The word is also trisyllabic in Principense, which has <u>ma'kita</u>.

7) ST <u>'nami</u> "yam" (Ptg inhame /i'nəmɐ/)

The cognate stem for "to eat" occurs in various African language groups, e.g. Serer (Adamawa group) <u>nam</u> "to eat". In Gullah there is <nyam> ~ <yam>, and Dillard (1972a: 118) refers to Krapp's opinion that "present infantile <yum-yum> may be related to this word.". According to Alvarez Nazario (1961), the Gullah word also means "potato", which supports the view that the verb could be the etymon for the noun <yam> "type of edible tuber". The Cape Verde word is <u>'name</u> . Alvarez Nazario gives examples of the occurrence of cognates in several Creoles.

2.1.3. Extension of Portuguese Meaning

For some ST words, Portuguese has supplied the linguistic form and the African substratum the area of reference. The Portuguese form thus ceases to be associated with its conceptual area and covers in ST the conceptual area which had been covered by an African linguistic form. As an instance, Ptg mão (hand up to the wrist) → ST <u>mõ</u> (covering the African concept hand and arm up to the shoulder). In both Bini (Kwa) and Kongo (Bantu), two languages representing a major substratum influence on ST , "hand" and "arm" are one concept, <u>obɔ</u> in Bini and <u>kooko</u> in Kongo.

There is always a degree of overlap in the criterial attributes which the linguistic form had in Portuguese and those which it has in ST. In the case of <u>mõ</u> , the part of the conceptual area up to the wrist is common to the concept labelled by Portuguese and the African languages.

The Portuguese word braço "arm" is thus not required in ST to cover "wrist to shoulder", a Portuguese concept. It becomes unnecessary for ST to incorporate a linguistic form to cover a concept which has been otherwise labelled, so that this word has not been absorbed into ST, although <u>'blasu</u> "embrace" exists, derived from Ptg abraço .

Some African languages have one word for the hand and arm up to the elbow, and one for the upper arm, e,g. Tsonga (South-Eastern Bantu) <u>sandɦa</u> "hand and arm up to the elbow", <u>ɲoko</u> "hand and upper arm". Various aspects of .

expansion of meaning in lexical borrowing are discussed
by Huttar (forthcoming).

Other examples:

1) Ptg pé /pɛ/ "foot" → ST ɔ'pɛ "foot and leg to the knee"

   In addition to "foot", ST ɔ'pɛ designates "leg", as in
   such West African languages as Kimbundu (kinama "foot
   and leg") and Bini (owɛ "foot and leg"). Portuguese
   perna "leg" has not been incorporated into ST.

2) Ptg sogro /'sogru/ "father-in-law", sogra /sogra/ "mother-
   in-law" → ST 'sɔglu "father-in-law; son-in-law",
   'sɔgla "mother-in-law; daughter-in-law".

   With the addition of the Portuguese-derived gender
   feature, ST 'sɔglu and 'sɔgla cover what in African
   languages is frequently one concept, as Kongo ko
   "father-, mother-, son-, daughter-in-law". Ptg genro
   "son-in-law" and nora "daughter-in-law" have not been
   incorporated.

3) Ptg curto /'kurtu/ "short" → ST 'kutu "short; low"

   The Portuguese word for "short" is also used for "low"
   in ST. Bantu languages generally, as in Kongo, have
   one word for the concepts "short" and "low". The corres-
   ponding Kishikongo stem is -ankufi "short; low".

4) Ptg longo /'longu/ "long" → ST 'longo "long; tall"

   This extension of meaning parallels the one above.
   The corresponding Kishikongo stem is -anda or
   -alambuka "long; tall".

5) Ptg cru /kru/ "raw" → ST ku'lu "raw; unripe"

   In addition to "raw", ST ku'lu designates "unripe",
   thus covering the same conceptual area as occurs in
   African languages such as Kongo, which has mbisu
   "raw; unripe". Ptg verde "green; unripe" has been
   absorbed into ST as 'vede to designate the colour
   green, without association with "unripe".

6) Ptg sola /'sɔlə/ "sole" → ST 'sala in 'sala mõ "palm of the hand", 'sala ɔ'pɛ "sole of the foot".

The Portuguese word for "sole" has been absorbed into ST to mean both the palm of the hand and the sole of the foot, as in Kongo (kanda "palm of the hand; sole of the foot") and Bini (atat-abɔ "palm of the hand", atat-awɛ "sole of the foot". Ptg palma "palm (of the hand)" has not been incorporated into ST.

2.1.4. Portuguese Word Replaced by Periphrasis

A Portuguese word may be replaced by a periphrastic construction which has an equivalent in African languages. Thus the Portuguese word tornozelo "ankle" has not been incorporated; instead ST has the periphrastic construction ɔ'sɔ d-ɔ'pɛ (lit. "bone of the foot"). This construction has an African basis, as exemplified by Kongo ɓisi ya-kuulu (lit. bone of foot)".

Other examples

1) Ptg lágrima "tear" replaced by ST 'awa we (lit. "water from the eyes").

Although there are words for "tear" in Kongo, Kishikongo has the circumlocution maza ma-mesu (lit. "water from the eyes"). Sango, now a Central African lingua franca, also has an expression meaning "water from the eye" to designate a tear, ngu le (Samarin, 1970:70).

2) Ptg chover "to rain" replaced by ST 'suba so'be (lit. the rain rains).

Typically, Bantu languages employ a periphrastic construction consisting of noun+verb to render "to rain", as in Kongo mvula ɲi-bwa "lit. the rain is falling". In the Kwa languages, Bini has amerhɔ "it is raining" (lit. water falls).

