

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SALIENT FEATURES
OF THE PORTUGUESE CREOLE OF ST THOMAS ISLAND

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OF ST THOMAS ISLAND

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation,
A Linguistic Analysis of Salient
Features of the Portuguese Creole
of St Thomas Island,
is my own work and has not been
submitted as a dissertation for
a Master's degree of another
University.

L. Galaz

University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg
June 1974

INDEX OF SYMBOLS

(Utterances underlined, e.g. 'migu', are in phonemic transcription)

A. Alphabetic Symbols

- a low central vowel
- b voiced bilabial stop
- β voiced bilabial implosive stop
- β voiced bilabial fricative
- ɕ voiceless pre-palatal affricate
- d voiced alveolar stop
- ɗ voiced alveolar implosive stop
- ɛ mid front vowel¹
- e low front vowel¹
- ə mid central vowel
- f voiceless labio-dental fricative
- g voiced velar stop
- ɣ voiced velar fricative
- i high front vowel
- ɪ high central nasal vowel with lip spreading
- u high back-central vowel with lip spreading
- ɟ voiced pre-palatal affricate

¹ In the Kongo languages, /e/ has allophones [e], and [ɛ], and /o/ has allophones [o] and [ɔ]. However, as the sources do not clearly indicate the contexts in which these allophones occur, the symbols e and o are the only ones used here for both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions of Kongo. Because of insufficient data, therefore, the symbols [ɛ] and [ɔ] are not used here where they occur in Kongo, but are represented throughout by e and o respectively. The same is done for other Bantu languages where the literature does not make the same differentiation.

- k voiceless velar stop
- l lateral alveolar continuant
- ɬ lateral alveolar voiceless fricative
- ɸ pre-palatal lateral resonant
- ɲ alveolar nasal
- ɲ palatal nasal
- ŋ velar nasal
- o mid back vowel
- ɔ low back vowel
- p voiceless bilabial stop
- r alveolar flap
- ɾ alveolar trill
- ɾ alveolar flap or trill (not differentiated in the sources).
- s voiceless alveolar fricative
- ɕ voiceless pre-palatal fricative
- ʃ voiceless interdental fricative
- ʒ voiced interdental fricative
- t voiceless alveolar stop
- u high back vowel
- v voiced labio-dental fricative
- w glide to high back position
- x voiceless velar fricative
- ɹ glide to high front position
- z voiced alveolar fricative
- ʝ voiced pre-palatal fricative

B. Other Symbols

- nasalization
- ˈ primary stress
- ˈ high tone
- ˈ varies with; or; variant of (phonologically)

- * varies with; or; variant of (morphologically or syntactically)
- internal morpheme boundary
- ... sound segments omitted
- + becomes, has become (from one language to another)
- + is derived from (from one language to another)
- > becomes, has become (within one language)
- < is derived from (within one language)
- < > graphemic notation
- [] phonetic transcription
- / / phonemic transcription (for sounds in isolation, and for examples in Portuguese)
- " " an English gloss; in the text, an example

- < > macrophoneme
- { } either of the forms given
- . syllable boundary
- * hypothetical form
- + plus
- ... part of a quotation omitted
- .,:; length

C. Abbreviations

Adj	Adjective
Afr.	African
Ang.	Angolar
Ann.	Annobonese
Br.Ptg.	Brazilian Portuguese
C	consonant
C ₁ , C ₂ , C ₃	first, second, and third consonants in a cluster
Cape Verde I.	Cape Verde Islands
DEM	demonstrative adjective
EMPH	emphatic particle
FEM, fem.	feminine
ID	ideophone
lit.	literally
MV	main verb
N	homorganic nasal (in the phonology); noun (in the grammar)
NEG	negative
NEG ₁ ... NEG ₂	disjunctive double negative
NP	noun phrase
NR	noun replacer
obj.	object
p.s.	person singular
p.pl.	person plural
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
Pr.	Principense

Ptg	Portuguese
Q	question marker
RESP	respect tag
sing.	singular
subj.	subject
UNM	personal pronoun unmarked for person or number
v	vowel (in the phonology); verb (in the grammar)
v ₁	first of two contiguous vowels

P R E F A C E

PREFACE

This dissertation deals with São Tomense, a Creole language spoken by the majority of inhabitants living on the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. Another Creole language, Angolar, is spoken by a smaller population group on the island. São Tomense is Portuguese-based, in that most of its lexicon is derived from Portuguese. Yet it has a clear African substratum. As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, but principally in chapters 4 to 7, many of the areas where São Tomense differs from Portuguese, particularly in the phonology and syntax, can be traced to Bantu and Kwa languages on the West African coast. This reflects the fact that the earliest slaves to arrive on the island originated in the Bight of Benin, a Kwa-speaking area, and in the kingdom of the Congo, in the Bantu zone. More specifically, the languages which feature most prominently in the substratum are Bini, also known as Edo, spoken in the Kingdom of Benin, and Kongo, a dialect of which, Kishikongo, was the language of the kingdom of the Congo.

The first settlers, both from Portugal and the West African coast, arrived on the island from 1485 onward, as discussed in Chapter 3. Some medieval features in the Portuguese component of São Tomense, together with other linguistic and historical evidence, which will be discussed in the course of this study, and particularly in Chapter 1, suggests that the Creole was formed within a matter of decades; allowing a period of approximately 80 years for the formation and consolidation of the language, this would make São Tomense about 400 years old.

This study is the outcome of a research trip made to São Tomé and Príncipe from December 1969 to February 1970, over a period of two and a half months. Apart from a stay of about five days on the island of Príncipe, and one-day trips to various towns or villages in São Tomé, I remained in the capital town of São Tomé for most of my stay.

My principal informant was Mr Paulo Cravid, aged 47, a farmer and shoemaker, well known in São Tomé as a poet.

Mr Cravid was born in Palha and brought up in the town of São Tomé, where he worked, though he was living in Santo Amaro at the time of my visit. He was an excellent informant, whose patience and pertinent comments were invaluable.

As I wished to obtain original material, I tape recorded folk-tales told by Mr Cravid and Miss Morena do Barro. Miss Morena, aged 29, a seamstress and housewife, was born in Cabeça Cal and lived there. She had a lively personality and was a vivid story-teller. I transcribed these tapes and translated them into Portuguese with the aid of Mr Cravid. Many of the items included as examples in this study are drawn from these stories. The material in the stories also provided a basis for further analysis by means of questionnaires.

Other informants with whom I worked briefly were:

Mr Manuel dos Ramos Sousa Barros, aged 57, head of the general office of the National Printing Press, who was born in São Tomé, where he had always lived. At the end of December I accepted a generous invitation from Mr Barros to lodge at his house, where I remained until the end of my stay. There I had the advantage of hearing the Creole spoken daily round me in natural day-to-day contexts. Gradually I was able to converse in the Creole, and I had the opportunity to discuss linguistic points with my host; and Mr Pascoal Viegas, aged 75, an artist, born in Santana, and living in the town of São Tomé since the age of 14. Mr Pascoal had lived in Portugal for 4 years. Because of his advanced years and poor health, I was unable to continue my research with him.

I had one interview with each of the following two informants:

Mr José do Nascimento de Jesus Bruzaca, aged 73, a farmer, who had lived in the parish of Madalena until the age of 13, and had been a resident of Santana for 50 years. He was the first informant I interviewed, having gone to Santana for this purpose; and Mr Francisco Joaquim, aged about 50, in charge of the sacristy at the church of Conceição in the town of São Tomé.

I also tape-recorded four folk-tales narrated by Mr Aníbal Sousa Ponte, a woodcutter, born in the parish of

Madalena in 1908, though he spent most of his life in the town of São Tomé. These folk-tales were recorded towards the end of my study, so that I regrettably did not have the time to transcribe and translate them. During my first few weeks in São Tomé I could hardly understand the Creole as normally spoken, but towards the end of my stay I was able to understand and speak it reasonably well, though not fluently. However, I do not follow the Creole sufficiently well to be able to transcribe and translate these stories.

For comparative purposes, I also collected data on the Creole of Príncipe, here called Principense, and on Angolar, the second Creole spoken on the island of São Tomé. I did some research on Angolar ~~on Angolar~~ in the town of São Tomé, and at the village of São João dos Angolares. On Principense I gathered considerably more data, by working with Principense informants living in the town of São Tomé and during a stay of a few days on Príncipe island. An Appendix is included, describing the characteristics of Angolar, where it is hypothesized that the Angolares were not shipwrecked on the island, as is generally assumed, but that they were slaves who fled from the main community early in the 16th century, and founded communities of their own. They would thus have taken with them a very early form of the Creole, which, being cut off for social and geographical reasons from the other Creole languages, which developed, and from Portuguese, may provide an idea of the original form of the Creole.

Previous contributions to the study of São Tomense begin with short expositions by Coelho (1880, 1882, 1886). At about the same time, Schuchardt (1882) wrote a scholarly work on São Tomense, with cross-references to African languages and to other Creoles. Negreiros (1895) published an ethnographic study of São Tomé, the last chapter being devoted to São Tomense Creole. This book contains a description of aspects of the language, an extensive vocabulary list, and is still an important reference work. For a long time no further studies were published. In 1956, Espírito Santo contributed a paper on various aspects of São Tomense to the International Congress of Western Africanists. Almeida (1958) published a listing of anatomical terminology in São Tomense and Principense. Almeida's study is preceded by an introduction which

presents an overview of the Creoles he discusses, and the article ends with brief linguistic notes. Valkhoff (1963) published a talk containing some observations on São Tomense, as well as a few short poems and a number of proverbs. In 1966, in a book covering many aspects of Creole study, Valkhoff presented further texts in São Tomense and a chapter describing aspects of the Creole, relating it comparatively to the grammar of Principense and Annobonese. Reis (1965) published a book of São Tomense folk-tales in Portuguese as spoken with Creole mother-tongue interference; the book also contains Creole poems and proverbs and a vocabulary list. Morais-Barbosa (1966) published a comparative study of the Creoles of the Cape Verde Islands, Guiné, São Tomé, and Príncipe, which includes a discussion of verbal aspects in these Creoles. In 1968, the Centro de Geografia do Ultramar published a list of geographical place names in São Tomé and Príncipe. This listing contains a number of place names which are clearly of African origin.

Occasional minor publications also appeared in São Tomense Creole, printed on the island. An example is Fala Sétu (+ Ptg Fala Certo "Talking the Truth"), by Francisco de Jesus Bomfim (1923), providing a humorous comment on island life.

The present study contains a description of São Tomense, including the phonology, grammar, and lexicon, on the principle that, although much has been written about Creoles in general, few descriptive studies exist. An endeavour has been made to establish, where possible, the links between São Tomense and languages of the West African coast. In addition, an attempt has been made in the preliminary chapters to establish the historical facts and the social situation underlying the formation of São Tomense, and, in the light of the facts that can be ascertained, to discuss aspects of Creole theory such as the question whether it is possible for Creoles to undergo a process of relexification, a hypothesis for which the author has not been able to find factual evidence for the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea. The features of São Tomense and its relationship with African languages are discussed according to a descriptive model. A phonemic notation has been used.

I wish to express my gratitude to those who made my research into São Tomense possible.

I am indebted to the University Council of the University of the Witwatersrand for a research grant which enabled me to make a research trip to São Tomé and Príncipe.

I wish to thank Professor Marius F. Valkhoff, who introduced me to the field of Creole language studies.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL BACKGROUND

1. FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CONTACT LANGUAGES

By contact languages is here meant languages which have arisen out of what could be termed emergency situations, where the speakers of different and frequently unrelated languages have been brought together by force of circumstances, with no language in common. If the culture contact is of a transient nature, or restricted to limited situations such as work, the language is likewise limited in vocabulary and grammar, and is termed a Pidgin. If, on the other hand, the contact is of a permanent and intimate nature, resulting in a new mother tongue, the language that emerges undergoes expansion in vocabulary and syntax, becoming a Creole. The languages on all sides of the contact situation are represented in both Pidgins and Creoles.

Of course, this definition of contact languages would be applicable to languages, such as Portuguese, which are not classified as Creoles. The above definition thus has to be qualified: contact languages, as discussed here, are as described above, with the proviso, in the case of Creoles, not of Pidgins, that they originated in the context and wake of the Age of Discovery. Pidgins can occur at any time, as illustrated by Fanakalo, which originated in the 19th century. Apart from this proviso, the processes seen in Creolization are present also in the formation of other languages. In the Iberian Peninsula, the Roman invasion brought a base language, Latin, which was adopted by the Ibero-Celtic substrata, yielding Galician-Portuguese and Spanish. The process is the same as is observed in the formation of Creoles. As in Creole languages, the base language, Latin, provided primarily the lexicon, and the substrata provided largely the phonological and grammatical structures, which differ considerably from Latin. What happened in Creoles is therefore in essence the same. This point is an important one to keep in mind.

This section sets out to analyse the formation of a Creole language, with particular reference to the time span involved, and the subsequent development of the Creole. This information is necessary for the appropriate use of the statistics relating

to the slave traffic into a particular area at various stages in history. It should then be possible to ascertain what effect the languages spoken by slaves entering the evolving Creole society at different points in history would have had on the Creole, so that there can be an answer to such questions as what degree of linguistic impact the first slaves would have had, as compared to slaves arriving fifty, a hundred, or two hundred years later. Having such information would also enable us to understand more precisely what the nature of the influence of the substratum is, and would assist us in the location of the source languages of the substratum. A knowledge of the process of development of contact languages after the initial stages of formation is also relevant to an understanding of the changes that may or may not occur in the established language.

In considering the question of how long it takes for Pidgins and Creoles to be formed, the evidence which will be discussed in this and other chapters points to only a short time span being involved. In their initial stage, contact languages evolve rapidly, soon attaining the degree of complexity determined by the requirements for their use. Dillard (1972b:533) has written to this effect in a paper in which he bases his conclusion on theoretical grounds:

Pidginization can take place in a very short time, and Creolization is observable within a generation. Acquisition of a Pidgin variety of English, even by a speaker of another variety, does not have to take place so gradually that the speaker doesn't know what is happening to him.

The following is an analysis of some of the evidence regarding, firstly, the formation of contact languages, and secondly their later development.

In the Caribbean, Surinam was occupied and settled by the English from 1651 to 1667, a period of 16 years. In that brief period an English-based Creole, Sranan, was formed, and has remained the main Creole language of Surinam, despite the fact that the official language has been Dutch since then, thus for three centuries (Rens, 1953, Voorhoeve (1971) considers that Sranan had become "firmly established" in a period of 25 years, as the English planters remained in Surinam until

about 1678. He attributes the fact that Dutch had only a slight influence on the Creoles to a sharp social and linguistic cleavage between masters and slaves, which lasted until 1863, when the slaves were freed.

The Cape Verde islands were discovered in about 1460, and settlement began the following year (Almada, 1961). In 1652, the Jesuit Father António Vieira, one of the foremost figures in Portuguese literature, wrote in a letter from the Cape Verde Islands (Vieira, 1925, 1: 297):

... in these islands they have no need to be taught the language, for all, in their way, speak Portuguese ...

Unlike many observers, Vieira does not speak of Creole as broken Portuguese, but fully accepts its status as a language, while distinguishing it from Standard Portuguese. The implication of Vieira's statement seems clearly to be that a fully developed Portuguese-based Creole existed already in the Cape Verde Islands at that time, 190 years after the first settlers began to arrive.

With reference to the formation of São Tomense, German de Granda (1970 : 6) has emphasized the significance of the following passage from Father Alonso de Sandoval's De instalranda Aethiopum salute, published in Seville in 1627, about 160 years after the first settlers arrived in São Tomé from 1485:

... and we call them Creoles or natives of São Tomé. With the communication they have had with such barbarous nations in the time they have been living in São Tomé, they understand nearly all of them by means of a kind of very corrupt and broken Portuguese speech which they call the language of São Tomé ...

The "Portuguese speech which they call the language of São Tomé" is still called today in São Tomense 'lungwa san'tome "language of São Tomé" (see paragraph 2). German de Granda (1970:8-9) interprets the phrasing "a kind of very corrupt and broken Portuguese speech" to mean a Portuguese Creole, which is no doubt the correct assumption.

In Asia, the fact that Portuguese-based Creoles are spoken in areas which the Portuguese occupied for only a short period, as in Ceylon, discussed below, is in itself evidence that Creoles are formed in a short time span and are

not susceptible to major changes as a result of exposure to other languages with which they may be in contact. All languages are in a process of change, and Creoles no more so than other languages.

Turning from the formative to the subsequent developmental phases of contact languages, the evidence which will now be discussed indicates further that contact languages soon reach a degree of stability equal to any other language, whereafter language change takes place at a rate not disproportionate to that of any other language in a contact situation. There is nothing to suggest that anything in the nature, genesis, or structure of contact languages makes them more prone to change than other languages in contact situations. The evidence from extinct or nearly extinct Creoles, which will be discussed presently, is rather that if external linguistic pressures become too great, contact languages do not enter into an accelerated rate of change, but become obsolescent and then extinct. This, as discussed below, happened with the Portuguese Creole of Calcutta.

In the field of Portuguese Creoles, some scholars, such as Lopes (1936), and more recently Valkhoff (1966), have collected a large amount of evidence which suggests that, over periods between the 15th and 18th centuries, the use of Portuguese was widespread along the sea routes established by Portugal, although Portugal soon lost to other nations control of many points on the sea routes. Besides having varying degrees of currency over a wide area on the sea routes, Portuguese was used in many different forms and in extremely diversified social contexts. However, it is seldom clear how frequently Portuguese was used in a particular area, or which variety of Portuguese was referred to by various writers, whether Standard, Creole, Pidgin, or "foreigner talk". Some writers, among them van Wijk (1958) and Whinnom (1965), have postulated, along lines which seem to have originated in an article by Navarro Tomás, that a Portuguese Pidgin was used as a lingua franca along the sea routes, and was learnt by the slaves and other peoples with whom the Portuguese came into contact. According to this theory, some or all European-based

Pidgins and Creoles are derived by a process of relexification from this Portuguese Pidgin. Whinnom has also put forward the theory that this Portuguese Pidgin did itself not evolve spontaneously but is ultimately derived from an old lingua franca of the Mediterranean, Sabir. For a discussion which stresses the inconclusiveness of the evidence for these theories, particularly for Sabir, see Herculano de Carvalho (1969:71-73n). Le Page (forthcoming) admits the existence of a Portuguese West African Pidgin, but sees no evidence for the monogenetic theory of Creolization. Huttar (forthcoming), working on Creole semantic structures, has found that his data disconfirm, rather than confirm, the relexification hypothesis.

To take an example, Saramaccan is a Creole spoken outside the Portuguese sphere of influence, yet containing a large number of Portuguese lexical items. The Saramaccan vocabulary is 59 per cent English and 41 per cent Portuguese (Voorhoeve, 1973). The high percentage of Portuguese lexical items is not due to a retention of a large part of a West African Portuguese Pidgin spoken by the slaves at a time prior to their arrival in Surinam, as proposed by Voorhoeve. The Portuguese influence is rather due to the presence of Portuguese Jewish planters in Surinam at the time when the Creole was formed. It is thus significant that, as Voorhoeve mentions, Saramaccan used to be known as Djutongo "Jewish language". The Portuguese words in Saramaccan listed by Hancock (1969b) have quite a different phonological structure to their cognates in the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea, which suggests that the words were absorbed independently into Saramaccan and the Gulf of Guinea Creoles.

Givón (forthcoming), rejecting the idea that the features widespread in Pidgins and Creoles point to a common origin, attributes some of these features to the substratum, and others to the operation of universal grammar. After illustrating his theory with convincing examples, he concludes that it will however be difficult to ascertain whether certain structures are due to the substratum or to the universals of language.

Most of the phonological and grammatical features of São Tomense are due to the operation of the substratum, and so are features in other Creoles. Thus a reading of Hall's description of Haitian Creole shows many typically African features. However, there is a residue of features widespread in Creoles with different substrata in various parts of the world; the best known of these are included in Thompson (1961). The feature which linguists have found most striking is the widespread occurrence in Creoles of a system of verb markers, often with the same or similar form, such as a morpheme <lo>, which occurs in Negerhollands, Papiamentu, the Cape Verde Islands, Malacca, and other Creoles (Voorhoeve, 1973). This morpheme, which has a variant <logo> in Malacca and other Creoles, is derived from Portuguese logo /'lɔgu/ "later, etc.". It is indeed puzzling that this Portuguese adverb should have such a wide distribution in Creoles as a modal verb, but it does not prove the monogenesis of Creoles. Either it is one of a few forms which gained currency on the sea routes, on a par with <savvy> and <pikanin>, or it is related to a process of language universals.

The stability of an already formed contact language is illustrated by the Pidgin Fanakalo, which, according to Cole (1964 : 548) developed some time after 1823.

For decades now, Fanakalo has remained virtually unaltered at the syntactical level, required mostly ^{it is} for work situations, in the context of short-term work contracts on the mines. The syntax has acquired no more complexity; no more tenses have developed. The 1938 edition of the Miner's Companion is still a valid guidebook for Fanakalo today. The changes which have taken place in Fanakalo from as far back as 1920, when the first edition was published, have been mainly in the technical lexicon, as can be judged from the preface to the 1938 edition:

Owing to a change in mining methods made since the first issue, some of the phrases then included in the book were found to be out of date and the addition of phrases having reference to new systems and machines, such for instance as scraping and scraper hoists, scatter piles, etc., has become necessary.

7

All languages have to expand or introduce changes to label new concepts which are constantly being introduced. Of course, Pidgins and Creoles are not alone in this. In a contact situation, such as that of European minorities in America, lexical items are likely to filter, to some extent, from the majority language to the minority language.

Further examples of stability are illustrated by the retention of Portuguese-based Creoles in Asia. Hancock (1969a) writes in his discussion of the background of Papiá Kristang, the Portuguese Creole of Malacca:

Although the Portuguese withdrew from Malacca more than 350 years ago, there still exists today a substantial Eurasian population calling itself Portuguese, and speaking a creolized variety of that language.

In Ceylon, taken by the Dutch in 1656, the Portuguese Creole has survived to this day, despite extreme measures taken by the Dutch to eradicate it three centuries ago, over a period of close to a century and a half (Dalgado, 1900: xvii-xviii). Likewise, the subsequent English occupation did not have much more effect on the Creole, as Dalgado also discusses (1900:xxi) :

Even at present, after a century of English domination with its powerful colonial administration and extensive education in its own language, the Indo-Portuguese of Ceylon or Low Portuguese, as the dialect is commonly called there, as distinct from High Portuguese (pure), shows no signs of agonizing, but, on the contrary, promises a long and robust life, adapting itself, of course, to circumstances, and subjecting itself to the incessant dialectal evolution.

The Portuguese Creole of Calcutta, however, became extinct at the beginning of this century, giving way to English. This further instance of the stability of Creole was a replacement of one language by another, not a change in the Creole. Rather than change under the influence of English, the Creole gave way to English. Dalgado (1900 : xxviii) observed its extinction, which appears to have taken place over a short period:

The Creole of Calcutta, where fifty years ago the missionary practised his ministry in Portuguese, is being completely supplanted by English With the knowledge of Indo-Portuguese that I acquired in Ceylon, I used to converse perfectly with the few people who used it, most of whom have since died.

The Portuguese Creole spoken by a group of about 5.000 people in the area of Bombay (Norteiro) was tending to be replaced by English and Portuguese at the turn of the century, when Dalgado wrote (1905 : 4) :

The educated classes show a lack of affection for their mother tongue, through the consciousness and shame they have of its corruption, and they seek to get rid of it, using either proper Portuguese or English, the official language, especially in Bombay and suburbs. Norteiro is tending, therefore, to be restricted as English is extended, and it is natural that it will one day disappear from the city, supplanted by the two European languages; not, however, in the country, where English cannot expect to become a mother tongue, not even over a long period.

It is to be expected that the same process of extinction can take place in an area where the official language is the parent language of the Creole. Bickerton and Escalante (1970: 263) write about Palenquero that "With so few speakers, who will presumably continue to be drawn slowly but steadily closer to the mainstream of Colombian life, it might be expected to disappear altogether within a few decades." In São Tomé, many Creole speakers are fluent in Standard Portuguese, and bilingualism is becoming generalized through education in the parent language. As a result, the parent language is influencing the Creole, but only to a small extent. Thus, words derived from African languages are being replaced by words derived from Portuguese, and archaic Portuguese words in São Tomense are being replaced by modern Portuguese words. But the changes which São Tomense is undergoing today in the direction of Standard Portuguese, which affect a small portion of the lexicon and the phonology, are minimal when seen in the context of the whole lexicon, phonology, and grammar of the Creole. There is almost no change at a deep level, and the core grammar remains virtually unchanged.

The conclusion is that a Creole can continue to retain its identity, which will remain unchanged even while continuing to be slightly influenced in its development by the official language, or it will become extinct, giving way to the official language, in much the same way as the Portuguese Creole of Calcutta has given way to English.

Finally, a Creole could become extinct in favour of another Creole with wider currency. Almeida (1958) refers to an increasing tendency among the Angolares of São Tomé to 'bila 'folo (virar forro), to become members of the main Creole-speaking group in São Tomé.

Regarding the question as to whether Creoles should be classified typologically or genetically genetic criteria seem to be most valid. São Tomense is directly derived from Portuguese, and some are aware of this when they refer to the Creoles as dialects and not as Creoles. São Tomense is not a dialect of Portuguese, since the two are mutually unintelligible, but the Portuguese parentage should be accepted as the criterion for classification. The term Creole has exhausted its meaning, and can fall away. Givón (forthcoming) has made this point, and suggests that the term contact language can also be discarded, since all languages are in some sense contact languages. Le Page (forthcoming) has also stated that there is no need to distinguish the processes of Creolization too sharply from those which lead to other kinds of linguistic change. He adds that all change derives from contact and/or from environmental change of some other kind. The term contact language could certainly be applied to Portuguese, which developed out of contact between Latin and the languages spoken in Lusitania before the Roman invasion. The only difference is that the Creoles arose in a situation of what Givón calls communicative stress, greater than was perhaps experienced in the Iberian peninsula. São Tomense can thus be classified, on genetic criteria, as a Romance language.

2. THE CREOLES OF THE GULF OF GUINEA

São Tomense, the language which is analysed in this study, is one of four Creoles spoken on the islands of the Gulf of Guinea. These four Creoles, all Portuguese-based, are spoken on three islands, São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón; in São Tomé there are two Creoles, São Tomense and Angolar. The Creoles spoken on the islands of Príncipe and Annobón will be referred to here respectively as Principense and Annobonese.

By saying that the Creoles are Portuguese-based, a contrast is meant with the substratum, which is composed of languages belonging to the Kwa and Western Bantu groups of African languages, as will be examined in the course of this description. The base language, Portuguese in the case of the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea, is essentially the lexicon-donor language, contributing approximately 93 per cent of the lexicon of São Tomense, according to a count which I carried out on Negreiros's vocabulary list (1895: 355-369). The substratum has contributed a great deal to the phonology and grammar of the Creoles; in São Tomé, it has contributed about 7 per cent of the lexical items, which are discussed in Chapter 7.

Except for Annobonese, which prefixes the word for "speech", the word 'lungwa' (+ Ptg *língua*) is commonly prefixed to the names of the languages, and the speakers refer to their languages as :

São Tomense: 'lungwa san'tome "language of São Tomé"
 Angolar: 'lungwa 'ngola ['ngola] "Angolar language"
 Principense: lun'qwiye "language of the island"

The languages are generally known to their speakers as follows:

São Tomense : san'tome (+ Ptg São Tomé)
 Angolar : 'ngola (+ Bantu, as in Kimbundu 'ngola
 [ngola] "Angola")
 Principense: 'ije (+ Ptg ilha "island")
 Annobonense: fa d-am'bo (+Ptg falar de Ano Bom "speech
 of Annobón") (Barrena, 1957 : 11)

Each of these four Creoles is uniform; in other words, there is no dialectal variation within each of the four Creoles. The small size of Príncipe and Annobón may to some extent account for the lack of dialectal variation in Principense and Annobonese. In São Tomé, the larger island, two Creoles developed at opposite ends of the island; in the north lived the speakers of São Tomense, in a society which contained the institution of slavery; in the south were the speakers of Angolar, smaller in number but self-ruling, having no slavery, and living a life to a great extent dissociated from the larger society at the other end of the island. Recent population figures reflect the number of speakers of each of the four Creoles; in 1963, according to a population survey quoted by Valkhoff (1966 : 79), there were in São Tomé 28.600 inhabitants of the São Tomense cultural group, and 7.200 Angolares. Príncipe had 4.100 people of its own cultural group. Barrena, in the preamble to his grammar (1957 : 10), gave the population of Annobón as 1.800, all of whom were Annobonese.

The three islands, which were uninhabited until the arrival of the Portuguese, were discovered at dates which are generally placed between 1470 and 1472. Campos (1971) has sought to prove that São Tomé was discovered in 1478, Príncipe in 1479, and Annobón eight years later. São Tomé, the nucleus of the three islands, was the first to be settled. The first major contingent of settlers left Portugal for São Tomé in 1493, although smaller numbers of settlers arrived from 1485 (see Chapter 3). The population of Príncipe and Annobón came from São Tomé starting from the beginning of the 16th century. One gains the impression that originally only one Creole was spoken in the Gulf of Guinea. This first Creole, the original São Tomense, later changed into four Creoles through geographical separation, and possibly also because of differences which might have existed to some extent in the substratum. Angolar is probably closest to the original Creole, because it did not mix with the other Creoles or with Portuguese, since the Angolares lived in self-imposed independence and alienation from the other groups. Regarding possible substratum differences, although the four

Creoles have basically the same substratum, with features from Bantu and Kwa, Angolar, for instance, has a marked Bantu component, while Principense has a more marked Kwa component.

Although Annobón was ceded to Spain in 1778, the Creole of Annobón has remained Portuguese-based. One reason for this retention of the Portuguese base seems to be that the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea were formed and consolidated in the first stages of settlement of the islands, long before Annobón was ceded to Spain. As discussed in paragraph 1, some linguistic data suggest that once Creole languages become consolidated they are not more susceptible to change than other languages.

Broadly speaking, there are distinct similarities between the four Creoles. In order to assess how much of the lexicon was shared, I carried out a comparison of the vocabulary of São Tomense with that of the other three Creoles. For this comparison, as well as for the discussion which follows, I based myself on data collected on the research trip to the islands, for all the languages except Annobonese, for which I used Barrena's grammar (1957). The comparative count showed that, in general terms, São Tomense shares 88 per cent of the lexicon with Principense, 82 per cent with Annobonese, and 67 per cent with Angolar (regarding Angolar, see Appendix).

Only a small number of words have an identical phonology in the four languages; thus Ptg *água* /'agwə/ "water", *andar* /ən'daɪ/ "to walk", and *dar* /daɪ/ "to give" have been absorbed into all four Creoles as, respectively, 'awa, nda, da. Most of the lexical items shared by the four show differences in phonology, differences which are frequently due to the sound structure of each Creole. Lambdacism, for example, is a characteristic of São Tomense, Angolar, and Annobonese, but not of Principense. This accounts for the incorporation of Ptg /ʁ/ in *rato* /'ʁatu/ "rat" in ST as 'latu, Ang. 'latu, but Pr. u'fatu, and of Ptg *arroz* /ə'ʁoz/ "rice" in ST as 'loso, Ann. a'los, but Pr. u'fosu.

Another phonological feature in which the Creoles differ is in the presence or absence of vowel length. There is no significant vowel length in São Tomense and Angolar.

Annobonese, according to Barrena (1957 : 18) has a short [a] and a long [a], the latter occurring in such a word as ta'ba "to work"; there is no indication in Barrena that this difference in length is phonemic. Vowel length occurs also frequently in Principense, in some instances with phonemic value, the length compensating for the loss of a Portuguese segment or segments, as in the pairs 'foqa "to drown" (+ Ptg afoga /ə'foga/), 'foqqa "to enjoy oneself" (+ Ptg foiga /'folge/), pa "for" (+ Ptg para /'para/), paa "beach" (+ Ptg praia /'praia/). The origin of the vowel length is in Kongo, where some dialects have vowel length, as will be discussed presently.

