PAPIA 19, p. 93-122, 2009. ISSN 0103-9415

THE GENESIS OF THE BRAZILIAN VERNACULAR: INSIGHTS FROM THE INDIGENIZATION OF PORTUGUESE IN ANGOLA

John Holm
University of Coimbra
jholm@mail.telepac.pt

Abstract: This study uses the model of partial restructuring developed in Holm (2004), which compared the sociolinguistic history and synchronic structure of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) with that of four other non-creole vernaculars. Holm (2004) argued that the transmission of the European source languages from native to non-native speakers had led to partial restructuring, in which part of the source languages' morphosyntax was retained, but a significant number of substrate and interlanguage features were introduced. It identified the linguistic processes that lead to partial restructuring, bringing into focus a key span on the continuum of contact-induced language change which has not previously been analyzed. The present study focuses more tightly on the genesis of BVP and attempts to reconstruct with greater precision the contribution of Bantu languages to its development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by comparing specific areas of its synchronic syntax to corresponding structures in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese, which is currently undergoing indigenization (Holm and Inverno 2005; Inverno forthcoming a, b). The main focus is on the verb phrase (verbal morphology, auxiliaries, negation, and non-verbal predicates) and the noun phrase (number and gender agreement, possessive constructions and pronouns).

Key-words: Portuguese, partial restructuring, morphosyntax.

1. Introduction

In Holm (2004) I developed a model for dealing with language varieties that have undergone only partial restructuring rather than full creolization.

This theoretical model was based on the results of a systematic comparison of the sociolinguistic history and synchronic structure of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) with that of four other non-creole vernaculars. I argued that their partial restructuring had resulted from the transmission of the European source languages to an overseas population made up of both native and non-native speakers in which neither group overwhelmed the other numerically, leading to the retention of much (but not all) of the source languages' morphosyntax as well as the introduction of a significant number of substrate and interlanguage features. This model also sought to identify the linguistic processes that lead to partial restructuring, bringing into focus a key span on the continuum of contact-induced language change which had not previously been analyzed.

The present study focuses more tightly on the genesis of BVP and attempts to reconstruct with greater precision the contribution of Bantu languages to its development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by comparing specific areas of its synchronic syntax to corresponding structures in Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (AVP), which is currently undergoing indigenization, i.e. its growing use as the first language of monolingual speakers in Angola (Holm and Inverno 2005; Inverno 2006; Inverno forthcoming a, b).

This paper begins with an overview of the sociolinguistic settings which produced BVP and AVP (section 2). The main focus of the structural comparison of BVP and AVP is on the verb phrase: verbal morphology and negation (section 3) and the noun phrase: number and gender agreement, possessive constructions and pronouns (section 4); these are followed by some preliminary conclusions (section 5).

2. The sociolinguistic settings

2.1 Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese: 1500 to 1800

Because African slaves were brought to Brazil in such great numbers that they and their descendants came to comprise the majority of the population in certain parts of the country – and of the country as a whole at certain points in its history – it would be reasonable to expect a more fully restructured variety of Portuguese to have developed there, much as creoles developed under apparently similar sociolinguistic conditions elsewhere. As Guy (1981) put it,

> From the social historical standpoint, our question probably would not be "Was Portuguese creolized in Brazil?", but rather "How could it possibly have avoided creolization?" (1981:309).

However, there is a paucity of evidence to show that a widespread, stable creole ever became firmly established in Brazil. This may be due to the way in which differing sociolinguistic conditions there affected language transmission. Yet certain features of the nonstandard variety indicate the influence of Amerindian, African and creole languages. Brazil eventually became the world's greatest importer of slaves, receiving 38% of all Africans brought to the New World, as compared to the 4.5% who went to British North America (Curtin 1975:41). But the point at which these Africans arrived, the sociolinguistic situation they found, and the portion of the population they comprised are factors of crucial importance regarding the degree of restructuring that Portuguese underwent in Brazil.

In one important respect Brazil was unlike the first places where Portuguese-based creoles became established: the Cape Verde Islands and São Tome, which the Portuguese colonized in 1462 and 1485 respectively. These islands off the coast of western Africa had no inhabitants when the Portuguese came upon them, so there was no local language to learn when settlers arrived from Portugal and slaves were brought from the African mainland, putting their languages in contact leading to the development of new creoles within a generation. Brazil, by contrast, was already inhabited. When the Portuguese began to explore its vast coast after 1500, they found it to be inhabited by Amerindians speaking closely related varieties of Tupi. As the Portuguese established settlements from the 1530s onwards, contact among the various Indian subgroups increased and there evolved a common Tupi vocabulary fitting into a shared syntactic framework which was relatively free of complicated morphology. This koine, which the Portuguese also learned for contact with the Indians, came to be called the Língua Geral or general language for communication throughout the colony. Sampaio (1928:3) claimed that during the first two centuries of colonization, Língua Geral was the principal language of three-fourths of Brazil's population, albeit with growing bilingualism in Portuguese. Thus the first generations of Africans arriving in Brazil did not encounter the same kind of linguistic situation as those coming to the off-shore islands of Africa did, or indeed as did those arriving on Caribbean islands whose native populations had all but disappeared.

Brazil also differed from most of the areas where creole languages developed in that Africans or their descendants made up only a quarter of the population from 1600 to 1650; it was not until the 1770s that they constituted over 50% of the population (Marques 1976:359, 435), reaching 65% in 1818 (Reinecke 1937:556). Yet whites, the group most likely to speak unrestructured Portuguese, never made up more than a third of the population until the second half of the 19th century (see table 1), when slavery ended and the linguistic dice had already been cast. Thus there were proportionately fewer whites in Brazil than in most of the American South, although they always exceeded

20%, the maximum proportion of native speakers associated with full creolization.

Table 1: Estimated population of Brazil, 1538 to 1890

	1538-1600	1601-1700	1701-1800	1801-1850	1851-1890
African-born	20%	30%	20%	12%	2%
Creole Africans	-	20	21	19	13
Integrated Amerindians	50	10	8	4	2
Mixed	-	10	19	34	42
European-born	30	25	22	14	17
Creole Whites	-	5	10	17	24

(based on Mussa 1991:163, cited in Mello 1997:85)

Yet national population figures for large countries can obscure the local conditions of particular speech communities. For example, in what became the United States whites soon far outnumbered all other groups, but blacks still predominated in certain areas such as coastal South Carolina and Georgia, where a creolized variety of English developed and survived. The same seems likely to have been the case in the sugar-growing areas of Brazil, where labor-intensive production required plantations with a majority of African slaves since Indians proved unsuitable for this work. According to Silva Neto (1963:79), of the 14,000 Africans in Brazil in 1597, almost all were in the sugar-growing settlements of Bahia and Pernambuco. At this time there were 10,000 Africans in Pernambuco, making up fully half of its population, which also included some 8,000 whites and 2,000 Indians. Moreover, these Africans constituted a considerable proportion of the small total population of Brazil at this linguistically crucial early stage (numbering only a few tens of thousands), making it more susceptible to influence from the fully creolized Portuguese brought to Brazil from Africa. Evidence that a more highly restructured variety of Portuguese had been the language of coastal Brazilian sugar plantations rather than Língua Geral can be deduced from the fact that many of the earliest Portuguese sugar planters and their slaves came to Brazil by way of São Tomé (Ivens Ferraz 1979:19). The Portuguese had settled this island in the decades following their discovery of it in 1470, intermarrying with the slaves they brought from the mainland. A creolized variety of Portuguese evolved along with the cultivation of sugar on large plantations. The prosperity that this brought to São Tomé during the first half of the 16th century waned during the second half as slave rebellions and maroon attacks eventually destroyed the island's economy. The Portuguese began abandoning São Tomé in large numbers, many going to Brazil (ibid.). It is unlikely that they would have left behind the greatest financial asset needed to establish sugar plantations in Brazil, namely their creole-speaking slaves from São Tomé.