2.1.5. Meaning Shifts in the Portuguese Component

It is not frequent for a Portuguese word to acquire a

different meaning in ST. The following, however, are a few
examples of Portuguese words which have acquired a different
meaning in ST:

'doši	"tasty" (← Ptg doce "sweet")
kutu'ša	"shyness" (← Ptg cortesia "courtesy")
mɔla'do	"important man" (← Ptg morador "resident")
'umida	"fog" (← Ptg húmida "damp")
'boɉa	"to emerge; to lift; to raise; to suspend" (← Ptg boiar "to float")
'flimi	"straight" (← Ptg firme "firm")
tlɔ'vada	"storm" (← Ptg trovoada "thunder")

2.1.6. Portuguese Archaisms

Some ST words bear a greater phonetic resemblance to
forms of Old Portuguese (some surviving dialectally) rather
than standard modern Portuguese. Such words are frequently
derived from the archaic form, and thus help to locate in
time the formation of ST. The following are examples of
forms resembling old rather than standard modern Portuguese
forms:

ST		Old Ptg	Standard modern Ptg
pe	"to put"	poer	pôr
kɉe	"to fall"	queer	cair
ũa	"one"	ũa	uma
'ɔme	"man"	home	homem
sɔ'mana	"week"	somana	semana
'kuma	"as"	coma	como
gumi'ta	"to vomit"	gumitar	vomitar
buči'za	"to baptize"	boutizar	baptizar
mi'n̄ɔ̃	"better"	milhor	melhor
ka'žɔ̃	"occasion"	cajom	ocasião

Frequently the use of an archaic or otherwise more
unusual Portuguese form in ST results in non-absorption of
a more current standard modern Portuguese item, as in the
following examples:

ST			Old or less usual Ptg	Modern Standard Ptg
ma'teʒa	"pus"		matéria	pus
ku'ʒi	"to answer"		acudir	responder
mɪ'ʒã	"medicine"		mezinha	remédio
'nɔva	"news"		nova	notícia
flɔ'ga	"to enjoy oneself"		folgar	divertir-se
pɪ'sa	"to push"		pinchar	empurrar
fe'de	"to smell bad"		feder	cheirar mal
da'na	"to rot"		danar	apodrecer
fu'ta	"to steal"		furtar	roubar
'liba	"top, upper part"		riba	cima
ži'bõ	"jacket"		gibão	casaco
ka'dɛlɛ	"hip"		cadeira	anca, quadril
maši'bɪ	"young man"		mancebinho	jovem, rapaz
'zuda	"enema"		ajuda	clister
'taka	"to fasten"		atacar	abotoar
ka'ɪ	"stingy"		cainho	avarento
'kenta	"to heat"		aquentar	aquecer
'anta wɔ	"still"		anta hora	ainda
'zuga	"to throw"		jogar	atirar, lançar
manga'sõ	"mockery"		mangaçõo	troça
mo've	"abortion"		mover	aborto; abortar

Some of the Portuguese archaisms which are found in ST occur also in other Portuguese Creoles, revealing the earliness of the formation of these languages. Compare the following archaic forms. drawn from the examples given above, with the cognates in other Portuguese-based Creoles. The data for the Creoles outside São Tomé and Príncipe are drawn from the following sources: Annobón (Barrena, 1957), Cape Verde islands (Lopes da Silva, 1957), Guiné (Wilson, 1962), Senegal (Chataigner, 1963), Malacca (Silva Rego), Ceylon, Cochin, Mangalore, Bombay, Singapore, and Macao (Dalgado, 1900).

     ST ma'teʒa "pus" (← Ptg matéria)
     Cape Verde I.< materia> , Guiné <mateɛrya>.

ST ku'ji "to answer" (← Ptg acudir)
Angolar ku'ji, Príncipe ku'di, Annobón kũ'ẑi
Cape Verde I. kdi "to answer a call", Senegal ku'di
"to hear".

ST mi'jã "medicine" (← Ptg mezinha)
Senegal mi'siɲu , Macao ‹misinha›

ST 'nɔva "news" (← Ptg novas)
Cape Verde I. ‹noba›, Cochin ‹noves›

ST pĭ'sa "to push" (← Ptg pinchar)
Cape Verde I. ‹pĭxa› , Guiné ‹pinča› , Mangalore,
Bombay, Malacca ,   Macao pĭ'ša .

ST da'na "to rot; to damage" (← Ptg danar)
Senegal dana "to damage", Ceylon da'na "to damage",
Malacca da'na

ST fu'ta "to steal" (← Ptg furtar)
Senegal ‹ furta ›

ST 'liba "top, upper part" (← Ptg riba)
Angolar 'liba , Senegal 'řiba, Guiné 'řiba, Singapore,
Macao ‹ribè›, Mangalore ‹rib ›, Malacca ‹riba› .

ST maši'bĭ "young man" (← Ptg mancebinho)
Angolar maši'vi, Ceylon mas'viɲu

•

2.2. Recent Changes

The direction of change in ST is towards Portuguese.
This process of approximation to Portuguese is most marked
in the lexicon. However, these changes are minimal when seen
in the context of the whole lexicon of the language, and in
no way is there a suggestion of relexification on any large
scale.

A feature of many words recently introduced from
Portuguese is an incomplete assimilation into the phono-
logical patterns of ST.

2.2.1. <u>Words of African Origin Being Replaced by Portuguese</u>
<u>Words</u>

Some words of African origin are being replaced by
words of Portuguese origin. Indeed, a few African words are
only remembered by older people who heard them in their
youth. The following are examples of words of African origin
either undergoing replacement or existing next to Portuguese
words:

<u>'fana</u>	"to open wide" (being replaced by <u>bi'li</u> ← Ptg abrir)
<u>'gɔlo</u>	"to look for" (next to <u>pluku'rɛ</u> ← Ptg procurar)
<u>klɔ'klɔ</u>	"to scrape" (being replaced by <u>'ɬaɬpa</u> ← Ptg raspar)
<u>'kutu</u>	"to thicken (food)" (next to <u>'glɔsa</u> ← Ptg engrossar)
<u>ɔ'klɔklɔ</u>	"scar" (being replaced by <u>šika'tliži</u> ← Ptg cicatriz)
<u>'tumbu</u>	"dust" (next to <u>'pwɛla</u> ← Ptg poeira, <u>ɔ'pɔ</u> ← Ptg pó)
<u>u'bwe</u>	"body" (next to <u>'klopo</u> ← Ptg corpo). In the expression "to have a bath", <u>'laba u'bwe</u> is being replaced by <u>'tɔma 'baɲu</u> (←Ptg toma banho).
<u>ɡo</u>	"to complain" (next to <u>'keša</u> ← Ptg queixar-se)
<u>nguɪgu'nu</u>	"to ~~complain~~" (being replaced by <u>řižmungɛ</u> ← Ptg rasmungar)
<u>'zamba</u>	"elephant" (next to <u>li'fantɪ</u> ← Ptg elefante)
<u>u'tu</u>	"mould" (next to <u>bu'lolu</u> ← Ptg bolor)
<u>'dudu</u> (d-awa)	"earthen water pot" (being replaced by <u>'biɦo</u> ← Ptg bilha)

