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Calunga, an Afro-Brazilian speech of the Triângulo Mineiro: Its grammar and history

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Calunga, an Afro-Brazilian speech of the Triângulo Mineiro: Its grammar and

history

by

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Calunga, an Afro-Brazilian speech of the Triângulo Mineiro: Its grammar and history

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Calunga is an Afro-Brazilian "secret language" spoken mainly in and around Patrocínio, a rural city located in the region of the *Triângulo Mineiro* in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais. Labeled linguistically as a *falar africano* ('Afro-Brazilian speech'), the sociolinguistic origins of Calunga are not clear, not even to its speakers, though some theories trace the speech to the 18th century *quilombos* ('maroon slave communities') of the *Triângulo Mineiro* or to the Afro-Brazilian *tropeiros* ('cowboys') of the *sertão mineiro* ('outback of Minas Gerais'). Today, this speech community exists in a moribund state with generally older speakers that number in the hundreds, located mostly in or around the city of Patrocínio, though the language has been reported to exist elsewhere in and around the region. Even though its origins and evolution is unclear, Calunga speech has shifted grammatically in the direction of the regional variety of Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular – popularly termed *caipira* ('bumpkin') Portuguese –

demonstrating a stage toward language change, language attrition, or even language death. Its current lexicon, however, points to three possible Bantu languages from the Congo/Angola region of West Africa: Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo.

The purpose of this dissertation, therefore, is to discuss the linguistic origins of Calunga; to describe its linguistic patterns; and finally to analyze its linguistic relation to the local contemporary variety of Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular in search of any possible African linguistic influences on the regional Portuguese.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Calunga speech community

Calunga is an Afro-Brazilian "secret language" spoken mainly in Patrocínio, a rural city located in the *Triângulo Mineiro* near the *Serra da Canastra* of Minas Gerais state (see Map 1). Linguistically labeled as a *falar africano*, the origins of Calunga are not clear, not even to its speakers, though a few theories trace the speech to 18th century maroon slave communities of the *Triângulo Mineiro* or to Afro-Brazilian cowboys of the *Sertão Mineiro*. Today, this speech community exists in a moribund state with generally older speakers that number in the hundreds, located mostly in or around the city of Patrocínio, though the language has been reported elsewhere in the region and in nearby states. Calunga has since shifted grammatically in the direction of the regional variety of Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular (BPV) (popularly termed *caipira* ('bumpkin') Portuguese), demonstrating a stage toward language change, language attrition, or possibly even language death. The possible African etymologies of the Calunga lexicon, however, point to three Bantu languages from the Congo/Angola region of Africa: Kimbundu, Kikongo, and Umbundu.

Looking at the known – albeit sketchy – historical record, one can deduce that Calunga is the linguistic product of language contact from the Portuguese explorations of West Africa and the colonization of Brazil through African slavery, especially Bantu-speaking Africans. This speech community is thus the social result of Portuguese slaving in the mining and agricultural rich Minas Gerais – a key economic region of colonial and contemporary Brazil. From the beginning of the 18th century gold rush onward, the colonial region of Minas Gerais was heavily populated with slaves – approximately 80% for most of the 18th and 19th centuries (Barbosa 1970:315-6; Queiroz 1984:39). Resistance to the harsh forms of mining and agricultural slavery produced a large population of slaves that formed hundreds of maroon communities – known as *quilombos* – in Minas Gerais that would have possibly maintained African languages or Africanized Portuguese, although much uncertainty abounds.

Today the focal point of the Calunga speech community is Patrocínio, a small city of 30,000 inhabitants. This municipality of the *Triângulo Mineiro* is economically maintained by farming – coffee, sugar, soy, beans, various fruits – and by cattle ranching. The primary language of all Calunga speakers is the regional *caipira* Portuguese (BPV); Calunga is reserved for contexts when they wish to communicate "in secrecy" or in solidarity.

Calunga is not only significant for the obvious reason of being a rare and unique Afro-Hispanic sociolect within Brazil, but also for its valuable insight into the language patterns of former slaves. And the fact that this speech is known today not only by descendants of Africans but also by European descendants may reveal some important clues into the formation and varieties of Afro-Brazilian language and their possible influence on BPV. Given the great numbers of Africans that constituted colonial Brazilian society, one cannot simply rule out the possibility of African language influence beyond the lexicon. In this respect, the Calunga community is an important case study: that is, a type of Afro-Brazilian language from the period of slavery may offer an idea of what was spoken while the Africans were learning Portuguese, and how it consequently may have left linguistic traces in the superstrate language.

Yet the question remains open as to what linguistic aspects of BPV possibly were affected. As with Calunga, BPV demonstrates an element of reduced or modified grammar and is spoken by speakers of all ethnic backgrounds (Holm 2004:57-9). Since the late 19th century to the present, BPV has spread and is spoken throughout rural regions and urban centers of Brazil. Its African component may have come from *falares africanos*, such as Calunga, whose grammatical structure ties into the regional variety of BPV, though this thesis is debatable.

Map 1: Minas Gerais and Patrocínio
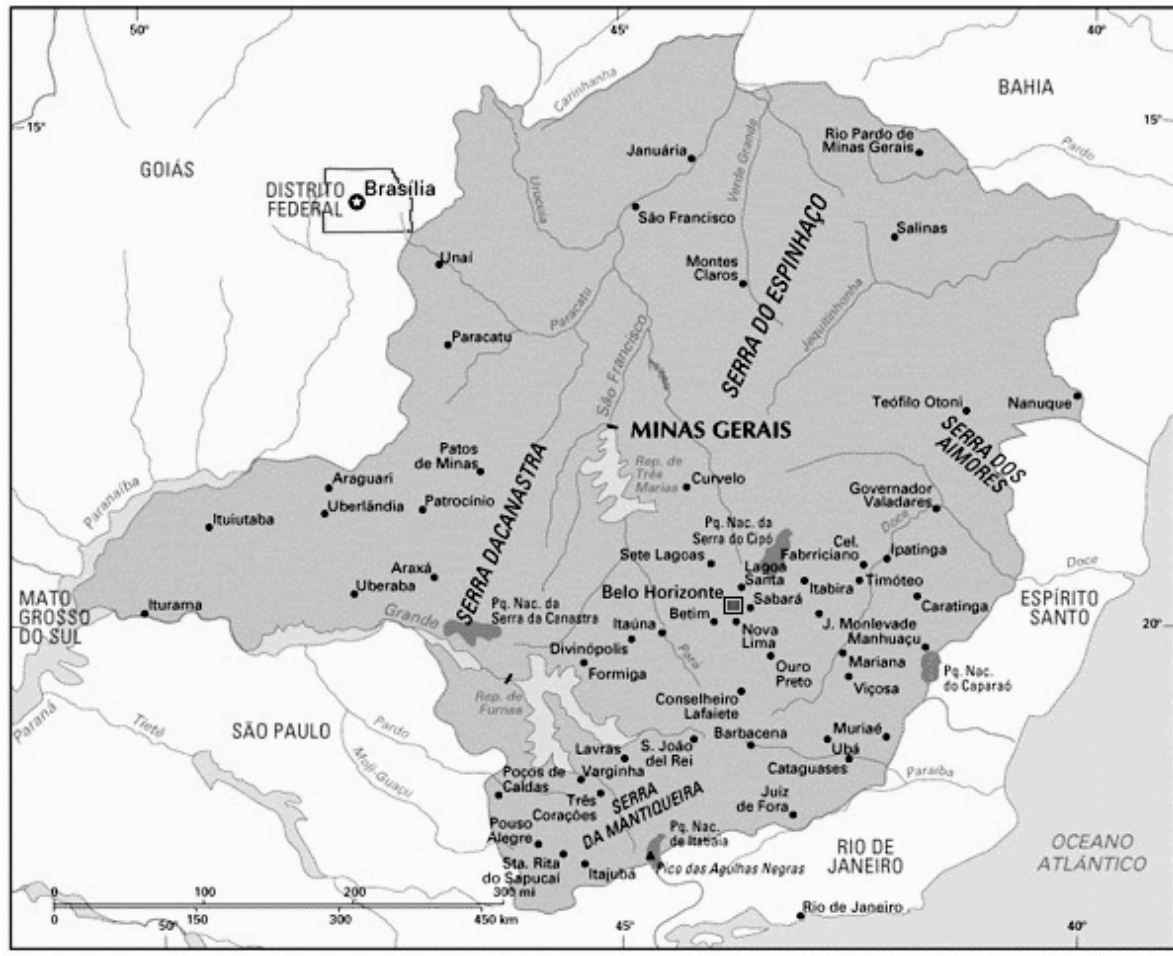
1.2 A sample of Calunga speech

Below a sample of Calunga speech is detailed with subsequent Portuguese and English translations. Further Calunga interviews and corresponding translations can be found in the appendix.

June 27, 2004
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:

JL: Os camanu maioral, os maioral, punha os imbundu pá curimá, né? Intão aqueis ibuninhu qui os camanu pegava e levava pá omenha pá aprumá saravo na custela dus imbuninhu. Os camanu mucafo ficava de cá aprumanu a calunga de jambi (oi!) aprumanu aquela calunga de ambi pá aquela omenha estraviá... pá... aquei saravu de omenha do embunim, pegá só a omenha. Tá, há, o saravo num pegava nu imbunim. Aí, eis calungava de cá, ficava caluganu, aí os camanu maioral vinha com os camanu, tirava, pucurava, os camanu macafu oiava os camanim e sarava pá, pá, pá uranu, sá? Cê sá que é uranu?

DB: Não.

JL: Vai, uranu é pá, pu céu, pra Deus, pra ajudá a num acontecê nada, sá? É p'que quem ia apanhá era os camanim, né? Ia pu injó da água, a água tocava, pegava na correia e pegava nu embunim, vap, vap, vap, vap.

DB: Batia nu coru.

JL: É. Aí, os camanu os imbundu cá, ficava nu jambi, rezanu, sabe? Rezanu pa aquilu pegá nus, nus camanim.

DB: Nus imbunim.

JL: É. Aí dava, vencia o horário lá assim, os camanu ia tirava, o camanim saia mesma coisa.

Portuguese	English
JL: Os poderosos, os poderosos ('donos', 'chefes') punham os negros para trabalhar, não é? Então aqueles menininhos que os homens pegavam e levavam para a água para bater nas costelas dos menininhos. Os negros ficavam de um lado rezando (oi!)	**JL**: The powerful men, the powerful men ('owners', 'bosses') used to make the black men work, right? So the little black kids that the powerful men used to grab and take to the water to beat the backsides of the little kids. The black men stayed on one

rezando para aquela água estraviar... para aquele chicote de água do menininho, pegar só água. Tá, há, o chicote não pegava no menininho. Aí, eles rezavam de um lado, ficavam rezando, aí os poderosos vinham com os homens, tiravam, procuravam, os negros olhavam os menininhos e agradeciam para, para "urano" ('Deus'), sabe? Você sabe o que é "urano"?

side praying (oi!) praying so that the water would go another way... so that water would whip only the water [not the kids]. So the whip would not beat the kids. There, they [the blacks] were on one side, would pray, there the powerful men would come with the black men, would take down [the black kids], would look for [the wounds on the black kids], the blacks would look at the boys and would thank "urano" ('God'), you know? Do you know what "urano" is?

DB: Não.

DB: No.

JL: Vai, "urano" é para, para o céu, para Deus, para ajudá a não acontecer nada, sabe? É porque quem ia apanhar era os menininhos, não é? Iam para casa da água, a água tocava, pegava na correia e pegava no menininho negro, vap, vap, vap, vap.

JL: Well, "urano" is for, for heaven, for God, to help that nothing happens, you know? It is because they were going to whip the kids, right? They were going to the water house ('mill'), the water would beat [them], it would grab the whip and beat the black kids, vap, vap, vap, vap.

DB: Batia na pele.

DB: It would beat their skin.

JL: É. Aí, os homens, os negros, ficavam com o santo, rezando, sabe? Rezando para aquilo pegar nos menininhos negros.

JL: Yes. There, the men, the black men, would stay with a saint, praying, you know? Praying that that would not beat the black kids.

DB: Nos menininhos negros.	**DB**: [Beat] the black kids.
JL: É. Aí dava, vencia o horário lá assim, os homens iam, tiravam, o menininhos negros saiam a mesma coisa.	**JL**: Yes. There it would go, the [work] day would be like that, the men would go, they would take down the kids, the black kids would come out the same way (would come out alright).

1.3 Plan of study

Five fundamental research questions are addressed in this dissertation:

1.) What type of "language" is Calunga? Is it essentially some Africanized dialect of Brazilian Portuguese, or a simplified (or restructured) dialect of one or several Bantu languages?
2.) What is the history of Calunga?
3.) What is the grammatical structure of Calunga? Does it have grammatical aspects of Bantu, of Portuguese, or of both (i.e. language mixing)?
4.) To what extent do Calunga and BPV coincide, contrast, or divert?
5.) Is the current state of Calunga a case of language change or language death?

To answer these questions, empirical data from *in situ* recorded interviews and bibliographical resources are employed. The linguistic analysis compares solely qualitative data of Calunga to BPV, which aims to point out similarities and diversions in phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon. Furthermore, the present study examines two focal aspects: i.) The historical overview and grammatical description of Calunga; and ii.) The importance of this speech community for theories of possible African influence on BPV.

The proceeding chapters cover: a review of the literature; a historical overview of the Atlantic slave trade, the arrival and social results of African slaves to Brazil, with special attention to the state of Minas Gerais; a linguistic description of the Calunga speech samples gathered *in situ* from native informants; an analysis of Calunga and BPV to evaluate possible African contributions in the grammar and lexicon; and finally an attempt to offer some conclusions based on the findings. Following these chapters are: i.) Transcriptions of recorded data with corresponding translations; and ii.) A glossary of Calunga lexical items with possible etymologies.

Henceforth, this dissertation describes the speech patterns of the Calunga community of Minas Gerais, discusses the origins of Calunga, and analyzes its relation to the local variety of BPV. This study also addresses the question of whether internal changes in and of themselves are sufficient to explain grammatical overlapping from two different languages, such as Calunga and BPV. It is my belief that language change cannot be understood entirely as the result of internal evolution, but that language contact, bilingualism, and sociohistoric and political trends modify dialects, even provide them the means of genesis of new languages such as Calunga. Ideally, this study strives to offer a better understanding of the evolution of Afro-Hispanic speech and its possible influence on Brazilian Portuguese.

1.4 Data collection

Empirical data were collected by means of impromptu recording of informants with their consent between July-August 2003 and June-July 2004. The subjects for this dissertation were selected on the basis of their linguistic fluency in Calunga. The better speakers of Calunga were typically Afro-Brazilian men of over 40 years; the best speakers were over 70 years. Interestingly, several Calunga speakers interviewed for this dissertation were *tropeiros – sertão* cowboys – that ran cattle between the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Goiás; others were coffee or sugarcane workers from the region. All the informants had little or no formal education. Women, on the other hand, were more difficult to gain interviews in Calunga, usually denying any knowledge of the

language, often declining interviews. Other informants, both men and women, who denied recorded interviews, agreed instead to pencil and paper interviews.

Recorded data were made with a digital Canon ZR60 camcorder with an external microphone and transferred to audio CD files for transcriptions found in the appendix. Transcriptions and translations were made by myself and Daniela Bassani Moraes, a native Brazilian of southern Minas Gerais. Additional data gathered include lists of lexical items and their corresponding translations that appear in the glossary.

1.5 Preliminaries and terminology

Since Calunga is not an official written language, spelling is based on the 1971 standard of Brazilian Portuguese orthography. Phonetic transcriptions are based on a slightly modified version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Chapter 4); syllables are divided with periods for ease of reading (e.g. *babá* [ba.'ba] 'babysitter').

The following technical and foreign terms appear in this dissertation:

Anti-creole is a variant, different from traditional creoles, that employs grammatical elements from the superstrate language and lexical elements from the substrate language (Couto 1992a).

Bandeirante is a Portuguese explorer from the 17th and 18th century that was responsible for the discovery of several regions of Brazil and South America.

Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular (BPV), adapted from Holm's (2004) term "Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP)," refers to a general, common colloquial Portuguese of Brazilians. This dialect employs certain grammatical features that are widely considered "wrong" or "uneducated" in certain sociolects or social contexts.

Caipira is a person from the rural regions of Brazil, often caricatured as a country bumpkin.

Casa Grande refers to the slave owner's estate during colonial Brazil (Freyre 1966).

Congado is an Afro-Brazilian religious ceremony of song and dance that represents the coronation of the King of Congo (Cunha 2001:206).

Creole is a controversial term among speakers and linguists. This dissertation recognizes Holm's (2004:xiii) definition as a "fully restructured language" resulting from language contact.

Decreolization is a linguistic shift from a creolized speech to a standard language.

Falar africano is an Africanized Brazilian speech. It is not a pure African language *per se*, but contains grammatical and lexical elements from African languages and/or creolized languages and Portuguese that the slaves spoke in Brazil (Castro 1967, 1980, 1983, 2001, 2002).

Fazenda is a Brazilian estate.

Feitoria refers to a fort established on the West African coast, often for the purposes of slave trafficking during the Atlantic slave trade.

Lançado refers to a Portuguese settler – oftentimes a criminal – that was responsible for establishing contacts with African tribes.

Língua Geral was the koine variety of Tupi (an indigenous language family of Brazil) that was widely spoken during the first two centuries of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil (Holm 2004:48).

Mixed (intertwined) language refers to the mixing of grammars and lexical items from unrelated languages that produces a peculiar sharing of each of the languages involved (Bakker & Muysken 1995; Thomason 1995).

Pidgin is an improvised contact language by speakers of different languages, often for reasons of commerce. By definition, it is not the native language of any speaker.

Quilombo is a maroon slave community in Brazil. These villages were inhabited mostly by African-born slaves, although Brazilian-born and Indigenous slaves were also among them. Some former communities have survived to this day in rural areas of Brazil.

Reisado is a popular Afro-Brazilian dance that is commonly celebrated before the "Day of Kings" (Cunha 2001:672).

Secret language is a language that is utilized among a close-knit social group that desires not to be understood in certain social situations.

Semi-creole, as opposed to a "creole," is a "partially restructured language" again following the definition of Holm (2004:xiii).

Serra da Canastra (see Map 1) is a fertile hill region near the *Triângulo Mineiro*. Cash crops such as coffee and soy are cultivated, in addition to much cattle ranching.

Sertão is the Brazilian outback which is characterized as a poor and dry rural region, non-specific to state, though the *Sertão Mineiro* (rural northern region of Minas Gerais) has been popularized by the fiction of João Guimarães Rosa (e.g. *Grande Sertão: Veredas*).

Triângulo Mineiro (see Map 1) is the extreme western region of Minas Gerais state that borders the states of São Paulo to the south, Mato Grosso do Sul to the west, and Goiás to the north. The name is derived from its peculiar triangle shape.

Tropeiro is a *sertão* cowboy.

Vissungo is a choral Afro-Brazilian religious song of the *Catopé* group from the central region of Minas Gerais. They are characteristically sung with percussion and in a "call and response" fashion between the leader and the choir (Cadernos do arquivo 1988:68).

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The fundamental question concerning this investigation has to do with the nature of Calunga. For this investigation, one of the questions to address: Is it an Africanized dialect of Brazilian Portuguese, or is it a simplified dialect of Bantu languages? In order to interpret the data within a methodological framework that would best answer this question, this chapter will review the pertinent literature dealing with the following two aspects: i.) Theoretical studies regarding the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language contact and language change, pidginization and creolization, mixed (or intertwined) languages, and language death; and ii.) Descriptive studies relating to Afro-Brazilian culture and speech communities, possible Afro-Hispanic (creole) contributions to Brazilian Portuguese, and the Afro-Brazilian speech known as *falares africanos*.

2.2 Theoretical studies

Any theory of language change originates from one of three theoretical perspectives: i.) Change from above (a *superstratum* perspective); ii.) Change from below (a *substratum* perspective); or iii.) Change as a natural phenomenon (a *universalist* perspective) (Labov 1972, 1994). To cite one example, 19th century Neogrammarian theories viewed language change as nascent, independent of social forces. And even contemporary theories of generative grammar have typically neglected the social context. Conversely, modern sociolinguistic theories have focused on language change in society. The key theoretical argument for sociolinguistics is that the speech community ultimately "renews" and "(un)molds" lexical and grammatical structure. Put simply, the focus on the speech community *is* the essence of grammatical variation in language. To illustrate this point, Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1967:100) believe that generative description is actually "counterfactual," failing to represent correctly the "orderly heterogeneity" of language in an adequate diachronic or synchronic manner. Duranti (1988:212) adds that "mere structural descriptions of linguistic forms are useful and interesting but

consistently lacking some essential feature of what makes language so precious [...], namely, its ability to function *in context* as an instrument of both reflection and action upon the world" (italics his). Guy (1988:38) concludes that "language is quintessentially a social product and a social tool, and our understanding of any tool will be immeasurably enhanced by a knowledge of its makers and users and uses."

Modern sociolinguistic research has provided valuable samples of language inside the speech community, elaborating theories on the nature of language change. The invaluable work of Labov (1972, 1994) has placed the speech community front and center where he theorizes language change takes place and spreads. Milroy (1992) has examined the impact of social networks and point out that "groups linked internally mainly by relatively weak ties are susceptible to innovations [...] and innovations are generally transmitted by means of weak rather than strong network ties" (1992:9). Wardhaugh (1998:188) synthesizes the debate stating that language variation in the speech community is a result of one of two properties: i.) Dialect mixture where there is a compensating "degree of overlap"; or ii.) Free and random variation of the speakers. He claims "change is somehow initiated at the higher social levels but carried through at the lower levels" (1998:203).

Having considered these theoretical views, it is important to examine the intertwining linguistic and social forces that shaped the languages and dialects of the European colonies of the Americas since the arrival of the African slaves, with special attention to Brazil.

2.2.1 The sociolinguistic perspective: Language contact and language change

Studies in linguistic geography, dialectology, and early creolistics began to direct research efforts at diachronic and synchronic linguistic change in the latter half of the 19th century. From the late 1950's to the present, the discipline of *language contact and language change* developed: that is, linguistic geography, variation theories, dialectology aligned with the traditional "core linguistics" of phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, semantics and pragmatics, historical linguistics (Gilbert 2002:2). The recent

research of Thomason & Kaufman (1988:35) view "the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of the language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact."

The research of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) outlines lexical and grammatical borrowing and language shift. According to their model, a contact-induced language change produces a number of linguistic possibilities. Lighter contact, for example, renders the exchange of lexical items, while heavier contact causes moderate to significant lexical and grammatical borrowing. The results can be complete language shift to the dominant language with remaining lexical residues; bilingualism and/or code switching; or moderate to heavy interference from the substrate or superstrate language(s). This is highly dependent on the socio-demographic and political circumstances in which the languages have become intertwined. If, indeed, language contact is heavy and sufficiently prolonged, the linguistic result may be a mixture (or loss) of morphosyntactic elements, such as function words, grammatical affixes, and word order; mixed phonological patterns; and newly acquired lexical items. In a chaotic language contact setting, however, DeGraff (1999b:527) claims language changes through imperfect acquisition of grammatical and lexical items.

Another factor to consider is demographic balance and maintenance (or rupture) of the social hierarchy. The type of sociolinguistic hierarchy depends on the type of colonization. The language situation of New World monarchial societies was more static and centralized, resulting in progressive bilingualism of the native population. The plantation society, on the other hand, was less static and more susceptible to develop and sustain creoles on account of inconsistent demographic patterns and lack of social stabilization. Holm (2004:135) argues that the sociohistoric relationship of "native speakers versus non-native speakers of the European source language" during the critical first century of linguistic implantation proved crucial to today's language situation in the New World. For example, the European, Indigenous, and African languages of the Colonial Americas involve complex migration patterns, mixing, and death (or incorporation) of various languages and/or dialects. With only a few small urban centers

of then, virtually microcosmic migrations could make macrocosmic contributions to the dialect spoken. Today massive urban centers are monolithic dialectal disseminators and discriminators for the entire country in question (e.g. Mexico City, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, etc.) (López Morales 1998:209-15).

Internal demographic shifts have subsequent linguistic effects as well. Massive rural migrations of speakers to urban centers have the potential to influence urban varieties. For example, the abolition of slavery forced thousands of slaves to the cities in search for work, where they were typically marginalized. American Black English Vernacular (BEV) (or African American English (AAE) (Holm 2004)), which is a product of the Southern American plantation society, has spread to many major urban centers across the United States, from coast to coast. BEV has since left lexical traces in the standard American vernacular, such as *OK* and *okra* (Asante 1990:25). The situation in Brazil was even more so due to the fact that Brazil was the single largest recipient of African slaves during the Atlantic slave trade. However, there is (arguably) no specific "Black Brazilian Portuguese" as there is "Black American English." So, if the hypothetical Chomskyan Martian linguist observed the dialectal situation between the United States and Brazil, he could ask: Given their similar histories of European colonization and African slavery, why is there a distinct "Black English" in the United States, but no such "Black Portuguese" in Brazil? To address this theoretical question, the following sections outline certain linguistic possibilities in theory and in description.

2.2.2 Pidginization and Creolization

Pidginization and creolization are natural phenomena that have produced much political and linguistic controversy. In fact, such varieties at one time were considered "bastardized" forms of European languages (Ortiz López 1998:26-7). Even though the actual linguistic processes are somewhat difficult to understand, a number of theories have appeared to explain them (e.g. Holm 1988, 1989; Arends, Muysken & Smith 1995). Descriptively, these forms tend to be identified as simplifications in the phonological system, the disappearance of morphological inflections (including affixes for gender and

number), and a limited use of prepositions (Ortiz López 1998:29). The resulting language contact and language change instilling pidginization and creolization are dependent on intertwining demographic and sociolinguistic processes; there is no "formula" *per se*, in the sense of Neogrammarian theories, to explain the processes of pidginization and creolization. Several theories have appeared since the 19ᵗʰ century, ranging from substratist to superstratist to universalist views, that have attempted to characterize the innate and linguistic mechanisms involved.

A pidgin is a highly reduced auxiliary language among speakers of different languages, often associated with the purpose of commerce. By definition, a pidgin is not the native language of any speaker. On the other hand, a creole is a native language born from a previous pidgin. Creoles, however, are traditionally defined as the evolution of a pidgin into a native language. This occurs when simplified, chaotic grammatical patterns eventually translate into a coherent grammatical system. The processes for the formation of the two are linked, but there is a crucial distinction: "the absence versus presence of native speakers, acquisition by adults versus children, [and] range of communicative functions" (DeGraff 1999a:6). Creoles can also be understood as a type of "mixed language" resulting from prolonged language contact, though this term is open to interpretation (Lipski 1998b:297). In fact, under this definition, a number of languages could be considered "creoles" even though they are traditionally not: European Spanish – from contact with Arabic; British English – from contact with French; Romanian – from contact with Slavic languages; and Basque – from contact with Spanish (Lipski 1998b:297).