Moreover, there are abundant phonological, syntactic, and lexical features linking São Tomé Creole Portuguese and BVP (Holm 1992).

Further evidence of the use of restructured Portuguese on Brazilian sugar plantations comes from New Holland, the empire that the Dutch tried to carve out of northeastern Brazil from the modern states of Sergipe to Maranhão from 1630 to 1654. When the Portuguese regained the area in 1654, the Dutch and most of their Jewish collaborators were forced to leave Brazil. Many resettled in the Carribean regions, particularly in Dutch holdings in the Guianas and on islands such as Curaçao (Goodman 1987). There has been considerable debate as to how Portuguese came to influence Papiamentu (the Creole of Curaçao, based on Portuguese and Spanish) and Saramaccan (a creole of Suriname, lexically based on Portuguese and English). It has been suggested (e.g. Lenz 1928, Voorhoeve 1973) that this influence was via a pidginized variety of Portuguese used in the slave trade between Africa and the New World, which was partly learned by slaves and carried over into the languages which evolved in the Caribbean area. However Goodman (1987) presented considerable evidence supporting the view that the Portuguese element in Papiamentu and Saramaccan was introduced by refugees from Dutch Brazil. If this is indeed the case, then Portuguese, whatever its degree of restructuring, must have been the language of Brazil's coastal sugar plantations since at least the early 1600s.

There is linguistic evidence that the Portuguese taken to the Caribbean area arrived via Brazil rather than Africa. Reinecke (1937:467) noted that the Saramaccan word *plakkeh* (now spelled *pulakë*) 'a kind of eel' comes from the north Brazilian form *poraquê* (elsewhere in Brazil *piraquê*) 'electric eel', ultimately from Tupi *pura'ke* (da Cunha *et al.* 1982). Since the Saramaccans were not in direct contact with Tupi speakers, this word must have come into their language via Brazilian Portuguese. There is also linguistic evidence that the Portuguese brought to the Caribbean area had already undergone some restructuring. Wullschlägel (1856:328) notes a proverb in Suriname that he tentatively identifies as "Neger-portugiesisch?": "Praga beroegoe no mata caballo." This is apparently the Brazilian proverb, "Praga de burrico não mata cavalo" or 'The braying of an ass doesn't kill a horse', i.e. 'The insults of the weak don't affect the strong' (Diva Penha Lopes, personal communication). The lack of *de* 'of' in the NP "praga __beroegoe" indicates a possessive construction also found in BVP and São Tomé CP (4.3.3). It should be noted that *beroegoe* also shows the effect of vowel harmony (Holm 2000a:151); this and the zero articles in both the Surinamese and modern BVP proverb indicate restructuring (Inverno and Swolkien 2001). Even though the English-based Surinamese creoles could have influenced these last two features, they have a different possessive construction, [possessor + possessed], whereas the construction in the proverb is *praga beroegoe* or [possessed + possessor].

Thus this proverb is perhaps the best indirect evidence that the language of Brazil's coastal sugar-growing areas in the 16th and 17th centuries was Portuguese (rather than Língua Geral) and that this Portuguese had undergone some degree of restructuring.

Besides Língua Geral, another factor complicates the reconstruction of language transmission in Brazil as this might relate to restructuring. This factor is the retention of African languages over many generations and among large numbers of people. Such retention was largely absent from other New World societies in which creoles developed, where Africans were often put into linguistically heterogeneous groups to prevent communication in a language that their overseers could not understand in order to foil possible plots to revolt. However, in Brazil linguistic homogeneity seems to have been valued since it enabled older generations of slaves to teach newcomers more easily (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:33). Until 1600, most slaves came from West Africa; from then until about 1660, Bantu-speaking Angolan and Congolese slaves predominated, and afterwards they came from both parts of Africa (Marques 1976:361). Influence from both sources is confirmed in the etymological study of African words surviving in Bahian BVP by Castro and Castro (1980:46): of l,955 words, 967 (49.5%) were of Bantu origin, while 988 (50.5%) were of West African origin. Mendonça (1933:28) claimed that the West African or Sudanic people predominated in Bahia, while Bantu speakers predominated to the north and south, but this may be an oversimplification.

At the beginning of the 18th century, it was estimated that in Bahia

> the proportion of blacks to whites [was] twenty to one...in the city of São Salvador alone twenty-five thousand Negroes were catechized and instructed in the Angolan tongue. (Nash 1926:127)

There is further evidence that Portuguese —or a restructured variety of it — was the language of the coastal sugar plantations rather than Língua Geral. The latter clearly predominated in São Paulo and other areas where Indians and mestiços worked on fazendas raising cattle. The shift from Língua Geral to Portuguese in the interior seems to have been triggered by the gold rush in Minas Gerais during the first half of the eighteenth century. Although the gold had been discovered by *bandeirantes* who spoke Língua Geral, Portuguese soon become the common language in the mining region (Carvalho 1977:27). This was due not only to the great influx of men from Portugal, but also to the great influx of African slaves (to do the actual mining) from the coastal sugar-growing areas where such slaves were plentiful and

> the inhabitants were proficient in Portuguese; we believe that they had never actually abandoned the language since their commercial activity kept them in constant contact with Portugal. (Carvalho 1977:27)

However, an African-based lingua franca was also used during the gold rush in Minas Gerais, apparently among newly arrived slaves from Africa. As the mines became exhausted after the 1750s, there was a general movement of population away from Minas Gerais, and this probably played a key role in spreading a newly leveled variety of Portuguese —the forerunner of BVP — throughout the settled parts of Brazil, at the expense of Língua Geral. As Portuguese gradually came to predominate, it is likely that successive generations of bilinguals had decreasing competence in Língua Geral and increasing competence in Portuguese.

2.2 Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese: 1800 to the present

It would be surprising indeed if there had not been considerable interpenetration of the two languages on all linguistic levels under such conditions. Describing the linguistic situation in the Amazon region in the nineteenth century as this language shift moved deeper inland, Hartt (1872:72) noted that

> many Portuguese idioms have crept into the Tupí; but on the other hand, the Portuguese, as spoken in the Amazonas, besides containing a large admixture of Tupí words, is corrupted by many Tupí idioms.