2.2.2. Loss of Periphrastic Constructions

In the process of approximation to Portuguese, a number of periphrastic constructions in ST are being replaced by the single word which denotes the concept in Portuguese, as in the following examples, many of which are kinship terms and other terms related to the family:

> 'mina di 'mina (m.)
> child of child (me)
> "(my) grandchild"
> > 'netu   (← Ptg neto)

> 'ɔmɛ (di) 'mana (m.)
> man (of) sister (me)
> "(my) brother-in-law"
> > ku'nadu (← Ptg cunhado)

> 'mwala 'manu (m.)
> woman brother (me)
>   or
> sā-'nge 'manu (m.)
> lady-person brother (me)
> my) sister-in-law"
> ku'nada (← Ptg cunhada)

> 'mwala kwe sa di 'kaza kwe
> woman that-he be of marry with-her
> "(his) fiancée"
> > 'noiva (← Ptg noiva)

> 'mwala d-e ka'zadu mwe
> woman of-him married die
> "widower"
> > 'vjuvu (← Ptg viuvo)

> kla'sõ ku ži'bõ
> shorts with jacket
> "suit"
> > 'fatu (Ptg fato)

kwa a ka nda ku 'jelu n-e
thing UNM KA walk with money in-it
"wallet"
> kər'təirə (← Ptg carteira)

'panu di 'mala 'flida
cloth of tie wound
"bandage"
> ligadura (← Ptg ligadura)

'panu 'mala ka'besa
cloth tie head
"scarf"
> 'lesu (← Ptg lenço)

do'tolo 'deci
doctor teeth
"dentist"
> den'tista (← Ptg dentista)

These words are borrowed from Portuguese with little
change. Thus, for instance, kər'təirə "wallet" contains
three Portuguese segments which are not part of ST phonology:
/ə/, /əi/, and /r/.

A few periphrastic constructions, however, still remain,
as in the following examples:

'bisu ku ka nda ku 'bɛga ni sŏ
animal that KA walk with belly on ground
"reptile"

'awa 'lodo
water mud
"lake; lagoon"

kwa lon'dondo
thing round
"circle"

ɔ'sɔ d-ɔ'pɛ
bone of foot/leg
"ankle"

pɛ 'd-e ku mɛ̃ 'd-e   or   mɛ̃ 'd-e ku pɛ 'd-e
father of-him with mother of-him/ or   mother-of-him
with father of-him

        "his parents"

        (ngə) di 'sumi
        (person) of jealousy
        "jealous (person)"

        (te'rɛnu) ku te 'oke
        (land) which has hills
        "hilly, mountainous (land)"

2.2.3. Development of Synonyms

There is evidence that the vocabulary of ST is being
enriched by new borrowings from Portuguese of words for
which there already exist synonyms in ST . The new words
do not replace the old ones, but complement them:

    Old 'kupi (archaic 'kopi) "spittle" (← Ptg cuspir)
    New sa'liva "saliva" (← Ptg saliva)

    Old lɔzo've "to resolve, to decide)(← Ptg resolver)
    New disi'di "to decide" (← Ptg decidir)

    Old bwa   "good" (← Ptg boa)
    New agɾa'davelu "pleasant" (← Ptg agradável)

CHAPTER EIGHT

EPILOGUE

1.   A SUMMARY OF SALIENT FEATURES
        OF SAO TOMENSE AS A CREOLE

In approaching the question of whether São Tomense
displays any features which might be regarded as Creole
trends, the evidence which emerges from this analysis suggests
that many features which appear to be characteristically
Creole find their explanation in terms of the substratum.
Other features still unexplained in terms of Portuguese and
African languages might also be accounted for, on the one hand
by means of further research into the substratum, and on the
other by more evidence on language universals. As discussed
in paragraph 1, Chapter 1, Givón, in a most significant paper
(forthcoming), has argued on solid evidence that many Pidgin
and Creole traits are attributable not to a common origin,
but to the substratum and to universal grammar. The theory of
monogenesis has figured prominently in Creole literature over
the past two decades, gaining a wide acceptance, even to an
ultimate provenance in the ill-documented Sabir. The mono-
genetic theory has made an important contribution to Creole
studies, by establishing and drawing attention to features
widespread in Pidgins and Creoles; however, adequate arguments
against monogenesis have been long overdue. Of particular
interest to the present writer were Givón's explanations of
some Creole trends in terms of language universals. A trend
which has been adduced in favour of monogenesis has been the
occurrence of verb markers in Creoles with different substrata;
thus the Portuguese adverb logo /'lₐgu/ "later" appears as
a future morpheme with the form lo or 'logu in Creoles as
distant from each other as, for instance, Cape Verdian,
Papiamento, Malacca, and Macao (Thompson, 1961). A personal
communication from Givón (March 4, 1974) provided the following
sequence to Givón's evidence for universal grammar in the paper
just mentioned:

> "As to your logo "later" becoming a
> future tense marker -- sure, it's most
> plausible. I'm enclosing a paper of mine
> which deals with the semantic basis for
> developing tense/aspect markers from verbs.

But adverbs presumably could also be the
sources for this. "Later" is really very simple:
The structure (semantically) of FUTURE is
roughly this: [event didn't take place prior
to time of speech], [event is asserted to
maybe / possibly take place after / later than
time of speech]. The first part is presupposed,
the second asserted (under a "possible" modality).
So "later", either with absolute diaxis (to
time of speech) or with relative diaxis (to
the reference time of another action/event)
has partly the same structure: i.e. the same
presupposition and assertion. Except that
when it becomes a future tense it requires
absolute diaxis, i.e. reference to time of
speech (though in many languages the future
tense may be "relativized", i.e. something
like "He knew that he would leave later on
(both relative to the action-time (or "time
axis") of a past-tense event.