Regarding the grammatical patterns of creole languages, superstrate and substrate contributions are not completely uniform, oftentimes depending on the sociohistoric correlation to the language in question. One example, Haitian creole – *patois* – which Lumsden (1996) views as L1 African substrate syntax and semantics and an L2 French lexicon and phonology. The result, he argues, is a 99% French lexicon and phonology with grammatical patterns from African Ewe-Fon languages. A different example, Portuguese creole of São Tomé and Príncipe has an intertwining of lexical and

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grammatical elements from Portuguese, Kwa languages, and Bantu languages (Lorenzino 1998; Lipski 1998b:296). Therefore, the more heterogeneous the creole, the more difficult it is to conclude concrete contributions of superstrate and substrate grammars.

Finally, the process of "decreolization" can occur, which is defined as the shift away from a creole language toward the superstrate standard variety from which it was derived. These include grammatical shifts in phonology and morphosyntax from vernacular to standardized forms. Sociopolitical matters, such as education and literacy, play an instrumental role. During this process, former creole structures can be retained, forming a "semi-creole" (see section 2.2.2.2). A continuum, known as a "post-creole" continuum, characterizes the restructuring.

2.2.2.1 Pidgin and Creole theories

The beginning of modern creole studies traditionally cites Addison Van Name (Holm 1988:24). His 1869-1870 "Contributions to creole grammar" presents a comparison of four Caribbean creoles of different lexical bases (French, Spanish, Dutch, English) with grammatical parallels. In addition, Van Name noted the role of sociolinguistic and historical factors. However, outside of the areas of the lexicon and phonology, Van Name did not believe African-language influence was present in creoles. Nevertheless, he appears to have initiated the universalist-superstratist-substratist controversy over whether or not creoles share mixed grammatical features from European and African languages, one that continues to this day (Holm 1988:26). Since Van Name, a number of linguists have taken different sides of the debate.

One position was that of Portuguese philologist Adolpho Coelho, one of the first linguists to formulate the origins of creoles by the "universalist theory." Influenced by the Neogrammarian *Stammbaumtheorie* ('family-tree theory'), he attempted to link all present creoles to imperfect L2 acquisition and subsequent simplifications of European languages rather than a possible mixture of superstrate European and substrate African languages. He further defended his position by presenting a number of common creole

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features, such as the progressive marker *ta* and lexical items like *papia* 'to speak' and *misté* 'need' found in a number of Portuguese-based creoles (Holm 1988:27-8).

The antithesis to Coelho was 19th century French philologist Lucien Adam. From his fieldwork, he provided substratist counterarguments by comparing parallels of creole French of Guiana, creole English of Trinidad, and West African languages. Adam concluded that these similar grammatical parallels were the result African slaves bringing their native tongues to the Americas, forming a "hybrid" grammar (Holm 1988:28-9).

The Hegelian synthesis to the creole debate was German linguist Hugo Schuchardt, who is considered by many as "the father of creole studies" (Holm 1988:29). A student of August Schleicher (proponent of the *Stammbaum* genealogical tree model for Indo-European languages) and colleague of Johannes Schmidt (proponent of the *Wellentheorie* of dialectal waves), Schuchardt is one of the most important theorists for pidginization and creolization. He is known especially for his work on Portuguese-based creoles, although he has contributed theoretical insight for virtually all creoles. For example, he was the first to suggest that American Black English Vernacular was a mixture of a former creole with Southern American English (Holm 1988:55). And he particularly emphasized the sociohistoric factor and language mixture of the speech community in the shaping of the subsequent grammatical structure of creoles. From his several studies of Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch creoles, his position was that each creole must be evaluated on a case by case basis in order to analyze grammatical structures. He also proposed that creoles were not in one or another family but instead mixed languages with historical and linguistic ties to both the superstrate and substrate. Moreover, he determined that differing grammatical patterns of separate Portuguese-based creoles (i.e. São Tomé creole and Cape Verde creole) might be the result of different African substrata (i.e. Bantu vs. West Atlantic languages) that were present in the formative years of the colonies (Holm 1988:31).

Schuchardt's position sparked an intense debate, especially among French linguist Antoine Meillet, who argued that linguistic theory could not accommodate languages with multiple genetic relationships. Another critic was Dutch linguist Dirk Christian

Hesseling, who believed creoles were linked more to L2 acquisition rather than an internal conflict of superstrate vs. substrate features (see Holm (1988) for further discussion).

In the 20th century, American linguist John Reinecke offered fresh insights in creolistics by attempting to modernize the field that he saw as marginalized and overshadowed by theoretical linguistics of Indo-European languages. Reinecke instead sought to generalize relevant historical and sociolinguistic patterns that form pidgins and creoles, as well as colonial dialects, koines, and minor languages (Holm 1988:36-42). From his data of some 40 pidgins and creoles, he provided three categories: i.) Plantation creoles, also known as African creole dialects of maroon creoles (e.g. Caribbean and West African islands); ii.) Settlers' creoles (e.g. Portuguese creoles in Guinea-Bissau and in Asia); and iii.) Trade jargons (i.e. pidgins). He explains:

> In several instances the slaves were so situated among a majority or a large minority of whites (and there were other reasons as well for the result), that they, or rather their creole children, learned the common language, not a creole dialect; or the plantation creole dialects that had begun to form never crystallized, never got beyond the makeshift stage. This happened in […] Brazil, Cuba, and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries in general, and in the southern United States. (Reinecke 1937:61)

Regarding settlers' creole:

> On the other hand, the settlers in Europe and America, set down in a social organization similar to their own, are assimilated rather than assimilators, so that their language remains unsimplified – they have not to speak it in a simplified form with a half-assimilated clientele or native traders. (Reinecke 1937:63)

With the application of Chomskyan generative theories in the latter half of the 20th century, linguistics took a sharp turn toward the nature of language universals in acquisition and grammatical structures. The study of creoles was affected, resurfacing the universalist-superstratist-substratist discussion. Bickerton (1981), for example, proposed the "language bioprogram hypothesis" which attempts to explain the innate roots of pidgins and creoles, as well as the origins of language itself.

At the dawn of the 21st century, creole and pidgin research remains an overlooked area of linguistics, especially regarding Afro-Iberian creoles, dialectological studies, and minority languages of Latin America (Schwegler 2002). Antiquated theories of language contact and language change are still applied to modern-day fieldwork, which has stagnated the tracing of a more precise history of the European languages, their subsequent dialects, and the presence of pidgins and creoles in the Americas. Such shortcomings permit many linguistic secrets of the Americas to be uncovered. As Bakker contends:

> Creole and pidgin studies have been an established research domain for some time now. Even though the discipline constitutes a valid research domain, this does not mean that a creolist can limit his or her readings to other creolists' writings. I think it is useful to look beyond the creolist horizon and to integrate more studies from outsiders into our field. Examples of these are historical studies of slavery and the slave trade, ethno-historical studies of life on the plantations, linguistic typology, consideration of functionalist theories (in addition to generative theories), and a broader range of language contact phenomena. (Bakker 2002:69)

Ultimately all these aspects Bakker lists are intertwined in the different linguistic results, especially in the historical language contact situation of the Americas.

2.2.2.2 Semi-creolization

A deep creole is a restructuring of all levels of the grammar, while a semi-creole results from partial restructuring. Controversy naturally arises because of disagreements regarding the nature of pidginization and creolization. Lipski (1998b:297), rather, views semi-creoles as having creole characteristics due to prolonged bilingualism, but without completely fracturing the grammatical structure of the languages involved.

A leading advocate of semi-creolization, John Holm (1987, 1992, 2004), argues in favor of "partial restructuring" of a number of semi-creoles around the world, including African-American Vernacular English, Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, Afrikaans, and Réunion French. Using comparative methods of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexico-semantics, Holm proposes that these varieties are the result of a previous creole, rather than accelerated change from colonization. Among some of the grammatical features of semi-creolization, Holm (2004) notes the absence of inflection (e.g. *nós vai*), the semantic influence of a preverbal marker (e.g. *been have it for a long time*), double negation (e.g. *we don' want no mess*), and post-verbal negation (e.g. *vou não*).

2.2.2.3 Mixed (or intertwined) languages

"Mixed language" is a descriptive term that refers to the intertwining of grammars with a peculiar linguistic result (Thomason 1995), not a specific theoretical process. This expression, however, has been labeled "pejorative" (Gilbert 2002:2), and is often discarded in favor of the term "intertwined languages" (Bakker 2002:81-2). That said, the grammatical and lexical makeup of such a language is not any different from natural processes of language contact and language change, including pidginization and creolization. Bakker & Muysken (1995:41) add: "They are not creoles or pidgins in the strict sense, but they may shed light on the genesis of these languages as well."

Unlike other varieties of languages, mixed languages tend to be "rare" and "exotic" due to their somewhat distinct grammatical structures and social context:

> The distinction has to do with whether the mixed language is that of a persistent ethnic group or that of a new social group (sometimes ethnic, sometimes

multiethnic, sometimes a subgroup within a community). The most obvious nonlinguistic correlate of this distinction is time: mixed languages in *persistent* ethnic groups develop through long, slow processes of language change, with or without eventual language shift; mixed languages in *new* ethnic groups, by contrast, emerge relatively rapidly, sometimes within a single generation. (Thomason 1995:17, italics hers)

These peculiar languages emerge from unique social circumstances and can be categorized as "secret codes," which are foreign to the dominant community. One candidate of being a mixed language, Swahili, however, is not a "secret code", but is typically described as a *lingua franca* with much Arabic vocabulary entering and eroding the grammatical patterns and phonological tones of Bantu (Wald 1990).

The structural generalization of mixed languages is grammatical borrowing from the morphosyntax and phonology of the dominant language. Different from pidginization or creolization, which are typically born in a state of "linguistic chaos," mixed languages tend to arise in situations of solid bilingual contact. Mixed languages demonstrate a significant sense of linguistic and social resistance, or autonomous social identity (Thomason 1995:16, 19). Thomason (1995) gives three examples of "slow" mixed languages: i.) Kormakiti Arabic spoken in the island of Cyprus; ii.) Ma'a spoken in Tanzania; and iii.) Caló spoken in Spain.

Kormakiti was originally the Arabic language of Maronite Christians who migrated to the island in the 12th century A.D. Today, Cyprus Greek morphosyntax and phonology have percolated into all areas of the grammar, including some 38% of the lexicon, though Arabic lexical and grammatical structure, including phonology, are intact despite being in a Greek-dominated community for over 800 years now. Ma'a was originally a Cushtic language that has been in contact with Pare and Shambaa languages – both Bantu – for some 350 years. Unlike Kormakiti, Ma'a has almost entirely Bantu grammar at all levels with basic Cushitic lexical items. In a sense, Ma'a has been "less successful" in terms of resistance than Kormakiti. Caló, also known as Spanish Romani,

is a language of the Spanish Gypsies. In terms of grammatical structure, Caló demonstrates a number of Romani patterns equivalent to Spanish, though lacking regularity. Boretzky (cited in Thomason 1995:19) employs Caló song lyrics to show differing amounts of Spanish grammar. In the same lyrics, a number of Romani features are also found. His claim is that Caló is the product of language shift from Romani to Spanish, with relexification of Romani words. However, Thomason (1995:19) finds a number of Romani grammatical features in Caló, which could be a product of this relexification.

"Fast" mixed languages are the result of quickly developed speech communities, either new ethnic communities or subgroups within a larger speech community. Thomason (1995:20) cites four examples: i.) Michif of the Turtle Mountain Reservation of North Dakota; ii.) Mednyj Aleut of Copper Island, Russia; iii.) Media Lengua of Central Ecuador; and iv.) Pidgins and creoles.

Michif is a mixture of Cree with French lexical and grammatical structures. Mednyj Aleut is basically Aleut with Russian finite verb inflections, including Russian pronouns in the past tense. Media Lengua is mostly regional Quechua grammar with Spanish lexical items. Finally, pidgins and creoles typically pull their lexicon from a dominant language, while grammatical structures are, generally speaking, the results of imperfect L2 acquisition with some approximations to L1 patterns.

Perhaps most interesting in the study of mixed languages is the amount of creativity and variation involved. Resistance to the dominant social norm, though partially futile since the minority social group must operate within it, leads to the rise of these mixed languages. The usual result is the striving for a social identity and solidarity among a minority community. Therefore, these languages are more the product of overt or covert sociohistoric circumstances, rather than purely internal linguistic change. Bakker & Muysken explain:

If a group who creates an in-group language as a *secret language*, it will always use the grammatical system of the language of the immediate surroundings. This

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explains why all the intertwined languages spoken by the Gypsies have a Romani lexicon and the grammatical system of the language spoken in the surrounding community, and never the other way around. For some cases it is certain that the language came into being at a time when the Romani language was in serious decline (e.g. Britain, Basque Country, Greece) and only used in formulas, songs and the like. Furthermore, *a lexicon is remembered longer than a more intricate grammatical system, and for this reason too the decaying language is a more likely candidate for supplying the lexicon.* (Bakker & Muysken 1995:50, italics mine)

2.2.3 Language death or language change?

Even with the death of languages, their study reflect a relevant stage of language contact, language change, and language shift. While some cases seem clear on the surface, Cristófaro-Silva (2002) argues that it is not always easy to classify language death: Latin, for example, has no more native speakers but has evolved into several Romance varieties. But there are instances when language change could be the more appropriate analysis. Say if a vernacular dialect shifts from substandard to standard, would this be a case of "dialect death" or would it be an example of language change?

On the other hand, Thomason (1995) argues that dying languages are just as "live and well" as fully living languages. Speakers of moribund and dying languages, oftentimes bilingual or multilingual, show the same characteristics of creativity and variation in their use, as do speakers of living languages. This characteristic is also present in so-called "semi-speakers" that are typical of dying languages (Dorian 1981).

Dressler (1988) addresses the phenomenon of "language decay." This process includes a number of lexical, grammatical, and sociolinguistic aspects that lead to language death that "reflects the general social, sociopsychological, socioeconomic, and political subordination of the recessive speech community to the dominant one" (Dressler 1988:185). Among these aspects, we find several loans from the lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the dominant language. Interestingly, the reduced grammar

and lexicon of decaying languages is characteristic of pidgin languages, but speakers maintain full sociolinguistic knowledge or "communicative competence" (Dressler 1988:189).

Today over half of the world's languages are moribund. Because of the modern-day world of education, advanced media communications, and global politics, languages are dying at an alarming rate. In his book *Language death*, Crystal (2000) reveals that 96% of the world's population speaks 4% of the world's languages. He believes this is a sobering reality of the modern-day linguistic world and what is to come.

2.3 Descriptive studies

Descriptive studies of Afro-Brazilian language(s) are somewhat scarce in comparison to the research being conducted on Afro-Hispanic language and dialectology of Latin American Spanish (e.g. Lipski 1994, 2005). There is no comprehensive work on Afro-Brazilian language on par with Lipski's (2005) *A history of Afro-Hispanic language*, which provides a unprecedented corpus of Afro-Hispanic texts, research, analyses, and debate surrounding African grammatical contributions to Spanish. That said, there are some important studies and theories to draw from which provide the basis for the following sections.

2.3.1 Afro-Brazilian language studies

Some valuable Afro-Brazilian cultural and language studies are available but are far from answering many important questions in terms of the development of Afro-Brazilian history, culture, and language. That said, there are a few documents of African terminology that date back to the 18th century: Peixoto's (1731/1945) account for the language of the African slaves around the Ouro Preto region to aid the Portuguese colonists. This publication is somewhat similar to José de Anchieta's 1595 *Arte de grammatica da lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil*, written for Portuguese Jesuits to learn Tupinambá – *língua geral* – to communicate with Indigenous Brazilians (Leite & Callou 2002:64). Lipski (2005:Chap. 2 Appendix, Text#24) provides an early reported

Afro-Brazilian poem. Moreover, scholarly studies regarding Afro-Brazilian culture and language do not appear until the late 19th century.

An early study by Macedo Soares in 1880 asserts that "toda a espécie de alterações produzidas na linguagem brasileira por influência das línguas africanas faladas pelos escravos introduzidos no Brasil" (cited in Castro 2001:49). This referred to the popular Brazilian speech with loss and simplification of grammatical inflections. Vasconcellos (1883), a dialectologist from Portugal, suggests that the difference between European and Brazilian Portuguese is due to the large territorial extension and a variety of races constituting Brazil. In that same year, Schuchardt (1883) asserted that the grammatical patterns of BPV arose from creole features. Sílvio Romero's (1888/1977) *Estudos sobre a poesia popular no Brasil* raises an important question as to why there were not any previous studies regarding Afro-Brazilian languages and religion. João Ribeiro (1906) wrote the opening chapter to Afro-Brazilian studies in his book *Diccionário Grammatical* and addressed a chapter called "Negro, elemento." Two years later, Nina Rodrigues produced some of the first Afro-Brazilian linguistic fieldwork in the state of Bahia (Castro 2001:49).

Adolpho Coelho (1880-1886) theorizes that the origins of Brazilian Portuguese evolved from contact with Indigenous and African languages. He provided examples of some phonetic and phonological patterns that have come to characterize BPV: *muyé* (*mulher* 'woman'), *farsa* (*falsa* 'false'). Coelho concludes that BPV broke from European patterns in the following: i.) Consonant-Vowel (CV) syllable patterns; ii.) Reduced verbal conjugations (e.g. *nós tem* 'we have'); iii.) Subject pronouns as [+accusative] (e.g. *ele bateu eu* 'he hit me'); iv.) Verb *ter* with existential qualities (e.g. *tem café da manhã?* 'is there breakfast?').

The first half of the 20th century flourished with aesthetic and academic achievements in Brazil. In the 1930's serious interest in Afro-Brazilian topics produced several studies pertinent to today's scholarship on the evolution of Brazilian Portuguese. One conference in Recife in 1934, the second in Bahia in 1937, published a number of papers regarding the significance of African presence in Brazilian life: history, politics,

culture, religion, food, and language. Among these papers, Renato Mendonça (1935a, 1935b, 1936), Jacques Raimundo (1933), João Ribeiro (1933), and Nelson de Senna (1938) argue for the African contribution in various grammatical and lexical aspects in popular Brazilian speech, including in the phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax.

Chaves de Melo (1946/1975) reaffirms these theories of African influence, calling it a "vertical" influence: that is, socially from bottom to top. He states: "Nossa língua popular, falando-se de um modo geral, é substancialmente o português arcáico, deformado, ou se quiserem, transformado em certo aspecto da morfologia e em alguns da fonética pela atuação dos índios e dos negros" (*idem* 1946/1975:91). Most of all he argues the strongest influence in BPV from African languages is found in the morphology (*idem*:78).

Silva Neto (1950/1986) denies the existence of African influence in Brazilian Portuguese, other than lexically, calling it instead a product of imperfect L2 transmission. He hypothesizes the linguistic situation in colonial Brazil as a three-level hierarchy consisting of elite Portuguese administrators, African and mestizo slaves speaking (semi-)creole Portuguese, and Indigenous peoples speaking Tupi-Guarani or *língua geral*. The imperfect acquisition of Portuguese, rather than L1 interference, resulted from miserable social conditions of the Africans and indigenous population that produced phonological and morphosyntactic deviations. But the linguistic base was archaic European Portuguese. He does state nonetheless that African and Indigenous languages gave rise to a new rhythm of speech in the various Brazilian dialect zones.

Using Labovian techniques for sociolinguistic research, important studies have arisen from the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, under the direction of Anthony Naro (e.g. Braga (1977), Carvalho (1977), Scherre (1978), Naro & Scherre (2003)). Naro et al. have argued that the grammatical tendencies of BPV are the result of internal change – natural tendencies nascent in Portuguese and other Indo-European languages. Thus, morphosyntactic loss of agreement in BPV has been instead the result of universal principles of language change through word-final consonant erosion (as occurred in Vulgar Latin) rather than any sort of (semi-)creole hypothesis.

Megenney (1978) presents the influence of Yoruba in Bahian communities, which he views as a special linguistic and cultural case. Although the integration of the Afro-Brazilians in the mainstream society has lead to a type of koinezation among most races, there still exists some distinct Afro-Brazilian language patterns within Bahia. Megenney (2001) raises the question whether African languages, such as Yoruba, may have contributed to the development of BPV. Ajayi (2002), a native Nigerian, wrote his dissertation on the Yoruba influence in Bahia as well, analyzing its general impact in Brazilian speech in Bahian liturgical language, culinary, music and dance.

Gregory Guy's (1981) doctoral dissertation defends the African influence in morphosyntactic structures, but that Brazilian Portuguese in general is standardizing because of modern social conditions, especially modern media. Furthermore, Guy (1989:233) compares data from BPV, Cabo Verde creole, and *bozal* Spanish from Cuba, all of which present similar rules to mark plural at the head of the noun phrase with no corresponding inflectional affix (e.g. _as_ *mesa* 'the(pl) table(sg)'). Guy argues that African language families such as the Kwa and Bantu, also mark plural at the noun phrase head. For example, Umbundu, a Bantu language, marks plurality at the head in a similar fashion: _o_-*mbwa* ('(the-sg) dog') > _olo_-*mbwa* ('(the-pl) dogs') (Valente 1964:74).

Houaiss (1988) address the historical components of Brazilian Portuguese, observing universal "pan-creole" linguistic traces in phonological and morphosyntax that are present in Brazilian Portuguese, leaving the question open as to whether these traces are products of (semi-)creolization. On the other hand, Houaiss (1992) believes that the African influence is restricted to lexical and supersegmental elements, such as tonal variations, cadence and rhythm. Furthermore, he accepts the thesis of anthropologist Gilberto Freyre (1966) that the role of the *mãe preta* ('black surrogate mother', as was also common in the U.S. South during the slave period) in the passing of Africanisms and Africanized Portuguese to the children of colonial Brazil.

Holm (1987, 1992, 2004) suggests that BPV is a product of restructuring from semi-creolization. He argues that the sociohistorical data are strikingly similar to other colonies where creoles have arisen, such as Jamaican creole English, Haitian French

creole, and Colombian Palenquero (a Spanish-based creole in El Palenque de San Basilio). He supports semi-creolization due to the fact that not the entire grammatical system of BPV was restructured, as is characteristic of creoles. Mello (1997) as well defends this thesis and looks into the restructuring of morphosyntactic phenomena that have come to the formation of BPV. Megenney, Baxter, Mello & Holm (1998) present lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic patters in BPV as possible influences from African languages through restructuring or partial creolization. These ideas are further elaborated in section 2.3.2.

For Rodrigues de Souza (2001), Brazilian Portuguese is not an exported version or leveling of one or more European Portuguese dialects, but is an L2 variety mostly from African slaves. She proposes that Bantu influence in popular Brazilian speech is not only in the lexical, but may as well be in the phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax.

2.3.2 Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular: A semi-creole?
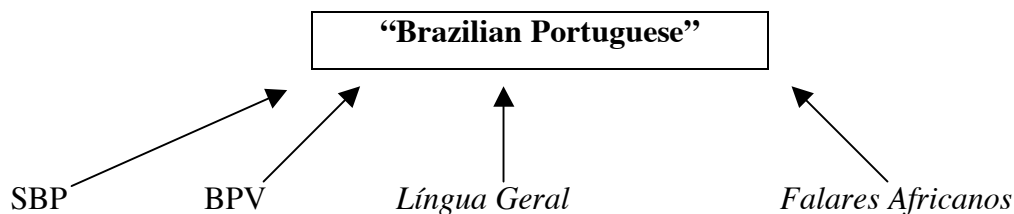
The diachronic span of Brazilian Portuguese portrays a mixture of languages from the colonial era to the present. Elia (2003) argues that different linguistic phases of Brazilian Portuguese correspond to different colonial periods. The 16th century was the beginning of four important historical developments: the Portuguese captaincies and governors; the first Brazilian cities (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Olinda, Recife, Belém); coastal Indigenous contact (*língua geral*, or Tupi); and the Atlantic slave trade. Hence, Elia (2003:48) suggests that the contact of 16th century European Portuguese with Native Brazilian and African languages is the foundation for Brazilian Portuguese of today. 17th century Brazil was one of three features: growing bilingualism (Portuguese-

língua geral); a growing African slave population; and explorations of the interior regions by the *bandeirantes*. 18th century Brazil saw a large territorial expansion from the *bandeirantes'* expeditions; colonial growth from gold and precious stones; increased African presence; colonization of southern Brazil; expulsion of the Jesuits; and declaration of Portuguese as the official language. The 19th century gave a new phase of "Europeanization" and independence in 1822; the beginning of the "national conscience"; recognition of a national culture and *língua brasileira*; and persisting slave trade. The 20th century saw the rise of Brazilian nationalism; a large influx of immigration from Europe, the Middle East, and Japan. Azevedo (2005:215-22) further elaborates the historical development of Brazilian Portuguese from the Portuguese side, arguing for dialect leveling of the largely undetermined origins of the Portuguese settlers as the linguistic foundation.

Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular (BPV) is considered a substandard variety of Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP). Interestingly, educated speakers of all ethnicities engage in BPV in certain sociolinguistic contexts, though Afro-Brazilians are the most representative (Holm 2004:58). The origins of BPV are not totally understood but some theories trace it to a semi-creole or post-creole (Zimmermann 1999). Holm (1987, 1992, 2004) is perhaps the leading advocate for the thesis of BPV from a semi-creole, along with Mello (1997). Guy (1981:309) raises an engaging question: "From the social historical standpoint, our question probably would not be 'Was Portuguese creolized in Brazil?' but rather, 'How could it possibly have avoided creolization?'" Holm (1987:416, 2004:47) believes the answer lies in the linguistic miscegenation that took place in Brazil. He points to data that could have originated from a former semi-creole widely spoken throughout colonial Brazil. Holm elaborates this thesis from a 19th century testimony by Adolpho Coelho (cited in Holm 1992) showing similarities between Brazilian Portuguese and Portuguese creoles: "[na] linguagem brasileira, se manifesta uma tendência crioulzante [...] Diversas particularidades características dos dialectos crioulos repetem-se no Brasil; tal é a evidência para a supressão das formas do plural" (Coelho, cited in Holm 1992:62). Coelho believes that morphosyntactic constructions such as *as casa* (instead of

the "correct" *as casas*) widely spoken today throughout Brazil, were also the result of creolization. Another creole feature Coelho noted that Holm (1992:60) argues for is the use of existential *ter*: e.g. *não tem problema* ('there is no problem'). Such a construction is prohibited in European Portuguese, which must use either *estar* or *haver*, and is also a semantic constraint in Spanish. According to Holm (1992:60), this type of semantic overlap of possession and existence is attested in Portuguese creoles in Asia, Africa, "Spanish creoles" such as Papiamento and Palenquero, Dominican Spanish, Lesser Antillean creole French and Haitian creole, and Bahamian creole English. This hypothesis is also discussed by Valkhoff (1966).

