegasse cá que me iam chamar mundele
+ [lex = bantu] .
- INF3** 9 Mundele?
- DOC** 10 #1 Mundele é aquilo -- #
- INF7** 11 #2 -- mundele?
12 Mundele significa uma pessoa que... uma pessoa branca.
13 Uma tia ser tchindele + [lang = Cokwe]. #
- INF3** 14 < Não > .
- US** 15 #1 < Sim > . #
- INF7** 16 #2 < Tchindele > #
- INF3** 17 É uma pessoa que, ele era escuro,
18 mas começando a pôr um creme ele fica claro e o cabelo fica castanho,
19 ele próprio tam(b)ém fica coiso.
20 Então aquele chamamos de mundele.
- DOC** 21 Ah!
22 E eu não sou, então?
- INF3** 23 Não.
24 A tia não.
- DOC** 25 Ah!
26 (Es)tá bem.
27 Acho que estou a ficar sem pilh --
- INF3** 28 A tia é assim por exemplo, aqui nesse meio, esse moço aí que, quem
(es)tava
29 a falar aí:
30 "Não, é uma tia portuguesa mulata".
31 Podemos considerar mulata, mundele não.
- DOC** 32 Ai é?
- INF3** 33 A nível nacional aqui na nossa Angola, nós temos que...
34 isso se pratica mais nos bair(r)o como aqui o coiso disse.
35 Se pratica mais nos bair(r)o.
36 Como temos aí (???) o nosso amigo (???), brincando com ele
37 podemo lhe chamar mundele,
38 ma(s) não na cidade,
39 no meio de al-, muita gente assim chamar outro de mundele,
40 ele tam(b)ém fica zangado.
41 Não: "Você me chamar de, de mundele (???)". E vocês quem? Você

- também nasceste".
- 42 Ele começa já se exaltá.
- DOC** 43 #1 Ah! #
- INF3** 44 #2 E por isso não é uma, uma expressão própria de dizer ao outro.
#
- DOC** 45 #1 Ah!
- 46 Pronto.
- 47 Pois, porque a mim foi o que me tinham dito,
- 48 é que era isso que me iam chamar. #
- DOC2** 49 #2 É uma expressão feia. Mundel? #
- DOC** 50 < Não.
51 Mundele > .
52 Não é?
- INF7** 53 Mundele.
54 Sim.
- DOC** 55 < Mas aqui não é mundele > .
56 É tindele?
- INF7** 57 #1 Sim. #
- DOC** 58 #2 Não complica? #
- INF7** 59 #1 Sim. #
- DOC** 60 #2 É fácil? #
- INF7** 61 Sim.
- DOC** 62 Vocês são a primeira... as primeiras pessoas que me dizem que é fácil.
63 Toda a gente diz que é difícil.
- INF7** 64 Nada! Não complica.
- DOC** 65 Não?!
- INF7** 66 Sim.
- US** 67 Não complica p'ra... p'ra quem sabe ler e escreveri.
- INF7** 68 #1 Aquele que não sabe ler e escrever, complica. #
- US** 69 #2 Para aquele que não sabe... complicado. #
- DOC** 70 P'ra quem não sabe, como?

- 71 Os mais velhos?
- US 72 #1 Alguns mais velho também não sabem ler não sabem escrevê. #
- INF7 73 #2 Não sabem lê, não sabem escrevê. #
- DOC 74 E então eles falam mais só quioco [*pause*]
- US 75 #1 Sim.
76 Me(s)mo dentro da sala -- #
- INF7 77 #2 Não.
78 Mas falam português, português da rua.
79 Não sabem falar português. #
- DOC 80 O que é que é o português da rua?
- INF7 81 Esses falam... ele disse kizaga + [*lex = bantu*] (es)tá dizer que é matamba
+ [*lex = bantu*],
82 (es)tá vê?
83 Kizaga misturado com matamba + [*lex = bantu*], aquilo eu não escutei
assim...
84 esse é o português de r-
85 (es)tá vê, como nós podemos falá?
86 Português que fala me(s)mo assim,
87 Alguns falam como eu vou falá aqui--
- US 88 #1 Não expressam bem! #
- INF7 89 #2 "Chamo-me o HA". #
90 Mas eles num [*i.e. não*] dizem + [*lex = verb analogy*] assim:
[i.e. segment in Cokwe].
91 Assim não. Assim não é português de falar assim.
92 Porque pessoa aquele que fala me(s)mo justo falou o nome
93 "Chamo-me o HA".
94 Essa aqui não, na rua.
95 Porque fala português, chega ali fala quioco, fala português cheg- muda
quioco.
96 Não!
97 Ali eu não gosto.
98 Assim então estuda bem.
- DOC 99 #1 Então têm de estudar bem as duas línguas p'ra poderem -- #

- INF7 100 #2 -- Sim. #
- DOC 101 E vocês estudam a, o quioco na escola também?
- INF7 102 Não.
103 Na escola estudamos português.
- DOC 104 #1 Só falam é quando (es)tão a brincar e essas coisas. #
- INF7 105 #2 Sim, sim. #
- DOC 106 Quando vocês querem assim chatear um amigo usam o quê?
107 O português ou o quioco?
- INF7 108 Não!
109 Tem que ser quioco.
- DOC 110 Ai tem que ser!! *[laugh]*
- INF7 111 É.
112 Não, o quioco, no bair(r)o, aqui no centro *[laugh]* eu não posso falar quioco.
- DOC 113 Não?!
- INF7 114 Sim.
- DOC 115 Porquê?
- INF7 116 Algumas pessoa... (es)tamo andá duas pessoa.
117 Eu (es)tou a falá quioco, ele (es)tá a falar português.
118 Assim é mau.
119 Tem que ser ele (es)tá a falá português também vou falá português.
120 Não é ele (es)tá a falá português vou falá quioco. Não.
121 Assim num *[i.e. não]* dá.
- DOC 122 Ou seja... então isso quer dizer que,
123 ah, por exemplo, se (es)tiveres em tua casa falas,
124 se (es)tiveres longe do centro falas, podes falar --
- INF7 125 -- Não.
126 Posso falá português com o quioco.
- DOC 127 #1 Sim. #
- INF7 128 #2 Sim. #
129 Mas aqui no centro eu num posso falá quioco.
- DOC 130 *[conv-]* Porque no centro quase toda a gente fala português? *[-conv]*
- INF7 131 #1 Esses que falam pouco aqui no centro. Sim. #

- US 132 #2 Há muitos que falam (???)#
- INF7 133 #1 A maioria falam quioco -- #
- INF7 134 #2 -- falam quioco aqui no centro. # [silence]
- INF3 135 #1 Tem grupo de miúdos aqui que dormem aqui nesse que -- #
- US 136 #2 – (???) da rua. #
- INF3 137 – que, o governo nem pratica o basquete e o voleibol, eles falam quioco.
- DOC 138 Ai é?
- US 139 Sim.
- INF3 140 E... mas tam(b)ém aqui, aqui ao lado, aqui ao lado da (???) do governador
- 141 não ia ter tanto lixo aqui assim aí atrás do... da escola, não ia ter tanto lixo.
- 142 Porque é que o governador não limpa aquela parte, ali?
- DOC 143 Não sei.

Section 3 – the provincial governor

- INF7 144 Até governador tam(b)ém fala quioco.
- 145 Assim é que se fala, sim.
- DOC 146 Ai é?
- INF7 147 Fala quioco sim.
- 148 Ele tam(b)ém fala quioco.
- DOC 149 E vocês já falaram em quioco com o governador?
- INF7 150 Não, nada.
- 151 Mas nós já ouvimos me(s)mo ele a falar quioco.
- INF3 152 O governador, ele --
- INF7 153 -- nasceu no Moxico.
- INF3 154 -- na(s)ceu no Mox-, é mexicano.
- 155 A bem d(i)zer é mexicano.
- 156 É por isso que --
- DOC 157 -- mexicano?!
- INF3 158 Sim.
- DOC 159 Mexicano é um nome p'ra quê?
- 160 P'rás pessoas que nasceram fora da Lunda Norte?
- INF3 161 Não, sim, Mexicano, aqueles que nasceram [car noise] [pause]

- 162 Aqueles que nasceram na Lunda Sul.
 163 Lá nas... (???) as província da Lunda Sul.
 164 No Moxico.
 165 Bem d(i)zê no Moxico.
 166 Como professor ... o governador nasceu no Moxico e...
 167 bem d(i)zê ele aqui é chamado como Mexicano (???).
 168 Ele é chamado Mexicano.
DOC 169 Porque não é da Lunda [*pause*].
INF3 170 Sim.
 171 Porque não é da Lunda Nortí.
 172 Se ele fosse da Lunda Nortí --

Section 4 – mundele vs. tchindeli

- DOC** 173 -- como é que vocês chamam os portugueses?
INF3 174 Os portugueses?
 175 Nós chamamos povos da língua portuguesas.
DOC 176 É?
INF3 177 Sim.
DOC 178 Porque a mim disseram-me,
 179 eu tenho uma amiga angolana que vive em Portugal,
 180 e ela disse que eu quando chegasse cá que me iam chamar mundele
 + [*lex = bantu*].
INF3 181 Mundele?
DOC 182 #1 Mundele é aquilo -- #
INF7 183 #2 -- mundele?
 184 Mundele significa uma pessoa que... uma pessoa branca.
 185 Uma tia ser tchindele + [*lang = Cokwe*]. #
INF3 186 <Não> .
US 187 #1 <Sim> . #
INF7 188 #2 <Tchindele> #
INF3 189 É uma pessoa que, ele era escuro,
 190 mas começando a pôr um creme ele fica claro e o cabelo fica castanho,
 191 ele próprio tam(b)ém fica coiso.
 192 Então aquele chamamos de mundele.
DOC 193 Ah!
 194 E eu não sou, então?

- INF3** 195 Não.
196 A tia não.
- DOC** 197 Ah!
198 (Es)tá bem.
199 Acho que estou a ficar sem pilh --
- INF3** 200 A tia é assim por exemplo, aqui nesse meio, esse moço aí que, quem
(es)tava
201 a falar aí:
202 "Não, é uma tia portuguesa mulata".
203 Podemos considerar mulata, mundele não.
- DOC** 204 Ai é?
- INF3** 205 A nível nacional aqui na nossa Angola, nós temos que...
206 isso se pratica mais nos bair(r)o como aqui o coiso disse.
207 Se pratica mais nos bair(r)o.
208 Como temos aí (???) o nosso amigo (???), brincando com ele
209 podemo lhe chamar mundele,
210 ma(s) não na cidade,
211 no meio de al-, muita gente assim chamar outro de mundele,
212 ele tam(b)ém fica zangado.
213 Não: "Você me chamar de, de mundele (???). E vocês quem? Você
também nasceste".
214 Ele começa já se exaltá.
- DOC** 215 #1 Ah! #
- INF3** 216 #2 E por isso isso não é uma, uma expressão própria de dizer ao outro.
#
- DOC** 217 #1 Ah!
218 Pronto.
219 Pois, porque a mim foi o que me tinham dito,
220 é que era isso que me iam chamar. #
- DOC2** 221 #2 É uma expressão feia. Mundel? #
- DOC** 222 <Não.
223 Mundele> .
224 Não é?
- INF7** 225 Mundele.
226 Sim.
- DOC** 227 <Mas aqui não é mundele> .
228 É tindele?

ID_nº: 0004b	
Title	Where to shop
Aud_file_ID	4b_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:31.03
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Garden by the Largo Agostinho Neto in Dundo, a diamond mining city in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte, Angola
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	INF3 (JST, 5 th grade male student in Dundo, 12 years old, born in Dundo BUT brought up in Luanda, L1 is AVP) INF8 (MFS, male student in Dundo, L1 is Cokwe. Age, place of birth and grade unknown).
Summary	Speakers warn the collectors against the dangers of shopping at the local market. INF8 introduces himself.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-12-20 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	single section, 0 topics, 20 turns, 2 speakers and 1 collector, 234 words

N.B.: Due to technical problems, most of the interview with INF3 was lost. The following is the part that I was able to rescue.

- INF3 1 (???) assim do, do campo... kizaka + [*lex=bantu*], humm... jimboa
[*lex=bantu*],
2 o repolho, etc, etc.
3 Podem comprar lá.
- DOC 4 Ah! (Es)tá bem.
5 E assim... artesato e isso, também?
- INF3 6 Sim.
7 Tudo lá se encontra.
- DOC 8 É?
- INF8 9 Encontra sim.

- 10 Tudo lá se encontra.
- INF3** 11 Encontra-se carne, tudo.
- 12 Mas tem muita, mas tem muit-, tem muitos bandido lá [*conv*].
- 13 Mas é aconselhável...
- 14 quando vem uma pessoa,
- 15 quando vem uma pessoa alguns roubam e vão vendê lá,
- 16 alguns que vendem lá coisas usadas e tem alguéns...
- 17 alg-, algu-, alguém que roubam na casa alheia e fica assim dias
- 18 e depois vai vender lá.
- DOC** 19 Ah!
- 20 Então temos de ter cuidado, é isso?
- INF3** 21 Sim.
- DOC** 22 Quando vamos lá temos de ter cuidado?
- INF8** 23 #1 Sim.
- 24 Não podem comprar nas... nessas pessoas que zungam
+ [*lex = unknown*]...
- 25 as pessoas assim [*conv*] -- #
- INF3** 26 #2 -- só tem que ser naquelas pessoas -- #
- INF8** 27 #1 (???) #
- INF3** 28 #2 Também é aconselhável aí não comprar fresco.
- 29 É aconselhável comprar me(s)mo na câmara ou então numa cantina
- 30 porque numa cantina é mais conservado do que na praça.
- 31 Na praça você encontra aquilo -- #
- 32 #1 -- (es)tá cheia de moscas -- #
- INF8** 33 #2 Cheia de mosca -- #
- INF3** 34 que... e sempre muitas pessoa vão lá comprá. + [*car noise*]
- 35 Aquilo não é aconselhado.
- INF8** 36 #1 Pode tirar doenças. #
- DOC** 37 #2 Ai é?
- 38 Diz só o teu nome. #
- INF8** 39 Chamo-me ^MFS, estudo sexta classe...
- 40 eh... (es)tamo a lutá que amanhã
- 41 seremos alguém na vida.
- DOC** 42 Mas vocês já são alguém na vida!
- 43 Só que agora, estudar sempre que é bom.
- INF8** 44 Sim.
- DOC** 45 (Es)tá bem?

- 46 Vou desligar agora.
47 Digam adeus.
INF8 48 #1 Adeus. #
INF3 49 #2 Adeus sim.
50 Adeus. #
DOC 51 E nós voltamos depois noutro dia, (es)tá bem?
INF8 52 Sim.
DOC 53 Então vá [*mic*] .

ID_nº: 0004c	
Title	"Minha mano viajou em Lucapa"
Aud_file_ID	4c_d1_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:20.69
Rec_date	2004-07-15
Rec_place	Garden by the Largo Agostinho Neto in Dundo, a diamond mining city in the northeastern province of Lunda Norte, Angola
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	INF9 (M, 3 rd grade male student in Dundo, 12 years old. Place of birth and L1 unknown. The boy was going to his brother's/sister's home when DOC interviews him.
Summary	The speaker introduces himself and talks about his brother/sister.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-12-20 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	Single section, 0 topics, 43 turns, 1 speakers and 1 collector, 178 words

- DOC 1 [mic] E o que é que tu estavas a fazer agora?
- INF9 2 Eu?
- 3 Fui lá em baixo na minha mano.
- 4 No centro. [car noise]
- DOC 5 No centro?
- INF9 6 Sim.
- 7 Na minha mano.
- 8 Que viajou em ^Lucapa.
- DOC 9 Ele foi, foi onde?
- INF9 10 Em ~Lucapa.
- DOC 11 Hummm.
- INF9 12 Foi hoje.
- DOC 13 E o teu irmão é mais velho do que tu?
- INF9 14 Sim.
- 15 (Es)tá como você?
- DOC 16 Ai é?
- INF9 17 Sim.

- DOC 18 Quantos anos é que ele tem?
INF9 19 Ele?
DOC 20 Sim.
INF9 21 Tem... tem vinte, vinte ano.
DOC 22 Vinte?
INF9 23 Sim.
DOC 24 E tu?
INF9 25 Eu? Tenho doze.
DOC 26 Doze?!
INF9 27 Sim.
DOC 28 E como é que tu te chamas?
INF9 29 ^M.

[from this point onwards there is constant car noise in the background]

- DOC 30 Como?
INF9 31 ^M.
DOC 32 Não. Tu, tu.
INF9 33 Sou eu.
DOC 34 És tu... és ^M?
INF9 35 Sim.
DOC 36 Tens doze anos e chamas-te ^M?
INF9 37 Sim.
DOC 38 E andas na escola?
INF9 39 Sim. (Es)tou a estudá trecera classe.
DOC 40 Ai é?
INF9 41 Sim.
DOC 42 E gostas de estudar?
INF9 43 Sim.
DOC 44 Porque é que andam, porque é que andam tantas motas na rua?
INF9 45 Na rua?
DOC 46 Sim.
INF9 47 Andam... (es)tão a ir passeá.
DOC 48 Ah! *[silence]*

ID_nº: 0005	
Title	"Minha mano viajou em Lucapa"
Aud_file_ID	5_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:38.61
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Song
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno). Miguel Oliveira does not intervene in the conservation, but he plays the guitar in the background.
Speakers	INF10 (EJA, 11 years old, 5 th grade student in Dundo) INF11 (IGC, 9 years old, 4 th grade student in Dundo) INF12 (EGC, 5 years old, 1 st grade student in Dundo) INF13 (K, 9 years old. Grade unknown) INF14 (GGC, 7 years old. Grade unknown) All speakers, with the exception of INF13 are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango. Other languages spoken unknown.
Summary	Speakers introduce themselves and then sing "Boi da cara preta", a Brazilian popular song they learned on a Brazilian TV show.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-04-19 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	2 sections, 2 topics, 12 turns, 5 speakers and 1 collector, 171 words

Section 1

- DOC 1 [mic] Então quem é que nós temos aqui?
- INF10 2 Olá, boa tarde.
3 Eu sou a ^EJA, tenho onze anos de idade, estudo a quinta classe.
4 Muito obrigado.
- INF11 5 Olá, boa tarde.
6 Eu chamo-me ^EG de *C, de ^C,
7 tenho nove anos e estudo a quint-, a quarta classe.
- INF12 8 Boa tarde.
9 Eu sou a ^EGC.
10 Estudo a primeira classe.
- DOC 11 E tens quantos anos?

- INF12** 12 Cinco.
DOC 13 Hum. [*children laugh*]
14 E agora o único menino.
INF13 15 [*children laugh*] Olá.
16 Eu, eu tenho... sou o ^K, tenho nove anos, estudo a *trece(i)ra classe.
INF14 17 Olá.
18 O meu nome é ^G, tenho sete anos, estudo a segunda classe.
19 Obrigado.