However, the explanation of Creole trends in terms of the
substratum and the universals of language does not discount
the fact that such Creole trends do exist. The following are
a few areas where the data for São Tomense suggest one might
possibly look for such trends:

a) The occurrence of free fluctuation in the phonology, as
    well as overlapping phonemes, affecting, in some words,
    the choice of vowels or consonants, the element of
    nasality, or the placing of stress. Non-Creole languages
    do not appear to have this degree of phonological
    fluctuation within groups. The fluctuation found in the
    phonology of São Tomense is true fluctuation, and is
    not socially controlled. Examples are:

Vowels:

mɔ'ɲa ~ mo'ɲa	"to wet"
ku'mɛ ~ ku'me	"to eat"
'gɔlɔ ~ 'gɔlo	"to look for"
fo'no ~ fɔ'nɔ	"to scratch; to tear"
fan'tɛ ~ fan'te	"disdain"
'ɔmɛ ~ 'ɔme	"man"
bliga'sõ ~ obliga'sõ	"obligation"

Consonants:

štli'vi ~ šli'vi	"to serve"
'pô. ~ 'pôža	"sponge"
an...oze ~ ã'čjoze	"until today"
nisi'daɲi ~ misi'daɲi	"need"
ska ~ ška	"present continuous morpheme"
ple'ɲidu ~ ple'židu	"lazy"
kuštipa'sõ ~ koštipa'sõ	"cold" (n.)

The element of nasality:

mu ~ mũ	"1st p.s. object pronoun"
'sada ~ 'sanda	"hoe"
kovi'dadu ~ kẽvi'dadu	"guest"
mu'fada ~ mũ'fada	"pillow"
i'ne ~ i'nẽ	"they"

Stress placement

'zanta ~ zan'ta	"to have dinner"
'lele ~ le'le	"to accompany"
'nãse ~ nã'se	"you - pl."
a'le ~ 'ale	"king"

b) The use of reduplication with various functions, which
is pervasive in Creoles with the most different substrata:

'zuga-'zuga	"to palpitate"
'bɔdɔ-'bɔdɔ	"around"

The derivation of 'zuga-'zuga from 'zuga (← Ptg jogar)
is a derivational process in the lexicon. The processes
of derivation by compounding are discussed in paragraph 1,
Chapter 5.

c) The use of lexical items as markers of grammatical catego-
ries, a process which is extensive in Creoles. Nouns and
verbs are taken out of the lexicon and used with syntactic
functions in order to mark grammatical categories like
adverb, for example, or in order to provide the conjugation
of the verb. Valkhoff (1966: 254) has referred to the use
of the verb da "to give" (← Ptg dar) in São Tomense
with the meaning of the preposition "to", as in:

<u>e fa da i'ne</u> > <u>e fa d-i'ne</u>
"he said to them" (lit. he say give them)

Regarding the use of the verb <u>da</u> as the preposition "to",
Givón (forthcoming) cites, among other examples, the English
preposition "for" (benefactive case) paralleling "to give"
in Kwa, and believes that this parallelism is of universal
significance. The problem in such instances is, as Givón
states further on, whether "it may not have been the <u>specific</u>
<u>substratum</u>, but rather the <u>universal substratum</u>, which is
responsible for the presence of rule X in the grammar of
language A", a problem which he admits is extremely difficult
to handle.

Further instances from ST are the verb <u>pa'sa</u>, which may
function as an adverb, meaning "too much", as in <u>n-kume pa'sa</u>
"I ate too much", and the noun <u>we</u> "eye", which occurs as
a locative, as in <u>e sa 'we mu</u> "he is in front of me" (lit.
he is in my eyes). The author does not have data for West
African languages to discuss the last two examples of lexical
items being used with the function of grammatical markers,
but in the comparative in Tsonga, a South-Eastern Bantu
language, "too much" is <u>ku-tlula mpimu</u>, literally "to
jump over /surpass/exceed the measure", and "in front" is
<u>matweni</u>, literally "in the eyes". This would account for
the São Tomense forms.

The verb <u>'bila</u>, as discussed in Chapter 6, paragraph 7.1.2.4,
with the original meaning of "to turn", has become part of
the conjugation, with such meanings as "to become" and
"to do again". This change in the function of the verb
meaning "to turn" is found not only in ST and other Creoles,
but in languages which are not Creole, suggesting that this
is a universal trend in language rather than a specifically
Creole trend.

d) The use of serial verbs to indicate tense and aspect, about
which much has been written. The connection between some
serial verbs in São Tomense and counterparts in Bantu and
Kwa, discussed in paragraph 4, Chapter 6, suggests that the use
of serial verbs in Creoles can be better understood once there

are Creole studies linked to a study of the substrata.
Thompson (1961) has already referred to the possibility
of a Creole universal being provided by a verbal system
consisting of a "single, invariable word-base modified
by particles." Givón (forthcoming) referred to in para-
graph 1, Chapter 1, maintains that the widespread occurrence
of serial verbs in Creoles is to be ascribed to both the
substratum and the universals of language.

e) The co-existence of synonymous lexical items from the base
and from the substratum, as in:

'klopo	"body" (← Ptg corpo)
u'bwe	"body" (Afr.)
'keša	"to complain" (← Ptg queixa)
go	"to complain" (Afr.)
'pedla	"stone" (← Ptg pedra)
'budu	"stone" (Afr.)

f) A production process of creating new lexical items from
existing lexical items, as in the following periphrasis
to designate "toy" :

kwa po 'flɔga kwe   (po < pa bo)
thing for-you play with-it

This process and further examples appear in paragraph 2.2.2,
Chapter 7. Although São Tomense is losing many of these
periphrastic constructions, which are being replaced by
simple items from Portuguese, some of them still remain.

g) The loss of inflection. Through the virtual absence of
inflection, ST becomes an analytical language, whereas
Portuguese and Bantu are synthetic; the typological
classification of the Kwa languages is more difficult to
ascertain.

h) The absence of reflexivization. There is no distinction
in São Tomense between e fi'li "he cut" and e fi'li
"he cut himself". This is at variance with what Jacobs
and Rosenbaum (1968 : 34) have found about languages in
general :

> Virtually all human languages exhibit the
> phenomenon of reflexivization, although the
> form of the reflexive varies considerably
> from language to language. Speculate as
> to why reflexivization should be so universal
> a phenomenon.