One phonotactic element which contributes to the differences is that the four Creoles have few consonant clusters, and the clusters allowed vary between the Creoles. The consonant clusters allowed in São Tomense are discussed in paragraph 2.2 of the chapter on phonology. Thus São Tomense allows /l/ to cluster as C₂ or C₃ with a number of consonants, whereas the other Creoles allow very few /l/ compounds. This phonotactic difference accounts for the treatment of the Portuguese liquid in such words as:

Ptg outro /'otu/ "another" → ST 'otlo , Pr 'oto ,
 Ang. 'oto , Ann. 'utulu
 " branco /'bɛnku/ "white" → ST 'blanku , Pr. 'banku ,
 Ann. 'banku
 " comprar /kom'pɾaɪ/ "to buy"
 → ST kə'pla , Pr kə'pa ,
 Ang 'kəpwa , Ann. kom'pla

The differences in grammatical structure between the four Creoles are not major. To refer to one difference, the copula verb, which is sa in the four languages, tends to be omitted in Principense. Thus, where São Tomense, for example, would render "He is a doctor" as e sa do'tolo , Principense has e do'to . Turning to the nature of the negation, double negatives occur in São Tomense (na ...fa ~

na...fo), Angolar (na...wa), and Annobonese (na...f).¹
 In contrast, the negative transformation in Príncipe normally places a single element fa at the end of the utterance,² as in:

zwã se'be lan'da fa

John know swim NEG

"John does not know how to swim."

In more complex Principense sentences, fa is incorporated into the grammatical structure of the sentence, being placed at pauses in the discourse, as in:

m-me'se fa, 'puke 'minu ku'se ki sũ sa ku'me

a 'šiga sũ fa, 'kwantu 'maši pa sũ 'da mi

I-want NEG, because small thing-that which you
 be eating it is-enough you NEG, so-much more
 for you give me.

"I don't want any, as that small quantity which
 you are eating is not enough for you, let alone
 for me."

Although the substratum is fundamentally, but not uniformly, the same for all four Creoles, the differences discussed above could stem both from variable sources in the substratum and from geographical isolation of the Creoles from one another. With regard to the substratum, the factor of vowel length was mentioned; in the Kongo dialect cluster, which is one of the main African sources for the Creoles under discussion, there is phonemic vowel length, as in

¹Marroquim (1934:196-200) discusses the use of a double negative in the Portuguese of North-East Brazil, a negative particle being always placed before and after the verb. One of the examples he gives is *Não quero não* for "I don't want (it)" instead of Standard Portuguese *Não quero*. This could be an African influence. Anticipating the argument that this might be an influence from Old Portuguese, Marroquim comments that "One should not look in the dialectal negative for an influence from the archaic language. It is a phenomenon which has arisen in our own linguistic evolution."

²A type of negation similar to that of Principense occurs in Palenquero: "One (feature) which occurs in few if any other Creoles is sentence-final position of the negative morpheme, nu" (Bickerton and Escalante, 1970 : 259).

Kikongo siilu "promise", 'silu "shell" (Laman, 1936). Interdental fricatives, such as are found in the core phonology of Angolar, although not common in African languages, occur in a small number of Western Bantu languages, such as Herero and the Ndingi dialect of Kongo. Finally, in a passage from Guthrie (1967 : 52) in which the languages of the Kongo area are discussed, an explanation for the nature of negation is given which may be applied to the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea for both the disjunctive double negative and for the placing of the negative particle at the end of the utterance or at a pause in Principense:

In general true negative tenses do not occur in the languages of this zone. In Kongo ... the negative sign is ka...ko, e.g. katusumbidi ntumbu ko "we have not bought a calabash (cf. tusumbidi "we have bought"); in Ndonga [Kimbundu] ... the negative sign is kii...ee ...; and in Yaka ... the sign of the negative is the extra suffix -ko, e.g. tuzaji "we know", neg. tuzaji-ko.

Negative morphemes resembling those of the Creoles under discussion occur in other Bantu languages of the Kongo zone. In Bangi, the disjunctive negative morphemes are o...ka, as in biso nani o sila ka "we have not yet finished". In Lolo, a negative particle fa is used prefixally, as in to fa lango ijo "we do not love them". fa may be reduced to f- and be preceded by another negative morpheme, nta "ta", as in a ta f-olanga "he has not yet loved". Negative particles nja and we occur in Ngola (Stapleton, 1903).

CHAPTER TWO

PROVENANCE OF THE AFRICAN SUBSTRATUM

1. LINGUISTIC DATA

Relatively little work has been done on the several hundred languages of West Africa. There are languages whose existence is not known, and many are virtually unstudied. There are doubts as to how to establish groups within language families, and problems arise in deciding where boundaries lie between dialect and language. Paucity of data tends to lead to languages being classed as dialects of better-known languages. Guthrie, dealing with the Bantu area in general, regards his classification as only approximately 50 per cent accurate (1967 : 8).

The insufficiency of linguistic data does not allow precise specification of the source languages which contributed to the formation of São Tomense. Two languages, however, are clearly important African sources of São Tomense. From an analysis of São Tomense and its substratum, the language that emerges as seemingly the major African source of São Tomense, is a Bantu language, Kongo, which is often referred to as Kikongo. Kongo is a dialect cluster, with three main branches, Kikongo, Kishikongo and Kakongo (Doke, 1967 : 16). The main references consulted for Kongo were Bentley (1887, 1895) and Laman (1936), two major dictionaries with good linguistic descriptions. Another important reference was Silva Maia (1961). In addition, there are several minor publications, and information on Kongo is also to be found in several books of a broader scope, such as Stapleton (1903), Johnson (1919, 1922), Meinhof (1932), and Guthrie (1967).

According to the linguistic evidence, the Kwa languages seem to be secondary in importance to Bantu as substratum languages of São Tomense. One Kwa language, however, is of importance in the substratum. This language is Bini, also known as Edo, spoken in the lower reaches of the Niger. The principal work consulted for Bini was Melzian (1937), an excellent dictionary with some linguistic notes. Other works consulted were Dennett (1903), Thomas (1910), and Dunn (1968).

Other Bantu and Kwa languages may be of great importance in the substratum. However, consultation of a large number of descriptions of African languages showed no evidence of

as close a relationship with São Tomense as is found in Kongo and Bini. Of course, some languages remain unstudied, or have been so far inadequately described, or may have references which the author was unable to consult, and it may be that with fuller references on African languages some hitherto unexplained features of São Tomense, particularly in the structure of the lexicon, will be explained.

2. HISTORICAL DATA

The history of the slave movement into São Tomé is a complex one. Many factors are involved, and many documents are missing. In addition, not all the slaves who went to São Tomé remained on the island; some of them were sent from there to Portugal or to other parts of the world.

Broadly speaking, however, in the early phases of settlement of São Tomé, slaves were sent to the island from two major sources: the Congo-Angola region, a Bantu-speaking zone, and the Bight of Benin, a Kwa-speaking area. Slaves obtained from a particular tribe need not have been from that tribe, but could have been prisoners taken from neighbouring tribes.

In the Bantu area, dialects of Kongo were spoken in the kingdom of the Congo; Kishikongo was and is still the branch of this language spoken in the capital, today São Salvador (Bentley, 1887 : ix). Kimbundu, known also as Ndongo, was the language of the kingdom of Angola, which lay south of the kingdom of the Congo.

In the Kwa area, Bini, also known as Edo, was the language of the kingdom of Benin, with which the Portuguese established an early relationship. Many other languages were spoken around these three kingdoms which supplied slaves to São Tomé, and slaves could have come from any of these provenances.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the early settlers had a royal charter allowing them to obtain slaves for the island in the rivers of the Bight of Benin, and 920 slaves had been brought to São Tomé under this charter by 1499.

From the Congo, many inhabitants were sent to Portugal

to acquire various types of education and skills, and Portuguese missionaries went to the Congo to teach Portuguese. In this process, Portuguese acquired a measure of currency in the Congo; the relevance of this to the object of this study seems to be that some of the people who went to São Tomé as slaves from the Congo may have had a knowledge of Portuguese, so that the Portuguese base need not have been derived entirely from the Portuguese-speaking settlers on the island. The Discalced Carmelite Friar Diogo do Santíssimo Sacramento wrote to his convent in Lisbon in 1584 (Paiva Manso, 1877 : 132) :

The King [Álvaro II] of the Congo wants us to teach Grammar to the children of his noblemen, for the Fathers who were here used to do so.

Cadornega (1680-1681 : 265) refers to the education of the Congo people:

They show ... no ignorance ... , for this Mixicongo nation prides itself on being well read and learned, especially the lords and nobility of that Kingdom.

During the 16th century, many slaves left the Congo for São Tomé, although one cannot ascertain how many were absorbed into the island, and how many were sent elsewhere from São Tomé cannot yet be ascertained, for lack of information. That some remained on São Tomé is testified by the linguistic influence of languages of the Kongo area on São Tomense.

A letter of 1526, from Afonso I of the Congo to John III (1526 : 53-55), reveals that even people in high positions in the Kingdom were taken into slavery:

Each day the traders take our native people, children of the land and children of our nobility and vassals and our relatives ... Such, Sire, is this corruption and baseness that our land is being everywhere depopulated.

In 1568, the well-known invasion of the Congo by the cannibal Jaga tribe took place. The aftermath of the invasion was described by Lopez and Pigafetta (1591 : 112), who explain how the havoc and ruin affected the slave trade to São Tomé:

Constrained by necessity, the father sold the son, and the brother, the brother; and thus each sought to obtain his sustenance with all manner of vile ways. The people, who sold themselves on account of hunger, were bought by Portuguese traders, who came from São Tomé with ships loaded with victuals, the sellers saying who were slaves; the people who were sold confirmed it, in order to escape the torment of hunger; and in this manner was found in São Tomé and in Portugal a not small quantity of slaves, sold through such necessity; some of whom were of royal blood and from major Lords.

One might be inclined to speculate, on the basis of the few existing documents, as to what percentage of slaves came from a particular area. How misleading such speculation could be is borne out from the following personal communication (1st August, 1971) by the Portuguese historian Cdr. A. Teixeira da Mota, who has been for a few years compiling the 15th and 16th century documents relating to West Africa, including the islands of the Gulf of Guinea. I had asked Cdr. Teixeira da Mota whether the earliest slaves in São Tomé had perhaps been predominantly from the Congo or from Benin:

Your idea regarding the genesis of the Creole in terms of which slaves arrived first, seems to me, theoretically, correct. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to let you know of documentary sources which might prove it in the case of São Tomense. As you know, the documentation which has reached us since those early times is sparse and very fragmentary, so that only after making an inventory of it, transcribing it, and arranging it in order can one draw the appropriate conclusions. Now I do not yet have such work completed, but from what I have seen and occurs to me, I think it will be difficult to ascertain whether at the beginning there was a predominance of entry of Congos or Benins, or whether both went to the island in approximately equivalent numbers.

Ryder (1969 : 66), discussing the slave trade from São Tomé in the first half of the 16th century, also refers to the lack of documentation:

How many slaves were absorbed into the labour force of the island we do not know. Altogether the slave trade of São Tomé must have been

running at the rate of around 2,000 slaves a year by the middle fifteen-thirties. Information about the Benin share in this trade is entirely lacking, perhaps because of a fortuitous destruction of documents.

Ryder mentions that most of the records of the Casa da Mina in Lisbon were destroyed with the building in the 1755 earthquake. Only a few documents which happened to be elsewhere survived. It can thus be concluded that, at the present time, the historical records which have been studied still remain inconclusive with regard to the general movement of the slaves who went to work in São Tomé, and from what language sources they originated.

The main bibliography consulted in an assessment of the available historical data which might throw light on the issue of the linguistic substratum of São Tomense was Paiva Manso (1887), Brásio (1952), Birmingham (1966), Ryder (1969), and Curtin (1969).

CHAPTER THREE

FORMATION OF SÃO TOMENSE

In trying to capture what happened socially in São Tomé during the formative years of the Creole, four stages emerge in the early social development of the island.

The island was uninhabited when the Portuguese discovered it, in about 1471 (see Chapter 1, paragraph 2). The first stage starts with the first attempts at settlement, in 1485, and ends in 1492, the year before the settlement of the island began on a large scale.

Although the first Portuguese attempts at settlement of São Tomé did not meet with much success, the period from the appointment of the first captain of the island, João de Paiva, in 1485, to the appointment of Álvaro de Caminha, in 1493, when a major impulse was given to the development of the island, should not be dismissed as insignificant. From the point of view of the development of the Creole, this may well have been the crucial period of inception of the original Creole or Pidgin of the Gulf of Guinea, in the initial contact between speakers of Portuguese and speakers of various African languages.

Thus, the first step in the direction of settlement took place in 1485, when John II (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 50) appointed João de Paiva to the captaincy of the island, and granted certain privileges to the settlers who might wish to go and live on the island. Ryder (1969 : 34) writes that this colonization plan came to nothing. However, some colonization of the island did start taking place. Writing in 1486, the great Portuguese chronicler João de Barros (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 54) says that São Tomé had been made a station where slaves from the Bight of Benin and the kingdom of the Congo were moved before being sent to Mina on the mainland in a caravel stationed in São Tomé.

In 1490, João Pereira succeeded João de Paiva as captain of the island (Cortês, 1968 : 33). He was granted the captaincy "in payment for the great services which he had previously rendered to the island". This remark implies that the island already had a population nucleus. There must have been Portuguese people at the trading station and in activities

connected with it, and it is to be supposed that some of the slaves from the Congo and Benin areas were not sent to Mina but remained on the island to perform services. A further indication that a reasonably substantial population was already developing on the island at this stage is implicit in the royal charter granting the captaincy to João Pereira, where it was stated (Livro das Ilhas : 61, quoted in Negreiros, 1895 : 32) :

It also pleases us that [João Pereira] shall take for himself all the flour mills which there may be on the said island.

The existence of these flour mills in São Tomé necessarily implies the presence of a local population. Another passage which indicates that a nucleus of settlers had begun to form appears in Negreiros (1895 : 33), who writes that a condition under which the captains were allowed to sell or rent any piece of land was that the people to whom these concessions were made had to cultivate them within a period of five years, or otherwise lose possession of the land. Further, São Tomé was a port of call for many ships. The original Creole of the Gulf of Guinea is likely to have started developing during this stage. As stated above, the indications are that a number of Portuguese people was there, providing a Portuguese base for the Creole, and the island must have retained some of the slaves passing there from the Congo and Benin areas, who provided the substratum.

The second stage in the social history of the island may be said to be the phase of more intensive settlement, which began in 1493 with the appointment of Álvaro de Caminha as captain, and may be said to come to an end in 1505. A description of São Tomé by Valentim Fernandes in 1506 provides information about this second phase.

The first major contingent of settlers arrived in São Tomé in 1493. A large component of this group was made up of Jewish children whose parents had come from Castille. Garcia de Resende referred to them and the conditions of their departure in his Chronicle of the Reign of John II (ca 1545 : 253-254) :

In the year 1493 ... the King gave Álvaro de Caminha, a knight of his household, the Captaincy of the Island of São Tomé... And Castillian Jews not having left his Realms within the prescribed times, he had them taken as captives according to the condition of entry, and took their small sons and daughters, who were thus captives, and had them all made Christians, and with the said Álvaro de Caminha he sent them all to the said Island of São Tomé, so that being parted from their parents, and their doctrines, and from those who might talk to them of the law of Moses, they should be good Christians, and also so that on their growing up and marrying he could with them populate the said island, which on this account from then on prospered.

According to the description of São Tomé written in December 1506 by Valentim Fernandes (Isisio, 1954, 4 : 33-45), the Jewish children numbered 2.000 and were all 8 years or younger. Many died, and, when Fernandes wrote, 13 years after they were sent to São Tomé, only about 600 of them, both male and female, were still living. Fernandes makes an observation about this group, indicating a close contact with the Black population:

The said captain [Álvaro de Caminha] married them; however, few of them bear children from white men, much more do the white women bear children from the Negroes and the Black women from white men.

This fact is relevant to the formation of the Creole language on the island.

Fernandes adds that Álvaro de Caminha also took with him many people who went of their own accord, and whom he employed.

On the whole island, Fernandes continues, there were about 1.000 citizens, some of whom had gone to live there of their own choice, others who were employed, and others who were there because of the Guinea trade; most of them, however, were convicts. Fernandes does not seem to include the Jewish boys and girls in this figure of 1.000 citizens. Regarding the convicts, up to 1535 most of the convicts sentenced for serious offences in Portugal were sent to São Tomé to

populate the island. Fernandes writes about them:

There are now many rich deported convicts, who have 14 and more slaves who work and farm for them, and thus they make good earnings.

John II and Manuel both ordered that each convict in São Tomé should be given a slave woman, as stated in a proclamation of King Manuel, of 1515 (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 331),

to have her and to serve himself of her, with the main purpose of the said Island being populated.

Regarding the Black population, with the death of Alvaro de Caminha in 1499, his cousin Pero Álvares de Caminha wrote to King Manuel that out of 1.080 slaves whom Alvaro de Caminha had had a royal charter to import from the slave rivers on the mainland opposite, 920 had arrived at São Tomé. These slaves from the Kwa-speaking area of the Bight of Benin came at a crucial stage in the formative phase of the Creole. Pero de Caminha had previously received a letter from King Manuel, who had indicated that he wanted slaves in São Tomé to populate the island. Caminha wrote to the King in this regard (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 175) :

if your highness should see fit that I should stay on this island until I complete these things, then, Sire, in view of your letter which is here, I shall take from the slave Rivers as many slaves as necessary, as such is your command for the settlement of the island.

In 1500 the citizens of São Tomé were granted further the privilege of obtaining slaves and dealing in all goods on the mainland from Rio Real and the island of Fernando Po to the kingdom of the Congo (Cortesão, 1968 : 33).

In 1506, when Valentim Fernandes wrote, there were in São Tomé about 2.000 slaves employed in farming and other work, apart from the slaves who were being sent out again, who at times totalled 5.000 to 6.000 (Brásio, 1952, 4 : 34).

The third stage in the social history of the island is that in which São Tomé reached its maturity, and developed towards prosperity. An important social development was the formation of a free section of the African population, and

its progression towards becoming a wealthy section of the population. One may date this stage from 1506 to 1566, the year before the French attack which heralded the social decline of the island and the exodus of many of the Portuguese settlers.

In 1515, King Manuel, in reiterating John II's gift of a slave women to each convict in Sac Tomé in order to populate the island, granted freedom to the women given to the convicts, and to their offspring (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 331-332). Two years later, Manuel granted freedom to the men slaves also who had been given to convicts by John II, as well as to their descendants (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 376). The free African population became wealthy, and took over the culture of the Portuguese. One may assume that these Africans and the Portuguese who married into the African population were instrumental in the development of the Creole, providing the Portuguese model on which it was based.

An unknown Portuguese pilot who described a voyage from Lisbon to São Tomé in the middle of the 16th century appears to have conversed in Portuguese with one of the wealthy Africans (Machado, ca 1955 : 78):

On five times that I was there with ships, I affirm that I spoke to a Negro called João Menino, a very old man, who said that he had been taken there with the first who went from the African coast to this island, when it was populated by order of the king of Portugal; and this Negro was very wealthy and had children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren...

The pilot includes some remarks on the traders and their relationship with the free Africans (Machado, ca 1955 : 51-52):

There live [in São Tomé] many traders, Portuguese, Castillians, French, and Genoese, and those of any nation who may want to live here. They are all accepted with very good will; almost all have a wife and children, ...but it sometimes happens that when their white wives die the said traders take Negro wives, with which they do not have much difficulty, the Negro inhabitants being of great intelligence and wealth, and bringing up their daughters in our manner, in customs

as well as dress, and those who are born from such Negresses are of brown colour and are called mulattos.

It is implicit in these observations that the free Africans could speak Portuguese, although no doubt they spoke also the Creole which formed part of their background.

The pilot speaks of the slave population (Machado, ca 1955 : 54), making specific reference to the kingdoms of Benin and the Congo:

Each inhabitant [of São Tomé] buys Negro slaves and their women from Guinea, Benin, and Manicongo, and employs them in couples, in cultivating the lands for the plantations, and in extracting the sugars. And there are wealthy men who own one hundred and fifty, two hundred, and even three hundred Negro men and women....

In 1526, in response to a request from the free Negroes in São Tomé, John III allowed them to form a "brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary", with numerous privileges, among them that of demanding and compelling the freedom of any Black man or woman who was a member (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 472-474).

São Tomé was by then a thriving island, as testified further by the fact that in 1525 John III promoted the main township of São Tomé, founded by Álvaro de Caminha, to the status of a town, with the privileges applying to Portuguese towns (Brásio, 1952, 1 : 453-454). According to the anonymous Portuguese pilot, it was a big town, with 600 to 700 homes, and a good harbour (Machado, ca 1955 : 51). In 1534, at the request of John III, the Pope elevated São Tomé to the status of a bishopric, with jurisdiction over a wide area including the Congo (Brásio, 1952, 2 : 6-7, 22-34). According to Cortesão (1968 : 33-38), São Tomé reached the peak of its prosperity in the third quarter of the 16th century. The basis of the island's economy was the sugarcane industry, referred to by the unknown Portuguese pilot (Machado, ca 1955 : 53-55), who wrote that there were about 60 sugar mills on the island, although two thirds of the island was still uncleared. Cortesão (1968 : 34, 38) writes that sugar was followed in importance by the slave and ivory trade, and makes

reference to the existence of a shipyard in São Tomé during the middle of the 16th century.

Finally one may envisage a fourth stage in the social history of São Tomé, from 1567 to 1644, four years after the re-establishment of Portuguese independence from Spain, when São Tomé was recaptured from the Dutch, who held it for three years.

São Tomé entered a period of steep decline in the last quarter of the 16th century, a decline which was intensified by the rule of the Philips of Spain in Portugal. 1567 was the year when the island was raided by French pirates, who, according to Negreiros (1895 : 60), "invaded the island and committed all kinds of barbarities". Seven years later "the worst attack of the Angolares took place; they destroyed plantations and sugar mills, attacking and razing the town itself" (Negreiros, 1895 : 61). In 1585 a large part of the town was destroyed by a great fire. The following year there was a revolt of slaves led by the Negro Amador, who came to call himself king of São Tomé. Four years later, in 1600, a Dutch fleet attacked the island and ransacked the town.

An important social event during this phase was the exodus of the Portuguese from São Tomé as a consequence of the instability of the island. Cortesão (1968 : 42) gives the following picture of the situation at the beginning of the 17th century:

At about this time São Tomé was in full decadence. The farmers, whom the warring Angolares did not cease to disquiet after 1575, and the traders and ship-builders, continually persecuted at sea, had from the end of the 16th century abandoned the island in large numbers, most of them going to Brazil. The sugar industry declined notably; of many mills no more than ruins remained; and part of the old and densely populated town now lay waste and deserted.

In 1641 the island was taken by the Dutch, and it was taken back from the Dutch in 1644. The Dutch language left no imprint on the Creole.

The departure of large numbers of Portuguese settlers meant that to a large extent the Creole no longer had the

Portuguese model alongside which it was developing, this at a time when the Creole was reaching its maturity. This severance of Portuguese at this point in time could possibly account for the high African component in the lexicon, phonology, and grammar of São Tomense. If the Portuguese settlers had remained in large numbers, it is natural to expect that the Creole would have moved considerably closer to Portuguese. As it was, as Negreiros writes, "the white race had moved away, and the mixed race, consequently, gradually diminished, until it was almost extinguished". Regarding the African population, Negreiros writes: "Even the Portuguese blood which ran in their veins was gradually lost in the constant crossings with the races of the mainland opposite, because Portugal no longer even sent her convicts there" (1895 : 37, 40). The linguistic corollary of these observations is that the Portuguese language was virtually removed from the social situation, and presumably the Portuguese of the Portuguese-speaking free Africans was lost, only the Creole remaining.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHONOLOGY

1. THE PHONEMIC SYSTEM IN OUTLINE

1.1. Segmental Phonemes

1.1.1. Vowels

ST has seven non-nasal and five nasal phonemes, as set out in the following matrix :

	Front			Central	Back		
	High	Mid	Low	Low	High	Mid	Low
Non-Nasal	i	e	ɛ	a	u	o	ɔ
Nasal	ĩ	ẽ	-	ã	ũ	õ	-

A feature of this system is that all non-nasal vowels have nasal counterparts, except the front and back low vowels, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Another feature of the system is that it is composed solely of simple nuclei, unlike Portuguese, which has in addition a system of non-nasal and nasal complex nuclei (diphthongs).

There are minimally contrastive words to illustrate all these phonemes. The following sets of words illustrate some of the contrasts:

/i/	<u>'fita</u>	"ribbon"
/ĩ/	<u>'fita</u>	"collection"
/e/	<u>te</u>	"to have"
/ẽ/	<u>tẽ</u>	"also"
/a/	<u>'basa</u>	"wave"
/ã/	<u>'basa</u>	"rib"
/u/	<u>'fudu</u>	"clean"
/ũ/	<u>'fudu</u>	"deep"
/o/	<u>ka'so</u>	"dog"
/õ/	<u>ka'sõ</u>	"coffin"

/ɪ/	'pitu	"whistle; flute"
/e/	'petu	"chest"
/ɛ/	'pɛtu	"clever"
/u/	ku'je	"to pick"
/o/	ko'je	"to choose"
/o/	'soči	"blow"
/ɔ/	'soči	"luck"

1.1.1.1. Morphophonemic Vowel

[ɣ̃] is a nasal central high vowel with lip spreading. Nasality is the only linguistically significant feature of this nucleus.

[ɪ̃] occurs only in two instances in the language : in optional variation with /m/ ~ /n/ [n, ɱ] as a locative morpheme, and as the 1st p.s. subject pronoun. [ɪ̃] is thus the representation of a morpheme whose main phonological identity is nasality. The following are examples of the occurrence of this segment:

a) As locative morpheme:

<u>ɪ̃</u> - <u>'štlada</u>	"on the road"
<u>ɪ̃</u> - <u>'liba</u>	"on top"

b) As 1st p.s. subject pronoun:

<u>ɪ̃</u> - <u>'kɔpla</u> ~ <u>'n-kɔpla</u>	['n-kɔpla]	"I bought"
<u>ɪ̃</u> - <u>te</u> ~ <u>n-te</u>		"I have"

1.1.2. Consonants

The minimal system consists of the consonants of highest occurrence. The maximal system consists of the same consonants, with the addition of consonants which occur only marginally. The minimal and maximal systems of consonant phonemes in ST are as set out in the following table :

		Minimal	Maximal
Stops	- voice	/p t k	/p t k
	+ voice	b d g	b d g
Fricatives	- voice	f s ʃ	f s ʃ
	+ voice	v z ʒ	v z ʒ
Affricates	- voice	č	č
	+ voice	ǰ	ǰ
Nasals	+ voice	m n	m n ɲ
Continuants	+ voice	w l ʝ/	w l ʝ /

The phonetic values are as represented by the phonemic symbols, except in the following:

/b/ is normally an implosive bilabial stop, [ɓ]. The degree of implosion tends to be diminished in unstressed syllables, except when the nucleus is a vowel in harmony, as in bo'bo, [bo'bo] "ripe". Implosion is weak or imperceptible in consonant clusters.

/d/ is normally an implosive post-alveolar stop, [ɗ], as in 'dudu ['dudu] "jug". The degree of implosion varies in the same way as the degree of implosion of /b/.

/n/ has two allophones: [n] occurring before velar consonants and in the word 'nwini'nwini ['nwini'nwini] "small", and [ɲ] occurring elsewhere. Examples:

[n] As in an'ka [an'ka] "crab", 'nwini'nwini ['nwini'nwini] "small".

[ɲ] As in u'nu [u'nu] "naked", ka'nwa [ka'nwa] "canoe".

As in Portuguese, the phonetic realization of /N/ (vowel followed by nasal consonant) might sometimes come out as just the nasal vowel, or with both the nasal vowel and the nasal consonant, as in 'sempre ~ 'sẽple ~ 'semple "always" (= Ptg sempre /'sempɐ/).

The following minimal pairs illustrate some of the more important contrasts in the consonantal system:

/p/	<u>pa'li</u>	"to give birth"
/b/	<u>ba'li</u>	"to sweep"
/t/	<u>'taʃi</u>	"afternoon"
/d/	<u>'daʃi</u>	"age"
/k/	<u>'kasu</u>	"asthma"
/g/	<u>'gasu</u>	"hook"
/f/	<u>flɛ'qa</u>	"to rub; to scrub"
/v/	<u>vlɛ'qa</u>	"to bend"
/s/	<u>ka'sa</u>	"to hunt"
/z/	<u>ka'za</u>	"to marry"
/s/	<u>'maʃi</u>	"more"
/z/	<u>'maʒi</u>	"but"
/tʃ/	<u>mā'ča</u>	"greeting"
/ʃ/	<u>mā'ja</u>	"godmother"
/m/	<u>mō</u>	"hand"
/n/	<u>nō</u>	"we"
/m/	<u>nga'ma</u>	"trough"
/ɲ/	<u>nga'na</u>	"hen"
/n/	<u>ba'na</u>	"to shake"
/ɲ/	<u>ba'na</u>	"to hem"
/l/	<u>mo'le</u>	"to die"
/d/	<u>mo'de</u>	"to bite"

/ɲ/ and /ɸ/, which occur in the maximal system, are only represented in a few words. /ɲ/ occurs for instance in 'sonu "dream" (+ Ptq sonho /'sonu/), which contrasts with /'sonu/ "sleep" (+ Ptq sono /sonu/). /ɸ/ occurs in a small number of words, and is discussed in 3.3.3.

1.1.2.1. Palatal Consonants by Palatalization

There is partial complementation between the pairs of consonants /t, tʃ/, /d, dʃ/, /s, ʃ/, and /z, ʒ/. This partial contrast is due to the application of rules of palatalization and depalatalization.

- a) before vowels. The palatals /č, ʃ, š, ž/ normally occur before the high front vowels /i, ĩ/ and before the semi-vowel /j/. The dentals and alveolars /t, d, s, z/ occur before other vowels. The following are examples of this almost complete complementary distribution:

/t/	derreter /dɛrɐ'tɛɫ/	→ dle'te	"to melt"
	perguntar /pɐɫgun'taɫ/	→ pun'ta	"to ask"
/č/	sorte /'sɔftɐ/	→ 'sɔči	"luck"
	feiticeiro /feiti'seifʊ/	→ fiči'selu	"witch; wizard"
/d/	verdade /vɐɫ'dadɐ/	→ vɛdɛ	"truth"
	alguizar /algi'daɫ/	→ liqi'da	"basin"
/ʃ/	tarde /'taɫdɐ/	→ 'taʃi	"afternoon"
	grande /'grɛndɐ/	→ 'nqlāʃi	"big"
/s/	cego /'sɛgu/	→ 'sɛgu	"blind"
	bicho /'biʃu/	→ 'bisu	"animal"
/š/	vestir /vɐʃ'tiɫ/	→ bi'šɪ	"to dress"
	cinco /'sinku/	→ 'šinku	"five"
/z/	ferrugem /fɐ'ɾuʒɛi/	→ fa'luza	"rust"
	azedo /ə'zɛdu/	→ 'zɛdu	"sour"
/ʒ/	música /'muzikɐ/	'mužika	"music"
	(Afr. ?)	žje	"to scoop"

- b) Exceptions to the palatal series. In some instances, the palatal consonant occurs before vowels other than /i, ĩ, j/, normally in cases where the etymon contains either of these three segments. In such cases, the ST palatal may be said to be marked for origin. In the instance of /ɟ/, the Portuguese high front segment may appear optionally in ST as /j/, yielding /j ~ ʃj/:

/č/	tia /'tie/	+ ča	"aunt"
/ʃ/	ódio /'odju/	+ o'ʃo	"hatred"
	(Afr., cf. Bini <u>mu dia</u>)	+ mɔ'ʃa	"to stand"
	dia /'die/	+ ʃa ~ ʃʃa	"day"
	diabo /'djabu/	+ 'ʃabu ~ ʃʃabu	"devil"
	mezinha /me'ziŋə/	+ mĩ'ʃã	"medicine"
/s/	palácio /pə'lasju/	+ pa'lašu	"palace"
	bacia /be'sie/	+ ba'sa	"basin"
	xaile /'šailə/	+ 'šeli	"shawl"
/z/	génio /'ʒenju/	+ 'ʒenu	"temper"
	cirurgiao /sifuf'ʒʒo/	+ stli'ʒo	"medicine man"

The following, however, cannot be explained in terms of either vocalic environment or origin, and do not appear to be recent borrowings as discussed under c) below:

adivinhar /edivi'ŋaí/	+ di'vja	"to guess"
(Bantu, cf Kishikongo <u>susu</u>)	+ 'sušu	"dagger with wire point"
(Afr.)	+ ko'kōʃa	"coconut"

c) Recent borrowings. Many recent borrowings from Portuguese show little or no adaptation to the phonological patterns of ST, and thus provide exceptions to the palatalization and depalatalization rules, as in:

/t/	destino /dɔš'tinu/	+ diš'tinu	"destiny"
	canivete /kəni'vetə/	+ kani'vet	"penknife"
	tio /'tiu/	+ 'tiu (~ ci)	"uncle"
	arte /'artə/	+ 'aŋti ~ 'ači)	"art"
	contente /kon'tentə/	+ kon'tenti	"pleased"
	antigamente /əntige'mentə/	+ antiqa'menti	"long ago"
	importante /impuf'tentə/	+ impaɫ'tanti	"important"
/d/	decidir /dɔsi'di/	+ diɫi'di	"to decide"
/ʒ/	gerar /ʒɔ'ɾa/	+ ʒɔ'ʔa	"to breed"

- d) Before consonants. /č, ʃ, s, z, ž/ do not occur before consonants. Of the series of consonants being dealt with here, only /t, d, s/ occur before consonants, as in:

/t/	tremer /tʃɐ'meɪ/	→	<u>tle'me</u>	"to tremble"
/d/	derreter /dɐ'rɐ'teɪ/	→	<u>dle'te</u>	"to melt"
/s/	mosca /'moʃkə/	→	<u>'mɔʃka</u>	"fly"
	estrada /ɐ's'tɾade/	→	<u>'ʃtlada</u>	"road"

By exception, /ž/ occurs in a consonant cluster in liž'boa "Lisbon" (+ Ptg Lisboa /liž'boə/). Also, the auxiliary verb ška "is" has a variant ska.