Section 2

- DOC** 20 Ok.
21 Obrigada eu.
22 Então e agora é que vocês vão cantar aquela música que estavam a
23 cantar há bocado? [*children nod in agreement*]
24 Sim?
25 Então, vá.
26 Um, dois, três.
Chorus 27 Boi, boi, boi, boi da cara preta
28 Leva essa minina que tem medo de careta
29 Boi, boi, boi, boi da cara preta
30 Leva essa minina que tem medo de careta
DOC 31 Upps.
32 Terminou? [*children nod in agreement*]
33 Uma salva de palmas, palminhas p'ra eles. [*applause*]

ID_nº: 0006	
Title	"Ciranda, cirandinha"
Aud_file_ID	6_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:04.01
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Song
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno). Miguel Oliveira does not intervene in the conservation, but he plays the guitar in the background.
Speakers	INF10 (EJA, 11 years old, 5 th grade student in Dundo) INF11 (IGC, 9 years old, 4 th grade student in Dundo) INF12 (EGC, 5 years old, 1 st grade student in Dundo) INF13 (K, 9 years old. Grade unknown) INF14 (GGC, 7 years old. Grade unknown) All speakers, with the exception of INF13 are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango. Other languages spoken unknown.
Summary	Speakers sing the Brazilian popular song "Ciranda, Cirandinha"
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-04-19 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	single section, 0 topics, 6 turns, 5 speakers and 1 collector, 76 words

- DOC** 1 Agora já está! [*laugh*]
2 #1 Oh! Já não há ensaio! #
- DOC1** 3 #2 Então vai lá. #
- Chorus** 4 Ciranda, cirandinha, vamos todos cirandá
5 Vamos dar a meia volta, meia volta vamos dá
6 Ciranda, cirandinha, vamos todos cirandá
7 Vamos dar a meia volta, meia volta vamos dá
- DOC** 8 Terminou?
- DOC1** 9 Outra vez?
10 Outra vez esta, que é gira?
- Chorus** 11 Ciranda, cirandinha, vamos todos cirandá
12 Vamos dar a meia volta, meia volta vamos dá
13 Ciranda, cirandinha, vamos todos cirandá

14 Vamos dar a meia volta, meia volta vamos dá

ID_nº: 0007	
Title	"O sapo não lava o pé"
Aud_file_ID	7_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:01:45.45
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Song
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira)
Speakers	INF14 (GGC) INF11 (IGC) <i>Chorus</i> (INF10, INF11, INF12, INF13 and INF14) All speakers, with the exception of K are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango.
Summary	Speakers sing the Brazilian popular song "O sapo não lava o pé" and then tell DOC where they learned it.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-04-21 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	single section, 0 topics, 18 turns, 6 speakers and 2 collectors, 242 words

- Chorus*
- 1 O sapo num *{i.e. não}* lava o pé
 - 2 Não lava porque não qué
 - 3 Ele mora na lagoa, não lava o pé porque não qué,
 - 4 mas que chulé

 - 5 A sapa ã lava pá
 - 6 ã lava p'a
 - 7 cá na cá Ala mara na lagala, na lava a pá parcá ná cá,
 - 8 más cá chálá

 - 9 É sépe né léve pé
 - 10 Né léve pérque né qué
 - 11 É mére né légé, né léve pé pérque né qué,
 - 12 més que chelé

- 13 I sipi ni livi pi
 14 Ni livi pirqui ni qui
 15 Ili miri nimiligi, ni livi pí pirqui ni qui,
 16 mis qui chili
- 17 Ó sapa na lavó pó
 18 nó lava pórcó nó có
 19 ólo móra na logó, nó lóvó pó pórcó nó có,
 20 mós có chóló
- 21 U supu nu luvu pu
 22 Nu luvu purcu nu cu
 23 Ulu muru nu lugu, nu luvu u pu purcu nu cu,
 24 mus cu chulu
- 25 O sapo num {i.e. não} lava o pé
 26 Nã(o) lava porque não quer
 27 Ele mora na lagoa, num {i.e. não} lava o pé porque não quer,
 28 mas que chulé
- DOC** 29 Ai... onde é que vocês aprenderam essa música?
INF14 30 Na televisão!
DOC 31 #1 Na televisão? #
DOC1 32 #2 Na televisão? #
DOC 33 Mas naquele programa --
Chorus 34 -- ^Xuxa no Mundo da Imaginação.
DOC 35 Como é que se chama?
Chorus 36 ^Xuxa no Mundo da Imaginação.
DOC 37 Ah!
 38 É brasileiro ou é português?
Chorus 39 Brasileiro.
DOC 40 #1 Vocês vêem muitos programas brasileiros? #
Chorus 41 #2 Sim, sim. #
DOC 42 É?
INF11 43 Sim!
 44 E vemos também muito a ^Disney.
DOC 45 Ai é?
 46 Então foi aí que vocês aprenderam essa, essa, essa música.
Chorus 47 Sim.

DOC 48 Humm! (Es)tá bem!

ID_nº: 0008

Title	"D ^a Carochinha" and " O costureiro"
Aud_file_ID	8_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:10:09.07
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Short story
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	INF14 (GGC, 7 years old. Grade unknown) INF11 (IGC, 9 years old, 4 th grade student in Dundo) <i>Chorus</i> (INF10, INF11, INF12, INF13 and INF14) All speakers, with the exception of INF13 are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango.
Summary	INF10 tells the Portuguese children's story "D. Carochinha". INF11 tells the story of the tailor.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-04-23 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	3 sections, 2 topics, 59 turns, 5 speakers and collector, 1625 words

Section 1 – “A Dona Carochinha”

- INF10:**
- 1 Era uma vez a Dona ^Carochinha.
 - 2 Ela saiu do serviço e foi p(ar)a sua casa.
 - 3 Ela v(i)via num prédio e v(i)via no segundo andar.
 - 4 Então, ela se preparou muito bem e ficou lá no, no prédio dela
 - 5 começou a cantá assim:
 - 6 "Quem quer, quem quer casar com a ^Carochinha.
 - 7 Ela é muito bonita e tam(b)ém engraçadinha."
 - 8 Veio o cão, o gato, todos os animais começaram a falá assim:
 - 9 "Quero eu, quero eu, quero eu!"
 - 10 Ela num {i.e. não} queria nenhum.

- 11 Depois veio o ^João Ratão e disse:
12 "Quero eu, quero eu!"
13 Então o ^João Ratão disse:
14 "Ai é! Não queres aceitar? (Es)tá bem!"
15 Ele foi a casa dele, se brabou {i.e. barbeou} , se preparou,
16 pôs um fato bem lindo.
17 Depois ele foi lá e começou a fazer assim:
18 "Quero eu, quero eu".
19 E a Dona ^Carochinha aceitou.
20 E depois chegou,
21 eles começaram já a namorar, depois pediram...
22 o, o ^João Ratão pediu a mão dela em casamento.
23 Depois chegou o dia que eles podiam casá.
24 Então, a... a Dona ^Carochinha foi já na igreja à espera de
João Ratão.
25 ^João Ratão foi na casa dele, se preparou muito bem.
26 No caminho ele a ir p(ar)a igreja sentiu o che(i)ro d'uma
feijoadada.
27 Então, ele começou a procurar a feijoadada.
28 Chegou na cozinha viu uma panela bem grande cheia de
feijoadada.
29 Então, ele foi, começou a cheirá a feijoadada,
30 entrou lá dentro qu'é p(ar)a comê a feijoadada e cozeu.
31 O ^João Ratão virou já ^João Feijão.
32 E a ^Carochinha começou a chorar, porque ficou uma
noiva na...
33 na igreja à espera.
34 E quando... o... toda a gente que convidaram no casamento
falaram:
35 "Não há festa, mas há, mas há comes e bebes."
36 Então, eles foram já qu'é p(ar)a comê (???) nesse dia a
feijoadada,
37 encontraram o ^João Ratão.
38 E o ^João Ratão virou ^João Feijão.

- 39 Daí a história acabou.
- DOC: 40 Ah!
- 41 Coitado do João Ratão!
- 42 Morreu cozido! [*children laugh*]
- 43 E agora faz-me só um favor:
- 44 diz só o teu nome, devagarinho, no final,
- 45 porque depois como isto não tem imagem
- 46 depois eu não, posso não saber quem é que disse.
- 47 Vá.
- 48 E depois assim ouves o teu nome.
- 49 Tens é de dizer devagarinho.
- INF10: 50 Quem disse é a ^EJA.
- DOC: 51 Repete só o primeiro nome.
- 52 ^E?
- 53 Não é?
- Ok. 54 [*mic*] Pronto.
- 55 Quem é que quer contar agora outra história?
- INF10: 56 ^EJA
- DOC: 57 E, não é?
- INF10: 58 Sim.
- DOC: 59 Ok.
- 60 Pronto [*mic*].
- 61 Quem é que quer contar agora outra história.
- INF11: 62 A ^G sabe contar história.
- INF14: 63 <Num {i.e. não} sei.
- 64 Eu num {i.e. não} sei.>
- INF11: 65 Ela ontem (es)tava (???) contá a história da pastilha
- 66 e do bombom.
- INF14: 67 #1 <Eu?> [*laugh*] #
- DOC: 68 #2 Quem é que estava a contar? #
- INF11: 69 A ^G qué contá a história da pastilha e do bombom.
- DOC: 70 ^G, queres contar a história da pastilha e do bombom?
- INF14: 71 [*laugh*]
- DOC: 72 Eu vou p'o {i.e. para ao} pé de ti e tu contas.

- 73 Então vá!
- INF11: 74 Parece qu'inventou!
- DOC: 75 Inventaste?
- INF11: 76 Ela inventou.
- DOC: 77 Inventaste?
- 78 Então vá, conta lá.
- 79 Depois eu conto-te uma história também.
- INF14: 80 *[laugh]*
- DOC: 81 Vá.
- INF11: 82 <Conta, ^G!
- 83 Não fica com vergonha! >
- DOC: 84 Agora é a ^G.
- INF11: 85 ^G.
- DOC: 86 ^G, como é que era a história.
- 87 Lembras-te?
- INF11: 88 Se ela não pudé contá essa pode contá outra, qu'ela sabe.
- DOC: 89 Vá, conta uma... qualquer!
- INF11: 90 <Conta a dos três porquinhos. >
- INF14: 91 Mas a ^I sabe mais histórias.

Section 2 – Who knows more stories?

- INF10: 92 A ^I agora que vai contá (???)
- 93 Ela *{i.e. INF14}* num *{i.e. não}* se lembra.
- INF12: 94 Sabe da Cinderela, sabe da Branca de Neve, sabe da Bela e o Monstro --
- INF10: 95 -- e sabe do Lobo Mau.
- INF12: 96 Sabe da coisa... daquela, da, daquela moça que não tinha roupa,
- 97 que tinha uma bruxa que fez a outra virá pássaro,
- 98 depois o coiso tirou o pico,
- 99 depois virou de novo pessoa?
- INF14: 100 <Conta, conta aquela história que tu (es)tavas a contá ontem à noite. >
- INF13: 101 #1 <Qual história qu'ela contou? > #

INF10: 102 #2 <É muito grande! > #
 DOC: 103 #1 Não faz mal. #
 INF12: 104 #2 <Conta lá, ^G? > #
 INF14: 105 Eu não sei.
 INF11: 106 #1 <Conta uma! Tu sabes! > #
 INF14: 107 #2 <Eu não sei! > #
 INF12: 108 #1 <E conta uma mús(i)ca. > #
 DOC: 109 #2 Então conta tu. #

Section 3 – “O costureiro”

INF11: 110 Ah!
 111 Era do... a história qu'e-, qu'eu lhes contei ontem à noite
 112 é a história do costureiro.
 DOC: 113 Do costureiro?
 114 Humm!
 115 Conta lá!
 116 Eu não conheço essa.
 INF11: 117 Era uma vez um alfaiate.
 118 Ele, ele fazia... muito, muitos vestido, muitas roupas muito
 bonitas
 119 e o que lhe chateava mais eram as moscas que lhe
 chateavam.
 120 Então, uma vez ele pegou numa vara
 121 e matou sete moscas d'uma vez.
 122 Então ele foi na janela começou a gritar:
 123 "Matei sete! Matei sete d'uma veiz {i.e. vez}!
 124 Matei sete! Matei sete d'uma vez."
 125 E as pessoas começaram a pensá qu'ele matou sete dra-,
 126 sete gigantes de uma veiz {i.e. vez}.
 127 Então depois foram contá ao rei.
 128 Então o rei mandou chamá o alfaiate.
 129 [clears her voice] Então, o rei di-, o rei disse:
 130 "Tu como mataste sete drago-, sete gigantes de uma vez
 131 podes também matar ou mandá embora

- 132 o dragão que (es)tá na nossa floresta."
 133 Então ele disse... o, o rei disse:
 134 "Tu, se conseguires, podes ganhá a filha,
 135 a mão da m(i)nha filha em casamento e metade de meu
 reino."
 136 Então disse, ele disse:
 137 "(Es)tá bem, eu vou."
 138 E tam(b)ém tinha outro moço
 139 que tam(b)ém gostava da princesa.
 140 Ele tentou tam(b)ém, ma(s) não conseguiu.
 141 Ele ficava lá trabalhá no reino.
 142 Então ele foi.
 143 O alfaiat-, ele foi. Então o filho, o... o gigante, disse:
 144 "Se tu queres vamos então jogar assim:
 145 vamos pegá nesse tronco e vamos levá até mais longe.
 146 Quem conseguiri levá mais longe ganha,
 147 quem desistí prime(i)ro perde"
 148 *Intão, o... o filho, o gigante, pegou no tronco e levou-o.
 149 *Intão o alfaiate se pendurou ao tronco.
 150 Ele foi, começaram andá,
 151 o pequeno gigante ficou muito cansado.
 152 O alfaiate perguntou:
 153 "Já chega?"
 154 Ele, o... o gigante disse:
 155 "Ainda não, *inda num {i.e. não} ganhei."
 156 *Intão ele, ele ficou tonto e caiu.
 157 *Intão ele disse:
 158 "Ganhaste! Qu'é que tu queres qu'eu faça?"
 159 "Vai embora e nunca mais voltas."
 160 *Intão ele foi.
 161 Foi outra vez p'ra... o reino e disse:
 162 "Consegui."
 163 *Intão ele disse:
 164 "Agora podes dar a mão da m(i)nha filha

- 165 e metade do meu reino."
166 Então o... o outro (es)tava trabalhá no reino disse:
167 "Oh, oh rei! Como ele conseguiu,
168 ele tam(b)ém agora consegue os pais do gigante."
169 *Intão ele disse:
170 "Sim, ele consegue tam(b)ém os pai do gigante."
171 *Intão o alfaiate disse:
172 "(Es)tá bem!
173 Eu vou.
174 A beleza da sua filha é muito grande.
175 Eu consigo tudo por ela."
176 *Intão ele foi.
177 Os pai do gigante foram lá:
178 "Onde está o meu filho? Quem matou o meu filho?"
179 Os, os, o pai e a mãe, como tinham che-,
180 andado de muito longe ficaram cansados.
181 E enquanto ainda não tinha visto o alfaiate
182 encostaram-se a uma árvore que tinha sombra.
183 *Intão eles ficaram lá dormindo.
184 O alfaiate, muito inteligente, subiu na árvore,
185 começou atirá umas frutas duras na cabeça da mulher.
186 Atirou e a, e... ela disse:
187 "Oh Pedro! Pára com isso!"
188 Então ele disse:
189 "Eu não estou fazendo nada!"
190 Depois atirou tam(b)ém p'ô {i.e. para + o} Pedro.
191 *Intão o Pedro disse:
192 "Oh Maria! Não faça isso!"
193 *Intão, atirou na cabeça do Pedro e da Maria com força.
194 Depois, ele disse:
195 "Oh Maria!
196 Oh Pedro! Porque é que fizeste isso?!"
197 Depois começaram a rebolar, rebolar, rebolar (???),
198 foram para muito longe, não aguentaram mais,

- desmaiaram.
- 199 *Intão, ele foi outra vez p'ô *{i.e. para + o}* reino e disse:
 200 "Já consegui."
 201 *Intão o outro tam(b)ém disse outra vez:
 202 "Ele consegue os pai do gigante
 203 tam(b)ém consegue o unicórnio."
 204 *Intão ele foi tam(b)ém e disse:
 205 "Eu tam(b)ém consigo. Tudo pela beleza da sua filha!"
 206 Foi.
 207 Ele chegou lá, levou já material.
 208 Uma corda... levou outras coisas.
 209 *Intão ele chegou lá, viu o unicórnio,
 210 (es)tava atrás de uma árvore.
 211 *Intão ele amarrou a corda, queria ama-, queria espetá no...
 212 nos chifre do unicórnio.
 213 *Intão o -córnio, o unicórnio se apercebeu,
 214 *intão (es)tava começá a lhe dá corrida.
 215 Ele tam(b)ém subiu outra vez numa árvore
 216 e depois o unicórnio viu que ele tinha desaparecido.
 217 Continua a comê.
 218 *Intão ele atirou o coiso ao chifre do unicórnio, puxou
 219 e o chifre do unicórnio saiu.
 220 *Intão ele amarrou ao pescoço uma corda e pegou o
 unicórnio
 221 e põe ele no saco.
 222 O chifre do unicórnio pôs no saco.
 223 Então ele levou para o reino e depois disse:
 224 "(Es)tá aqui o unicórnio. (Es)tá aqui o chifre do unicórnio".
 225 Depois disse:
 226 "(Es)tá bem. Agora a mão da minha filha."
 227 Ele disse, o outro tam(b)ém disse outra veiz *{i.e. vez}*:
 228 "Ele consegue o unicórnio,
 229 tam(b)ém consegue o javali selvagem".
 230 *Intão, o rei disse:

- 231 "(Es)tá bem. *Intão ele tam(b)ém consegue outra vez."
 232 *Intão ele disse:
 233 "P'la beleza da tua filh-, da sua filha consigo tudo."
 234 A filha tam(b)ém ficou já muito vaidosa.
 235 *Intão ele foi.
 236 Ele... lá tinha também, onde o javali (es)tava comê,
 237 tinha... assim um pouco longe,
 238 tinha uma casinha [pause] onde não vivia ninguém
 239 nem (es)tava a se utilizá.
 240 *Intão ele foi... *intão, atirou uma pedra.
 241 O javali viu, (es)tava começá a lhe dá corrida.
 242 Ele entrou para a casa,
 243 depois saiu sem o uni-, o javali se *(a)perceber,
 244 fechou a porta da casa
 245 e ele ficou lá preso.
 246 *Intão ele disse:
 247 "Já consegui, agora a mão da sua filha."
 248 Casaram-se, já viveram felizes.
 249 Depois o, que queria outra vez,
 250 que não queria que ele casasse com a filha, disse, começou
 a canta(r):
 251 "Oh porquê, porquê será que eu perdi, oh porquê?"
 252 Depois eles viveram felizes para sempre.
- DOC:** 253 Ah!
 254 É uma história bonita!
 255 É grande mas é bonita!
 256 Agora diz o teu nome p'ra nós sabermos quem é que cant-,
 257 contou esta história.
- INF11:** 258 ^IGC
DOC: 259 ^I?
INF11: 260 -zia.
DOC: 261 ^I?
INF11: 262 ^GC.
DOC: 263 Hum.