Holm's morphosyntactic data, mostly comparative, attempt to trace BPV from a former semi-creole. Holm (1992, 2004) and Mello (1997) provide a list of grammatical parallels (phonological and morphosyntactic) of BPV to São Tomé & Príncipe Portuguese as well as other creoles, from where several African slaves arrived while awaiting transshipment to the Americas. Holm writes: "there are abundant phonological, syntactic, and lexical features linking São Tomé Creole Portuguese and Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese" (Holm 2004:51). These parallels are perhaps explained by the fact that many of the first slaves and slave owners from the 16th century migrated to Brazil from São Tomé & Príncipe to establish sugarcane farming (Holm 2004:51). Among such linguistic parallels are post-verbal negation (e.g. *vou não*), CV syllabic structure (e.g. *negro > nego* 'black'; *dizer > dizê* 'to say', *flor > fulô* 'flower'), palatalization (e.g. *tio* ['tʃi.u] 'uncle'; *quente >* ['kẽ.tʃi] 'hot'), morphology (e.g. loss of subject-verb agreement: *nós vai*; use of *ta*, *tava*; and plural-marking at the head: *os home*). In addition, Lipski (1998a:55-6) demonstrates grammatical parallels of double negation (e.g. *não sei não*) and inverted questions (e.g. *você faz isso porquê?* 'you do that why?') typical in Angolan Portuguese Vernacular (spoken by both African and European descendants) and in Bantu languages such as Kikongo and Kimbundu; phrases common in BPV. Furthermore, both Kikongo and Kimbundu – Bantu languages present in Brazil's colonial period – were instrumental in the formation of São Tomé & Príncipe creoles.

Koine languages, such as *língua geral* and *falares africanos* were also widely spoken during Brazil's colonial period. This raises several questions as to exactly *what* was spoken to *whom* in Brazil. Brazilian society was mainly rural that moved to the cities, a trend still occurring to this day. In Minas Gerais, for example, after the gold rush in the first half of the 18th century, Portuguese emerged as the common language of the region due to the influx of more Portuguese and African-born slaves (both Bantu and non-Bantu). Before then, *língua geral* – a type of koine Tupi-Guarani – was the attested language for the first two centuries of colonization. However, some scholarship suggests that Portuguese Jesuit Priests, not the general population, spoke *língua geral* (Holm 2004:52). Moreover, Holm (*idem*) believes Portuguese was most likely the language of the colony's initial coastal sugar plantations. After the population growth of African slaves, Holm argues that Portuguese then became the *lingua franca*. This new variety of Portuguese spoken among these emigrants was the precursor to BPV, which spread and settled in other regions of Brazil (Holm 2004:55).

At any rate, the language of Brazil became a complex mixture of Indigenous (i.e. Tupi-Guarani) and West African languages that converged into the 16th-17th century dialects of European Portuguese to form the BPV grammar (Holm 1987:410). Among these African languages, known as *falares africanos*, Elia (2003:60) argues that 17th century rural *falares africanos*, likely of Kimbundu or Yoruba origin, mixed with Portuguese to constitute the Portuguese semi-creole. Holm elaborates:

> Língua Geral, a lingua franca variety of a widespread indigenous language, was used during the first centuries of colonization not only by the Indians and mestiços, but also by some white and possibly Africans. This, the long survival of African languages, and the nature of social relations among the various groups seem to have blocked the formation or at least the survival of a creolized form of Portuguese, although some external influences are evident in modern colloquial Brazilian Portuguese. (Holm 1989:268)

As Guy (1981) questions, how could creoles not have formed if Brazil possessed the largest African population of the American colonies? While these slaves mostly lived

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in rural areas of society, the abolition of slavery forced a massive exodus of ex-slaves to the cities in search of work, where they were marginalized. Possible linguistic influences from their rural varieties and African languages on today's urban varieties are debatable: "It is by no means certain [...], although many creolists believe that they played some role" (Holm 1988:53-4). Houaiss also follows this argument, leaving the question open:

O fato de que houve uma tendência reducionista pan-brasileira de tipo crioulizante é aparentemente incontestável – tendo havido (e havendo ainda) contestação às causas do fenômeno: seria por causa do substrato e adstrato indígenas, seria por causa do adstrato africano, seria por ambos os casos ou seria por causa das derivas portuguesas? Ou seria por causa do concurso dessas e outras causas?

[...]

Crioulizado ou não (mas sem jamais haver chegado ao estádio de "outra" língua), o português emergente no Brasil, já diversificado regionalmente, passa a ser a língua geral e logo a língua comum de uma coletividade que guardava resíduos linguageiros mais ou menos vivos e uma estranha assimetria social (Houaiss 1988:119, 131)

Azevedo (2005:250-3) analyzes the creole hypothesis of Brazilian Portuguese as "neither a creole nor a semi-creole but bearing some creole-like features" (p.252). And as to whether or not African languages influenced the phonology or morphosyntax of Brazilian Portuguese, it is still subject to debate.

2.3.2.1 Some sociolinguistic considerations of BPV

Brazilian Portuguese, like Standard American and Black English, presents a spectrum of sociolects. For example, Afro-American migrations from the southern states spread north and west to various urban areas where BEV can be found in most major U.S. cities. In Brazil, Holm provides a key difference between the two societies: "Although blacks are certainly overrepresented in the lower class and underrepresented in the upper

class, the structure of Brazilian society is such that all sociolects have speakers of all races, just as other aspects of Brazilian culture are shared by all ethnic groups" (Holm 1992:37). Holm (1992:38) compares this situation to American black speakers who are bi-dialectal, speaking both Black English and Standard American English, depending on the social context. Some suggest that the large African population in South Carolina produced a creolized variety affected by Niger-Congo languages, developing into Black English (Asante 1990; Holm 1992:40). This theory, however, is not universally accepted.[1]

Due to its complex sociolinguistic situation, Brazil is quite unique in many respects to the situation of other American colonies, and has ignited much debate around the semi-creole hypothesis of BPV. Megenney, Mello, Baxter & Holm (1998) provide arguments for the backing of such a theory, although they admit that it is no way conclusive. On the other hand, advocates for internal change of European Portuguese, such as Révah (1963), Mollica (1994), and Naro & Scherre (2003), present BPV simplifications as general linguistic tendencies, rather than L2 restructuring, attested in Western European languages. However, these arguments are made without addressing diachronically how such changes could have occurred nor which speech community may have been responsible for their dissemination.

2.3.3 *Falares africanos*

Undoubtedly some of the most important Afro-Brazilian studies come from the research of *falares africanos* by Brazilian ethnolinguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro (1967, 1980, 1983, 2001). The term refers to a type of speech that is mostly African lexically, but simple in morphosyntactic structure. These "languages" are spoken throughout Brazil, though not necessarily natively, but instead in certain social situations.

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[1] Poplack et al. (2000) argue that BEV originates from the English dialects that the slaves were in contact with. They argue such "creole-like" features are attested in other English dialects which slaves acquired. BEV's divergence from Standard American English results instead from racial segregation.

Among Castro's works are the African linguistic presence and contributions to Brazilian Portuguese in her native Bahia and in Minas Gerais. While she recognizes the importance of Bantu in the formation of Brazilian speech, she has mostly focused her efforts on the influence of Yoruba and Ewe-Fon in the state of Bahia. Nonetheless, these *falares africanos* have been present throughout the history of Brazil. Castro argues that up to five types existed in colonial Brazil: i.) *Falar da senzala* – Afro-Brazilian speech from the slave plantations beginning in the 16th century; ii.) *Falar rural* – 17th century rural Afro-Brazilian speech; iii.) *Falar das minas* – 17th century Afro-Brazilian speech from the mines; iv.) *Falar do quilombo* – the speech of an escaped maroon society of slaves; and v.) *Falar urbano* – 19th century Afro-Brazilian speech in the major coastal ports (i.e. Rio de Janeiro and Salvador).

To gain an understanding of the complex heterogeneity, consider the following linguistic strata of Brazil (adapted from Castro):

Standard Brazilian Portuguese (Formal: school, media)
Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular (Popular)
Falares Africanos (Calunga, Cupópia, Nagô)
Afro-Brazilian liturgical language (Candomblé, Vissungos)

These strata are interesting for two reasons: i.) They represent socioeconomics of Brazil; and ii.) Grammatical variations – phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical – are roughly correlative of these social components. These influences are especially noted in the phonology, which are results of the incorporation of the African phonologies (Castro 2001:177).

Holm believes that such *falares africanos* were strongly present in Brazil as well, but may have been a means to impede creolization:

Besides Língua Geral, another factor complicated the reconstruction of language transmission in Brazil as this might relate to restructuring. This factor is *the*

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retention of African languages over many generations and among large numbers of people. Such retention was largely absent from other New World societies in which creoles developed, where Africans were often put into linguistically heterogeneous groups to prevent communication in a language that their overseers could not understand in order to foil possible plots to revolt. However, in Brazil linguistic homogeneity seems to have been valued since it enabled older generations of slaves to teach newcomers more easily. (Holm 2004:53, italics mine)

2.3.3.1 *Falares africanos*: Calunga and Cupópia

Only two works are available that offer short linguistic analyses and historical roots of Calunga. Vogt & Fry (1996) offer a brief lexical comparison of Calunga to another *falar africano* from the São Paulo region known as Cupópia, spoken by the Cafundó community just outside São Paulo city. The "secret language" of Cupópia has some grammatical and lexical parallels to Calunga. The authors also provide interviews (in Portuguese) with Calunga speakers from Patrocínio and a short glossary of vocabulary, many of which are near-equivalents to the Cupópia language of the Cafundó.[2]

Brazilian anthropologist Gastão Batinga (1994) offers a short work tracing the historical background and origins of Calunga to the local Afro-Brazilian cowboys, miners, and loggers of the *Triângulo Mineiro*. His book also presents a short glossary of Calunga words collected from *in situ* interviews.

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[2] A sample of Cupópia speech:

O vimba. Ah! Bom! Cuenda cuenda no no cuenda o naçango nâni, cupópia cuenda maçango e com cupópia cimba, cupópia vimba e daí... ah! Porque cutaro cuenda anguta que cuenda n'ambara. (Vogt & Fry 1996:163).

2.3.3.2 *Anti-creole*

Two papers by Couto (1992a) and Petter (1999) define Cupópia and Calunga as "anti-creoles." Following the definition of Couto, anti-creole "[é] uma língua – ou variedade de uma língua – que consta basicamente da gramática da língua dominante ou de superstrato e de um léxico total ou parcialmente oriundo de uma língua – ou de línguas – de substrato, dominadas" (Petter 1999:101). That is, in the case of Calunga, we find principally BPV morphosyntax and phonology with a Bantu lexicon. Or, as Couto (1992a:73) puts simply, Brazilian anti-creoles "revela uma mescla de africanidade e de caipiridade."

Castro (2001) defends the presence of these "anti-creoles" as important linguistic fossils that trace the linguistic past of the Brazilian slave society, and the possible implications of the (semi-)creole theory of BPV. Ultimately, anti-creoles are related to the *falares africanos* that were widely spoken during colonial Brazil. After the abolition of slavery, many of these languages quickly disappeared although a few exist today. Such languages are important for a comprehensive reconstruction of earlier Afro-Brazilian language. Petter elaborates:

> Parece provável que tenham existido várias línguas francas, nas diferentes regiões do país, no entanto, não se encontram evidências empíricas de tal fato. O que se sabe é que grande parte dos escravos aprendiam o português, com diferentes graus de proficiência, em função de sua posição no quadro social da época. […]
>
> O estudo das comunidades afro-brasileiras isoladas permitirá recuperar, na fala dos mais idosos, traços do encontro de línguas e culturas ocorrido no passado e oferecerá subsídios para que se avaliem prováveis processos de crioulização e atual descrioulização, a partir de fatos morfossintáticos identificados (Petter 1999:104-5)

2.3.4 Further Afro-Brazilian language(s) in Minas Gerais

While works are still somewhat scarce to provide insight into Afro-Brazilian speech in Minas Gerais, some studies are available.

In the 1930's, João Dornas Filho collected some 200 words and expressions in the village of Catumba (municipal of Itaúna) which he traced to Bantu origin (Lopes 2003:19). Aires de Mata Machado Filho (1943/1985) produced one of the classic studies of the São João da Chapada community (municipal of Diamantina) which possesses a *língua antiga* of Bantu origin. Machado Filho believes this was the remnant of a creole spoken in Minas Gerais and since survived in the songs of the *vissungos*. Valéria do Nascimento (2003) provides updated interviews and songs from the actual speakers and singers of this Afro-Brazilian speech.[3]

The recent study of Castro (2002) focuses on lexical items and history of the Kwa-based *jejê* language from 18th century Ouro Preto. Pereira & Gomes (2003) document the *língua de jongo* and argue that it is a "secret language" either related to or derived from the *nego nagô*.[4] Both studies present the *nagô* language – a *falar africano* of Yoruba origin.

Another community is that of Chapada do Norte, reported in 1983 by the newspaper *Estado de Minas* as not speaking fluent Portuguese, but a Bantu-based language (Estado de Minas 1983).[5] Queiroz (1984, 1998) has researched the Afro-

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[3] My own visit to São João da Chapada in 2002 showed the presence of Bantu architecture and traditional sugarcane cultivation.

[4] <u>Sample:</u> A *língua de jongo* é uma língua desse pessoal que viero da África que nós chama desses *nego nagô*. Ninguém sabe contá. Só eles é que entendia. É língua de preto véio. Por isso canta: "Eu fala jogo num entende."

> Tem muitas palavra de *nego nagô*. Mas eu alembro pocas. Se tinha muito menino aqui, eles tratava criança de curiá.
>> -Ô curiá, toma bênção, curiá.
>> -Ó konde iê da capikendê!
>> -Dô giá macumbá va diô tendê!
>> -Kuanda, kuanda?
>> -Kuanda curiá!
>> -Curiá, curiá! Curiá gambê!

> (Interview with José Paulino Clemente: Pereira & Gomes 2003:105-6, italics mine).

[5] The reported Bantu-based language from 1983 was not encountered during my visit in 2002, though rumors suggest its presence in remote Afro-Brazilian communities outside the town. However, Afro-Brazilian traditions such as *congados* are frequently practiced there.

Mineiro community of Bom Despacho. This community speaks a "secret language" derived lexically from Bantu with reduced morphosyntactic structures.

2.3.5 Other Afro-Brazilian speech communities

Mello, Baxter, Holm, & Megenney (1998:117) assert that "a sua avaliação quantitiva em comunidades isoladas, isto é, em comunidades afro-brasileiras e ameríndias, tem um valor considerável para a história comparada das variedades do português brasileiro." Hence, a few lesser-known communities are worthy of mention.

The Lanc-Patuá community was studied by Andrade (1984). This community in the northern state of Amapá speaks a creole language, known as Lanc-Patuá. This language shares characteristics of other creole languages from the Caribbean due to its proximity with French Guyana and its emigrant history from Caribbean French islands such as Barbados, Martinique, Santa Lucia, and from French Guyana and Suriname. Lack of subject-verb agreement and lack of morphological inflections are among the more salient linguistic features. The Helvécia community is located in southern Bahia in a region of German and Swiss emigrants. This small, isolated Afro-Brazilian community arose with traces of creolization. Ferreira (1985) published the first linguistic analysis of this community. Spera & Ribeiro (1989) studied the small community of João Ramalho & Vale Ribeiro in the Eldorado municipality of São Paulo state. Spera & Ribeiro attest this Afro-Brazilian dialect as archaic Portuguese lexicon distorted from phonetic and phonological changes. Careno (1992) studied three small São Paulo communities (São Pedro, Abobral, and Nhungara) that also showed an evolved archaic Portuguese and lack of morphosyntactic agreement. Gomes & Pereira (2000) studied the Afro-Brazilian cultural and linguistic heritage of a group known as *Os Arturos* from central Minas Gerais. Their ritual language and songs present elements from both Afro-Brazilian traditions, such as Bantu-influenced *congado* and *reisado* songs, and BPV.

2.4 Conclusion

To lay a foundation for the linguistic description of Calunga, it has been necessary to present a panorama of theoretical and descriptive linguistic scholarship. These works include theories regarding the nature of linguistic change from the point of view of the speech community, pidgins and creoles, mixed languages, and language death. Additionally, Afro-Brazilian studies, the legacy of *falares africanos*, and the evolution of BPV as a possible semi-creole provide a descriptive base from which to proceed in the following chapters.

3. Historical overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the second research question: What is the history of Calunga? In attempt to answer this question, the following sections trace the union of relevant points of African and Brazilian history to provide a comprehensive sociohistoric and sociolinguistic framework for Calunga and its evolution in the interior of Minas Gerais.

The sociohistoric and linguistic origins of Calunga begin with Portuguese slave traffic over 500 years ago on the West African coast from the Senegal River to the Kwanza River in Angola, extending as far as the southeastern region of Mozambique (see Map 2). Accurate numbers of slaves do not exist, though scholars' estimates range from 10-50 million (Alpha Bah 1998:74-5). The estimates of African slaves shipped to Brazil are at 4-4.5 million between the 16th and 19th centuries (Bueno 2003:120; Klein 2002:93; Olsen 2003:57). Castro (2001:62), however, argues that this number is higher at some 5-8 million slaves. And Mendonça (1936:176) mentions that to the Brazilian estimates there may have been an additional 2 million contraband slaves. Though these figures cannot be confirmed objectively, it is agreed that Brazil was the largest single recipient of African slaves, with over 40% of the entire Atlantic slave trade (Dodson 2001:119).

Among the African languages that made linguistic and cultural contributions in Brazil are Kwa and Bantu of the Niger-Congo group (see Table 3.1). For example, in Ouro Preto, Minas Gerais, a large presence of speakers of Ewe-Fon or Gbe made a strong presence in the mines, leaving traces of the *mina-jejê* language (Castro 2002; Pereira & Gomes 2003). But for most of Minas Gerais and Brazil, the Bantu had the greatest linguistic and cultural impact (Castro 2001:16, 129).

3.2 Africa

Map 2: Africa

3.2.1 The Bantu

Between B.C. 1000-500 West African Iron-Age tribes began to migrate from the Nigeria/Cameroon region to eastern and southern Africa, possibly from an epidemic of diseased cattle (Diamond 1999:394-5). Iron metallurgy for farming and warring aided the development of centralized military tribes that marched across much of the continent and absorbed several hunter-gatherer tribes (Diamond 1999:396). By A.D. 200, their migrations spread south to as far as South Africa, and east to the headwaters of the Nile

River. Despite these migrations, other tribes of the Niger-Congo language family remained in their original lands: West Atlantic (Wolof and Fulani), Kwa (Kru, Akan, Yoruba, and Igbo), Mande (Malinke, Soninke, Bambara), and Voltaic (Mossi). The Bantu tribes colonized the areas of modern day Congo and Angola roughly in A.D. 500. Warrior leaders and kingdoms evolved in these conquered regions of West Africa, especially around the Congo River valley in the late 14th century (Warner-Lewis 2003:1-2).

3.2.2 Bantu languages

The Bantu language family is a branch of the Niger-Congo language family which covers most all of sub-Saharan Africa (Falola 2002:49). The term *Bantu* – first coined in 1862 – is from the reconstructed word *ba-ntò* 'people', plural of *mo-ntò* 'person' (Wald 1990:992). The term refers to the language(s) of these migrant tribes, making the terminology one of a linguistic (and archeological) nature, not demographic (Falola 2002:49; Olsen 2003:51). The linguistic characteristic that sets apart Bantu is a series of similar morphological class prefixes such as *ki-* (e.g. *ki-kongo*) and *ba-* (e.g. *ba-ntu*) and corresponding grammatical patterns.

According to Falola (2002:49) there about 450 Bantu languages today; Diamond (1999:384) claims some 500:

> all those 500 Bantu languages are so similar to each other that they have been facetiously described as 500 dialects of a single language. [...] That spread must have begun long ago enough that the ancestral Bantu language had time to split into 500 daughter languages, but nevertheless recently enough that *all those daughter languages are still very similar to each other*. (Diamond 1999:384-5, italics mine)

Wald (1990:992) reiterates: "Bantu speakers themselves tend to recognise the essential unity of their own and neighbouring Bantu languages with which they are familiar." On

the other hand, it is not precise to make sweeping claims that all these Bantu languages and their subsequent dialects are mutually intelligible among speakers of other Bantu languages. Observe Tables 3.1-3.3 of African languages and their (sub-)families:

Table 3.1 African languages and language families (Batibo 2005:5-9)

Language families	Language sub-families	Number of languages
Niger-Congo (including 500 Bantu languages)	Kordofanian, Mande, Atlantic, Ijoid, Dogon, Kru, Gur (Voltaic), Adamawa-Ubangi, Kwa, Benue-Congo	1436
Afro-Asiatic	Berber, Chadic, Egyptian, Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic	371
Nilo-Saharan	Songhay, Saharan, Kuliak, Fur, Central Sudanic, Berta, Kunama, Eastern Sudanic	196
Khoesan	Northern Khoesan, Southern Khoesan, Central Khoesan, East African Khoesan, Khoesanoid	35
Total		**2038**

Table 3.2 Niger-Congo languages (Batibo 2005:5)

Sub-family	Countries where spoken	Sample languages
Kordofanian	Western Sudan	Koalib, Logol, Tiro, Dengebu, Tegali
Mande	Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia	Manding, Susu, Kpelle, Mende, Soninke, Gban
Atlantic	Senegal, Gambia, Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone	Wolof, Fulfude, Diola, Serer, Temne, Basari, Konyagi
Ijoid	Nigeria	Defaka, Kalabari, Nembe, Izon, Oruma
Dogon	Mali, Burkina Faso	Toro, Kamba, Duleri, Bangeri, Yanda, Oru Naya
Kru	Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Burkina Faso	Kouye, Ware, Bassa, Gan, Viemo
Adamawa-Ubangi	Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Central African Republic, Gabon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan	Mumunye, Nimbari, Mbum, Longuda, Gbaya, Banda, Ngbaka, Zande, Sango
Kwa	Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria	Akan, Anyi, Baule, Ga, Logba, Avatime, Ewe, Fon, Gen
Benue-Congo	Nigeria, Central African Republic, Cameroon, and all countries south of the Equator	Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe, Idom, Jukun, Mambila, and all 500 Bantu languages

Table 3.3 Sample of Bantu languages of Benue-Congo sub-family

Bantu languages	Countries where spoken
Kikongo	Northwestern Angola and Congo-Brazzaville
Kimbundu	Northwestern Angola
Umbundu	Southwestern/Central Angola and Namibia

3.2.3 Portuguese explorations

Portuguese maritime explorations of Africa, beginning in the early 15th century, were a result of Renaissance European expansionism of newly-formed nation-states

(Alpha Bah 1998:69). The expansionist drive of the Portuguese crown was motivated by three factors: commerce, religion, and science (Falola 2002:110). With respect to commerce, Portugal took to the sea in search for an alternative passage to Asia that would bypass the Islamic monopoly of the North African and Middle Eastern trade routes. In addition, the Portuguese desired to gain direct access to the gold trade of western, southern, and eastern Africa (Alpha Bah 1998:70). With respect to religion, the reconquest of the Moorish occupied Iberian peninsula sparked a Christian crusade of the Muslim lands in Africa (Ryder 1969:217-8). Finally, with science, there was European interest in researching the "black continent."

Prince Henry the Navigator established the Sagres navigation school in the early 15th century. Through advancements in sailing techniques and technology, Henry began to dispatch ships on the West African coast as of 1415, just after the capture of the Moroccan port city of Ceuta (Alpha Bah 1998:69). The Portuguese landed on the Madeira Islands, in 1419. The explorations intensified in 1433 when Henry's brother, Duarte, became King of Portugal. In 1434, the Portuguese captured Cape Bojador and realized the colonization of the Azores. In 1444, African trade routes were opened after the Portuguese established a fort (known as *feitorias*) at the Arguim Islands. From the Arguim fort, African shipments of gold, ivory, pepper, and later, slaves, began to flow to Portugal. From the Arguim fort, Henry had hoped to initiate gold trading with Wadan, which was an important access between Guinea and Mauritania. But gold was rather scarce throughout this region, which forced the Portuguese further south down the African coast. The Arguim fort, however, was a key starting point of the Atlantic slave trade despite its location just north of black Africa (Lipski 1994:94; Ryder 1969:220). The first Portuguese shipments of slaves were brought from Senegambia and thence transported to Arguim to await shipment to Lisbon. By 1455 more than 1,000 slaves a year were moving through Arguim (Lipski 1994:94). By 1460, Portuguese settlers known as *lançados* began to form colonies on the islands at Cape Verde and on the mainland of Guinea-Bissau. In 1462, Pedro da Sintra explored Sierra Leone; meanwhile Fernão Gomes discovered the African gold trade between the upper Guinea coast and Sierra

Leone. For the next twenty years, the Portuguese established a number of forts on the Gold coast region, including the fort of *El mina*.[1] In 1487, Bartolomeu Dias reached the southern tip of the African continent. Finally, during a 1497-98 voyage, Vasco da Gama reached the East African coast for the first time and eventually India with help from local traders. In 1500, on route to India, Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on the northeastern shores of Brazil.

The Portuguese voyages to Africa and India, combined with the Spanish "discovery" of the "New World," would ultimately change human history on a crash course of civilizations – events that economist Adam Smith called in *Wealth of nations* "one of the most important events recorded in the history of mankind" (cited in Chomsky 1993:4). The Atlantic slave trade played an essential role in this crash course of civilizations.

3.2.4 The Atlantic slave trade

The first reports of Portuguese slave activity appear around 1441 on a trip to Guinea by Portuguese Captain Antão Gonçalves (Bueno 2003:114). In 1462, the Portuguese began to colonize the uninhabited Cape Verde Islands with Portuguese *lançados* and West African slaves, which later served as a strategic center between Africa and the Caribbean. Portuguese slave labor for sugar cane farming established and developed the island, making Cape Verde the prototype colony for Portuguese colonization on São Tomé & Príncipe as well, and eventually Brazil.

In 1492, Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão entered the Zaire River and made contact with the king of Nsoyo. Later, Cão met with King Nzinga Nkuwu of Congo, a leader of one of the strongest military tribes in all of Africa. Situated to the south were the Kimbundu people and their dynastic king Ngola, known as Angola by the Portuguese (Duffy 1962:49). Although initial relations with the Portuguese were rather pacific – including the introduction of books, teaching, religion, and European crops – in exchange

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[1] Basil Davidson's (1984) documentary *Africa* (Program 5: "The Bible and the gun") mentions some 43 European trading forts established on the West African coast.

for ivory and African cloths – slavery quickly became established as the major enterprise (Warner-Lewis 2003:2). Angola was later termed the "Black Mother" for estimated 4 million slaves – over 50% sent to Brazil and 30% to the Caribbean – sent from the Portuguese forts of Luanda and Benguela (Duffy 1962:59-60). At the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade in the 16th century, the use of slave labor in both Africa and medieval Europe (i.e. "serfdom") was practically identical (Davidson 1974:179). African slavery was further propagated by the Portuguese Crown as a means to "civilize the savages." Jesuit priests in Brazil frequently became the advocates for protectionism of Indigenous Brazilians and requested instead an African workforce (Duffy 1962:53). The "slave triangle"[2] was established and maintained by major Western European states (Portugal, Spain, England, France, and The Netherlands) for almost four centuries (Falola 2002:113).