It would seem probable, therefore, that the Língua Geral variety of Tupi left a strong mark on the BVP of rural peasants (Silveira Bueno 1963). The process involved was language shift, which can involve considerable restructuring (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:110-146). Different linguists' attribution of BVP features to the influence of both Tupi and West African languages presents no real dilemma: such totally unrelated languages may well coincidentally share structural similarities (e.g. syllabic structure rules, progressive nasalization, a lack of many kinds of inflections) which simply converged to reinforce one another in shaping BVP.

It is important to stress that European Portuguese continued to reassert itself in Brazil. Silva Neto (1963:68 ff.) notes that when the Portuguese court fled to Rio de Janeiro during the Napoleonic wars, "tudo se foi re-europeizando" ['everything was re-Europeanized'], from houses to clothes. In 1808 Rio had 50,000 inhabitants and the number of whites was much

lower than blacks; by 1835 the population was 110,000 with many more whites, given the arrival of 24,000 Portuguese and a large number of other Europeans (ibid.). To this day, Rio's inhabitants are known for their palatalization of plural **-s** in the European Portuguese manner, a prestige pronunciation that occurs only sporadically outside Brazil's former captial. Political independence from Portugal in 1822 saw the creation of an empire that lasted until the abolition of slavery in 1888.

However, the establishment of independent Brazilian cultural institutions did not mean that the grammar of European Portuguese lost any status in education. Although Brazilians of all races have been equal before the law since abolition without any form of officially sanctioned segregation, blacks still tend to be poor and powerless, while the rich and powerful still tend to be white or light skinned. An important historical factor determining the present racial structure of Brazilian society was the official 16th-century colonial policy of encouraging Portuguese men to marry native women in their colonies in order to establish a local part-Portuguese community with cultural and political loyalty to Portugal. In Portuguese India the founding governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, carried out this policy by granting such couples a state-subsidized dowry (Marques 1976:249). As a country with a small population —just over a million during this period (Boxer 1969:49) — it was the only way Portugal could maintain its far-flung trading empire, extending from Brazil to what is today Indonesia

The greater frequency with which Portuguese men fathered children by their slave women probably led to the far higher rate of manumission in Brazil than in the Caribbean. Racial mixing worked against the maintenance of the rigid caste system that helped preserve creolized language varieties elsewhere. Later, as Afro-Brazilians had fewer barriers to face in rising socially, they also had more incentive to learn Standard Brazilian Portuguese as a mark of their standing; such circumstances seem likely to have accelerated the loss of non-Portuguese features in their speech. As education started to become more widely available, Sousa de Silveira noted in 1921 that "even the Negroes speak better today than they used to" (reprinted in Pimentel Pinto 1981:27).

The language-related problems facing modern Brazil are still daunting: out of a total population of 165 million, 17% or some 28 million Brazilians are illiterate (Famighetti, ed. 1997:746) and likely to speak only nonstandard BVP. Azevedo (1989:869) notes that

> Vernacular speakers must learn to read and write in a dialect they neither speak nor fully understand, a circumstance that may have a bearing on the high dropout rate in elementary schools: as recently as 1983 only 70 out of every thousand students reportedly finished the 8th grade.

Today BVP is the language usually spoken by lower-class Brazilians with little education. It differs considerably from Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP), the literary language usually spoken by educated middle- and upper-class Brazilians, particularly in formal circumstances.

Thus educated Brazilians are comparable to educated African Americans, who use the standard in writing and speaking in formal situations but often use the non-standard in other social situations to signal intimacy or solidarity (ibid. 868). It is often not clear which variety is a speaker's first or dominant language. There are rural usages that are unlikely to be found in the speech of educated Brazilians, although many such usages have become part of urban sociolects through immigration from the countryside.

2.3 Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese and Helvécia Portuguese

The most extreme case of non-standard rural usage that has been documented is the restructured Portuguese spoken in the village of Helvécia in the state of Bahia (HP), recorded by Silveira Ferreira in 1961 but published some years later (1985). HP is described by Baxter (1987, 1992, 1997), and Lucchesi (2000).

Helvécia was founded in the 18th century by Swiss (speaking both German and French) and Germans, who bought slaves in the state of Bahia in order to raise coffee. It was first referred to in 1818 under the name Colônia Leopoldina, and described forty years later (Tölsner 1858, cited in Neeser 1951) as a prosperous community of 40 plantations with 200 whites (mostly German and Swiss, with some French and Brazilians) and 2,000 blacks. Lucchesi (2000) notes that Helvécia had a relatively high proportion of African-born slaves (some 40%) at this time. Silveira Ferreira concluded that

> With the decline of the coffee industry, the whites gradually abandoned the area, leaving as their legacy the name of the town, mixed descendants, and some family names.

The blacks, however, remained isolated, continuing to speak a creole that must have had general currency among them since vestiges of it persisted until 1961 (1985:22).

Lucchesi (2000: 84) describes HP as the result of semi-creolization. From what is known about the community's history, its main distinguishing feature is that it was founded by non-native speakers of Portuguese. German seems likely to have served as a lingua franca among the first generations of Europeans, who probably learned much of their Portuguese from their slaves in order to communicate with them. If this was the case, the Europeans'

Portuguese could not have served – as seems likely elsewhere in Brazil – as a model for decreolization. Since the slaves were originally purchased in Bahia in the 18th century, they must have already known some Portuguese – apparently in a restructured or second-language form, to judge from the variety that survived there until the 20th century. It is possible that this variety was also influenced by the second-language Portuguese of the first generation of Europeans, although their children must have become proficient in the Portuguese of the slaves. The isolation of the community was certainly not complete, since some Brazilians joined it, slaves from Africa were brought in (at least until abolition in 1888), and trade with the outside brought it prosperity. Contact with the less restructured BVP of the region seems likely to have increased over the years, bringing the speech of younger people more in line with that of other communities in the area. Although the sociolinguistic history of Helvécia Portuguese is not typical of BVP varieties in a number of respects and its existence cannot be viewed as unambiguous evidence that fully creolized Portuguese was ever widely spoken in Brazil, it does demonstrate that Portuguese was restructured there to varying degrees.

2.4 Angolan Vernacular Portuguese: 1450 to 1900

The following account of the genesis and development of the non-standard Portuguese that emerged in Angola is based largely on Inverno (2006:60-95) and to a much lesser extent on Lipski (2005).

Cape Verde and São Tomé, the previously uninhabited island groups that the Portuguese discovered and began settling in the fifteenth century, provided the necessary conditions for colonies based on slave labor that would develop their own creole languages. However, the Portuguese presence on the African mainland led to contrasting strategies for dealing with local people that had different sociolinguistic consequences. One strategy was that of the *lançados,* usually exiled criminals, who pursued the slave trade by settling down among Africans on the Guinea Coast, adopting their customs and often marrying local women. These Portuguese and their biracial, bilingual children became middle men in the slave trade, providing Portuguese purchasers with captives secured from Africans. The *lançados'* activities established restructured Portuguese as a regional lingua franca.

A different strategy for dealing with Africans developed after 1482 when the Portuguese, in their search for a sea route to India, reached the Congo region and found a number of powerful, well-organized kingdoms. Here they used diplomacy rather than military force, securing an alliance with the king whereby the Congo was to receive missionaries and skilled workers while the Portuguese could acquire goods such as gold, ivory and slaves. Young

Congolese noblemen were brought to Lisbon to learn Portuguese and Latin so they could be interpreters and scribes.