- 264 E tens quantos anos?
265 Tu disseste --
INF11: 266 -- nove.
DOC: 267 Nove?
268 E já contas histórias assim tão bem?!
269 Hum!
INF14: 270 Menino (es)tá demorá.
DOC: 271 O menino (es)tá a demorar, pois (es)tá.
272 Será qu'ele se... foi entregar, ainda é longe, a vossa casa?
Chorus: 273 Não, é aqui ao lado.
DOC: 274 É aqui ao lado?
275 Ah!
276 Ele se calhar encontrou algum amigo, não?
INF11: 277 Tem alguns amigos que passam por aqui assim
278 no campo de ténis
DOC: 279 Então se calhar (es)tá-se a demorar por isso.

ID_nº: 0009	
Title	"When I grow up I wanna be..."
Aud_file_ID	9_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:16:02.52
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Song and informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	INF14 (GGC, 7 years old, grade unknown) INF11 (IGC, 9 years old, 4 th grade student in Dundo) INF12 (EGC, 5 years old, 1 st grade student in Dundo) INF10 (EJA, 11 years old, 5 th grade student in Dundo) INF13 (K, 9 years old, grade unknown) INF15 (SGC, 6 years old, grade unknown) All speakers, with the exception of INF13 are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango.
Summary	Speakers sing a song from a Brazilian talkshow, talk about their TV habits and sing another song from the talkshow. INF13 sings a song from the Brazilian soap opera "Malhação". Speakers then talk about what they want to do when they grow up. INF13 talks about life back in Benguela and the female speakers talk about their daily routine at school. Finally, speakers show their skills as gymnasts.
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-05-09 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	5 sections, 5 topics, 287 turns, 6 speakers and 1 collector, 2385 words

Section 1

- INF12:**
- 1 Sempre qui você chega da rua
 - 2 Lavi as mãos
 - 3 Tã, tarã, tarã
 - 4 E se você (es)tá na mesa, humm, educação
 - 5 Tã, tarã, tatã
 - 6 Nunca fali di boca cheia

- 7 Coma sempri bem divagá
8 Quando vai mastigá feche a boca terminá
9 Eu vo(u) contá: Um, dois, treis
10 Você respondji : "Quatro, cinco, seis"
11 O seu futuro você podji mudá
12 Vo(u) repitchi só p'ra você decorá
13 Eu vo(u) contá: Um, dois, treis
14 Você respondji : "Quatro, cinco, seis"
15 O seu futuro você podji mudá
16 Vo(u) repitchi só p'ra você decorá
17 Acabou.
DOC 18 Acabou?!
19 E onde é que, e essa aprendeste onde?
INF12 20 Na televisão.
DOC 21 O teu nome é --
INF12 22 -- ^EGC
DOC 23 ^G, não é?
INF12 24 Sim.
DOC 25 E a televisão também é brasileira, essa.
INF12 26 (???)
DOC 27 Vocês gostam muito dos brasileiros!
28 Ouvem tudo --
INF15 29 -- dos brasileiros e dos portugueses.
DOC 30 É?
31 Mas vocês cá vêem assim muita televisão portuguesa? *[laugh]*
INF15 32 *[laugh-]* Tam(b)ém tem vezes. *[-laugh]*
DOC 33 É?
34 Às vezes?
INF15 35 (???) cantar mais uma.
DOC 36 Quem é que queria cantar mais?
INF13 37 #1 Eu. #
INF11 38 #2 Ela . Ela quer cantar das frutas *[pointing at INF15]*. #
DOC 39 É o quê?
Chorus 40 #1 Pêra, uva -- #

- INF13** 41 #2 -- eu vô(u) cantá! #
DOC 42 Então, vá.
 43 Só um bocadinho.
INF11 44 #1 Vamos cantar todas juntas. #
DOC 45 #2 [mic-] Então vá. [-mic] #
INF10 46 A ^I vai cantá comigo.
 47 <Vem > .
DOC 48 Tens é de manter isto assim longe, da boca.
 49 Hum?
 50 Repete só o teu nome.
 51 Quem é que vai cantar?
 52 É a ^I e a --
INF15 53 -- ^S.
DOC 54 ^S?
 55 Então, pronto.
 56 Mas tens de manter assim longe e não podes tapar isto, senão não grava.
INF10 57 (Es)tá bem.
DOC 58 Então vá.
Chorus 59 Pêra, uva, maçã [*children are uncertain of the lyrics*]
INF10 60 [*laugh*]
Chorus 61 #1 Pêra, uva, maçã # [*children are uncertain of the lyrics*]
INF14 62 #2 [*laugh*] #
Chorus 63 Pêra, uva, maçã, salada mista
 64 sei o que você qué sem olhá nenhuma pista
 65 Pêra, uva, maçã, salada mista
 66 sei o que você qué sem olhá nenhuma pista
 67 pêra dá as mãos,
 68 uva dá o abraço,
 69 maçã beijo no rosto e salada mista
 70 um beijinho (???)
 71 Be(i)ja, be(i)ja, be(i)ja
 72 Essa brincade(i)ra só não brinca quem não qué
 73 dji olhos fechados não dá p'ra sabê

- 74 quem é (???) tem vergonha dji dize(r) aproveita e dá na sortchi
(???)
75 (???)
76 sem querê, querê, escolhi você
77 (???)
78 sem querê, querê, escolhi vocês.
- DOC** 79 Acabou?
80 E essa vem donde?
81 Onde é que ouviram essa?
- Chorus** 82 Da ^Xuxa.
- DOC** 83 #1 Também é da ^Xuxa?! #
- INF11** 84 #2 A ^Xuxa tam(b)ém tem lá muitas músicas. #
- INF15** 85 #1 Sou eu! #
- DOC** 86 #2 Ai é?! #
87 Ela canta bem?
88 Eu nunca ouvi a ^Xuxa a cantar.
89 Canta bem, ela?
90 Eu nunca a ouvi a cantar.
- INF13** 91 Agora sou eu?
- DOC** 92 É?
93 Ah!
94 Calma qu'agora... agora quem é que vai cantar?
- INF13** 95 É o ^K.
- DOC** 96 É como?
- INF13** 97 ^K.
- DOC** 98 ^K?
99 E vais cantar o quê?
- INF13** 100 Música da ^Malhação [*^Malhação is the title of a sucessful Brazilian soap opera*]
- DOC** 101 A música da ^Malhação?!
- INF13** 102 Sim.
- DOC** 103 Qual?
104 Da novela?
- INF13** 105 Sim.

- DOC 106 Vocês adoram mesmo os brasileiros!
107 Então vá!
- INF13 108 *[clears his voice]*
- DOC 109 Não vamos olhar para o ^K *[INF15 laughs]* para ele não ficar envergonhado.
110 E não nos vamos rir.
111 Vá!
- INF13 112 *[laugh]*
- DOC 113 *[rustling papers]* Olha que (es)tá a gravar!
- INF13 114 *[Malhação song -- non trans]*

Section 2

- DOC 115 Ah! *[INF15 and INF14 laugh]*
116 O que é que vocês gostavam de fazer quando forem grandes?
- INF13 117 #1 Eu queria sê ingenh-- #
- INF15 118 #2 -- eu gostaria de ser astronauta. #
- INF13 119 Eu quero ser *engenheiro do petróleo.
- DOC 120 *[speakers start talking simultaneously]* Calma! Calma!
121 Uma de cada vez, então!
- INF15 122 Astronauta.
- DOC 123 Astronauta?!
- INF15 124 #1 Um hum. #
- DOC 125 #2 Porquê? #
- INF15 126 Porque eu gosto.
- DOC 127 É?!
- 128 O que é que tu achas que os astronautas fazem?
- INF15 129 Eu acho que eles vão lá no espaço *[pause]*
130 ficam na lua *[pause]* estudam sobre... o sol, a lua... a estrelas...
131 p'ra muita coisa!
- INF14 132 E o sol!
- DOC 133 E o sol.
134 E tu gostavas de fazer o quê? *[addressing INF14]*
135 Vamos faze-,
136 vamos combinar uma coisa:

- 137 vocês cada vez que falam dizer o nome primeiro.
 138 Vá.
 139 Repete só o teu nome, estiveste a falar dos astronautas...
INF15 140 ^S.
DOC 141 ^S.
 142 E agora...
INF14 143 Eu quero ser... uma engenheira do pet(r)óleo.
DOC 144 Engenheira de petróleo?!
 145 Porquê?
INF15 146 #1 Todas querem ser engenheiras de pert(r)óleo. #
INF14 147 #2 Porque eu gosto. #
DOC 148 Mas gostas porquê?
INF14 149 Porque elas [*pause*] ganham munto {*i.e. muito*} dinheiro--
INF15 150 -- ganham dinheiro igual de astronauta.
DOC 151 Humm!
 152 Vocês querem ser uma coisa que ganhem dinheiro...
 153 Diz o teu nome agora.
INF14 154 ^GGC [*the other children laugh*]
DOC 155 Não podem...
 156 assim vocês depois não vão conseguir ouvir nada!
 157 Não vão ouvir as pessoas a falar!
 158 E agora?
 159 Outra vez o nome.
INF10 160 ^EJA.
 161 Quero ser advogada.
DOC 162 Porquê?
INF10 163 Porque gosto de defender.
DOC 164 Defender quem?
INF10 165 Todos!
DOC 166 É?
 167 Então e o que é que tu achas qu'os advogados fazem, assim, todos os dias.
 168 O que é que eles fazem?
INF10 169 Trabalham!

- DOC 170 Mas assim... por exemplo, tu o que é que fazes...
 171 por exemplo, levantas-te de manhã e o que é que fazes?
- INF10 172 Vou ao serviço.
- DOC 173 Vais ao serviço?
- INF10 174 Sim.
- DOC 175 Agora ou quando fores advogada?
- INF10 176 Quando for advogada.
- DOC 177 Quando fores advogada.
 178 E depois vais trabalhar onde?
- INF10 179 Ainda num *{i.e. não}* sei.
- DOC 180 Ainda não sabes?
- INF15 181 No tribunal.
- DOC 182 No tribunal.
 183 Pois.
 184 Mas ela ainda não sabe é se vai trab-,
 185 em que tribunal é que vai trabalhar, não é?
- INF10 186 Sim.
- INF15 187 Ela é do Lubango.
- DOC 188 É do Lubango?
- INF15 189 Nós as meninas todas *samos do Lubango.
- DOC 190 [*caugh*] Ai é?
- INF15 191 Há um filho que, que nasceu aqui, que é o ^N--
- INF11 192 -- todos são do Lubango.
- INF15 193 -- da avó ^S. O *{i.e. ???}* nasceu no Lubango.
 194 Eu, a ^I(GC) , a ^G(GC) e a ^E(GC) nascemos no Lubango.
 195 Ela tam(b)ém nasceu no Lubango.

Section 3

- INF13 196 Eu nasci em ^Benguela.
- DOC 197 Nasceste em ^Benguela?
- INF13 198 Sim.
- DOC 199 Eu gostava muito de conhecer ^Benguela!
 200 Tu lembras-te de ^Benguela?
- INF13 201 Conheço muito.

- DOC 202 É?
 203 Descreve-me lá a cidade.
 204 Como é que é? [*silence*]
 205 Eu gostava de ir lá, mas não sei como é que é assim a cidade.
 206 O que é que há lá em ^Benguela?
 207 Conta lá.
 208 [*children try to grab the microphone*] Calma!
 209 Não, porque assim não pode ser senão parte.
 210 Vá.
 211 Então, deixa lá, deixem lá ele dizer como é que é ^Benguela.
 212 Conta lá.
- INF13 213 [*caugh*] É, é muito bonito. [*silence*]
 214 Tem muitos carros.
 215 Tem muitas coisas.
- DOC 216 É?
 217 E as casas?
 218 Como é que são?
- INF13 219 São quase... quase, na cidade quase todas as casas são iguais.
 220 Mas a minha, a casa onde eu vivo não, não é igual.
- DOC 221 Ai não?
- INF13 222 #1 Não. #
- DOC 223 #2 Porquê? #
- INF13 224 Hã?
- DOC 225 Porquê?
- INF13 226 Não.
- DOC 227 É diferente?
 228 E andas à escola, lá?
- INF13 229 Sim, ando.
 230 É uma escola, é uma escola ^Aldalara.
- DOC 231 É uma escola quê?
- INF13 232 ^Aldalara.
- DOC 233 ^Aldalara?
- INF13 234 Sim.
- DOC 235 Eu não sei o que é! [*silence*]

- INF10 236 O que significa ^Aldalara? [*silence*]
 DOC 237 Ele também não sabe o que é que significa ^Aldalara!
 238 É o nome, é o nome da escola?
 INF13 239 Sim.
 DOC 240 E tu gostas de ir à escola?
 INF13 241 Gosto.
 DOC 242 É?
 INF13 243 Gosto.
 DOC 244 O que é que tu fazes normalmente lá em ^Benguela? [*silence*]
 INF15 245 Ele brinca com--
 INF13 246 <Cala-te! >
 INF15 247 Com o V. com a (???)
 INF13 248 <É mentira. >
 INF15 249 Com, com o ^V [*laugh*] .
 INF13 250 Olha, é a prime(i)ra... a prime(i)ra coisa eu ... eu... coiso, acordo,
 251 vou à escola, venho mudo de roupa, mata-bicho, depo(i)s--
 DOC 252 -- primeiro vais à escola e depois é que tomas o mata-bicho?!
 INF13 253 Sim.
 254 Às vezes quando (es)tamos em provas não posso atrasar.
 DOC 255 Ah!
 INF13 256 Mas... antes, antes de ir à escola quando não (es)tamos em prova
 257 posso tomar o mata-bicho.
 DOC 258 Levantas-te a que horas? [*silence*]
 INF13 259 Às sete.
 DOC 260 Às sete?
 INF13 261 #1 Sim. #
 DOC 262 #2 A escola começa, as aulas começam a que horas? #
 INF13 263 Às sete e saem às dez.
 DOC 264 E sais às dez.
 INF13 265 Sim.
 DOC 266 E não tens aulas da parte da tarde?
 INF13 267 Não, num {i.e. não} tenho.
 DOC 268 Ai é só das sete às dez?
 INF13 269 Sim.

- DOC 270 Mas (es)tavas a dizer: vais p(ar)a escola,
 271 quando tens provas não tomas mata-bicho, não é?
 272 Depois voltas, e depois?
- INF13 273 Sim.
 274 Depo(i)s eu vou brincar--
- INF15 275 -- com o ^V, com a ^A.
- INF10 276 Ele brinca um bocadinho e vê televisão.
- INF13 277 Eu vou... vou brincar-- #1 -- depois-- #
- INF15 278 #2 -- com o ^V-- #
- INF13 279 <Não.>
- INF15 280 #1 Com o ^V-- #
- INF13 281 #2 <Não fala! ??? nada.> #
 282 Eu vou brincar.
 283 Depo(i)s aos fim-de-semana, assim às sextas,
 284 vou no (???) que tam(b)ém é um bairro...
 285 um bairro muito bom, tam(b)ém bom.
 286 É lá onde vive o meu primo ^V
 287 e eu vou lá... vou lá tam(b)ém brincar com eles.
- DOC 288 Ah!
 289 E brincam ao quê?
- INF13 290 Brincamos com os nossos carros.
- DOC 291 É?
- INF13 292 [laugh]
- INF15 293 Carros de lata.
- INF13 294 <É *mintira {i.e. mentira}>
- INF15 295 #1 <É verdade!> #
- DOC 296 #2 Então e qual é o problema?
 297 Eu também tinha, eu também tinha carros de lata quando era
 pequena! #
- INF13 298 Nós tínhamos (???) brinquedos...
 299 às vez tinham umas... umas... umas oficina e tinha uns carros
 assim bons.
 300 Nós íamos lá, começávamos a conduzir.
- DOC 301 Ai é?!

- 302 Brincam aos pilotos de rali, é?
 INF13 303 *[laugh]* Sim!

Section 4

- DOC 304 #1 Ah!
 305 E vocês aqui?
 306 O que é que vocês fazem? #
- INF15 307 #2 Eu brinco, eu quando saio da escola brinco com bonecas. #
- DOC 308 Sim.
- INF15 309 Aliás, prime(i)ro às vezes não mata bicho.
 310 Mata-bicho quando venho da escola
 311 e tam(b)ém, tam(b)ém o meu lanche lá na escola tiro da cantina
 sem pagar.
- DOC 312 Ai é?!
- 313 Ah, assim é bom!
- INF11 314 #1 (???) amigos dela (???) que trabalha lá é amigo delas e eles
 dá coisas p'ra nós comermos. #
- INF14 315 #2 Eu também. #
 316 Eu também.
- DOC 317 Tu também o quê?
- INF15 318 *[mic]* Dão-lhe coisas tam(b)ém na cantina comigo.
 319 Às vezes quando dão-me duas coisas eu dou.
 320 Às, às vezes (???) nos dá sem pagar.
- DOC 321 Ai é?
- INF15 322 E quando eu chego da escola, às vezes que não mata bicho,
 323 mata bicho já na escola ou então eu levo dinhe(i)ro e mata
 bicho,
 324 e vou comprar no... no... lá na cantina (???)
- INF14 325 Ou às vezes as minhas colegas me dão.
- DOC 326 Ah!
 327 E tu?
- INF14 328 #1 Eu queria ser-- #
- INF15 329 #2 -- ela estuda num colégio. #

Section 5

- INF14 330 Eu queria sê uma pessoa que faz ginástica.
- DOC 331 #1 Ai é?
- 332 Querias ser ginasta-- #
- INF15 333 #2 -- porque ela sa-, ela faiz {i.e. faz} esparagata. #
- 334 #1 Ela faz espa-, ela pode fazê esparagata-- #
- DOC 335 #2 Deixa ela falar!
- 336 Então!
- 337 Deixa ela falar!
- 338 Vá, diz lá.
- 339 Querias fazer... #
- INF14 340 Gosto de fazer ginástica.
- DOC 341 É?
- INF15 342 Eu tam(b)ém quando sair do serviço vou fazer ginástica.
- DOC 343 Quando saíres do serviço quando?
- 344 Quando fores grande e (es)tiveres a trabalhar?
- INF15 345 Porque eu sei fazê, sei dá a estrelinha, sei fazê ponte.
- 346 <Você que me ensinou > [*pointing at INF11*]
- INF14 347 Eu tam(b)ém sei.
- 348 Aprendi com ela [*pointing at INF11*].
- INF13 349 <É mentira. >
- 350 Ela [*referring to INF15*] não sabe dá estrelinha.
- 351 Ela dá torto.
- INF15 352 #1 <É mentira!
- 353 Queres ver?
- 354 Eu vou dar aqui agora > (???) [*mic*] #
- INF14 355 #2 Eu já sei dar. #
- INF13 356 #1 Aqui não podes-- #
- INF10 357 #2 -- tia!
- 358 E eu tam(b)ém quero ser cantora. #
- INF15 359 #1 Eu quero ser cantora-- #
- DOC 360 #2 -- cantora?!
- 361 Como é que vais ser advogada e cantora?! {i.e. DOC is referring to

- INF13 393 Eu não.
- INF15 394 Mas fomos no dia quatro de Junho no campo. *[conv]*
 395 Tam(b)ém tiveram uma festa no quatro d-, no dia...
 396 no dia, no dia treis *{i.e. três}*, no dia dôs *{i.e. dois}*,
 397 no dia treis *{i.e. três}* e no dia quatro.
- DOC 398 Ai é?
- INF13 399 #1 Eu tre(i)nava-- #
- INF15 400 #2 -- a ^Bruna cantou, a (???) cantou e a ... a coisa... + *[conv]*
 401 e o coiso que teve, que partiu o braço. #
- DOC 402 Ah!
- INF13 403 #1 Eu-- #
- INF15 404 #2 -- e o namorado da Bruna eu tam(b)ém cumprimentei. #
- INF13 405 Eu, eu, eu andava à treiná capoe(i)ra.
- DOC 406 Capoeira?
- INF13 407 Sim.
- DOC 408 #1 E sabes fazer algum... sabes fazer? #
- INF13 409 #2 Sim, sei. #
- DOC 410 Não queres mostrar?
- INF13 411 Aqui não posso.
- DOC 412 Sim, tem de ser na rua, não é?
- INF13 413 Aí fora dá?
- DOC 414 Lá fora dá.
- INF11 415 Sim, podemos ir lá.
- DOC 416 É?
- 417 E vocês mostram?
- INF10 418 E eu tam(b)ém sei fazer espragata.
- DOC 419 É?
- 420 E consegues fazer lá fora?
- INF11 421 #1 Era melhor aqui porque aqui é mais limpo.
 422 Ela não consegue fazer-- #
- INF13 423 #2 -- não, lá é que dá mesmo. #
- INF15 424 Eu posso dar aqui.
 425 Posso dar aqui.
- INF10 426 Aqui não dá por causa dos móveis.