According to Howard Dodson (2001:118), the Atlantic slave trade "transformed the economic, political, and cultural character of the peoples, nations, and continents involved in the largest, albeit involuntary, migration in the history of humankind." Thus the Atlantic slave trade would ultimately change the face of Africa, the Americas, and Europe. Dodson explains:

> The demographics of the slave trade take on remarkable siginificance when studied within the overall context of the peopling of the Americas. Contrary to popular opinion, Africans constituted the majority of the people who migrated from the Old World to the New World during the formative stages of European colonial expansion in the Americas.
>
> [...] Thus, more than five out of every six people who came to the Americas in the first three centuries after their "discovery" were African. [...] as late as 1820, three times as many Africans as Europeans had come to the Americas. As a result, one of the major consequences of the slave trade was the

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[2] "Slave triangle" = African workforce > European colonies in the Americas > Raw materials to Europe > Manufactured products sold to Africans.

peopling of the continents and islands of the Western Hemisphere with predominantly African peoples who constituted the demographic foundation on which the societies and cultures of the Americas were built.

We have not studied these facts in history books, and this knowledge has not been a part of our understanding of the development of the Americas. To the contrary, the histories of the Americas have been written from colonial perspectives that have neglected to take into account the economic, political, and sociocultural consequences of the undeniable fact that the overwhelming majority of the people involved in the development of the Americas were African.

[...] If more than five-sixths of the peoples who developed the new societies of the Western Hemisphere have not been included in the telling of its history, then we do not know much about this history. (Dodson 2001:119-20)

3.2.5 Portuguese language legacy

The global Portuguese voyages, "discoveries," and subsequent slaving practices shaped lusophone varieties throughout Africa (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique) and some surrounding islands (Cape Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe), India (Diu, Damão, Goa), China (Macao), Indonesia (East Timor), Malaysia (Malacca) and South America (Holm 1989:262-3). Moreover, Portuguese linguistic traces can be found on virtually every continent, ranging from toponyms and lexical items, to dialects and a spectrum of creoles. The Portuguese word *crioulo* originally was used to categorize an African slave born in Brazil, but later included Europeans born in the New World in a number of languages (Holm 1988:9). The first varieties of pidginized Portuguese developed in the forts near or on the West African coast in the 15th and 16th centuries (Holm 1989:268). These languages are important for debates regarding genetic theories of Afro-Hispanic speech, including Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish-based creoles (Palenquero and Papiamento), Afro-Hispanic dialects (Cuban and Dominican Spanish, Chota Valley, Negros Congos of Panama), and French-based creoles, among others. In addition, West African Portuguese-

based creoles also raise questions about the evolution of Portuguese in Brazil. (For further discussion of these and related topics, see Holm (1988, 1989); Lipski (2005)).

Unlike the Spanish military occupations and colonizations of the Americas, the Portuguese relied on the *lançado* settlers to exploit African kingdoms to meet their commericial wants. Entire African tribes were captured by neighboring tribes and traded for sugar, tobacco, and rum (*História do Brasil* 1997:74). This slave policy lasted until the 19th century from coercion and manipulation of African chiefs for Portuguese profit. As a result of such practices, few Africans today actually speak Portuguese outside of major Luso-African cities.

Early explorers along the African coast relied on Arabic translators to communicate with the local tribes. Farther south, African languages became more unintelligible. As a solution, Henry the Navigator requested that native Africans be shipped to Portugal for Portuguese language instruction to insure the success of future missions. As a result, by 1573 there was an estimated one slave for every ten Portuguese in Lisbon, some 40,000 in the entire country (Weber de Kurlat 1963:383). The 16th century Galician playwrite, Gil Vicente, provides literary evidence of *língua de preto* or *falar guinéu* among these Portuguese-speaking slaves in Portugal.[3]

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[3] "Nau D'Amores" c.1527
Poro meu vontare a mi vem
abre oio Purutugá
botera que ele tem
aqui muito a mi furugá

E si muiere me matai,
gran pecaro que bai ela
benturo quero buscai
nesse santo caravela
se bosso, seoro, mandai.
(Vicente 1983:129)

"Clérigo da Beira" c.1526
Cal-te: Deuso sima sai,
que furtai ere oiai.
Deuso nunca vai dormi,
sempre abre oio assi
tamanha tu sapantai.

Guarda mar eso mal,
e senhora Prito Santo.
Nunca rirá home branco
Furunando furata real.
Não sabe mi essa car era:
para quê? Para comê?
Muto comê, muto bevê,
Turo turo sa canseira.
(Vicente 1983:517)

Although informative, literary examples should be evaluated with caution. Some patterns may be due to African languages, though many morphosyntactic patterns could be L2 speech errors. Some salient phonological characteristics are: i.) Open syllables; ii.) Breaking of consonant clusters with epenthetic vowels; iii.) Lack of /ʎ/; iv.) /d/ > [r]; and v.) Loss of word-final /-r/ in verbal infinitives. Similar Afro-

The first evidence of Portuguese creole can be found on the Cape Verde Islands and on the mainland of Guinea-Bissau (and southern Senegal), called Upper Guinea creole Portuguese. The Portuguese landed on the uninhabited Cape Verde islands and the mainland African country of Guinea-Bissau in 1456. The *lançados* were responsible for establishing the Guinea-Bissau slave trade. Interracial mixture of the *lançados* with African women developed the first Luso-African communities and may have been the catalyst for such creole varieties of Portuguese (Couto 1992b:111-4). In 1462, the *lançados*, with slaves from West Atlantic and Mande languages, colonized the Cape Verde islands to export livestock and crops. Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau maintained contact and traded slaves under Portuguese control. In 1570, the Portuguese established a fort in Cacheu, and another in 1690 in Bissau, which were important slave depots for shipments to Brazil and the Spanish colonies (Holm 1989:275). Today, the official language of Cape Verde is Portuguese, but creole is the popular. On the other hand, Guinea-Bissau's 1962-1973 war of independence from Portugal unified the people and their creole language, though Portuguese is taught in schools. Eastern Guinea-Bissau, however, speaks mostly West Atlantic and Mande languages. Cape Verde creole is closer to Portuguese than the Guinea-Bissau creole, which possesses a stronger African substratum (Morais-Barbosa 1975:148).[4]

Gulf of Guinea Portuguese creoles are found on the islands of São Tomé & Príncipe. Portuguese expeditions discovered the unhabited islands probably around 1471. The *lançados* colonized the islands in 1483 with slaves from Benin and the Congo-

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Hispanic linguistic patterns are available in Golden Age Spanish texts from Rodrigo de Reinosa (Spain, c.1520), Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (Spain, 1525-1530), Lope de Rueda (Spain, 1538-1542), Lope de Vega (Spain, 1602-1618), Luis de Góngora (Spain, 1609), and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Mexico, 1676-1688). See Lipski (2005) for an exhaustive list of Afro-Hispanic texts and writers.

[4] Guinea-Bissau Creole Portuguese (cited in Holm 1989:277)
i ten ba un minjer ki ten ba manga de konpadre i ora ki si omi sai si konpadre ta bai pa kasa
('it have (ANT) a women who have (ANT) lots of friends and soon as her husband go out her friends (HAB) come to house')

Cape Verde Creole Portuguese (cited in Holm 1989:274)
Nn sera konta ñozi ũ pasaze ki kontisé la na ja braba di mi ku ño antõ
('I will tell you a story that happened here in island Brava of me and Mr. Antonio')

Angola region. However, the prospering islands spawned attacks by French and Dutch rivals. As a result, many Portuguese colonizers from São Tomé & Príncipe moved to Brazil. Today, four Portuguese creoles exist: São Tomense and Angolar (on São Tomé island); Principense (on Príncipe island); and Annobonese (on Annobom island). Some are described with more Kwa features, as Principense, while Angolar is argued to be more Bantu. Although Angolar is slightly different from São Tomense and Principense, there is evidence that they are derived from the same underlying creole (Ferraz 1976:34). In addition, the Angolares on the southern tip of São Tomé are an interesting case. Legend has it that they are Angolan descendants that survived a 1540 shipwreck. Today they speak a Portuguese-influenced Bantu language, mostly among themselves and as a "secret language" (Lorenzino 1998). Ferraz (1975:153), however, contends that from the historical record it is unclear where the slaves originated from and is inadequate to explain how the different creoles could have evolved. Morais-Barbosa (1975:136) writes: "One could equally well consider these creoles [Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Princípe] to be dialects of their African languages which contributed toward their formation."[5]

The extent of the impact of these languages on European Portuguese leads into the question of African languages and possible creolization of Brazilian Portuguese.

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[5] Annobón Creole Portuguese (cited in Holm 1989:284)
Pe mu cumplá jaji tudi xi bo be cu matu tudo bo be
('Father my bought house all that you see with field all you see')

Príncipe Creole Portuguese (cited in Holm 1989:282)
Swá tetuga ki kõpwé agbe˜ ina miga mutu ótu vé ótu fa, ótu sa kumé fa
('Story turtle and friend mud-turtle they friend much one see other not other be eat not')

Angolar creole Portuguese (cited in Holm 1989:281)
Bo ba mi'ñõnga bo 'pɛga u˜ã 'kikye 'ngairu
('You go sea you catch one fish large')

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3.3 Brazil

3.3.1 "Discovery" and colonization

Spanish explorer Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, the captain of the Niña on Colombus' first voyage to the Americas, is credited with the "discovery" of the Amazon river and northeastern coasts of Brazil in January of 1500. The Portuguese, however, are traditionally cited with "Brazil's discovery" because of political reasons of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas (*História do Brasil* 1997:26; Catz 1995/1996). At any rate, Portuguese captain Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on the Brazilian coast during a journey to India April 22, 1500 – a "discovery," either by accident, avoidance of Atlantic doldrums, or perhaps by royal orders (Catz 1995/1996).

In the early 16th century, Portugal was not very interested in Brazil. That is, there was nothing particularly striking to begin a full-blown colonization of the *Terra dos papagaios* (Catz 1995/1996:82), which explorer Calógeras referred to as "bad business" for lack of precious metals or stones (Elia 1965:219). During a 1501 expedition, however, Italian explorer Amerigo Vespucci noticed something of interest: "nessa costa não vimos coisa de proveito, exceto uma infinidade de árvores de *pau-brasil*" (cited in *História do Brasil* 1997:22, italics mine). The pulp of *pau-brasil* ('Brazilwood') was useful for crimson or purple dye – the color of kings and noblemen – which later gave the name to *Terra Brasilis*. Moreover, the term *brasileiro* ('Brazilian') was not used for a person from Brazil, but to describe the mostly French, Spanish, and English merchants of Brazilwood. By 1505, the Portuguese renamed the new colony *Terra do Brasil*, reducing its title to just *Brasil* (also written *Brazil*) in 1527 (*História do Brasil* 1997:22-3).

Due to increasing French interests in the South American colony, in 1530 Portugal sent Martim Affonso de Sousa (who appears in Luis de Camões' *Os Lusíadas*) to fortify the Portuguese presence (*História do Brasil* 1997:27). São Vicente (near modern day São Paulo city) was the first declared Brazilian city in 1532 (Keen 1996:123). After Brazilwood rendered only little profit, coastline deforestation, and no gold or majestic cities, the Portuguese quickly turned to sugar cane production for the struggling colony (Sacramento & Sacramento 2000:8). Martim Affonso de Sousa

initiated the Brazilian sugar industry in 1532. Like the Spanish in the New World colonies, the Portuguese first attempted to use Indigenous slaves, but to little success. Since such slaves were mostly unwilling and largely decimated by European-born diseases, African slaves were requested by Jesuit Priests (Duffy 1962:54; *História do Brasil* 1997:75). Pooling from their forts on the West African coast, African slavery was introduced into the Brazilian colony at unprecedented proportions, firmly establishing the "slave triangle" as the basis of the Portuguese colonial policy.

The general colonization of Brazil was rather diverse and highly dependent of the region in question. While the northeastern areas contained a concentration of sugar cane plantations, in the southeastern regions sugar cane cultivation did not thrive. As a result, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, a Portuguese team of explorers known as *bandeirantes* (known by the type of *bandeira* 'flag' that they traveled with) wandered through unexplored territories in search of gold and Indigenous slaves. Such explorations covered tens of thousands of kilometers of the South American continent, stretching as far as the Brazilian *sertão*, the Amazon river, Ecuador, and Uruguay. The demarcation line of the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas was violated by these explorations though protest was futile since Spain had united with Portugal in 1580. The Spanish takeover of Portugal was perceived in Europe as imperial hubris which spawned a number of military engagements for the Brazilian northeastern coasts and control of the Amazon river by the French, Dutch, and English. Nevertheless, after Portugal's independence from Spain in 1640, the *bandeirantes* had initiated a massive territorial expansion of Brazil, despite Spanish protest.

In the region that would be later known as Minas Gerais, the *bandeirantes* finally found gold, diamonds, and other precious stones around the year 1693. From these discoveries, Portugal quickly shifted efforts from sugar to mining. This also turned Portugal's economic interests to the southeastern and interior regions of Brazil, commencing settlements in the modern day regions of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso. This economic phase also sparked a political shift from the northeastern states of Bahia and Pernanmbuco to Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais. This shift enlarged colonial

bureaucracy, created internal transportation and commercial networks, produced competiton with the Northeastern sugar business, and increased the African slave trade (Burkholder & Johnson 2001:258, 261). By the early 1750's the mines dried up, yet unprecedented numbers of African slaves were sent to Brazil to exploit the flourishing agricultural markets of sugar, tobacco, cotton, rice, and coffee (Burkholder & Johnson 2001:258).

3.3.2 Slavery and colonial Brazil

Colonial and economic growth for 16th and 17th century Brazil was not without massive arrivals of African slaves. In colonial times, the *fazenda*, or 'estate', was the heart of rural Brazilian society. The *fazenda* revolved around the *casa grande* – a patriarchal community including the owner and family, overseers, sharecroppers, retainers, and primarily the slaves (Keen 1996:133).

Dom João III declared the official political date of Brazilian slave traffic on March 29, 1549 (Queiroz 1998:24). However, some historians suggest an earlier arrival, c.1531, which coincides with the beginning of sugar cultivation (Megenney 1978:62). Even more recent dates of 1516-1526, matching Portuguese explorations of the northeastern coasts, have also been argued by historians (Queiroz 1984:35). At any rate, the Africa-Brazil slave routes initially began from Guinea and the island of São Tomé, and spread thereafter to the Congo Kingdom and Angola, especially from the port cities of Luanda and Benguela. Due to a 19th century British blockade of the West African coast resulted in Mozambique as the final port for slave shipments. Because of the many slave routes, origins of the Africans are not entirely known. Ramos explains:

Desde os tempos coloniais até os nossos dias, houve designações populares de Nagô, Mina, Angola, Moçambique […] o que indicava vagamente os pontos do continente africano de onde provieram os negros. Mais comuns eram as designações gerais: 'peça da Índia', 'preto da Guiné', 'negro da Costa'. Para o

senhor branco, não havia povos negros diversos, mas apenas o negro escravo. (Ramos 1979:183)

That said, there were specific types of slaves that slave traffickers did sale for certain skills or demeanors. For example, the *nagô* (Yoruba speakers) and *mina* (or *jejê*) (Ewe-Fon or Gbe speakers from the regions of Ghana, Togo, and Benin) were popular during the period of exploration of gold and diamonds in the 18th century due to their mining skills acquired in Africa (Castro 2002; Queiroz 1998:28).

In 1709, Dom João V granted massive exports of African slaves to persons from São Paulo to mine for gold and other precious stones in Minas Gerais. As a result, 18th century Minas Gerais crowned Brazil as the leading producer of gold in the world. Its major city, Ouro Preto, jumped to a population of over 80,000 in 1750, larger than New York City at the time (*História do Brasil* 1997:65-8). The reforms of the Marquis de Pombal from 1750-1777 expelled the Jesuits from Brazil (who were responsible for religious and secular instruction), diminished the use of Indigenous labor, and advocated for high increases of African slaves (Keen 1996:125). In addition, the Marquis de Pombal encouraged the mixing of races; a staple of ethnic and social make-up of Brazil today (Olsen 2003:59).

In 1763, Portugal moved the colonial capital from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro, concentrating major slave markets in the southeastern region (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais). Mendonça (1935a:33-4) comments that "no século XVIII, o Rio semelha um porto africano […] É a maior feira de escravos de todo o Brasil, que exporta para São Paulo, Minas [Gerais], Estado do Rio e Goiás." By the early 19th century, Burkholder & Johnson (2001:262) show that Brazil was approximately 66% African slaves or descendants of Africans, 28% mulattoes and free blacks, 28% white, and 6% Indigenous; the most populous region being Minas Gerais with 20% of the total Brazilian population.

Leite & Callou (2002:13) mention the Brazilian census of 1822 recorded some 1,347,000 whites (25%) and 3,993,000 blacks (75%).[6]

African slavery in Minas Gerais, like most of Brazil, was substantial during the colonial period. In the first half of the 18th century, there was a predominance of Niger-Congo (or Sudanic) slaves from *El mina* in the new captaincy; however, due to unknown circumstances the Portuguese concentrated their slave shipments to Minas Gerais from Angola and Congo beginning in the latter half of the 18th century (Barbosa 1970:309). By 1776, 78% of Minas Gerais was either African-born or Mulatto; in 1821, 75%; just after emancipation in 1888, 53% (Barbosa 1970:315; Queiroz 1984:39). The percentage of African-born slaves in Minas Gerais in these times was also high: 78% in the final fourth of the 18th century; and 62% in the final fourth of the 19th century (Barbosa 1970:315-6). It wasn't until at the end of the 19th century that the white population of Minas Gerais surpassed 50%.

The slave trade continued through the 19th century, though mostly clandestine in the latter half. Elements of clandestine slavery continued the coffee economy in the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais into the beginning of the 20th century. The region of the *Triângulo Mineiro* furthered slavery well into the early 20th century; some former slave owners are still alive this day (Tadeu de Barros, personal communication).

3.3.3 End of Brazilian slavery

Following independence in 1822, Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro I signed a treaty and trade agreement with Great Britain in 1826 calling for the end of slave traffic by 1830. Brazil, however, did not respect this law and continued to import over 50,000 slaves a year up through the 1840's. In 1849 and 1850, the British Navy vowed to attack and seize Portuguese slaving ships, ending the importation of Africans to Brazil by the mid-1850's. The termination of the Atlantic trade resulted in slaves' migration from the

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[6] These statistics are considerably higher than the United States. For example, the 1790 U.S. census reported 20% of the population of African origin (Olsen 2003:59).

northeastern Brazilian states southward to the coffee estates due to the struggling sugar farming and a thriving coffee business (Keen 1996:210-1).

With the end of slavery in the United States, anti-slavery and political activism began in Brazil. Writers such as Antônio de Castro Alves[7] and the prominent mulatto journalist José do Patrocínio took a firm hold on the national conscience. In May of 1888, the Brazilian parlament officially abolished slavery – the last country to do so, following Cuba in 1886 (Castro Ruz 1982:6). And in order to forget the past, then Minister of Fazenda, Rui Barbosa, had slavery documentation destroyed. Land owners, however, did not observe this law by and large. Most relationships remained in the form of master-slave, and socially Afro-Brazilians were denied access to education and the right of land ownership. Additionally, government campaigns attracted European migrant workers with the goal of "improving" and "whitening" the racial composition of Brazil, which they saw as "too black" (Santos & Maio 2002:176-7). Former slave jobs were turned over to thousands of European emigrants, mostly Italians, leaving the ex-slaves with only the worst-paying jobs, or forcing them into continued enslavement for survival (Keen 1996:236-9).

The end of slavery produced increased industrialization and urbanization. Most of Brazil's rural population migrated to the large cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The national shift from sugar, which was dominanted by the Caribbean nations at the time, to coffee, along with a drought in 1877-1879, caused an exodus of slaves to the cities. Such migrations gave rise to slums – precursors to *favelas* – that developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The results of some 350 years of slavery in Brazil can still be observed today in the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of the society.

3.3.4 African resistance and *Quilombos*

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[7] Era um sonho dantesco...O tombadilho
Que das luzernas avermelha o brilho,
　　　Em sangue a se banhar.
Tinir de ferros...estalar o açoite...
Legiões de homens negros como a noite
　　　Horrendos a dançar...
(Castro Alves, "O navio negreiro"; cited in Elia 2003:129)

"How can slavery be described?" writes American historian Howard Zinn (1999:172); "Perhaps not at all by those who have not experienced it." Indeed, for many slaves in Brazil suicide or escape was a better alternative to slavery. As a result, slave maroon communities – called *quilombos* or *mocambos* – were common. The word *quilombo* originated from Kimbundu, meaning 'village'; *mocambo*, from Kimbundu or Kikongo, meaning 'hiding place' (Lopes 2003:150, 186). The *quilombo* was often formed by African-born slaves from military tribes and survived by farming, black market mining, and robbery. Not only slaves formed these communities, but also Indigenous slaves and some white peasants (Cadernos do Arquivo 1988:35). In 1930, the word *quilombo* was registered in some 168 places throughout Brazil (*História do Brasil* 1997:79). In 2001, *The New York Times* reported that there are over 700 descendant *quilombos* in all of Brazil (Rohter 2001).[8]

Africans (re)created their culture throughout Brazil and the Americas (Thornton 1998). "Tribal regression" or "return to Africa" constituted the psychological basis for this resistance, or perhaps even a class struggle of "Marxist interpretation" (Guimarães 1999; Bastide 1979:195, 199-200). Such African resistance contests theories that Africans acculturated to the Europeans and formed *quilombos* solely for economic purposes (Flory 1979). Even though subservient to their masters, Africans danced, played music, prayed to their gods, cultivated and cooked their foods, and spoke their languages, with European culture as the "linking materials" (Thornton 1998:184). *Quilombos* became a symbol of resistance and a political refuge from slavery. The *quilombos*, therefore, were centers of African political and social traditions in Brazil (Moura 1987:32-37). Or, as Bastide (1979:200) argues, "a resistance of the whole of African civilization, whose memory was only intensified by the harsh regime of slavery."

Historically, the Palmares *quilombo* of Alagoas state engendered much popular lore about Zumbi, the rebel leader, who confronted the Portuguese army in 1693 (Levine & Crocitti 1999:128-9). Less known are the *quilombos* of Babilônia, Tengo-Tengo,

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[8] Other than Brazil, significant rebel slave communities have existed in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Suriname, Cuba, and Jamaica (Price 1999).

Ambrósio and Quilombo Grande found in the 18th century *Triângulo Mineiro*. As Waldemar de Barbosa notes the *quilombos* of the *Triângulo Mineiro* have an important historical value for Minas Gerais:

> Desde os primórdios da Capitania [de Minas Gerais], durante todo o século XVIII, tivemos inúmeros quilombos em plena mata, tanto na Zona da Mata, como no Triângulo [Mineiro], no sul de Minas, na zona do Serro Frio. [...] Com relação ao Triângulo Mineiro, o antigo sertão da Farinha Podre, há uma particularidade digna de nota: *foi a região onde mais proliferaram os quilombos e onde tiveram a mais longa duração*. O Quilombo do Ambrósio ou Quilombo Grande durou mais de trinta anos. (Barbosa 1970:312, italics mine)

Historian Roger Bastide writes:

> The *quilombos* of Minas were well organized and were the largest except for Palmares. They had the population of about twenty thousand Negroes, who had flocked from every corner of Brazil, from São Paulo, and from Bahia; these were joined by a number of mulattoes, criminals, and brigands; the inhabitants were divided among dozens of different villages, four of these being larger than the rest and fortified: Ambrosio, Zundu, Gareca, and Calaboca, all located near Sapucahy. (Bastide 1979:193)

Between 1710 and 1798, archeologist Carlos Magno Guimarães (1983:52, 1999) estimates that there were some 127 traces of *quilombos* throughout Minas Gerais; while Richard Price (1999:248) documented some 160.

These *quilombos*, however, did not go uncontested by the Portuguese colonial governments. Escaped slaves were frequently hunted down and killed by military campaigns or by bounty hunters known as *capitães do mato*. Dr. Gerson de Oliveira, a

Patrocínio resident, reports the writings of an 18th century Catholic historian Padre Diogo de Vasconcellos:

> Na região [do triângulo mineiro] constava existirem apenas aventureiros errantes e facinorosos, separadas as moradias por longas distâncias, havendo além disso os famigerados quilombos do Tengo-Tengo, da Babilônia e dos Aragões […] quilombos que agregavam mais de 20 mil negros, conforme observação de Diogo de Vasconcellos. Em 1758 houve uma cotização de dinheiro e bens, operada às ordens do governador José Antônio Freire de Andrade, que resultou na contratação do neto […] Bartolomeu Bueno de Prado […]. Conseguiram emfim exterminar, com raias de barbarismo, as organizações clandestinas dos escravos organizados em quilombos. (cited in Vogt & Fry 1996:237-8)

3.4 Sociohistoric and sociolinguistic overview of Calunga

The diachronic reconstruction of Calunga is a complex task. Much information is sketchy at best, leaving gaps in any historical overview. Even contemporary Calunga speakers provide only tenuous clues.

3.4.1 Patrocínio: The city of Calunga

The *bandeirantes* first explored the *Triângulo Mineiro* and the Paranaíba river, lying near Patrocínio, via the Tietê river and discovered some precious stones and metals. They initially referred to the region *sertão da farinha podre* ('outback of the rotten flour') (Sampaio 1904). Before the arrival of the *bandeirantes*, the native Caiapós had lived in the area, but were largely devastated by slavery and smallpox from the Portuguese. From the fluvial abundance of the Paranaíba, the Portuguese developed the region through mining, farming, logging, and cattle ranching, all of which depended on African slavery (Sampaio 1904:16). Today, as in the past, the *Triângulo Mineiro* is one of the main producers of cattle in the state of Minas Gerais.

Patrocínio was politically recognized by the Count of Valadares, the Captain General of Minas Gerais, in 1772. The town served primarily as a resting point for the explorations of the *bandeirantes* traveling from Pitangui, Minas Gerais to Anhangüera, Goiás. At the order of the Count of Valadares, cattle and farming began to develop in the region. In 1773, Portuguese *fazendeiros* and their slaves began to cultivate crops – such as rice, beans, corn – and ranch cattle for meat and milk. Later efforts were dedicated to fruit cropping (such as bananas), fishing, and hunting (Sampaio 1904:11-12). Fluvial mining of iron, gold, diamonds, and semi-precious stones also resulted profitable.

In 1804, the inhabitants named the area Nossa Senhora do Patrocínio. In the early years, the settlement attracted few commercial interests. Despite this, many large colonial *fazendas* began to sprout in the region.[9] But it was not until 1852 that a substantial demographic increase occured due mainly to the discovery of a large diamond called *a estrela do Sul*. As a result, miners, farmers, *sertão* cowboys, and bandits began to flock to the region. (Source: Brazilian Government monograph of the Municipal of Patrocínio, Minas Gerais)

Today, Patrocínio is a rural Brazilian town, sustained mostly by farming and basic commerce. Because of the exodus from the *fazendas* to the city in the 20th century, many of today's speakers of Calunga have come to live in the area. Most of these speakers were either cowboys or worked on nearby farms. Though Yeda Pessoa de Castro classifies Patrocínio as a central locality of "African resistance" in Minas Gerais, this is perhaps overstatating the fact. Calunga persists today through some hundreds of speakers who worked together in and around Patrocínio. It is still spoken on the job, in the city, and especially in lower-class bars, such as the "Galera's Bar." It is also learned by a handful of curious workers; however, it is not a primary language of any one speaker, who are native BPV speakers.