Inverno deduces that "there were very few reasons for any widespread use of Portuguese in the Congo" (2006:65) noting that even the Portuguese missionaries published their catechisms in Kikongo; moreover, she rejects the idea of Portuguese being spoken as a "rough pidgin" as hypothesized by Lipski (2005:65).

By the early 16th century it had become clear that the bilateral agreement between Portugal and the Congo was not meeting expectations on either side. The Portuguese were not getting the numbers of slaves they needed, and the Congo had not received the technicians they had been promised. Moreover, they had to put up with constant raids by slavers from São Tomé. South of the Congo in what is now Angola there emerged a new state called Ndongo that was eager for the slave trade: slavers from São Tomé had established a base for their trade around the island of Luanda that was prospering. The king, Ngola, had it conveyed to the Portuguese that he wanted to convert to Christianity and to establish a political and commercial agreements with Portugal. When the Portuguese ambassador, Paulo Dias de Novais, arrived at the Ngola's court in 1561, the king had him taken hostage and kept him prisoner until 1565. The Portuguese decided to threaten the use of military force: King Sebastião announced to the Ngola that Portugal was taking over Ndongo (which they called Angola after the Ngola) as a colony and that it would be governed by Novais. In 1575 Novais landed on the island of Luanda, which then had some 3,000 inhabitants, and then moved on to the mainland to found the city of São Paulo de Luanda. Novais was received by the local chiefs; it is telling that Novais himself spoke Kimbundu fluently from his four years of captivity at the court of the Ngola. As Boxer (1963:13) noted, "...on the mainland it was more a matter of the Portuguese traders and adventurers becoming Africanized than of the Negroes becoming Europeanized." It was precisely because of their familiarity with African customs and languages that these convicts and their descendants were tolerated by the Portuguese authorities in Angola until the late 19th century. Although the children of Portuguese fathers learned Portuguese, their traditional bilingualism was ensured by the shortage of white women in the colony, which 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 large group of Afro-Portuguese "began to occupy more and more positions in the army and the local administration. 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" (ibid. 271). But the Portuguese resisted the growing Africanization of the Afro-Portuguese elite in Angola. In

1760 Portugal's Marquês de Pombal ordered the closing of Luanda's Jesuit school, which he considered responsible for the diffusion of Kimbundu rather than Portuguese. This was followed by a 1765 decree compelling all heads of households in Luanda to enforce the use of Portuguese in the home, in the education of their children, and in contacts with slaves.

The independence of Brazil in 1822 made the Portuguese realize that unless they strengthened their position in Africa, their colonies there could follow the path of Brazil. At this time the effective Portuguese occupation of Angola was restricted to a narrow strip of the coast some 100 km wide. In the 1850's the Marquês de Sá da Bandeira, the head of Portugal's *Conselho Ultramarino*, wanted to substantially increase the number of Portuguese settlers in Angola as part of his plan to expand the colony's territory, end the slave trade, and develop a plantation economy, but he succeeded in only a few settlements like Moçâmedes, which drew a number of settlers from Pernambuco and the Algarve (Padrão 1998).

One of the few references to the Portuguese spoken in Angola in the 19th century is in Schuchardt (1888:67) quoting Soares (1886:14): "Dá-se mesmo um facto curioso em Angola e mais possessões portuguezas 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....O mestiço se compõe de **palavras portuguezas** accomodadas ao génio do bundo..." (my bold [JH]). However, Inverno (2006:83) believes that "...*mestiço* is likely to refer to the variety of Kimbundu spoken in Luanda, which, according to Chatelain (1894:v), is "needlessly mixed with Portuguese elements" and "offers poor material for the study of genuine Ki-mbundu."

The last third of the 19th century brought military campaigns to extend Portuguese control into interior Angola. One of these areas was Lunda, which since the 18th entury had provided the majority of the slaves shipped to Brazil and the Americas (Dias 1998:335), although bilingualism in Portuguese did not become widespread here or in most other parts of Angola's interior until a century later.

This period also saw the doubling of Luanda's white population (Vansina 2001:276). The increase in white settlers had begun following Brazil's independence from Portugal: Portuguese military were sent to Luanda to ensure that the faction of the Afro-Portuguese elite that wanted Angola to become a colony of Brazil would not succeed (Alexandre 1998:25-6). By the middle of the century two schools had opened in Luanda and later several newspapers began publication. All these factors led "more men from the local elite to acquire a more thorough knowledge of Portuguese...[and] the Luso-African community eventually become completely bilingual" (Vansina 2001:277).

2.5 Angolan Vernacular Portuguese: 1900 to the present

The "pacification" of Angola was the main focus of the Portuguese from the 1890s to the 1920s. In 1911 the newly founded Portuguese Republic established a Ministry of Colonies and in 1917 established a law giving native Angolans the rights of white Portuguese citizens provided they were literate in Portuguese, could provide for themselves and their families, were law-abiding and "followed different customs from those usual for their race" (Marques 2001:26, my translation [JH]). After 1926, it was the policy of the fascist *Estado Novo* under Salazar to promote "...controlled, selective assimilation marred by racist prejudices and practices" (Freudenthal 2001:306). Assuming the superiority of Europeans over Africans, the Ministry of Colonies began promoting immigration from Portugal to increase the number of white Portuguese settlers in the colony, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 2: The racial composition of the Angolan population

Year	*Blacks*	*Mestiços*	*Whites*
1900	99.7%	0.06%	0.2%
1920	99.3%	0.14%	0.5%
1930	98.3%	0.5%	1.2%
1940	98.1%	0.75%	1.2%
1950	97.4%	0.72%	1.9%
1960	95.3%	1.1%	3.6%
1970	—	—	5.1%

(from Frendenthal 2001:309 and Bender 2004:71, cited by Inverno 2006:87, 90)

In the 1950's the increase in the number of white settlers was largely due to the establishment of big agricultural settlements in the interior. Africans were removed from their lands and forbidden to work on these *povoamentos planeados*, so these settlements did not increase their linguistic contact with the Portuguese. In the 1960's Cape Verdean settlers were also brought in, but like the Portuguese, they left the rural settlements for the urban centers on the coast when it was possible. This can be seen in the following tables:

Table 3:The population of Luanda according to race, 1930-1955

Year	*Blacks*	*Mestiços*	*Whites*
1930	77%	11%	12%
1940	75%	10%	15%
1950	78%	7%	15%
1955	76%	6%	18%

Table 4: The urban[1] population of Angola according to race, 1930-1955

Year	*Blacks*	*Mestiços*	*Whites*
1930	76%	9%	15%
1940	74%	9%	17%
1950	76%	7%	18%
1955	74%	5%	21%

(from Amaral 1962, cited in Inverno 2006:88-92)