- INF13 427 Aqui va-, aqui pode estragá as coisas!
428 Vamos (???) lá fora, aí (es)tá bom.
- Chorus* 429 [*children talk at the same time – unintelligible*]
- DOC 430 Atão {*i.e. então*} faz a espargata aqui.
- INF13 431 Não dá p'ra jingá.
- DOC 432 Não?!
- 433 Então? [*children talk at the same time -- unintelligible*]
- INF11 434 Olha lá o que é que ela consegue fazer com os braços!
[*pointing at INF14, who can twist her arms back*]
- DOC 435 Ah!
- 436 Como é que tu fazes isso?!
- INF15 437 Ela num tem ossos nos ombros.
- INF10 438 <É mentira!>
- INF15 439 #1 É verdade!
- 440 Ela num {*i.e. não*} tem! #
- INF13 441 #2 Eu sei fazê tam(b)ém espragata. #
- DOC 442 Ah!
- 443 E não te dói?!
- INF10 444 Não.
- INF15 445 Olha só o que é que a ^IGC faiz {*i.e. faz*} .
- DOC 446 O que é que tu fazes?
- INF15 447 Ela mexe, ela mexe assim o pescoço.
448 Faz assim.
- DOC 449 Assim para o lado?!
- 450 Ai que giro!
- INF13 451 [*laugh-*] Eu sei fazê espragata. [*-laugh*]
- DOC 452 Sabes?
- INF14 453 É assim.
- INF10 454 Faz então.
- [*INF14 does some gymnastics*]
- INF11 455 A ^GGC sabia!
- INF10 456 Tem que tocá aqui no chão.
- INF11 457 Eu não sei se consigo muito bem.

- DOC 458 Então, tenta aí!
- [INF14 does some gymnastics]*
- 459 (???) aqui bombons e depois tirou e comeu!
- INF13 460 <Eu?!>
- DOC 461 Ah!
- 462 Mas tu tens jeito para fazer ginástica!
- INF11 463 #1 Abaixa (???) assim ^G(GC).
- 464 É melhor lá fora. #
- INF15 465 #2 Olha, a ^I(GC), a ^I(GC) tinha, a ^I(GC) comprou bombom,
- 466 pôs aqui e depois ti-, depois comeu. #
- INF11 467 <Eu num comi. Tiraram.> *[turns to INF14]*
- 468 ^G, baixa, baixa.
- INF13 469 Prime(i)ra a ^G, depois sou eu.
- INF11 470 Ela vai abaixar parece que a cabeça dela vai entrá aqui.
- INF13 471 Não consegue.
- INF11 472 Consegue.
- INF10 473 Ela vai conseguir sim.
- [INF14 continues with her gymnastics exhibition]*
- INF13 474 Ela abre muito as pernas.
- DOC 475 *[laugh]* Como é que tu consegues fazer isso?!
- INF11 476 Ela gosta de fazer ginástica.
- INF15 477 Eu (???) sei fazê assim.
- INF11 478 Ele não consegue!
- INF14 479 Eu sabia tam(b)ém girar os braços.
- INF11 480 Agora põe a cabeça parece que (???)--
- INF14 481 -- eu sabia girar os braços.
- 482 Sabia tam(b)ém faz--*[children start talking at the same time]*
- INF11 483 Professora, a ^G[CG] também sabe batucar muito bem.
- DOC 484 Ai é?
- INF11 485 O ^N tam(b)ém.
- INF13 486 <Você vai tocá p'ra capoe(i)ra.>
- DOC 487 Como é que é?
- INF13 488 Com uma lata.

- DOC** 489 Como é que é p'ra capoeira?
[children show how to clap hands during a 'capoeira' demonstration]
- INF13** 490 (???) uma lata (???) batucá assim.
[INF13 demonstrates how to play drums using a can]
- DOC** 491 Mas está em casa?
- INF13** 492 Sim, tenho uma lata lá na (???)
- INF11** 493 ^G(GC) batuca ainda um pouco (???)
- DOC** 494 Então vá.
495 Vamos ver como é que se faz a capoeira?
496 Vamos só chamar o professor ^Miguel.

ID_nº: 0010	
Title	"Commenting on photos"
Aud_file_ID	10_d2_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:03:18.67
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Living room at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Spontaneous speech
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira), who plays the guitar in the background and shows the pictures on the picture
Speakers	INF14 (GGC, 7 years old, grade unknown) INF11 (IGC, 9 years old, 4 th grade student in Dundo) INF12 (EGC, 5 years old, 1 st grade student in Dundo) INF10 (EJA, 11 years old, 5 th grade student in Dundo) INF13 (K, 9 years old, grade unknown) INF15 (SGC, 6 years old, grade unknown) All speakers, with the exception of INF13 are female. All speak AVP natively and were brought up in Lubango.
Summary	Speakers comment on their photos
Transcriber	Liliana Inverno in Coimbra on 2006-05-09 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1.
Trans_info	2 sections, 2 topics, 69 turns, 6 speakers and 2 documentators, 479 words

Section 1

- DOC1 1 Olha, olha!
2 Anda agora ver, vá.
- DOC 3 Então, vá.
4 Vamos ver, então? [DOC1 shows the pictures]
5 Ok.
- INF13 6 Hi!
7 Olha p'ra mim!
- INF10 8 Ah!

- 9 Quem é essa aqui?
- INF13 10 #1 ^É(GC) a ^G(GC) . #
- INF15 11 #2 ^É(GC) a ^G(GC) . #
- INF14 12 Eu (es)tou bem... bem clarinha!
- INF13 13 [laugh] (???)
- INF11 14 Olhe a ^E(JÁ) , olhe o ^K.
- INF13 15 #1 Olha eu! (???) p'ra mim. #
- INF15 16 #2 Olha as minhas botas. #
- INF10 17 #1 Olha p'ra mim. #
- INF11 18 #2 E ele (es)tá a parecê bem. #
- INF13 19 #1 Olha p'ra mim. #
- INF12 20 #2 (???) (es)tá a parecer bem. #
- INF10 21 #1 (???) (es)tá a parecê(r) bem agora. #
- INF13 22 #2 Olhe! # Olha p'ra mim! Careca!
- [children talk at the same time – unintelligible]*
- INF11 23 Olha, a ^Liliana (es)tá (a)qui.
- INF13 24 De novo.
- INF10 25 [silence] Olha o ^Miguel eu.
- INF14 26 É ^Miguel, tipo um velho. [laugh] Com cabelo branco.
- Chorus** 27 Olha a ^E.
- INF12 28 Olha eu!
- INF15 29 [laugh] Olha a ^E outra vez {i.e. vez}.
- Chorus** 30 Olha a ^S. Olha a ^S . Olha a ^G.
- INF13 31 (???) barulho.
- INF15 32 Olha a ^G .
- INF13 33 (???) fazê barulho.
- Chorus** 34 Olha a ^I .
- INF13 35 Olha eu, olha eu!
- INF14 36 A ^I . Outra vez {i.e. vez} a ^I .
- INF13 37 [laugh]
- INF15 38 Outra vez a ^E.
- INF13 39 [laugh]
- Chorus** 40 Olhe o ^K!
- INF14 41 Outra vez o ^K.

- Chorus** 42 (???) olha o ^K! (???) fotografia, né {i.e. não é} ?
- INF15** 43 Olha o ^K. [laugh] Bem grande!
- INF11** 44 É tão fofa! Olha a ^E
- INF13** 45 Olha a ^S !
- DOC1** 46 Está gira assim, não (es)tá?
- INF13** 47 Olha [laugh] !
- INF10** 48 (???) olha a ^S ! A ^S (es)teve duas vezes.
- Chorus** 49 Agora sou eu naquela parte que-- [laugh]
- INF13** 50 Olha a ^G! Vem vê! [laugh]
- Chorus** 51 [laugh]
- INF11** 52 Eu não posso ri {i.e. rir}!
- Chorus** [laugh] [children talk at the same time – unintelligible]
- DOC1** 53 Ai!
- 54 Que horror!
- INF11** 55 Olha!
- 56 Tão bonito!
- Chorus** [children talk at the same time – unintelligible]
- DOC** 57 [starts playing the guitar] Pronto, já está.
- Section 2**
- INF11** 58 ^Miguel, porque é que tu não dás a viola a cada um
59 para ver quem toca melhor?
- DOC1** 60 Ah!
- 61 Porque senão eu ganhava! [laugh] [children talk at the same time]
- 62 Então vá.
- INF15** 63 #1 Prime(i)ro o ^K, depois sou eu! #
- DOC1** 64 #2 Então vá. #
- Chorus** [children talk at the same time – unintelligible]
- INF10** 65 (???) podia dá uma música p'ra uma pessoa cantá (???)
- DOC1** 66 [conv-] Então querem que eu cante outra música p'ra vocês?
- Chorus** 67 #1 [some of the children say yes, other say no, but it is impossible to identify the speakers]#
- DOC1** 68 #2 Então eu não canto mais nenhuma. #
- INF15** 69 #1 Canta uma música-- #

- INF11 70 #2 -- olha, ^Liliana, tu tam(b)ém vais tocar! #
DOC 71 Mas eu não sei tocar!
INF11 72 Mas vais tocar!
73 Todos nós num {i.e. não} sabemos, mas vamos tentar!
DOC 74 Ai é?
75 (Es)tá bem!
76 Então quem é que começa?
INF11 77 É o ^K.
INF13 78 Não, são sou eu.
79 Eu sou o último.
DOC1 80 Quem é que quer?
INF15 81 Eu sou prime(i)ra!
INF14 82 Eu sou prime(i)ra.
INF11 83 Eu sou penúltima.
DOC1 84 #1 Eu conto até dez, depois passo p'ra outro, (es)tá bem? #
INF10 85 #2 Eu sou segunda! #
INF13 86 #1 (Es)tá bem. #
INF10 87 #2 Eu sou segunda! #

ID_nº: 0011	
Title	“Funje recipe”
Aud_file_ID	11_d3_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:08:05.67
Rec_date	2004-07-24
Rec_place	Varanda at the Governor's guest house in Dundo.
Genre	Informal semi-spontaneous interview
Collectors	DOC (DOC Inverno) and DOC1 (Miguel Oliveira)
Speakers	INF16 (MM, 17 year old female, born in Dundo, maid, single, L1 is Cokwe. Instruction level unknown) INF17 (RI, female, maid, married, L1 is Cokwe. Place of birth and instruction level unknown)
Summary	
Transcriber	DOC Inverno in Coimbra on 2007-06-25 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1
Trans_info	5 sections, 5 topics, 219 turns, 4 speakers, 1425 words

Section 1 – working for “the big boss”

- DOC 1 [mic] <Pronto! Já está!> [mic] Então, primeiro tem de dizer o nome,
- 2 que é p'ra eu depois saber--
- Inf16 3 -- o meu nome é a ^D.
- DOC 4 ^A?
- Inf16 5 ^D.
- DOC 6 ^D?
- Inf16 7 Mmm, sim.
- DOC 8 E qual é o nome completo?
- Inf16 9 Mmm meu nom-- ^MKM.
- DOC 10 ^K?
- Inf16 11 ^M.
- DOC 12 ^M.
- Inf16 13 Mmm.

- DOC 14 E a, e a... ^D? ^D, não é?
- Inf16 15 Sim.
- DOC 16 A ^D é aqui do Dundo?
- Inf16 17 Mmm sim.
- DOC 18 Nasceu aqui no Dundo?
- Inf16 19 Sim, aqui me(s)mo no Dundo.
- DOC 20 Ummm. E, e já trabalha aqui há muito tempo?
- Inf16 21 Estou há oito ano, há oito *mesi.
- DOC 22 Aqui?!
- Inf16 23 Sim.
- DOC 24 A trabalhar na casa?
- Inf16 25 Sim, do chefão.
- DOC 26 É?
- Inf16 27 Sim.
- DOC 28 E... então... e trabalhar aqui é bom ou... é muito trabalho?
- Inf16 29 Trabalho (???) é muito bom!
- DOC 30 É?
- Inf16 31 Mmm sim.
- DOC 32 E costuma haver sempre muitos hóspedes ou nós fomos, assim,
33 aparecemos nós e normalmente não há ninguém?
- Inf16 34 Não, sempre costuma viri esses vem dji visita,
35 vai e vem esses visita, vai regresso,
36 agora é vocês, estamos connosco aqui sempri tudo bem.
- DOC 37 Umm humm!
- Inf16 38 É assim.
- DOC 39 Então há sempre, há sempre alguém, sempre alguém aqui.
- Inf16 40 É.
- DOC 41 Quantas pessoas é que trabalham, aqui na casa?
- Inf16 42 Aqui? As mulher é seis.
- DOC 43 Umm humm.
- Inf16 44 Agora *homi {i.e. *homem*} é muito mesmo.
- DOC 45 Muito?
- Inf16 46 Umm humm.
- DOC 47 O cozinheiro, é homem ou é mulher?

- Inf16** 48 O cozinheiro é ho-, é mu-, é homem .
- DOC** 49 Ah! Aqui, e em, aqu-, e em Angola costumam ser os homens a
cozinhar
50 ou são as mulheres?
- Inf16** 51 Outro serviço quem, quem cozinha é mu-, é as mulheri.
52 Agora aqui, tem homem que cozinha o chefi.
53 E a mulheri é que cozinha, anda cozinhari ... os tropa.
- DOC** 54 Ummm!
55 E em casa, como é que é?
56 Porque em Portugal normalmente são as mulheres que cozinham.
57 Por exemplo, um casal, não é, marido e mulher,
58 normalmente é a mulher que cozinha.
59 E aqui, em Angola?
- Inf16** 60 E aqui tam(b)ém (es)tá, (es)tá assim.
61 Tem o, o homem e a mulheri que (es)tá sempri cu *{i.e. com}*
cozinha.
62 Quem faz o funji + [*lex = bantu*] é a mulheri.
63 Quem anda prepará as comida assim é homi.
64 A mulhé (???) (es)tá a veri e depois tam(b)ém começa
acompanhá
65 tam(b)ém a fazê.

Section 2 – Funje recipe

- DOC** 66 Como é que se faz o funje? Que eu não sei como é que se faz!
- Inf16** 67 #1 [*laugh*] #
- DOC** 68 #2 Como é que se faz? #
- Inf16** 69 [*laugh*] Funji?
- DOC** 70 Sim.
- Inf16** 71 Em prime(i)ro metê água. E aq--
- DOC** 72 -- a mandioca.
- Inf16** 73 ... sim.
- DOC** 74 Hum.
- Inf16** 75 É folha de mbombó + [*lex = bantu*]
- DOC** 76 Sim.

- Inf16** 77 Mmm... em prime(i)ro méti água.
DOC 78 Sim.
Inf16 79 Mmm, quando a água ferveri, tira um bocado de fuba
+ [lex = bantu] de milho, mete.
80 (???) começou em ferveri depois tira fuba de mi-, de mbombó
mete
81 e ela começa (???) batêri .
DOC 82 Até ficar assim--
Inf16 83 -- bom, sim--
DOC 84 -- assim desfeito, e depois fica uma pasta--
Inf16 85 -- mmm sim--
DOC 86 -- não é? Mas há vários tipos de funje. Há o de bomb-, haa--
Inf16 87 -- de milho.
DOC 88 M-, milho é muito-, o de milho como é que se faz?
Inf16 89 Tam(b)ém é de fazê isso mesmo.
90 Tira-, metem água e depois tira o fuba de milho, mete (???)
batêri.
DOC 91 E, e o milho tem de ser cozido?
Inf16 92 ...o funje ou o milho, o próp(r)io milho?
DOC 93 Sim, o milho.
Inf16 94 O próprio milho tem que metê na coiso... na máquina.
DOC 95 Sim.
Inf16 96 E sai fuba.
DOC 97 Sim. Que é o puré.
Inf16 98 Mmm sim
DOC 99 Sim.
Inf16 100 Aquele fuba é o que faz com ele funje.
DOC 101 #1 Ah! E aquilo leva azeite ou não, ou é só misturar-- #
Inf16 102 #2 -- não. # Não.
DOC 103 #1 É mesmo só misturar. #
Inf16 104 #2 Mmm, mmm . #

Section 3 – Inf16 family

- DOC** 105 Então e antes de trabalhar aqui a, a ^D trabalhava onde?

- Inf16** 106 Não, não (es)tá trabalhá.
DOC 107 Não (es)tava a trabalhar?
Inf16 108 Hã, sim.
DOC 109 Então agora p'lo menos já tem alguma coisa p'ra fazer, não é?
Inf16 110 (???) é.
DOC 111 É casada, a Dena?
Inf16 112 Mmm sim.
DOC 113 É?
Inf16 114 #1 Sim. #
DOC 115 #2 Tem filhos? #
Inf16 116 Tem. Tem quatro filho.
DOC 117 #1 Tem de os trazer cá! #
DOC1 118 #2 Quatro?! #
Inf16 119 Sim.
DOC 120 Quantos anos é que eles têm?
Inf16 121 Eu tenho dezasseti ano d'idade
DOC 122 Todos, ou --
Inf16 123 Não! Eu estou com dezasseti ano d'idade.
DOC 124 Dezassete?!--
Inf16 125 Sim. Em primeiro meu filho tem cinco ano.
DOC 126 Umm humm!
Inf16 127 A seguir outro filho tem treze ano... três.
DOC 128 Umm humm!
Inf16 129 Outro tinha *dous {i.e. dois} ano.
DOC 130 Umm humm!
Inf16 131 Agora aquele aí faleceu.
DOC 132 Ah!
Inf16 133 Outro filha faleceu, sim.
134 Agora tem é outro bebé que só tem no- dez *mesi .
DOC 135 Ah! Então são tod- são todos ainda novinhos!
DOC1 136 E são meninas ou meninos?
Inf16 137 Não, os meninos.
DOC 138 Todos meninos?!
Inf16 139 Sim.