- e) An important exception is the different uses of the related morphemes di and ʃi, used in genitive constructions. di is equivalent to the preposition "of", and ʃi is the Noun Replacer (NR) which follows possessive complements to the copula verb, as in:

di kə ?
of whom?
"whose?"

e sa ʃi zò
it be of John
"It is John's."

The correspondences in palatalization between Portuguese and São Tomense are discussed in 3.8. A comparison with Bantu languages is made under 4.5. Under paragraph 5, in the summary of significant features of the phonology, (ii), a parallel is drawn with palatalization in Brazilian Portuguese.

1.2. Prosodic Features

1.2.1. Stress

- a) In words of more than one syllable, a strong stress is assigned to a syllable, and other syllables receive

weaker stress. With the exception of main verbs, the basic stress pattern of a word is normally retained. However, the stress pattern on a part of speech may be changed in discourse. This seldom occurs, but is exemplified by the changes in the stress pattern of a'le "king" in the following sentences:

a'le 'bila we

king turned eyes

"The king turned his eyes."

'ale sa 'meza

king is at-table

"The king is at the table."

- b) On disyllabic main verbs, such as fi'sa ~ 'fisa "to close", the strong stress may be placed either on the final or on the penultimate syllable. There is a general tendency for the main stress to be placed on the penultimate syllable when an object or other immediate complement follows, and on the final syllable when there is no immediate complement to the verb.

If the main verb has more than two syllables, which is not typical, stress may be placed on a syllable before the penultimate, as in 'dumini ~ dumi'ni "to sleep".

1.2.2. Tone

There is no phonologically significant tone in ST. However, as a stylistic or emphatic device, a high tone may be placed on the nucleus of a monosyllabic word or on the last two nuclei of a word of more than one syllable, as in:

e na bwá fa

it NEG₁ good NEG₂

"It is not good."

e 'futa f'né kwa se ?

he stole them things DEM ?

"Did he steal them?"

'lɔza na lɔngɔ

Rose be tall

"Rose is tall."

e sa ku diʒ'gɔstɔ

he be with sadness

"He is sad."

2. MORPHEME STRUCTURE RULES

2.1. Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony is a consistent feature of ST phonology. In ST, vowel harmony consists in a tendency for the same vowel to occur in two consecutive syllables within a morpheme. Vowel harmony in ST occurs virtually only with non-nasal vowels, as in:

<u>bi'li</u>	"to open"
<u>ba'lili</u>	"barrel"
<u>me'se</u>	"to want"
<u>le'qɛla</u>	"enjoyment"
<u>na'ta</u>	"Christmas"
<u>'pɔtɔ</u>	"door"
<u>ko'ko</u>	"to crawl"
<u>'budu</u>	"stone"

In ST there are also examples of a type of vowel harmony which is preference rather than complete assimilation. Usually the preference is not completely systematic. A strong preference, however, becomes obligatory in the choice of /ɔ/ rather than /o/ if an adjoining syllable has the nucleus /ɔ/. Thus, /o/ cannot occur in contrast if the adjoining syllable has the nucleus /ɔ/. /u/ could occur instead of /ɔ/, as it does in plu'mɔ "lung" (Ptg pulmão /pul'mɔ̃/). However, the preference for /ɔ/ changes the Ptg /u/ to ST /ɔ/ in most cases, if there is a vowel /ɔ/ in an adjoining syllable, as in:

Ptg	bordão	/bu'ðəũ/	+	ST	bə'dō	"cudgel"
"	coração	/kufə'səũ/	+	"	klə'sō	"heart"
"	tostão	/tuʃ'təũ/	+	"	tə'sō	"unit of money"
"	povoação	/puvwe'səũ/	+	"	pə'sō	"town"
"	fogão	/fū'gəũ/	+	"	fə'qō	"stove"
Afr.			+	"	klō'klə	"throat"

The way in which vowel harmony operates in the incorporation of Portuguese words into ST is discussed in 3.9. A discussion of vowel harmony in ST as a feature of African phonology appears in paragraph 4.3.

2.2. Syllable Structure

There are the following types of syllable structure in ST, in diminishing order of importance:

CV

V

CVC

where C may consist of one, two, or three consonants, i.e. the syllable margins may consist of C, C₁C₂, or C₁C₂C₃. The second C in the CVC syllable type may only consist of a single consonant. The canonical type CV is the most generally found.

The syllable structure presents a simplification in comparison with Portuguese, and shows features of the syllable structure of Portuguese, Bantu, and Kwa, more specifically Bini. The African influence is discussed under 4.1.

ST syllables are open in nearly all cases; the few exceptions in which the syllable is closed, the syllable type CVC, are due to the operation of the syllable structure of Portuguese.

The canonical type CV is illustrated by the following examples:

'lɛ.ʒi	"root"	(← Ptg raiz /ʁe'iz/)
ka'pli.su	"caprice"	(← " capricho /kə'pɾi.ʃu/)
sa'pɛ	"hat"	(← " chapé: /ʃə'peu/)

In the CV type, C may be a single consonant, as in 'pe.li "skir", me'se "to want", mō "hand", be "to see", or it may be a sequence C_1C_2 or $C_1C_2C_3$. If there is a C_1C_2 , then either:

a) C_2 equals /l/ or a semivowel (/w/ or /j/), as in:

<u>tlaba</u>	"to work"	(+ Ptg trabalhar /tʃɔ.bə'ʁal/)
<u>fla'kō</u>	"falcon"	(+ " falção /fal'kso/)
<u>bō'dla</u>	"to embroider"	(+ " bordar /buɹ'daɹ/)
<u>'vli.du</u>	"glass"	(+ " vidro /vi.dʒu/)
<u>'blō.ʒi</u>	"bronze"	(+ " bronze /bɫō.ʒə/)
<u>kle'senti</u>	"crescent"	(+ " crescente /kɫəʃ.'sentə/)
<u>bwe</u>	"ox; cow"	(+ " boi /boi/)
<u>'sen.kwa</u>	"bug"	(cf. Zongo ki-nse.kwa)
<u>dī'vja</u>	"to guess"	(+ Ptg adivinhar /ə.di.'vi.ɲaɹ/)
<u>fja</u>	"leaf"	(+ " folha /'fo.ʎə/)

or b) C_1 is a homorganic nasal:

<u>nda</u>	"to walk"	(+ Ptg andar /ən'daɹ/)
<u>nga'na</u>	[nga'na] "fowl"	(+ " galinha /gə'li.ɲə/)
<u>'nʃa.nʃa</u>	"quickly"	
<u>ka'nwa</u>	"canoe"	(+ Ptg canoa /kə'no.ə/)
<u>si'mja</u>	"to plant seed"	(+ " semear /sə'mjaɹ/)
<u>mʃə'lə</u>	"now"	(Afr. ?)

If the C of a CV syllable is $C_1C_2C_3$, then C_1 always equals a voiceless grooved fricative, C_2 always equals /t/ or /k/, and C_3 always equals /l/, as in

<u>'stle.ka</u>	"to surround"	(+ Ptg cercar /səɹ'kaɹ/)
<u>'stlo.lo</u>	"sweat"	(+ " suor /swɔɹ/)
<u>'stle.nu</u>	"night dew"	(+ " sereno /sə.ɹe.nu/)
<u>ʃkle've</u>	"to write"	(+ " escrever /ə.skɫə'veɹ/)
<u>mə.ʃtia'sō</u>	"menstruation"	(+ " menstruação /mə.ʃtɫ(u.ə.sōu/)

As is seen in these examples, $C_1C_2C_3$ generally occurs in initial position in the word. It occurs in a medial position only in the context of a preceding nasal vowel, such as occurs in the last example, mē.ʃtla'sō.

We now turn to the other types of syllable structure found in ST. We shall first discuss the V syllable, which occurs in only a few words, and we shall first look at the V syllable in initial position in the word. An initial V syllable occurs mostly in nouns, never in verbs. In such nouns, the initial V syllable is always non-nasal.

When a Portuguese noun is monosyllabic, it is frequently absorbed into ST by agglutination of an initial non-nasal V. This prosthetic vowel probably derives from the Portuguese definite article:

<u>o'pɛ</u>	"foot and leg to the knee"	(+ Ptg o pé /u 'pɛ/)
<u>o'pɔ</u>	"dust"	(+ Ptg o pó /u 'pɔ/)
<u>o'mali</u>	"sea"	(+ " o mar /u 'maɪ/)
<u>a'fɛ</u>	"faith"	(+ " a fé /ə 'fɛ/)
<u>a'le</u>	"king"	(+ " el-rei /ɛɪ 'rɛi/)
<u>'unu</u>	"nakedness;naked"	(+ " o nu /u 'nu/)

The initial syllable V is also retained in Portuguese-derived words which commence with a stressed vowel. These are mostly nouns, with a few words from other grammatical categories, but are never verbs:

<u>'awa</u>	"water"	(+ Ptg água /'a.gwɛ/)
<u>'ɔvu</u>	"egg"	(+ " - ovo /'o.vu/)
<u>'ɔmɛ</u>	"man"	(+ " homem /'ɔ.mɛɪ/)
<u>'olo</u>	"gold"	(+ " - ouro /'o.fu/)
<u>'oze</u>	"today"	(+ " hoje /'o.ʒɛ/)

There are few instances of the syllable sequence VV, two adjoining V syllables. VV occurs word-finally, or on its own. In the ST examples recorded, the first V is /ɪ/, /o/, or /ū/. The following are some of the few ST examples of two adjoining syllables each consisting of V :

<u>'kia</u>	"to create"	(+ Ptq criar (kri'ar)
<u>plum'nia</u>	"pneumonia"	(+ " pneumonia /pneumu'ni.e/)
<u>i'o</u>	"islet"	(+ " ilhéu ? /i'ʎeu/)
<u>fi'o</u>	"cold"	(+ " frio /'fri.u/)
<u>koko'i</u>	"elbow"	(Afr.)
<u>'ua</u>	"one"	(+ Ptq uma /'uma/)

A syllable may also consist of CVC. Such closed syllables are a Portuguese influence, as can be seen from the glosses below. If the syllable is CVC, then either:

- a) V is non-nasal and the second C is a grooved fricative, as in:

<u>'vešpa</u>	"wasp"	(+ Ptq vespa /'veš.pə/)
<u>'moš.ka</u>	"fly"	(+ " mosca /'moš.kə/)
<u>diš'tinu</u>	"fate"	(+ " destino /døš'tinu/)
<u>diž'qlasa</u>	"misfortune"	(+ " desgraça /døž'gɫase/)

- or b) the second C is a homorganic nasal, as in:

<u>'sum.bu</u>	"lead"	(+ Ptq chumbo /'šum.bu/)
<u>'tam.pa</u>	"lid"	(+ " tampa /'təm.pə/)
<u>san'dalja</u>	"sandal"	(" sandalia /sən'daljə/)
<u>šin'ga</u>	"to move"	(" gingar /šin'gaɫ/)

Cole (1955:52) writes that Bantu languages "have the characteristic of being fundamentally disyllabic, i.e. the great majority of word-stems, with all prefixal elements removed, have two syllables." Bini has CVCV forms, but this is only one of several common syllable types which it has. The Bantu tendency to a CVCV structure is found in ST, and often reduces to two syllables words which in Portuguese have three or more syllables, as is discussed in paragraph 3.10.

2.3. Sandhi Rules

2.3.1. Elision and Gliding

Two vowels do not normally stand together in São Tomense: there is merging and consonantalization. When two vowels meet

across a word boundary, they may both be retained, separated by a plus juncture. Generally, however, the first vowel (with the exception of /u/) is elided, as in:

<u>pa e</u>	>	<u>pe</u>	"for him"
<u>'dudu di 'awa</u>	>	<u>'dudu 'dawa</u>	"jug of water"
<u>'žina 'oze</u>	>	<u>žin'oze</u>	"from today"

/u/, which does not follow this rule, becomes a /w/-glide when followed by another vowel, as in:

<u>ku a'le</u>	>	<u>kwa'le</u>	"with the king"
<u>da mu 'ele</u>	>	<u>da 'mwele</u>	"give it to me"
			(lit. give me it)

When retained in the first morpheme, as a stylistic device or to avoid ambiguity, the high and non-nasal vowels sometimes, like /u/, become glides; /i,e/ > /j/ and /o/ > /w/, as in :

<u>'viči 'anu</u>	>	<u>vičjanu</u>	"twenty years"
<u>'mese ūa mpō</u>	>	<u>me'sjua mpo</u>	"I want a loaf of bread"
			(mpō "loaf of bread")
<u>'čoko 'aši</u>	>	<u>čo'kwaši</u>	"so little (lit. little thus)"

2.3.2. Replacement, Merging, and Gliding of Verb and Object Pronoun

A different set of sandhi rules applies to the combination of a verb and e, the 3rd p.s. object pronoun ("him, her, it"). As two vowels do not normally stand together, the final vowel of the verb and the pronoun e undergo replacement, merging, or gliding, following a specific set of rules.

The preposition da "to", which derives from and is identical with the verb meaning "to give", combines with /e/ like the verb.

Examples:

Replacement:

/a/ + /e/ > /e/

As in:

<u>da e</u>	>	<u>de</u>	"gave him; to him"
<u>ka'ba e</u>	>	<u>ka'be</u>	"finished it"

Merging:

/e/ + /e/ > /e/
 As in:
pe e > pe "put it"

Gliding:

/o/ + /e/ > /we/
 As in:
'fono e > 'fonwe "tore it"

/i/ + /e/ > /je/
 As in:
bi'si e > bi'sje "put it on"

3. MEANS OF INCORPORATING PORTUGUESE WORDS

There are many mechanisms through which the phonemic system and the morpheme structure of ST can incorporate Portuguese words. Under the headings below, the more important mechanisms are discussed.

3.1. Incorporation of Portuguese Simple Nuclei

The Portuguese simple nuclei which have a counterpart in the phonemic system of ST are normally identified with this counterpart, in a one-to-one correspondence. Thus, straight transfers to the same position of articulation, as in the following examples, are frequent:

Ptg	/i/	+	ST	/i/
As in:	amigo /e'migu/	+	<u>'migu</u>	"friend"
Ptg	/e/	+	ST	/e/
As in:	gema /'žemə/	+	<u>'zema</u>	"egg yolk"
Ptg	/ɛ/	+	ST	/ɛ/
As in:	terra /'tɛʃə/	+	<u>'tɛla</u>	"land"
Ptg	/a/	+	ST	/a/
As in:	tacho /'taʃu/	+	<u>'tasu</u>	"pan"

Each vowel of ST has a corresponding nucleus in the Portuguese phonemic system. Portuguese, however, has three

simple nuclei with no counterpart in ST : the mid central nasal and non-nasal vowels /ẽ/ and /e/ and the high central non-nasal reduced vowel with lip spreading, /w/. The following are the normal correspondences given to these vowels in ST :

Ptg	/e/	→		ST	/a/
As in:	cada /'kədə/	→	<u>'kada</u>		"each"
Ptg	/ẽ/	→		ST	/ã/
As in:	grande /'gɫɔndɐ/	→	<u>'nglãʃi</u>		"large"
Ptg	/w/	→		ST	/i/
As in:	pescar /pɐʃ'kaɪ/	→	<u>piʃ'ka</u>		"to fish"

Other mechanisms of absorbing Portuguese words may exercise a stronger constraint than the normal correspondences stated above. Thus, the constraint of the direct correspondence Portuguese /w/ → ST /i/ is sometimes weaker than that of vowel harmony. This occurs in the following examples:

Ptg	/w/	→		ST	/e/
As in:	beber /bɐ'beɪ/	→	<u>be'be</u>		"to drink"
Ptg	/w/	→		ST	/ɛ/
As in:	febre /'fɛbɪw/	→	<u>'fɛblɛ</u>		"fever"
Ptg	/w/	→		ST	/u/
As in:	costume /kuʃ'tumw/	→	<u>kuʃ'tumu</u>		"custom"

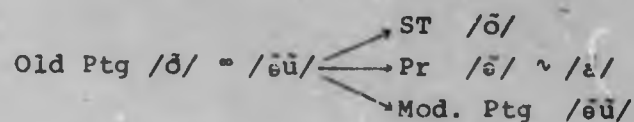
3.2. Incorporation of Portuguese Complex Nuclei

Portuguese has four nasal and ten non-nasal complex nuclei. Some of these have a low frequency of occurrence in Portuguese and ST has either not borrowed words with these diphthongs, or has only borrowed one or two words. The Portuguese complex nuclei /ɔi/ and /ai/ can be left aside, as no counterparts of Portuguese words in which they occur were recorded in ST.

The incorporation of the Portuguese complex nuclei /eu/ and /ei/ should be considered on its own:

a) Ptg /eu/

The mechanism which ST has for absorbing this nucleus dates back to the phonology of Old Portuguese. In the following diagram is set out the development of the corresponding Old Portuguese equivalents (/ō/ = /eu/) into ST and into Modern Portuguese (Williams, 1962). For comparison, the development into Principense is also included:



The following are examples of the absorption of Mod. Ptg /eu/ into ST and Principense:

Modern Ptg / <u>eu</u> / +	ST /ō/
As in: ladrão /le'd <u>eu</u> / +	<u>la'dlō</u> "thief"
povoação /puvwa's <u>eu</u> / +	<u>po'sō</u> "town"
falcão /fal'k <u>eu</u> / +	<u>fla'kō</u> "falcon"
cendão /ten'd <u>eu</u> / +	<u>ten'dō</u> "tendon"

Modern Ptg / <u>eu</u> / +	Pr /ē/ ~ /ā/
As in: ladrão /le'd <u>eu</u> / +	<u>la'dlā</u> "thief"
povoação /puvwa's <u>eu</u> / +	<u>po'sē</u> "town"
falcão /fal'k <u>eu</u> / +	<u>fal'kē</u> "falcon"
focão /fu'g <u>eu</u> / +	<u>fo'qā</u> "stove"

The fusion of the Old Ptg morphological variants /ō/ = /eu/ into Modern Portuguese /eu/ developed over two or three centuries in the Middle Ages and was accomplished between the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. The retention in ST of the medieval variant /ō/, which was replaced at that time in Portuguese by /eu/, is an indication of the early formation of ST. The Creole of Príncipe island selected the other Portuguese variant, /eu/, which corresponds to the Principense phoneme /ā/ ~ /ē/, with deletion of the second Portuguese vocoid quality.

b) Ptg /ei/

Mod. Ptg /ei/ stems from Old Ptg /ei/. One of the forms found in ST for this complex nucleus is /e/, with deletion of the second Portuguese vocoid element. This form is found in words ending in /u/. Examples of the incorporation of Mod. Ptg /ei/ as /e/ in ST are:

Ptg primeiro /pʁi'mɛiʁu/	→	ST plu'me	"first"
" p'dreiro /pɐ'dɾɛiʁu/	→	" <u>pe'dlelu</u>	"bricklayer"
" direito /di'reitu/	→	" <u>'gletu</u>	"straight"
" respeito /ʁɛʃ'pɛitu/	→	" <u>liʃ'petu</u>	"courtesy"
" peito /'pɛitu/	→	" <u>'petu</u>	"chest"
" marinheiro /ma'ɾi'ɲɛiʁu/	→	" <u>ma'ʒelu</u>	"sailor"
" barbeiro /baɾ'bɛiʁu/	→	" <u>bla'belu</u>	"barber"
" queijo /'kɛiʒu/	→	" <u>'kezu</u>	"cheese"

Following the rule stated in paragraph 3.8 of the Phonology, Ptg /ei/ also becomes /ɛ/. When the final ST vowel is /a/, /ei/ becomes /ɛ/, as in:

Ptg cadeira /ka'dɛiʁɐ/	→	ST ka'dɛla	"chair"
" poeira /'pɛiʁɐ/	→	" <u>pwɛla</u>	"dust"
" deixar /dɛi'ʃaɪ/	→	" <u>'dɛsa</u>	"to leave"
" peneira /pɐ'ɲɛiʁɐ/	→	" <u>pi'nɛla</u>	"sieve"
" teimar /tɛi'maɪ/	→	" <u>tɛ'ma</u>	"to be stubborn"
" parteira /paɾ'tɛiʁɐ/	→	" <u>pa'tɛla</u>	"midwife"
" rejeitar /ʁɛʒɛi'taɪ/	→	" <u>zɛ'ta</u>	"to reject"
" pesqueiro /pɐʃ'kɛiʁɐ/	→	" <u>piʃi'kɛla</u>	"fishing area"

The above two rules for incorporating Ptg /ei/ may thus be stated as e...u and ɛ...a. These rules resemble an aspect of Portuguese metaphony; however, metaphony in Portuguese is not obligatory but consists of a general tendency for e...u and ɛ...a to occur as the last two nuclei of a word. The ST rule is not a general rule, but operates as a mechanism for incorporating Ptg /ei/. When the penultimate vowel of a word could be either ST /e/ or /ɛ/ but does not represent Ptg /ei/, the order of the rules stated above is reversed, yielding ɛ...u and e...a, as in:

ST e...u

Ptg cego /'sɛgu/	→	ST 'sɛgu	"blind"
" seco /'sɛko/	→	" 'sɛku	"dry"
" azedo /ə'zɛdu/	→	" 'zɛdu	"sour"
" preto /'plɛtu/	→	" 'plɛtu	"black"
" ferro /'fɛʁu/	→	" 'fɛlu	"iron"
" gênio /'ʒɛnju/	→	" 'ʒɛnu	"courage"
" inferno /ɪ'fɛʁnu/	→	" 'fɛnu	"hell"
" preço /'pɛsu/	→	" 'plɛsu	"price"
" verso /'vɛɪsu/	→	" 'vɛsu	"verse"
" certo /'sɛɪtu/	→	" 'sɛtu	"correct"

ST e...a

Ptg osga /'ɔʒgɐ/	→	ST ɔ'dlegɐ	"gecko"
" flecha /'flɛʃɐ/	→	" 'fleʃa	"arrow"
" queimar /kɐi'maɪ/	→	" 'kema	"to burn"
" gema /'ʒema/	→	" 'zema	"yolk"

In the following two examples, Ptg /ɛi/ does not follow the rule to become /ɛ/. This is due to the fact that the words are recent borrowings, as is indicated by their having a flap:

Ptg cozinheira /kuzi'ɲɛiʁɐ/	→	ST kuzi'ɲɛɾɐ	"cook"
" madeira /mɐ'dɛiʁɐ/	→	" ma'dɛɾɐ	"wood"

The following is an instance in which the final vowel is not /u/ or /a/ but /ɔ/. The choice of /ɛ/ rather than /ə/ appears to be in this case a matter of euphonic preference, whereby the language prefers the sequence e...ɔ to the sequence e...ō:

Ptg feijão /fɛi'ʒɐu/	→	ST fɛ'zɔ	"bean"
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Finally, in the following word ending in ...i, Ptg /ɛi/ has been absorbed into ST as i, the second vocoid quality of the Portuguese complex nucleus. The vowels of the two syllables are equalized by vowel harmony:

Ptg peixe /'pɛiʃɐ/	→	ST 'piʃi	"fish"
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c) Other Portuguese complex nuclei.

In the process of absorption of the remaining ten Portuguese complex nuclei into the system of simple nuclei of ST, frequently the first vocoid quality of the complex nucleus is retained, and the second is lost. The complex nucleus is thus often incorporated in terms of the full vocoid. However, no examples of this change were found for Ptg /ui/ and /au/. The Portuguese diphthong /ēĩ/ is treated as Old Ptg /ēĩ/.

Examples:

Ptg /ēĩ/ (Old Ptg /ēĩ/)	+ ST /ē/	
As in: bem /bēĩ/	+ <u>bē</u>	"well"
Ptg /ũĩ/	+ ST /ũ/	
As in: muito /'mũitu/	+ <u>'mũtu</u>	"much, many"
Ptg /ai/	+ ST /a/	
As in: debaixo /dē'baiũ/	+ <u>'basu</u>	"under"
Ptg /eu/	+ ST /e/	
As in: Deus /deuž/	+ ST <u>'desu</u>	"God"
Ptg /oi/	+ ST /o/	
As in: doido /'doidu/	+ <u>'dodo</u>	"mad"
dcis /doiž/	+ <u>'dosu</u>	"two"
foi /foi/	+ <u>fo</u>	"was"
Ptg /ei/	+ ST /ɛ/	
As in: mil réis /mil 'ŕeĩž/	+ <u>mi'le</u>	"amount of money"
Ptg /eu/	+ ST /ɛ/	
As in: céu /seu/	+ <u>ɔ'se</u>	"sky"
Ptg /iu/	+ ST /i/	
As in: tio /'tiu/	+ <u>çi</u> ~ <u>'tiju</u>	"uncle"

/ai/, like /ei/, can also become /-/, following the rule discussed in paragraph 3.8 of the Phonology:

Ptg xaile /'šailə/	+ ST <u>'šeli</u>	"shawl"
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Some exceptions to the above rules are:

Ptg /ɐi/

Ptg homem /'omɐi/	→	ST 'omɛ	"man"
" ontem /'ontɐi/	→	" 'onte	"yesterday"
" nuvem /'nuvɐi/	→	" 'novi	"cloud"
" imagem /i'maʒɐi/	→	" 'maʒi	"image"

Ptg /ui/

Ptg cuidar /kui'daɫ/	→	ST 'kuda	"to think"
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Ptg /oi/

Ptg boi /boi/	→	ST bwe	"ox" or "cow"
" coitado /koi'tadu/	→	ST kwe'tadu	"to be sympathized with"

Ptg /eu/

Ptg pneumon'ia /pneumu'niɐ/	→	ST plumi'nia	"pneumonia"
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Ptg /au/

Ptg pau /pau/	→	ST pɔ	"tree"
" <u>Paula</u> /'paulɐ/	→	" 'paia	"Paula"

3.3. Incorporation of Portuguese Consonants3.3.1. Portuguese Consonants with Direct Counterparts in ST

The following Portuguese consonants, which have a direct correspondence with ST consonants, are absorbed in a one-to-one correspondence: /p, b, k, g, f, v, m, n, ɲ/.

The following are examples:

Ptg	/p/	→	ST	/p/	
As in:	perdoar /pɐ'du'waɫ/	→	pɔ'da		"to forgive"
	paz /paʒ/	→	'paʒi		"peace"
Ptg	/b/	→	ST	/b/	
As in:	bola /'bɔla/	→	'bɔla		"ball"
	Isabel /izə'bɛl/	→	ze'be		"Elizabeth"
Ptg	/k/	→	ST	/k/	
As in:	crer /kɾɛɾ/	→	ke'le		"to believe"
	quase /'kwazɐ/	→	'kwaʒi		"almost"

With regard to ke'le, Ptg crer could have yielded kle. However, most monosyllabic verbs in ST have the

shape CV, where C is a single consonant, as in da "to give", bi "to come". In addition, monosyllabic verbs are very few; most ST verbs have the structure CVCV, as is found in ke'le, in which the Portuguese cluster /kʎ/ has been broken by an epenthetic harmonic vowel.

As an exception to the rule, in the following words Ptg /k/ has acquired the feature [+ voice] in ST :

carapau /kə.ɫə'pau/ + gla'pō "stickleback"
sacudir /səku'diʃ/ + sagu'ji "to shake"

Regarding the shape of gla'pō, it is mentioned in 3.10, in the discussion on the role played by the syllable structure in the absorption of Portuguese words, that because of a tendency to CVCV words, a tendency originating in Bantu, Portuguese words of three or more syllables are frequently made disyllabic.

gla'pō follows the rule whereby in a CV syllable where C is a liquid, V is deleted and the liquid clusters with the consonant of the first syllable.

Ptg /g/ + ST /g/

As in: carga /'kaɾgə/ + 'kəga "load"
obrigação /ɔbɾi'ga:sɔ̃/ +

bliga'sɔ̃ "obligation"

exception: umbigo /um'bigu/ + 'binku "navel"

Ptg /f/ + ST /f/

As in: festa /'fɛʃtə/ + 'fɛsa "party"
fresco /'flɛʃku/ 'fl,ʃku "cool"

Ptg /m/ + ST /m/

As in: modo /'mɔdu/ + 'mɔdu "way"
homem /'omɛi/ + 'ome "man"

Exception: /necessidade /nɛsɛsi'dadɐ/ + misi'daʃi ~
nisi'daʃi "need"

Ptg /n/ + ST /n/

As in: nuvem /'nuvɛi/ + 'novi "cloud"
pena /'pena/ 'pena "feather"

Ptg	/ɲ/	→	ST	/n/	
As in:	calcanhar /kalkə'ɲaɪ/	→	<u>klaka'nõ</u>		"heel"
	sonho /'soɲu/	→	<u>'sonu</u>		"dream"

3.3.2. Portuguese /v/

Modern Ptg /v/ corresponds to either /v/ or /b/ in ST. The correspondences of Ptg /v/ with ST /b/ date back to the Portuguese spoken in the formative stages of ST. In Old Portuguese, /b/ occurred as a variant of /v/, a variation which is still found dialectally in the North of Portugal. This variation was due to a confusion between /v/ and /b/ dating back to Vulgar Latin (Nunes, 1969). Gil Vicente, writing in the first half of the 16th century, converts /v/ into /b/ in the speech of his Negro characters. The replacement of /v/ by /b/ may have persisted until the end of the 15th century, being absorbed into African Creoles, but already appearing non-standard in the 16th century. Today, it is the direct correspondence Standard Ptg /v/ → ST /v/ which is productive; Ptg /v/ no longer becomes /b/ in ST.

Examples:

Ptg /v/ → ST /b/

vós /vɔʒ/ (archaic)	→	<u>bo</u>	"you - sing"
chuva /'ʃuva/	→	<u>'suba</u>	"rain"
lavar /lə'vaɪ/	→	<u>la'ba</u>	"to wash"
vestir /vɛʃ'tiɪ/	→	<u>bi'ʃi</u>	"to dress"
bravo /'bɪavu/	→	<u>'blabu</u>	"brave"
vassoura /vɛ'sore/	→	<u>ba'sola</u>	"broom"
véspera /'vɛʃpɛɪə/	→	<u>'bɛsuplɛ</u>	"eve"
(Old Ptg béspera)			

Ptg /v/ → ST /v/

verde /'veɪdɐ/	→	<u>'vede</u>	"green"
voz /vɔʒ/	→	<u>'vɔzu</u>	"voice"
avião /ɐ'vjɔũ/	→	<u>vjɔ</u>	"aeroplane"
novo /'novu/	→	<u>'navu</u>	"new; young"
navegar /nɐvɐ'gaɪ/	→	<u>navlɛ'ga</u>	"to navigate"

3.3.3. Portuguese /ʎ/

The Portuguese prepalatal lateral resonant /ʎ/ has no systematic correspondence in the sound system of ST, although it occurs in a small number of words. Portuguese /ʎ/ is absorbed into ST as /j/, /ɲ/, or the marginal /ɣ/.