Reflexivization is also absent in Annobonese (Barrena,
1957 : 38-39), Angolar, and Principense. There are no
reflexive pronouns in the following French-based Creoles:
Haitan Creole (Sylvain, 1936 : 63), Creole of Martinique
(Jourdain, 1956 : 104), and Dominican Creole (Taylor,
1969 : 1034), nor in the Spanish-based Palanguero
(Bickerton and Escalante, 1970 : 258). However, Bailey
(1966), in her treatment of Jamaican Creole, provides an
instance of a Creole language in which reflexivization
occurs. This may be due to the fact that Jamaican Creole
is very close to English.[1]

2.   THE AFRICAN SUBSTRATUM

It has emerged in the course of this study that the sub-
stratum of São Tomense is derived from the Western Bantu and
Kwa groups.   More specifically, Kongo, in the Bantu area, and
Bini, in the Kwa area, play a prominent part in the substratum.
It was found moreover that, out of the Kongo dialect cluster,
Kishikongo, which was spoken in the court of the old kingdom
of the Kongo, plays the most important part. Bini is the language
of the kingdom of Benin. These facts may be seen in the light
of the links which Portugal had with the kingdoms of Benin
and the Kongo in the late 15th century and early 16th. The
evidence discussed in this analysis shows that the Creole was
formed at this early stage, and was not affected in any significant

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[1]Figueroa (1968 : 5) writes that "in Jamaica what we really
have is a continuous unbroken continuum between something
that is nearly standard received Southern British speech,
to the most creolized of Jamaican speech".

way by the languages spoken by slaves who may have arrived
on the island subsequently.

The following is a summary of some of the features
derived from the substratum.

2.1. Phonology

a)   Palatalization.

In most instances, the consonantal series /t, d, s, z/
are palatalized before /i. ɪ. j/. thus becoming
respectively /č, ĵ. š, ž/, as in:

Ptg	tirar /ti'rac / → ST	či'la	"to take out"
"	pedir /pɯ'dic/ → "	pi'ĵi	"to ask"
"	cinco /'sinku/ → "	'šinku	"five"
"	luzir /lu'zic/ → "	lu'ži	"to shine"

Before vocalic segments other than /i, ɪ, j/, /š/ and
/ž/ tend to be depalatalized, becoming respectively
/s/ and /z/:

| Ptg | chamar /šə'mac/ → ST | 'sama | "to call" |
| " | hoje /'ožɯ/ → " | 'ɔzɛ | "today" |

The affricates /č/ and /ĵ/ do not occur in Portuguese.

As discussed in paragraph 4.5, Chapter 4, the origin of
this type of palatalization is to be found in Kongo,
where, for instance, tina "to cut"is realized phone-
tically as ['čina]. This process of palatalization is
incomplete in São Tomense. In the closely related Creole,
Principense, the palatal series [č, š, ž] are allophones
of /t, s, z/, occurring before /i, ɪ, j/ and before
consonants, in complete complementation. The literature
consulted refers to palatalization of the series /t,s,z/
before /i/ in Kongo, but makes no mention of the
palatalization of /d/. The palatalization of /d/ found
in São Tomense may have been due to analogy with the
palatalization of /t/.

b)   Vowel harmony.

In São Tomense, vowel harmony is primarily a tendency

for a vowel to cause a vowel in an adjoining syllable
to be similar in the properties of frontness, height,
etc., as is illustrated by the way in which the
following words have been incorporated from Portuguese:

Ptg	serviço	/sɐɾ'visu/	→ ST	šli'visu	"service"
"	descer	/dmš'seɾ/	→ "	de'se	"to descend"
"	outro	/'otɾu/	→ "	'otlo	"another"
"	osso	/'osu/	→ "	'ɔsɔ	"bone"
"	largo	/'laɾgu/	→ "	'laluɰu	"wide"
"	cova	/'kɔvə/	→ "	'kɔbɔ	"hole"
"	redondo	/ɽm'dondu/	→ "	lon'dondɔ	"round"

As discussed in paragraph 4.4, Chapter 4, this type of
vowel harmony occurs both in Bantu and Kwa, as exempli-
fied by the Ngala (Bantu) emphatic imperatives
bete-ke of "to beat", and kolo-ko of "to speak", and
by Igbo (Kwa) m siri "I cooked", m sere "I said",
m zoro "I hid".

c) Syllable structure.

The African basis of the syllable structure of São
Tomense is discussed in paragraph 4.1, Chapter 4. The
syllable structure of ST is typically CV, as is
characteristic of Bantu and as is found in some Kwa
languages, such as Bini. This provides a contrast with
Creoles with a different substratum which may have
closed syllables, as may be exemplified by the Creole
of the Cape Verde islands, which has a substratum which
is predominantly West Atlantic. In the following
instances of borrowings from Portuguese, Portuguese
closed syllables have been made open in ST, but have
remained closed in the Creole of Cape Verde; the Cape
Verde examples are from Lopes da Silva (1957):

Ptg calcanhar /kal.kə.ɲaɾ/ → ST kla.ka.ɲõ ,
          Cape Verde I. < kal.ka.ɲaɾ> "heel"

Ptg barril /bə'ɽil/ →ST ba'lili , Cape Verde
          I. <ba'ɽil> "barrel"

Ptg raiz /ɽə'iž/ ST 'lɛ.ži , Cape Verde I. <ɽa'iz>

Some ST nouns commence with a V syllable; a parallel
is found in Bini, where all nouns commence with a V
syllable. The following are ST examples:

> Ptg o pó /u pɔ/ → ST ɔ'pɔ "dust"
> " água /'a.gwə/ → ST 'a.wa "water"
> " ódio /'ɔdju/ → ST ɔ'jɔ "hatred"
> " a fé /ə 'fɛ/ → ST a'fɛ "faith"

d) Lambdacism

Lambdacism, the reduction of the three liquids /ɾ, ɬ, l/
to one, /l/, is a feature of the phonology of São Tomense.
This has a basis in such Kongo dialects as Kishikongo,
where /l/ is the only liquid which occurs. The following
borrowings from Portuguese into São Tomense and into
Kishikongo illustrate this point:

> Ptg hora /'ɔɾə/ → ST 'ɔla "when",
> Kishikongo ɔla "hour"
> Ptg relógio /ɬɯ'lɔʒju/ → ST lɔ'lɔzu ,
> Kishikongo lo'lonʒi

e) Implosive stops

ST /b/ [ɓ] and /d/ [ɗ] are implosive stops. Although
implosive stops occur in the Bantu area, in Duala, the
origin of the ST implosive stops is likely to be in the
Kwa languages, where implosive stops are a widespread
feature.

Bilabial and alveolar implosive stops occur also in
Angolar and Principense. Principense has a further im-
plosive stop, /ɠb/, as in i'ɠbe "body"; /ɠb/ occurs
in the Kwa languages, but not in Bantu.

2.2. Grammar

a) Ideophones

Ideophones are characteristic of African languages, as
discussed in Chapter 5, paragraph 2. They occur in both
Bantu and Kwa. In São Tomense, as in African languages,
they are characterized by certain phonological features,

such as the repetition of consonants, vowels, or syllables, and tenseness of articulation. The syntax of the ideophone varies in African languages; in São Tomense, ideophones may occur in isolation as a reply to greetings, and may modify nouns, adjectives, verbs, or, in a few instances, may modify a whole sentence. Further, in São Tomense, the ideophone marks the closure of a sentence, although an ideophone clause may be linked to another sentence by conjoining or embedding.

The significance of ideophones has been described by Lanham and by Samarin, who are quoted in paragraph 2.3 of Chapter 6.

b) Compounding of sentences

Instead of employing a conjunction equivalent to "and" for conjoining sentences, as occurs in Portuguese with the conjunction "e" /i/, São Tomense conjoins sentences by apposition, as in:

> ɨ-ga ba 'dɛta ɨ-dumi'ni
> I-KA go lie-down I-sleep
> "I am going to lie down and sleep."

> e še e 'kontla kwa ka lu'ži nge'nenge'ne
> he go-out he find thing KA shine ID
> "He went out and found an object shining
> brightly."

The same feature of co-ordination by apposition occurs in Bantu languages, and is exemplified from Kishikongo in Chapter 6, paragraph 4.

c) Emphatic pronoun

The 1st person singular personal pronoun 'ami ∿ a'mi is an emphatic pronoun different from the other personal pronouns. Normally, the 1st person singular personal pronoun is the homorganic N- or the morphophonemic vowel /ɨ/, and these may be preceded by ami for emphasis, as in:

<div style="text-align:center">

ami n-ga bɛ
me I-KA go
"As for me, I am going."

</div>

The emphatic pronouns are widespread in the Bantu area.
For Kishikongo, they are explained and exemplified by
Bentley (1887 : 579). However, while Bantu has a series
of emphatic pronouns, only the one for the 1st person
singular occurs in São Tomense.

d) Personal pronoun unmarked for person or number.

As discussed in paragraph 5.1.7, in Chapter 6, a personal
pronoun a , unmarked for person and number, occurs in
São Tomense. It only occurs as subject before verbs, as
in:

<div style="text-align:center">

a na kuvi'da nŏ fa
UNM NEG_1 invite us NEG_2
"We have not been invited."

</div>

'kantu a ka 'bende 'kada 'mɛtlu kwa sɛ-e ?
how-much UNM KA sell each metre thing DEM-TAG ?
"At how much is a metre of this being sold?"
(How much is a metre of this?)

The origin of this pronominal form is in Bini, which
also has a pronoun a unmarked for person and number
(Melzian, 1937).

e) Respect tag.

As discussed in paragraph 5.2, Chapter 6, a respect tag
(RESP) -o , uttered in a plaintive tone, and frequently
with length, is often used in São Tomense to indicate
deference to the person addressed, as in:

<div style="text-align:center">

bož 'noči-o
good night-RESP
"Good night."

aš'o:-o (< aši o)
"So and so" (reply to a greeting"

ɟo? (< e o)
(response on being called)

</div>

na 'bele fo (fo < fa o)
NEG₁ see-him NEG₂-RESP

"I did not see .im."

Another tag, also with the form -o or -o: , occurs as an emphatic particle in interjections, as in:

ka'kjo-'o
(exclamation of surprise)

a-ke-o::
(exclamation of surprise)

bjo-'o! (< bi -o)
come-TAG
"Come!"

vε'dε-o: ?
truth-TAG
"Is that a fact, is that true?"

A similar form to these tags in São Tomense occurs in Bini. Bini o is described by Melzian (1937) as "an emphatic particle, added e.g. to greetings; kojɔ o hullo! (as reply, or used when at a distance from the addressed)."

f)   Disjunctive pronoun in a preposition phrase.

This construction is discussed in paragraph 5.5 of Chapter 6. The occurrence in São Tomense of a disjunctive pronoun in a preposition phrase, with the equivalent of "the house that I am in it" for "the house I am in", is typical of Bantu relative constructions. For lack of Kongo examples, a comparison follows between São Tomense and Zulu (Doke, 1971 : 319-320). Doke treats this construction as "locative relationship" under a heading "the relative of indirect relationship."

São Tomense:

'nãji bo ka ba 'kɔpla 'piši n-e ?
where you KA go buy fish in-it?
"Where are you going to buy fish?"

'nãj-e kon'de n-e ?
where-he hide in-it?
"Where did he hide?"

'nãłi su bi d-e ?
where you (formal) come from-it?
"Where do you come from?"