However, the distribution of whites in these cities was uneven. The southern cities of Sá da Bandeira (now Lubango) and Moçâmedes had received relatively large numbers of whites in the 19th century, and they made up some 40% of the population of both cities in 1930 and some 60% in 1955 (Inverno 2006:88, 92 citing Amaral 1962), whereas the proportion of whites in the other cities was scarcely a third of that (ibid.). While this was the first time that there were enough native speakers of Portuguese outside of Luanda to make a significant contribution to the spread of their language, the actual conditions of contact were not particularly conducive to language learning. Racial segregation was deeply rooted in Sá da Bandeira and Moçâmedes, whose Black population was linguistically heterogeneous. Elsewhere the majority of Portuguese settlers, themselves undereducated and poor, joined the masses of Africans in the *musseques* or slums of Luanda and other coastal cities. Those who could competed with the Afro-Portuguese elite for desirable positions, benefitting from discrimination favoring their race and their Portuguese. As the independence movement grew in the early 1970's, the Portuguese government grouped increasing numbers of people in the interior in *aldeamentos*, "vast villages often surrounded by barbed wire, where previously dispersed African populations were kept together" (Bender

[1] Luanda, Malanje, Benguela, Lobito, Nova Lisboa, Silva Porto, Sá da Bandeira, Moçâmedes

2004:264-5). Although these conditions eventually led to some degree of proficiency in Portuguese, in 1974 only 16% of the population had a reasonable knowledge of the language, 24% had a rudimentary knowledge and 59% had no proficiency (ibid. 353).

As Inverno (2006:95) notes, 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). The current portion of Angola's population of 10,776,471 that speaks Portuguese is 42% according to Azevedo (2005:22).

3. The verb phrase

In both BVP and AVP there has been a significant reduction in the verbal morphology marking person, number, tense and mood. Moreover, both varieties are more likely than EP to use the kind of double negation found in Bantu languages.

3.1 BVP verbal morphology

Compared to European Portuguese (EP) and Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP), there is a considerable reduction of verbal inflection in BVP. As will be seen, this cannot be due solely to phonological tendencies such as the loss of final -s or the denasalization of final vowels. The intimate second person forms used in Portugal (e.g. the singular *tu parte*s and the obsolescent plural *vós partis* for 'you leave') have been replaced by polite forms taking third person endings (singular *você parte* and plural *vocês partem*) in most parts of Brazil except in prayer. The feature distinguishing singular from plural in the third person is nasalization, which often does not occur. The most coherent explanation for this variation, which is morphological as well as phonological, is partial restructuring.

Without the intimate second person forms, the six distinct verbal inflections for person in the present tense in European Portuguese are reduced to four in Standard Brazilian Portuguese —confining the discussion to one conjugation and noting that there are parallel contrasts in the other two:

(1)	SBP:	eu part**o**	'I leave'
		você/ele part**e**	'you leave/he leaves'
		nós part**imos**	'we leave'
		vocês/eles part**em**	'you/we leave'

However, in BVP denasalization of the third person plural ending can yield a contrast of only three verbal inflections for person, with distinctive endings only in the first person singular and plural. This might be attributed to a phonological rule for denasalization. However, the loss of contrasting inflections cannot be due to a purely phonological rule because in some lects of BVP the first person plural ending is identical to that of the third person (Marroquim 1934:115-116). This loss of disyllabic inflection is clearly a morphological rather than a merely phonological change:

(2)	BVP:	eu part**o**	'I leave'
		você/ele part**e**	'you leave/he leaves'
		nós part**e**	'we leave'
		vocês/eles part**e**	'you/they leave'

Because of this reduced verbal paradigm, BVP makes greater use of subject pronouns than EP, which is a Pro-drop language that uses them for emphasis only. In BVP subject pronouns are required for all persons except the first singular, which maintains its own distinctive verbal inflection (Mello 1997).

It should be noted that most Atlantic creole verbs, which take no inflections, appear to be derived from the imperative form of the verb in the lexical donor language, rather than the infinitive (or possibly the third person singular form, although this is could not be the case in the English-based creoles). This can be seen more clearly in the case of many irregular verbs; for example, Guiné Creole Portugue *bay* and Papiamentu *bai*, both meaning 'go', are from P *vai* 'go!' (or possibly *[ele] vai* '[he] goes'). It is significant that this is also the form found in BVP, e.g. "Nós *vai* lá" 'We go there' (cf. SBP "Nós *vamos* lá") (Rodrigues 1974:208). This two-way inflectional contrast can also be found in the preterit:

(3)		**SBP**	**BVP**	
	eu	part**i**	part**i**	'I left'
	você/ele	part**iu**	part**iu**	'you/he left'
	nós	part**imos**	part**iu**	'we left'
	vocês/eles	part**iram**	part**iu**	'you/they left'

In the imperfect tense, a single form (part**ia**) can be used for all persons, replacing the three-way contrast in SBP. In BVP other inflected tense forms are rarely used, and the subjunctive mood tends to be replaced by the indicative (Azevedo 1989:866-7).

3.2 AVP verbal morphology

In Angola's interior, where the transition to AVP is still going on, Inverno (forthcoming b) found that alongside the standard EP verbal paradigm, the following verbal endings are used in the vernacular Portuguese spoken in the northeastern mining town of Dundo:

(4) AVP **Eu** **faz** o trabalho.
1SG do:PRS.IND-3SG the work
'I do the work.'

(5) AVP **Ucês** branco_ **tem** bué de dinheiro.
2PL white:M.SG have.PRS.IND-3SG lots of money
'You white people have lots of money.'

(6) AVP **Eles** fala_ quioco.
3PL speak:PRS.IND-3PL Cokwe
'They speak Cokwe.'

(7) AVP **Eu** já começ-**ou** mesmo a trabalha**ri**
1SG already start:PRT.IND-3SG indeed to work:INF
'I have already really started working.'

(8) AVP **Nós** aqui fo-mo muito fechado_
1PL here be:PRT.IND-1PL very closed:SG
'We were very isolated here.'

(9) AVP E**les** faz-**ia** assim...
3PL do-IMPF.IND.3SG this way
'They did it this way...'

Inverno notes that the AVP infinitive marker **-ri** varies with zero and that the subjunctive tenses are replaced by the corresponding indicative tenses. She summarizes the other non-EP usages of verbal inflections in the AVP of Dundo as follows:

Table 1: ***Person-number paradigm in the AngolanVernacular portuguese of Dundo***

Tense	Person-number category	Person-number morpheme
Preterit Indicative	First person singular	-u
Other tenses		0
Preterit Indicative	Second and third person, singular and plural	*-u*
Other tenses		0
All tenses	First person plural	*-mo*

3.3 BVP negation

Negation of the BVP verb can be handled three ways (Schwegler 1996), as in the following sentences, each of which means 'He doesn't know':

(10) l. Before the VP: BVP: Ele **não** sabe.
2. Before and after the VP: Ele **não** sabe **não**.
3. After the VP: Ele sabe **não**.

In pattern 2, utterance-final **não** alternates with **nada** 'nothing':

(11) BVP: El' **não** falô issu **nada**. 'He didn't say that.'

Older Portuguese had only pattern l, while modern EP has 1 and 2, the latter for emphasis only. Schwegler concludes that in BVP there is a change in progress toward pattern 3. Cunha (2001:25) notes that "...o uso de negativas duplas se expande por todo o Brasil, enquanto as negativas finais parecem estar restritas aos falantes nordestinos e a algumas regioes de Minas Gerais e do Rio de Janeiro. Inverno (fc.) notes that these "... are the three regions in Brazil that received the largest number of slaves from Africa in general and Angola in particular."