DOC 140 Ah! Isso é que é sorte! *[laugh]* +
 141 Eu queria ter tam(b)ém menino, não queria ter menina.

Section 4 – Inf17 family

Inf17 142 #1 ãh? #
 DOC1 143 #2 Tam(b)ém tem filhos? #
 Inf17 144 Eu?
 DOC1 145 Sim.
 Inf17 146 Tenho uma menina.
 DOC1 147 Uma menina?
 DOC 148 Com quantos anos?
 Inf17 149 Da minha filha?
 DOC 150 #1 Sim. #
 Inf17 151 #2 Ela vai fazer dezasseis ano((s)). #
 DOC 152 Dezasseis, já? Já é grandinha!
 Inf17 153 #1 Já é grande. #
 Inf16 154 #2 Ah! Tam(b)ém já tem tam(b)ém bebé. #
 DOC1 155 #1 (???) #
 DOC 156 #2 Já tem bebé? # Ai é?
 Inf17 157 É.
 DOC 158 #1 Tem de os traz- tem de trazer cá o ... o peq- pequenino! #
 Inf16 159 #2 *[laugh]* #
 DOC 160 #1 P'ra nós o-
 161 Sim! A ^S- a ^S no outro di- as filhas... as filhas da ^S vieram... vieram
 aí.
 162 Podia trazer também o pequenino p'ra nós vermos. #
 Inf17 163 #2 *[caugh]* #
 Inf16 164 *[laugh]*
 DOC 165 Mas mora... a... a... a Dena mora aqui perto, no centro ou mora--
 Inf16 166 Não, eu mora aí (???) só te- só tem que ser amanhã.
 DOC 167 Ai é?
 Inf16 168 Uhm.
 DOC 169 Então amanhã depois, depois trazem o... trazem o pequenito.
 170 E aqui, aqui no Dundo... nós, nós reparámos que ... ahhh ... vem tudo
 de ^Luanda.

- 171 As pessoas aqui não, não cultivam a terra?
- Inf16** 172 Não, anda *cultivari {i.e. cultivar}. Mandioca, milho... outras coisa,
- 173 mas é só, aqui...
- 174 e jinguba.
- DOC** 175 Jinguba, isso é... só mais p'raqui senão isto não consegue apanhar. Tem de--
- Inf16** 176 #1 [laugh] #
- Inf17** 177 #2 [laugh] #
- DOC** 178 Agora ficam as duas! #1 Mas têm de-- #
- DOC1** 179 #2 Pode-se sentar ali. #
- DOC** 180 Pode-se sentar aqui ao pé de mim, assim ap-, isto apanha das duas.
- Inf16** 181 [caugh]
- DOC** 182 Tem é que me dizer o nome que é para eu depois conseguir ...
- 183 distinguir. O nome?
- Inf17** 184 É a ^R.
- DOC** 185 ^R?
- Inf17** 186 ãhã
- DOC** 187 ^R quê? O nome todo, completo.
- Inf17** 188 Ah! ^RI
- DOC** 189 ^RI?
- Inf17** 190 Um hum.
- DOC** 191 Tam(b)ém é aqui do Dundo?
- Inf17** 192 É.
- DOC** 193 (???) disse que tinha já uma filha, não é?
- Inf17** 194 Só tem uma filha.
- DOC** 195 (Es)tá a trabalhar aqui há muito tempo?
- Inf17** 196 Quem, eu?
- DOC** 197 Sim, aqui.
- Inf17** 198 Sim.
- DOC** 199 Há quanto tempo?
- Inf17** 200 Já fez aqui quatro ano.
- DOC** 201 Ai é?

- Inf17** 202 É.
DOC 203 #1 Aqui em casa-- #
Inf17 204 #2 -- aqui em casa do ^KD #
DOC 205 Ah! Então já viu... muitas visitas!
Inf17 206 Sim.
DOC 207 Quem é que costuma ficar aqui?
 208 São os pro- agora somos nós, que somos professores, não é?
Inf17 209 É, é.
DOC 210 E depois é quê?
 211 São os... as visitas que vêm de... de fora e ficam aqui?
Inf17 212 Sim, andam *viri , mas eu faz o trabalho, *vortum mais.
DOC 213 Ah! Já não voltam mais?
Inf17 214 Andam *vortar mais.
DOC 215 Ah! (Es)tá bem.
 216 Mas estava, (es)tava a dizer que aqui as pessoas cultivam... é
 quê?
 217 Mandioca--

Section 5 – Agriculture in Dundo

- Inf16** 218 Um hum.
Inf17 219 #1 -- milho-- #
DOC 220 #2 -- mais. #
Inf17 221 -- jnguba, jmboa--
DOC 222 -- jimboa, isso é o quê?
Inf17 223 Jmboa?
DOC 224 Sim. Eu acho que sei o que é.
 225 É aquela coisa verde?
Inf17 226 #1 Verde, sim-- #
Inf16 227 #2 -- não, jmboa-- #
Inf17 228 #1 -- os folha é verde-- #
Inf16 229 #2 -- é as folhas. #
Inf17 230 #1 É sim. #
Inf16 231 #2 A jmboa me(s)mo você conhece, jmboa. #
DOC 232 Sim, nós já comemos aqui.

Inf16	233	#1 Sim. #
Inf16	234	#2 Sim. #
DOC	235	Jim- jindu- jinduba? Não.
Inf16	236	#1 Jnguba. #
Inf17	237	#2 Jnguba. #
DOC	238	Jinguba, isso é o quê?
	239	É o amendoim.
	240	É aquilo que se parte, não é?
Inf17	241	Sim.
DOC	242	Sim.
	243	E mais? [silence]
Inf16	244	#1 Muitas coisas tam(b)ém (???) tam(b)ém-- #
Inf17	245	#2 -- *(a)bóbras {i.e. abóboras} tam(b)ém. #
DOC	246	Hum?
Inf17	247	*Bobra {i.e. abóbora}
DOC	248	Sim.
Inf16	249	Batata doce.
DOC	250	Hi! Batata doce é tão bom!
Inf16	251	#1 [laugh] #
Inf17	252	#2 [laugh] #
DOC	253	Cozida!
Inf17	254	É.
DOC	255	Mas a batata a outra não se cultiva muito pois não?
Inf17	256	Não, batata aqui não. Batata arena aqui não.
DOC	257	Vem tudo de--
Inf17	258	-- Luanda
DOC	259	Pois, por isso é que depois fica...
	260	fica, fica muito caro aqui uma pessoa conseguir ter uma--
Inf17	261	-- tomate tam(b)ém que anda cultivari.
Inf16	262	#1 Costuma curtivar repolho. #
Inf17	263	#2 couve, repolho. #
DOC	264	Um hum!
	265	Ou seja: vegetais cultiva-se, não é?
Inf16	266	Sim.

- DOC 267 O peixe, por exemplo, tam(b)ém vem de Luanda.
- Inf16 268 #1 Sim, o pe(i)xe-- #
- Inf17 269 #2 -- não, o pe(i)xe tam(b)ém tem de vir de Luanda. #
- DOC 270 Mas, mas há aqui tantos rios, porque é que as pessoas não pescam?
- Inf17 271 Aqui não temo(s) pescadori.
- DOC 272 Não?
- Inf17 273 #1 Não. #
- DOC1 274 #2 Não há pescadores, mas há peixe. #
- Inf17 275 #1 Há pe(i)xe! #
- Inf16 276 #2 Sim, há pe(i)xe! #
- 277 Os pescador são uns pouco.
- 278 Costuma ir, vai e pesca só um bocado
- 279 p'ra ele só em casa com os filho dele e a mulher dele.
- DOC 280 Um hum. E no mercado? Não se encontra assim comida e isso?
- 281 No mercado.
- Inf17 282 No mercado tam(b)ém encontra.
- DOC 283 (Es)tá bem, (es)tá bem.
- 284 (Es)tá bem.
- 285 Pronto acho que estão a chamar-vos, não é?
- 286 Estão a chamar-vos.
- Inf16 287 #1 É p(ar)a i(r) busca(r) água. #
- Inf17 288 #2 [laugh] #
- DOC 289 Ah, pronto (es)tá bem.
- 290 Então, vamos ficar por aqui--
- DOC1 291 -- nós vamos dar uma prendinha para os meninos.

ID_nº: 0012	
Title	Varia
Aud_file_ID	12_d3_dvp_2004_aud.wav
Duration	00:52:51.07
Rec_date	2004-08-12
Rec_place	Meeting room (ESPLN)
Genre	Informal interview
Collectors	DOC (Liliana Inverno)
Speakers	Inf18 (Inf18, 36 year old male, born in Namibe, teacher, single, L1 is Cokwe, Uni Y1)
Summary	
Transcriber	DOC Inverno in Coimbra on 2007-06-25 using TRANSCRIBER 1.5.1
Trans_info	sections, topics, turns, speakers, words

- DOC 1 (???)
- Inf18 2 (???) outra vez [caugh]
- DOC 3 É ^D--
- Inf18 4 Sou o ^DR
- DOC 5 Umm hum.
- Inf18 6 Aaaa... o meu pai é de ^Catete--
- DOC 7 -- Umm hum.
- Inf18 8 Falecido. ^MS. Chamou-se assim em vida.
- DOC 9 Umm hum.
- Inf18 10 Mãe, ^R. Natural do Dundo.
- DOC 11 Umm hum.
- 12 Portanto (es)tava a dizer que...
- 13 e depois a propósito da língua materna me tinha dito:
- 14 "Obviamente--"
- Inf18 15 Oh! Aquilo passou-me da ideia. Falo, falo fluentemente o quioco-
-
- DOC 16 #1 Umm hum.

- 17 "Obviamente!", que há bocado não ficou gravado, mas disse
 18 "Obviamente"! #
- Inf18** 19 #2 Pois. #
- DOC** 20 Haaa ... e depois ... a, a mãe era do Dundo, portanto, quioco,
 21 falava quioco ou falava outr- porque nesta, nesta província há
 22 outras--
- Inf18** 23 -- línguas--
- DOC** 24 -- línguas ou, ou variedades do quio-, do cokwe?
- Inf18** 25 Que(r) d(i)zê, p'além do quioco há outras línguas mães.
- DOC** 26 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 27 Tem kikongo, tem baluba,
- DOC** 28 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 29 O ... muitas línguas qu'existem.
- DOC** 30 Umm hum. Pronto, e então a sua mãe falava o cokwe.
- Inf18** 31 Fala quioco fluentemente.
- DOC** 32 Fala. Exacto.
- Inf18** 33 Entende quioco.
- DOC** 34 E o, o, o pai? É que--
- Inf18** 35 O pai falecido falou o kimbundu.
- DOC** 36 Era kimbundu.
 37 E o, o... não apanhou um bocadinho do, do kimbundu?
 38 Nunca chegou a aprender?
- Inf18** 39 Eu só escuto alguém a falar o kimbundu, mas não sei exprimir.
 40 Eu só escuto.
- DOC** 41 Ah!
- Inf18** 42 Porque não tive essa convivência.
- DOC** 43 Exacto.
- Inf18** 44 #1 Não tive essa convivência. #
- DOC** 45 #2 E em casa como, como é que é? #
- Inf18** 46 A comunicação era, era em quioco e em português.
 47 E alguns casos, o pai, o paizinho, falava kimbundu em termos de
 48 ... de explicação, de educação.
- DOC** 49 Ou seja, p'ra, p'ra, p'ra que pudesse aprender alguma coisa--
- Inf18** 50 -- alguma coisa.

- 51 Mas aprendíamos, mas agora exprimir é que ... não damos assim
52 tão interesse.
- DOC** 53 Até porque (es)tavam cercados p'lo--
Inf18 54 (Es)távamo, (es)távamo cercados mais- por-
55 quem influenciava mais no meio social era a mãe.
56 E porque ficava mais tempos com a mãe do que com o pai.
57 E havia aquela influência- é a mãe, a nossa avó, a mãe da m(i)nha
58 mãe, que tam(b)ém falava quioco, então isso ajudou
59 com que a gente ... eh... inclinasse mais à língua materna.
- DOC** 60 P'ro quioco.
Inf18 61 P'ro quioco.
- DOC** 62 Ô(u) seja, com, porque as crianças ficam mais tempo com as
63 mulheres da família,
64 ou seja, a mãe ou--
- Inf18** 65 -- Sim (???) com a família do pai muitas das vezes poderíamos...
66 para os que têm pais ... ehh ... quiocos e mães quiocos,
67 esses falam fluentemente quioco.
68 A comunicação, tudo é em quioco, mas agora no meu caso foi
69 d(i)ferente.
- DOC** 70 Pois.
- Inf18** 71 O pai é de kimbundu, veio pr'aqui sozinho, não, não tinha
72 ninguém ao lad-,
73 a seu lado, nem um tio nem um primo.
74 Isto fez com que ele tam(b)ém se inclinasse mais ao quioco.
- DOC** 75 Porque, é ... são muito diferentes, o kimbundu e o quioco?
Inf18 76 Bem, em termos de ... de nome
DOC 77 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 78 O kimbundu com, com o quioco, só a escrita em si
79 e a percepção que as pessoas têm da, das palavras
DOC 80 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 81 Kimbundu é kimbundu, quioco é quioco.
82 Mas algumas palavras aparecem intercaladas.
83 Há palavras que aparecem em kimbundu e que tam(b)ém
84 aparecem em quioco

- DOC 85 Como por exemplo?
 Inf18 86 Por exemplo [m su]
 DOC 87 [m su]?
 Inf18 88 [m su], que é olho--
 DOC 89 -- Umm hum.
 Inf18 90 -- que em quioco tam(b)ém é olho.
 DOC 91 #1 E como é que é, como é que se diz olhos, se for no plural? #
 Inf18 92 #2 [m su] , [m su] #
 DOC 93 #1 [m su] no singular e no plural? #
 Inf18 94 #2 Não existe. #
 DOC 95 Ai é? Não há, não há essa--
 Inf18 96 -- são palavras--
 DOC 97 -- invariáveis?
 Inf18 98 Qué d'zê, invariável quanto ao número.
 DOC 99 Exacto. Então--
 Inf18 100 -- [m su] é [m su].
 DOC 101 Exacto. Não, não--
 Inf18 102 Não não, não varia.
 DOC 103 E o, e ... e em relação aos, aos seus pais.
 104 Eles tinham tido algum-, tinham ido à escola ou não tinham tido
 105 essa, essa possibilidade?
 Inf18 106 Bom, a esta parte, o meu pai chegou aqui em mil novecentos e ...
 107 cinquenta e seis.
 DOC 108 Cinquenta e seis.
 Inf18 109 Chegou aqui a essa terra da Lunda em cinquenta e seis.
 DOC 110 Umm hum.
 Inf18 111 Mas a partir de Luanda d'onde ele veio, ele já tinha três filhos.
 112 De(i)xou-os lá e veio pr'aqui [pause]
 113 Ele foi [pause] um contratado mas numa, numa classe de ... de
 114 assimilado.
 DOC 115 Ah, então, p'ra ter, então tinha ido à escola?
 Inf18 116 Ele tinha ido à escola.
 117 O meu pai teve ... acredito eu que tivera acabad- concluído aí ...
 118 o ensino primário.

- DOC** 119 O ensino primário.
- Inf18** 120 Na altura.
- DOC** 121 #1 Umm hum.
- 122 O que na altura já era suficiente p'ra uma pessoa ficar-- #
- Inf18** 123 #2 -- sim. #
- 124 Ele foi, ele foi um enfermeiro que durante trinta e cinco anos
- 125 só fez a sua profissão como enfermeiro
- DOC** 126 Ai é?
- Inf18** 127 E agora não tínhamos aquela possibilidade de nós irm-,
- 128 de procurarmos os outros familiares. Acredito que existem.
- 129 São formados. Uns são doutores, engenheiros e só conhecemos
- 130 tardiamente.
- DOC** 131 Ai é?
- Inf18** 132 Sim.
- DOC** 133 Só muitos anos depois--
- Inf18** 134 Pois. E que isso não nos afecta assim muito não (???) a
- 135 interligação.
- DOC** 136 Exacto.
- Inf18** 137 Porque o tempo em si da convivência não foi muito ... primário
- 138 e conhecemos uma família não pobre em termos de, de
- 139 escolaridade.
- DOC** 140 Em termos d-, e no caso da mãe?
- Inf18** 141 Essa, a mãe é, essa é que não foi à escola.
- DOC** 142 Não foi--
- Inf18** 143 -- não foi à escola.
- DOC** 144 Mas isso tam(b)ém tem a ver, pois, lá está, com o facto de ... o, o
- 145 seu pai vinha de?
- Inf18** 146 #1 Catete. #
- DOC** 147 #2 Luanda #
- Inf18** 148 Sim, de Catete, de Luanda.
- 149 Na altura a província Catete pertencia à província de Luanda.
- 150 Só agora é que houve o desmembramento, né?
- DOC** 151 Exacto, a divisão--
- Inf18** 152 A divisão, exacto, geográfica.