3.4.2 The men of Calunga

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[9] About 30 kilometers to the south of Patrocínio, a long stone wall can be found that is at least 200 years old. This wall was built by slave labor to divide Portuguese *fazendas* in the Boqueirão region.

The oldest and most respected speakers of Calunga are typically black and older than forty. Some even have mentioned their historical and social links to Africa. From my recorded interviews, the lexical and grammatical competence of older black speakers were superior to the younger generation. For example, Joaquim Luis, the oldest and the most knowledgeable speaker of Calunga, considers Calunga as a link to Brazilian slavery. He would on occasion recite philosophical and supernatural stories in Calunga that spoke of the struggle and perseverance of the Afro-Brazilians (see section 1.2).

Calunga conversations typically take place among these Afro-Brazilian men in social situations such as on the job or in the local "Galera's Bar." Its usage is employed either to keep their speech "hidden" or "secret" from the public sphere, or as is most often the case, a symbol of friendship and solidarity. In the past, however, the function of "secret language" was more prominent. Elder Calunga speaker Inácio de Souza explains:

Eu aprendi essa língua desde menino, trabalhando com os pais. Ia para roça, o pai lá enrolava a língua com o companheiro e a gente lá escutando. De vez em quando o pai mandava a gente fazer alguma coisa, mandava na *calunga*. E assim, a gente foi aprendendo. Até hoje eu me lembro um dia que ele mandou eu buscar umas cana. Tinha dois canavial. Tinha um que era de um sujeito rico e um de um sujeito pobre. O canavial do mais pobre era melhor, as cana era melhor. Então, falou comigo: "Vai lá buscar uns *viango* pra nós tomar na *mucota*. Vai lá naquele *camano* mais *ôa* que é melhor. Você vai naquele *camano* mais *ôa* e não naquele mais *aprumado*". Eu já sabia que era para ir buscar a cana do mais pobre. A cana era melhor. Assim eu fui aprendendo, né?

[...]

Na *calunga*, nós pode xingar vocês todos e vocês não sabem que estamos xingando. Na língua deles, dos pretos de antigamente, eles podia falar o que quisessem, podia estar falando 'bom dia', 'boa tarde', pode estar xingando e ninguém entendendo nada. Assim que era língua desses preto de antigamente. (cited in Vogt & Fry 1996:247-9, italics theirs)

Today, many poorer white speakers sometimes engage in sociolinguistic settings of Calunga, but are clearly not as fluent and recognize that Afro-Brazilians are the source of the language: "Os preto calunga mais" notes Tadeu de Barros (personal interview), a white Calunga speaker from Patrocínio.

3.4.3 The women of Calunga

Women who speak, or even know of Calunga, are very scarce. There are some fluent speakers, such as Ângela Ferreira (personal interview), who learned from and spoke with her father as a child. However, most women who do have knowledge of Calunga can recognize no more than some lexical items. Interestingly, many women that were rumored to speak the language would often deny knowledge of it, but would ackowledge its existence within the community.

Denga do Cabrera (personal interview) mentioned that her father and mother spoke fluent Calunga with each other and with their eldest daughter, especially in situations when they did not want to be understood by outsiders. After the death of her father and sister, however, Calunga was not spoken much around the house. Although Denga admits to understanding Calunga, she has difficulty producing it with fluency, restricting it to mostly lexical items. She did recall one incident when a white friend came to their house and desired to collect money to drink beer with her father. Mr. Cabrera asked his wife in Calunga in front of the guest: "*O camano mavero tem os zipaque?*" ('Does the white man have any money?').

Glauce de Souza also mentioned that she understands some Calunga, but certainly not all (see section 4.2). Moreover, she has little or no interest in learning, believing it is for men to speak. Ângela Ferreira (personal interview) referred to Calunga as a "língua masculina" that is reserved for men to speak in certain social situations, especially those requiring group secrecy. Marlenísio Ferreira (personal interview), a speaker and researcher of Calunga, believes this is possibly an African tribal custom that has been passed down where only men were granted access to certain "secret information."

3.4.4 Possible origins of Calunga

Calunga was spoken throughout the *Triângulo Mineiro* before its contemporary decline. According to the late Patrocínio politician Sebastião Elói, Calunga was "o dialeto do nosso povo" which has since been lost: "Os negros africanos foram morrendo; eles tinham um vocabulário grande que foi se perdendo e a gente não cuidou disso. A 'língua africana' foi ficando diminuída, de poucas palavras, e a gente sem perguntar a eles por que usavam essa linguagem, esse dialeto" (Vogt & Fry 1996:252-3). Historically, Elói sees Calunga as a symbol of African identity, even an instrumental force for rebellion:

> Antigamente o negro falava que os portugueses judiavam deles porque eles conversavam a *calunga*. Os portugueses reprimiam eles, punham eles a ferro, eles conversavam uns com os outros e ninguém sabia se era para fazer uma sedição. Aqui o nosso município aqui [Patrocínio] conheceu muitas sedições. [...] Eram sedições do povo com os negros. (Vogt & Fry 1996:251, italics theirs)

The late Mr. Cabrera, a former Patrocínio resident, reflects on his speaking of Calunga:

> Nós aprendemos com os pais porque na época, na nossa época, a escravidão ainda era assim mais próxima. Então, nossos pais, nossos avós, falavam demais a calunga. Eles vinham sempre falando. Então a gente aprendeu, mas agora nós já quase não falamos. Então, os filhos nem aprenderam com a gente. Que isso eles não aprendem na escola. A gente aprende conversando. (cited in Vogt & Fry 1996:253)

Calunga is also acknowledged outside of Patrocínio. Just north of the *Triângulo Mineiro* in the state of Goiás lies an isolated community, known as "O povo Kalunga," in the region of Chapada dos Veadeiros. According to the members of the community they

all are descendants of African and Indigenous *quilombo* slaves. They have since maintained their way of life and customs. However, there are no written accounts of their language.   (www.valedasararas.hpg.ig.com.br/kalungas.htm, www.miaf.org.br/ministerios.asp?ID=329, websites consulted in October 2003)

Other than these past and present reports, the history of Calunga is rather obscure. Batinga (1994:54), for example, traces its origins to the mining areas of Araxá or from Minas Gerais mining towns: Diamantina, Serro, Conceição do Mato Dentro, and Rio Vermelho. He then postulates three different historical phases of different speakers – miners, loggers, and cowboys – who maintained and passed on the language.

My informants from all racial backgrounds were typically cowboys, farmers, and miners who worked around the city of Patrocínio. Others were urban construction workers who spoke the language on the job. All these informants identified Calunga as "a língua dos escravo" or "a língua dos preto (velho)," but acknowledging little more than this.

Nevertheless, this language would have evolved within some social context. As language philosopher Lia Formigari (2004:2) reasons: "Even the most crude and primitive form of social organization needs some degree of verbal interaction in order to make even the most basic forms of cooperation and organization possible." Regarding creole origins, Ferraz comments:

> The historical context in which the genesis of creole languages took place is frequently unclear. Where the creole originated in communities of slaves brought from Africa, the areas in which the slaves originated can usually not be ascertained from historical records. A linguistic study of the substratum can help to establish the areas of origin and thus to establish a historical perspective. [...] Without identifying the substratum, the elements in the formation of a creole culture will often remain unknown. (Ferraz 1975:153-4)

The known historical record shows tens of thousands of African slaves arrived to Minas Gerais in the early 18th century for mining work and farming. The majority of these slaves were Bantu. Conversely, slaves of other origins did arrive in the beginning of the 18th century, but mostly to the areas of Ouro Preto and Diamantina (Barbosa 1970; Castro 2002). Moreover, the African etymologies of Calunga can possibly be traced mostly to Bantu languages of the Congo/Angola region.

In the mining regions of Ouro Preto and Diamantina, traces of Africanized speech are found in songs known as *vissungos*, *catopé*, or *língua antiga*. These songs have some lexical and grammatical similarities to Calunga, albeit are often sung without knowing what the lyrics mean.[10] From the evidence of such songs, Machado Filho (1946/1985) suggests that there was a creole spoken in Minas Gerais during the mining period of the 18th and 19th centuries. Queiroz (1984, 1998) also provides a description of a dying Africanized speech of Bantu origin in Bom Despacho, Minas Gerais. Somewhat similar

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[10] Diamantina *vissungo* songs are sung in a typical African fashion of "call and response" from a choir of workers. The lyrics are derived from Portuguese, Umbundu, and some elements of *nagô* (Yoruba). These songs present remnants from a past Africanized speech with an element of secrecy in the message. Note the following *vissungos*, some of which mention the term "Calunga":

Vissungo I (excerpt)	Vissungo X ("Multa ao patrão," excerpt)
Ô cundero di ê num tem tempo	Ô
Oi vero o copo nuá tem tempo	Manga mina tá quemanu, aiê
Aiê!	Manga mina tá choranu, ai...ai
Ô caí conde...ê...ê...ê	Ê
Ô calunga me toma bebê	Manga mina tá choranu, ai...ai
Ô calunga me toma sambá...á	Êi...
Êi...	Ê...
Pê...rê...rê...rê	Mã aruruna já ganhô...ê...rê...já ganhô
O mico cumbaro num tem tempo	Mã aruruna já ganhô, já ganhô ê
Ô pu cumbaro num tem tempo	Jã garuminina já ganhô, já ganhô
Ô...ê...ê...êi	Rê!
Cumbarauê...ê...ê...ê...êi	Ê! Pade Nosso cum Ave Maria seguru
Cumbará...	o camera qui T'anzandoiola
Cumbarauê...êi...ê	A êi!
(Valéria do Nascimento 2003:108)	Ô canunga me chama gemê...ê
	Ô canunga me chama o gemá...a...ê
	(Valéria do Nascimento 2003:109)

lexically to Calunga, it is known as Língua do Negro da Costa. She concludes its linguistic and historical origins:

> Em síntese, vê-se que, se do ponto de vista funcional a Língua do Negro da Costa se encontra radicalmente distanciada do que seria um *pidgin* ou um crioulo, sob o aspecto formal ela em muito se aproxima deles. Isso nos surgere a hipótese de que ela venha a ser o resultado da evolução de um *pidgin* ou crioulo que teria existido efetivamente no período da escravidão.
>
> [...]
>
> A Língua do Negro da Costa, como a do Cafundó, seria, pois, o resultado da evolução de um *pidgin* em dois sentidos: por um lado, temos um "aportuguesamento gramatical", que já tomou completamente a fonologia, a morfologia e a sintaxe; por outro lado, temos uma "africanização lexical". Essas alterações formais teriam acompanhado mudanças funcionais que transformaram um meio de comunicação em um código secreto, tendo como objetivo atualizar, para seus falantes, um passado remoto, uma África mítica em que os indivíduos negros eram livres, donos de seu espaço de terra, do trabalho, do seu destino, afinal. (Queiroz 1998:100, 104-5, italics hers)

The Cupópia language of the Cafundó community, located west of São Paulo city, is another example of Afro-Brazilian speech for consideration. Cupópia is similar both grammatically and lexically to Calunga and is a possible dialectal descendant (Vogt & Fry 1996:278), since major slave routes to the *Triângulo Mineiro* and Goiás originated from slave markets in São Paulo. The Cupópia speech, according to Vogt & Fry (1996:278-80) is likely the descendant of a Bantu-Portuguese pidgin or creole, with a strong Kimbundu and Kikongo lexical base, now found in an advanced stage of decreolization. The basic morphology and syntax of the language are composed of rural Portuguese grammar (i.e. *Caipira* Portuguese). To cite one example, all verbal infinitives are regular, first conjugation –ar verbs from Portuguese.

At any rate, the linguistic complexity of rural Brazil was not homogenous. Mello, Baxter, Holm, & Megenney explain:

O que se tem claramente estabelecido é o fato de as regiões agrícolas, especialmente as plantações de cana de açúcar e as áreas mineradoras, terem tido uma grande concentração de escravos africanos em relação ao número de colonizadores portugueses. Este dado demográfico é consistente com as condições em que línguas crioulas tendem a emergir, ou seja, uma proporção populacional alta de falantes de línguas variadas em um contexto onde o poder sócio-político e econômico é dominado por uma reduzida elite que fala uma só língua e a impõe como língua oficial do estado.

O contato entre o português e línguas africanas no Brasil provavelmente ocasionou o surgimento de línguas crioulas em áreas rurais [...]. Nos centros urbanos, entretanto, a formação de crioulos teria sido altamente improvável, se não de todo impossível, devido ao alto número de falantes de português em relação ao número de escravos africanos. [...]

Nas áreas agrícolas, entretanto, o cenário lingüístico era complexo [...]: línguas africanas faladas pelos escravos recém chegados da África, línguas de contato do tipo pidgin, crioulos, além do português reestruturado falado como primeira língua pelos escravos nascidos no Brasil. Tal complexidade está associada à diversidade étnica e lingüística dos escravos trazidos da África. Muitos deles além de falarem suas línguas maternas, provavelmente tinham também conhecimentos mais ou menos avançados de algum pidgin ou crioulo de base portuguesa. (Mello, Baxter, Holm, & Megenney 1998:74)

Hence, though there is still much to understood, it is plasible that Calunga is part of – or related to – this linguistic complexity described above.

3.4.5 *Dialeto do quilombo?*

One consideration for the origins of Calunga is the *quilombos* of the *Triângulo Mineiro*. Perhaps a common language would have been essential for the organization and survival of the *quilombo*. These communities could have been a possible starting point since such provided a refuge for escaped African-born slaves who spoke Bantu languages such as Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, or a possible pidgin or (anti-)creole Portuguese.

Some *falares africanos* are scattered around the states of Minas Gerais (e.g. Calunga, Língua do negro da costa, Vissungos, Catopé, Língua Antiga, Língua jejê), São Paulo (e.g. Cupópia), Goiás (e.g. Calunga), and rumored in Tocantins (e.g. Calunga). Despite these data of *falares africanos*, it is difficult to know what type(s) of language(s) were present in the social settings of the *quilombo*. Archeologist Carlos Magno Guimarães (personal interview) points out that there is no historical information as to what the African slaves spoke in the *quilombos* of Minas Gerais, but it may have been any mixture of languages, just as the slaves themselves were a mixture of different tribes. On the other hand, Brazilian historian Waldemar de Barbosa (1964:25) emphasizes that slaves from the Angola region, who would be speakers of Kimbundu, Kikongo, and Umbundu, were predominant in many of the *quilombos*. Machado Filho (1946/1985:57-9) as well notes that *quilombos* of Minas Gerais continued to maintain their Bantu language and customs and language.

Based on anthropological and comparative linguistic studies, Vogt & Fry (1996:236) suggest that Calunga could have descended from *quilombos* of the *Triângulo Mineiro*. *Quilombo* historian Tarcísio José Martins (personal interview) also believes that Calunga evolved as a hybrid pidgin speech – Bantu, *Língua Geral*, and Portuguese – within the political system of these *quilombos*. He also argues that Calunga, Cupópia of the Cafundó, Afro-Hispanic *falares africanos* of Milho Verde and Quartéis, and Bom Despacho are linguistically related and traced to the Bantu tribes of Congo and Angola. Couto, however, is suspicious of such origins:

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Não dispomos de informações seguras sobre as relações sociais existentes nessas comunidades de escravos fugitivos. As autoridades da época tinham por único objetivo exterminá-las, não se dando ao luxo de dar informações sobre sua organização, muito menos de sua lingugem. No entanto, […] parece poder detectarem-se alguns dados que comprovam que pelo menos em alguns quilombos deve ter havido anti-crioulos, quando não um pidgin ou até mesmo um crioulo. (Couto 1992a:78)

While the *falares africanos* of Minas Gerais are likely to remain linguistic mysteries, there are, however, reports of the language of the famous Palmares *quilombo* of modern-day Alagoas:

Necessitavam [os quilombolas de Palmares] de uma linguagem comum. Assim foi como se elaborou a linguagem palmarina: um sincretismo lingüístico, em que os elementos africanos tiveram um ascendente decisivo, mas que importava, por igual, elementos do português e do tupi. "Falavam uma língua toda sua, às vezes parecendo da Guiné ou de Angola, outras vezes parecendo o português e tupi, mas não é nenhuma dessas e sim outra língua nova", reparou o governador Francisco de Brito Freire. Os brancos não entendiam essa linguagem sem auxílio de interpretes. Todos os emissários enviados pelas autoridades coloniais a Palmares para concertar tréguas ou pazes, faziam-se invariavelmente acompanhar de "línguas". As coversações entre o governador de Pernambuco e uma embaixada palmarina, no ano 1678, no Recife, realizaram-se através de "línguas". (Yeda Castro, cited in Moura 1987:46-7).

If Castro's arguments are correct, it would not be unreasonable to believe that the large *quilombos* of Minas Gerais were similar linguistically. Frustrating as it may be to the language historian of Afro-Brazilian speech, there are simply no clear-cut answers as to what the slaves spoke in the *quilombos*.

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3.4.6 *Dialeto rural?*

Another possibility is that this *falar africano* could have evolved as a *dialeto rural* in the slave areas of the *fazendas*. Previously cited evidence from proximate Afro-Brazilian *falares africanos* and *congado* songs in Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Goiás suggests that the slaves had knowledge of some sort of Afro-Brazilian speech. These states are connected geographically, which may have provided an access for a pidgin or creole from the West African forts. Or, if this hypothesis is incorrect, then another possibility is that the *falares africanos* developed *in situ* and later expanded throughout Brazil. That said, the language situation in rural areas was likely multilingual and difficult to assess. Holm comments:

> Besides Língua Geral, another factor complicates the reconstruction of language transmission in Brazil as this might relate to a Portuguese-based creole. This factor was the retention of African languages over many generations and among large numbers of people. Such retention was largely absent from other New World socities in which creoles developed, where slaves were often mixed by language groups to make revolts more difficult. However, in Brazil, linguistic homogeneity seems to have been valued since it enabled older generations of slaves to teach newcomers more easily. (Holm 1987:414)

For example, Batinga (1994) believes that mining slaves spoke Calunga who then taught cowboys and loggers. Older non-black Calunga speakers were typically farmers, or often *tropeiros* who ran their cattle on routes from São Paulo state through Minas Gerais and Goiás/Tocantins. The *sertão* cowboys found paths and drove cattle to remote villages in Minas Gerais and surrounding states. According to Patrocínio native and Calunga speaker José Dinamérico (personal interview), even into the first half of the 20th century these *tropeiros* were present on the São Paulo-Minas Gerais-Goiás cattle routes. In fact, many of the oldest white speakers of Calunga from Patrocínio reported that they

had learned Calunga from black *tropeiros* on these cattle routes. Others had learned during urban construction and/or local farming work in the Patrocínio region in roughly the last 50 years.

3.5 Conclusion

The story of Calunga begins from the West African slave trade and ends in the *Triângulo Mineiro* of Brazil. From the known history, this language has its origins in the Portuguese slave activity of Bantu tribes in the Congo/Angola region that were shipped to the state of Minas Gerais in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Calunga's history is sketchy and marred with uncertainity, leaving a concatenation of causes to consider. First, because most slaves were from warring tribes in Africa, several stripped the chains of slavery and formed many *quilombo* communities in Minas Gerais. However, there is currently no way to determine what language(s) the slaves spoke in these maroon communities. And the fact that other *falares africanos* are found elsewhere in Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Goiás (and rumored in Tocantins) proves problematic for a concentrated locus such as a *dialeto do quilombo*. A second possibility is that Calunga was a type of *dialeto rural* that was retained and dispersed. Afro-Brazilian laborers such as miners, loggers, and especially *tropeiros* are speakers of Calunga, which suggests that the language passed through rural communities of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and São Paulo state. Contemporary speakers of Calunga only reveal *os preto velho* 'the old blacks' or *a língua dos escravo* 'slave language' as the origins of this language, ultimately leaving its linguistic past a mystery.

While much uncertainity exists regarding the origins of Calunga, the fact remains that this language did evolve and was spoken among slaves. The working hypothesis is that Calunga was a hybrid form of African language(s) and rural Portuguese (including possible elements of *língua geral*). That is, Calunga was either a more rudimentary or more structured form of an Africanized Brazilian speech. While the slaves acquired Portuguese, they later preserved Calunga as a "secret language." Thereafter, this speech passed from generation to generation, having been learned, most recently, by poorer

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farmers and cowboys of all ethnic origins, all who claim to have learned the language from *os preto velho*. Thus, this language was spoken among the African and Afro-Brazilian slaves sometime around or after the 18th century in the rural region of the *Triângulo Mineiro*. Such a claim, however, is not conclusive since the linguistic situation is far too complex to reduce it to one particular Afro-Brazilian speech.

Today, Calunga is spoken primarily by older Afro-Brazilian men. Some white speakers are knowledgeable of the language, but their competence is nonetheless limited when compared to older black speakers of Calunga. Women, on the other hand, are even less knowledgable than white men, although some women communicate fluently. Women that are rumored to speak fluent Calunga usually deny knowing how to speak and only affirm its existence.

4. Calunga Grammar

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the third and fourth research questions: What is the grammatical structure of Calunga? Does it have grammatical aspects of Bantu, of BPV, or both? To what extent do Calunga and BPV coincide, contrast, or divert? In attempt to answer these questions, the following sections examine phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, and the lexicon. To provide a context for the listed grammatical aspects, a sample of transcribed Calunga dialog is presented with subsequent Portuguese and English translations.

The linguistic corpus in this chapter is solely qualitative and drawn from transcribed interviews and *in situ* empirical observations. In addition to the grammatical description, this chapter offers a comparative analysis of Calunga with the local dialect of Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular (BPV). Occasionally, data from Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP) and Bantu languages are also utilized for purposes of comparison and contrast.

Calunga spelling patterns originate primarily from informant José Astrogildo's (personal interview) handwritten compilation of Calunga terms; others stem from bibliographic sources. Given the little that is known about the history and evolution of Calunga, etymologies presented are tentative, many being uncertain or unknown. In some cases, more than one language may have been a possible source. For a more comprehensive discussion of possible Calunga etymologies, see the Calunga glossary.

In gathering Calunga terms and etymologies, the following sources appear:

(A)   = Astrogildo, José (Calunga informant)

(AL)   = Alves, P. Albino (1951)

(B)   = Batinga, Gastão (1994)

(BE)   = Bentley, W. Holman (1887/1967)

(C)   = Cunha, Antônio Geraldo da (2001)

(L)   = Lopes, Nei (2003)

(LA)   = Laman, K.E. (1964)

(VF)   = Vogt & Fry (1996:283-341)

(J)   = Johnston, Sir Harry H. (1919)

(M)   = Maia, António da Silva (1994)

4.2 A sample of Calunga dialog

The following Calunga conversation took place on June 27, 2004 in Patrocínio, Minas Gerais. Following this interview is a translation of Calunga to Portuguese and English. The Calunga transcription and subsequent translations were assisted by Daniela Bassani Moraes, a native Brazilian from southern Minas Gerais who is knowledgeable of Calunga. For further samples of Calunga transcriptions, see the appendix.

Participants:
JB: "Barraca" (João Batista), born 1954
JRS: Jorge de Souza, born 1964
JLS: Joel de Souza, born 1962
JL: Joaquim Luis, born 1928
GL: Glauce de Souza
TB: Tadeu de Barros
SB: Steven Byrd
DB: Daniela Bassani

Calunga	Portuguese	English
JB: E aí camanu ofú, vamu aprumá pa dentu du injó, uai.	**JB**: E aí negro, vamos para dentro de casa, uai.	**JB**: And there black man, let's go in the house, *uai*.
JRS: Camanu num tá apumanu a nanga mai, não.	**JRS**: Homem não veste calça mais não.	**JRS**: He is not putting on [nice] pants anymore.
JL: Eu falei que era pa aprumá uma nanga, sô!	**JL**: Eu falei que era para vestir uma calça, senhor!	**JL**: I said that it was to wear [nice] pants, sir!
JRS: O camanu!	**JRS**: O homem!	**JRS**: O man!
JB: Uai! Ei já calungô ca ocai ca nanga daquei jeito, agora... vamu lá Chiquito,$_{(10)}$ que ocê é mai veio.	**JB**: Uai! Ele já falou aqui com a mulher daquele jeito, agora... vamos lá Chiquito,$_{(10)}$ que você é mais velho.	**JB**: *Uai*! He has already spoken with the woman in that way, now... let's go Chiquito,$_{(10)}$ you are older.