3.4 AVP negation

Like BVP, AVP has double negation:

(12) AVP **Não** considera como na cidade **não.**
NEG consider:PRS.IND.3SG as in the city NEG
It's not considered part of the city.' (Inverno f.c. b)

(For the passivization of the meaning of transitive verbs like AVP *considera* above, see section 3.8 below.)

Evidence for a substrate origin is that pattern 2 (with a negator before and after the VP) occurs in São Tomense Creole Portuguese:

(13) São Tomense CP I'ñe **na** ka 'tlaba na'i **fa**
they **not** ASPECT work here **not**
'They do not work here.' (Ferraz 1976:36)

The closely related creole of nearby Príncipe has pattern 3 (negator after the VP) with the utterance-final negator **fa**. Discontinuous double negation is indeed found in African languages such as Ewe, which surrounds the verb with the disjunctive negators **me...o**, the first element of which can sometimes be omitted (Boretzky 1983:102). Moreover, patterns 2 and 3 occur in a number of Bantu languages spoken in those areas of Angola where many people were taken in slavery to Brazil (Hagemeijer 2007:278, citing Westphal 1958).

4. The noun phrase

Both BVP and AVP tend to mark plural number only on the first item in an NP, and recent research on the likely substrate influence of Bantu languages on AVP casts new light on why this is so. The BVP noun phrase preserves the categorical gender agreement found in EP, but AVP does not, probably a reflection of its more recent development. Object pronouns in both BVP and AVP differ from those of EP in their case marking and word order. Those of BVP often differ from EP in following the SVO word order of the Atlantic creoles and many of their West African substrate languages, but in AVP there are instances of object pronouns following the SOV order of their substrate Bantu languages even when EP has SVO order.

4.1 Number in the BVP noun phrase

EP and SBP require that all determiners, nouns, and adjectives in a noun phrase be marked for number:

(14) SBP: o**s** livro**s** velho**s** 'the old books'

However, BVP often indicates plurality by adding **-s** to only the first element (usually a determiner), leaving the plural **-s** inflection optional on following nouns and adjectives:

(15) BVP: um do**s** mais velho_ orixá**s**
'one of the most ancient deities' (Holm 1987:417)
SBP: um do**s** mais velho**s** orixá**s**

However, it is not always the first element that is marked:

(16) BVP: o_ meu**s** irmão_ '[the] my siblings' (ibid)
SBP: o**s** meu**s** irmão**s**

(17) BVP todo_ o**s** mais vehlo_ 'all the most ancient [ones]' (ibid)
SBP todo**s** o**s** mais velho**s**.

Regarding the tendency of BVP noun phrases to mark only the initial element for number —Guy (1989: 232) found that over 95% had such marking —this pattern may, as he suggested, represent a survival of the system of marking plurality at the beginning of noun phrases in many Niger-Congo languages (ibid. 233). An early variety of restructured Portuguese in Brazil may have had an optional system of marking plurality comparable to that of São Tomé CP, in which **ñe**, the word for 'they', is used before nouns, e.g. **ñe mwala** 'the women'. This is comparable to the parallel use of the word for 'they' in various African and creole languages. Through decreolization, this plural marker could have been replaced by a plural form of the definite article, **os** (which also functions as the object pronoun 'them'). This is suggested by the attestation of earlier BVP forms such as **osêle** 'they', apparently a combination of a pluralizing **os** plus **ele** 'he', instead of SBP **eles** (Mendonça 1933:67). Support for this interpretation can be found in the parallel use of Cape Verdean CP **iS** (cf. the P plural indefinite article **uns** 'some') as a pluralizer:

(18) Cape Verdean CP **iS rapaz)** '(some) boys' (Almada 1961:92)

It is clear that the variable rule for **-s** is both phonological and syntactic. As a phonological rule it operates on (synchronically) single morphemes:

(19) BVP **somo** '[we] are'
SBP **somos**

Guy (1989) found clearly monomorphemic instances such as BVP **onibu** 'bus' (SBP **onibus**) (personal communication). He goes on to point out that at the same time a variable *syntactic* rule of NP plural marking is required to account for phrases such as **as vez, os espanhol, as nação**, because if they resulted from simple S-deletion, they should be **as veze, os espanhoi, as naçõe** due to certain irregularities in the formation of some SBP plurals. Viewed historically, the variable marking for number in modern BVP makes sense only if the variety evolved from an uninflected variety which began borrowing inflections from SBP at a stage when the latter's system of number agreement within noun phrases and between subjects and verbs was still opaque to speakers of BVP. The inflections were probably first applied randomly (as in decreolizing English *(the boy go/ the boy**s** go**es**/ the boy go**es**/ the boy**s** go)* in free variation. The syntactic rules of the more frequent inflections (**-s** and nasalization) alternating with their absence in turn led to BVP phonological rules for the same alternation that could then be applied to single morphemes. Naro and Scherre (2000) have claimed that the BVP phonological rules for the variability of **-s** and the nasalization of vowels were inherited from European Portuguese, but this claim has not been confirmed by any dialectologist in Portugal.

4.2 Number in the AVP noun phrase

Like BVP, AVP has a pattern of marking number within the noun phrase that is essentially different from that used in EP: plurality is usually indicated by adding *-s* only to the first element in the noun phrase, often leaving the head unmarked:

(20) AVP a**s** mulher__
EP a**s** mulher**es**.
'the women.' (Inverno 2006:131)

Inverno (2006: 116-121, 130-135) provides the most rigorous comparison to date of number marking in AVP and its Bantu substrate languages; her conclusions support the hypothesis of Guy (1989: 233) that it was the substrate influence of African languages that determined plural number marking on the leftmost element of the BVP noun phrase (section 3.1). Inverno (ibid.) observes that it is because Bantu languages mark number to the left of the noun by means of the plural form of class prefixes that in AVP leftmost elements tend to attract plural marking even if they are not articles (21), or they are the first element in a compound noun (22), or they are the head of the noun phrase (23):

(21) AVP ele marca muito**s** golo_
EP ele marca muito**s** golo**s**
'He scores many goals.' (Inverno 2006:132)

(22) AVP afro**s**-americano_
EP afro-americano**s**
'Afro-Americans' (ibid. 134)

(23) AVP há coisas que ele**s** próprio_ exigem
EP há coisas que ele**s** próprio**s** exigem
'There are things they themselves demand.' (ibid. 134)

She further notes that when the noun phrase consists of three elements, the first two are marked for number regardless of their grammatical category:

(24) AVP o**s** meu**s** estudo_
EP o**s** meu**s** estudo**s**
DET my studies (ibid. 132)

(25) AVP em Angola temos muita**s** língua**s** materna_
EP em Angola temos muita**s** língua**s** materna**s**
'There are many mother tongues in Angola.' (ibid. 135)

4.3 Gender in the BVP noun phrase

Gender marking appears to be categorical in both SBP and BVP. However, it is not a part of the grammar of the Atlantic creoles or most of their Niger-

Congo substrate languages (Holm 1988-89:195). There is evidence that in the restructured Portuguese of Helvécia in the Brazilian state of Bahía there is no gender agreement between nouns (or pronouns) and adjectives:

(26) HP: 'El**a** E 'mũitu sa'id**u** 'she is very meddlesome.' Silveira Ferreira (1985:30-31)
SBP: el**a** é muito said**a**

Silveira Ferreira (ibid) notes that there is an absence of gender agreement between nouns and articles in Helvécia Portuguese as well, and that nouns do not necessarily take the gender marking of SBP:

(27) HP: 'i**a** a'bot**a** 'an abortion' (ibid)
SBP: um abôrt**o**

The variability of gender agreement in Helvécia Portuguese is the topic of a dissertation by Lucchesi (2000), who notes that such variation is disappearing among younger speakers. He points out that its origin can only be explained by what he calls the "irregular transmission" of rules of morphology, since there are no known instances of the phonological variation of /o/ and /a/, marking masculine and feminine forms respectively, in the history of the Portuguese language.