[ʎ] has the features of lateralness and palatalness. When Portuguese /ʎ/ is incorporated into ST as /j/, the feature of palatalness is retained, but lateralness is lost:

Ptg /ʎ/	→	ST /j/	
As in: toalha /'twaʎə/	→	'toja	"towel; table-cloth"
agulha /e'guʎə/	→	'guja	"needle"
rolha /'ʁoʎə/	→	'lja	"cork"
folha /'foʎə/	→	fja	"leaf"
escolher /əʃku'heʎ/	→	ko'je	"to choose"
colher /ku'heʎ/	→	ku'je	"to pick up"
embrulhar /embʁu'ʎaʎ/	→	bu'ja	"to wrap"

When Ptg /ʎ/ is incorporated as /ɲ/, palatalness is retained and lateralness lost, as in the above sound change. The presence of an initial nasal or final nasal vowel in the ST words which follow is the cause of the nasality assimilation of the consonant under discussion:

Ptg /ʎ/	→	ST /ɲ/	
As in: molhar /mu'ʎaʎ/	→	mɔ'ɲa	"to wet"
grilhão /gʁi'ʎõ/	→	ngi'ɲõ	"chain"

In a few words no change occurs, and Ptg /ʎ/ is retained:

Ptg /ʎ/	→	ST /ʎ/	
As in: orelha /o'ʎeʎ/	→	o'ʎa	"ear"
baralhar /beʁe'ʎaʎ/	→	ba'ʎa	"to shuffle"
melhor /mɛ'ʎõ/	→	mi'ʎõ	"better"

In the following example, which was the only one recorded, it is lateralness which is retained and palatalness which is lost:

Ptg /ʎ/	→	ST /l/	
sobancelhas /subɐ̃'ʎeʎ/	→	subɾɐ̃'selu	"eyebrows"

This ST word has a flap, which is not part of normal ST phonology, and may thus be undergoing change.

There are instances in which the syllable containing /ɣ/, in Portuguese words ending in /u/, has been deleted in ST. This is attributable to the fact that Portuguese unstressed /u/ may be either voiceless or shortened:

Ptg	trabalho	/tɐ'baɫu/	→	ST	<u>tla</u> 'ba	"work"
"	velho	/'vɛɫu/	→		<u>vɛ</u>	"old"
"	milho	/'miɫu/	→		<u>mi</u>	"maize"

3.3.4. The Portuguese Liquids

Apart from marginal variants of recent introduction, which are discussed below, there are no counterparts to Ptg /l/ and /ʎ/ in ST. These two phonemes, which are members of a Portuguese macrophoneme <R>, correspond, together with Portuguese /l/, to the ST phoneme /l/, as illustrated by:

Ptg	/l/	+	ST	/l/
As in :	sul /sul/	+	<u>'sɫu</u>	"south"
	largar /laɫ'gaɫ/	+	<u>lɛ</u> 'ga	"to let go"
Ptg	/ʎ/	+	ST	/l/
As in:	cobre /'kɔbɾɐ/	+	<u>'kɔbli</u>	"copper"
	ar /aɫ/	+	<u>'ali</u>	"air"
Ptg	/ʎ/	+	ST	/l/
	ferro /'fɛɾu/	+	<u>'fɛlu</u>	"iron"
	rato /'ɾatu/	+	<u>'latu</u>	"rat"

A few speakers today use a sound [ɾ] optionally or systematically for Portuguese /l/ and /ʎ/ in some words, as in:

/trabalhar /tɾɐbɐ'kaɫ/ → tla'ba ~ tɾa'ba

This flap, developing as a modern influence of bilingualism, has not become generalized in the wider speech community. Its recurrence, however, suggests that the direction of change in ST lies in the creation of a flap as an allophone of /l/ or perhaps as a separate phoneme. A trill is sometimes

also heard, but is extremely rare. However, some speakers have the following minimal set in which /l/ is in contrast with a flap and a trill, on the Portuguese model:

caldo /'kaldu/	→	'kalu	"stew"
caro /'kaɾu/	→	'kaɾu	"expensive"
carro /'kaɾu/	→	'kaɾu	"car"

The flap has already become established in a small number of words, such as:

farda /'faɾdɐ/	→	'faɾda	"uniform; suit of clothes"
arte /'aɾtɐ/	→	'aɾti	"art" (replacing the older form 'aɾi)

Exceptionally, by assimilation with a nasal before the preceding vowel, Portuguese word-final /l/ and /r/ become ST /n/, which is followed by a paragogic vowel required by the morpheme structure rules, as in:

dormir /duɾ'miɾ/	→	dumi'ni	"to sleep"
funil /fu'nɪl/	→	fu'nini	"funnel"
anel /e'nɛl/	→	'neni	"ring"

3.4. Introduction of Nasalization

The feature [+nasal] may be added in ST to a vowel whose corresponding nucleus in Portuguese is non-nasal. This phenomenon occurs as a result of the influence of a nasal segment derived from Portuguese on a following ST vowel. The Portuguese nasal segment may be deleted in ST, as will be discussed further down. If, however, a Portuguese nasal consonant stimulating nasalization is retained in ST, the nasalization is progressive. The vowel affected is that immediately following the nasal consonant in the ST word, as in:

camisa /kɛ'mizɐ/	→	ka'miza	"shirt"
cemitório /sɛmi'tɛɾju/	→	'sɪmi'tɛɾi	"cemetery"
medida /mɛ'didɐ/	→	'mɪda	"measure"

medo /'medu/	+	<u>'nēdu</u>	"fear"
nascer /nəʃ'seɪ/	+	<u>nā'se</u>	"to be born"
machado /m ə'ʒadu/	+	<u>mā'sadu</u>	"axe"

But the Portuguese nasal segment that stimulates the nasalization is not always retained in ST. Instead, assigning the feature [+nasal] to the ST vowel is thus sufficient representation of the deleted Portuguese string containing a nasal segment. The ST vowel thus affected corresponds to the Portuguese vowel preceding the deleted string, except if the deletion is word-initial, when the first nucleus in the ST word acquires the [+nasal] feature. These points are illustrated in the following examples :

Ptg medial string deleted :

conhecer /kuɲə'seɪ/	→	<u>kō'se</u>	"to know"
sardinha /seɪ'diɲə/	→	<u>sā'ja</u>	"sardine"

Ptg final string deleted:

aranha /ə'fəɲə/	→	<u>a'lā</u>	"spider"
andorinha /əndu'ɹiɲə/	→	<u>ando'li</u>	"swallow"
focinho /fu'siɲu/	→	<u>fu'ʃi</u>	"snout"

Ptg initial string deleted:

injecção /iʃ-	→	<u>zē'sō</u>	"injection"
umbigo /um-	→	<u>'biku</u>	"navel"

In a few words, the addition of the feature [+nasal] to a vowel in ST is by exception not attributable to the factors stated above, as in:

redondo /ɾə'dondu/	→	<u>lon'dondo</u>	"round"
vapor /və'pɔɪ/	→	<u>va'pō</u>	"motor boat"

3.5. Deletion of Portuguese Segments

Portuguese words have typically a larger number of syllables than ST words. Most ST words are disyllabic. This difference in syllabic structure results in frequent deletion of segments when Portuguese words are incorporated into ST.

These deletions, either in the form of apheresis, syncope, or apocope, may involve a Portuguese unstressed vowel, syllable, or string of segments. Portuguese stressed segments are not deleted.

Since ST words are normally consonant-commencing, apheresis in Portuguese vowel-commencing words is the most common deletion rule applied. This is illustrated by the following examples :

acabar /əkə'baʃ/	→	<u>ka</u> 'ba	"to finish"
esquecer /ɐ'skɛ'sɛʃ/	→	<u>ke</u> 'se	"to forget"
embrulhar /embɾu'ʃaʃ/	→	<u>bu</u> 'ja	"to wrap"

Seldom is there apheresis of a consonant-commencing syllable, as this would result in the loss of correspondence with Portuguese in terms of sound and meaning. One of the rare examples of apheresis of a weak consonant-commencing syllable is

rejeitar /ʁɛʒɛi'taʃ/	→	<u>ze</u> 'ta	"to reject"
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A look at the English equivalent "to reject" shows that recognition would not be lost if this word were reduced by apheresis involving a weak initial syllable to "to ject", but it would be difficult to retrieve the meaning in a syncopated form such as "to rect". Reduction always allows retention of the strong syllable.

ST applies syncope to shorten Portuguese words which do not undergo apheresis because they are not vowel-commencing, such as:

conhecer /kũʒɐ'sɛʃ/	→	<u>kõ</u> 'se	"to know"
marinheiro /mɐ'ʃiɲɐ'ʃu/	→	<u>ma</u> 'jɛlu	"sailor"
buraco /bu'ʃaku/	→	' <u>blaku</u>	"hole"
caroço /kɐ'ʃosu/	→	' <u>kloso</u>	"pip"

Apocope, an unproductive means of deletion, occurs only in a few words, such as:

velho /'vɛʃu/	→	<u>vɛ</u>	"old"
cachorro /kɐ'ʃɔʁu/	→	<u>ka</u> 'so	"dog"
andorinha /ɛndu'ʃiɲɐ/	→	<u>ando</u> 'li	"swallow"

espelho /ɐʃ'pɐhu/ → su'pe "mirror"

The above examples show a pervasive tendency in ST to shorten words incorporated from Portuguese.

3.6. Ptg /{ə} C(V)/ → ST /ɛ/

In a number of words, the Portuguese medial or final string /aC/ or /aCV/ becomes ST /ɛ/, as in:

lugar /lu'gaɪ/	→	<u>lu'qɛ</u>	"place"
barba /'baɪbə/	→	<u>'bɛba</u>	"beard"
vontade /von'tadɐ/	→	<u>von'tɛ</u>	"desire"
zagaia /zə'gaɪə/	→	<u>za'qɛ</u>	"assegai"
papagaio /pəpə'gaɪu/	→	<u>pəpa'qɛ</u>	"parrot"
quintal /kin'tal/	→	<u>kin'tɛ</u>	"backyard"

Portuguese strings undergoing this change are usually stressed. In Portuguese, /a/ is normally reduced to /ə/ in unstressed syllables. Consequently, the same mechanism operates more seldom with Portuguese words having the vowel /ə/ or the diphthong /ei/ instead of /a/. The following are examples:

barriga /bə'ɾigɐ/	→	<u>'bɛga</u>	"stomach"
claridade /kleɾi'dadɐ/	→	<u>kɛ'daɾi</u>	"clarity"
feijão /fei'ʒɐu/	→	<u>fɛ'zɔ</u>	"bean"
parteira /pɛɾ'tɛɾɐ/	→	<u>pa'tɛɾa</u>	"midwife"

In the following examples, the rule is applied to the Ptg infinitive ending:

resmungar /ɾɐʒmũ'gaɾ/	→	<u>ɾiʒmũ'qɛ</u>	"to grumble"
procurar /pɒku'ɾaɪ/	→	<u>pluku'ɾɛ</u>	"to look for"

3.7. Metathesis

The Portuguese liquids /l, ɭ, ʃ/ become /l/ in ST, and frequently undergo metathesis in the process of incorporation.

ST /l/ can follow but not precede another consonant, as discussed under Syllable Structure, in 3.10. /Cl/ is thus

a permitted sequence, but not /lC/. Metathesis is used to apply this phonotactic constraint in the incorporation of many Portuguese words which have a liquid, as in:

jardim /ʒaɾ'di/	+	<u>ʒa'dli</u>	"garden"
lagartixa /ləgəɾ'tiʃə/	+	<u>laqa'tlisa</u>	"lizard"

The general tendency is for the liquid to be brought forward to the slot preceding the first vowel of the word. In the few incorporated Portuguese words in which an initial vowel has not been deleted by epenthesis, metathesis makes the /l/ the initial consonant. For clarification, a hypothetical ST form before the application of metathesis is postulated in the following examples:

herdar /eɾ'daɪ/	+	* <u>el'da</u> + <u>le'da</u>	"to inherit"
orvalho /oɾ'vaɫu/	+	* <u>ol've</u> + <u>lo've</u>	"dew"

Where metathesis makes the liquid occupy the final slot of an initial syllable margin, this is partially accounted for by the fact that the avoidance of consonant clusters in ST applies particularly in positions other than in initial syllable margins. In the following examples, the liquid has been placed by metathesis as the final segment in an initial syllable margin:

pulmão /pul'mõu/	+	* <u>pul'mõ</u> + <u>plu'mõ</u>	"lung"
magro /'magɾu/	+	* <u>maɾlu</u> + <u>'mlaɾu</u>	"thin"
conversar /kõvɛɾ'saɪ/	+	* <u>kovɛɾ'sa</u> + <u>klõvɛ'sa</u>	"to converse"
púcaro /'pukɛɾu/	+	* <u>'puklu</u> + <u>'pluku</u>	"mug"
carregar /kɛɾɐ'gaɪ/	+	* <u>kal'ga</u> + <u>kla'ga</u>	"to carry"

In the last three examples given above, the consonant clusters in the postulated forms are due to the syncope of the underlined Portuguese unstressed vowels.

The following is a rare example of metathesis in which a Portuguese liquid followed by a consonant becomes /Cl/ in ST :

bordar /buɾ'daɪ/	+	* <u>bɔɾ'da</u> + <u>bɔ'dla</u>	"to embroider"
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In this example, /Cl/ is found medially in ST. Metathesis does not always occur in words which without metathesis would contain a /Cl/ compound which is permissible in medial position, as in:

outro /'otʃu/	→	<u>'otlo</u>	"another"
chicara /'ʃikeʃə/	→	<u>'sikla</u>	"cup"
óculos /'okuluʒ/	→	<u>'oklo</u>	"glasses"

Metathesis to the initial syllable margin does not take place if the ST word already commences with an /l/, as in:

lacrau /lə'kɾau/	→	<u>la'kla</u>	"scorpion"
livro /'livɾu/	→	<u>'livlu</u>	"book"

In the following examples, the liquid of the Portuguese infinitive suffix has been retained, with its position changed by metathesis:

navegar /nə'vɛ'gaɫ/	→	<u>navlɛ'ga</u>	"to navigate"
coser /ku'zeɫ/	→	<u>klo'ze</u>	"to sew"
nadar /nə'daɫ/	→	<u>lan'da</u>	"to swim"
entrar /en'tɾaɫ/	→	<u>'lentla</u>	"to enter"

In the last example, 'lentla is made consonant-commencing because of the Bantu and Kwa influence on the syllable structure. In Bantu the syllable is typically consonant-commencing; in Bini all verbs are consonant-commencing. As a result of this convergence of substratum syllable patterns, all ST verbs are consonant-commencing.

3.8. Palatalization and Depalatalization Rules

Reference has been made under 11.2.1 of this section to the partial complementation in ST between the pairs of consonants /t, ʃ/, /d, ʒ/, /s, ʒ/, and /z, ʒ/. Apart from a few exceptions, the norm is for the consonant with the feature [+palatal] to be selected when followed by /i/, /ɪ/, or /j/. These consonants would thus be of the series /t, ʃ, s, z/. If the following vowel is one other than /i/, /ɪ/ or /j/, and thus has the feature [-high], the

preceding consonant will be one from the series with the feature [-palatal], namely one of the series /t, d, s, z/.

In these contexts, and particularly in word-final position, the palatal vowel /i/ in the ST words frequently does not correspond to an /i/ in the corresponding Portuguese form. In word-final position, the ST palatal vowel /i/ corresponds in many words to the Portuguese high central reduced vowel /ɨ/, or, more seldom, is added as a paragogic vowel when the Portuguese word is consonant-ending, as in, respectively:

(a)	Ptg	/ɨ/	+	ST	/i/ :
	tarde	/'taɪdɨ/	+	<u>'taʃi</u>	"afternoon"
	sorte	/'sɔɪtɨ/	+	<u>'sɔçi</u>	"luck"

(b)	ST	/i/	added in paragoge:		
	paz	/'paʒ/	+	<u>'paʒi</u>	"peace"
	mais	/'majʒ/	+	<u>'maʃi</u>	"more"

The palatalization rule may be analysed under two main sections, which are discussed under (i) and (ii) below:

- (i) If the vowel is [_{front}^{high}], the consonant is [-palatal]. Thus in this position Portuguese /t, d, s, z/ are converted into their direct counterparts in ST, but Portuguese /ʃ, ʒ/ are depalatalised and become respectively ST /s, z/. The following are examples:

- (a) No change :

Ptg	/t/	+	ST	/t/
As in :	prato /pɾatu/	+	<u>'platu</u>	"plate"
	inteiro /in'tɐiɾu/	+	<u>'ntelu</u>	"entire"
	quintal /kin'tal/	+	<u>kin'tɛ</u>	"backyard"

Ptg	/d/	+	ST	/d/	
As in:	ardêr	/ɐɾ'dɐɾ/	+	<u>le'de</u>	"to burn"
	fundo	/'fundu/	+	<u>'fundu</u>	"to burn"
	perdoar	/pɐɾ'du'waɪ/	+	<u>pɔ'da</u>	"to forgive"

Ptg /s/	ST /s/
As in: caçar /kə'sɐ/ →	<u>ka'sa</u> "to hunt"
torcer /tu'sɐ/ →	<u>tlo'se</u> "to twist"
aborrecer /əbuʁ'sɐ/ →	<u>blo'se</u> "to annoy"

Ptg /z/	ST /z/
As in: casar /kə'za/ →	<u>ka'za</u> "to marry"
azedo /ə'zedu/ →	<u>'zedu</u> "sour"
peso /'pezu/ →	<u>'pezu</u> "weight"

(h) Loss of the feature [+ palatal] :

Ptg /ʃ/	ST /s/
As in: caixão /kai'ʃɐũ/ →	<u>ka'sɔ</u> "coffin"
bicho /'biʃu/ →	<u>'bisu</u> "animal"
debaixo /dɐ'baixu/ →	<u>'basu</u> "under"

Ptg /ʒ/	ST /z/
As in: feijão /fei'zɐũ/ →	<u>fɛ'zɔ</u> "bean"
gemer /ʒɐ'mɛ/ →	<u>zɛ'mɛ</u> "to moan"
nojo /'noʒu/ →	<u>'nozu</u> "loathing"

(ii) If the vowel is /ɪ/, /i/, or /ʊ/, the preceding consonant is [+ palatal]. The Portuguese series /t, d, s, z/ are then converted into ST /ç, ʝ, ʒ, ʒ/. Portuguese /ç, ʒ/, having already the feature [+ palatal], remain unchanged in their positions of articulation as ST /ç, ʒ/ respectively. To exemplify:

(a) Acquisition of the feature [+ palatal] :

Ptg /t/	ST /ç/
As in: quente /'kɛntɐ/ →	<u>'kɛci</u> "hot"
tesoura /tɐ'zɔɾɐ/ →	<u>çi'zɔɾɐ</u> "scissors"
morte /'mɔɾtɐ/ →	<u>'mɔçi</u> "death"

Ptg /d/	ST /ʝ/
As in: idade /i'dadɐ/ →	<u>'daʝi</u> "age"
grande /'ɡɾɛndɐ/ →	<u>'nglaʝi</u> "large"
candeia /kan'dɛjɐ/ →	<u>kã'ʝa</u> "lamp"

Ptg /s/	+	ST /š/	
As in: focinho /fu'si <u>u</u> /	→	<u>fu'š</u> i	"muzzle"
doce /'dos <u>u</u> /	→	' <u>d</u> o <u>š</u> i	"tasty"
tosse /'toss <u>u</u> /	→	' <u>t</u> o <u>š</u> i	"cough"

Ptg /z/	→	ST /ž/	
As in: quase /'kwaz <u>u</u> /	→	' <u>k</u> wa <u>ž</u> i	"almost"
buzina /bu'zin <u>u</u> /	→	bu' <u>ž</u> ina	"hooter"
zinco /'zink <u>u</u> /	→	<u>ž</u> iku	"zinc"

(b) No change :

Ptg /š/	+	ST /š/	
As in: chícara /'šik <u>o</u> fe/	→	'šik <u>l</u> a	"cup"
chegar /ši'ga <u>l</u> /	→	'šig <u>a</u>	"to arrive"
peixe /'p <i>ei</i> š <u>u</u> /	→	'pi <u>š</u> i	"fish"
Ptg /ž/	→	ST /ž/	
As in: viagem /'vja <u>ž</u> ei/	→	'vja <u>ž</u> i	"journey"
imagem /i'ma <u>ž</u> ei/	→	'ma <u>ž</u> i	"image"
fingir /fi'ž <i>i</i> <u>l</u> /	→	fi' <u>ž</u> i	"to pretend"

The reasons for the exceptions to these rules are not evident. The following remarks, however, may be made about the exceptions:

- (a) Items where, contrary to rule (i), Ptg /d/ is converted into ST /j/, have phonological variants with /j/) in alternation with /j/. The glide element /j/ which can be given representation in the ST form is a conversion of Ptg /i/ or /j/, as in:

dinheiro /di'p <i>ei</i> fu/	→	'j <u>e</u> lu ~ 'j <u>j</u> elu	"money"
diabo /'djabu/	→	'j <u>a</u> bu ~ j <u>j</u> abu	"devil"
podia /pu'die/	→	po'j <u>a</u> ~ po'j <u>j</u> a	"could"

It is significant that the Portuguese preposition de, "of", has yielded two distinct prepositions in ST, di and ji, the latter being the noun replacer (NR).

- (b) Most of the exceptions to rule (i) are concerned, in addition to the palatal discussed in (a) above, with the ST palatals /š/ and /ž/. The following are examples:

passear /pə'sja:/	→	<u>pa'ša</u>	"to stroll"
cinza /'aizə/	→	<u>'šiʃa</u>	"ash" (In this item, the conversion of Ptg /z/ to ST /j/ is the exception)
coxo /'koʃu/	→	<u>'koʃo</u>	"lame"
xaille /'ʃailə/	→	<u>'šɛli</u>	"shawl"
flecha /'flɛʃə/	→	<u>'fleša</u>	"arrow"
gênio /'ʒɛnju/	→	<u>'žɛnu</u>	"genius"
jardim /ʒə'di/	→	<u>ža'dli</u>	"garden"
arranjar /ə'ʒɔʒa/	→	<u>'lāža</u>	"to arrange"
vizinho /vi'ziɲu/	→	<u>vi'žā</u>	"neighbour"

- (c) Exceptions to rule (ii) are rare, and are the result of recent influence from Portuguese phonology, as in the examples:

crescente /kɪw'sɛntə/	→	<u>klɛ'senti</u>	"crescent, moon" (where Ptg /t/ has not been palatalized)
fundir /fun'dil/	→	<u>fun'di</u>	"to fuse"
doze /'dozə/	→	<u>'dozi</u>	"twelve" (replacing the normal ST form dɛs ku 'dosu l)

3.9. Application of Vowel Harmony

The application of the principle of vowel harmony is based on both phonemic and morphophonemic considerations.

Whether vowel harmony is applied for phonemic or morphophonemic reasons, the same set of rules is brought to bear for selecting the vowels in harmony.

The main stress is assigned to the ST nucleus corresponding to the Portuguese stressed nucleus, as in:

pouco /'poku/	→	<u>'poko</u>	"little"
pedir /pɐ'diʃ/	→	<u>pi'ʃi</u>	"to ask"

The ST vowel which determines the harmony is absorbed from Portuguese through the usual rules. These rules generally convert Portuguese phonemes into ST phonemes realized at a similar point of articulation. Thus,

Ptg /o/	→	ST /o/	and	Ptg /e/	→	ST /e/	, as in
/dor /doʃ/	→	<u>'dolo</u>					"pain"
verde /'veʃdɐ/	→	<u>'vede</u>					"green"

The ST realization is not always at an identical point of articulation. In the incorporation of a word such as

verdade /vɐʃ'dadɐ/	→	<u>vɛ'dɛ</u>	"truth"
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the Portuguese stressed nucleus has been absorbed in terms of the rule which tends to reduce Ptg /a C(V)/ to ST /ɛ/. This is a standard and productive means of absorption of a Portuguese string of segments.

Progressive harmony applies to word-final vowels regressive harmony to vowels in an initial or medial syllable.

The following examples illustrate the assimilation of word-final vowels by progressive harmony:

demonio /dɐ'mɔnju/	→	<u>dɛ'mɔnɔ</u>	"devil"
ódio /'ɔdju/	→	<u>'ɔʃɔ</u>	"hatred"
Henrique /ɛ'fikɐ/	→	<u>'liki</u>	"Henry"

Assimilation by regressive harmony of vowels in initial or medial syllables is illustrated by the following examples:

Initial syllable:

hospital /ɔʃpi'tal/	→	<u>ʃipi'tali</u>	"hospital"
relógio /ʃɐ'loʒju/	→	<u>lo'lozu</u>	"watch"
feiticeiro /fɛiti'sɛiʃu/	→	<u>fici'selu</u>	"sorcerer"
resolver /ʃɐzol'veʃ/	→	<u>lozo've</u>	"to decide"

Medial syllable:

largo /'laɾgu/	+	'lalugu	"wide"
garfo /'gaɾfu/	+	'galufu	"fork"
arco /'afku/	+	'aluku	"arch"

In the example šipi'tali, a vowel has been added to conform to the vowel-ending syllable structure of ST. This is discussed under Syllable Structure in 3.10.

Where the ST word has more than two syllables, the vowel which assimilates a vowel in an adjoining syllable may be either stressed or unstressed. But where the ST word is disyllabic, it is the stressed vowel which assimilates the unstressed vowel by harmony. For verb forms, the stressed vowel is here treated as the suffixal vowel morpheme. The following are examples of disyllabic words with the unstressed vowel assimilated by vowel harmony:

corda /'kɔɾdɐ/	+	'kɔdɔ	"rope"
saber /sə'beɪ/	+	se'be	"to know"
pires /'piɾɪs/	+	'pili	"saucer"
ferir /fɐ'ɾiɾ/	+	fi'li	"to wound"

Finally, a distinction has to be made between vowel harmony as a mechanism for absorbing Portuguese nuclei, and as a means of adapting the structure of a Portuguese word to the morpheme structure rules of ST.

At the phonemic level, vowel harmony most commonly incorporates the three Portuguese reduced nuclei, unstressed /e/ and /u/, and /ɐ/, which occurs only in unstressed position. The normal correspondences given to these phonemes in ST have been discussed, but the usual correspondences may be replaced through vowel harmony.

Of these three Portuguese vowels, /ɐ/ is the one most frequently absorbed by vowel harmony. /ɐ/, always unstressed, is normally elided in Portuguese. The Portuguese unstressed /u/ is generally voiceless or semi-voiced. Unstressed Portuguese /e/, having no counterpart in the same position of articulation in ST, is also susceptible to change through

vowel harmony. The following are examples of the absorption of these Portuguese nuclei by vowel harmony:

Ptg /ɐ/

resolver /ʁɐzɔl'veɫ/	+	<u>lozo've</u>	"to decide"
preciso /pɾɛ'sizu/	+	<u>pli'sizu</u>	"necessary"
degredo /dɛ'gɾɛdu/	+	<u>dlɛ'gɾɛdu</u>	"exile"

Ptg unstressed /u/

fogo /'fogu/	+	<u>'fogo</u>	"fire"
osso /'osu/	+	<u>'oso</u>	"bone"
mosquito /muʃ'kitu/	+	<u>miʃ'kitu</u>	"mosquito"

Ptg unstressed /ə/

cobra /'kɔblɐ/	+	<u>'kɔblo</u>	"snake"
nariz /nɐ'ɾiz/	+	<u>'liʃi</u>	"nose"
arder /ɐɫ'dɛɾ/	+	<u>le'de</u>	"to burn"

At a morphophonemic level, vowel harmony is used to absorb Portuguese words into the typical CVCV pattern of ST. Thus, an epenthetic harmonic vowel may be used to break up an unfamiliar consonant cluster. A paragogic harmonic vowel may be added where the Portuguese word is consonant-ending. The following are examples of the use of vowel harmony when the ST morpheme structure rules are applied to Portuguese words:

Epenthesis:

crer /kɾɛɾ/	+	<u>ke'le</u>	"to believe"
almoçar /almu'saɾ/	+	<u>lomo'sa</u>	"to have lunch"
alguizar /algi'daɾ/	+	<u>ligi'da</u>	"basin"

Paragoge:

doutor /do'tɔɾ/	+	<u>do'tolo</u>	"doctor"
pior /pi'joɾ/	+	<u>'ɾɛlo</u>	"worse"
mel /mɛɫ/	+	<u>'mɛle</u>	"honey"
azul /ɐ'zul/	+	<u>'zulu</u>	"blue"

3.10. Syllable Structure

Although there are syllables in ST with the shape V, the

majority of syllables are CV. Consequently, most Portuguese unstressed initial vowels are deleted, as in:

Ptg	azedo /ə'zedu/	→	ST	<u>'z</u> edu	"sour"
"	inferno /f'fɛɾnu/	→	"	<u>'f</u> enu	"hell"
"	oração /ɔɾə'sɔ̃u/	→	"	<u>la's</u> o	"prayer"
"	Isabel /izə'bel/	→	"	<u>ze'</u> be	"Elizabeth"
"	encontrar /enkon'tɾaɪ/	→	ST	<u>'k</u> ontla	"to find"

However, initial Portuguese stressed vowels are retained, as in:

Ptg	arco /'aɪku/	→	ST	<u>'a</u> luku	"bow"
"	águia /'agjɐ/	→	"	<u>'a</u> gja	"eagle"
"	ovo /'ovu/	→	"	<u>'o</u> vu	"testicle"

All ST syllables are open. Portuguese consonants closing a syllable may undergo one of several changes:

- a) no LC consonant clusters occur in ST; a liquid closing a syllable may therefore be deleted, as in:

Ptg	Natal /nə'tal/	→	ST	<u>na't</u> a	"Christmas"
"	curto /'kurtu/	→	"	<u>'k</u> utu	"short"
"	força /'forsa/	→	"	<u>'f</u> osa	"strength"
"	corneta /kurne'ta/	→	"	<u>kə'n</u> eta	"horn"
"	vulto /'vultu/	→	"	<u>'v</u> utu	"shape"
"	governar /governɐ'naɪ/	→	"	<u>gəve'n</u> a	"to govern"
"	gordo /'ɡoɾdu/	→	"	<u>'g</u> odo	"fat"

- b) if the consonant closing the syllable is a voiceless grooved fricative followed in the next syllable by another consonant, the fricative is retained in a few words as a voiceless alveolar fricative and the next consonant or consonants are deleted:

Ptg	padrasto /pɐ'diɐstɐ/	→	ST	<u>pa'd</u> lasu	"stepfather"
"	mostrar /muʃ'tɾaɪ/	→	"	<u>'m</u> usa	"to show"

- c) if the consonant closing the syllable is a liquid, as is frequent in Portuguese, it is normally removed from its position by metathesis, to form an acceptable C1 cluster, as in:

Ptg	culpa /'kulpə/	→	ST	<u>'klupa</u>	"blame"
"	pulga /'pulgə/	→	"	<u>'pluga</u>	"flee"
"	vergonha /vɐŋ'goʃə/ →	"		<u>vɛ'goʃa</u>	"shame"
"	barbeiro /bɐf'beifu/ →	"		<u>bla'belu</u>	"barber"
"	alguizar /algi'daʃ/ →	"		<u>ligi'da</u>	"small basin"
"	lagartixa /lagaʃ'tiʃə/ →	ST		<u>laqa'tlisa</u>	"lizard"
"	serviço /sɐʃ'visu/ →	ST		<u>ʃli'visu</u>	"employment"

- d) the consonant closing the syllable, particularly when word-final, may be retained, and an epenthetic or paragogic vowel is added, forming a new CV syllable with that consonant, as in:

Ptg	lençol /lɛ'sol/	→	ST	<u>lā'solo</u>	"sheet"
	barril /bɐ'ʃil/	→	"	<u>ba'lili</u>	"barrel"
	doutor /do'tof/	→	"	<u>do'tolo</u>	"doctor"
	cor /koʃ/	→	"	<u>'kolo</u>	"colour"
	maldade /mal'dadə/	→	"	<u>mali'daʃi</u>	"wickedness"
	garfo /'gaʃfu/	→	"	<u>'galufu</u>	"fork"

Since the only cluster in which a grooved fricative occurs is a cluster consisting of $C_1C_2C_3$, the grooved fricative being C_1 , C_2 being /t/ or /k/, and C_3 /l/, when metathesis places /l/ next to a grooved fricative, a /t/ or a /k/ has to be placed between the fricative and /l/. Normally a /t/ is placed in this position; there is some instability in selecting /t/ or /k/ in this context. In the following examples, a hypothetical transitional form is included for clarification, marked with an asterisk:

Ptg	salvar /sal'vaʃ/	→	*ʃla'va	→	ST	ʃtla'va	"to save"
"	segredo /sɐ'gʃedu/	→	*ʃlɛ'gɛdu	→		stlɛ'gɛdu	"secret"
"	cercar /sɐʃ'kaʃ/	→	*ʃlɛka	→		stlɛ'ka	"to surround"

The kinds of clusters found in ST are very restricted. However, deletion of a segment may occur in a cluster which would be permissible in ST:

Ptg	Pedro /'pɛdʃu/	→	ST	'pɛdu	"Peter"
	(cf. ST 'pɛdla "stone" + Ptg pedra /'pɛdʃə/)				

Because of a Bantu-derived tendency to a CVCV structure, Portuguese words of more than two syllables are often reduced to a disyllabic form. In Portuguese words with more than two syllables, one of which is CV, where C is a liquid, V is sometimes deleted, and the liquid clusters with the consonant of one of the other syllables, usually the first syllable, as in:

Ptg	chfcara	/ʃikəfə/	→	ST	<u>'šikla</u>	"cup"
"	carregar	/keʁə'gaʁ/	→	ST	<u>kla'ga</u>	"to carry"
"	barato	/be'fatu/	→	"	<u>'blatu</u>	"cheap"
"	máscara	/maʃkəfə/	→	"	<u>'mlaška</u>	"mask"
"	caroço	/ke'fosu/	→	"	<u>'kloso</u>	"pip"
"	ferida	/fə'fide/	→	"	<u>'flida</u>	"wound"

An alternative for reducing words of more than two syllables is deletion of one of the unstressed syllables, as in:

Ptg	esquecer	/əʃke'sel/	→	ST	<u>ke'se</u>	"to forget"
"	baralhar	/beʁə'kaʁ/	→	"	<u>ba'ka</u>	"to shuffle"
"	embrulhar	/embʁu'kaʁ/	→	"	<u>bu'ja</u>	"to wrap"

A comparison of the syllable structure of ST with that of African languages appears in paragraph 4.1 below.