- DOC 153 Porque na, na [pause] será possível dizer que há uma grande
154 diferença
155 entre o litoral e o interior em Angola?
- Inf18 156 Muita d(i)ferença.
- DOC 157 Em que termos?
- Inf18 158 Em termos de ... de convivência.
- DOC 159 Umm hum.
- Inf18 160 Litoral é litoral, interior é interior.
- DOC 161 Umm hum.
- Inf18 162 Interior está, o interior, praticamente nós podemos d(i)zer,
163 é um mundo egocêntrico.
164 Assim ... tudo chega tarde.
165 É um meio muito fechado.
166 E quanto ao desenvolvimento, tudo vem por via, qué d(i)zê,
167 depende do litoral.
- DOC 168 #1 Claro. Ou seja, se o litoral enviar-- #
- Inf18 169 #2 -- o interior... enviar-- #
- DOC 170 #1 -- rec- o, o interior recebe-- #
- Inf18 171 #2 -- recebe. #
- DOC 172 -- se não enviar--
- Inf18 173 -- e em termos de desenvolvimento em Angola
174 o litoral sobressai-se mais em relação ao interior.
175 Porque se formos a ver o litoral
176 pois temos como fonte de desenvolvimento em Angola os portos
[pause]
177 e em Angola é a, qu'e d'zê, é a faixa litoral quando nós podemos
178 encontrar todos...
179 toda, todas as estruturas de desenvolvimento em Angola. Nós
180 temos lá fá--
- DOC 181 Mas isso é uma coisa já muito antiga, não é?
- Inf18 182 Qué d'zê, é antiga e cont(i)nua a ser. Cont(i)nua a ser.
- DOC 183 Ou sej-, pois porque a sensação que eu... haa ... daquilo que eu
184 tenho lido sobre...
185 sobre a situação linguística em Angola é que, realmente, é uma,

- 186 há uma, em termos de línguas maternas, por exemplo,
 187 é mais complicado em Luanda encontrar,
 188 apesar de as pessoas falarem não é, mas é mais complicado
 189 encontrar pessoas na rua a falarem kimbundu ou outra língua,
 190 porque agora também há o problema dos deslocados,
 191 no interior é fácilimo.
- Inf18** 192 Isto, isto tem a ver com a própria cultura.
 193 Isto tem a ver com a própria cultura.
 194 Enquanto nós aqui no interior incentivamos,
 195 metemos em prática, conservamos tudo quanto é o passado,
 196 em Luanda já é d(i)ferente.
 197 Porque é d(i)fícil encontrar uma pessoa de Luanda nato de
 198 Luanda.
- DOC** 199 Pois é.
- Inf18** 200 É d(i)fícil. Luanda hoje é o centro
- DOC** 201 #1 São seis milhões de pessoas-- #
- Inf18** 202 #2 -- pessoas que lá vivem, que lá habitam,
 203 que nem todos são de Luanda. #
- DOC** 204 Pois é.
- Inf18** 205 É d(i)fícil encontrar hoje em dia pessoa que nasceu em Luanda
 206 e diz que é de Luanda.
 207 Mas as pessoas intitulam-se de serem de Luanda.
- DOC** 208 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 209 Querem ser de Luanda.
- DOC** 210 Exacto.
- Inf18** 211 Ele nasceu por exemplo no, no Uíge--
- DOC** 212 -- mas diz que é
- Inf18** 213 -- diz que é de Luanda e fazem, qué d'zê,
 214 ele faz uma naturalidade de Luanda.
- DOC** 215 Mas porque é que será que isso acontece?
- Inf18** 216 Isso tem a ver com ... com a cultura.
 217 As pessoas esquecem-se [*pause*]
 218 Eu até, até agora, eu orgulho-me bastante de,
 219 de ser natural da Lunda...

- DOC** 220 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 221 ... de ser quioco.
 222 Mesmo que eu fosse p'a Estados Unidos encontrar lá melhores,
 223 qué d'zê, as melhores condições possíveis,
 224 não havia razões de mudar nacionalidade.
- DOC** 225 É como eu que também venho de uma província que tem o
 226 mesmo estatuto em Portugal que a Lunda tem em Angola,
 227 que é uma província considerada meio rural
 228 e até porque, pronto, depois as anedotas em Portugal são todas
 229 sobre os alentejanos--
- Inf18** 230 Certo.
- DOC** 231 -- a dizer mal deles, mas realmente eu sou do Alentejo, nasci lá e
 232 não tenho--
- Inf18** 233 Pois, e é a essas pessoas com esse tipo de pensamento,
 234 acredito eu que talvez tem a ver com o, qué d'zê,
 235 o, o analfabetismo em saber [pause]
- DOC** 236 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 237 Por exemplo, nós, nosso cas-, nós cá na Lunda,
 238 os quiocos têm uma coisa em comum.
 239 É fácil distinguir o que é um quioco e o que não é quioco num
 240 sítio, numa convivência.
 241 É muito fácil.
- DOC** 242 Ai é?!
- Inf18** 243 Sim.
 244 É que nós os quiocos somos unidos.
- DOC** 245 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 246 Eu num meio onde existe muita gente é fácil notar
 247 qu'aquela camarada é quioco e este não é.
 248 Porque o quioco onde quer que ele esteja
 249 a tendência sempre é falar uma palavra em quioco.
 250 Ele pode falar muito português,
- DOC** 251 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 252 mas há sempre dez por centos, qué d'zê, é reservado p'a,
 253 p'a se exprimir em quioco.

- DOC** 254 Pois, eu falei com uns miúdos no outro dia
 255 e eles disseram-me uma coisa muito engraçada.
 256 Eu perguntei-lhes como é que era, qual era a língua materna.
 257 E eles sem--
- Inf18** 258 Receio.
- DOC** 259 -- receio nenhum disseram: "é quioco".
 260 E depois ficaram muito espantados quando eu disse cokwe
 261 porque eles ficaram espantados por eu saber o nome--
- Inf18** 262 -- do Cokwe.
- DOC** 263 ahh ... e depois eu perguntei-lhes:
 264 "Então e na escola como é que é?"
 265 E eles:
 266 "Então, na escola, na sala d'aula, é português,
 267 mas às vezes tam(b)ém é quioco.
 268 No recreio é que falamos português e falamos quioco".
 269 E eu perguntei:
 270 "Então e se vocês quiserem ofender um colega usam que língua?"
 271 E eles:
 272 "Ah! Aí tem de ser quioco!"
 273 E eu achei piada porque isso mostra que, que, que a língua,
 274 que a língua materna é utilizada mais em determinados contextos
 275 e o português noutros.
- Inf18** 276 Portanto, em termos de escolaridade?
- DOC** 277 Sim, no, nas crianças.
- Inf18** 278 Não, é o seguinte: nós somos muito exigentes.
 279 O quioco é muito exigente--
- DOC** 280 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 281 -- Haaa... no que concerne à educação.
- DOC** 282 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 283 Todos os princípios educativos nós conservamos.
 284 Ninguém pode ofender ninguém.
- DOC** 285 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 286 Tanto mais velho e vice-versa.
 287 Quando a criança sai de casa p'a escola ... porque ...

- 288 nem todos falam português.
- DOC** 289 Umm hum.
- Inf18** 290 Os pais às vezes não t(i)veram de aprenderem a falar o português
291 mas a obrigatoriedade dos filhos é aprenderem a falar português.
292 Ele chega p'a escola ... [pause]
293 O que eu acabei de d'zer.
294 Qué d'zê, cinquenta por cento ou setenta por cento fala português
295 mas a tendência sempre é recorrer um outro meio de
296 comunicação, que é o quioco.
- DOC** 297 Que é a língua materna.
298 Umm humm.
- Inf18** 299 É que nós somos assim.
- DOC** 300 Umm humm.
- Inf18** 301 É mais fácil, eu quiser falar à professora sem que você se
302 aperceba imediatamente
303 utilizando em quioco.
- DOC** 304 #1 Pois. #
- Inf18** 305 #2 Em quioco. #
- DOC** 306 Pois, exacto.
- Inf18** 307 P'a fazê uma piada.
- DOC** 308 Umm humm.
- Inf18:** 309 Mas não é aconselhável.
310 Porque nós exigimos (???) que diante de alguém que não saiba
311 falar essa língua, nós comunicarmos numa outra língua,
312 para não criar aquela discrepância, aquela desconfiança.
- DOC:** 313 Exacto!
314 Para a pessoa não ficar a pensar
315 “Ah! Estão a falar mal de mim porque senão
316 falam em português!”
- Inf18:** 317 Mas nós temos que ter essa hipótese!
- DOC:** 318 Exacto!
- Inf18** 319 Eu não sou obrigado a falar só português!
- DOC:** 320 Obviamente! Mas a questão... a questão é precisamente ...
321 é precisamente essa!

- Inf18:** 322 Eu digo isso porquê?
 [*pause – I received a message on my cell phone*].
- 323 Eu fiz o médio no Namibe, numa província do litoral.
 324 Encontrei lá mumuúlas, encontrei mucubais,
 325 encontrei kimbundos, umbundos...
- DOC:** 326 Onde? No Uíge?
- Inf18:** 327 Namibe. Namibe, lá no li... lá no litoral.
 328 Passava ... tive colegas e amigos a pertencerem a estes grupos
 329 étnicos de língua, mas **que** comunicavam-se em português
 330 e falavam as mais línguas.
 331 Eu era quioco.
 332 O que é que eu fazia?
 333 Enquanto eles estivessem a falar essas línguas eu tinha ...
 334 eu tinha... quer dizer,
 335 tinha que ter a obrigação de perguntar o que é que estavam
 336 a falar.
 337 Se era ofensa, eles tinham que me dizer: “Estamos a ofender.”
 338 Então, eu é que tenho que mostrar o interesse de aprender.
 339 O porque é que nós metemos a hipótese de aprendermos o inglês
 340 se o inglês não é a nossa língua?
 341 Qual é a diferença que existe?
 342 Então, também temos que valorizar o que é nosso.
 343 O inglês fala o inglês, o russo fala o russo, o quioco fala o quioco.
 344 Eu não vejo porquê!
 345 Porque, se (es)tivermos no meio de um inglês
 346 e quisermos ofender em inglês,
 347 mas ele (es)tá a falar porquê é o inglês e é universal
 348 e todo o mundo tem que aceitar!
 349 Isto não!
- DOC:** 350 Obviamente!
 351 Não, mas é muito raro encontrar ...
 352 encontrar pessoas que pensem assim.
 353 Houve um colega no outro dia que me trouxe um artigo

- 354 do *Jornal de Angola* - eu não tenho aqui –
 355 de um filósofo angolano que dizia uma coisa
 356 – e eu acho que ele está 100 % certo –
 357 ele dizia:
 358 “A maior parte dos angolanos tem medo de dizer que fala bem a
 359 língua materna”.
- 360 Porque a pressão para ... a pressão do português é tão forte
 361 que as pessoas se retraem e dizem:
 362 “Não, não! Nós falamos é português!
 363 Não, não! Línguas maternas, não!”
- 364 E esse filósofo diz que essa é uma das razões pelas quais o estudo
 365 das línguas nacionais angolanas está tão atrasado em relação
 366 àquilo que poderia estar.
- Inf18:** 367 Bom! Nesta base, de quem é a culpa?
 368 O povo é conduzido.
 369 Se nós conduzimos o povo politicamente, então tem que haver
 370 estatutos. **Tem** o governo, o governo é composto pelos
 371 ministérios, esta parte é ocupada pela ministra da educação.
 372 Quem deve fazer evoluir, pôr em prática é a ministra da
 373 educação.
- 374 Porque... até porque ... eu vou dizer **na** professora o seguinte:
 375 comparando uma criança de cinco anos que vive na aldeia
 376 na zona suburbana e com uma criança de cinco anos
 377 que habita na zona urbana,
 378 em termos de conhecimentos práticos,
 379 a criança da zona rural é mais inteligente
 380 que... porque a criança com cinco anos da aldeia,
 381 que se exprime em língua materna é fácil dizer que isso é caneca,
 382 é fácil dizer que isso é faca,
 383 já sabe exprimir que isso é água na sua língua.
- DOC:** 384 Ou seja, p’ra ele, aquele objecto...
- Inf18:** 385 ... ele já existe.
 386 Já existe.
 387 Enquanto que a criança que se comunica em língua portuguesa,

- 388 por exemplo, o caso em Angola, leva muito tempo.
- DOC:** 389 Em termos de desenvolvimento?
- Inf18:** 390 ... desenvolvimento ... é que ...
- 391 a professora não acredita que essas mesmas ...
- 392 as mesmas crianças que falam fluentemente o quioco,
- 393 inseridas no seio das outras pessoas já com um nível urbanizado,
- 394 em menos tempo ele já consegue se enquadrar...
- 395 até porque em Angola muitos são doutores hoje
- 396 que nasceram em zona urbana...
- 397 não são da cidade.
- DOC:** 398 Nasceram na zona rural e não são da cidade.
- Inf18:** 399 Não são. Em Angola, as pessoas que dirigem este país
- 400 hoje em dia em Angola,
- 401 não há ninguém, **que eu recordo**, que tenha nascido na cidade.
- 402 Todos nasceram no mato.
- DOC:** 403 Humm, mas depois dizem que só falam português
- 404 e que a língua materna é o português.
- Inf18:** 405 Falam português porquê?
- 406 Talvez é pelo ... por uma questão de complexidade.
- DOC:** 407 Humm, de complexo.
- Inf18:** 408 De complexo.
- 409 Eu nunca vi, até agora, uma pessoa que nasceu em Luanda
- 410 e que tenha um nome tradicionalmente.
- 411 Mas para o povo do interior, o povo de litoral,
- 412 quem é originário de uma tribo tem que levar sempre um nome.
- 413 Eu tenho nome em quioco.
- DOC:** 414 Ai é?! Qual é o nome?
- Inf18:** 415 ^C
- DOC:** 416 ^C?
- Inf18:** 417 Sim!
- 418 A professora pode escrever.
- [I write his name using phonetic alphabet]*
- Inf18:** 419 Esse nome tem significado.

- DOC:** 420 Ai é?! O que é que significa?
- Inf18:** 421 Sim.
 422 Tem muitos significados.
 423 Este nome tem muitos s... mas,
 424 em termos de significação quioco-português,
 425 isso significa vergonha.
- DOC:** 426 Ai é?!
- Inf18:** 427 Sim!
- DOC:** 428 Bem... eu chamo-me ^Inverno... ^Coragem ^Inverno, portanto...!
 429 Vergonha!
- Inf18:** 430 É vergonha.
 431 Mas em termos práticos, esse nome – vergonha –
 432 em quioco já é diferente do português.
 433 É assim... eu vou explicar esse ... essa terminologia,
 434 o que é que significa isso.
 435 Imaginemos que – desculpe lá professora perguntar
 436 quantos anos tens –
 437 a professora tem quantos anos?
- DOC:** 438 Eu tenho vinte cinco.
- Inf18:** 439 Vinte cinco.
 440 Até a professora fazer trinta anos as tuas amigas,
 441 que todas têm vinte e cinco anos,
 442 ao chegar aos trinta anos já têm...
 443 já são casadas, têm filhos
 444 e a professora até chegar aos trinta anos
 445 nem tem maridos e nem tem filhos.
 446 E as pessoas riem de ti.
 447 Riem-se de ti:
 448 “Ah! Não é casada. As outras já têm filhos, já são casadas...”,
 449 etc, etc.
 450 E p’ra ti isso te chega.
 451 Vem alguém, pá, te falam mal, te falam assim, assado, cozido.
 452 Então você ficas com este ... com este peso,
 453 com este fardo todo em cima de ti,

- 454 a **pensares** que as pessoas falam mal de **ti**.
 455 Mas de repente, sem se aperceber de nada
 456 as pessoas assustam que a pessoa está concebida [i.e. *pregnant*].
 457 E em curto espaço de tempo já tem o bebé.
 458 E esse bebé que a professora vai ter dás o nome de ^C.
- DOC:** 459 Hummm... porque é o filho ...
- Inf18:** 460 Andaram a falar mal as pessoas:
 461 “Eu não fazia filho, assado e cozido e agora já dei fruto”.
- DOC:** 462 Então é como no inglês “shame on you” no sentido ...
 463 é uma forma de dizer,
 464 ou a partir do momento em que tem este nome, ^C,
 465 disseram mal porque eu não podia ter filhos, mas aqui está!
- Inf18:** 466 Aqui está!
- DOC:** 467 É este o filho que nasceu, que vocês diziam que... ah!!!
 468 Isso é fantástico, realmente!
 469 Porque há diferenças entre as duas línguas que ...
- Inf18:** 470 E tam(b)ém tem outro nome, que é natural em quioco: ^K.
- DOC:** 471 ^K?
- Inf18:** 472 Sim!
- [pause – I write down the name using phonetic alphabet]
- DOC:** 473 Então e isto significa o quê?
- Inf18:** 474 ^K? Bom... eh... “Cresce só”.
- DOC:** 475 Cresce Só.
- Inf18:** 476 “Cresce Só” ou então “É melhor cresceres”.
- DOC:** 477 E este aqui ... e este aqui ... este nome também está no seu nome?
- Inf18:** 478 Bom! Esse quem tem é o meu sobrinho.
- DOC:** 479 Ah! E porquê?
- Inf18:** 480 Porquê?
 481 A minha sobrinh- a minha irmã, a que eu sigo,
 482 cada vez que ela fosse...
 483 (es)tivesse concebida os filhos não demoravam ou Deus recebia.
 484 Por três vezes que isso aconteceu.
 485 Morreu o primeiro, morreu o segundo, morreu o terceiro.

- 486 Então aquilo começou a criar uma tristeza no meio familiar.
- DOC:** 487 Claro!
- Inf18:** 488 Mas o Deus é quem dá!
- 489 O quarto, as pessoas viram a senhora grávida,
490 deu à luz e deram nome a esse,
491 A essa, a essa quarta criança: “^K”.
- DOC:** 492 ^K.
- Inf18:** 493 Quer dizer, desejam que pelo menos esta criança cresça e viva.
- DOC:** 494 Exacto, por isso é que ele se chama...
- Inf18:** 495 Dão de ^K [i.e. *they give the name of...*].
- DOC:** 496 Ou seja, então os nomes próprios não são, bom,
497 são não nome de família,
498 mas estão ligados com o nascimento,
499 com o contexto em que a pessoa nasceu.
- Inf18:** 500 Sim!
- 501 Nós somos assim!
- 502 E isto é um facto de identificação cultural do quioco.
- DOC:** 503 Mas eu reparei que há muitas pessoas que deram o nome
504 só em português,
505 mas essas pessoas não têm uma nome quioco?
- Inf18:** 506 Essas pessoas não seguiram a ... quer d(i)zer ...
507 nós em quioco temos...
508 o nosso padrão do quioco é seguirmos essas regras.
- DOC:** 509 Ou seja, há um nome que é tipo nome próprio, não é?
- Inf18:** 510 Sim. Por exemplo, eu levo um outro nome: Inf18.
511 Eu sou Inf18 ^da ^Rosa.
- DOC:** 512 Exacto! Inf18 da Rosa é o nome português ... em português, sim.
- Inf18:** 513 Depois vem o Chicolassonhi, que é o nome ... eh ... tradicional ...
- DOC:** 514 Da ^Rosa, isto é um nome ...
515 porque da ^Rosa é no sentido de ser filho da ^Rosa?
- Inf18:** 516 Da ^Rosa, sim. Porque a minha mãe é ^Rosalina.
- DOC:** 517 Exactamente! Da ^Rosa e depois é que vem ...
- Inf18:** 518 ... o Chicolassonhi.
- DOC:** 519 Isso em termos gráficos escreve-se como ...

- 520 que eu escrevi só em alfabeto fonético. É Ch
Inf18: [he spells the name for me]
- DOC:** 521 Ah! Eu escrevi com u.
Inf18: 522 Isto é meu nome. Mas esse nome em quioco
 523 tam[b]ém tem uma escrita. Este, ^“da Rosa”.
 524 Aqui está em português.
 525 Wana rosa [he spells it for me]: W – a – na - Rosa.
 526 Essa é uma expressão quioca.
- DOC:** 527 O que é que significa o “a”.
Inf18: 528 [significa] “da”.
DOC: 529 Isto é “da”?
Inf18: 530 “Da”.
DOC: 531 E o “na”?
Inf18: 532 Quer dizer ... essa é uma ligação que aparece.
 533 É junto em quioco.
 534 **Esse não tem uma terminologia nenhuma** em quioco.
 535 *W ana rosa.* Quer dizer, esse e essa fazem uma única palavra.
- DOC:** 536 Não é que (???) só por esta questão dos nomes
 537 deve ser uma confusão enorme na cabeça das crianças.
Inf18: 538 Não! Até que não!
DOC: 539 Não?!
Inf18: 540 Não!
DOC: 541 Como é que funciona assim na escola?
 542 Por exemplo ... já agora, disse que tinha terminado ...
 543 que fez o o ensino médio...
- Inf18:** 544 ... lá no Namibe.
DOC: 545 No Namibe. Terminou o ensino médio em que ano, recorda-se?
Inf18: 546 Noventa ... noventa ... noventa e dois.
DOC: 547 Em noventa e dois.
Inf18: 548 Sim.
DOC: 549 Mas já era professor antes de terminar?
Inf18: 550 Já.
DOC: 551 Começou quando a ser professor?