Bonvini (2000:402) notes that in the ritual "Língua dos Pretos Velhos", which is thought to imitate the foreigner talk of Africans in previous centuries, gender agreement within the NP is variable:

(28) LPV mi**a** pov**u** 'my people' (cf. SBP me**u** pov**o**) (ibid.)
(29) LPV ter**a** foi kiad**u** 'the earth was created' (cf. SBP a terr**a** foi criad**a**) (ibid.)

Finally, Amaral (1976:73) notes that in the language of ex-slaves, the pronoun **ele** (SBP 'he') could also be used in reference to females, like the third person singular pronoun in basilectal Atlantic creoles and in most of the Niger Congo languages that formed their substrate.

4.4 Gender in the AVP noun phrase

Inverno (2006:136) observes 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 NP, 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 NP (i.e. masculine)..."

(30) AVP: **o**s palavra
EP: **a**s palavr**a**s 'The words' (ibid.)

(31) AVP: ness**e**s are**a**s
EP: ness**a**s are**a**s
'in those areas' (ibid.)

Of particular relevance to this comparison of AVP to BVP, Inverno (2006:138) concludes that "...variable sex-gender agreement is possibly the best linguistic evidence of AVP's recent development", suggesting that early forms of BVP may have had similarly variable gender agreement rules, much like AVP and Helvécia Portuguese.

Finally, note that as in older varieties of BVP (see section 3.3), the AVP pronoun *ele* ('he' in EP) can be used to mean 'she':

(32) AVP: **Ele** chama MS.
'Her name is MS.' (Inverno 2006:142)

4.5 Possession in the BVP noun phrase

Possession is normally indicated by the preposition **de** in BVP, as in standard Portuguese:

(33) SBP: A casa **de** Maria 'Maria's house'

However, in some rural varieties of BVP the preposition can be omitted:

(34) BVP: kaza __ Maria [literally 'house Maria'] (Jeroslow 1975)

There is a parallel possessive construction in São Tomé Creole Portuguese, in which the preposition **di** can also be omitted:

(35) São Tomé CP: donu **di** losa
or donu __ losa '[the] owner [of the] farm' (Ivens Ferraz 1979:69)

4.6 Possession in the AVP noun phrase

Inverno (2006:139) does not note any differences between AVP and EP in the use of *de* (alone or in combination with definite articles) relating one NP to another. This is to be expected 39 because in the substrate "...Bantu languages surveyed in this chapter, possession is typically indicated by the use of a genitive marker, similar in meaning to the Portuguese preposition *de*, either with the noun or pronoun denoting the possessed thing or person" (ibid.):

(36)	Cokwe:	kasumbi	**ka**	tata
		chicken	POSS Poss;	1 SG.father
		'My father's chicken' (Martins 1990:50)		
	EP	galinha	**do**	meu pai

3.7 Pronouns in BVP

One of the most striking features of BVP is the use of personal pronoun forms that can be used only for emphatic subjects in EP as direct objects in BVP, replacing the clitics of the standard:

(37) BVP: Ela chamou **eu.** 'She called me' (Azevedo l989:863).
SBP: Ela chamou-**me**.

This usage is also frequently found in the casual speech of educated Brazilians; Azevedo recorded a linguist saying the following:

(38) BVP: ...impediu **eles** de passar 'prevented them from passing' (Azeve do 1989:864)
SBP impediu-**os** de passar

In many Atlantic creoles there is no distinctive case marking for subject and object pronouns. Moreover, these creoles always preserve their basic SVO word order with object pronouns, unlike Romance languages, in which direct and indirect object pronouns usually occur before the verb. BVP preserves this word order as well:

(39) BVP: Esses porco aí, nós ganhemo **eles**. 'Those pigs, we got them as a gift' (ibid)
SBP: Esses porcos, nós **os** ganhamos

Turning from personal to reflexive pronouns, the latter are an integral part of SBP grammar:

(40) SBP João cortou**-se** com faca. (Mello 1997:153)
'John cut himself with a knife.'

However, these do not commonly occur in BVP; instead, the following constructions occur:

(41) BVP a. João cortou ___ com faca.
b. João cortou **ele** com faca.
c. João cortou **ele mesmo** com faca. (ibid)

The first BVP structure without any pronoun is found throughout the Atlantic creoles and many of their substrate languages, in which any transitive verb can have not only an active meaning but also a passive one if its subject is a plausible object:

(42) Papiamentu CS: E yama Maria. 'She is called Mary.' (Holm 1988:83)
cf. S: Ella **se** llama María.

(43) São Tomé CP: E ple'de. 'He got lost.' (Ivens Ferraz 1979:72)
cf. EP: Ele **se** perdeu.

(44) Bambara: Tò **dun** Mali la. 'Millet porridge **is eaten** in Mali.' (Holm 1988:84)
millet-porridge eat Mali in

4.8 Pronouns in AVP

Inverno (2006: 141) notes that "Clitic direct object forms (*o, a, os, as*) are very rare in AVP. They are systematically replaced...by the stressed forms (*ele, ela, eles, elas*):

(45) AVP: Deixa **ele** falar!
EP: Deixa-**o** falar! 'Let him talk!'

She further observes that this use of *ele, ela* occurred in archaic Portuguese and has been maintained in the casual speech of contemporary EP speakers (ibid.). Regarding the AVP reflexive pronoun *se*, she notes that it can be omitted:

(46) AVP: Cansada, sentou __ no caixote. (Mendes 1985:137)
Tired, she sat down on the box.
EP: Cansada, sentou-**se** no caixote. (Inverno 2006:142)

When it does occur, AVP *se* can be used for all persons (ibid.) and it and other object pronouns "tend to appear after the verb in syntactic contexts where EP uses them before the verb" (ibid. 143). However, it is interesting that in AVP there are also instances of object pronouns following the SOV order of its substrate Bantu languages even when EP has SVO order. Inverno notes that in some cases the clitic forms of both indirect object and reflexive pronouns diverge from EP in appearing before the verb:

(47) AVP minha mãe e o meu pai **me** deu o nome de JX...
'My parents named me JX...'
EP a minha mãe e o meu pai deram-**me** o nome de JX... (Inverno 2006:142)

She adds that "in the Bantu languages spoken in Angola...object and reflexive person markers are typically used before the verb" (ibid.).