4. FEATURES OF AFRICAN PHONOLOGY REFLECTED IN THE LANGUAGE

The big imprint of African languages on the phonology of ST is on syllable structure, on vowel harmony, and on the vowel and consonant systems. The syllable structure is predominantly African, showing features of both Bantu and Kwa. Vowel harmony manifests itself, as it does in some African languages, in a tendency for a vowel to be repeated in a contiguous syllable, as in Ptg abrir /ə'bɾil/ → ST bi'li "to open", Ptg porta /'pɔʁtə/ → ST 'pɔtə "door". Features of the consonantal system in which ST differs from Portuguese due to African influence are palatalization, primarily a Bantu influence, and the presence of implosive stops, derived from Kwa. In relation to Portuguese there is vowel simplification

in ST, in that the Portuguese diphthongs, which are fourteen in number, do not exist in ST.

4.1. Syllable Structure

The most common syllable type in ST has the shape CV. — The CV syllable is characteristically Bantu, as is exemplified by Kishikongo ku.lu.ki.sa "to accustom". The CV syllable also occurs in Bini, where the verbs are CV(CV), as in se "to reach", to.ta "to sit".

Most ST syllables are open, as in 'a.li.ma "soul" (+ Ptg alma /'al.mə/). Syllables are always open in Bini and in the majority of Bantu languages, as is illustrated by the examples given above.

The V syllable type in ST shows a parallel with Bini. The word-initial V syllable in ST occurs mostly in nouns and in items from a few other grammatical categories, with the exception of verbs. Bini nouns always commence with a V syllable, as in e.be "book", o.wa "house", but Bini verbs always commence with a consonant (Dunn, 1968 : 207).

Since there is a parallel between ST initial V and Bini initial V, Bini nouns generally retain the initial V when absorbed into ST, as in:

<u>o'ko</u>	"calabash"	(cf. Bini <u>u.ko</u> I
<u>'o.ke</u>	"hill, ramp"	(cf. Bini <u>o.ke</u> I
<u>'i.du</u>	"louse"	(cf. Bini <u>i.ru</u> I
<u>o'ka</u>	"large tree species"	(cf. Bini <u>o.ka</u> I

It was seen in paragraph 2.2 that when a Portuguese noun is monosyllabic it is often absorbed into ST with prosthesis of a vowel, as in ST o'po "dust" + Ptg pó/po/. ST thus follows the typical VCV(CV) structure of Bini nouns.

Portuguese-derived words which commence with a stressed vowel retain this vowel, as in 'awa "water" + Pta água /a.gwə/. This is the same process as that in which ST vowel-commencing nouns derived from Kwa, as given above, retain the Kwa initial vowel.

The syllable sequence VV occurs in ST in a few words, as in koko'i "elbow" (Afr.), 'ua "one" + Ptg uma /'umə/ (Old Ptg ua). In Bini the vowel sequences ia, io, and ua

occur among others, as in mu-dia "to stand", xe fi "then", sua "to push" ; Dunn (1968 : 199) regards these as diphthongs, and states that all Bini diphthongs begin with /i/ or /u/. In the ST examples recorded, the first V is /i/, /o/, or /u/.

A discussion of the ST syllable appears in paragraph 3.10 above.

4.2. Vowels

Nasal vowels do not occur in Kongo, except in onomatopoeic words and in interjections. The non-nasal vowels of Kongo are /i, e, a, o, u/, which have different allophones in different dialects (Laman, 1936). The articulation position of the allophones and the contexts in which they occur are not clear from the literature. However, these five vowel phonemes correspond to the five graphemes used in writings on Kongo, and /e, ɛ/, /o, ɔ/ are thus probably in complementary distribution.

In Bini, nasal vowels occur. Nasal vowels are common in Kwa languages (Westermann, 1952). Bini has, like ST, seven non-nasal vowels, /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u/ (Melzian, 1937). As in ST also, only five of these Bini vowels have non-nasal counterparts. These are /i, ɛ, ā, ɔ, ū/, /e/ and /o/ being the vowels which do not occur nasalized. In ST the nasal series is /ĩ, ē, ā, ō, ū/, and it is /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ which do not occur nasalized. Some speakers of Principense, however, have [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃] as variants of [ē] and [ō] respectively. [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃] therefore occur in the Gulf of Guinea area, although not in ST. The following are examples from Principense:

[i'nɛ̃]	~	[i'nē]	"they"
[nɔ̃]	~	[nō]	"we"
['ɔ̃ci]	~	['ōci]	"yesterday"

4.3. Implosive /b/ and /d/¹

An implosive bilabial voiced stop, ɓ, and an implosive

¹ Principense has a further implosive stop, /ɓb/, occurring in a few Kwa survivals, as in iqbeqbe "snail". Implosive ɓb occurs in Kwa languages.

alveolar voiced stop, ɖ, occur in the Kwa languages Igbo and Kalabari (Ladefoged, 1968 : 7). In both these languages, implosive and explosive bilabial and alveolar stops occur in contrast.

Implosive stops corresponding to the ST implosive stops /b/ [ɓ] and /d/ [ɗ] occur in the North-Western Bantu language Duala (Westermann and Ward, 1957 : 96; Guthrie, 1970).

It appears from the literature consulted that neither Kongo nor Bini have implosive stops.

4.4. Vowel Harmony

The type of vowel harmony discussed for ST in 2.1 occurs in both Bantu and Kwa. Turning to the Bantu languages first, Kongo exhibits vowel harmony in the same way as ST as a tendency for the same vowel to occur in two consecutive syllables. Doke (1935 : 115) writes that "of vowel harmony or vowel assimilation some of the best examples occur in the languages of the Congo zone. The Ngala verbs ɔata "to walk", bete "to beat", kolo "to speak", each with final vowel in harmony with or assimilated to the stem vowel, show still further harmony in their emphatic imperative forms : ɔata-ka, bete-ke, kolo-ko."

In Central Kongo the perfect ending shows vowel harmony; the perfect ending is -idi , or -ini if there is a preceding nasal, as in:

<u>-fwa</u>	"to die"	perfect	<u>-fwidi</u>
<u>-bwa</u>	"to fall"	perfect	<u>-bwidi</u>
<u>-kina</u>	"to dance"	perfect	<u>-kinini</u>

Also in Central Kongo, the perfect endings mentioned above change to -ele and -ene if an /e/ or an /o/ is present in the stem, as in :

<u>-kemba</u>	"to praise"	perfect	<u>-kembele</u>
<u>-kema</u>	"to strain"	perfect	<u>-kemene</u>
<u>-woma</u>	"to iron"	perfect	<u>-womene</u>

In the perfect passive of Central Kongo, the morpheme

-u or -o assimilates the vowel of the preceding syllable, in regressive harmony, as in :

<u>-dimoa</u>	"to listen"	perf.pass.	<u>-dimbulu</u>
<u>-tina</u>	"to fear"	perf.pass.	<u>-tinunu</u>
<u>-kema</u>	"to strain"	perf.pass.	<u>-kemono</u>
<u>-woma</u>	"to iron"	perf.pass.	<u>-womono</u>

The following are examples of vowel harmony in Southern Kongo, in the formation of the perfect:

<u>-bondola</u>	"to overturn"	perfect	<u>-bondwele</u>
<u>-kukula</u>	"to drag"	perfect	<u>-kukwidi</u>

In Kongo, as in ST, there are also examples of vowel harmony as euphonic preference rather than complete assimilation. Euphonic preference accounts for the vowel sequences i...u and e...o in the Central and Southern Kongo forms

<u>dinu</u>	"tooth"	<u>meno</u>	"teeth"
<u>disu</u>	"eye"	<u>meso</u>	"eyes"

Bentley also states for Kishikongo, after discussing vowel harmony under the heading of "Euphonic Preferences" (1887 : 524) :

These matters are not considered here as grammatical changes of verbs but as instances of the far-reaching influence of euphonic laws, which operate with ideal regularity and consistency.

When Portuguese words are borrowed into African languages, they sometimes display the same mechanism for absorbing these words as is found in ST. The use of vowel harmony is one such mechanism. The following are examples of progressive harmony applied to Portuguese loan words in Kishikongo:

Ptg		Kishikongo	
genebra /ʒw'neβ/o/	→	<u>zinebela</u>	"gin"
cal /kal/	→	<u>nkala</u>	"lime"

The following Kishikongo borrowings from Portuguese show regressive harmony:

Ptg	Kishikongo	
relógio /ʔw'loʒju/	<u>lolonʒi</u>	"watch"
livro /'livɹu/	<u>edivulu</u>	"book"

However, the Kintandu dialect of Kongo (Bal, 1969) is an example of a Kongo dialect in which vowel harmony is seldom used in the incorporation of Portuguese loan words. Among the few instances of the type of vowel harmony equalizing vowels in contiguous syllables in Kintandu are regressive mbangala "walking stick" (+ Ptg bengala /ben'galo/), lutaalutu "photograph" (+ Ptg retrato /ʔw'tɹatu/).

Turning now to the Kwa languages, there is in Kwa a reinforcing parallel with such languages as Kishikongo. According to Westermann and Bryan (1952 : 90), in some Kwa languages, such as Twi, Fante, Ewe, Yoruba, and Igbo, vowel assimilation is so regular that one can speak of a tendency to vowel harmony. Vowel harmony as a tendency for two vowels in contiguous syllables to become equalized occurs in Igbo, where "in some cases the vowels are the same from syllable to syllable; in others the relation is one of degree of openness or closeness of vowel articulation from syllable to syllable" (Carnochan, 1960 : 157). Among the examples given by Carnochan there are the following:

Igbo	<u>siri</u>	"I cooked"
	<u>m sere</u>	"I quarrelled"
	<u>m sere</u>	"I said"
	<u>m sara</u>	"I washed"
	<u>m zuru</u>	"I stole"
	<u>m zoro</u>	"I hid"
	<u>m zoro</u>	"I got up"
	<u>m zere</u>	"I bought"

Other examples in Carnochan occur in the Igbo words litara , merela , zitara , loruru , zigara .

ST applies its principles of vowel harmony to words of African origin as well as to Portuguese words. This is illustrated by the following words of African origin:

Bini	<u>uko</u>	→	ST	<u>o'ko</u>	"calabash"
"	<u>lalo</u>	→		<u>l:'lo</u>	"to lick"
Kikongó	<u>kudikoka</u>	→		<u>ko'ko</u>	"to crawl"
Temne (Bantu)	<u>ke-manduk</u>	→		<u>man'duku</u>	"cudgel"

4.5. Palatalization and Depalatalization

It is common in Kongo dialects for the vowel /i/ to affect the preceding consonant, as is found in ST. In Kongo there are several ways, varying according to dialect, in which /i/ may affect the preceding consonant. The closest parallel with the palatalization rule of ST is found in Southern Kongo.

In Southern Kongo, /t, s, z/ have respectively the palatal allophones [č, š, ž], which occur before the palatals /ɲ/ or /j/. The non-palatal allophones [t, s, z] occur in all other contexts. This complementation corresponds to the complementation between palatal and non-palatal consonants in ST, as is illustrated by the following examples :

<u>ST</u>			<u>Southern Kongo</u>		
/t/	<u>'tota</u>	"to bend"	/t/	[t] <u>tobola</u>	[to'bola] "to bore a hole"
/č/	<u>či'la</u>	"to take out"	[č]	<u>tina</u>	['čina] "to cut"
/s/	<u>sɔ'la</u>	"to cry"	/s/	[s] <u>kesoka</u>	[ke'soka] "to be cut"
/š/	<u>'tlaši</u>	"behind"	[š]	<u>nkosi</u>	['nkoši] "lion"
/z/	<u>ze'be</u>	"Elizabeth"	/z/	[z] <u>zenga</u>	['zeŋga] "to cut"
/ž/	<u>'žina</u>	"from"	[ž]	<u>zima</u>	['žira] "to stretch"

An exact parallel was not found in Kongo for the partial complementation found in ST between /d/ and /j/. However, it appears from Laman's description that [j] occurs sub-dialectally in Southern Kongo as an allophone of /z/ after a nasal and before /i/. Thus, the string [nʃi] would be a variant of [nʒi].

Bentley's examples of Portuguese words incorporated into Kishikongo show the operation of a palatalization rule similar to that which occurs in ST. The following are comparative examples of rule (i), where a palatal consonant loses the feature [+ palatal] when a non-palatal vowel follows :

ST

Ptg chumbo /'ʃumbu/ + ST 'sumbu "lead"

Kishikongo

Ptg cartucho /keɾ'tuʃu/ + Kishikongo etuza [e'tuza] ~
kalatuzo [kala'tuzo] "cartridge"

In the following examples of rule (ii), the consonant acquires the feature [+ palatal], as the vowel is [+high] [+front] :

ST

Ptg bronze /lõzɐ/ + ST 'blõʒi "bronze"

Kishikongo

Ptg gonzo /'gõzu/ Kishikongo ekozi [e'kozi] "hinge"

An aspect of Kishikongo phonology may indicate why the partial complementation between the palatal and non-palatal consonants is not complete. In several borrowings, the Kishikongo consonant retains the feature [+ palatal] and a high front vowel is added after it, as in :

<u>Ptg</u>	<u>Kishikongo</u>	
chaleira /ʃe'leɪɾe/ + <u>sja</u> lela	[ʃja'lela]	"kettle"
arcabuz /aɾke'buʒ/ + <u>kalaka</u> boʃja	[kalaka'boʃja]	"arquebus"
embaixador /embaiʃe'doɾ/ + <u>mbasi</u>	['mbaʃi]	"ambassador"
esmola /ɐʒ'mola/ + <u>azi</u> mola	[aʒi'mola]	"alms"

Portuguese words may have been assimilated in the same way into ST, with subsequent loss of the palatal vowel or glide. Several exceptions to the palatalization rule in ST could thus be explained by such a postulated development as the following, where the asterisked form corresponds to the phase found in Kishikongo today:

génio	/ʒɛnju/	+ *ʒɛnu	+ ʒɛnu	"genius"
cirurgião	/siʁuʁʒjẽu/	+ *ʃtliʒjõ	+ ʃtliʒõ	"medicine man"
passar	/pɛ'sjaʁ/	+ *pa'ʃja	+ pa'ʃa	"to stroll"

The possibility of such a development as this having occurred is reinforced by the free alternation in ST between /j/ and /ʃj/ in such words as:

dia	/ˈdiə/	+ ʒa ~ ʃja	"day"
dinheiro	/diˈɲɛiɾu/	+ ʒelu ~ ʃjelu	"money"
diabo	/ˈdjabu/	+ ʒabu ~ ʃjabu	"devil"

4.8. Vowel Elision

In several Kongo dialects, similarly to ST, when two vowels meet across a word boundary, the first vowel is in many contexts elided. The following are examples from ST and Kishikongo (Bentley, 1887) :

	ST	Kishikongo
/a/ + /e/	pa e	kuna ezulu
	> pe	> kunezulu
	"for him"	"to heaven"

The same tendency to elision of the first of two vowels meeting at a word boundary is found in Bini, as in the example atata obo "flat of hand" (palm) atat-obo (Dunn, 1968 : 198).

The gliding of the first vowel in ST when this vowel is high or mid, and particularly if it is /u/, has a parallel in Kishikongo, as in (Bentley, 1887) :

	ST	Kishikongo
/u/ + /a/	ku a'le	nkumbu a mfumu
	> kwa'le	> nkumbwa mfumu
	"that the king"	"the name of the chief"
/o/ + /e/	da bo e'le	nzo etu
	da bwe'le	> nzwetu
	"give it to you"	"our house"

Another parallel to this pattern of gliding is found in Southern Kongo verbal derivation, where /u/ and /o/ are converted into /w/, as in:

<u>kukula</u>	"to drag", perfect <u>kukwidĩ</u>
<u>bondola</u>	"to reverse", perfect <u>bondwele</u>
<u>sekola</u>	"to translate", perfect <u>sekwale</u>

4.7. Nasalization

The process of nasalization is derived from Kwa and Portuguese. However, the progressive and regressive nasalization which occurs in ST stems from Kwa. Dunn (1968 : 197) writes for Bini that the non-nasal vowels "exhibit a feature of nasality when they occur in the environment of a nasal consonant (preceding or following)." He adds: "There are in addition to these oral vowels, vowels which have an inherent feature of nasality irrespective of whether they are preceded or followed by a nasal consonant." The type of progressive and regressive nasalization found in Bini accounts for the application of progressive or regressive nasalization applied in ST to words derived from Portuguese, as discussed in paragraph 3.4.

ST words of African origin undergo progressive nasalization in the same way as words incorporated from Portuguese, as in:

Bini	<u>mu dja</u>	"to stand; to stop" +
ST	<u>mũ'ja</u>	"to stand; to stop"

A nasal in a Bantu noun prefix may cause progressive nasalization, whether or not the prefixal nasal has been retained in ST. This is illustrated by the following examples:

Kishikongo	<u>kinsekwa</u>	"bug" +
ST	<u>'senkwa</u>	"bug"
Kishikongo	<u>mbasa</u> (pl. of <u>lubasa</u>)	"palm slat" +
ST	<u>'bāsa</u>	"palm hook"
Kishikongo	<u>nguba</u>	"ground-nut" + ST <u>'ngumba</u> "ground-nut"

However, a nasal consonant or nasalization feature in an African word may be omitted in ST, as in:

Bini	<u>utu</u>	"mushroom" + ST <u>u'tu</u>	"mould"
Kishikongo	<u>sangwa</u>	"rattle, for children and for use in incantations" + ST <u>'sagwa</u>	in
	<u>pja 'sagwa</u>	"medicine man" (<u>pja</u>	"to look at")

4.8. African Consonants with no Direct Counterparts in ST

Where an African word has a consonant with no direct counterpart in ST, this consonant is replaced by another at the same point of articulation, as in:

same point of articulation, as

Bini	<u>bo'bo</u>	"to place or carry infant on the back" →
ST	<u>bo'bo</u>	"to carry infant on the back"
Bini	<u>idu</u>	"louse" → ST <u>'idu</u> "louse - of the body or the head"
Bini	<u>du'bu</u>	"to pound" → ST <u>'dumu</u> "to grind, to pound"

5. SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF THE GENERAL PHONOLOGY

In summary, therefore, an overriding aspect of ST phonology is that it is African-based rather than Portuguese-based. The following particular features are significant:

- (i) The consonantal system of ST is markedly different from that of Portuguese and close to patterns frequently found in African languages. Thus, ST has the affricates /č, ʃ/, and implosive stops [ɓ] and [ɗ], all of which are widespread in West African languages but do not occur in Portuguese. The Portuguese phonemes /l, ɫ, ʎ/ are absorbed into a single phoneme /l/ in ST, a process of absorption which is explained by the fact that some West African languages, of which Kishikongo is an example, do not have a flap or a trill and absorb these into a phoneme /l/. Portuguese /ʎ/ does not occur in ST, except for a few words, which are discussed in 3.3.3.

- (v) The mechanism whereby the Portuguese strings /aC/, /eC/, /aCV/, /eCV/ frequently become /ɛ/ in ST accounts for changes in many words incorporated from Portuguese, such as :

quintal	/kin'taː/	→	<u>kin'tɛ</u>	"backyard"
carga	/'kargɐ/	→	<u>'kɛga</u>	"load"
marca	/'maɫkɐ/	→	<u>'mɛka</u>	"mark"
verdade	/vɐɫ'dadɐ/	→	<u>vɛ'dɛ</u>	"truth"
pardal	/pɐɫ'dal/	→	<u>pa'dɛ</u>	"sparrow"
largar	/laɫ'gaɫ/	→	<u>lɛ'ga</u>	"to let go"

This mechanism of absorption may have arisen as a device to avoid homonymy, thus distinguishing such minimal pairs as 'mɛka "mark", 'maka "stretcher".

6. SUGGESTIONS FOR A SUITABLE ORTHOGRAPHY

Largely as a result of the dearth of materials printed in ST, no standard orthography has emerged. The various notations to be found in print and the cursory writing are largely based on the Portuguese orthographic system, and more alphabetic symbols and diacritic marks are used than is necessary.

In the columns below are enumerated the orthographic symbols normally found, and a suggestion for a more suitable notation, with the aim of achieving an optimal writing system.

(a) Non-nasal vowels

<u>Phonemic symbols</u>	<u>Existing orthographies</u>	<u>Suggested orthography</u>
/i/	<i>	<i>
/e/	<ɛ>	{<e>
/ɛ/	<e, é, ê>	{<e>
/a/	<a, á, â>	<a>
/o/	<ô>	{<o>
/o/	<o, ô>	{<o>
/u/	<u>	<u>

- (ii) The partial complementation in ST which tends to convert the non-palatal series /t, d, s, z/ into the palatal series /č, ʃ, š, ž/ before /i/ and /ĩ/ and to convert the palatal series into the non-palatal series before other vowels can be traced originally to a full complementation in dialects of Kongo.

The resemblance between this process of complementation and the complementation found in Northern Brazil, as in Rio de Janeiro Portuguese, is noted. In Rio de Janeiro, the palatal affricates [č, ʃ] are allophones of the dental stops, /t, d/ occurring before /i/ and /ĩ/. The following is a comparison of palatalization of dental stops in Rio de Janeiro Portuguese and ST :

<u>Standard Ptq</u>	<u>Rio de Janeiro</u> <u>Ptq</u>	<u>ST</u>	
tarde	'taxʃi	'taʃi	"afternoon"
grande	'gɾãʃi	'nglãʃi	"large"
ponte	'põči	'põči	"bridge"
tinta	'čita	'čita	"ink"

- (iii) Vowel harmony is a significant African-derived feature of ST phonology. In ST, vowel harmony is normally in the form of complete assimilation, a tendency found also in Kongo.

A type of vowel harmony occurs in Portuguese, where it is known as metaphony. However, vowel harmony as a tendency for the same vowel to occur in two consecutive syllables, as is found in ST and in Kongo, does not occur in Portuguese.

- (iv) The syllabic structure of ST is Bantu-derived. As in Bantu, ST syllables normally end in a vowel. A vowel is thus added in ST to Portuguese consonant-ending words.

Portuguese is a morphologically heavy language which has a high frequency of polysyllabic words. ST is a syntactically heavy language where the word is typically disyllabic.

Since the pairs /e, ε / and /c, ɔ / are minimally contrastive, there is no need to differentiate between them in the orthography.

The profuse use of diacritic marks is a carry-over from Portuguese which is non-functional for an orthography of São Tomense. With regard to stress, is it not necessary to indicate stress placement, in view of the fluctuating nature of stress placement in São Tomense.

(b) Nasal vowels

<u>Phonemic symbols</u>	<u>Existing orthographies</u>	<u>Suggested orthography</u>	
		Word-final and before homorganic /m/	Elsewhere
/i/ or /iN/	<in>	<im>	<in>
/ē/ " /eN/	<en>		<en>
/ā/ " /aN/	<am, an>	<am>	<an>
/ō/ " /oN/	<ōm, om, on>	<om>	<on>
/ū/ " /uN/	<um, un>	<um>	<un>

<N> above represents the homorganic nasal which may occur before consonants which have the feature [- fricative].

Here the suggested orthography is almost in entire agreement with the orthographies used. The only difference lies in not placing a diacritic mark on any vowel.

The spelling <ūa> for ūa "one" should be retained, as in this word the nasal vowel is followed by another vowel, a rare occurrence.

(c) Consonants

<u>Phonemic symbols</u>	<u>Existing orthographies</u>	<u>Suggested orthography</u>
/b/		
/d/	<d>	<d>
/ʃ/	<dj>	<dj>
/f/	<f>	<f>
/g/	<g, gu>	<g>

/k/	<c, k, qu>	<k>
/l/	<l>	<l>
/m/	<m>	<m>
/n/ [n, ɲ]	<n>	<n>
/ɲ/	<nh>	<nh>
/p/	<p>	<p>
/s/	<s, ss, c, ç>	<s>
/ʃ/	<ch> +V, <s> + C	<x> +V, <s> +C
/t/	<t>	<t>
/tʃ/	<tx, tch>	<ç>
/v/	<v>	<v>
/w/	<u>	<w>
/y/	<i>	<y>
/z/	<z>	<z>
/ʒ/	<j>	<j>

The digraph <nh>, used in Ptg to represent the phoneme /ɲ/, can be retained to represent the corresponding phoneme /ɲ/ in ST.

(d) Apostrophe

The apostrophe, sometimes used to indicate a vowel elision where two words contract, and used also in other contexts, can be dispensed with.

Examples

The following sentences and vocabulary items from printed texts are followed by their rendering in the orthography here suggested, and by a phonemic rendering.

From Fala Sétu, by F. de J. Bomfim (Nov. 1923 :21) :

Bomfim:< Ninguê tudachi cu ca kêle n'amôlê di muala, sa malôcô ô dôdô ... muala sa façu> "Whoever believes in a woman's love, is mad or crazy ... Woman is false."

Suggested:< Ninge tudaxi ku ka kele namole di mwala, sa maloko o dodo ... mwala sa fasu>

Phonemic : /nin'ge tu'daʃi ku ka ke'le na'mole di 'mwala # sa ma'loko o 'dodo # 'mwala sa 'fasu # /

From Ilha de S. Thomé, by A. Negreiros (1895 : 351)

Negreiros: <Quenguê ça mêsê dji bô?> "Who is your teacher?"

Suggested: <Kenge sa mese dji bo?>

Phonemic: /ken'ge sɐ 'mɛse ʒi bo?/

Negreiros: <clôçu> "pip", <uangādu> "spread", <'ngūnú>
"torch"

Suggested: <klosu> <wangadu> <ngunu>

Phonemic: /'klosu/ /wan'gadu/ /ngu'nu/

CHAPTER FIVE

WORD GRAMMAR AND COMPOUNDING

A reduced morphology is characteristic of Creoles. Bailey (1966 : 6) states that the inflectional content of Creoles "is extremely meagre, so that the grammatical information is carried almost entirely by the syntactic system." The main inflectional devices which occur in ST are compounding and past participle inflection, which will be discussed in this chapter.

1. DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES : COMPOUNDING

In São Tomense, compounding is primarily a morphological process whereby the repetition of a word yields a single lexical item, or one meaning. This lexical item is one word phonologically; in ST each compounded element retains its stress pattern, the stress on the last element being the stronger.

Hall (1966 : 65) has found that the process of reduplication is particularly productive in Creoles. The process of reduplication to signify intensification seems to occur to a degree in many languages, and is analysed here with a view to the universals or partial universals of language. Examples of compounding for intensification are: in English <a big, big man>, <late late show>, in Portuguese <um vestido lindo, lindo> "a very pretty dress", <muita, muita gente> "many, many people", in Gullah 'tru-tru (true true) "very true", in Zulu u-nkulu-nkulu "God" (literally "the great, great one"), in Kakongo lunga-lunga "to take great care of" (lunga "to take care of") (Bentley, 1895 : 973), in Bini ti-ebe tie tie "he read the book, read, read, read, read" (Dunn, 1968 : 216).

The following are examples which have been recorded for various Creoles:

Caviteño (Philippines): <derecho-derecho> "very straight" (Whinnom, 1956).

Papia Kristang (Malacca): brigadan-brigadan
"many soldiers" (Hancock, 1969a).

Neo-Melanesian: pike-pike "very piquant" (Hall, 1966:65).

Jamaican Creole: <was-was> "swarm of wasps" (+ <was>
"wasp") (Bailey, 1966 : 16).

Principense: ke'te-ke'te "a few little things"
(ke'te "a bit").

Ptg Creole of Senegal: qfadi-qfadi "very large",
kaba'li-kabali "as bad as possible" (Chataigner,
1963:58, 63).

1.1. The Semantics of Reduplicatives and Compounds

In ST, reduplication may have the sense of plain intensification, as in:

'setu-'setu (+ Ptg certo)
certainly-certainly
"most certainly"

'tantu-'tantu (+ Ptg tanto)
so much-so much
"so very much"

me'se ka'fe 'kəči-'kəči (+ Ptg quente)
I-want coffee hot-hot
"I want very hot coffee."

ně an'ka se 'qodo-'godo (+ Ptg gordo)
them crab DEM fat-fat
"those very fat crabs"

madlu'qadu 'kulu-'kulu (+ Ptg escuro)
dawn dark-dark
"in the early dawn"

i'ne sa 'bwa-'bwa so (+ Ptg bom)
they be good-good very
"They are very good indeed."

mi'hoŋ -mi'hoŋ sa 'pa a tlaš'firi-e
 best-best be to UNM transfer him
 "The best thing is to transfer him."

In the following example, the negative is emphasized by intensification:

'ze ŋa na sa 'bē-'bē fa
 today day NEG₁ be well-well NEG₂
 "It is a rather unpleasant day."

Compounds may indicate the intensification of plural meaning, as in:

e pəŋan'ka se, 'kəta mō-mō-mō-mō d-e (+ Ptg mao)
 he take-crab DEM, cut hand-hand-hand-hand of-it
 "He took that crab, and cut off all its legs."

In the following example, reduplication indicates the intensification of singular meaning:

nō te ūa 'mina s- 'so
 we have one child only-only
 "We have only one child."

Reduplication may be used to indicate repetitiveness, as in:

e 'pəŋa-'pəŋa an'ka (+ Ptg pəŋal)
 he catch-catch crab
 "He regularly caught crabs."

'me 'ləva-'ləva vi'da 'sempə (+ Ptg leval)
 man lead-lead life always
 "Her man went on living."

ūa-ūa ŋa (+ Ptg uma)
 one-one day
 "Now and then; on some days"

'poko-'poko (+ Ptg pouco)
 little-little
 "little by little"

The following sentences illustrate the use of reduplication to indicate a continuing process:

e sa nge ka 'dwēči-dwē'či
 he be person KA be-sick-be-sick
 "He is a sick person" (a chronically ill person)

e sa ka 'dwēči (+ Ptg doente)
 he be KA be-sick
 "He is sick" (now)

The following is an example of the use of compounding to indicate continuous action, involving a sentence:

e ta 'matu, e ta 'matu, e ta 'matu, 'anu
 he stay in-bush, he stay in-bush, he stay in bush, year
 "He stayed in the bush for a year."

Compounding may be used to emphasize numerical grouping, as in:

do-'dosu
 two-two
 "both"

ne tleš-'tleši
 they three-three
 "the three of them"

The contraction found in the two examples above is found also in Kakongo (Bentley, 1935 : 948) :

The Bakongo often contract in the case of reduplicated numerals; thus they will say ta-tatu instead of tatu-tatu "three each"; and zo-zole for zole-zole "two each", and so on.