Zulu:

inłu umuntu aiala kujona
house person lives in-it
"the house in which the person lives"

intaba abaɲokuɲa kujo
mountain they-will-go to-it
"the mountain to which they will go"

g) Negation

In São Tomense, negation consists of two disjunctive
morphemes, one placed before the verb, and the other at
the end of the sentence being negated. The form is
na ... fa . A discussion of the negation appears at the
end of Section 2, Chapter 1. Double negative morphemes
occur in Western Bantu, as in Kongo ka ... ko . A
negative particle fa is used before the verb in
negative sentences in Lolo.

h) Form and semantics of some verb particles

In the surface structure, the form or semantics of some
verb particles show an African etymology, as in the use
of a Bantu-derived copulative construction, sa ku lit.
"to be with" to render the concept "to have". Bentley
(1887) writes that "to have" is rendered in Kishikongo
by kalá ɲe "to be with". This feature is discussed in
paragraph 7.1.2.3, in Chapter 6.

Aspectual ka , as discussed in paragraph 7.1.3, Chapter
6, appears to have originated in the Kwa languages. Bini
has a form ʏa which is used, for instance, in the future
and the conditional, like ST ka .

i) Absence of the passive

The fact that the passive voice does not occur in São
Tomense is due to the absence of a passive in most Kwa

languages. Westermann and Bryan (1952 : 93) had written that there is no passive voice in Kwa. Williamson (1969 : 7) states that there is a construction in Ijo corresponding to the English passive. According to Thomas (1910 : 139), Bini has no passive.

2.3. Lexicon

A number of words in the lexicon of São T mense are of either Bantu or Kwa origin. The percentage of the lexicon which is of African origin is analysed in paragraph 2, Chapter 1. Regarding what percentage of these African-derived words are Bantu or Kwa, satisfactory etyma were found for 96 ST words, 60 indicating a Bantu origin, and 36 a Kwa origin. This suggests that the African substratum of São Tomense is about 62 per cent of Western Bantu origin, and 38 per cent of Kwa origin, Bini predominating over the African lexicon-donor languages for Kwa, and Kongo (predominantly Kishikongo) for the Bantu area. These words are given with their etyma in paragraph 1.1, Chapter 7.

The semantic fields covered by the words of African origin are discussed in paragraph 2, Chapter 7. It was found moreover that Portuguese words in São Tomense display semantic extension following the African semantic model, as in Ptg pé /pɛ/ "foot" → ST ɔ'pɛ "foot and leg", Ptg mão /'mãũ/ "hand" → ST mõ "hand and arm". Semantic extension is discussed in paragraph 2.1.3, Chapter 7.

A P P E N D I X

A NOTE ON ANGOLAR

Some observations on Angolar are included in this
Appendix, as, due to the conditions of its early development
and subsequent isolation, Angolar is likely to present an
idea of what the original Creole looked like. Angolar, more-
over, has retained a particularly strong African substratum.
Although closely related to the other Creoles of the Gulf
of Guinea, Angolar was, through historical circumstances,
cut off from contact with Portuguese and with the other Creole
community soon after the formative stages, and subsequently
for about 150 years. The isolation of the Angolares has to
some extent persisted until the present day, as during that
period of about one and a half centuries the Angolares developed
a culture of their own, which they have maintained.

Angolar has been described as a Bantu language by several
authors, for instance by Greeff (1882 : 377), who visited
São Tomé in 1880. However, a linguistic study of Angolar con-
ducted by the author showed that Angolar is a Creole, closely
related to São Tomense, Principense, and Annobonense, being
closest to São Tomense. A feature of Angolar, however, is
that its lexicon has a much higher Bantu content than that
of São Tomense or the other Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea.
This greater Bantu lexical component accounts for the lower
percentage of xical overlap between São Tomense and Angolar
than between   Tomense and the other two Creoles, as dis-
cussed in Cha   r 1, paragraph 2.

The natur   of Angolar has its explanation in the
circumstances of   s origin and early development, but there
is no historical record describing the advent of the Angolares
in São Tomé. However, historical hypotheses regarding their
origin will be reassessed here. The Angolares are thought
to have been slaves en route from Angola to elsewhere in
Africa or to America, and who were shipwrecked off the island,
thus acquiring freedom. The Angolares have never since their
appearance in historical records been slaves, but have been
free, living in their own communities. The date of the ship-
wreck is thought to have been between 1540 and 1550 (Cunha
Matos, 1842 : 12 ; Greeff, 1882 ; Negreiros, 1895 : 293;

Almeida, 1958; Cortesão, 1968 : 40). The shipwreck is thought
to have occurred at Sete Pedras, a conglomerate of rocks off
the coast, some towering to a great height above the sea,
others submerged, and thus posing a decided threat to
navigation. However, any explanation for the presence of the
Angolares in São Tomé should account for the fact that they
speak a Portuguese-based Creole, and that it shares much in
common with the three other Creoles spoken on the islands of
the Gulf of Guinea. The shipwreck hypothesis leaves this issue
unanswered.

From about 1550 to 1693, thus over a period of approximately
143 years, the Angolares made a series of devastating attacks
on the island plantations, razing the capital, and leading
many of the settlers to leave for Brazil (Cunha Matos, 1842 :
12 ; Negreiros, 1895 : 60-62, Cortesão, 1968 : 42). It was
only after 1693 that the Angolares began to live in harmony
with the rest of the population.[1]

A point which has been discussed is whether the Angolares
had their own womenfolk. If they had intermarried with women
speakers of São Tomense, it might be asked whether the children
could have learnt the Creole from their mothers; however, the
anthropologist Monica Wilson (1969) states that, although children
commonly learn the language of their mothers, it appears from
her evidence that, when the mothers are slaves, prisoners taken
in war or captives, the children learn the father's language.

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[1] Mr Artur Marques de Oliveira, the Administrator of São Tomé,
kindly furnished the author with the Angolar version of their
appearance on the island:

> According to the tradition of the Angolares, the
> first individuals of the Angolar race, or of the
> Angolar group, came in a canoe from the island of
> Annobón or from Gabon. The version is current among
> them that two men and two women arrived, in very
> remote times, in a canoe, at the beach of Ribeira
> Peixe, in the southern area of the island, and then
> went into the forest. Installed in the forest, they
> led their lives there, and, with time and the increase
> of their families, they built a village to which they
> gave the name Puetá (pwɛ'ta). For food they cultivated
> wild yams. The village, according to them, was located
> at the highest part of the river Iô Grande.