- Inf18:** 552 Eu comecei ... comecei a leccionar em oitentaaaaaa e nove.
DOC: 553 Em oitenta e nove. Exacto e...
Inf18: 554 E era uma obrigatoriedade.
DOC: 555 O quê, o tornar-se professor?
Inf18: 556 Sim.
DOC: 557 Porquê?
Inf18: 558 **Pela demanda que o país precisava.**
 559 Porque era obrigatório.
 560 Concluir a oitava classe, prosseguia uma regimento.
 561 Havia vários institutos e eu fui encaminhado para o instituto de
 562 professores. Bom, se eu **estou** a seguir essa carreira,
 563 essa formação de professores, então **tinha** que fazer a prática,
 564 mas a minha prática já era efectiva.
 565 Logo na nona classe eu tinha que dar aulas.
DOC: 566 Mas ao nível mais baixo.
Inf18: 567 Ao nível mais baixo.
 568 Eu comecei com a quinta classe.
DOC: 569 Com a quinta classe, a dar aulas com a quinta classe.
Inf18: 570 Quinta classe.
DOC: 571 Tinha que idade nessa altura?
Inf18: 572 Dezoitooooo ... dezoito, dezanove.
DOC: 573 dezoito, dezanove?
 574 Já agora, peço desculpa por perguntar a idade –
 575 mas eu já perguntei na aula só que agora não me lembro –
 576 nasceu em que ano?
Inf18: 577 Eu sou de sessenta e oito.
DOC: 578 Sessenta e oito? Não parece nada! Parece mais novo.
Inf18: 579 É o enquadramento. Essas coisas de gravatas.
DOC: 580 Eu também não gosto muito disso,
 581 mas apercebi-me que isso gerou alguns problemas aqui...
 582 porque as pessoas ficaram ... porque eu não tinha ...
 583 porque vim para cá e o que me disseram foi:
 584 “Leva sapatos abertos e roupa de algodão”.
 585 E eu, dentro daquilo que é ... da forma como me visto

- 586 normalmente trouxe,
 587 a única diferença foi que trouxe roupa de algodão e os sapatos
 588 mais abertos.
- Inf18:** 589 Ok, essa ... essa parte é o seguinte:
 590 nós ainda estamos muito longe
 591 p'ra chegarmos a um ponto de sabermos discernir as coisas.
 592 Se nós queremos educar a nossa sociedade a seguir
 593 certas normas... e nós pensamos assim e tem que ser assim. (???)
 594 a regra angolana não ... não foge muito dos árabes. Sim.
 595 Porque há muitos contextos,
 596 protestos acerca das novelas brasileiras.
 597 Porque tudo o que se exhibe, tudo o que aparece nas novelas
 598 brasileiras, os angolanos põem em prática.
 599 E não se consegue interpretar o que é ...
- DOC:** 600 ... que aquilo é um contexto e que Angola é outro.
- Inf18:** 601 Não se consegue.
 602 Isso está a estragar não só a maioria da maior parte da ...
 603 da ... das pessoas ... ah ... principalmente a juventude.
 604 O que vê [é o] que faz!
- DOC:** 605 Ah! Então daí que as pessoas estivessem tão preocupadas ...
- Inf18:** 606 ... preocupadas com a maneira das pessoas vestirem.
- DOC:** 607 ... do professor se vestir!
- Inf18:** 608 ... se vestir. Então eles logo logo interpretam.
 609 Se o professor vem assim, eu tam[b]ém tenho que vir assim.
 610 Então, que tipo de educação ...
- DOC:** 611 ... então estavam preocupados ... não, mas isso aí já tem ...
 612 isso é uma coisa que tem a ver também com ...
 613 com a noção que se tem de ensino...
 614 que a sensação que eu tenho é que o perfil que se tem em Angola
 615 do professor é diferente do que se tem, por exemplo,
 616 em Portugal.
- Inf18:** 617 Sim, há essa diferença.
- DOC:** 618 Em Portugal, e noutros países da Europa, entende-se que se nós
 619 estamos a educar pessoas para uma democracia, a escola ...

620 a sala de aula não pode ser uma ditadura em que só o professor
 621 tem poder, em que só o professor tem responsabilidades.
 622 Ou seja, dentro da sala de aula, é óbvio que há um padrão de
 623 comportamento, mas de comportamento em termos da relação,
 624 que vai para além da forma como a pessoa ...
 625 como a pessoa se veste.
 626 É óbvio que há um padrão de comportamento
 627 e um professor sabe que há determinadas coisas que pode dizer
 628 em casa com os amigos, mas que ...

Inf18: 629 ... na escola.

DOC: 630 ... na escola, deverá ter algum cuidado, mas ao mesmo tempo,
 631 os alunos também são responsabilizados por aquilo que se faz
 632 dentro da sala de aula.
 633 Ou seja, não é só o professor que tem de impor:
 634 “Isto é assim porque é assim”, mas os alunos, eles próprios,
 635 têm de se ver e têm de se ...
 636 de impor barreiras também a eles próprios,
 637 porque senão nós estamos a educar para a democracia com base
 638 num regime ditatorial em que só o professor é que tem ...

Inf18: 639 Bom! Em Angola ... em Angola o professor é um espelho
 640 porque nós acabamos de sair de uma guerra
 641 e tudo quanto foi possível foi destruído.
 642 Estamos a começar do zero.
 643 Reconquistar os valores morais e que muitos angolanos não têm
 644 esses valores morais.
 645 É preciso termos valores morais
 646 porque nós [es]tamos numa sociedade onde existem classes.
 647 Porque nós somos mais analfabetos em termos da
 648 intelectualidade.
 649 Então, é preciso primeiro metermos em prática essas regras
 650 e só assim é que podemos mudar porque nem todos os pais têm
 651 esta capacidade de educar o filho **como é que** se deve,
 652 que é que se deve fazer ...

DOC: 653 E daí que seja tão importante ...

- Inf18:** 654 Sim!
- DOC:** 655 ... o professor.
- Inf18:** 656 O professor.
 657 Porque ele [es]{es}tá na sala está a representar a matriz social.
 658 Quer d[i]zer, eu saio de casa, vou passar o d ...
 659 vou trabalhar com milhares de crianças
 660 e nessas crianças nem todos são iguais
 661 em termos de convivência social.
 662 Há quem **vem** melhor educado e há quem não **vem**.
 663 O que é diferente, por exemplo, de Portugal,
 664 onde todo o mundo a cultura é a mesma, a consciência ...
- DOC:** 665 ... há pessoas ... há zonas ... Portugal tem um milhão de ...
 666 a imagem que se tem de Portugal ...
 667 Portugal em relação à Europa é um país que ainda não chegou
 668 Ao mesmo nível de desenvolvimento.
 669 Há um milhão de pobres em Portugal.
 670 Portugal tem dez milhões de habitantes.
 671 Um milhão ... pobres no sentido ...
 672 é claro que em termos de comparação não ...
 673 não se pode – uma pessoa também tem de ser realista –
 674 mas, em termos proporcionais é grave, não é, que um país
 675 que já acabou uma ditadura há 30 anos
 676 continue a ter um índice ...
 677 por exemplo, há pessoas em Portugal, a maioria,
 678 que não consegue ler um horário de comboios.
 679 Pessoas que sabem ler, portanto, são alfabetizadas,
 680 mas que depois são aquilo a que se chama analfabetos funcionais
 681 porque quando confrontados com um determinado texto,
 682 neste caso um horário de comboios, não sabem ... eh ...
 683 não sabem ... não sabem decifrá-lo.
- Inf18:** 684 Bom, mas eles não tiveram aquela coragem de chegar
 685 **na** professora e falar.
 686 É o seguinte: o angolano, o angolano tem muito disso.
 687 Quem é superior é sempre superior.

- 688 Aquele respeito, aquela ... não é fácil chegar a alguém
 689 que está acima de nós e dizer que isto é assim.
 690 Então, é preciso recorrer ...
 691 eu [es]tive a falar com um colega meu
 692 que me trouxe de mota e que houve ...
 693 houve essa situação com a professora,
 694 aquilo, a maneira da professora vestir, mas pronto.
 695 Temos que respeitar essas posições.
 696 São coisas normais.
 697 Mas, prontos, a professora é o que é,
 698 veio num outro meio e deve respeitar.
- DOC:** 699 Não! Mas ... eu acho é que tem de se chegar a um ponto de ...
 700 a um ... a um ... a um consenso, não é?
 701 Da mesma forma que vocês,
 702 porque eu venho de um contexto diferente,
 703 não podem esperar que eu cumpra todas as regras ali
 704 como se fosse angolana e eu,
 705 porque venho de um contexto diferente,
 706 também não posso esperar que vo ...
 707 não posso comportar-me como me dá na cabeça só porque sim,
 708 só porque venho de um contexto diferente.
 709 Por isso é que eu dizia que era importante realmente
 710 que tivesse havido esse diálogo
 711 para que se pudesse chegar a um consenso.
 712 Tal como eu não posso impor a maneira como eu me visto
 713 em Portugal, vocês também não podem ...
 714 ou seja, como ninguém pode impor a ninguém,
 715 temos de chegar a um ...
- Inf18:** 716 ... a um consenso.
- DOC:** 717 ... que é o que eu tenho tentado fazer, que na última aula
 718 ia morrendo de calor só para não tirar o casaco.
- Inf18:** 719 Mas essa é uma questão de falar com os alunos:
 720 “A situação é esta, é isto”.
 721 Porque só falando as pessoas se entendem.

- DOC:** 722 Exactlymente, mas percebe o que eu lhe estava a dizer, como ...
723 eh ... essa visão do professor como alguém que está lá em cima
724 pode ter in...
- Inf18:** 725 ... inconvenientes ...
- DOC:** 726 ... no sentido da comunicação.
- Inf18:** 727 Bem, muitas das vezes é o seguinte, é a professora,
728 é o chegar e dizer ...
729 porque nós em Angola temos muitos problemas
730 em termos do ensino.
731 O ensino em Angola tem muitos problemas.
732 Acredito eu que só teremos um ensino melhorado em Angola
733 daqui a vinte anos.
734 Os problemas são esses.
735 Eu sou aluno, é professora.
736 Eu chegar directamente, dizer **na** professora:
737 “Isto é assim, é assim, assim”.
738 Porque isso depois vai começar a criar inconvenientes
739 na relação entre o professor e aluno.
740 Porque é difícil ...
- DOC:** 741 Ai, comigo não vai.
742 Mas aí está a diferença, Inf18.
743 Há coisas em que é óbvio que o professor ...
744 nós não podemos fingir que o professor não tem mais poder
745 que o aluno porque tem.
746 Efectivamente tem porque é o professor que decide
747 se o aluno passa se o aluno não passa.
748 Portanto, há aí uma relação de poder que –
749 nós não podemos ser hipócritas,
750 fechar os olhos e dizer que não existe –
751 eh ... agora ... eh ...
752 isso não significa que um professor por ser professor, não é,
753 tenha o direito de se sobrepor a todas ...
754 a toda e qualquer pessoa...
- Inf18:** 755 ... mas isso em Angola é possível! Em Angola isto é possível.

- 756 Isto acontece ... Sim.
- 757 A professora fazia-me uma pergunta da minha idade e...
- DOC:** 758 Ah! Sim.
- 759 Voltando ao (???).
- 760 Portanto, disse que nasceu em mil novecentos ...
- Inf18:** 761 Sessenta e oito. Quatro de Agosto de sessenta e oito.
- DOC:** 762 E depois ... e depois ... portanto, aqui no Dundo.
- Inf18:** 763 Aqui no Dundo.
- DOC:** 764 Depois é que foi para o Namibe?
- Inf18:** 765 Fui ao Namibe com ... dezasseis anos. Dezasseis.
- DOC:** 766 Dezasseis anos?
- Inf18:** 767 Dezasseis. Porque eu fiz lá o ensino ... o ensino secundário,
768 primeiro ciclo.
- 769 Eu fiz lá a oitava classe, fiz lá a nona ... fiz tudo lá.
- DOC:** 770 Exacto! E isso tinha a v ... e isso ... como é que era na altura ...
771 eh ... o acesso ... porque ... ora, se nasceu em sessenta e oito ...
772 não, então já ... quando foi ...
773 quando tinha dezasseis anos, então, já não apanhou ...
774 foi já pós-independência ou foi antes.
- Inf18:** 775 Não, foi já depois da independência.
- DOC:** 776 Depois da independência?
777 Pronto, porque lhe ia perguntar ... eh ... porque uma das coisas ...
778 porque eu não tive ... eu não passei essa fase, eu nasci em setenta
779 e ...
- Inf18:** 780 Setenta e três?
- DOC:** 781 Não, eu nasci em setenta e nove.
782 E a coisa que mais me traumatizou quando comecei a ...
783 a ler sobre a passagem – passagem, salvo seja ...
784 quinhentos anos – a passagem de Portugal por África
785 uma das coisas que mais me traumatizou em relação,
786 por exemplo, a Angola foi precisamente o sistema do indigenato
787 e do estatuto do assimilado,
788 que era preciso para a pessoa ser considerada assimilada.
789 Tinha de renegar completamente às raízes.

- Inf18:** 790 Bom!
 791 É o seguinte: eh ... a classe de assimilado
 792 compreendia o seguinte: indivíduos, negros, que naquela altura,
 793 antes da nossa independência, mesmo no tempo da ...
 794 da escravatura, tiveram aquela possibilidade de estudar.
- DOC:** 795 Normalmente porquê?
 796 Porque eram filhos de branco ou porque trabalhavam para ...
- Inf18:** 797 Não, aquilo era ...
- DOC:** 798 Como é que isso funcionava?
- Inf18:** 799 ... era uma condição.
 800 Era uma condição a possibilidade que o colonizador deu ao negro
 801 poder estudar.
 802 Dava-se ... porque dentro da escravatura, em qualquer parte do
 803 mundo que houve a escravatura, tinham que ...
 804 alguma coisa tinha que se fazer quanto à educação.
 805 E essas pessoas, que acabavam um certo nível,
 806 obrigatoriamente tinham que ir p'ra tropa.
 807 Chegavam à idade de militar, de adulto,
 808 obrigatoriamente tinham que c ...
 809 tinham que cumprir a vida militar.
 810 Acabado o ... a vida militar,
 811 o próprio colono obrigava a participação do ...
 812 do cidadão num local de trabalho.
 813 É professor, é enfermeiro, etc, etc. Aqui foi ...
 814 aqui foi o contrário.
 815 Actual Lunda Norte antes foi uma administração administrativa
 816 que só a Endiama e uma companhia estrangeira geriam.
 817 A Endiama impôs-se aqui ...
- DOC:** 818 A Diamang, na altura, não é?
- Inf18:** 819 A Diamang impôs-se aqui e criou classes.
 820 O negro mais próximo do branco era considerado assimilado.
 821 As condições sociais, a convivência deste negro, em comparação
 822 ao branco, ao patrono, não eram assim tão distantes.
 823 Tinha possibilidade de obter tudo quanto o colonizador tinha.

- 824 Por isso é que nós **chamamo[s]** de assimilado.
- DOC:** 825 Por isso é que era possível a ... realmente a questão da educação.
- Inf18:** 826 Da educação.
- DOC:** 827 Mas o problema era que quem não ...
828 porque o estatuto do assimilado dizia:
829 tem direito a ser considerado assimilado quem souber,
830 quem demonstrar saber ler, escrever, vestir ...
- Inf18:** 831 Tudo isso.
- DOC:** 832 Então, as pessoas que, por exemplo,
833 não sabiam português não tinham acesso ...
- Inf18:** 834 Não tinham acesso, não, não tinham.
- DOC:** 835 Não conse ... era um ciclo vicioso.
836 Não eram assimilados porque não falavam português
837 e não falavam português porque não eram assimilados.
- Inf18:** 838 É isso. Por exemplo, eu pertenço a uma família dos assimilados.
839 Eu nasci numa casa canalizada, **electrificado**
840 e que muitos não tiveram.
841 O estatuto de assimilado aqui da Diamang foi isto.
- DOC:** 842 E o seu pai, na altura, veio p'ra cá trabalhar para a Diamang,
843 imagino.
- Inf18:** 844 Veio p'ra cá pela Diamang, com direito a casa ... enfim, a tudo.
845 Assistência médica ... e que muitos não tiveram.
846 A esses que não tiveram essas possibilidades
847 é que nós chamamo[s] de assimilado.
- DOC:** 848 Os que não tiveram ...
- Inf18:** 849 ... esse acesso, esses não foram chamados de assimilados.
850 Ele poderia viver, por exemplo, no bairro, num bairro qualquer,
851 não de construção,
852 num bairro onde a Diamang não fez lá as construções
853 e trabalhar na casa do branco não era considerado assimilado.
854 Por mais que ele soubesse ler e escrever, mas a viver fora do ...
855 da convivência social ...
- DOC:** 856 ... do centro?
- Inf18:** 857 ... do centro do ...

- DOC:** 858 Mas isso é engraçado porque um dos miúdos dizia-me
859 que no bairro até pode falar quioco, mas que ...
- Inf18:** 860 Bom ...
- DOC:** 861 ... no centro ...
- Inf18:** 862 Não, aqui naturalmente tem que se falar português.
- DOC:** 863 Mas ... ah ... mas é obrigatório no sentido que espera-se que ...
- Inf18:** 864 Quer dizer, a visão que as pessoas tinham naquele tempo era isto.
- DOC:** 865 E isso ficou?
- Inf18:** 866 Isso ficou na mente das pessoas.
867 Eu se saio dum sítio – até porque eram assimilados indivíduos
868 provenientes das outras ... das ... dos outros locais.
869 **Haviam** de Malanje, Kuanza Norte e Bengo.
870 Aqui, por exemplo, a Diamang trouxe mais **de** gente do ...
871 do Malanje, Kuanza Norte e Bengo, são tomenses e
872 cabo-verdeanos.
- DOC:** 873 Sãotomenses e cabo verdianos aqui.
- Inf18:** 874 **Era** essas pessoas que vinham na conta da Diamang.
875 Era essas pessoas que tinham esse estatuto de assimilados.
- DOC:** 876 Porque vinham trazidos pela Diamang. O resto da população...
- Inf18:** 877 O resto da população, não.
- DOC:** 878 E agora falando um pouco da sua experiência como ...
879 como professor na ... na sala ... primeiro, dá aulas a que nível?
- Inf18:** 880 Bom, praticamente eu passei em todos os níveis até ao ensino
881 médio.
- DOC:** 882 Ai é?
- Inf18:** 883 Sim.
- DOC:** 884 Deu aulas àqueles mais pequeninos.
- Inf18:** 885 Deu ... dei iniciação...
- DOC:** 886 E como é que foi ... como é que é dar iniciação ao português.
- Inf18:** 887 É difícil.
- DOC:** 888 Para crianças de que idade?
- Inf18:** 889 Em Angola, a criança, com sete anos, é a idade ...
- DOC:** 890 ... p'ra entrar na escola.
- Inf18:** 891 Sim.