Reduplication can be used as a pluralizer, with the meaning of "each of the two", as in:

'ome-'ome o ?
 male-male Q ?
 "Are they both boys?"

'mwala-'mwala o ?
 female-female Q ?
 "Are they both girls?"

In the following example, reduplication is used to indicate "any particular one" :

e fla 'maši bwa do ke 'ūa-ūa nge
 he speak more good than one-one person
 "He spoke better than anyone."

Zulu has uku-bo-bona "to see randomly" (bona "to see"). The following example of reduplication in ST parallels this Zulu reduplicative in indicating randomness; the past participle ending is deleted in the first element:

i'ně sa 'zunta-zun'tadu
 they be together-together
 "They are all mixed up."

2. INFLECTIONAL PROCESSES : PAST PARTICIPLES

In Portuguese the past participle is formed by adding the suffix -ado (fem. -ada) to the stem of verbs with infinitive in -ar, and -ido (fem. -ida) to the stem of verbs with infinitive in -er or -ir, as in:

<u>Infinitive</u>		<u>Past Participle</u>
falar	-	falado
saber	-	sabido
partir	-	partido

ST has no feminine past participle ending, and has only one ending, -du, which is added to the verb form, as in:

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Past Participle</u>
<u>fo'no</u> "to tear" (Kwa)	<u>fo'nodu</u>
<u>ta'sõ</u> "to sit" (Kwa)	<u>ta'sondu</u>
<u>ma'la</u> "to tie" (+ Ptg amarrar)	<u>ma'ladu</u>

CHAPTER SIX

GRAMMAR

1. WORD CLASSES AND THEIR GRAMMAR

1.1. Forms of Nouns and Adjectives

With few exceptions, ST nouns and adjectives are based on masculine singular Portuguese forms, when the Portuguese word is marked for gender. The Portuguese masculine singular form normally ends in /u/ :

Ptg gato /'gatu/ → ST 'gatu "cat"
 " cego /'sɛgu/ → " 'sɛgu "blind"

A few words inflect for masculine and feminine:

Ptg sogro /'sogru/ "father-in-law" → ST 'sogru
 "son-in-law; father-in-law"
 " sogra /'sogɾa/ "mother-in-law" → ST 'sogla
 "daughter-in-law; mother-in-law"

The nouns 'ɔmɛ "man, male" and 'mwala "woman, female" are used in compounds for indicating gender, as in:

bwe 'ɔmɛ "ox" (+ Ptg boi "ox")
 bwe 'mwala "cow"

Although, as in Bini (Dunn, 1968: 207), the same form is used for singular and plural, compounds can be employed for indicating plural number, by placing the 3rd person plural pronoun i'nɛ ~ nɛ before the noun, as in:

nɛ 'mwala
 they woman
 "the women"

The origin of this system of pluralization is likely to be Bantu. Bantu languages may place the word for "they" for emphasis before a noun. An example is Tsonga gona ga-fana "they, the children".

The same process of pluralization could occur in other Creoles with a Bantu component. It occurs in Angolar and Principense:

Angolar 'ene 'ome
 they man
 "the men"

Principense: nē sū
 they gentleman
 "the gentlemen"

1.2. Di-Phrases

Subsumed under di-phrases in this discussion is the so-called genitive.

In di-phrases with consonant-commencing nouns, the use of the preposition di "of" is optional, as is illustrated by the following examples:

'm-basu (di) 'pote
 in-bottom (of) door
 "under the door"

e ta'sō n-ome (di) 'matu
 he sit in-middle (of) bush
 "He sat in the middle of the bush."

zō'ze sa ta'sondu ni 'tlaši (di) zō
 Joseph be sitting in back (of) John
 "Joseph is sitting behind John."

'donu (di) 'basa
 owner (of) farm
 "the owner of the farm"

zō ka 'qōšta (di) ma'ja
 John KA be-fond (of) Mary
 "John is fond of Mary"

The preposition di exists in the deep structure of all di-phrases with pronouns. However, di is obligatorily deleted from the surface structure if the pronoun is consonant-commencing. Thus "my book" has the underlying structure

*'livlu di mī
 book of me

which appears in the surface structure as

'livlu mū
book me
"my book"

Before vowel-commencing nouns and pronouns, di is retained in the surface structure. di then occurs as d-, following a rule which stipulates the deletion of the first vowel when two vowels meet across word boundaries. Thus, "his book", with the surface structure

*'livlu di e
book of he

has the surface structure

'livlu d-e
book of-he
"his book"

Examples with nouns are:

e sa la 'basu 'zuntu 'd-awa
he be there below next to-river
"He is down there next to the river."

e sa 'i 'basu 'd-a'uvu
he be there bottom of-tree
"He is there under the tree."

'liba d-ə'pə
top of-leg
"on top of his legs"

di is obligatorily retained in di-phrases with N which are complements to the copula verb sa. Ambiguities are removed in this way. Thus, in the sentence which follows, deletion of di would have yielded the equivalent respectively of "the fish are Joseph", "they are in the bush", and "the girl hid her brother":

'piši sa di zə'zə
fish be of Joseph
"The fish are Joseph's."

i'nē sa di 'matu
 they be of bush
 "They are of the bush."

'mina kon'de di lu'mō d-e
 girl hide from brother of-her
 "The girl hid from her brother."

The shape of the preposition di "of" does not follow the general phonological trend in ST involving the partial complementation of /d/ and /j/, according to which /d/ + /j/ before /i/, by palatalization of the consonant before a vowel with the features [+ high, + front], as described in paragraph 1.1.2.1 of the Phonology. However, there is a morpheme used in conjunction with di, with the form ji, which occurs only before the underlying di.

On deletion after the verb, the noun is replaced by the noun replacer (NR) ji. Thus the two sentences

e sa 'livlu mū
 it be book me
 "It is my book."

e sa 'livlu d-i'nē
 it be book of-them
 "It is their book."

become on pronominalization of the noun

e sa ji mū
 it be NR me
 "It is mine."

e sa ji'nē
 it be NR-them
 "It is theirs."

For the 3rd p.s., deep structure di is retained in the surface structure before the pronoun e, yielding d-e, after the normal deletion of V_1 at the word boundary. Deletion of di from the underlying sequence *ji di e would yield *ji e, becoming *j-e after deletion of V_1 .

This is not possible, as no deletion rules may apply to ji.
Hence the deep structure for "it is his/hers"

* e sa ji di e
it be NR of him/her

has the surface structure

e sa ji d-e
it be NR of-him/her
"It is his/hers"

The paradigm for ji-phrases is thus as follows:

<u>ji</u>	<u>mu</u> ~ <u>mũ</u> ~ <u>m</u>	"mine"
"	<u>bo</u>	"yours - sing."
"	<u>d-e</u>	"his/hers"
"	<u>nō</u>	"ours"
"	<u>'nāse</u>	"yours - pl."
"	<u>nē</u>	"theirs"

Although ji-phrases are frequently complements to the copula verb sa, they may occur in other contexts, as in:

ke mu ka 'fika 'zuntu di ji d-e
house me KA stay next to NR of-him
"My house is next to his."

di is generally retained in di-phrases with V, as in the following examples:

'guja se di klo'ze
needle DEM of sewing
"this sewing needle"

ua ba'sa di la'we (la'we < la'ba we)
one basin of washing-face
"a wash basin"

ua 'toja di 'limpa 'kala
one towel of cleaning face
"a face towel"

1.3. Possessive Use of the Object Pronouns

The forms of the object pronoun are used as possessive pronouns, as was noted by Valkhoff (1966 : 99). The forms are described in paragraph 1.2.4 of this chapter. A parallel occurs in Bini, where the object pronouns are also used as possessive pronouns (Dunn, 1968 : 50). In Bini the object pronouns, when used as possessives, may precede or follow the word they qualify; in ST they must follow the word they qualify, and in this they follow the Bantu word order.

1.4. Numerals

The ST numerals use Portuguese forms, but compound on the same basis as Kishikongo numerals. The Kishikongo numerals referred to below appear in Bentley (1887).

The forms of the ST numerals from 1 to 10 are derived from Portuguese, and are simple forms in both Portuguese and Kishikongo. In the comparative table below, the Kishikongo stem is given for numerals from 1 to 6, which may take different concordial prefixes; the forms from 7 to 10 are invariable in that they do not take a prefixal element:

<u>Ptg</u>	<u>ST</u>	<u>Kishikongo</u>
1. um, uma (fem.) one	<u>'ua</u>	<u>-moši</u>
2. dois, duas (fem.) two	<u>'dosu</u>	<u>-ole</u>
3. três three	<u>'tleši</u>	<u>-tatu</u>
4. quatro four	<u>'kwatlu</u>	<u>-ja</u>
5. cinco five	<u>'šinku</u>	<u>-tanu</u>
6. seis six	<u>'seši</u>	<u>-sambanu</u>
7. sete seven	<u>'sete</u>	<u>nsambwadi</u>

8. oito eight	<u>'oto</u>	<u>nana</u>
9. nove nine	<u>'nɔvɛ</u>	<u>vwa</u>
10. dez ten	<u>'dɛʃi</u>	<u>kumi</u>

The difference in structure between the Portuguese and ST numerals becomes apparent in the numbers from 11 upwards, where ST compounds in a similar way to Kishikongo. As exemplified here, in ST, as in Kishikongo, the tens (as in twenty, thirty) are stated as multiples of 10, and the compounded units (as in twenty one, thirty two) are added to the multiples of ten with a linking particle meaning "and" or "plus" (ku in São Tomense):

<u>Ptg</u>	<u>Kishikongo</u>	<u>ST</u>
11. onze eleven	<u>kumi je moʃi</u> ten plus one	<u>dɛʃ-k-ɔa</u> ten plus one
12. doze twelve	<u>kumi je z-ole</u> ten plus two	<u>dɛʃ-ku 'dosu</u> ten plus two
20. vinte twenty	<u>makumole</u> < <u>ma-kumi m-ole</u> tens two, i.e. two tens	<u>'dosu 'dɛʃi</u> two tens
24. vinte e quatro twenty and four	<u>makumole je ja</u> two tens plus four	<u>'dosu 'dɛʃi ku 'kwatlu</u> two tens plus four
30 trinta thirty	<u>makumatatu</u> < <u>ma-kumi ma-tatu</u> tens three, i.e. three tens	<u>'tleʃi 'dɛʃi</u> three tens
40. quarenta forty	<u>makumaja</u> < <u>ma-kumi ma-ja</u> tens four, i.e. four tens	<u>'kwatlu 'dɛʃi</u> four tens

1.5. Demonstratives

In ST, the only demonstrative adjective is the demonstrative (DEM) se, which is not marked for near/far or proximity/distance from the speaker or the person spoken to. (Portuguese has 3 position demonstratives: near the speaker, near the person spoken to, and away from both).

The position of se is always postnominal, as is common with demonstratives in Bantu. In Portuguese, demonstrative adjectives precede the noun they modify. The following is an example of the use of se:

ka'nwa se
canoe DEM
"this/that canoe"

se often fulfils the function of definite article, so that the above example can also have the meaning of "the canoe". Hancock (~~1974~~¹⁹⁷⁸) has also noted for Papia Kristang that "There is no definite article, although the demonstratives isi (or isti) "this", and akeli "that" often serve as such."

A feature of the Pidgin Fanakalo is the lack of demonstrative constructions to indicate differences in degree of proximity to the speaker. In Fanakalo, lo, a demonstrative in Zulu serves as demonstrative, definite article, and indefinite article, as in lo muntu "a /this/that man". The parallel use of se is thus reminiscent of a Pidgin phase in ST. Perhaps as a later development, distance from the speaker may be indicated in ST by modification of se, perhaps on the Portuguese model, as in:

'floli se ku 'sa i
flower DEM which be here
"this flower"

'floli se ku 'sa la
flower DEM which be there
"that flower"

In the last sentence, se and ku may be deleted, and the sentence would appear as

'fiofi sa 'la
 flower be there
 "that flower"

se can only be used adjectivally; a noun head has to be used compulsorily with it. Frequently, anaphoric "this" and "that" are rendered as "this/that thing", as in:

kwa se sa bwa
 thing DEM be good
 "This/that is good."

e man'de fe kwa se
 he order-him do thing DEM
 "He ordered him to do this/that."

Based on se and ku sa la, there are two demonstrative pronouns, i'se and isa'la. i'se may indicate proximity to either the speaker or the person spoken to; isa'la indicates greater distance from both:

ma'sadu se sa 'masi 'pjolo do ke i'se
 axe DEM be more worse than that-one
 "This axe is worse than that one (near you)."

is'la o i'se ?
 That one or this one ?
da-m isa'la
 "Give me that one."

1.6. Oblique Forms of the Noun

Locative particles marking the oblique form of the noun are frequently deleted, as in:

ama'ja nga ba 'vende
 tomorrow I-KA go shop
 "Tomorrow I am going to the shop."

However, three prefixal types may be used optionally in the oblique form of the noun:

- a) the free morpheme ni , with a bound variant n- before vowels, as in:

ni ke
in house
"in the house"

n-o'me
in middle
"in the middle"

A prefixal morpheme ni occurs in the adverb of place form of the noun in Yoruba (Ward, 1952), as in:

ni ile > nile
in house
"in the house"

- b) a homorganic nasal, N- as in:

m-pa'nela
in pot
"in the pot"

- c) the morphophonemic vowel discussed in the phonology under 1.1.1.1, as in:

i-'liba
on-top
"on top"

As in Bantu, for which Zulu examples are given below, such prepositions as "in", "at", "from", "to" are subsumed in the one oblique form of the noun, which is interpreted as adverb of place with the semantic content of the adjacent verb, as in the following further examples:

ST bo ka šje ni ka'čibu
you KA come-out in captivity
"You come out of captivity."

me d-e šje n-ke
mother of-him go out in-house
"His mother went out of the house."

e bi k_ε-m

he come house-me

"He came to my house."

de'se ni 'liba p_ɔ

come-down on top tree

"Come down from the top of the tree."

Zulu (Doke, 1971 : 232)

< ngakhwela endlini> "I climbed onto the house"

< ngaja endlini> "I went to the house"

< ngangena endlini> "I went into the house"

< ngaphuma endlini> "I went out of the house"

2.

THE IDEOPHONE

The ideophones of ST constitute a form class which does not exist in Portuguese but is widespread in Bantu and Kwa. Ideophones are characterized by constraints in their phonology and syntax, as will be discussed below. It is worthy of note that there are few adverbs in ST, and that their place may be taken by ideophones.

2.1. Phonological Structure

Doke (1938 : 353-354) has noted that ideophones, along with interjections, are subject to " 'extra-normal' phonological laws". He refers to the presence in ideophones of vocalic and consonantal features and segments foreign to the normal phonology. In ST, ideophones do not have segmental features at variance with the normal phonological rules. The ST ideophone is affected mainly by tenseness of articulation, in that both the ideophone and the word modified by the ideophone have tenser articulation than is normal.

In the following sentence, the ideophone is uttered very softly, although the tense articulation remains:

nwa ska le'de 'piči'piči (nwa "moon", le'de + Ptg arder)
 "The moon is shining softly."

This sentence contrasts with the following, which is uttered with the pronunciation which is normal for ideophones:

nwa ska le'de tata'ta
 "The moon is shining brightly."

Fivaz (1963) has noted that in Zulu no ideophones commence with a vowel. The same constraint occurs in ST ideophones. Moreover, ideophones in Bantu and Kwa are typically consonant-commencing, as in Bini se se'se "spotless, immaculate whiteness", gakoguko "clumsy movement" (Dunn, 1968 : 153), and Tswana thušu (ideophone of sudden appearance), wašaa (ideophone of scattering) (Cole, 1955 : 377-378).

In the examples recorded for ST, the syllables are all open, and have the shape CV. C is comprised either of one consonant or of C_1C_2 , where C_1 is a nasal, as in:

'mogo'mogo (ideophone of softness)
'blanku fene'ne "very white"
nge'nenge'ne (ideophone of brightness)
'nwini'nwini ['nwini'nwini] (ideophone indicating many small things)

ST ideophones contain two, three, or four syllables¹. A feature of all ST ideophones is repetition, either of a syllable or a disyllable. Vowels are always repeated. Consonants are normally repeated also, but repetition of consonants is not an obligatory component of ideophone structure. Samarin (1966 : 86-87) has noted for Gbaya, a Kwa language, that the words comparable to Bantu ideophones very often consist in repeated elements, and that their vowels are usually identical.

The stress is normally on the last syllable; ideophones involving duplication of a disyllable are usually stressed on the first syllable of each disyllable.

The following examples illustrate the various types of repetition occurring in ideophones:

¹Pr. has a monosyllabic ideophone pi, as in e mwe pi "he died once and for all". Monosyllabic ideophones are common in Bantu.

- a) duplication of a vowel, and a different vowel in an initial or final syllable:

kje klongon'do (kje + Ptg cair)
 "to collapse completely"

nõ sa bi'sidu mankwete (bi'sidu + Ptg vestido)
 "We shall be very well dressed."

- b) triplication of a vowel, with a consonant occurring twice:

e sa 'blanku fene'ne ('blanku + Ptg branco)
 "It is very white."

min-'awa sa 'seku klaka'ta ('mina + Ptg menina,
 "The stream is completely 'awa + Ptg água,
 dry." 'seku + Ptg seco)

'awa ska 'kole šele'le ('kole + Ptg correr)
 "The water is flowing softly."

- c) duplication of a syllable:

'awa 'blaga 'lolo
 "The water burst out completely."

The ideophone 'lolo is frequently used to indicate thoroughness of completion.

e tle'me ta'ta (tle'me + Ptg tremer)
 "He trembled a lot."

- d) triplication of a syllable:

ka'fe sa 'keči zuzu'zu (ka'fe + Ptg café,
 "The coffee is very 'keči + Ptg quente)
 hot."

e fla sasa'sa (fla + Ptg falar)
 "He spoke fluently."

- e) optional duplication or triplication of a syllable:

e sa 'pletu lu'lu or lulu'lu ('pletu + Ptg preto)
 "It is very black."

e sa fi'o koko'ko (fi'o + Ptg frio)
 "It is very cold."

f) Duplication of a disyllable, as in:

bo ka 'moha 'poto'poto ('moha + Ptg molha)
 "You will get drenched."

e 'kontla kwa ka lu'zi nge'nenge'ne (lu'zi +
 "He found an object shining Ptg luzir)
 brightly."

2.2. The Syntax of the Ideophone

Ideophones in ST are manner modifiers of either nouns, adjectives, or verbs. They stand in isolation when occurring as a reply to greetings. In Gitonga (Lanham, 1955 : 219), an Eastern Bantu language, the ideophone is concerned primarily with verbs.

When an ideophone is interchangeable with an adverb, the ideophone differs by a tendency to have a particular phonological shape and by forming a tensely articulated unit with the word it modifies. Adverbs do not have a characteristic phonological shape and are not linked to the words they modify by an overall voice quality. Syntactically, ideophones serve as the closure for the sentence, a feature that does not apply to adverbs. Moreover, no words may intervene between the ideophone and the words qualified.

The following are examples of the various functions which ideophones fulfil in ST:

a) modifying a noun:

nō 'mese nge sasa'sa
 "We want a sprightly person"

b) modifying an adjective:

'kēci zuzu'zu
 "very hot"

fi'li pe'tape'te

"very tender"

c) modifying a verb:

'kəpu kɛ'bla 'nwini'nwini ['nwini'nwini]

"The glass broke into ('kəpu + Ptg copo,
little pieces." kɛ'bla + Ptg quebra)

d) in isolation, as a reply to a "how are you" greeting:

'leve'leve

"so and so"

gege'ge

"so and so"

e) modifying a complex sentence:

i'nē ku'mɛ 'tudu ku mē d-e 'fika pe kɛ 'lɔlɔ

they eat all that mother of-him leave put home completely

"They ate all the food that his mother left at home."

A clause containing an ideophone cannot contain further modifiers. Thus, such a hypothetical sentence as the following is not grammatical:

* e sa 'kēči zuzu'zu ni 'štlada ('kēči "hot",
"It is very hot on the road." ni 'štada "on the road")

Although the ideophone serves as the closure for the sentence, an ideophone clause may be linked to another sentence by conjoining or embedding, as in:

e sa 'čɛkɛ'čɛkɛ, 'maži e te 'kala di nge di 'fosa
he be frail, but he have face of person of strength
"He is frail, but he looks strong in character."

e 'tava 'kēči zuzu'zu 'ɔla kũ šje
it was hot ID when I go-out
"It was very hot when I went out" (or "it was very noisy",
or "there was a lot of activity.")

2.3 Significance

Lanham (1955 : 219) describes the function of the ideophone as one of "intensifying, clarifying or specializing certain of the basic concepts of the language." Samarin (1966: 86) describes the ideophones in different terms as "vivid vocal images or representations of visual, auditory, and other sensory or mental experiences." Both these definitions parallel the significance of the ideophone in ST.¹

3. SENTENCE TYPES

Sentence types are not an aspect of the conjugation. The imperative and the hortative may be regarded as sentence types. The sentence type which will be considered here is existential se, which is used in ST to mean "there is, there are", as in the following examples:

'piši sē
fish there-be
"There is fish."

'losu na sē fa
rice NEG₁ there-be NEG₂
"There is no rice."

ni ūa nge na ta sē ku ka 'lembla di kwa sē fa
not one person NEG₁ remains there-be who KA remember
of thing DEM NEG₂
"There is no longer anyone who remembers that."

'kuma ba'tata na 'tava sē fa, 'n-kopla 'losu
as potato NEG₁ were there-be NEG₂, I buy rice
"As there were no potatoes, I bought rice."

¹An example of an ideophone clause being used to render a single concept, "village", was recorded for Angolar:

ε(ne) 'migu-m(ū) 'be ne ke čəčə'čə
they friend-me go they house ID
"My friends went to the village."

This form and its use derive from Bantu. The particle corresponding to ST sé is se in Kishikongo, where it has the same meaning as the ST form. The following sentence illustrates the use of Kishikongo se (Bentley, 1887 : 218):

owau se nzo žingi
now there-be houses many
"Now there are many houses."

4. CONJOINING, SUBORDINATING, AND EMBEDDING OF SENTENCES

In ST there is no co-ordinating conjunction equivalent to "and" for conjoining sentences. Instead, sentences are co-ordinated by apposition. If the co-ordinated sentences have different subjects, these are retained; if, however, the subject of the co-ordinated sentences is the same, its retention is obligatory in the first sentence only. In the following sentences, the subjects are retained:

e be e 'bila kon'tle
he go he do-again find-it
"He went and found it again."

e pa'ne e 'bila bi kwe
he pick-it-up he do-again come with-it
"He picked it up and brought it back."

e 'tava ka 'lonka i-'koda
he was KA snore I-wake-up
"He was snoring and woke me up."

e 'zuga 'budu, 'budu 'pasa za'nela
he throw stone, stone pass window
"He threw a stone through the window."

The same type of construction is found in Bantu languages, as in the following example from Kishikongo (Bentley, 1895: 984):

bele kuna ezandu baza nikuna nkundu
they-went to-market they-proceed-to stir-up row
"They went to the market and they stirred up a row."

When two sentences are conjoined, the verbal prefixes of the second sentence are deleted. This deletion serves to mark the conjoining of the sentences. Thus, the two sentences

iga ba 'deta
I-KA go lie-down
"I am going to lie down"

iga ba dumi'ni
I-KA go sleep
"I am going to sleep."

may conjoin as

iga ba 'deta i-dumi'ni
I-KA go lie-down I-sleep
"I am going to lie down and sleep."

In the following further examples, where the subject of the co-ordinated sentences is the same, only the subject of the first sentence is retained:

mē d-e dē se 'punta 'plēsu
mother of-him go-down ask price
"His mother went down and asked the price."

nē bi sa ta'sondu
they come be sitting
"They came and sat down."

e 'pasa ski'va
he go-past dodge
"He went past and dodged."

se'la n-ku'mē bē be'be bē
it-is-necessary I-eat well drink well
"I must eat well and drink well."

e sa dē'tadu ni 'kama ka 'le
he be lying in bed KA read
"He is lying in bed, reading."

nō ka 'golo ūa 'lōsa 'kopla 'fika da famila
we KA look-for one farm buy stay to family
"We will look for a farm, and buy it, and leave it to the family."

With the co-ordinating conjunctions o "or" and ne "nor", the sentences are conjoined without deletion of the subject of the second sentence, as in:

na 'pota pa 'suba so'be o pe na so'be fa
 NEG₁ matter for rain to-rain or for-it NEG₁ rain
 NEG₂

"It does not matter whether it rains or not."

i'nè na ba o'mali fa nè i'nè na 'piška fa
 they NEG₁ go sea NEG₂ nor they NEG₁ fish NEG₂
 "They did not go to sea, nor did they fish."

Under subordination, we will consider sentences where the marker ~~of complementization~~ is the conjunction pa "for". pa, like the preposition pla "for", is derived from Portuguese para /'pete/ "for".

In the following examples, pa is a marker of subordinate sentences:

e sa bwa pa nge sa su'petu
 it be good for person be smart
 "It is good for one to be smart."

na 'pota pa 'suba so'be o p-e na so'be fa
 NEG₁ matter for rain rain or for-it NEG₁ rain NEG₂
 "It does not matter if it rains or not."

desa-m pa m-ba p'o'so
 let-me for I-go town
 "Let me go to town."

In the Pidgin Fanakalo there is no marking of a relative clause; a relative clause is joined to another clause by apposition, as in

gena kuluma gena hambile
 he say he went
 "He says (that) he went."

In ST, the conjunction ku serves normally as the marker of a relative clause, as in:

'sukli ku nō sa kwe sa 'poko
sugar that we be with-it be little
"The sugar that we have is little."

'mwala ku sa fə'gō fa dɛ
woman who be at-stove say to-him
"The woman who were at the stove told him."

pɛ mū ku sa 'liba 'd-awa
father me who be top of-water
"My father who is on the water (at sea)."

It is, however, possible for the relative particle to be deleted, although the deletion seldom occurs:

viʒ'tidu nga 'gɔʒta sa i'sɛ
dress I-KA like be this
"The dress I like is this one."

nge ʒka 'bende kwa
person is selling thing
"the person who is selling the things "

e sa kūa sa'pe sa vɛ za
he be with-one hat be old already
"He has a hat which is old already."

A parallel for the deletion of the relative marker is found in Kishikongo, as in the following examples, which suggest that the deletion of the relative in a Creole need not be a Pidgin trait, as might appear from a Pidgin such as Fanakalo, as described above:

edi kazolele ngiza
this he-wishes I-will-come
"He wishes that I should come." (Bentley, 1887:646)

mbongele o nlele wasumbidi ezono
I-took the cloth you-bought yesterday
"I took the cloth which you bought yesterday."
(Bentley, 1895:993)

Locative relative clauses, which have a different structuring, are discussed in 4.5, under the heading Disjunctive Pronoun in a Preposition Phrase.

5.

PRONOMINALIZATION

5.1. Personal Pronouns

A comparison of personal pronouns in ST and Portuguese shows that subject pronouns are relatively more complex in ST than in Portuguese. Portuguese has one unchanging form for each person, such as eu for 1st person singular. In ST there is considerable variation in subject pronoun forms, and either of four morphemes occurs in the 1st person singular. ST also has an indefinite subject pronoun a, unmarked for person and number, which does not have a correlate in Portuguese.

On the other hand, object pronouns are relatively more complex in Portuguese than in ST. Object pronominalization is a highly segmented area in Portuguese, encompassing a large number of forms and morphophonemic rules. The following are some features of Portuguese object pronominalization not found in ST :

- a) Unlike Portuguese, ST does not have sets of stressed and unstressed object pronouns to distinguish respectively objects of prepositions from objects of verbs, such as occur in the following Portuguese examples:

Ptg	dá-me	"give me"	(unstressed)
"	para mim	"for me"	(stressed)
"	comigo	"with me"	(stressed)

- b) ST does not have the infixal object pronouns found in the Portuguese future and conditional tenses, as may be illustrated by the following examples:

Ptg	dá-lo-ei	"I will give it"
"	dá-lo-ia	"I would give it"

cf. ST nga da e
I-KA give it
"I will give it."

- c) The object pronouns of ST do not change position in the sentence, as occurs in Portuguese. They always follow the verb or the preposition of which they are objects, unlike Portuguese, where several transformations entail a change in the position of the object pronoun. If, for instance, the negative transformation is applied in Portuguese, the object pronoun changes from postverbal to preverbal position, as in:

Ptg Dei-o "I gave it"

" não o dei "I did not give it"

- d) There is no equivalent category in ST for the Portuguese sets of possessives (meu, teu, seu, etc.). In ST the object pronouns are used to indicate genitive relationships, as in:

ST e be mū
 "he sees me"
 " lu'mò mū
 brother me
 "my brother"

The subject and object pronouns of ST are tabulated below:

SUBJECT PRONOUNS

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>N-</u> ~ <u>ĩ-</u> = $\emptyset$ = <u>a'mi</u>	<u>nò</u>
2nd person	<u>bo</u>	<u>ĩ'nāse</u> ~ <u>'nāse</u>
3rd person	<u>e</u> = <u>e'le</u> = $\emptyset$	<u>i'nē</u> ~ <u>nē</u> <u>i'ne</u>
Unmarked	<u>a</u>	

OBJECT PRONOUNS

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>mū</u> ~ <u>mi</u> ~ -m "ami" = a'mi	<u>nō</u>
2nd person	<u>bo</u>	<u>'nāse</u> ~ <u>nā'se</u>
3rd person		
1st object	-e	<u>i'nē</u> ~ <u>'inē</u> ~ <u>i'ne</u> ~ <u>ne</u>
2nd object	<u>e'le</u>	

5.1.1. 1st Person Singular Subject Pronouns

1) N- ~ i-

N- (homorganic nasal) is a cover symbol used here to designate a bound morpheme with members /m, n/ [m, n, ŋ], which are selected according to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of a following verb, as in:

'n-tlaba "I worked"
m-bi "I came"
'n-gōšta ['n-gōšta] "I liked"

The morphophonemic vowel i- is a bound morpheme which may replace any of the members of N-, as in:

i-'sa "I am"
i-'tava "I was"
i-'kontla "I found"

When the nasal element N- ~ i- is preceded by the conjunction ku ("that", "which"), regressive assimilation operates. The vowel of the conjunction is nasalized and the nasal element is normally, though not necessarily, deleted. The following are examples:

ku i-fa 'de > kū fa 'de
 that I-tell to-him that I tell to-him
 "that I told him"

<u>ku 'm-bi</u> >	<u>kū bi</u>
that I-come	that-I come
"that I came"	
<u>ku 'm-pega</u> >	<u>kū 'm-pega</u>
that I-pick-up	that-I I-pick up
"that I picked up"	
<u>'nge ku i-sa 'kwe</u> >	<u>'nge kū sa 'kwe</u>
person that I-be with-	person that-I be with-him
him	
"the person I am with", i.e. "my lover"	
<u>pa'nɛla ku 'n-kɔpla</u> >	<u>pa'nɛla kū 'kɔpla</u>
pot that I-buy	pot that-I buy
"the pot I bought"	

The nasal prefix as a 1st p.s. subject pronoun occurs in Kishikongo (Bentley, 1895 : 954).

ii) $\emptyset$

$\emptyset$ is a free variant of N-, as illustrated in the following contexts:

'm-mese ~ 'mese
 "I want"

n-na ska po 'bila 'lanta fa ~ na ska po 'bila
'lanta fa

I-NEG₁ am can return get up NEG₂
 "I can't get up again."

iii) a'mi (free variant 'ami)

a'mi is a free morpheme, with several functions which are discussed below.

- A. a'mi is the 1st person singular subject pronoun which normally occurs before non-verbal forms. In this position, before non-verbal forms, it may be replaced by the bound nasal morphemes N- or i-, a substitution which, however, is not common. The use of a'mi parallels the use of e'le, the 3rd person singular subject pronoun which occurs before non-verbal forms.

Examples:

a'mi 'tē ~ i-tē
 "I also"

a'mi ba plē mu'šavli ~ m-ba plē mu'šavli
 I go beach Muchave I-go beach Muchave
 "I went to Muchava beach."

a'mi na te ka'tō fa
 I NEG₁ have card NEG₂
 "I have no card."

a'mi ku 'mwala mī
 I with wife me
 "my wife and I"

a'mi ku 's-omē < a'mi ku sa 'omē
 I who be-man I who be man
 "I who am a man"

'ami ku bo ka po fe
 I and you KA can do-it
 "You and I can do it."