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DB: Num precisa trocá de calça não, né?	**DB**: Não precisa trocar de calça não, não é?	**DB**: You do not need to change your pants, ok?
JRS: Bora lá Chiquito!	**JRS**: Embora lá Chiquito!	**JRS**: Let's go Chiquito!
JB: Vá, vai lá Chiquito que o senhor é mai veio eu num vô te matá.	**JB**: Vá, vai lá Chiquito que o senhor é mais velho eu não vou entrar na sua frente.	**JB**: Go, go there Chiquito that you are older I am not going get in your way.
JL: Nãã, eu vô... o que ceis calungá, eu vô dá ôa na calunga do ceis![20]	**JL**: Não, eu vou... o que vocês falam, eu vou acabar com a calunga de vocês.[20]	**JL**: No, I am going... what you speak, I am going to do bad in your Calunga [talk].[20]
JL: Entra pra dentro, sô!	**JL**: Entra para dentro, senhor!	**JL**: Come inside, sir!
TB: Tá bão!	**TB**: Está bom!	**TB**: OK!
JB: O camanu e a ocai tá querenu qui os camanu cá calunga sobri?	**JB**: O homem e a mulher estão querendo que nós falemos [calunga] sobre?	**JB**: The man and the woman are wanting that we speak [Calunga] about?
DB: Qualqué coisa que ceis quisé calungá.	**DB**: Qualquer coisa que vocês quiserem falar [calunga].	**DB**: Whatever you want to talk [in Calunga] about.
JB: Os camanu é de qual omenha?	**JB**: Vocês são de qual "omenha" ('água', 'região')?	**JB**: You [both] are from which "omenha" ('water', 'region')?
DB: Eu?[30] Omenha é o quê memo?	**DB**: Eu?[30] "Omenha" é o quê mesmo?	**DB**: Me?[30] "Omenha" is what?
JB: De qual água que ceis é?	**JB**: De qual "água" que vocês são?	**JB**: From which "water" are you [both] from?
DB: Uai num sei, eu num intendu issu não!	**DB**: Uai não sei, eu não entendo isso não!	**DB**: *Uai*, I don't know, I don't understand that!
TB: Qual cidade?	**TB**: Qual cidade?	**TB**: Which city?
DB: Qual água?	**DB**: Qual água?	**DB**: Which water?
JB: Qual cidade, qual cumbaca que ceis é?	**JB**: Qual cidade, de qual "cumbaca" ('cidade') que vocês são?	**JB**: Which city, from which "cumbaca" ('city') are you [both] from?
DB: Ah! Eu sô de... daqui de Minas, eu sô de Arceburgo.[40]	**DB**: Ah! Eu sou de... daqui de Minas, eu sou de	**DB**: Ah! I am from... from here from Minas, I am from

	Arceburgo.(40)	Arceburgo.(40)
JB: E o camanu?	**JB**: E o homem?	**JB**: And the man?
DB: Ele é de...	**DB**: Ele é de...	**DB**: He is from...
SB: Inglaterra.	**SB**: Terra (sem entender).	**SB**: Land (not understanding).
JB: Ó!	**JB**: Ó!	**JB**: Oh!
SB: Inglaterra qué dizê fora, né?	**SB**: "Inglaterra" quer dizer 'fora', não é?	**SB**: "Inglaterra" means 'away', doesn't it?
DB: Ei é d'otas inglaterra.	**DB**: Ele é de outras "inglaterra."	**DB**: He is from other "lands" ('foreign lands').
SB: Otras inglaterra.	**SB**: Outras terras.	**SB**: Other "lands."
JB: E... o camanu gosta de aprumá(50) saravá o cumé que é?	**JB**: E... você gosta de dançar(50) ou como é que é?	**JB**: And... you like to dance(50) or what?
SB: Saravá? Quê que é saravá? Saravá é... ah! esqueci saravá.	**SB**: "Saravá" ('dançar')? Que é "saravá"? Saravá é... ah! Esqueci "saravá."	**SB**: "Saravá ('dance')?" What is "saravá"? "Saravá" is... ah! I forgot "saravá."
JB: Camanu gosta de aprumá uíque na mucota?	**JB**: Você gosta de beber [álcool]?	**JB**: You like to drink [alcohol]?
SB: Ah! Gosto, gosto de cerveja.	**SB**: Ah! Gosto, gosto de cerveja.	**SB**: Ah! I like, I like beer.
JB: Omenha de vinhango não, né?	**JB**: Cachaça não, não é?	**JB**: Not Cachaça, right?
SB: É... um poquinho.(60)	**SB**: É... um pouquinho.(60)	**SB**: Yes... a little bit.(60)
JB: E marafa?	**JB**: E vinho?	**JB**: And wine?
SB: Ah... eu gosto, de vez em quando, um pouquinho só, né.	**SB**: Ah... eu gosto, de vez em quando, um pouquinho só, não é?	**SB**: Ah... I like, sometimes, only a little bit.
JB: O camanu gosta de ocai ou não?	**JB**: Você gosta de mulher ou não?	**JB**: Do you like the woman or not?
SB: Gosto.	**SB**: Gosto.	**SB**: I like her.
JB: O camanu é sucanado?	**JB**: Você é casado?	**JB**: Are you married?

SB: Hum?

JB: Ocai tamém não, né?

DB: Não.(70)

JB: O camanu já apruma nessas cumbaca há quantus cumba?

SB: Eu tô com trinta.

DB: Não quatro *es*cumba.

SB: Juntos?

JB: Quantos cumba que o camanu apruma nessas cumbaca aqui?

SB: Quatro?(80) É, quatro cumba.

JB: E o camanu tá... quereno calungá pes...

JL: Mai cum (...), né?

DB: Oi?

JL: Morrudu, né?

DB: Qué isso? Num sei.

JB: Agora cê tem que expricá pra ela.

JL: (...)(90)

JB: É...

SB: Hum?

JB: A mulher também não, não é?

DB: Não.(70)

JB: Você já está nesta cidade há quanto tempo?

SB: Eu estou com trinta. (Sem entender a pergunta)

DB: Não, quatro anos.

SB: Juntos? (Sem entender a pergunta)

JB: Quantos anos que você está nessas cidades aqui?

SB: Quatro?(80) É, quarto anos.

JB: E você está... querendo falar [calunga] pes...

JL: Mas com (...), não é?

DB: Oi?

JL: "Morrudu" ('grande'), não é?

DB: Que isso? Não sei.

JB: Agora você tem que explicar para ela.

JL: (...)(90)

JB: É...

SB: Hum?

JB: The woman too, right?

DB: No.(70)

JB: How long have you been in the region?

SB: I am thirty. (Not understanding question)

DB: No, four years. (Not understanding question)

SB: Together? (Not understanding question)

JB: How many years have you been in this region here?

SB: Four?(80) Yes, four years.

JB: And you are... wanting to speak [Calunga] about?

JL: But with (...), right?

DB: What?

JL: "Morrudu" ('strong', 'great'), right?

DB: What is that? I don't know.

JB: Now you have to explain for her.

JL: (...)(90)

JB: It is...

JRS: O mucafo tá...calunganu...	**JRS**: O negro velho está falando [calunga]...	**JRS**: The old black man is speaking [Calunga]...
JB: Tá... calunganu mei... otas calunga, calunga de umbundu.	**JB**: Tá... falando (calugando) meio... outras calungas, calunga de negro. (uma calunga desconhecida)	**JB**: He is... speaking Calunga with some other Calunga words, Calunga words of blacks. (an unknown Calunga)
DB: Cê calunga tamém?	**DB**: Você fala calunga também?	**DB**: Do you speak Calunga too?
GL: Não, não. Entendo alguma coisa só mas num calungu não.	**GL**: Não, não. Entendo alguma coisa só mas não calungo não.	**GL**: No, no. I understand some things but I don't speak Calunga, no.
JB: O camanu vai aprumá curima aqui nu...(100) nu... nas otas cumbaca?	**JB**: O homem vai trabalhar aqui nu...(100) nu... nas outras cidades?	**JB**: Are you going to work here in...(100) in... in these parts?
SB: Aprumá curima... cumbaca...	**SB**: "Aprumá curima..." (sem entender) "Cumbaca..." (sem entender)	**SB**: "Aprumá curima... ('to do work')" (not understanding) "Cumbaca... ('city')" (not understanding)
TB: Trabalhá aqui na região?	**TB**: Trabalhar aqui na região?	**TB**: Work here in the region?
DB: Não, nós num vamu.	**DB**: Não nós não vamos.	**DB**: No, we are not going to.
SB: Ah, Serra do Salitre.	**SB**: Ah, Serra do Salitre (sem entender)	**SB**: Ah, Serra do Salitre (not understanding)
JL: Vai aprumá calunga nas cumbaca e saravá lá nas cumbaca da omenha grande.	**JL**: Vai falar calunga na cidade e dançar lá na cidade da cidade grande.	**JL**: You are going to speak Calunga in the region and dance there in the big city.
DB: Quê que é saravá?(110)	**DB**: Quê que é "saravá" ('dançar')?(110)	**DB**: What is "saravá" ('dance')?"(110)
JRS: Mai o mucafo é...!	**JRS**: Mas o negro velho é...!	**JRS**: But the old black man is...!
JL: Num sabe quê que é saravá não?	**JL**: Não sabe quê que é "saravá," não?	**JL**: He doesn't know what "saravá" is, right?
DB: Na calunga não.	**DB**: Na calunga não.	**DB**: In Calunga no.
JL: É í...	**JL**: É ir...	**JL**: It's 'to go'...

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DB: Oi?	**DB**: Oi?	**DB**: What?
JL: É í lá pra cidade, í lá...	**JL**: É lá para cidade, ir lá...	**JL**: It's there in the city, to go there...
DB: Ah tá!	**DB**: Ah tá!	**DB**: Ah ok!
JRS: O camanu aprumô ua marafa na mucota ali.(120)	**JRS**: Você bebeu vinho ali.(120)	**JRS**: You drank wine there.(120)
JB: O camanu aprumô ua marafa, num tá querenu calungá.	**JB**: O homem [JRS] bebeu cachaça, não está querendo falar [calunga].	**JB**: The man [JRS] drank cachaça, he is not wanting to speak [Calunga].
JRS: Não é que...	**JRS**: Não é que...	**JRS**: No, it's that...
JB: Por que que esse camanu tá sem calungá?	**JB**: Por que que esse homem está sem falar [calunga]?	**JB**: Why is that man not speaking [Calunga]?
JRS: Camanu tá... ofu tá (...) tá...	**JRS**: Homem está... negro está (...) está...	**JRS**: Man is... the black man is... (...) is...
JB: Tá ôa de calunga lá.	**JB**: Está mau de calunga lá.	**JB**: His Calunga is bad.
JL: Não!(130) Pode aprumá na calunga. Num tem nada a vê, uai.	**JL**: Não!(130) Pode falar calunga. Não tem nada a ver, uai.	**JL**: No!(130) He can speak Calunga. It has nothing to do with it, *uai*.
DB: A lá chegô!	**DB**: A lá chegou!	**DB**: There he arrived!
JL: Num é só cum ocai que cê vai aprumá não. Cê vai aprumá cu imbundu, cu (...)	**JL**: Não é só com a mulher que você vai falar. Você falar com negro, com (...)	**JL**: It's not just with the woman that you are going to speak. You are going to speak with the black man, with (...)
JB: Cu imbundu.	**JB**: Com negro.	**JB**: With the black man.
JLS: Pó aprumá gatuvira na mucota?	**JLS**: Pode beber café?	**JLS**: Can I drink coffee?
JL: Heim? E vai aprumá...(140)	**JL**: Heim? E vai beber...(140)	**JL**: What? And he is going to drink...(140)
JRS: O zipaque no buraco da nanga dos camanu cá?	**JRS**: Vai pagar nos?	**JRS**: Is he going to pay us?
JLS: Aprumá gatuvira na	**JLS**: Beber café?	**JLS**: Drink coffee?

mucota.		
JRS: É o camanu maveru.	**JRS**: É o homem branco.	**JRS**: And the white man.
JB: É o camanu maveru que aprumô us camanu.	**JB**: É o homem branco que juntou a gente.	**JB**: It is the white man that brought us together.
JRS: É o camanu maveru du urungu.	**JRS**: É o homem branco do carro?	**JRS**: Is it the white man with the car?
JB: Du urungu?$_{(150)}$ Du urungu cor de malumbi? Cumé qui é? O urungu de cor de malumbi vai aprumá o zipaqui nu buracu da nanga dus camanu cá?	**JB**: Do carro?$_{(150)}$ Do carro cor de peixe? Como que é? O carro cor de peixe vai pôr dinheiro no nosso bolso?	**JB**: With the car?$_{(150)}$ With the fish color car? What's going on? The fish color car is going to give us money?
JLS: Dus ofu?	**JLS**: Dos negros?	**JLS**: To the black men?
TB: Vai!	**TB**: Vai!	**TB**: He is going!
JB: Puquê, o camanu cá vai calungá... E o camanu tá calunganu$_{(160)}$ cu ocai mai o camanu? Ei calungô cu camanu ofu qui ia aprumá o zipaque no buracu da nanga du camanu ofu.	**JB**: Porque, eu vou falar... E o homem está falando calunga$_{(160)}$ com a mulher mas o homem? Ele falou comigo que ia me pagar.	**JB**: Because, I am going to speak... And the man is speaking Calunga$_{(160)}$ with the woman but the man? And he spoke with me that he was going to pay.
JL: Do imbundu! O imbundo quinhama nu injó, da ôa nu pontu de cuzeca. Em vei de aprumá um gatuvira, aprumô um gatuvira nu indaru. Vai aprumá$_{(170)}$ as otas calunga lá... lá...	**JL**: Do negro! O negro vem na casa, acorda. Em vez de tomar um café. Eu pus uma água pa ferver. Vai falar$_{(170)}$ calunga de outra coisa lá... lá...	**JL**: Of the black man! The black comes to my house, and he is sleepy. Instead of drinking coffee. I put water to boil. He is going to speak Calunga$_{(170)}$ about other things there...there
JB: Lá de otas cumbaca.	**JB**: Lá de outras cidades.	**JB**: There from other cities.
JL: Lá de faim...sá? Então, agora chega na casa du imbundu, nu injó du imbundu e qué aprumá un gatuvira na mucota.	**JL**: Lá de faca... sabe? Então, agora chega na casa do negro, na casa do negro e quer tomar um café.	**JL**: There from the knife... you know? Then, now he arrives in my house, in my house and wants to drink coffee.
JLS: Qué aprumá gatuvira na mucota.	**JLS**: Quer tomar um café.	**JLS**: He wants to drink coffee.

JRS: (...) mai não.(180) Vai quimbimbá! Assim quimbimba.	**JRS**: (...) mas não.(180) Vai morrer! Assim morre.	**JRS**: (...) but no.(180) He is going to die. So die.
JB: O camanu tá disaprumadu.	**JB**: O homem está desanimado.	**JB**: The man is not in good spirits.
JRS: Tá disaprumadu.	**JRS**: Está desanimado.	**JRS**: He is not in good spirits.
JB: Tá sem imberela, uai!	**JB**: Está sem carne, uai!	**JB**: He is without meat, *uai*!
JRS: Quimbimba!	**JRS**: Morre!	**JRS**: Die!
JB: O camanu aprumô um bacuri na mucota? Ai cumeça...	**JB**: Você cantou? Ai começa...	**JB**: Did you sing? There he goes...
JLS: A gatuvira do imbundu tá ôa, viu!(190)	**JLS**: O café do negro está ruim, viu!(190)	**JLS**: The black man's coffee is bad!(190)
JB: Tá ôa? A gatuvira du camanu. É o camanu cá que tá ôa. Eu falei pra ele que camanu maveru gostava de gatuvira sem uíque. Que o camanu cá já curimô cus camanu dessas cumbaca. Só gostava de gatuvira sem uíque.	**JB**: Está ruim? O café do homem. E o homem aqui está ruim. Eu falei para ele que o homem branco gostava de café sem açúcar. Que eu já trabalhei com homem da terra dele. Só gostava de café sem açúcar.	**JB**: It's bad? The man's coffee. And the man here is bad. I told him that the white man liked coffee without sugar. I have already worked with the man in his land. He liked coffee without sugar.
JLS: Camanu foi tomá nu (...). Não?(200)	**JLS**: O homem foi tomar no (...). Não?(200)	**JLS**: The man went to drink in (...). No?(200)
JL: Camanu que apruma viangu na cupia, é...tem que sê um gatuvira ôa.	**JL**: O homem que fica bêbedo, é... tem que ser um café ruim.	**JL**: The man gets drunk, yes... it has to be bad coffee.
JLS: É ôa!	**JLS**: É ruim!	**JLS**: It's bad!
JL: É... ôa.	**JL**: É... ruim!	**JL**: Yes... bad!
JRS: O camanu num tá marafadu não?	**JRS**: O homem não está bêbado, não?	**JRS**: The man is not drunk, right?
JLS: Tá mei marafiado, né?	**JLS**: Está meio bêbado, não é?	**JLS**: He is half drunk, right?
JB: Camanu deve tê aprumadu marafa nu cumba passada.(210)	**JB**: O homem deve ter bebido antes.(210)	**JB**: The man must have drunk before.(210)

JL: É.	**JL**: É.	**JL**: Yes.
JB: Nu cumba passada, nu cumba ôa num tomô inda não uai. Camanu pedaçu tá achanu que o camanu aprumô marafa hoji na cupia.	**JB**: Antes, na hora ruim, não tomou ainda não uai! Primo está achando que ele bebeu hoje.	**JB**: Before, at a bad time, I have not drank yet! Cousin is thinking that he drank today.
JLS: Não, num aprumô marafa na cupia não.	**JLS**: Não, não bebi hoje não.	**JLS**: No, I did not drink today.
JB: Só foi nu cumba passadu, num foi?[220]	**JB**: Só foi antes, não foi?[220]	**JB**: It was just before, wasn't it?[220]
JLS: Camanu cá tava (...) nu injó.	**JLS**: Eu estava em casa.	**JLS**: I was at home.
JRS: Camanu cá tava aprumanu o injó lá.	**JRS**: Eu estava na casa lá.	**JRS**: I was at home there.
JB: Tava aprumanu ua omenha nu injó.	**JB**: [Ele] estava tomando "água" em casa.	**JB**: [He] was drinking "water" at home.
JL: E esse ocai, e esse ocai ofu, e esse ocai vei aprumá o iscutante pa depois aprumá calunga vapora.[230]	**JL**: E essa mulher, essa mulher negra, essa mulher veio escutar para depois sair falando bobagem.[230]	**JL**: And that woman, that black woman, that woman came to listen so to tell others nonsense later.[230]
JB: Pa calungá (...)	**JB**: Para falar [calunga]...	**JB**: To speak [Calunga]...
DB: Cê intendi, num intendi?	**DB**: Você entende, não entende?	**DB**: You understand, don't you understand?
GL: Não, eu intendu assim, que eis tá falanu de mim.	**GL**: Não, eu entendo assim, que eles estão falando de mim.	**GL**: No, I understand so so, that they are talking about me.
JL: Cê põe ua marafa, aí cumeça calungá que é ua coisa doida. Põe ua marafa no ocai cor de ofu! Cê vê ele calungá!	**JL**: Você põe uma cachaça, aí começa a falar que é uma coisa doida. Põe uma cachaça na negra! Você vê ela falar calunga!	**JL**: You put some cachaça in her, she begins to speak [Calunga] which is crazy. Put some cachaça in the black woman! You see her speak Calunga!
DB: Ah é?! Então vão pegá um marafo![240]	**DB**: Ah é?! Então vão pegar uma cachaça![240]	**DB**: Oh yes!? Then get some cachaça![240]
JB: Põe ela caruda!	**JB**: Põe ela caruda!	**JB**: Get her drunk!

JRS: A ocai ofu pa calungá tem qui marafá mai tem qui ficá catorze!	**JRS**: A negra para calungar tem que tomar cachaça mas tem que ficar ruim (muito bêbada)!	**JRS**: For the black woman to speak Calunga she has to get [really] drunk!

4.3 Phonetics and phonology

        This section documents the various phonetic and phonological patterns revealed by the collected data. Arguing that Calunga has a distinctive sound system from Brazilian Portuguese is an overstatement given that all sound inventory and sound patterns of Calunga are also observed in BPV. Nevertheless, traditional schemata of phonetics and phonology are employed in the following sections. Phonological patterns from Calunga's Bantu-derived lexical items show some phonetic and phonological gaps and peculiarities that are worthy of attention.

4.3.1 Phonetic inventory of Calunga

4.3.1.1 Vowels

<u>**Table 4.1**</u> Calunga vowels

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High (-nasal)	i		u
(+nasal)	ĩ		ũ
Mid high (-nasal)	e		o
(+nasal)	ẽ		õ
Mid low (-nasal)	ɛ		ɔ
(+nasal)		ã	
Low (-nasal)		a	
(+nasal)			

Notes:

i.) The IPA symbol is an upside-down /a/ with a nasal diacritic above. Due to lack of this symbol, /ã/ is employed.

4.3.1.2 Consonants

Table 4.2 Calunga consonants (IPA)

	Labials	Labio-dentals	Dento-alveolars	Alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Glottal	Retroflex
Stops (-voice)	p		t			k		
(+voice)	b		d			g		
Fricatives (-voice)		f		s	ʃ		[h]	
(+voice)		v		z	ʒ			
Affricates (-voice)					[tʃ]			
(+voice)					[dʒ]			
Nasals	m			n	ɲ			
Liquids				l, r, ɾ	*ʎ			[ɻ]
Glides					[j]	*[w]		

Notes:

i.) [ ] = Allophone.

ii.) * = Unattested in Calunga data; attested in Brazilian Portuguese.

iii.) [lʲ] is the commonly articulated sound of /ʎ/ in Brazilian Portuguese.

iv.) [j̃] is the commonly articulated sound for /ɲ/ in Brazilian Portuguese.

4.3.2 Phonemes and allophones

Since Calunga is reduced in its lexicon, it is difficult to illustrate traditional minimal pair groupings of phonemes and allophones, though sporadically they do occur (e.g. *semá* 'hair' – *sená* 'beard'; *sarava* 'dance' – *saravá* 'goodbye'). The following examples given attempt to best capture traditional phonological descriptions, bearing in mind certain gaps exist in the data.

4.3.2.1 Vowels

Calunga has seven oral and five nasal vowels on par with Portuguese. Nasal vowels do not appear to be phonemic as in Portuguese, but are employed due to regressive nasalization from nasal consonants. One form or another of these vowels form the nucleus of the syllable: e.g. *camano-cá* [ka.mã.nũ.'ka] 'I'; *curiá* [ku.ɾi.'a] 'food'. Open and closed mid vowels are typically on an item-to-item basis, though some possible phonotactic patterns, such as unstressed mid-vowel raising, may open and close mid vowels accordingly. One peculiarity, moreover, is the lack of diphthongs in the data. That said, one falling diphthong occurs, albeit in few words: [aj] (e.g. *ocaia* [u.'kaj.a], *ocaio* [u.'kaj.u] or *ocai* [u.'kaj] 'girl'). Another attested diphthong from Portuguese [ej] (e.g. *brasileiro* [bɾa.zi.'lej.ɾu] 'Brazilian') is somewhat rare in the data, and often realized as a monophthong [e]: *zueira* [zu.'ej.ɾa] > [zu.'e.ɾa] 'noise'.

4.3.2.2 Stops

Plosive stops /p t k/ and /b d g/ realize only at the syllable onset and are always occlusive in Calunga. However, loss of /d/ is typical of the progressive morpheme *–ando* > ['ã.nũ], a characteristic of BPV (e.g. *falando* [fa.'lã.nũ] 'speaking'). Allophonic affricate articulation of /t d/ will be seen in section 4.3.2.3. Note the following examples:

camboque [kã^m.'bo.ki] 'cheese'
caputo [ka.'pu.tu] 'blind'
duque ['du.ki] 'insect'
bacuri [ba.'ku.ɾi] 'sound', 'music'
gumbo ['gũ^m.bu] 'day'
calungando [ka.lũ^ŋ.'gã.nũ] 'speaking (Calunga)'

4.3.2.3 Affricates

Affricate sounds of /t d/ ([tʃ dʒ]) are rare and allophonic if and when they are realized in Calunga. The voiced palatal affricate [dʒ], a common allophone in BPV and

SBP (e.g. *dia* ['dʒi.a] 'day'), is unattested in Bantu-derived words of Calunga, though it is attested sporadically in Portuguese-derived words (e.g. *desapruma* [dʒi.za.'p(ɾ)ũ.mã] '(he/she) undoes'). However, [tʃ] as an apparent allophone, is realized in a few Bantu-derived words of Calunga:

tipoquê [tʃi.pu.'ke] 'bean'

mufete [mu.'fɛ.tʃi] 'fish'

4.3.2.4 Fricatives

Calunga fricatives /f s ʃ h/ and /v z ʒ/, all common phonemes of Portuguese, realize at the syllable onset in Calunga; /s/ may realize in the syllable coda. Syllable-final /s/ is realized as [+voiced] ([z]) before a voiced consonant or vowel (see section 4.3.3.4 for further discussion):

semá [se.'ma] 'hair'

os gumbo [uz.'gũᵐ.bu] '(the) days'

as ocai [a.zu.'kaj] '(the) women'

missosso [mi.'so.su] 'history'

zueira [zu.'e.ɾa] or [zu.'ej.ɾa] 'noise'

fuá [fu.'a] 'mess'

ofú [o.'fu] 'black'

vapora [va.'pɔ.ɾa] '(nonsense) conversation'

xaxatá [ʃa.ʃa.'ta] 'to touch'

jifeto [ʒi.'fɛ.tu] 'grimace'

injó [ĩ.'ʒɔ] 'house'

lorri ['lu.hi] 'fish'

4.3.2.5 Nasal consonants

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Nasal consonants /m n ɲ/ realize at the syllable onset. When nasal consonants appear in syllable-final position, they nasalize the proceeding vowel (i.e. regressive nasalization) – a phenomenon of Brazilian Portuguese. Prenasalized stops (e.g. /mb ng/, etc.), typical of Bantu languages, are not attested in Calunga data:

moca ['mɔ.ka] 'coffee'

nani ['nã.nĩ] 'small'

(i)nhoto [(ĩ).'ɲɔ.tu] 'skinny'

gumbo ['gũᵐ.bu] 'day'

calungá(r) [ka.lũᵑ.'ga] 'to speak (Calunga)'

4.3.2.6 Liquids

Liquids /l r ɾ/ are somewhat infrequent in the Calunga lexicon. When they do occur, however, they realize at the syllable onset. /r/, written orthographically as *r* or *rr*, is phonetically realized as [h]. Word-final rhotics are generally unrealized (e.g. *calungar* > [ka.lũᵑ.'ga] 'to speak (Calunga)'), although /r/ is sporadically realized as a retroflex [ɻ], a typical trait of the local BPV Portuguese. When /ɾ/ forms the second segment of consonant clusters, they are subject to deletion (see section 4.3.3.3):

mavero [ma.'vi.ɾu] or [ma.'vi.ɻ(u)] 'white', 'milk'

calungador [ka.lũᵑ.ga.'do] 'speaker of Calunga'

calungá(r) [ka.lũᵑ.'ga] 'to speak'

quinhamá(r) [kĩ.ɲã.'ma] 'to walk'

lorri ['lu.hi] 'fish'

ricomo [hi.'ko.mũ] 'knife'

curiá [ku.ɾi.'a] 'food'

orirá(r) [u.ɾi.'ɾa] 'to sing'

aprumá(r) [a.p(ɾ)ũ.'ma] 'to do'

imberela [ĩᵐ.be.'ɾɛ.la] 'meat'

4.3.3 Phonotactics

4.3.3.1 Possible syllable and word structures

The regular syllable structure of Calunga is Consonant-Vowel (CV). A single vowel, oral or nasal, can be a syllable in Calunga (e.g. *ocaio* [u.'kaj.u] 'girl'; *(i)nhoto* [(ĩ).'ɲɔ.tu] 'skinny'); with no syllabic consonants at the nucleus. Other than a vowel, only a few consonants are permitted in the syllable coda: /s/ (e.g. *os camano* [us.ka.'mã.nũ] 'the men'), allophonic [z] (e.g. *os gumbo* [uz.'gũᵐ.bu] '(the) days'), and very sporadically an allophonic retroflex [ɻ] (e.g. *mavero* [ma.'vi.ɻ(u)] 'white', 'milk').