5. Conclusions

Many of the changes that BVP and AVP have undergone can be characterized as structural reduction: reduced morphological marking for person or tense on verbs, for number on nouns and other elements in the NP, or for case on personal pronouns. Sometimes this reduction means the loss of syntactic complexities (e.g. subject-verb agreement) or the variable loss of function words (e.g. the reflexive pronoun). If we compare these differences between BVP and AVP on the one hand and EP on the other, we find they are similar to the changes that other partially restructured vernaculars have

undergone (Holm 2004: 137-142). However, the changes in these particular features rather than others do not seem to be random: the changes that took place tend to make the partially restructured varieties more like their substrate languages. This is, of course, the outcome that contact linguistics would lead us to expect.

References

Almada, M. D. de Oliveira. 1961. *Cabo Verde: contribuição para o estudo do dialecto falado no seu arquipélago*. Estudos de ciências políticas e sociais, No. 55. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.

Amaral, Amadeu. 1928. *O Dialeto Caipira*. (3rd ed. l976, São Paulo: HUCITEC, Secretaria da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia).

Azevedo, Milton M. 1989. Vernacular features in educated speech in Brazilian Portuguese. *Hispania* 72, pp. 862-872.

Baptista, Marlyse; Heliana R. de Mello and Miki Suzuki. 2007. Capeverdean and Guiné-Bissau Creole Portuguese. In J. Holm and P. Patrick, *eds*., pp. 53-82.

Baxter, Alan N. 1987. Creole-like traces in rural Brazilian Portuguese dialects. Department of Spanish, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Australia. 47 pp. ms. Baxter, Alan N., and Dante Lucchesi. 1997. A relevância dos precessos de pidginização e crioulização na formação da língua portuguesa no Brasil. *Estudos lingüísticos e literários* 19, pp. 65-84.

Bonvini, Emilio. 2000. La langue des «pretos velhos» (vieux noirs) au Brésil: un créole à base portugaise d'origine africaine? *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* XCV, pp. 389-416.

Boretzky, Norbert. 1983. *Kreolsprachen, Substrate und Sprachwandel*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. Cunha, Celso Ferreira da. 1982. *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: FENAME (Fundação Nacional de Material Escolar, Ministério da Educação e Cultura). Cunha, Maria Angélica Furtado da. 2001. O modelo das motivações competidoras no domínio funcional da negação. DELTA 17:1, pp. 1-30.

Ferraz, Luiz. 1976. The origin and development of four creoles in the Gulf of Guinea. *African Studies* 35 (1): 33-38.

Gilbert, Glenn. *ed*. 1987. *Pidgin and Creole Languages: essays in memory of John E Reinecke*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Guy, Gregory R. 1989. On the nature and origins of Popular Brazilian Portuguese. In *Estudios sobre español de América y lingüística afroamericana*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, publication no. 83, pp. 227-245.

Hagemeijer, Tjerk. 2007. *Clause structure in Santomé*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Lisbon, Departamento de Linguística e Românica.

Holm, John. 1987. Creole influence on Popular Brazilian Portuguese. In G. Gilbert, *ed.* pp. 406-430.

—. 1988-89. *Pidgins and Creoles*. 2 vol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2004. Languages in Contact: the partial restructuring of vernaculars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, John. 2004. *Languages in contact: the partial restructuring of vernaculars.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, John, and Liliana Inverno. 2005. The vernacular Portuguese of Angola and Brazil: partial restructuring of the noun phrase. Presented to the *Associação: Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola*, Université de Orléans (France).

Holm, John, and Peter L. Patrick, *eds*. 2007. *Comparative Creole Syntax: parallel outlines of 18 creole grammars*. London: Battlebridge Press.

Inverno, Liliana. 2006. Angola's transition to Vernacular Portuguese. Dissertação de Mestrado, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra.

—. forthcoming a. A transição de Angola para o português vernáculo: estudo morfossintáctico do sintagma nominal. In Ana Carvalho, ed. *O Português em Contacto*. Madrid, Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, Vervuert.

—. forthcoming b. *The transition to vernacular Portuguese in northeastern interior Angola: the restructuring of Portuguese morphology and syntax in Dundo*. Dissertação de Doutoramento, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra.

Ivens Ferraz, L. 1979. *The Creole of São Tomé*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Jereslow, Helen [McKinney]. 1974. *Rural Cearense Portuguese: a study of one variety of non-standard Brazilian Portuguese*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University dissertation.

Kouwenberg, Silvia and Abigail Ramos-Michel. 2007. Papiamentu (Creole Spanish/ Portuguese). In J. Holm and P. L. Patrick, *eds*., pp.307-332.

Lemle, Miriam. 1976. Heterogenidade dialetal: um apelo a pesquisas. In E. M. P. Lobato, *ed. Lingüística e ensino do vernáculo*. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro.

Lorenzino, Gerardo. 2007. Angolar (Creole Portuguese) or Lunga Ngola. In J. Holm and P. L. Patrick, *eds*., pp.1-24.

Lucchesi, Dante. 2000. *A variação na concordância de gênero em uma comunidade de fala afro-brasileira: Novos elementos sobre a formação do português popular do Brasil*. Ph.D. diss., Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

Martins, João Vicente. 1990. *Elementos de Gramática Utchokwe*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical.

McKinney, Helen [Jereslow]. 1975. Creole characteristics in rural Brazilian Portuguese. Paper presented at the International Congress on Pidgins and Creoles, University of Hawaii.

—. 1982. Serial verbs in a non-standard Brazilian dialect: possible creolization. Paper presented at the Conference of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, New Orleans.

Mello, Heliana Ribeiro de. 1997. *Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese: evidence of partial restructuring*. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Mendes, Beatriz Correia. 1985. *Contributo para o Estudo da Língua Portuguesa em Angola*. Lisbon: Instituto de Linguística da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa.

Naro, Anthony J. and M. Marta P. Scherre. 2000. Variable Concord in Portuguese: the situation in Brazil and Portugal. In J. McWhorter, *ed*., *Language Change and Language Contact in Pidgins and Creoles.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 235-255.

Rodrigues, Ada Natal. 1974. *O Dialeto Caipira na Região de Piracicaba.* São Paulo: Editora Ática.

Schwegler, Armin. 1996. La doble negación dominicana y la génesis del español caribeño. *Hispanic Linguistics* 8:2 pp. 247-315.

Silveira Ferreira, Carlota da. 1985. Remanescentes de um falar crioulo brasiliero. *Revista Lusitana* 5 (Lisbon), pp. 21-34.

Tarallo, Fernando. 1986. On the alleged creole origin of Brazilian Portuguese: untargeted syntactic change. Paper presented at the Creole Workshop, LSA Institute, City University of New York. In Ian Roberts and Mary A. Kato (eds.) 1993. *Português brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica.* Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, pp. 35-68.

Westphal, E. O. J. 1958. An introductory comparative study of negation in Bantu. *Mitteilungendes Instituts für Orientforschung* 6: 2, pp. 284-320.