- DOC:** 892 E é difícil?
- Inf18:** 893 É difícil trabalhar com crianças, principalmente em Angola,
894 até porque, em termos pedagógicos,
895 trabalhar com **criança**
896 em Angola é difícil
897 porque o número estabelecido
898 com que um professor deve trabalhar com as crianças
899 é exagerado.
- DOC:** 900 Quantos?
- Inf18:** 901 Há turmas que por vezes você encontra setenta,
902 cento e tal alunos.
- DOC:** 903 Ao nível de iniciação é impensável.
- Inf18:** 904 E isto, para um professor que está a iniciar
905 a principiar a sua actividade, é difícil.
- DOC:** 906 Pois é! E em termos de ... mas em termos de dificuldades
907 que as próprias crianças depois apresentem. Qual é a principal...?
- Inf18:** 908 Aí é a competência do próprio professor.
909 Porque tam[b]ém só é professor quando se sabe de alguma coisa.
- DOC:** 910 Claro!
- Inf18:** 911 Porque não basta ter conhecimentos
912 e aparecer na sala de aula dizer.
913 Aqui já aparece conhecimentos científicos
914 e conhecimentos pedagógicos ... eh ...
915 e a própria metodologia do ensino. Para um professor ...
- DOC:** 916 Se bem que a metodologia do ensino avançou muito.
- Inf18:** 917 Avançou muito.
918 Na iniciação, p'ra um professor ... primeiro:
919 saber controlar a turma na fase de aula.
920 Saber controlar a turma, conhecer as crianças ...
921 conhecer as crianças,
922 ser paciente p'ra que possa alcançar seus objectivos.
923 O professor tem que ter um preparo físico, mental ...
924 enfim, à altura. Não é fácil!
- DOC:** 925 Principalmente quando se tem oitenta crianças.

- Inf18:** 926 Oitenta crianças!
 927 Não é fácil!
 928 Depois vamos na fase ... na outra classe, que é a primeira classe.
 929 Aí a coisa é mais ou menos...
- DOC:** 930 Mas a iniciação - estava-me a dizer –
 931 é a iniciação ao quê exactamente?
- Inf18:** 932 Iniciação são que recebemos ...
 933 são aquelas crianças que vêm pela primeira vez **na** escola.
 934 E vão ter o primeiro contacto com a escola.
 935 Aí as crianças aprendem a cantar, decifrar as cores...
- DOC:** 936 É uma espécie de jardim de inf ...
- Inf18:** 937 ... jardim de infância.
- DOC:** 938 Exacto! Depois na primeira classe ...
- Inf18:** 939 Na primeira classe já ...
 940 é que se aplica a própria metodologia de ensino.
 941 Começamos com a matemática, a própria língua portuguesa...
- DOC:** 942 E como é que é?
 943 Há dificuldades ao nível da língua portuguesa,
 944 na primeira classe?
- Inf18:** 945 As dificuldades continuam! O português em Angola
 946 por não ser ... por ser a nossa segunda língua,
 947 as dificuldades continuam e a professora está ver na sala.
 948 A professora vê ...
 949 aquele caso daquele nosso colega que escreve Fafe ... aquele exemplo de Fafe.
 950 Para um aluno universitário ...
- DOC:** 951 O escrever com letra minúscula?
- Inf18:** 952 ... daquela forma ... é inconcebível!
- DOC:** 953 Fafe com letra minúscula.
- Inf18:** 954 Não pode!
 955 E depois ele ocupa todo o quadro!
 956 Aquilo são situações de ensino base.
 957 Aquilo só se encontra na primeira, segunda classe.
 958 P'ra um nível como esse, aquilo é difícil compreender.

- 959 E aí aparece a graça na sala porque muitas das vezes
 960 o colega na sala não irritam a professora,
 961 irritam é os colegas por estarem neste nível
 962 e apresentarem essas dificuldades.
- DOC:** 963 Não, mas a questão ali é que ...
 964 aquilo que eu disse é que por muito que as pessoas achem ...
 965 o que podem fazer é ... chegam ao pé do colega e dizem:
 966 “Olha, tu repara que isto não ... não pode ser ... não ... não...”
 967 Agora, na sala nada justifica o gozar com o colega...
- Inf18:** 968 E isto é porquê?
 969 Eu não sei se a professora recorda de eu ter dito,
 970 isto é uma escola superior pedagógica
 971 e deveria só entrar indivíduos que já são professores,
 972 p’ra aumentar os seus conhecimentos.
 973 Ou indivíduos que não são professores e querem ser professores.
- DOC:** 974 Que realmente querem ... mas o problema ...
 975 sabe que entra toda a gente.
- Inf18:** 976 Mas aqui já não!
 977 Há indivíduos que querem só aumentar
 978 o seu nível de conhecimentos. Só!
- DOC:** 979 É isso! Querem só o diploma!
- Inf18:** 980 O diploma ... aí reside o problema!
- DOC:** 981 Mas isso teriam de ser os alunos a dizer ...
- Inf18:** 982 ... à direcção da escola. Mas prontos ...
- DOC:** 983 Não podemos ser nós, principalmente sendo portuguesa.
- Inf18:** 984 Acabar com a primeira classe ...
 985 iniciação, primeira, segunda, até quarta classe em Angola ...
 986 quer dizer ... isso ... isso ...
 987 por mim, eu penso que isto é uma situação que nunca vai acabar,
 988 porque mesmo o ensino superior
 989 as dificuldades aparecem na língua portuguesa.
 990 Porque, em Angola, são poucos alunos, são poucos os estudantes
 991 que optam formação da língua portuguesa.
- DOC:** 992 E, por exemplo, falando em termos ...

- 993 já vimos que as dificuldades vão desde o ensino primário
 994 ao ensino superior, mas certamente
 995 há dificuldades diferentes nos vários níveis.
 996 Por exemplo, no ...
 997 vamos ver, na primeira, segunda, terceira e quarta classe
 998 quais é que são assim os principais problemas
 999 em termos de língua portuguesa?
- Inf18:** 1000 É o seguinte. Só o ... só o próprio professor ...
 1001 o próprio professor que vai se apresentar na escola,
 1002 a fim de trabalhar com as crianças da língua portuguesa,
 1003 já apresenta dificuldades.
 1004 Ele comunica-se em português, ele fala o português,
 1005 mas não sabe discernir o que é ... o que é e o que se não deve.
 1006 Pronto, eu sou professor ... ele pensa que chega lá
 1007 e tem que dar aulas.
 1008 E não conhece as técnicas
 1009 porque normalizar a língua portuguesa em Angola
 1010 a pessoa tem que conhecer a gramática na sua totalidade.
 1011 Não digo a 100%, mas pelo menos a 75%.
 1012 E só pode ser professor quem conhece, quem tem dom.
 1013 Mas em Angola já não.
 1014 Em Angola, por exemplo, muitos são professores
 1015 por uma questão de ... de emprego.
 1016 A única facilidade de as pessoas conseguirem o pão de cada dia
 1017 é ser professor em Angola. Então, aí reside ...
- DOC:** 1018 ... um dos problemas ...
- Inf18:** 1019 ... um dos problemas com que as crianças transportem,
 1020 desde o primeiro nível até ao nível superior,
 1021 as dificuldades na língua portuguesa.
- DOC:** 1022 E ... mas que dificuldades são essas?
- Inf18:** 1023 As dificuldades ... de transmitir. De transmitir.
- DOC:** 1024 Mas ... eh ... sei lá, problemas específicos.
- Inf18:** 1025 Problemas específicos na transmissão porque,
 1026 imaginemos, há quem **sai** da sua casa, da casa dos pais

- 1027 p'ra escola, e que não sabe falar português.
 1028 Vai aprender o português só na escola.
 1029 E não é assim tão fácil p'ra uma pessoa que sai de casa,
 1030 que não sabe falar português, e tem que aprender na escola.
 1031 Leva muito tempo.
 1032 Aquelas crianças que saiem de casa pá[ra] escola,
 1033 em que os pais sabem falar português,
 1034 e que os seus **filhos** também **sabe** falar português,
 1035 ao chegarem na escola não têm aquelas ...
 1036 aquelas mínimas dificuldades, não têm.
 1037 É só se incernir [*i.e. inserir?*].
 1038 Mas agora, em termos de conhecimentos profundos
 1039 da gramática da língua portuguesa aí reside o problema.
- DOC:** 1040 (???) Portugal (???) os filhos de emigrantes portugueses que,
 1041 ao nível da oralidade, toda a gente diz
 1042 “Ah! Falam perfeitamente o português!”,
 1043 mas eu tive-os como alunos no curso de português
 1044 para estrangeiros em Coimbra e depois na escrita,
 1045 na organização do discurso ...
- Inf18:** 1046 ... não sabem.
 1047 Temos esses casos.
 1048 Em Angola temos esses casos.
 1049 Temos colegas ... por exemplo, um professor de português,
 1050 numa sala de aulas, ele tem que estar preparado.
 1051 A aula é planificada e o que planificou é que tem que dar.
 1052 Não pode inventar.
 1053 P'ra um professor de português não pode escrever sumário.
 1054 Se é sumário, é sumário. (???)
 1055 erro, uma vez, se aparecer um aluno que saiba corrigir:
 1056 “Professora, desculpe...” –
 1057 e até porque as crianças são muito atenciosas –
 1058 “Professora, desculpe. Ali [es]{es}tá faltar um acento!”.
 1059 “Ah, desculpe!” Mas é melhor não torna a fazer!
 1060 Porque se você torna a fazer, para a criança transporta consigo...

Curriculum Vitae

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(Estudos Portugueses e Ingleses – Ramos Científico)
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (FLUC) Classificação: *16 valores*

Situação profissional actual

Desde Março de 2010

Leitora

Linguística Portuguesa I (Fonética, Fonologia e Morfologia), Análise Gramatical, Linguagem e Comunicação, Português língua estrangeira, Curso Livre de Preparação para a Componente de Cultura Geral e Língua Portuguesa.

Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais – Universidade do Algarve

Aguarda defesa da tese de doutoramento intitulada *Contact-induced restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in interior Angola: evidence from Dundo (Lunda Norte)*, realizada sob orientação do Professor Doutor John Holm, na FLUC, com o apoio da Bolsa de Doutoramento em C&T SFRH/BD/22865/2005, atribuída pela Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT).

Colaboradora não-doutorada do *Centro de Estudos de Linguística Geral e Aplicada* (CELGA) na área de *Estudos de Crioulística* (cf. <http://www.uc.pt/creolistics/research/angola/liliana>) - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra

Actividades científicas e profissionais anteriores



SETEMBRO 2006 A MARÇO 2007

Visiting Research Student

Frequência de seminários de formação no âmbito de tecnologias de documentação linguística, técnicas de trabalho de campo e linguística banto
School of Oriental and African Studies – SOAS (University of London)



SETEMBRO 2002 a JULHO 2005

Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria (Instituto Politécnico de Leiria – IPL)

Docência de *Linguística e Ensino do Inglês* (4º ano do curso de Professores do Ensino Básico, variante de Português-Inglês)



DESDE NOVEMBRO 2005

Taalstudio (Amesterdão, Holanda)

Consultora linguística independente em casos de asilo na área do Português Vernáculo de Angola



JULHO e AGOSTO 2004

Escola Superior Pedagógica da Lunda Norte (Dundo – Angola)

Docência de *Língua Portuguesa* (curso de Professores de Português-Inglês) no âmbito do protocolo de cooperação entre a ESPLN e a ESEL



SETEMBRO 2002 a JULHO 2004

Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria

Docência de *Inglês para Fins Específicos* (cursos de Serviço Social, Turismo e Comunicação Social e Educação Multimédia)



FEVEREIRO 2003 e FEVEREIRO 2004

Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria

Docência nos 9.º e 10.º Cursos de Português Língua Estrangeira



SETEMBRO 2003

Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria

Co-organização e docência no Curso de Preparação Linguística para Alunos Erasmus.



SETEMBRO 2002

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra

Docência de *Conversação e Laboratório* (Nível 0) - Curso Intensivo de Língua Portuguesa – Sócrates/Erasmus.



JULHO 2002

Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra

Docência de *Conversação e Composição* (Nível Complementar) - 78.º Curso de Férias de Português para Estrangeiros.

Comunicações em congressos

AGOSTO **2009** (com John Holm). “The vernacular Portuguese of Angola and Brazil: partial restructuring of the verb phrase”. IX Encontro Anual da *Associação Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* – ACBLPE (Universidade de Cologne, Alemanha).

JULHO **2008**. “Person-number agreement in interior Angolan Vernacular Portuguese”. VIII Encontro Anual da *Associação Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* – ACBLPE (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal).

JUNHO DE **2006**. “The noun phrase in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese: evidence for substrate influence”. VI Encontro Anual da *Associação Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* – ACBLPE (Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal).

JUNHO de **2005** (com John Holm). "The Vernacular Portuguese of Angola and Brazil: partial restructuring of the noun phrase". V Encontro Anual da ACBLPE (Universidade de Orléans, França)

JUNHO de **2003**. "Português Vernáculo do Brasil vs. Português Vernáculo de Angola – reestruturação parcial vs. mudança linguística?". II Colóquio sobre Línguas Crioulas, organizado pela ACBLPE (Universidade da Corunha, Espanha)

JUNHO de **2001** (com Dominika Swolkien). "O Artigo Definido Zero em Dois Contextos Específicos no Português do Brasil e no Crioulo de Cabo Verde". Colóquio conjunto da *Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages (SPCL)* e ACBLPE (Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal)

Comunicações por convite

OUTUBRO 2009

Título da comunicação: "The verb phrase in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese: evidence for substrate influence"
International Seminar on Contact Linguistics (Universidade Coimbra)

MARÇO 2008 (com Professor Doutor John Holm)

Co-orientação do seminário *The social contexts of (partial) restructuring*

Título da comunicação: "Angola's transition to vernacular Portuguese"

International Seminar on Creole Languages for Post-graduates (Universidade de Coimbra)

FEVEREIRO 2008

Membro do painel de oradores da mesa-redonda *A situação sociolinguística nos PALOPs*

Título da comunicação: "Angola - situação sociolinguística"

Organização: Clube de Estudos Lusófonos e Instituto de Língua e Literatura Portuguesa (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra)

FEVEREIRO 2008

Título: "A transição de Angola para o português vernáculo: uma história sociolinguística"

Colóquio *Comunidades Imaginadas: nação e nacionalismo em África* (X Semana Cultural da Universidade de Coimbra, organização do Centro de Estudos Interdisciplinares do Século XX)

FEVEREIRO 2007

Título: "The restructuring of Portuguese morphosyntax in Angola"

Linguistics Research Seminar Series 2006-2007, Department of Linguistics, SOAS (University of London)

Participação em projectos de investigação

DESDE ABRIL DE 2007 (c/ Professor Doutor John Holm e Mestre Incanha Intumbo)

Tratamento, organização e descrição dos dados linguísticos e sociolinguísticos relativos ao crioulo da Guiné-Bissau no âmbito da preparação da obra *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS)*

[http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/apics/index.php/The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures \(APiCS\)](http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/apics/index.php/The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS))

Coordenadores: Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Magnus Huber, Martin Haspelmath

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Department of Linguistics (Leipzig, Germany)

Data prevista de publicação: 2010/2011 pela Oxford University Press

Publicações Científicas

Capítulos em livros editados INVERNO, Liliana (2009). "A transição de Angola para o português vernáculo: estudo morfossintático do sintagma nominal". In Ana M. Carvalho (ed.) *Português em contato*, pp. 87-106. Madrid, Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Editorial Vervuert.

Artigos INVERNO, Liliana. 2008. "Transição de Angola para o português vernáculo: uma história sociolinguística". In Luís Reis Torgal (Coord.). *Comunidades Imaginadas*, pp. 169-182. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

INVERNO, Liliana. 2004. "Português vernáculo do Brasil e Português vernáculo de Angola: reestruturação parcial vs. mudança linguística". In M. Fernández, M. Fernández-Ferreiro and N. Vázquez Veiga (Eds.) *Los Criollos de base ibérica: ACBLPE*, pp. , 201-213. Madrid: Iberoamericana/Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.

INVERNO, Liliana & SWOLKIEN, Dominika (2003). "O artigo definido zero em dois contextos específicos no português do Brasil e no crioulo de Cabo Verde". *Biblos, n.s. I*, pp. 179-192.

Recensões

INVERNO, Liliana (Janeiro de 2004). Recensão do livro *Languages in contact: the partial restructuring of vernaculars. Rua Larga – Revista da Reitoria da Universidade de Coimbra*, 3, pp. 63-64.

Aptidões e Competências Pessoais

Primeira língua	Português
Outras línguas	Ótimo domínio do inglês (falado e escrito) Domínio razoável do francês (falado e escrito) Compreende espanhol (falado e escrito)

Aptidões e Competências Técnicas

Conhecimentos Informáticos	Utilizadora muito competente de programas de processamento de texto, folha de cálculo, base de dados, acesso à Internet, apresentações multimédia e correio electrónico da Microsoft e programas <i>opensource</i> correspondentes (ex.: OpenOffice), bem como de plataformas de intranet e programa de referência bibliográfica <i>EndNote X2</i> .
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Aptidões e Competências Organizativas

MARÇO 2008 | Co-organizadora do *International Seminar on Creole Languages for Post-Graduates* (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra)

JULHO 2006 | Co-organizadora do *Encontro Anual da Associação Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola – ACBLPE* (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra)

SETEMBRO 2003 | Co-organização do *Curso de Preparação Linguística para Alunos Erasmus*, com a responsabilidade de preparar o programa, horário e materiais (Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria – Instituto Politécnico de Leiria)

JUNHO 2001 | Co-organizadora do *Simpósio sobre línguas crioulas* organizado pela Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages (SPCL) e pela ACBLPE (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra)

Cargos

DESDE JUNHO 2007 | Vice-Presidente da Assembleia-Geral da *Associação: Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* (ACBLPE)

JULHO 2003 a JUNHO 2007 | Secretária da Assembleia-Geral da *Associação: Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* (ACBLPE)

Prémios e Bolsas

2005	Bolsa de Doutoramento	Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) - Portugal
2003	Bolsa de Mestrado	Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT) - Portugal

Actuais Interesses

Variedades de contacto do português no Brasil e em África, com particular ênfase no caso angolano; diversidade e mudança linguística em situações de contacto de línguas; política de línguas; sociolinguística, processos de aquisição de segunda língua, português língua segunda.