4.3.3.2 Vowel raising

Given the variation of spelling in Calunga, some unstressed vowels are written with *e* and *o*, though realized phonetically as [i] and [u], similar to vowel raising in Brazilian Portuguese:

chipoque [ʃi.'po.ke] or *chipoquê* [ʃi.pu.'ke] 'bean'

mavero [ma.'vi.ɾu] or [ma.'vi.ɻ(u)] 'white', 'milk'

orirá(r) [u.ɾi.'ɾa] 'to sing'

4.3.3.3 Consonant clusters

Calunga has few consonant clusters, though they occur generally with /ɾ/ as the second segment (e.g. /fɾ pɾ bɾ gɾ/). However, these consonant clusters are often reduced (though not always) by deletion of their rhotic segment (i.e. /pɾ/ > [p]):

[a.pũ.'ma] < *aprumá(r)* [a.pɾũ.'ma] 'to do'

['lu.ba] < *lubra* ['lu.bɾa] 'chest'

[ma.'lãᵐ.bi] < *malambre* [ma.'lã.bɾi] 'slow, slowly'

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['fi.zi] < _frize_ ['fɾi.zi] 'axe'

4.3.3.4 Resyllabification

CV syllables are generally maintained through regressive nasalization and resyllabification. Other than nasal and oral vowels, Calunga allows /s/ in the syllable coda. Between vowels, word-final /s/ is resyllabified and realized as [+voiced] (i.e. /s/ > [z]), even across a word boundary:

os camano [us.ka.'mã.nũ] 'the men', 'they'
as ocaio [a.zu.'ka(j).u] 'the women', 'they (fem)'
desaprumá(r) [di.za.p(ɾ)ũ.'ma] or [dʒi.za.p(ɾ)ũ.'ma] 'to undo'

4.3.3.5 Stress

Stress in Calunga is generally on the penultimate syllable. However, some words do receive stress on the final syllable. Antepenultimate stress (e.g. *_cálunga_) is unattested in the data:

injó [ĩ.'ʒɔ] 'house'
imberela [ĩ^m.be.'ɾɛ.la] 'meat'
chipoque [ʃi.'po.ke] or _chipoquê_ [ʃi.pu.'ke] 'bean'
dandara [dã^n.'da.ɾa] or _dandará_ [dã^n.da.'ɾa] 'child'
sarava [sa.'ɾa.va] 'dance'; _saravá_ [sa.ɾa.'va] 'goodbye'

4.3.4 Phonetic and phonological analysis

Calunga phonology is virtually on par with BPV with only few peculiarities to highlight; that is, there are no phonetic sounds or phonological patterns that are not also attested in BPV. Furthermore, there are no "foreign" phonemes (i.e. prenasal stops, phonemic tones, clicks, etc.) or phonotactic structures in Calunga that are not also

attested in the local dialect of BPV. Moreover, speakers of Calunga are not identified with any "foreign accent" that could identify them as Calunga speakers or as a distinct speech community of Afro-Brazilians. On the other hand, there are certain gaps in Calunga phonology – common phonemes and allophones in Brazilian Portuguese – that are generally unattested in Calunga.

First, vowel sounds and vowel variability are very similar in Calunga and BPV. Both systems employ a seven oral vowel system with open and closed mid-vowels and five nasal vowels. However, where nasal vowels are phonemic in Portuguese (e.g. *pau* ['paw] 'wood'; *pão* ['pãw̃] 'bread'), in Calunga there are no such attested cases of minimal pairs in the data. Instead, nasal vowels appear to be allophonic (e.g. *calungando* [ka.lũ^{ŋ}.'gã.nũ] 'speaking').

With phonological processes of vowels, both systems realize regressive nasalization and maintain mostly consistent CV syllables. Calunga, however, appears somewhat more restrictive to CV syllables than BPV, which allows a variety of allophonic consonants in the syllable coda. Calunga, on the other hand, presents the morphological inflection /s/ (and allophonic [z]) and very marginally some variant of /r/ – both from Portuguese – in word-final position: e.g. *os camano* [us.ka.'mã.nũ] 'the men', 'they'; *os̲ gumbo* [uz.'gũ^{m}.bu] '(the) days'; and very sporadically [ɹ]: *mavero* [ma.'vi.ɹ(u)] 'white', 'milk'. Other than this, there are no other consonantal sounds permitted in the syllable coda (e.g. *atual > atuá* 'day', *calungar > calungá* 'to speak, talk (Calunga)').

In terms of consonant phonemes and their corresponding allophones, Calunga and BPV show little difference except in the syllable-final coda, as discussed above. Voiceless and voiced plosive stops are phonetically realized in the same manner and same positions. Unlike BPV, however, affricate phonemes and allophones in Calunga are rare and only being accounted for as allophones in few words. Likewise, other palatal sounds, which are realized frequently in Brazilian Portuguese as phonemes and allophones, are less common in Calunga. However, Calunga realizes palatal consonants /ɲ/ and /ʃ/, but no form of /ʎ/ is attested in the data. The phoneme /r/ – phonetically

realized as [h], like the local variety of BPV, is only present in few words of Calunga (e.g. *lorri* ['lu.hi] 'fish'; *ricomo* [hi.'ko.mũ] 'knife'). In addition, one peculiar /r/ allophone in both BVP and Calunga is the retroflex [ɻ] in syllable-final position (and very marginally between vowels), which appears to be a carry-over from the regional BPV: e.g. Calunga *mavero* [ma.'vi.ɻ(u)] 'white'; BPV *fazendeiro* [fa.zẽⁿ.'de(j).ɻ(u)] 'farmer'.

Regarding phonotactics, again both Calunga and BPV are quite parallel. That said, one difference is the behavior of *muta cum liquida* consonant clusters, which are popular in Portuguese (and Romance languages in general), though are more restricted in Calunga. Interestingly, BPV – which has a number of consonants clusters – reduces some clusters like Calunga: /gɾ/ > [g], /tɾ/ > [t] (e.g. *negro > nego[1]* 'black man (BPV)', *outro > oto* 'other' (in BPV and Calunga)). Some Portuguese-based words that have entered the Calunga lexicon do have onset consonant clusters: C(C)V: *aprumá(r)* [a.p(ɾ)ũ.'ma]. The second consonant of the cluster must be an [ɾ], which is subject to deletion. There is evidence that some Portuguese-based words have passed through Bantu resyllabification: *salvar > saravá* 'goodbye'. On the other hand, Bantu-based words may have passed through Portuguese (or Romancesque) syllabification as well, as is disscussed in the following section.

4.3.4.1 Bantu or BPV influence?

Regarding the African influence on Brazilian Portuguese phonology of Bahia, Castro (2001:125) argues in her data analysis that it is "o resultado de um processo de dupla interação, ou seja, a africanização do português e o aportuguesamento dos africanismos." Following Castro, this process could also be interpreted as a type of mixture, or intertwining. In his analysis, Elia (2003:61) mentions three possible African influences in the phonology of Brazilian Portuguese: i.) Vocalization of the phoneme /ʎ/ (e.g. *muié* [mu.i.'ɛ] or [mu.'jɛ] < *mulher*); ii.) Lenition or loss of /l r/ in syllable- and

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[1] This may be analyzed as a separate lexical entry all together (i.e. *meu nego* 'my buddy', derived from *meu negro*; *sapato negro* 'black shoe', *?*sapato nego*)

word-final positions (e.g. *capitá* [ka.pi.'ta] < *capital*, *comê* [ku.'me] < *comer*, *mau* ['maw] < *mal* (/l/ velarization), *alma* ['aɹ.ma] (/l/ > [r] rhotacism); iii.) Vowel epenthesis to break consonantal groups in order to maintain CV syllables (e.g. *flor* > *fulô* [fu.'lo], *cruz* > *curuçu* [ku.'ɾu.su] or *curuça* [ku.'ɾu.sa]). In his analysis, Houaiss (1988:117-8) lists the following phonological phenomena characteristic as possible pan-creole (or semi-creole) traces in Brazilian Portuguese: i.) Weak word-final /r l/; ii.) Unstable palatal sounds /ʎ ɲ/; iii.) Reduction of diphthongs /ou ei/ > [o e] (e.g. *brasileiro* [bra.zi.'le.ru]; iv.) Unstable word-final mid-vowels /o e/ (i.e. mid-vowel raising) (e.g. *amigo* [a.'mi.gu] 'friend', *passe* [pa.'si] 'pass'). For the most part, Calunga demonstrates all these types of phonetic and phonological patterns listed that could have been phonological forces of africanization, though this is certainly open to interpretation given Calunga's phonetic and phonological relation to BPV. For example, Queiroz (1998:104) rejects African influence in her analysis of Língua do Negro da Costa of Bom Despacho, Minas Gerais, and of the Cupópia language of the São Paulo Cafundó community, calling it instead a complete "aportuguesamento gramatical" of the phonology.

The three candidate Bantu languages – Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kikongo – that possibly made African lexical contributions to Calunga present similar phonetic and phonological systems. While the phonology of BPV is virtually on par with Calunga, it is instructive to see phonological generalizations of these Bantu languages for comparison and contrast. The generalizations listed below originate from Chatelain (1888-89/1964) and Bulck (1949) for Kimbundu; Bentley (1887, 1895), Meinhof (1932), Laman (1936) for Kikongo; Stover (1885) and Valente (1964) for Umbundu. Of course, these generalizations are rather sketchy due to their antiquated publication, but do provide some intuitive guidelines of how Calunga may have maintained, or deviated from, Bantu phonology:

Kimbundu

I. Vowel system

i.)   Kimbundu is a tonal language that employs a five oral vowel, long-short system: /i e a o u/. In addition, three tones are generally employed for morphological contrasts.

ii.)   Kimbundu generally does not have diphthongs: e.g. *kizua* 'day' [ki.'su.a], though relaxed speech may realize them: [ki.'sua] (Bulck 1949:64).

iii.)   All syllables are open with an oral vowel at the nucleus.

iv.)   Natural stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable, though there are words which place stress on the ultimate syllable.

v.)   Unstressed mid-vowels /e o/ have a tendency to raise to [i u].

II. Consonant system

i.)   Primary consonants /p t k/, /b d g/, /f v s ʃ h/, /m n/, /l/ realize in the syllable onset; no consonant clusters except prenasal stops (N)C. /d/ can be realized as [ɾ].

ii.)   Nasal consonants nasalize the following occlusive consonant: /mp mf mb mv/, /nd nz nj ng/: e.g. *ndongo* ['ndo.ngo] 'canoe'.

iii.)   Stops are occlusive.

iv.)   /s ʃ/ are always voiceless.

III. Loanwords

xicola [ʃi.'ko.la] 'school' < *escola* (Portuguese)

burru [bu.'ɾu] 'donkey' < *burro* (Portuguese)

Kikongo

I. Vowel system

i.)   Kikongo is tonal language that employs a five oral vowel, long-short system: /i e a o u/; no nasal vowels.

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ii.)   Diphthongs are rare and are usually resyllabified with a glide /j w/.

iii.)   Vowel harmony opens closed vowels.

iv.)   Vowel reduplication is phonemic.

v.)   Stress is typically on the penultimate syllable.

II. Consonant system

i.)   Primary consonants /p t k/, /b d g/, /θ f s ʃ h/, /v z ʒ/, /m, n/, /l/.

ii.)   Nasal clusters form with primary consonants: /ns mf nz mv nd/.

iii.)   [d] is an allophone of /l/ (e.g. *dimba* < *limba*).

III. Loanwords

lolonzi [lo.'lo.nzi] 'clock', 'watch' < *relógio* (Portuguese)

nsampatu [nsa.'mpa.tu] 'shoe' < *sapato* (Portuguese)

limìngu [li.'mì.ngu] 'Sunday' < *domingo* (Portuguese)

nzába ['nzá.ba] 'soap' < *sabão* (Portuguese)

méeza ['me:.za] 'table' < *mesa* (Portuguese)

boota ['bo:.ta] 'boat' < *boat* (English)

booyi ['bo:.ji] 'boy' < *boy* (English)

Ndwa-funsu [ndwa.'fu.nsu] < *Dom Afonso* (Portuguese)

Umbundu

I. Vowel system

i.)   Umbundu is a tonal language with a five oral vowel, long-short system: /i e a o u/.

ii.)   Vowels may be nasalized by nasal consonants or prenasal stops.

iii.)   Syllables are open, with long stressed vowels.

iv.)   No diphthongs.

v.)   Stress generally falls on the penultimate syllable.

II. Consonant system

i.)   Primary consonants /p t k/, /b d g/, /f s tʃ h/, /v ʒ/, /m n/, /l r/, /w j/.

ii.)   No consonant clusters except prenasal stops (N)C: /mb ng nd nʒ/.

iii.)   [r] is an allophone of /l/. Only foreign words are written with *r*.

iv.)   /s/ is in complementary distribution with /h/.

III. Loanwords

o-ngato [o.'nga.to] 'cat' < *gato* (Portuguese)

o-pato [o.'pa.to] 'duck' < *pato* (Portuguese)

o-pomba [o.'po.mba] 'pidgin' < *pomba* (Portuguese)

Suse ['su.se] 'Joseph' < *José* (Portuguese)

Putu ['pu.tu] < *Portugal*

osicola [o.si.'ko.la] 'school' < *escola* (Portuguese)

4.3.4.1.1 Bantu and Calunga consonantal variation

Comparing Calunga consonants to Bantu, there are few striking variations. One such, however, is the realization of prenasal stops (e.g. Umbundu *o-ngato* 'cat' < Portuguese *gato* 'cat'). In Calunga, Bantu prenasal stops appear to have been subsequently reanalyzed by means of a few strategies: i.) An epenthetic vowel (e.g. [na.go] < /ngo/), ii.) A prothetic vowel (e.g. [ĩ^{ŋ}.go] < /ngo/), or iii.) By deletion of the prenasal segment and maintainance of the occlusive segment (e.g. [go] < /ngo/). Other prenasal stops, which are syllable onsets in Bantu languages, are generally realized as syllable-final nasals that nasalize the proceeding vowel through regressive nasalization. Note the different strategies employed of Bantu prenasal stops (Calunga words are listed first):

imbuete [ĩ^{m}.bu.'ɛ.tʃi] 'wood', 'tree', 'stick', 'club' < Umbundu *mbweti* 'stick', 'wood' (L:95; VF:304).

ingomo [ĩ^{ŋ}.'gõ.mũ], *ingombe* [ĩ^{ŋ}.'gõ^{m}.bi], *nhingomo* [ɲĩ^{ŋ}.'gõ.mũ] 'ox', 'cattle' <

Kimbundu _ngombe_ 'ox', 'cow' (VF:309); or multilinguistic Bantu term _ngombe_ 'ox' (L:117).

injó [ĩ.'ʒɔ].'house' < Kimbundo _njo_ 'house' or Umbundo _onjo_ 'house' (L:118); Kikongo _nzo_ (BE:111; VF:310).

nagoma [na.'gõ.ma] 'drum' < Kikongo _ngoma_ 'drum' (BE:64).

Bantu glides /j w/ which formed the onset or nucleus of the Bantu syllable were resyllabified as high vowels in Calunga /i u/, or realized as a yod-style semi-vowel as part of the diphthong /aj/:

imbuete [ĩᵐ.bu.'ɛ.tʃi] 'wood', 'tree', 'stick', 'club' < Umbundu _mbweti_ 'stick', 'wood' (L:95; VF:304).

maiaca [maj.'a.ka] 'seed' < Kikongo _mayaca_ 'manioc' (L:133).

ocai [u.kaj] / _ocaia_ [u.'kaj.a] / _ocaio_ [u.'kaj.u] 'woman' < Kimbundu _ucai_ 'woman' (VF:325) or Umbundo _ukãyi_ 'wife' (L:167).

There are a number of consonant changes that appeared to have occurred from Bantu to Calunga. That said, it is rather difficult to assess consonantal changes due to disputed etymologies. Note some of the following changes:

malara [ma.'la.ɾa] 'orange (fruit)' < Kikongo _ma-nlala_ 'orange tree' (L:134): ([l] < /Nl/, [ɾ] < /l/).

marafa [ma.'ɾa.fa] 'cachaça' < Kimbundu or Kikongo _malavu_ 'wine' (BE:336; L:141; VF:316): ([ɾ] < /l/, [f] < /v/).

curima [ku.'ɾi.ma] 'work', 'job' < Kimbundo _kudima, kurima_ 'to work' (L:88; VF:301); Umbundo _okulima_ 'to cultivate, labor' (L:88): ([ɾ] < /l/) or ([ɾ] < /d/).

4.3.4.1.2 Bantu and Calunga vocalic patterns

Some Calunga vowels have resulted as unchanged from their possible Bantu etymology, though there are some noteworthy vowel changes and vowel variabilty that took place. First, Calunga's Bantu-derived words are typically penultimate or final-stress: *cupia* or *cupiá* 'head'; *dandara* or *dandará* 'child'; *sanjo*, *sanjô*, or *sanja* 'chicken', 'hen'. Second, there may be a tendency in Calunga to raise mid vowels, generally in unstressed positions. Interestingly, Calunga speakers cite Portuguese spelling norms with *e* or *o* when historically they were possibly a high vowel in the original Bantu (e.g. Calunga *imbuete* 'wood' < Umbundu *mbweti*; Calunga *indaro* 'fire', 'yellow', 'red' < Kimbundo *ndalu* 'fire'; Umbundu *ondalu* 'fire').

Note further possible vocalic changes below, bearing in mind that any analysis is tentative given the disputed origins of Calunga terms:

i.) Possible vowel changes

amera [a.'mɛ.ɾa] 'face' < Umbundu *omela* 'mouth' (L:28): ([a] < /o/).

injoquê [ĩ.ʒo.'ke] 'bag', 'cup' < Kimbundo *nzeke* 'bag' (L:118) or Umbundu *onjequê* 'bag' (L:168): ([o] < /e/).

massango [ma.'sã$^{\eta}$.gu] / *massongo* [ma.'sõ$^{\eta}$.gu] / *massuango* [ma.su.'ã$^{\eta}$.gu] 'rice' < Kimbundo *masangu* 'corn', 'cereal' or Kikongo *ma-nsangu* 'corn' (L:144; VF:317): ([o] < /a/; [u] epenthesis).

sucano [su.'ka.nu] 'marriage', 'wedding' < Kimbundo *ku-sokana* 'to marry' (L:206; VF:334): ([o] < /a/).

ii.) Vowel epenthesis

imbuá [ĩ^{m}.bu.'a], *embuá* [ẽ^{m}.bu.'a] 'dog' < Kimbundo *mbua* 'dog' (L:115); Kikongo *mbwa* 'dog' (BE:62): ([i] or [e] prothesis).

incaca [ĩ$^{\eta}$.'ka.ka] 'armadillo' < Kikongo *nkaka* 'anteater' (BE:378; L:116): ([i] prothesis).

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iii.) Semi-vowel changes

maiaca [maj.'a.ka] < Kikongo *mayaca* 'manioc' (L:133): (diphthong [aj] < /j/)
　　　'seed'.

lorri ['lu.hi] 'fish' < Possibly Umbundo *loyi* 'type of fish' (L:126): ([h] < /j/,
　　　analyzed orthographically in Calunga as *rr*).

iv.) Stress patterns and variation

chipoque [ʃi.'po.ke], *chipoquê* [ʃi.pu.'ke] 'bean'

dandara [dãⁿ.'da.ɾa], *dandará* [dãⁿ.da.'ɾa] 'child'

sarava [sa.'ɾa.va] 'dance'; *saravá* [sa.ɾa.'va] 'goodbye'

4.4 Morphosyntax

　　　Morphosyntactic data present reduced patterns of inflections in both nominal and verbal paradigms. Calunga morphological inflections and syntactic constructions are virtually on par with BPV, albeit further reduced. That said, some morphological data do deviate from BPV, as is observed in the following sections.

4.4.1 The noun phrase

　　　Nominal phrases are formed by a Determiner (DET) + Noun Phrase (NP). The DET, which can be suppressed in the singular form, is derived from Portuguese: *o(s),* *a(s), um, uns, uma, umas*:

(o) camano '(the) man'	*os camano* 'the men'
(a) ocai '(the) woman'	*as ocai* 'the women'
(o) ingombe '(the) cow'	*os ingombe* 'the cows'
um camano 'a man'	*uns camano* 'some men'
uma ocai 'a woman'	*umas ocai* 'some women'
um ingombe 'a cow'	*uns ingombe* 'a cow'

The noun phrase is also subject to diminutive conversion through the BPV morpheme –*im* or –*zim* (e.g. *pouco* > *pouquim* 'a little (bit)'; *só* > *sozim* 'alone'), a reduced form of the Portuguese diminutive morpheme – *inho* (e.g. *pouco* 'a little' > *pouquinho* 'a little bit') or –*zinho* (e.g. *só* 'only' > *sozinho* 'alone'):

imbunim 'little black boy' (from *imbundo* 'black (man)')
ocaizim 'little girl' (from *ocai* 'girl')
camanim '(little) boy' (from *camano* 'man') (Interview 1, Line 58)

4.4.1.1 Number

Singular nouns are realized with or without a DET. The formation of plurals is realized morphologically through the plural of the DET, without corresponding inflectional affixation on the NP, as is employed in standard Portuguese (e.g. *a casa* > *as casas*):

(a) omenha '(the) river', '(the) water' *as omenha* '(the) rivers', '(the) waters'
(a) marafa '(the) cachaça'   *as marafa* '(the) cachaças'
camano tem pocas cumba 'He is young' (lit. 'He has few year') (Interview 1, Line
        51)

4.4.1.2 Gender

Gender is generally marked with the DET though it can be observed through word-final Portuguese morphemes –*o* or –*a* in some nouns:

a ocai 'woman'
o camano 'man'
a ocai sucanada ' married woman'
a ocai mucafa 'old woman'

However, note that the DET does not necessarily correspond to the gender, where a masculine DET may be employed as a type of "default" form:

> _o ocai_ '(the) woman' (Interview 2, Line 1)
>
> _os ocaio_ 'the women' (Interview 1, Line 109)
>
> _oto ocaio_ 'another woman' (Interview 1, Line 37)

4.4.1.3 Possession

Possession is realized exclusively through analytic means by employing the Portuguese preposition _de_ and its variants with the DET (_do(s), da(s)_) for masculine and feminine, correspondingly. This is used not only for possessive constructions, but also for word creation, generally with a metaphorical sense:

injó 'house'	_injó de zipaque_ 'bank' (lit. 'house of money')
zipaque 'money'	_injó de marafo_ 'bar' (lit. 'house of cachaça')
marafo 'cachaça'	_zipaque do camano-cá_ 'my money' (lit. 'money of me')
	marafo do camano 'your/his cachaça' (lit. 'cachaça of the man')

> _ocaizim de pocas cumba_ 'young lady' (lit. 'young girl of few years') (Interview 2, Line 94)

4.4.1.4 Adjectives

Many adjectives in Calunga are regular verbal participles derived from Portuguese: _aprumado_ 'good', 'rich', from _aprumá(r)_ 'to do, make', _desaprumado_ 'bad' from _desaprumá(r)_ 'to undo'. Others can be possibly traced to Bantu languages:

> _ôa_ 'bad', 'nothing', 'poor', 'worse'. Possibly related to Umbundo _wa_ 'to fall' (L:167); Nhaneca _o_ 'worse' (VF:324).
>
> _indaro_ 'fire', 'yellow', 'red'. Kimbundo _ndalu_ 'fire' or Umbundo _ondalu_ 'fire'

(L:28; VF:287).

mavero 'milk', 'breast', 'white'. Umbundo *omavele* or Kimbundo *mavele*, both plural forms of *avele* 'milk' (L:146); Kimbundu *mele* 'breasts', 'milk' is the plural form of *diele* and *avele* (VF:318).

With Portuguese-derived adjectives, gender agreement may or may not occur with the NP, and systematically lacking in number agreement. With Bantu-derived adjectives gender and number agreement generally do not occur:

ingombe <u>desaprumado</u>   *os ingombe <u>desaprumado</u>* 'sick cows'

ocai <u>aprumada</u>   *as ocai <u>aprumada</u>* 'pretty women'

(o) camano <u>mavero</u>   *os camano <u>mavero</u>* '(the) white men'

(a) ocai <u>mavero</u>   *as ocai <u>mavero</u>* '(the) white women'

(o) camano <u>ôa</u>   *os camano <u>ôa</u>* '(the) bad men'

(a) ocai <u>ôa</u>   *as ocai <u>ôa</u>* '(the) bad women'

ocai <u>murrudo</u> 'strong woman' (Interview 2, Line 33)

Finally, adjectives may or may not be expressed with copulative verbs *tá/tava* (from *estar* 'to be') or *é/foi/era* (from *ser* 'to be'):

os camanim já <u>tá</u> tudo <u>ôa</u> 'the boys are already all finished ("grown up")'
    (Interview 5, Line 186)

o camanu <u>é</u> <u>sucanado</u>? 'are you married?' (Interview 4, Line 67)

4.4.1.5 Pronouns

Subject and object pronouns are based on words for 'man' (*camano*) and 'woman' (*ocai*) and use of Portuguese locative words for distinction (i.e. *cá* 'here', *aí* 'there'), though these locative elements are not always are used in fluent discourse. Since discourse and context are necessary to clarify pronominal ambiguities, subject and object

pronouns are generally required as part of the verb phrase, even at times realized as pronouns from BPV. Context determines the intentions of the speaker in such cases. The basic subject and object pronouns are presented in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3 Calunga subject and Object Prounouns

Singular	Plural
(o) camano-cá 'I', 'me' (masc)	*os camano-cá* 'we', 'us' (masc)
(o) camano-(o)fú / (o) umbundu-cá 'I', 'me' (black)' (To emphasize the subject is black)	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'we', 'us' (fem)
	nóis 'we', 'us' (masc or fem) (from BPV)
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'I', 'me' (fem)	
(o) camano-(aí) 'you' (masc)	*os camano-(aí)* 'you'
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'you' (fem)	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'you' (fem)
(o)cê 'you' (masc or fem) (from BPV)	*(o)cês* 'you' (masc or fem) (from BPV)
(o) camano 'he', 'him'	*os camano* 'they', 'them'
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'she', 'her'	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'they', 'them' (fem)

Since Calunga has a reduced verbal paradigm, it is not pro-drop for the most part; that is, subject pronouns are generally realized; object pronouns as well. Syntactically realized object pronouns are generally governed by a variant of a Portuguese preposition with a DET: *para (pro, pra, pa), por (pu), em (na, no)*:

> *o imbundo-cá, ia aprumá(r) calunga cum ocaio* 'I (lit. black-here) was going to talk with the girl' (Interview 1, Line 48).
>
> *ocai aprumô pu sêngo* 'the woman went to the rural estate' (Interview 1, Line 23).
>
> *nóis quinhamô pa ota cumbaca pa queimá(r) uns ingomo* 'we went to another city to sell some cattle' (Interview 1, Line 32) (Note: *queimá(r)* is 'to sell' or 'to end with', though literally meaning 'to burn').