According to Cunha Matos (1842 : 30), the Angolares made
their final attacks in 1693 in order to kidnap women from
the farms closest to the mountain peaks. Negreiros (1895 :
295n) believes that they had their own womenfolk, and
states that it is historically correct that the women who
were kidnapped were then ransomed by the bush captain Matheus
Pires. The linguistic implication of Negreiros's view is that
the Angolares did not acquire the Creole by kidnapping
local Creole-speaking women; on the basis of the shipwreck
hypothesis they could have had their own women, as slave ships
carried both men and women. What Negreiros's theory does not
explain, however, is how the closely-knit and isolated Ango-
lares could have acquired the Creole through sporadic contact
with the rest of the population.

A hypothesis derived from historical data will here be
ventured to account not only   r the presence of the Angolares
on the island, but also for the linguistic similarity between
the Creoles spoken in the area. The hypothesis centres round
a series of rebellions on the island of São Tomé in the early
16th century. Cunha Matos (1842 : 9) wrote that the first
commotion on the island took place in 1517, when slaves on the
farms of some people called Lobato mutinied and wrought great
destruction. In 1529, a report sent from São Tomé to John III
by João Lobato, possibly the same Lobato referred to by Cunha
Matos, writes of slaves who ran away from farms at Praia
Preta (Black Beach) because of a lack of provisions, fleeing
into the bush, into the hills, or to other farms (Brásio,
1952, 1 : 505-518). A letter of 1531 sent from the Casa da
Mina in Lisbon to the factors and officials of São Tomé mentions
that the Negroes in the bush in São Tomé had become so strong,
and practised such violence, that there was a risk of the
island being lost (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 548-549). There are
also two letters of 1536 written by John III to dom Antonio
d'Ataide, count of Castanheira and chancellor of the exchequer.
These letters, of the 22nd and 25th October 1536, deal with
a Negro rising in São Tomé and the measures the king took to
bring it to an end.

The rebellions mentioned here took place 32 to 51 years
after the initial attempt to populate the island in 1485,

or 24 to 43 years after the first major settlement in 1493. The runaway slaves would within these periods have been exposed to the formative stages of the Creole which developed in São Tomé. In fleeing, they would therefore have taken with them the Creole spoken by the inhabitants. These slaves could have formed themselves into the communities which came to be known as the Angolares. Originally there was probably only one Creole in the Gulf of Guinea, spoken in São Tomé and taken to Príncipe and Annobón when these were settled; the development of four related but different Creoles may have been the result of their geographic isolation from one another.

The Angolares were not only geographically isolated from the other Creole speakers; they also alienated themselves from the other inhabitants. Even today the Angolares maintain their own culture. Their deliberate isolation in the past presumably prevented them from taking part in the interactions between the other Creole speakers or with the Portuguese-speaking inhabitants, so that Angolar developed along its own lines, without being affected by the development of the other Creoles or by the influence of Portuguese on them. One could hypothesize that Angolar is the closest of the four Creoles to the original Creole which developed, because of the lack of exposure of Angolar to Portuguese or to the other Creoles which developed on the islands.

Turning now to a brief analysis of characteristic features of the language, the alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] of São Tomense are realized as interdental fricatives in Angolar. The interdental fricatives are not used only in some areas of the lexicon, but are part of the core phonology, as in the following examples, among many:

Ang. 'nsuku ['nθuku] "night" (< Bantu, cf. Kimbundu u-suku)

- 'fisa ['fiθa] "to close" (< Ptg fechar /fɯ'šaɾ/)
- kusu'madu [kuθu'maðu] "accustomed" (< Ptg acostumado /əkuštu'madu/)
- zõ [ðõ] "John" (< Ptg João /'žwãũ/)
- ma'zɔ [ma'ðɔ] "yesterday" (< Bantu, cf. Kimbundu maza)

Ang. ka'za [ka'ða] "to marry" (< Ptg casar /kə'zaɾ/)

The feature of interdental fricatives is neither shared
with São Tomense, nor with Principense or Annobonese. Inter-
dental fricatives, although not common in African languages,
occur in a few Western Bantu languages, such as Herero,
Mbunda, and the Ndingi dialect of Kongo.

An African feature shared in common by São Tomense,
Angolar, and Principense is the realization of b and d
as implosive stops, phonetically [ɓ] and [ɗ], as in the
following examples:

Ang. ta'ba [ta'ɓa] "to work" (< Ptg trabalhar
                                        /tɾəbə'ɦaɾ/)

   "   'bɔka ['ɓɔka] "mouth" (< Ptg boca /'bokə/)

   "   piška'do [piška'ɗo] "fisherman" (Ptg pescador
                                        /pɯškə'doɾ/)

   "   'dolo ['ɗolo] "pain" (< Ptg dor /doɾ/)

The implosive stops [ɓ] and [ɗ] occur in a number of
Kwa languages and are features of the Kwa section of the
substratum which Angolar shares with the other three Creoles.
[ɓ] and [ɗ] do however occur in Western Bantu, in Duala
(Guthrie, 1970).

The following Angolar sentences show the close resemblance
between the grammar of Angolar and that of São Tomense.
Notice such features in common with São Tomense as sɛ'la .
for "must" (5), the tense and aspect markers, and the double
negative (3):

(1)   Ang.   e ta ka fa kw-am
                he is KA talking to-me
                "He is talking to me."

(2)   "   am te ũa ɲa'ũ
                I have one cat
                "I have a cat."

(3)   "   e na ka 'taba ngɛ wa
                he NEG_1 KA work here NEG_2
                "He does not work here."

(4)   Ang.   ɛ'nɛ li'mõ-m sa ta'sɔdu
             they brother-me be sitting
             "My brothers are sitting."

(5)   "   sɛ'la bo ka ba pa'ɹa
             must you KA go beach
             "You must go to the beach."

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