On rare occasions, before non-verbal forms, 'ami is reduced to am, as in:

am tē
 "I also"

- B. a'mi may also occur before verbal forms, in free variation with N- ~ i- = ∅. This, however, is an archaic usage of a'mi.

Examples:

a'mi 'štava ~ i-'štava
 "I was"

ku a'mi fe ~ kū fe
 that I did that-I did
 "that I did"

- C. Infrequently, a'mi may precede the pronouns N- ~ i. This pronominal redundancy parallels the Bantu

construction in which an emphatic pronoun precedes a subject concord, as in Kishikongo mono a-kwiza "as for me, I am coming" (Bentley, 1887 : 577). As in Bantu, ST a'mi has an emphatic significance in this context, shown in the examples:

a'mi nga 'bi
me I-KA coming
"As for me, I am coming."

(a'mi) m-ba 'fela o'te
(me) I-go market yesterday
"I went to the market yesterday."

- D. a'mi is the 1st person singular subject pronoun form occurring in isolation:

a'mi ?
"me ?"

5.1.2. 2nd Person Singular Subject Pronoun

bo
bo is used as a familiar and semi-formal form of address.

Examples:

bo tem'be
"you also"
'aji bo ka ta 'n-e ?
where you KA stay in-it ?
"Where do you live?"

'bo na ka po 'bi fa
you NEG₁ KA can come NEG₂
"You cannot come."

bo ka la'ba 'platu
you KA wash dishes
"You wash the dishes"

Si bo pe n-a'i, na ke'se di be 'kwe fa
If you put-it here, NEG₁ forget to go with-it NEG₂
"If you put it here, don't forget to take it."

5.1.3. 3rd Person Singular Subject Pronouns

a) e = e'le = $\emptyset$

e occurs before verbs, and e'le occurs before other parts of speech. The following are examples:

e fla

"he said" or "he spoke"

e na ska so'be 'maši fa

it NEG₁ is raining more NEG₂

"It is not raining any more."

e'le me sa plu'me

he same be first

"He himself is the first."

b) e may be used impersonally, with a meaning like "it" in the English sentence "it is going to rain" :

e sa 'aši me

it be thus indeed

"It is so indeed" ; "That is how it is."

m-pesa kwe ka so'be (kwe < ku e)

I-think that-it KA rain

"I think it will rain."

e ka so'be

it KA rain

"It will rain."

c) $\emptyset$

The pronoun may optionally be deleted when the subject is repeated in time sequence in a coordinate clause, as in:

do'tolo ploi'bi kwe na ka 'bila ku'me #kō'tinwa

ka ku'me ku'me

doctor forbid that-he NEG KA return eat, continue

KA eat food

"The doctor forbade him to eat, and he continued to eat."

e ʃi ni 'pɔɔ ku pa'nela se #ka ba 'ʒ-awa
 he go-out in door with pot DEM, KA go scoop-water
 "He went out of the door with this pot and went to
 fetch water."

5.1.4. 1st Person Plural Subject Pronoun

nō

nō, a free morpheme, is used in all contexts as the
 1st person plural subject pronoun.

Examples:

nō be

"we went"

nō na 'bele fa

we NEG₁ see-him NEG₂

"We didn't see him."

nō so ka be

we EMPH KA go

"It is we who are going."

5.1.5. 2nd Person Plural Subject Pronoun

i'nāse ~ 'nāse

i'nāse is an archaic form, 'nāse being the more commonly
 used form, as in:

'nāse ku'mɛ za ?

you (pl.) eat already?

"Have you (pl.) eaten yet?"

'nāse pe 'zɔlo ni 'kaša ?

you (pl.) put hooks in box?

"Did you put the hooks in the box?"

5.1.6. 3rd Person Plural Subject Pronoun

i'nē ~ nē ~ i'ne

These morphemes are in free variation.

Examples:

i'nē na kō'se 'piši 'qodo fa

they NEG₁ know fish fat NEG₂

"They don't know what good fish is."

nē 'siga 'fisú ('fisú < Ptg officio)
 they arrive party
 "They arrived at the party."

i'ne bi 'fisú sɔ
 they come party only
 "They came only for the party."

ST does not indicate a singular/plural distinction with most nouns and their qualifiers. However, the 3rd person plural subject pronoun placed before the noun may be used as a pluralizer, as in:

i'nē 'nge ~ i'nē ni'nge
 they person
 "they", "the people"

nē 'mwala fa de
 they woman say to-him
 "The women told him."

nē fa'milja nō
 they family us
 "our family"

5.1.7. Personal Pronoun Unmarked for Person or Number

a
 Portuguese has no unmarked personal pronoun as in ST. The closest Portuguese equivalent to this construction is the use of an indefinite reflexive pronoun, as in:

diz-se "it is said"

In ST, the personal pronoun unmarked for person and number (UNM), a, occurs only as subject, and only before verbs. The meaning of ST a corresponds approximately to the underlined subject in such utterances as "One can do that", "Some people say that", "It is thought that he was here."

Examples:

a ka po 'fɛ kwa sɛ
 UNM KA can do thing DEM
 "One can do that" or "That can be done."

a 'bila klo'sō de

UNM ch nge heart of-him

"Let heart be changed."

a ska le

UNM is reading

"Someone is reading."

a ška 'luta

UNM are fighting

"Some people are fighting."

a mu'le 'fika 'ia kla'sō ku ži'bō de

UNM die leaving a trousers and jacket for-him

"Someone died, leaving him a suit", i.e.

"He inherited a suit."

a 'bele ni 'poto

UNM see-him at door

"He was seen at the door."

a ka 'fe tla'ba

UNM KA make-him work

"He is made to work."

a ku'me za ?

UNM eat already ?

"Has everybody eaten?", "Is the eating finished ?"

The UNM pronoun a is of Kwa origin, and occurs in Bini. Melzian (1937) gives the following gloss for Bini:

a - an indefinite personal pronoun : "one" ;
it can often be translated by the passive: abi-ge
he was born.

5.1.8. 1st Person Singular Object Pronouns

- i) mū ~ mū ~ -m
mū ~ mu ~ -m occur in free variation before verbal forms. -m normally has compensatory length, being rendered as -m̄.

Examples:

'anka mo'de nu
 crab bite me
 "The crab bit me."

gwa'da mu
 wait me
 "Wait for me."

e na ka ša mu 'bega fa
 it NEG₁ KA fill me stomach NEG₂
 "It does not fill my stomach."
 (That was not enough for me.)

'gatu fu'ži mu
 cat run-away me
 "The cat ran away from me."

bi kwe da-m.
 come with-it give-me
 "Bring it to me."

e na vo'lo-m. fa
 he NEG₁ get-angry-me NEG₂
 "He does not get angry with me."

e bi 'da-m ži'bō
 he come give-me jacket
 "He came to give me the jacket."

ii) 'ami ~ a'mi

'ami ~ a'mi occur after parts of speech other than
 verbs, as in:

e bi dišpi'ži 'd-ami
 he come say-goodbye to-me
 "He came to say goodbye to me."

bi kwa'mi fa
 come with-me EMPH
 "Come with me."

e 'mese 'fɛ kwa sɛ 'punda (a)'mi
 he want do thing DEM on-behalf-of me
 "He wants to do this on my behalf."

i'nɛ fɛ kwa sɛ pla'mi (< pla a'mi)
 they do thing DEM for-me
 "They did this for me."

e na 'kele 'n-ami fa
 he NEG₁ believe in-me NEG₂
 "He does not believe me."

5.1.9. 2nd Person Singular Object Pronoun

bo
bo occurs as the 2nd person singular object pronoun
 in all contexts, as in:

pla 'bo
 for you
e 'galo bo
 he look-for you
 "He looked for you."

5.1.10. 3rd Person Singular Object Pronouns

i) e
Coalescence: As discussed under the phonology, the
 object pronoun e coalesces with the terminal vowel
 of the preceding verb, as in:

*e ka'ba e
e ka'be
 he finish-it
 "He finished it."

Uses: e occurs after verbal forms, as in:

*do'tolo da e zã'sõ
 > do'tolo dɛ zã'sõ
 doctor give-him injection
 "The doctor gave him injections."

*i'nē fē e punda ami'zaji
 i'nā fē pundami'zaji
 they do-it because~friendship
 "They did it out of friendship."

e occurs also after ku, as in:

mi'ja ku su bi kwe (< ku e)
 medicine that: you come with-it
 "the medicine you brought"

ii) e'le

e'le does not occur in a post-verbal context, except after the verb be "to see", as in:

a'le 'bele mū'adu (< be e'le)
 king see-him standing
 "The king saw him standing."

This specific occurrence is accounted for as an instance of the avoidance of homonymy. *be e would coalesce as *be, but be already exists with the meaning of "to go".

Since e occurs post-verbally, e'le occurs after parts of speech other than verbs (except ku), including the context after all object pronouns. The following are examples:

* e da e e'le
e dē e'le
 he give-him it
 "He gave it to him."

* e fa da mu e'le
e 'a da 'mwele
 he said to me-it
 "He said it to me."

e fa da 'nāse e'le ?
 he say to you (pl.) it?
 "Did he say it to you?"

pla e'le ~ 'plele

"for him"

da zō e'le

give John it

"Give it to John."

5.1.11. 1st Person Plural Object Pronoun

nō

nō occurs in all contexts as the 1st person plural object pronoun, as in:

pla nō

"for us"

a na kuvi'da nō fa

UNM NEG₁ invite us NEG₂

"We were not invited."

'kuma 'desu va'le nō

"as God helped us."

5.1.12. 2nd Person Plural Object Pronoun

'nāse ~ nā'se

'nāse occurs more frequently than nā'se.

Examples:

m-bi fla ku nā'se

I-come talk with you (pl.)

"I came to talk to you."

kwa sa sa pla 'nāse

thing this be for you (pl.)

"This is for you."

n-galo 'nāse

I-look for you (pl.)

"I looked for you."

5.1.13. 3rd Person Plural Object Pronoun

i'nē ~ 'irē ~ i'ne ~ nē

The following are examples of the use of the above free variants:

nga'na sa pla i'ne ~ nga'na sa pli'ne

chicken be for them

"The chicken is for them."

e 'qolbi'ne

e qolwi'ne

he seek-them

"He looked for them."

e man'dine fε kwa sε (< 'manda 'ine)

he order-them do thing DEM

"He ordered them to do this."

ne ũa nge řese'be 'ne fa

not-even one person NEG₁ receive them NEG₂

"Nobody received them."

5.2. Social Idiom

Because of the close relationship between the deictic process, on the one hand, and social idiom generally on the other, a discussion of social idiom, including greetings, is included here.

Samarin (1971 : 122) writes in connection with Pidgins that "when a person is speaking a Pidgin he is limited to the use of a code with but one level or style or key or register." He refers to Sango as an example of a pidgin that has virtually no ways of indicating deference to an elder, apart from the use of a plural pronoun. São Tomense, on the other hand, has many markers of deference, both segmental and suprasegmental.

bo is the 2nd person singular pronoun used in familiar address. It is derived from the archaic Portuguese 2nd person plural pronoun vós, and corresponds approximately to the Portuguese familiar tu and semi-formal você. Corresponding to bo at a formal level are the nouns sū (masculine) and sā (feminine), which have a broad equivalence to the Portuguese formal ways of address "o senhor" and "a senhora", from which they appear to be derived.

The formal/informal (bo; sū, sā) and masculine/feminine (sū, sā) distinction is not typically maintained pronominally

in the plural; the plural of the three forms (bo, sū, sā) is normally i'nāse ~ 'nāse (you - pl.). However, "gentlemen" may be rendered as nē sū, "ladies" as nē sā, and "ladies and gentlemen" as nē 'sū ku nē 'sā, nē (~ i'nē) being the 3rd person plural pronoun (ku "with") :

nē sū tu'daši a'bjaj 'qlentu
they gentlemen all come-here inside
"Will you gentlemen all come in?"

nē sū ku nē sā ku'me za ?
they gentlemen with they ladies eat already?
"Have you (or have the) ladies and gentlemen eaten yet?"

As either nē or sū/sā may be deleted, the following plural alternatives are possible:

'ami ku $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{'nāse} \\ \text{nē} \\ \text{sū} \\ \text{sā} \end{array} \right\}$ ka 'gwada na'i
I with you (pl.) KA wait here
"I will wait here with you (pl.)"

sū and sā may precede a first name, a surname, or a title, either as a form of address or as a form for reference to a third person, as in:

sū 'z ʒi
"Mr George"

sū do'tolo

Mr doctor

"addressing or speaking about a man with a degree"

sū a'le

Mr king

"the king; Your Majesty; His Majesty"

sā ze'be

"Mrs Elizabeth"

A woman refers to her husband as:

ma' fidu mū

husband me

"my husband"

'ome mū ka'zadu

man me married

"my married man (i.e. my husband)"

In former times, a woman referred to her husband as

sū 'malu mū

gentleman husband me

"the gentleman my husband"

'malu being the older form of ma' fidu, both from Ptg marido.
Likewise, where the husband now refers to his wife as

'mwala mū

wife me

"my wife"

he previously referred to her alternately as

sā 'mwala mū

lady wife me

"the lady my wife"

If a man is living with a woman to whom he is not married, he refers to her as

a'manti mū

mistress me

"my mistress"

a'miga mū

friend-FEM me

"my girl friend"

or alternately uses a construction with sā, together with nge (person), a word derived from Ptg ninguém:

sā-'nge mū

lady person me

"my lady"

sā nge, as distinguished from sā, may be applied to ladies not from the particular locality, as in the following example, where nge is inserted if the ladies are from outside the locality:

'tudu sā (nge) te 'piši 'oze
all ladies (people) have fish today
"All the ladies (from outside) have fish today."

nge may be used in other contexts to indicate the same lack of social proximity. In the following example, nge would be inserted if the girls are not the speaker's daughters:

'tudu 'mina (nge) te ūa 'guja
all girls (people) have one needle
"Each girl (not the speaker's daughters)
has a needle."

Turning now to greetings, "good morning" is familiarly

bō 'jaw
good day-TAG

a contracted form of the more respectful greeting, in which the respect tag -o (RESP) is used:

bō 'dia-o
good day-RESP
"good morning"

The more respectful "good morning" greeting is

'muntu bō 'dia-o
very good day-RESP
"a very good morning"

Likewise 'muntu adds greater respect to 'muntu boš 'tafi "good afternoon" and 'muntu boš 'noči-o "good evening; good night".

When greeting a married woman, the title 'dona "lady" is used:

bō 'dia, 'dona
good day, lady
"good morning, lady"

'dona does not have the modern Portuguese meaning of the title "Mrs", as in Ptg "D. Maria". ST 'dona has the meanings "married woman" (Old Portuguese "lady") and "grandmother" (a meaning the word does not have in Portuguese). sã 'dona occurs on its own, whereas in Portuguese "a Senhora Dona" only occurs when followed by a first name.

The reply to the above greetings is

'ašo-o
"so-and-so-TAG"

or, more respectfully, with length:

a'šo:-o

The following are alternative replies to the greeting, and have the same meaning ("so-and-so") :

ge-ge-'ge
'levɛ-'levɛ
(lit. light-light)

Amongst the Angolares young people may not greet older people with the equivalent of "good morning", "good afternoon", or "good evening", even if the person addressed is comparatively young. To do so is disrespectful and people become angry. It is necessary to ask for the person's blessing respectfully and with hands together in a praying gesture. This custom has almost died out in ST. The greeting of respect was

abē'sau
blessing

The answer of the elderly or respected person was

'desu 'kia bo
"God created you."

This greeting could only be used for elderly or very respected people. A younger person addressed in this manner would take offence at being thus considered old.

People who are middle-aged now had in their childhood to kiss their father's hand in addition to asking for his blessing.

"How are you?" is

ki 'nɔva sa'oʃi-e ?
 what news health-TAG ?
 "How are you?"

a form which had a variant no longer used:

we 'mu ku be 'bo
 eyes me that see you
 "My eyes saw you."

Compare ST ki 'nɔva sa'oʃi-e ? with the equivalent in Bini, dey-eqbe ɪaɛn "How is your health?" (lit. Is your body sound?) (Dunn, 1968 : 61).

When asked about one's health, one replies

ɪ-sa bwa
 I-be well
 "I am well"

In former times, the only reply to the enquiry about one's health was

ɪ-sa-ʃi ni mō 'desu-e
 I-be-so-and-so in hand God-TAG
 "I am fairly well, and in God's hands."

The "good morning", "good afternoon", and "good evening" greetings are normally followed by a respect tag -o (RESP), as discussed in 4.2.1. Thus the respectful counterparts of the familiar bō 'jaw "good morning" are ('mūtu) bō 'dīa-o, the tag -o being uttered in a plaintive tone.

In negation, NEG₂, fa . the second morpheme of the double negative, is replaced by fo (< fa + respect tag -o) as a more respectful variant. fo is uttered in the plaintive tone of the respect tag. Thus

na 'bele fa
 NEG₁ see-him NEG₂
 "I did not see him."

is replaced when addressing a respected person by

na 'bele fo (< fa -o)
 NEG₁ see-him NEG₂-RESP
 "I did not see him."

As discussed under 4.2.4, a morpheme fa may also be placed non-negatively at the end of an utterance to indicate respect.

A further respect tag is -āā, added to the verb fla "to speak; to say". This tag, which is also uttered in a plaintive tone, changes the meaning of the verb from "to say categorically" to one of "to offer as a suggestion or as a piece of advice":

e fla
"he said"

e flāā
"he said, he advised"

An informal request is made by an ordinary imperative construction:

'bili 'poto
open door
"Open the door."

More formally, the hearer is asked the favour of doing the action. In still more formal style, the request is preceded by sū mū "Sir":

(sū mū), fε-m fa'volo 'bili 'poto
(sir me) do-me favour open door
"(Sir), will you do me the favour of opening the door?"

Alternatively, the respectful morpheme fa (RESP) (homonymous with NEG₂) is placed at the end of the request to indicate a respectful request rather than an order:

ba 'nō
go we
"Let us go"

ba 'nō fa
go we RESP
"Please let us go", "Shall we go?"

5.3. Volitional Use of Di-Phrases with Pronouns

Di-phrases with pronouns may be used to indicate that an action is performed "of one's own accord, of one's own

volition". This use is illustrated by the following examples:

n-sa mu 'meza ta'sondu ka ku'me mu za
I-be me table sitting KA eat me already
"I am sitting at the table (of my own volition),
already eating (of my own volition)."

e ta'sō d-e
he sit of-him
"He sat down of his own accord."

e 'fika d-e ku nē 'masu ka 'floga d-e
he stay of-him with they boys KA play of-him
"He stayed (of his own accord), playing with the boys
(of his own accord)."

e kon'tinwa ka 'kanta d-e
he continued sirging of-him
"He continued singing of his own volition
(i.e. despite having been told not to)."

In some contexts, this construction has a meaning which is not entirely equatable with volition, as in:

nē 'mwala 'kunda e ska 'blinka d-e
they women think he is joking of-him
"The women thought he was joking (of his own account
- equatable with "having a private joke")."

nō ska be nō
we are going we
"It is we who are going."

sosō kwa 'kaba d-e
then thing end of-it
"Then the thing is over (closing words
in a folktale)."

Less commonly, a noun may be found in the slot occupied here by a pronoun, as in:

sū sō ka šje sū (sū = the gentleman, used as a form of
address to mean "you")

you only KA leave you
"It is you who will leave."

"To go away" is rendered in this way, as in :

n-ga 'be-m(u)

I-KA go me

"I am going away."

nō ka 'be nō

we KA go we

"We are going away."

e ka be d-e

he KA go of-him

"He is going away."

'manda zō be 'd-e

order John go of-him

"Send John away."

5.4. Disjunctive Pronoun in a Preposition Phrase

The 3rd person singular occurs in preposition phrases in ST in a way in which it does not occur in Portuguese. This type of preposition phrase occurs disjunctively in the sense that the pronoun refers back to an object, usually the object at the beginning of the sentence. The object may be a noun phrase or the interrogative pronoun 'nāji ~ 'āji "where".¹

The most frequently occurring constructions of this type involve the preposition ni + pronoun e (+ n-e) (in or on it/him/her. this context, also "in or on them"). The following examples illustrate the disjunctive occurrence of n-e:

'ke mū ku nga 'vive n-e

home me that I-KA live in-it

"the house I live in"

ke kū sa 'n-e

house that-I be in-it

"the house I am in"

¹ In 'nāji, the initial nasal is a locative morpheme, which is redundant in this context. ke 'šitu "what place" occurs as a variant of 'āji ~ 'nāji.

'ome ku lō sa ka fla n-e
 man that John be KA talking about-him
 "the man that John is talking about"

'nā'i e pe ka'fe 'n-e-e ?
 where he put coffee in-it-TAG ?
 "Where did he put the coffee?"

'ā'i 'sabi sa n-e ?
 where key be in-it ?
 "Where is the key?"

'ā'i bo ka'pia 'nani se 'n-e-e ?
 where you buy ring DEM in-it-TAG ?
 "Where did you buy that ring?"

ke 'šitu e pe mi 'n-e-e ?
 what place he put maize in-it-TAG ?
 "Where did he put the maize?"

ku "with" is the preposition which occurs in the following sentence, where the 3rd person singular pronoun e refers to a plural indirect object:

kwa ku a ka 'fala ka'sō de kwe
 things that UNM KA line coffin of-him with-it
 "the things they lined his coffin with"

5.5. Reflexivization

There is no reflexivization in ST, and thus there are no reflexive pronouns such as occur in Portuguese. Thus compare:

nga ba 'kenta ku'me
 I-KA go warm food
 "I am going to warm the food."

with

nga ba 'kenta
 I-KA go warm
 "I am going to warm myself (e.g.
 by the sun, by the fire)."

In the following sentences, ambiguity results from the loss of reflexivization:

e ple'de

he lose

"he lost" or "he lost himself"

e bi'si

she dress

"She dressed (someone)" or

"She dressed herself."

'n-kasa

I tire

"I tired (someone)" or "I became tired"

6.

NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

6.1. Surface Structure in the Noun Phrase - Salient Features of the Ordering of the Noun Phrase

The ordering of the elements of the noun phrase in ST differs from that of Portuguese, and is parallel to that of West African languages, both Bantu and Kwa. The following instances serve to exemplify some of the great differences which exist between the surface structure of the noun phrase of ST and Portuguese :

6.1.1. Adjectives

Some adjectives may precede the noun in Portuguese, as in *um bom livro* "a good book", but normally follow the noun, as in *uma casa bonita* "a pretty house". In ST the adjective follows the noun obligatorily, as in:

ke 'qlavi

house pretty

"a pretty house"

Compare

Kongo (Kishikongo)

nzo ambote

house good

"a good house" (Bentley, 1887 : 556)

Bini

'wu nomose

dress pretty

"a pretty dress" (Dunn, 1968 : 98)

6.1.2. The Demonstrative

Demonstratives always precede the noun in Portuguese, as in *esta casa* "this house", *essa casa*, *aquela casa* "that house". In ST there is the reverse order, the demonstrative adjective following the noun. Again Kwa and Bantu provide the model:

'mwala se
woman DEM
"this woman"

Compare

Kongo (Kishikongo)

nkombo ejo
goat that
"that goat" (Bentley, 1887 : 586)

Bini

oxuo na
woman this
"this woman" (Dunn, 1968 : 220)

6.1.3. Possessives

Possessives precede the noun in Portuguese, as in *o meu livro* "my book". In ST the object pronoun forms are used for the possessive, and the possessive always comes after the noun:

'livlu mu
book me
"my book"

In Kishikongo, although it is possible, for emphasis, for the possessive to precede the noun it modifies, the normal position of the possessive is after the noun, as in:

mbele ame
knife me
"my knife" (Bentley, 1887 : 583)

In Bini, as in Bantu, the possessive also follows the noun:

ekita mwɛn
dog my
"my dog" (Dunn, 1968 : 219)

7.

THE VERB PHRASE

7.1. Verb Phrase Structure7.1.1. Aspects of the Conjugation

Negreiros (1895 : 324-334) did pioneer work when he published tables illustrating the conjugation of the ST verb. More recently, the conjugation has been discussed by Valkhoff (1966) and Morais-Barbosa (1966). Morais-Barbosa states that there are no tenses in the Creole of São Tomé, only aspects. Valkhoff, stating that the verbal system of the Creole languages is based on aspects not on tenses, sees a Creole universal in the verbal conjugation.

A possible analysis may take mood, tense, and modality into account, in addition to aspect. The following instances of tense, aspect and mood may be considered for the regular verb :

a) The Aorist

NP + KA + MV

The action indicated by the aorist construction may be present habitual aspect, future tense, or conditional mood. The time, tense-aspect, or mood reference is not indicated by the morphemes themselves, but by context, as in :

Present Habitual:

zõ ka 'landa 'tudu ja
John KA swim every day
"John swims every day."

Future:

ama'pa e ka 'koplz 'tudu kwa
tomorrow he KA buy every thing
"He will buy everything tomorrow."

Conditional:

nga b. gi nga te 'tempu
I-KA go if I-KA have time
"I would go if I had time."

b) The Perfect

NP + MV

The perfect tense, which refers to action at a point in the past, is, after the imperative, the simplest form of the conjugation, in that the noun phrase is followed by the main verb, with no particles in between:

e 'golo 'gatu
he look-for cat
"He looked for the cat."

c) The Present Progressive

NP + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ska} \\ \text{ška} \\ \text{sa ka} \end{array} \right\} + \text{MV}$

The particles ska ~ ška are contracted forms of sa ka. sa is the verb "to be" and ka is the serial verb KA preceding the main verb in the aorist. sa places the action in the present, and ka conveys the progressive sense.

The present progressive tense-aspect refers to action which is in progress at the present moment, as in :

e $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ska} \\ \text{ška} \\ \text{sa ka} \end{array} \right\}$ tlo'se a'lami
he be KA bend wire
"He is bending the wire."

zō $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sa ka} \\ \text{ska} \\ \text{ška} \end{array} \right\}$ 'landa
John be KA swim
"John is swimming."

d) The Past Progressive

NP + '(š)tava + KA + MV

'(š)tava (+ Ptg estava "was") places the action in the past, and ka conveys the continuous or progressive meaning.

The past progressive tense-aspect refers to two types of action:

- i) an action which was in progress at a moment in past time, as in:

e 'tava ka ngungu'nu ku zõ
he was KA grumble with John
"He was grumbling at John."

ĩ'tava ka dumi'ni 'ola kwe bi
I-was KA sleep time that-he come
"I was sleeping wher. he came."

- ii) an action which used to take place in the past, as in:

nu 'tempu, 'n-tava ka ba 'fela
in time, I-was KA go market
"Previously, I used to go to the market."

nõ 'tava ka 'mo'fa 'petu dõ'mali
we were KA live near to-sea
"We used to live near the sea."

e '(š)tava ka ta'sõ na'i
he was KA sit there
"He used to sit there."

e) The Pluperfect

NP + '(š)tava + MV

The pluperfect is a tense which indicates that an action took place previous to another action in past time :

e 'tava ba ši'nema
he was go cinema
"He had gone to the cinema."

sũ ku '(š)tava fla 'kuma sã ka ba 'plĩspi
gentleman who was say how gentleman KA go
Príncipe
"the gentleman who had said he was going to
Príncipe "

f) The Imperative

MV

The imperative is used in formal as well as informal commands and requests. There is no singular/plural

distinction:

ka'ba ku kwa se l
finish with thing DEM
"Put an end to that!"

7.1.1.1. ST 'kia "to be about to do, to nearly do."

The only examples the author possesses of the use of this verbal particle have reference to past time. The following examples illustrate its use:

e 'kia ku'me, 'sɔla kwe kje 'mɔɔi
he be-about-to eat, time that-he fell dead
"He was about to eat, when he fell dead."

'sɔla e 'kia ta'sō ni ʒa'dli,
'n-sɔla se mē 'suha kje
when he be-about-to sit in garden, in-time that
very rain fall
"It started raining the moment he was about to sit in the garden."

'betu 'kia 'sɔla
Albert be-about-to cry
"Albert was about to cry."

ma 'pɛdu 'kia klo'ga ni 'kaʃka kiči'ba se
Maria Pedro nearly slip on peel banana DEM
"Maria Pedro nearly slipped on that banana peel."

'n-kia kje 'ɔze
I nearly fall today
"I nearly fell today."

There is a close parallel between the form and meaning of ST 'kia and Bini xiā. Dunn's examples of the use of xiā (1968 : 124) are in the present, but there is a close resemblance to the examples given above for ST. In the following Bini sentences from Dunn, the first word is the subject pronoun:

i xiā lɛ
"I am about to run away."

mā xiā ʒiɛ
"We are about to sleep."

o xil ti-ebe (ti-ebe "to study, to read"
"He is about to study."

7.1.1.2. se'la "particle of obligation."

se'la is a particle of "obligation" ("must") in ST. It has a variant se, which is less commonly used. Principense has the form sja [ʃja] for this particle, and Angolar has se'la, with a variant se'fa.

The origin of se'la does not seem to be in the Kwa languages. In Bini, the aspect of necessity has a different form and meaning from that of ST. The particle characterizing this aspect is the modal ya. Contrarily to ST, this particle is juxtaposed to the verb, and the subject precedes the verb, as in the following example, where i is the subject pronoun:

i ya kpa
I must leave
"I will leave."

The resemblance of the ST construction, in form and meaning, is closer to that of Kishikongo.¹ In ST, as mentioned above, se'la has a variant se. In Kishikongo, obligation is usually rendered using the particles se or sa, as in:

se nkwenda kwame
must go myself
"I must go now."
sa ngienda
soon I-will-go
"I must go."

Compare the above examples from Bentley (1887) with the following from ST:

se'la su 'kasa pi'kina
must you rest little
"You should rest a little."
se'la m-ba pja nē 'migu mū
must I-go see them friend me
"I must go and see some friends."

¹ Espírito Santo (1956) derives se'la from Ptg senão /sɐ'nɐ̃u/ "otherwise".

sɛ'la bo da mū kwa sɛ

must you give me thing DEM

"You must give me this."

sɛ'la pa nō pja kwa ku nō ka po 'fɛ

must for we see thing that we KA can do

"We must see what we can do."

sɛ'la pa 'suba so'be 'maši, ši'nā 'tudu 'planta ka

'mole lo'lo

must for rain to-rain more, otherwise all plant KA

die completely

"There has to be more rain, otherwise all the plants

will die."

pa fla kwe, sɛ'la pa ba 'la

for talk with-him, must for go there

"To talk to him, one has to go there."

In some of the examples given above, sɛ'la is followed by the preposition pa "for". This preposition does not seem to be accounted for in terms of Kishikongo. However, the preposition may be deleted, at least in some contexts, as in:

pa 'dolo 'dēči sɛ 'pasa mū, sɛ'la (pa) m-ba do'tolo 'dēči

for ache tooth DEM pass me, must (for) I-go doctor tooth

"For this toothache to go, I must go to the dentist."

Further uses of sɛ'la occur in ST, with the meaning "only", "only if", "unless", "except", as in:

sɛ'la pa'nɛla 'balu sɔ ka fɛ ku'mɛ sɛ bwa

only pot earthen to KA make food DEM good

"Only earthen pots cook this food well."

'sɛ'la bo da-m 'jɛlu nga po 'kɔpla 'piši da bo

must you give-me money I-KA can buy fish give you

"Only if you give me money can I buy fish for you."

sɛ'la pa 'tempu na 'bwa fa

unless for weather NEG₁ good NEG₂

"unless the weather is bad"

ni ũa 'nge na 'bi fa, se'la e'le sɔ

not one person NEG₁ come NEG₂, except he only
 "Nobody came except him"

na ka be d-ɔpe fa, se'la 'kaɾu

I-NEG₁ KA go by-car NEG₂, only car
 "I will not go on foot, only by car."

7.1.1.3. The Etymology of Aspectual ka

ka is an aspectual morpheme occurring widely in ST. It modifies verbs either on its own or in conjunction with other verbs, as exemplified in 4.1.2.

The cognates of ST ka in the Gulf of Guinea islands are ka in Angolar, ka in Principense, and xa in Annobonese. A verbal auxiliary ka occurs in several Creoles of the American continent, as discussed by Goodman (1964 : 83-86).

The form ka appears to originate in the Kwa languages. Bini has a form ya which is used, for instance, in the future and the conditional (as in ST), depending on context and tone:

ɔ ya re

"He will come" or "He would come."

In Twi, a Kwa language spoken further north, there is a particle ka meaning "to be usual" (Berry, 1960).

7.1.1.4. Aspectual 'bila

The ST verb 'bila "to turn"; to become; to do again, etc." derives from Ptg virar/vi'la/ "to turn". Cognates of ST 'bila occur in other Creoles, such as Cape Verdian; apart from the Portuguese meaning "to turn", the most widespread meaning of these cognates is that of "to become". In Brazilian Portuguese, too, "virar" occurs with the meaning of "to become". The Brazilian usage differs from the usage in the Creoles, in that in Brazil virar with a noun complement means "to become"; in the Creoles, virar followed by a noun complement retains the Portuguese meaning of "to turn", and only virar with an adjective complement means "to become". The following example from Brazilian Portuguese is from Viçti (1945):

Br Ptg < virar bicho > /vi'ʔaʔ 'biʃu/
 to-turn animal
 "to become angry, quarrelsome"

In São Tomense, 'bila may occur either as a main verb or as a verbal auxiliary. As a main verb, with a noun complement, 'bila has the Portuguese meaning of "to turn". As an inchoative with an adjective complement, 'bila has the meaning of "to become", as in:

'bana 'bila bo'bo
 banana become ripe
 "The banana ripened (became ripe)."
e 'bila ve
 "He became old (he aged)."

With a pronoun or personal noun, 'bila has the meaning "to make become", as in:

'losa 'bile 'liku ('bile < 'bila e)
 farm make-become-him rich
 "The farm made him (become) rich."

Angolar has the form bi'la, identical to that of São Tomense, and Principense has the form vja. In these Creoles, these forms are used with the meaning of "to become". A cognate of "virar" occurs also in the Portuguese Creole of Senegal, for which Chatelain (1963 : 69) recorded the form bida in the expression bida rikō "to become rich". In the Cape Verde islands the cognate of "virar" is < bra >, and is widely used with the meaning of "to become" (Lopes da Silva, 1957 : 386). The phenomenon also occurs in the English-based Jamaican Creole, which also has an African substratum. The following Jamaican Creole sentences, where ton "turn" means "to become", are from Bailey (1966 : 69) :

Samwel ton guɔ
 "Samuel has turned good."
Fani ton waiz
 "Fanny has become wise."

A personal communication from Hancock (4th May, 1970) indicates that the two meanings occur in Krio with the verb

ton, and he gives the following Krio examples: i don
ton big man "he's become a grown man", i don ton di tin rən
 "he's turned the thing around."

The same phenomenon occurs in the French-based Creole of Haiti, which has an African substratum. In Haitian Creole (Hall, 1969), tu're ~ to'ne means "to return; to become; to turn".

There are limitations in São Tomense as to the use of 'bila in the sense of "becoming." Thus, 'bila cannot be used for temporary brief states of mind and body. In such contexts, fi'ka (* Ptg *ficar*) (which also has the meaning of "becoming") renders the concept "to become":

e fi'ka blo'šidu
 he become annoyed
 "He became annoyed."

e fi'ka tlišti
 he become sad
 "He became sad."

e fi'ka ka'sadu
 he become tired
 "He became tired."

An explanation for the semantic extension whereby 'bila "to turn" comes to mean "to become" is found in Lanham (1953: 53 n.2), who was tracing the origin of the inchoative of Bantu, as Zulu ša in uku-ba šakulu "to begin to be getting big", which was initially a verb in the lexicon, and which was used to perform an inchoative function. Lanham writes:

... the usual significance attributed to [the copulative auxiliary verb ša] of "to become" is unlikely to be its original meaning, because "to become" by itself is almost meaningless. It acquires meaning when followed by a noun, adjective, etc., i.e. one must become "something". Thus "to become" is only really an almost colourless copulative auxiliary verb in English. A flood of light is cast on this subject when we learn that in some Teutonic languages such as Dutch and German "to become" derives from an Indo European root meaning "to turn" (Bloomfield - Language Chap. 24. 2). Not only does it support the statement

that it is true linking verbs which are co-opted for service in the copulative construction but points to the manner of creation of these "copulative auxiliary verbs" in our own language family."

A further instance of a verb in the lexicon being used to perform an inchoative function is found in Portuguese, where the reflexive verb "tornar-se", a cognate of "to turn", means "to become", as in *ele tornou-se amigo dela* "he became her friend". There is thus a universal trend to find the inchoative in a verb in the lexicon which has a meaning such as "to turn".

ST 'bila occurs also as an auxiliary. In Portuguese, "virar" occurs only as a main verb, never as an auxiliary. As an auxiliary followed by a main verb, ST 'bila means "to do again", as in:

e 'bila ba 'buka kwa
he again go fetch thing
"He went to fetch the thing again."

e 'bila kon'tle (< kontla e)
he again find-it
"He found it again."

nga 'bila ška fle (< fla e)
I-KA again am say-it
"I am saying it again."

e 'bila ba 'ke
he again go home
"He returned home."

e 'bila ba 'tleğa 'sukli
he again go hand-over sugar
"He returned the sugar."

nga 'bila bi
I-KA again come
"I will come back / return."

It was mentioned above that Ptg "tornar-se", a cognate of "to turn" means "to become". With reference to the use of 'bila in ST with the meaning of "to do again", a further

Portuguese cognate of "to turn", followed by a verb, is "tornar a" "to do again", as in *ele tornou a sair* "he went out again". Further, the Portuguese verb *voltar*, also meaning "to turn", acquires the meaning of "to do again" in *voltar a*, as in *ele voltou a ler* "he read again". This suggests that the universal trend in language for a verb meaning "to turn" to be brought into the conjugation in a grammatical function with the meaning "to become" may extend to the further meaning of "to do again".

In the following sentence, ST *'bila* occurs twice, once as an auxiliary, with the meaning of "to do again", and once as a linking verb, with the meaning of "to become":

zə'zə 'bila 'bila 'godo
Joseph again become fat
"Joseph became fat again."

As an auxiliary, *'bila* may have the further meaning of "as well", as in:

bo ka ško'va ji bo, i-tē ka ško'va ji mū, 'bila
ško'va 'mina nō
you KA brush of you, I-also KA brush of me,
as-well brush child us
"You brush yours, I will also brush mine, and we
brush our son as well."

kwa te či'loli bi'la te 'kina tu'daš
thing have play as-well have kina all
"The thing has a play and traditional dancing as well."

When *'bila* occurs as an auxiliary verb in a negative sentence, its meaning is of "not again" or "not any more" as in:

bo na 'bila me'se ku'me fa ?
you NEG₁ again want eat NEG₂ ?
"Don't you want to eat any more?"
'ami na ka 'bila də'se fa
I NEG₁ KA gain go-down NEG₂
"I am not going to town any more."

'tempu mjo'le a na ka 'bila fe kwa se fa
 time now UNM NEG₁ KA again do thing DEM NEG₂
 "Nowadays that is not done any more."

There is a strong parallel between the semantics of São Tomense 'bila and the semantics of Bini be. Like ST 'bila, Bini be may occur either as an auxiliary or as a main verb (Melzian, 1937). The semantics of be as a main verb is not discussed in Melzian, but Melzian explains that, as an auxiliary, be corresponds to the English "again", "also", "as well". In these points there is a similarity between the semantics of ST 'bila and Bini be.

7.1.1.5. sa ku "to be with = to have".

In ST, te (+ Ptg ter) is the form which usually renders "to have". Sometimes, however, "to have" is rendered by sa ku, literally "to-be with". This construction shows a parallel with the Bantu languages, which typically render "to have" as "to be with". The following are examples of this construction in ST:

i-sa kua sa'patu mu
 I-be with-one shoe me
 I have some shoes."

i-sa kua ben'qala-m pin'tadu di 'plata
 I-be with-one walking-stick-me painted of
 silver
 "I have a walking stick painted silver."

e sa kua sa'pe sa 've za
 he be with-one hat be old already
 "He has a hat which is old already."

n-sa ku telefo'nia se jo 'tempu
 I-be with wireless DEM much time
 "I have had this radio for a long time."

In Kishikongo, "to have" is rendered by kala je, literally "to be with", as in:

kala je mbele
 to-be with knife
 "to have a knife" (Bentley, 1887 : 691)

7.1.2. Alternation in Commonly Occurring Verbal Morphemes

The verbs fla "to say, to speak, to talk" and ba "to go" have syntactically conditioned allomorphs, fa and be respectively. The same phenomenon occurs in Angolar, which has 'fala = fa for "to say, to speak, to talk" and ba = be for "to go".

Portuguese provides no explanation for this distribution. The phenomenon is likely to have an explanation in the structure of African languages, although this has not been ascertained.

7.1.2.1. fla = fa "to say, to speak, to talk"

The verb fla has a syntactic variant fa, which occurs before the preposition da "to". This preposition is equal in form to the verb da "to give", as Valkhoff has pointed out (1966 : 254). The following are examples of the use of the two variants :

e ska fla
"He is talking."
nga fa da bo
I-KA say to you
"I say to you."

7.1.2.2. ba = be "to go"

ba occurs in the following contexts:

a) Before locatives:

e ba p'o'so
he go town
"He went to town."

b) Before verbs:

e ba 'buka 'sabi
he go fetch key
"He went to fetch the key."

be occurs elsewhere:

a) At the end of an utterance or juncture:

i'ne be

they go

"They went."

ni bo be o na be-o

whether you go or NEG₁ go-TAG

"Whether you go or not."

- b) In all other contexts, such as before ku "with",
za "already; presently" :

i'ne be ku nga'ma

they go with chicken

"They took the chicken."

f-ska 'be za

I-am go presently

"I am going presently."

na ka 'be fa

I-NEG₁ KA go NEG₂

"I would not go."

'zwana 'be 'ante 'awa

Joan go as-far-as river

"Joan went as far as the river."

7.1.3. Hortative Form of ba "to go"

The hortative of ba "to go" incorporates the person ending -mos "us" of Portuguese vamos "let us go". 'bamu is the only instance in which a Portuguese person ending is incorporated into a ST verb form:

'bamu fe 'moli-'moli (fe < fe e)

let-us do-it slowly

"Let us do it slowly."

7.1.4. Voice

There is no passive in ST. Portuguese, as well as the Bantu languages, such as Kishikongo, have a passive. The model for the absence of the passive in ST is that of the Kwa languages, where, according to Westermann and Bryan (1952 : 93), there is no passive. Bini specifically has no passive (Thomas, 1910 : 139). Ijo, however, is a Kwa language which has a passive (Williamson, 1969).

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEXICON

1. ETYMOLOGY : THE AFRICAN COMPONENT

The items of African origin constitute a small percentage of the total ST lexicon, which is in the main of Portuguese origin. The Portuguese-derived entries in the ST lexicon are an open-ended inventory, and the items of African origin are a closed inventory with only a few hundred items. Nonetheless, an analysis of the African items is elucidating.

The African component of the ST lexicon shows a predominance of words from the Bantu and Kwa language groups. According to the data consulted, Kongo appears to be the most important Bantu source language, and Bini the primary source of lexical items from the Kwa language group. Since the African items frequently refer to basic concepts, the African component of the lexicon must to a large extent date back to the formative stages of ST. That Kongo and Bini should appear to have been the main African languages to have influenced the creation of ST is corroborated by the historical and theoretical evidence discussed in Chapter 2. The first slaves taken to São Tomé came from the kingdom of the Congo and from the Bight of Benin, the Portuguese having established a close relationship with the kingdom of Benin and more particularly with the kingdom of the Congo at the end of the 15th century. Few slaves seem to have come from the Kongo language area in the later centuries; whether or not they did, the fact that the Kongo component remained in the language as perhaps the main source of African borrowings gives support to the contention that the language was established in a short period in the early stages of settlement of the island.

In the analysis of a selection of lexical items of African origin that follows, the words of Bantu origin will be treated first, followed by a study of words of Kwa origin, which seem to be proportionately less than the words of Bantu origin, although the impression conveyed by the etyma given may be a reflection of the data for African languages which were available and consulted. The ST words do not always have a cognate in the Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea;

however, where a cognate in the Gulf of Guinea area is known, it is mentioned, as cognates in other languages are frequently helpful in establishing the etymology of a given item.

1.1. Words of Bantu Origin

A number of São Tomense words of Bantu origin are set out below with African cognates. Where a word occurs in a division or dialect of Kongo, the name of the division or dialect is given in brackets. Available cognates in Angolar, Principense, and Annobonese are also presented.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. asthma | Kongo (Kikongo) <u>kasu</u> "emaciation;
haematuria" |
| ST <u>'kāsū</u> | |
| Principense <u>'kāsū</u> | |
| 2. banana | Kongo <u>tiba</u> [čiba] "banana" |
| (species known as | (Kishikongo) <u>tiba</u> [čiba] "banana", |
| silver banana) | (Kakongo) <u>ki-tebe</u> "banana", |
| ST <u>kiči'ba</u> | (Vili) <u>ki-teba</u> "banana" |
| Angolar <u>'čiba</u> | |
| 3. baobab | Kongo <u>n-kondo</u> pl. <u>mi-kondo</u> , (Bembe) |
| ST <u>mikon'do</u> | <u>mu-kondo</u> pl. <u>mi-kondo</u> |
| 4. bat | Kongo <u>n-genbo</u> , (Kishikongo) <u>n-gembo</u> |
| <u>ngem'bu</u> | ~ <u>n-gembu</u> |
| Angolar <u>nge'bu</u> | |
| 5. bee | Bula <u>m-fofom</u> , Yaunde <u>m-fofon</u> , |
| ST <u>vū'vu</u> | Fang <u>m-vofom</u> ~ <u>vufon</u> |
| Angolar <u>vū'vu</u> ~ <u>vū'vū</u> | |
| 6. blow with the fist | Kongo <u>n-kome</u> ~ <u>n-komi</u> |
| ST <u>'keni</u> | |
| 7. ideophone of brightness,
of twinkling | Kongo <u>ngedi-ngedi</u> |
| ST <u>nge'ne-nge'ne</u> | |
| 8. bug | Kongo <u>ki-nsekwa</u> |
| ST <u>'senkwa</u> | |
| Angolar <u>'sekwa</u> | |

9. bundle, parcel
ST 'funda Kongo funda, (Kishikongo)
funda ~ e-funda
10. bush species
ST 'mwindu Kongo mw-indu ~ ki-mw-indu
"bush species"
11. bush species
ST va'vū Kongo iu-mvumvu, (Kishikongo)
mu-mvumvu
12. cockroach (large species)
ST 'klokoto Kongo (Madzia) kokoto "species
of beetle; species of grass-
hopper", (Kikongo)
kokoto "beetle that buries dirt"
- Principense kɔkɔ'tɔ
13. completely
ST lo'lo Kongo (Kishikongo) ulolo
"much, adv."
14. to crawl
ST ko'ko Kongo (Kishikongo) ku-dikoka
Annobonese xo'xo
15. dagger with wire point
ST 'sušū Kongo (Kishikongo) zusu
"a spike of palm fruit"
Principense 'šūšū
16. dove species
ST ku'ku'kuku Kongo (Kishikongo) kukulu "dove"
m-bulukoko "a plantain eater",
Nki (Cameroons) e-qurukuku
"pidgeon"
- Principense kuku'fuku
17. dove species
ST mun'ke Kongo mu-nkele ebulu "bird species"
18. dust (r.)
ST 'tumbu Kimbundu u-tumbu "bran"
19. elephant
ST 'zamba Kongo n-zamba, Kimbundu n-zamba,
Mbangala n-zamba
Angolar 'zamba ['ʒamba]
20. dried fish
ST mu'sambi Kongo (Yombe) mu-nsambu
21. maize flour
ST 'fuba Kongo (Kishikongo) m-fuba,
Kimbundu fuba

22. ghost
ST 'zumbi - kazumbi¹
Angolar 'umbi "soul"
Kongo zumbi "a charm which brings good luck",
Kimbundu n-zumbi
23. groundnut
ST ngum'ba
Angolar 'ngupa
Kongo n-gumba, Ngala n-gumba,
Kimbundu n-gumba, Umbundu olo-ngupa
24. to grumble
ST ngu'nu-ngu'nu
Kimbundu -ngunguta, ki-ngunu-ngunu
"kind of bumble-bee"
25. hatchet
ST ki'senge
- kli'senge
Kongo n-sengele "a knife or hoe without a handle",
(Kishikongo) also sengele "axe"
26. hook (made of a palm branch, with a hook at the end, for picking from the trees fruit which is out of reach)
ST 'bāsa
Kongo m-basa (plural of lu-basa),
Kimbundu lu-basa "palm branch without leaves"
27. to howl
ST vu'va
Principense wc'wo
Kongo go'ga
28. to love (a person)
ST go'go
Annobonese gon'go
Bulu -kongu
29. medicine man
pja 'sagwa
(pja "to look at")
← Ptg espiar
Kongo sangwa "rattle (with loose seeds or stones inside, to amuse children, or for use in incantations)"
30. moonshine, will-o'-the-wisp
ST 'eli
Proto-Bantu -xeli "moonshine",
Ena meeli "moonlight",
Bobangi e-jeli "moonlight"

¹This word, in its two variants, may be a borrowing from Angolar.

31. mouse Kongo m-fingi
 ST fin'gi
 Annobonese fin'gi
32. nsafu Kongo n-safu
 ST sa'fu
 (A much appreciated fruit,
 purplish and prune-like
 with large pips.
 Also its tree.)
33. very old Kongo kja-kete "slowly,
 prudently", kja-kete-kete
 ST ve ke'te-ke'te "very small" (Kishikongo)
 (VE "old" ← Ptg valho) kete-kete "very slowly"
34. to be overcast (of sky) Kongo lema
 ST le'ma
35. young palm tree Kongo mu-tende, (Kishikongo)
 ST mu'tende n-tende
36. penis Kimbundu, Chokwe, Lulua pimbi
 ST pim'bi "heart"
 The word for "heart" frequently acquires a different
 referent. Johnston (1922) remarks that the root-words
 for "heart" sometimes also apply to "soul", "life",
 "chest", "breastbone", and "liver".
37. pneumonia Kongo (Kishikongo) m-bambi
 (caught from breaking "a charm for curing disease
 an oath) or inducing disease in one's
 ST ban'bi enemies", Kimbundu m-bambi
 "cold; dampness; fever;
 influenza"
- Principense: 'bambi
38. quickly Kongo zaza, Umbundu l-onjanja
 ST 'njanja
 Principense ši'sa ~ 'šiša ~ ži'za ~ ži'za ~ ži'za,
 Angolar 'janja ~ je'ja
39. rib Kongo lu-banji, Kimbundu m-banji
 ST 'bāsa Benga m-banja, Duala m-banja
 Principense mba'sa Annobonese mba'sa

40. ripe; ripe banana Kongo booba "become red; be quite ripe"
ST bo'bo
Principense bo'bo "ripe banana", Angolar bo'bo "red; to ripen", Annobonese bo'bo "red; to ripen"
41. scorpion Kongo sama "nest of white ants",
ST kisa'ma ki-sama "which gathers winged termites; like an empty nest of white ants", (Kishikongo, Kikongo) ki-nsama "nest of white ants"
42. scurf Kongo kooja "to be hard and dry"
ST mako'ja (Kishikongo) koja "to be hard and dry"
43. shark Kongo n-gandu "crocodile",
ST 'ngandu ~ ngandu Kimbundu n-gandu "crocodile",
Chokwe n-gandu "crocodile".
A widespread word for "crocodile" in Western and Central Bantu.
- Angolar 'ngandu
44. smart (smartly dressed) Kongo (Madzia) wete, pl. ma-wete
ST mankwe'te (n), -wete (adj.), (Kishikongo) -awete
45. snail Kongo popo "small; little quantity"
ST no'no
46. soft, tender (ideophone) Kongo (Bwende) pete-pete
ST 'pete-'pete
47. to spread, to scatter Kongo -mwanga, Kishikongo -mwanga
ST wan'ga
48. to stagger Kongo (Kishikongo) vungana
ST vanga'na
49. to struggle to get out Kongo vuku "quick movement exerted unexpectedly"
ST 'vugu
50. to swell Kongo funa, fuma "to leak, to ooze out"
ST fu'ma
Principense fu'ma

51. tarantula Kongo esangangungu "spider
ST sāmanqungu (generic)"
52. termite, white ant Kongo n-selele, Kishikongo
ST sele'le n-selele, Kilumbo selele
53. to tear Kongo (Kishikongo) janza
ST jan'ga "to tear to pieces"
54. then (next) Kongo (Kishikongo) zevo ~
ST zo'wo ~ za'o ~ ozevo ~ ozeyu, zavo ~ ozavo
zo ~ so "then (next)"
55. to thicken (the food) Kongo (Kishikongo) -kukuta
ST 'kutu "to dry", ma-nkukutu
 ma-mbukutu "dry, hard maize"
- Principense ku'tu
56. thing Kongo (Kishikongo) lekwa
ST kwa
57. tree species Kongo (Bwende) m-hunga "tree
ST 'bunga species"
58. tree species Kongo mu-ngjengje
 (Spondias lutea)
ST ge'ge
59. tree species Kongo mu-kumbi "tree species"
ST mukum'bli
60. to turn off, to detour Kongo (Kishikongo) -kondoloka,
ST 'lola -ombolola "to turn away from
 sight", Kimbundu 'bolola

1.1.1. Bantu Noun Prefixes

In words of Bantu origin, the noun class prefix may or may not be retained. It is retained in such words as kičiba "silver banana" (cf. Vili ki-teba) ngem'bu "bat" (cf. Kishikongo n-gembu), but is omitted, for instance, in 'zamba "elephant" (cf. Kongo n-zamba), fin'gi "mouse" (cf. Kongo m-fingi).

A few words derived from Portuguese, which contain a nasal vowel or resonant, have also acquired an initial homorganic nasal which recalls the Bantu homorganic prefixes. Thus,

1. to accompany, to follow Bini lele
ST le'le
Principense le'le

2. because, because of Bini rhun-da
ST 'punda Principense 'pid, Angolar 'punda.

3. ideophone of blackness Bini dud'uudu, nununu "dark
ST lulu'lu (of tne sky before rain)"
Angolar lu'lu

4. to blow Yoruba (Jekri) fofo. Bini
ST fo'fo Annobonese hoho "to blow (of wind)"
 fo'fo

5. body Sini egbe
ST u'bwe

6. calabash Bini u'ko , Ishan uko
ST o'ko
Annobonese o'xo

7. to carry an infant on Bini gogo
 the back
ST bo'bo
Principense bo'bo

8. to complain Bini go "to shout"
ST go
Principense go "to complain; to cry; to yelp"

9. crayfish Bini ize
 (small crayfish
 found in rivers)
ST 'ize
Annobonese e'se, Principense i'ze

10. ideophone of drenching Ijo pɔtɔpɔtɔ "ideophone of
 'pɔtɔ'pɔtɔ muddiness"
11. to embrace Bini dede
 ST de'de
12. eye Gbari we , Twi hwe
 ST we
 Principense u'we , Angolar ovu'we, u'we
13. eyelid Yoruba ipenpeju
 ST 'penu'penu
14. frog Bini ɛkɪɛ, Yoruba akere ,
 ST ake'le Igbo akiri
 Principense aku'fe ~ aka'ɛ
15. hill, ramp Bini oke , Ishan oke,
 ST 'oke Yoruba oke
 Principense 'okje ~ o'kje
16. to lick Bini lalɔ
 ST lɔ'lɔ
 Angolar lɔ'lɔ
17. louse Bini iru
 ST 'idu
 Angolar 'idu , Principense 'idu
18. mortar Bini odo , Yoruba odo
 ST o'do
 Angolar o'do, Principense i'do
19. mould (fungus) Bini utu , otu
 ST u'tu
20. much; many Bini lo "high"
 ST lo
21. to please Bini le
 ST le
22. to pound, to grind Bini du u
 ST 'dumu
 Principense u'dumu "mortar", Angolar 'dumu "pestle"

23. Pronoun unmarked Bini a
for person or number
ST a
24. to resemble Bini xo
ST ko
25. Respect tag in greetings Bini -o
(RESP)
ST -o
(e.g. bõ 'dia-o
"good morning")
26. rubbish Bini 'iku
ST 'uku
27. to search, to look for Bini gwalo
ST 'golo
28. seed, grain, pip, berry Bini ikpe
ST 'ukwe
Principense i'gbɛ, Angolar 'ikwe ~ 'ikwi
29. smoke Bini iroxo, Agbede igego
ST i'gliqu
Angolar 'liqu
30. to split Bini va
ST va
Principense va
31. to stand; to stop Bini mu dia, Ishan mu dia,
ST mũ'ja Agbede mujia
32. stone (n.) Grebo bodo "earth, ground"
ST 'budu
Principense 'budu, Angolar 'budu
Annobonese 'budu
33. large tree sp. Bini okā "a big tree
ST ɔ'ka Cylicodiscus gabunensis"
Principense u'ka
34. trunk Twi aba "branch, abaa
ST 'aba "twig", Ibo aba "branch"

35. twins Bini i'vī eva (lit. two
ST i'glɛva kernels"), iweva
36. wilderness Bini o'go
(tract of land previous-
ly cultivated, and now
desert)
ST o'bo
Principense o'bo "wilderness", Annobonese o'go

2. SEMANTIC FIELDS IN RELATION TO THE AFRICAN AND PORTUGUESE BLOCKS IN THE LEXICON

2.1. Early Development

2.1.1. Categories of Words of African Origin

In Bahia, until the end of the slave trade, many slaves came from the same language group in Africa, and these African languages were used in Brazil. As an example, Verger (1968 : 336), in discussing the revolt of the Malé in Bahia in 1835, mentions: "many assembled Yorubas were making a great noise there and they were arguing with animation in their language.". The presence of words of African origin in Brazil is largely to be explained as borrowings from African languages throughout the duration of the slave trade. Many are words designating aspects of culture of African origin, such as the names of the following deities:

Brazil	<u>olo'rū</u>	"supreme god; sky god"	(Yoruba <u>olorū</u>)
"	<u>o'gū</u>	"god of iron"	(Yoruba <u>o'gū</u> , Bini <u>o'gū</u>)
"	<u>ori'ša</u>	"deity"	(Yoruba <u>oriša</u>)
"	<u>šan'go</u>	"deity"	(Yoruba <u>šango</u> "god of thunder")

The sources for the above examples were Mendonça (1948) for Brazil, Bascom (1969) for Yoruba, and Bradbury (1970) for Bini.

Some Brazilian words of African origin are colloquialisms for which there is also a Portuguese word. Examples are cufar /ku'far/ "to die" (Ptg morrer) Kimbundu ku-fa, curiar /ku'ɾja/ "to eat" (Ptg comer) (Kimbundu ku-dja).

In ST, words of African origin, although in limited number, cover a wide range of conceptual areas. They are established words, and not colloquialisms for Portuguese words. The following examples illustrate the wide semantic range of words of African origin in ST :

Instruments and household effects

<u>'aba</u>	"hoe"
<u>'dudu</u>	"jug"
<u>'kwali</u>	"basket"
<u>nqu'nu</u>	"torch"
<u>o'ko</u>	"calabash"
<u>o'do</u>	"mortar"

Animal life

<u>'zamba</u>	"elephant"
<u>sāmangun'gu</u>	"tarantula"
<u>'lufu</u>	"grunt"
<u>vu'va</u>	"to howl"
<u>ngem'bu</u>	"bat"
<u>vū'vu</u>	"bee"
<u>ake'le</u>	"frog"

Plant life

<u>'aba</u>	"trunk (of plantain)"
<u>mikon'do</u>	"baobab"
<u>'ukwe</u>	"seed; pip; berry"
<u>kiči'ba</u>	"silver banana"
<u>o'ka</u>	"large tree species"

The body and parts of the body

<u>u'bwe</u>	"body"
<u>'bezu-be'zu</u>	"chin"
<u>klō-'klō</u>	"neck and throat"
<u>koko'i</u>	"elbow"
<u>'penu-'penu</u>	"eyelid"
<u>u'luba</u>	"lymphatic gland"

Illnesses

<u>'käsü</u>	"asthma"
<u>bam'bi</u>	"kind of pneumonia caught from breaking an oath"
<u>mako'ja</u>	"scurf"

Elements

<u>'buđu</u>	"stone"
<u>'mjamja</u>	"lightning"
<u>i'qligu</u>	"smoke"

Cooking

<u>mu'sambi</u>	"dried fish"
<u>'kutu</u>	"to thicken (the food)"

Ideophones

<u>(ve) ke'te-ke'te</u>	"very old"
<u>(lu'zi) nge'ne-ge'ne</u>	"to shine brightly"

Pronouns

<u>a</u>	"pronoun unmarked for person or number" (UNM)
<u>(i)'nē</u>	"they"

Physical actions

<u>fo'no</u>	"to scratch; to tear"
<u>ko'liko</u>	"flick of the finger"
<u>'koni</u>	"blow with the fist"
<u>ko'ko</u>	"to crawl"
<u>vanga'na</u>	"to stagger"
<u>jan'qa</u>	"to tear"
<u>lo'lo</u>	"to lick"
<u>'dumu</u>	"to pound, to grind"
<u>ko</u>	"to resemble"
<u>va</u>	"to split"
<u>mū'ja</u>	"to stand; to stop"
<u>fo'fo</u>	"to blow; to ventilate"

Miscellaneous

<u>i'gliqu</u>	"smoke"
<u>po'to</u>	"to tread on; to stamp on; to rot"
<u>'uku</u>	"rubbish"
<u>'ubwa</u>	"fence; enclosure"
<u>go'go</u>	"to love (a person)"
<u>go</u>	"to complain"
<u>'oke</u>	"hill, ramp"
<u>je</u>	"to please"
<u>in'qlɛva</u>	"twin"

2.1.2. African Words Occurring Also Outside the African Area

A small number of ST words of African origin occur in Creoles and other languages outside the African area. The following are words of particular interest which may be considered under this heading:

- 1) ST gigi'çi, in the phrase 'folo gigi'çi . 'folo (← Ptg forro) refers to the people of the São Tomense-speaking cultural group; originally it meant "freed slave". 'folo gigi'çi are "forros" who have never spoken Portuguese. (Gullah 'giʒi (gi'çi ~ 'ʒiʒi ~ 'ʒiçi) "the Gullah dialect" or "one who speaks Gullah").

Turner (1949:194) gives as etyma for the Gullah forms giʒi ~ giçi ~ gitsi ~ gisi "a language and tribe in the Kissy country (Liberia)", and cites Mende giʒi "a country called Kissy". Mende belongs to the Mande group of languages (Greenberg, 1963).

- 2) ST 'bana "bread banana" (Ptg banana /bə'nana/) The reduced form bana occurs in West African languages. In the North-West Bantu zone, as listed by Johnston (1922), the form banane occurs in Kongayi, a-bana in Temne, and bana in Bulom. Angolar also has 'bana.
- 3) ST 'fuba "maize flour; maize meal" (Brazil fubá/fu'ba/ "maize or rice flour or meal")

Father Cavazzi de Montecucculo (1687) mentions this Bantu

word in his description of the kingdom of Dongo or Angola : "This province abounds in provisions mainly in manioc root, which the local people chop finely with a knife. After drying it, they reduce it to flour, called fuba .

- 4) ST 'kalu "type of stew" (Ptg calulú ~ calilú)

The word <calulú> and its variants is discussed in detail by Alvarez Nazario (1961 : 230-231, 260-262), who gives examples of its occurrence and discussed how the stew is prepared in various Creole communities. Alvarez Nazario is of the opinion that the word < calulú > and its variants have an African origin, probably deriving from the name for a type of spinach.

What sets the word aside from forms in other Creoles is the fact that it has two syllables, and not three. The similarity between ST 'kalu and Ptg caldo /'kaldu/ "broth", which suggests a Portuguese etymon, could be significant; there is support for this etymology in the fact that 'kaldu means "stew" in the Portuguese Creole of Senegal (Chataigner, 1963:58).

- 5) ST 'kāza "palm musical instrument" (Brazil canzá (- ganzá)

This is an African term which in Brazil, according to Mendonça (1946 : 212) designates a musical instrument made of taguara (a type of bamboo). The instrument is played in the same way as in São Tomé, by scraping a rod along notches on the instrument.

- 6) ST ma'kita "chili" (Ptg malagueta /malə'gets/)

The anonymous Portuguese pilot of the 16th century who described a journey from Lisbon to São Tomé (Machado, ca 1955 : 34) wrote: "In this coast grows the spice called malagueta, very similar to the maize of Italy, but with a strong taste like pepper ". The word < malagueta > is discussed by Alvarez Nazario (1961 : 380), who considers it to be of African origin. The ST form stands out for having three syllables instead of four.

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