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4.4.2 The verb phrase

Of the 27 verbs collected in the Calunga lexicon (see 4.5.7), many of which are derived from Bantu languages, all are first-conjugation –*ar* verbs, and based on regular 3rd-singular inflections from Portuguese. All infinitives are phonetically realized without /-r/ (though, when asked, Calunga speakers will write the verbs with the final –*ar*). In fluent discourse, however, many Portuguese verbs, both regular and irregular, are utilized: *tá/tava* (from *estar* 'to be'), *é/foi/era* (from *ser* 'to be'), *tem/teve/tinha* (from *ter* 'to have'), and *quer/quis/queria* (from *querer* 'to want'); all conjugated in the 3rd-person singular. In addition to the highly reduced paradigm, Calunga employs mostly obligatory subject pronouns with the verb. Note the conjugations of the verb *quinhamá(r)* 'to walk/go/travel' in Tables 4.4-4.9:

Table 4.4 Present Tense: 3rd person singular *–ar* stem (from Portuguese 3rd-person *–a*)[2]

(o) camano-cá <u>quinhama</u> 'I walk/go'	*os camano-cá <u>quinhama</u>* 'we walk/go'
(o) camano-(aí) <u>quinhama</u> 'you walk/go'	*os camano-(aí) <u>quinhama</u>* 'you (pl) walk/go'
(o) camano <u>quinhama</u> 'he walks/goes'	*os camano <u>quinhama</u>* 'they walk/go'

Table 4.5 Present Tense, Progressive aspect: *tá* + Stem + *-anu* (from Portuguese *–ando*)

(o) camano-cá <u>tá quinhamanu</u> 'I am travelling/going'	*os camano-cá <u>tá quinhamanu</u>* 'we are travelling/going'
(o) camano-(aí) <u>tá quinhamanu</u> 'you are travelling/going'	*os camano-(aí) <u>tá quinhamanu</u>* 'you (pl) are travelling/going'
(o) camano <u>tá quinhamanu</u> 'he is travelling/going'	*os camano <u>tá quinhamanu</u>* 'they are travelling/going'

Table 4.6 Past Tense, Perfect aspect: Stem + *ô* (from Portuguese 3rd-person *–ou*)

(o) camano-cá <u>quinhamô</u> 'I walked/went'	*os camano-cá <u>quinhamô</u>* 'we walked/went'
(o) camano-(aí) <u>quinhamô</u> 'you walked/went'	*os camano-(aí) <u>quinhamô</u>* 'you (pl) walked/went'
(o) camano <u>quinhamô</u> 'he walked/went'	*os camano <u>quinhamô</u>* 'they walked/went'

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[2] These tables employ only the subject pronoun forms of *camano*. See Table 4.3 for a complete list of possible subject pronouns that may form the verb phrase.

Table 4.7 Past Tense, Imperfect aspect: Stem + *ava* (from Portuguese 3rd-person –*ava*)

(o) camano-cá quinhamava 'I walked/went'	*os camano-cá quinhamava* 'we walked/went'
(o) camano-(aí) quinhamava 'you walked/went'	*os camano-(aí) quinhamava* 'you (pl) walked/went'
(o) camano quinhamava 'he walked/went'	*os camano quinhamava* 'they walked/went'

Table 4.8 Past Tense, Progressive aspect: *tava* (from Portuguese *(es)tava* 'was/were') + Stem + -*anu*

(o) camano-cá tava quinhamanu 'I was traveling/going'	*os camano-cá tava quinhamanu* 'we were traveling/going'
(o) camano-(aí) tava quinhamanu 'you were traveling/going'	*os camano-(aí) tava quinhamanu* 'you (pl) were going/traveling'
(o) camano tava quinhamanu 'he was going/traveling'	*os camano tava quinhamanu* 'they were going/traveling'

Table 4.9 Future tense: *vai* (from Portuguese *ir* 'to go) + infinitive

(o) camano-cá vai quinhamá 'I will walk/go'	*os camano-cá vai quinhamá* 'we will walk/go'
(o) camano-(aí) vai quinhamá 'you will walk/go'	*os camano-(aí) vai quinhamá* 'you (pl) will walk/go'
(o) camano vai quinhamá 'he will walk/go'	*os camano vai quinhamá* 'they will walk/go'

4.4.2.1 The verb *aprumá(r)*

Calunga speakers often cite the verb *aprumá(r)* 'to do, make' (along with its negative counterpart *desaprumá(r)* 'to undo') as a key verb in Calunga discourse. Calunga informant José Astrogildo (personal interview), for instance, noted that "a

Calunga tem um verbo e um "desverbo" – aprumá(r) e desaprumá(r)." Even though the verb itself (along with its participles) is of Portuguese origin – meaning 'to lift', 'to set straight or vertical' – it has grammaticalized as an all-purpose auxiliary verb which can be used to convey a variety of verbal phrases and meanings:

vamu aprumá pa dentu du injó 'let's go inside the house' (Interview 4, Line 1).

camanu num tá apumanu a nanga mai não 'he is not getting his pants anymore' (Interview 4, Line 3).

camanu deve tê aprumadu marafa nu cumba passada 'he must have drunk yesterday' (Interview 4, Line 209).

camanu gosta de aprumá uíque na mucota? 'do you like to drink' (Interview 4, Line 54).

aí num é lugar de aprumá ocaio 'there is not a place to meet women' (Interview 1, Line 18).

quando mexia cus ingomo, aprumava injó 'when I used to work with cattle, I was able to find shelter' (Interview 5, Line 146).

o camano é aprumado do zipaque 'the man is rich' (Interview 1, Line 148).

4.4.2.2 Auxiliaries/preverbal markers

Calunga utilizes preverbal markers to realize different categories of tense and aspect. These are derived from varying forms of either adverbial *já* 'already', or verbal forms of *tá* (from *estar* 'to be') and *ter* 'to have':

ei já calungô ca ocai ca nanga daquei jeito 'he already spoke with the woman with pants like that' (Interview 4, Line 8).

o camanu já apruma nessas cumbaca há quantos cumba? 'how long have you been in the region?' (lit: man already makes in these region how much time?) (Interview 4, Line 71).

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camanu <u>*deve tê aprumadu*</u> *marafa nu cumba passada* 'he must have drunk yesterday' (Interview 4, Line 209).

4.4.3 Clauses

Calunga syntax, with few exceptions, follows a general Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) template, though passive constructions are also employed. Nevertheless, there is reduncy in subject and object pronouns, and frequent use of double negation (see section 4.4.3.2).

4.4.3.1 Subject-verb questions

Questions, as with declarative phrases, are SVO:

ocê é ocaio santo? 'are you a single woman?' (Interview 1, Line 86).

os camanu é de qual omenha? 'Where are you (pl) from?' (lit: 'the men is from which water?') (Interview 4, Line 28).

camanu gosta de aprumá uíque na mucota? 'do you like to drink?' (Interview 4, Line 54).

4.4.3.2 Negation

Negation (NEG) in Calunga, as in BPV, can be realized in any number of varieties, including preverbal and postverbal negation:

NEG+VP: *Ocai* <u>*não calunga*</u>

VP+NEG: *Ocai* <u>*calunga não*</u>   'She does not speak Calunga'

NEG+VP+NEG: *Ocai* <u>*não calunga não*</u>

camanu <u>*num*</u> *tá apumanu a nanga mai* <u>*não*</u> 'he is not putting on (his) [nice] pants (no)' (Interview 4, Line 3).

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ei foi aprumá malumbí <u>não</u> 'he did not go fishing' (lit: 'he went to fish no')
(Interview 6, Line 17).

4.4.3.3 Prepositions

Calunga employs Portuguese prepositions *para*, *por*, *em* and their corresponding phonetic variations (*p(r)a, pu, no(s), na(s)*) + NP are employed for thematic roles of direction or goal, as well to construct direct and indirect object phrases:

camanu gosta de aprumá uíque <u>na mucota</u>? 'do you (sg.masc.) like to drink' (lit: man likes to arrange sweet in mouth') (Interview 4, Line 53).

aprumô <u>no</u> sengo '[she] went to the forest' (Interview 1, Line 25).

aprumô <u>no</u> injó '[she] went home' (Interview 1, Line 26).

a ocaio tá aprumano mirante é <u>no camanim</u> 'the girl is looking at the boy' (Interview 1, Line 64).

4.4.3.4 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are triggered with the Portuguese complementizer *que* (*qui*). These clauses are realized solely in the indicative mood (see section 4.4.3.5):

aqueis ibuninhu <u>qui</u> os camanu pegava e levava pa omenha 'the black boys that white men grabbed and took to the water' (= refers to the water windmill that beat slaves on the back with a whip) (section 1.2).

quantas cumba <u>que</u> ele tem? 'how old is he?' (Interview 1, Line 50).

4.4.3.5 Mood

Calunga verb phrases have no morphological distinction for mood. That is, Calunga is realized solely in the indicative mood. Even subjunctive "trigger verbs," such as *querer*, do not trigger subjunctive forms in the dependent clause:

o camanu e a ocai <u>tá querenu</u> que os camanu-cá <u>calunga</u> sobre? 'you are wanting us to speak (Calunga) about?' (Interview 4, Line 23).

4.4.4 Analysis of morphosyntax

Looking first at the nominal system, Calunga, like Portuguese, employs a nominal system of singular-plural, masculine-feminine nouns. However, unlike traditional Romance languages, Calunga gender and number are marked solely by the DET (*o(s),* *a(s), oto(s), ota(s),* etc.). For example, in both standard Spanish and Portuguese, adjectives must be inflectionally marked and agree with the head NP in gender (*-o* typically for masculine, *-a* typically for feminine) and in number ($\varnothing$ for singular, *-s* for plural): e.g. *a casa branca > a<u>s</u> casa<u>s</u> branca<u>s</u>*. Such agreement is mostly absent, or not necessary, in Calunga; a trait of BPV as well. Note the comparisons in Tables 4.12-4.13:

Table 4.12 NP comparison

Calunga		BPV	
o camano 'the man'	*os camano* 'the men'	*o home* 'the man'	*os home* 'the men'
a/o ocai(a/o) 'the woman'	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'the women'	*a muié* 'the woman'	*as muié* 'the women'
ota cumba 'another year'	*otas cumba* 'other years'	*ot(r)o ano* 'another year'	*ot(r)os ano* 'other years'

Table 4.13 NP comparison with adjectives

Calunga		BPV	
o injó indaro 'the red house'	*os injó indaro* 'the red houses'	*o livro vermelho* 'the red book'	*os livro vermelho* 'the red books'
o injó aprumado 'the expensive house'	*os injó aprumado* 'the expensive houses'	*a casa vermelha* 'the red house'	*as casa vermelha* 'the red houses'
a duana indaro 'the red shirt'	*as duana indaro* 'the red shirts'		
a duana aprumada 'the expensive shirt'	*as duana aprumada* 'the expensive shirts'		

Calunga pronominal forms of subject and object pronouns are rather peculiar when compared with their BPV counterpart: that is, Calunga pronoun patterns cannot be traced to BPV. For example, 1st-person: *camano-ca* 'I', *camano-(o)fu* or *umbundu-cá* 'I-(black)' (lit: 'black man-here', if speaker wishes to emphasize his ethnicity). BPV instead employs a pronominal system based on traditional Romance patterns. Observe the comparisons in Table 4.14:

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Table 4.14 Subject pronoun comparison

Calunga		BPV	
(o) camano-cá 'I' (default)	*os camano-cá* 'we' (masc)	*eu* 'I'	*nós (nóis)* 'we'
(o) camano-(o)fú 'I' (black masc)	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'we' (fem)		
(o) umbundo-cá 'I' (black masc)			
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'I' (fem)			
(o) camano-aí 'you'	*os camano-aí* 'you' (pl. masc)	*(vo)cê* 'you'	*(vo)cês* 'you' (pl.)
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'I' (fem)	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'you' (pl. fem)		
(o) camano 'he'	*os camano* 'they'	*ele (ei)* 'he'	*eles (eis)* 'they' (masc)
(a/o) ocai(a/o) 'she'	*as/os ocai(a/o)* 'they' (fem)	*ela* 'she' *a gente* 'we'	*elas (esa)* 'they' (fem)

Observing Table 4.14, Portuguese does not have a notion of ethnicity involving pronouns, as Calunga does in 1st-person forms. For example, a white speaker of Calunga cannot say *umbundu-cá* although a black speaker of Calunga can employ *camano-cá*. Another peculiarity is that a woman speaker cannot utilize *camano,* nor express her ethnicity as masculine forms do. In contrast, BPV has no pronominal form to express race or gender with *eu* being the only option for a 1st-person subject. Furthermore, *eu* is the only subject pronoun that may be dropped in BPV morphosyntactic constructions since it

maintains specific verbal inflections in some verbal forms (i.e. present and preterite) (Mello 1997), though such dropping is rare. Calunga, on the other hand, does not typically permit pro-drop, though it may occur sporadically.

In terms of verbal morphology, most similarities of Calunga are to the local BPV, though Calunga verbal paradigms are solely regular –ar verbs with 3rd-person conjugations realized only in the indicative, unless a BPV verb (which may be irregular) is used. Such reduced, systematized patterns are typical in pidgin and creole languages, including varieties of Atlantic creoles (Holm 2004:81), which may correlate to the sole utilization of 3rd-person forms in Calunga. Furthermore, creole verbs seem to have derived from imperative forms rather than infinitives (Holm 2004:81), which may partially explain such systematic patterns. Hence, the verbal system is heavily adapted to regular –ar verbal paradigms of BPV, but has some peculiarties that are noteworthy. Consider Tables 4.15-4.19:

Table 4.15 Present indicative

Calunga *quinhamá(r)* 'to go, walk'		BPV *andar* 'to go, walk'	
(o) camano-cá quinhama	*os camano-cá quinhama*	*eu <u>ando</u>*	*nós <u>anda</u> / <u>andamo(s)</u>*
(o) camano-aí quinhama	*os camano-aí quinhama*	*(vo)cê <u>anda</u>*	*(vo)cês <u>anda</u>*
(o) camano quinhama	*os camano quinhama*	*ele <u>anda</u>*	*eles <u>anda</u>*

Table 4.16 Present indicative

BPV *andar* 'to go, walk'		SBP *andar* 'to go, walk'	
(eu) <u>ando</u>	*nóis <u>anda</u> / <u>andamo(s)</u>*	*(eu) <u>ando</u>*	*(nós) <u>andamos</u>*
(vo)cê <u>anda</u>	*(vo)cês <u>anda</u>*	*você <u>anda</u>*	*vocês <u>andam</u>*
ele <u>anda</u>	*eles <u>anda</u>*	*ele <u>anda</u>*	*eles <u>andam</u>*

Table 4.17 Indicative, Perfect aspect (verbal forms only)

Calunga *quinhamá(r)* 'to go, walk'		BPV *andar* 'to go, walk'	
quinhamô	*quinhamô*	*andei*	*andô / andamo(s)*
quinhamô	*quinhamô*	*andô*	*andô / andaro*
quinhamô	*quinhamô*	*andô*	*andô / andaro*

Table 4.18 Indicative, Perfect aspect (verbal forms only)

Calunga *curiá(r)* 'to eat'		BPV *comê(r)* 'to eat'	
curiô	*curiô*	*comi*	*comeu / comemo(s)*
curiô	*curiô*	*comeu*	*comeu / comero*
curiô	*curiô*	*comeu*	*comeu / comero*

Table 4.19 Indicative, Imperfect aspect (verbal forms only)

Calunga *quinhamá(r)* 'to go, travel'		BPV *andar* 'to go'	
quinhamava	*quinhamava*	*andava*	*andava*
quinhamava	*quinhamava*	*andava*	*andava*
quinhamava	*quinhamava*	*andava*	*andava*

Much like BPV, Calunga syntax is analytic and follows SVO patterns for the most part. There are, however, some interesting grammatical features to note. First, double negation (e.g. *num vai sê não* Ferreira & Ferreira 1993:16 (BPV from Patrocínio, Minas Gerais)) may represent possible evidence of a relation to a Portuguese-based pidgin or creole, though this is debateable. According to Lipski (2005:258-60), it is possible that Brazilian slaves acquired the double negative construction from a former Portuguese-based creole such as Sãotomense – a Portuguese-based creole with Kimbundu and Kikongo as linguistic substrates (Lorenzino 1998). Schwegler (1998:221) argues that BPV double negation could have a possible genetic relationship to other Afro-Hispanic creoles, including Colombian Palenquero and Angolan Portuguese Vernacular (known as *Musseque*), which also employ such double negatives. Second, the syntactic use of prepositions is another parallel of interest; mainly, *por, para,* and *em* (and their corresponding variants with the DET: *pro, pra, no(s), na(s).* In Calunga and BPV these are realized especially with the thematic role of goal:

Camano apruma no injó (Calunga)
O home vai na casa (BPV)   'He goes to the house'

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Camano apruma <u>pro injó</u> (Calunga)

O home vai <u>pra casa</u> (BPV)

In both Calunga and BPV object pronouns are also realized with prepostions:

Camano-cá apruma marafo <u>pra camano-aí</u> 'I give you cachaça'.

Eu dou cachaça <u>pra você</u> 'I give you cachaça'.

In terms of clauses, both Calunga and BPV are virtually identical in their realizations of independent and dependent clauses, including the absence of subjunctive mood in dependent clauses. Calunga as well employs "few if any inflections" (Holm 2004:72), demonstrating virtually all of these morphological simplifications listed above. For comparison, note the following BPV data from Patrocínio, Minas Gerais:

É pra isso qui <u>nóis tá</u> qui 'that is why we are here' (Ferreira & Ferreira 1993:50).

<u>Nóis cumeu uns trem!</u> [...] *Um'<u>as coisa</u> qui <u>nóis trôxe</u> lá de casa* 'we ate something [...] Some things that we brought from home' (Ferreira & Ferreira 1993:13).

4.4.4.1 Bantu or BPV?

Elia (2003:61-2) mentions some morphosyntactic characteristics of BPV that may have stemmed from African influence. First is the simplification of the verbal tenses and moods (e.g. *<u>nóis vai</u>*, *quer que <u>eles fala</u>*, etc.); second, gender and number as indicated by the DET (i.e. *<u>os home</u>*, *<u>as muié</u>*). Holm's (2004) morphological analysis of "partially restructured languages," including the verbal paradigm of BPV (along with American Black English, non-standard Caribbean Spanish, Afrikaans, and Réunion French), argues that there are "few if any inflections" in these varieties (Holm 2004:72). Furthermore, Holm (2004:81) demonstrates that the BPV verb phrase has only two verbal forms with obligatory subject pronouns with present and preterite tenses: *eu <u>parto</u>, você/ele(s)/nós*

parte, eu parti, você/ele(s)/nós partiu; and one verbal form with the imperfect tense: *eu/você/ele(s)/nós partia.* Houaiss (1988:117-8) mentions two possible morphological influences in BPV that are found also in pan-creole traces: i.) Reduction of verbal conjugations; ii.) Loss of the morpheme /-s/ on the noun phrase and adjective phrase (i.e. *as casa*). In contrast, Queiroz (1998:104) rejects African influence in her analysis of Língua do Negro da Costa of Bom Despacho, Minas Gerais, and of the Cupópia language of the São Paulo Cafundó community, calling it instead a complete "aportuguesamento gramatical" of the morphology and syntax. On the other hand, she does theorize that the grammatical patterns of the above languages as having evolved from a previous pidgin.

Calunga exercises the same reduced examples of morphosyntactic phenomena of BPV. Hence, Castro's (2001:125) argument of "o resultado de um processo de dupla interação, ou seja, a africanização do português e o aportuguesamento dos africanismos" may as well apply to Calunga morphosyntax. While the *aportuguesamento* of Calunga morphosyntax is rather salient, the larger question is if there is any *africanização*? Of course, there is no simple yes or no answer, and current available data are perhaps best characterized as "inconclusive" when one analyzes the grammatical characteristics of Bantu languages. For example, the verbal morphology of Bantu languages has pre-stem conjugations and a rather complicated system of noun classes that number nineteen in the reconstructed Common Bantu (Wald 1990:1000). Conversely, Calunga has adapted BPV verbal inflections (albeit reduced and systematized) and a two-way masculine-feminine gender system, on par with Portuguese.

Nevertheless, when observing the verbal system of the three Bantu languages that made contributions to the Calunga lexicon, there are some generalizations that are of interest.

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I. *Umbundu*

Regarding verbal conjugations in Umbundu: "As formas verbais, na Europa, situam a acção no seu tempo, enquanto que nas línguas africanas o *tempo* e o *número* são expressos por palavras que não fazem parte integrante das formas verbais. [...] O radical do verbo permanece intacto para o tempo e para o número" (Valente 1964:199, italics his). Observe the following data (Valente 1964:199-200):

Umbundu *-tanga* 'to read'

Ame	*ndi-tanga*	*Etu*	*tu-tanga*
(I	(pres)-read)	(We	(pres)-read)
'I read'.		'We read'.	

Ame	*nda-tanga*	*Etu*	*twa-tanga*
(I	(past)-read)	(We	(past)-read)
'I read'.		'We read'.	

Ame	*ndi-ka-tanga*	*Etu*	*tu-ka-tanga*
(I	(fut)-read)	(We	(fut)-read)
'I will read'.		'We will read'.	

Omunu ndu-ka-venga, eye eti: *kevelela,*   *ame*   *ndi-lya*
(Man   (I-(fut)-warn), he says: wait,   I   (pres)-eat)
'I warn the man, he says: wait, I eat'.

II. *Kikongo*

Kikongo verbal morphology utilizes a series of prefixes and suffixes (Bentley 1887/1967:618-9). Typical of Bantu languages, inflectional prefixes (INFL-) are employed for the agreement of the subject and/or the object of the verb; inflectional suffixes (or infixes) are employed for aspects (perfect, imperfect, progressive) and voice (passive, middle).

baka 'to catch'   *bakwa* 'to be caught'

lunda 'to keep'   *lundwa* 'to be kept'

tonda 'to love'   *tondwa* 'to be loved'

o nleke   <u>*wa-baka*</u>   *e nkombo*

(the boy   (INFL-)catch   the goat)

'the boy caught the goat'.

E nkombo   <u>*ya-bakwa*</u>

(the goat   (INFL-)caught)

'the goat was caught'.

E nkombo   <u>*ya-bakwa*</u>   *kwa nleke*

(the goat   (INFL-)caught   by the boy)

'the goat was caught by the boy'.

III. *Kimbundu*

Kimbundu data present similar patterns to Umbundu and Kikongo. Note the following data from Chatelain (1888-89/1964:32-33):

Kimbundu Infinitives:

-zeka 'to sleep'   *-longa* 'to teach'

-xinga 'to insult'   *-kuenda* 'to walk'

-beta 'to beat'   *-kuambata* 'to guide'

-zola 'to love'

Eme   ngolo-<u>banga</u>   *Etu   tuolo-<u>banga</u>*

(I   (INFL-)<u>do</u>)   (we   (INFL-)<u>do</u>)

'I   am doing'.   'we   are doing'.

Eie   uolo-<u>banga</u>   *Enu   nuolo-<u>banga</u>*

(you (sg) (INFL-)<u>do</u>)   (you (pl) (INFL-)<u>do</u>)

'you (sg) are doing'.   'you (pl) are doing'.

Muene uolo-<u>banga</u>   *Ene   olo-<u>banga</u>*

(he   (INFL-)<u>do</u>)   (they   (INFL-)<u>do</u>)

'he   is doing'.   'they   are doing'.

Eme ngondo-<u>banga</u>   *Eie uojo-<u>banga</u>*

(I   (INFL-)<u>do</u>)   (you (INFL-)<u>do</u>)

'I   will do'.   'you would do'.

Muene uene-<u>banga</u>

(he (INFL-)<u>do</u>)

'he habitually does'.

o mumbundu   <u>*uolo-kuambata*</u>   *o mundele*.

(the black man   <u>(INFL)-guides</u>   the white man)

'the black man guides the white man'.

   Kimbundu shows pre-verbal inflections attached to the verbal stem for forming paradigms. Calunga as well shows only one verbal form with obligatory pronouns. It also presents further reductions in the data, which suggest possible pidginization or creolization. However, whether or not this is direct influence from Bantu verbal morphology, or the possible effects of pidginization/creolization, is an open question, although the similarities are noteworthy. Note the comparison of conjugations in Table 4.20:

Table 4.20 Conjugation of the verb 'to do' in the present indicative

Kimbundu (*-banga*) 'to do'		Calunga (*aprumá(r)*) 'to do'		BPV (*fazê(r)*) 'to do'		SBP (*fazer*) 'to do'	
Eme ngi-banga	*Etu tu-banga*	*Camano-cá apruma*	*Os camano-cá apruma*	*Eu faço*	*Nós faz/fazemo*	*Eu faço*	*Nós fazemos*
Eie u-banga	*Enu nu-banga*	*Camano-aí apruma*	*Os camano-aí apruma*	*(vo)cê faz*	*(vo)cês faz*	*Você faz*	*Vocês fazem*
Muene u-banga	*Ene a-banga*	*Camano apruma*	*Os camano apruma*	*Ele faz*	*Eles faz*	*Ele faz*	*Eles fazem*

From the table, it can be observed that Kimbundu and Calunga show one verbal form and overt subject pronouns. One key difference to note, however, is the Kimbundu pre-verbal inflections, which have no corresponding equivalent in Calunga or in the varieties of Brazilian Portuguese. On the other side of the table, BPV has two to three verbal conjugations with a mostly obligatory subject pronouns. SBP finally shows four verbal conjugations and is moderately pro-drop (usually in 1ˢᵗ-person forms), though 3ʳᵈ-person forms can result as ambiguous.

4.5 Lexicon

The most salient aspect of Calunga grammar is its lexicon; in fact, this appears to be truly the "essence" of this Afro-Brazilian speech. That said, Calunga speakers typically do not engage in lengthy conversations about daily topics in Calunga, but instead speak in BPV. Calunga is traditionally reserved for a number of select topics,

listed below in the lexical description. For a more comprehensive list of Calunga terms and etymological discussion, see the Calunga glossary.

4.5.1 Food and drink

Amparo de curiá 'fork' (A).

Aprumar curiá 'to eat' (A).

Atindundu 'wine' (A).

Camboque 'cheese' (A).

Chia 'butter' (A).

Chipoquê/Chipoque/Tipoquê 'bean' (A).

Curiá(r) 'to eat', 'food' (A).

Faim 'knife' (A).

Gatuvira 'coffee' (A).

Imbuele 'wood', 'tree' (VF).

Imbuete 'piece of bread', 'club', 'stick' (A).

Injequê 'corn', 'popcorn' (A).

Jinguba 'peanut' (A).

Madubim 'peanut' (A).

Mafuim/Mapuim 'flour' (A).

Maiaca 'seed' (A).

Malara 'orange (fruit)' (A).

Malombo/Malumbim 'fruit' (A).

Marafoná(r) 'to drink (alcohol)' (A).

Marafa 'cachaça', '(alcoholic) drink' (A).

Marafa de uíque 'beer' (A).

Marafa de vinhango 'cachaça' (A).

Massa de camboque 'cheese bread' (A).

Massango/Massongo/Massuango 'rice' (A).

Moca 'coffee' (A).

Mongo/Mungo/Mungue 'salt' (A).

Omenha de mavero 'milk' (A).

Orogongi 'egg' (A).

Pixiê 'food' (A).

Pungo 'corn' (VF).

Sumate 'soup' (A).

Tamangô 'egg' (A).

Uanjá(r) 'to cook' (A).

Uíque 'sugar', 'sweet', 'alcohol' (A).

4.5.2 Flora and Fauna

Cauba 'jaguar' (A).

Duque 'insect' (A).

Gamboa 'bird' (A).

Imberela de omenha 'fish' (A).

Imbuá 'dog' (A).

Incaca 'armadillo' (A).

Inharra 'snake' (A).

Lorri 'fish' (A).

Marangó 'donkey' (VF).

Mara(n)gola 'horse', 'donkey' (A).

Mufete 'fish' (A).

Niguciê 'cat' (A).

Niguciê de sengo 'jaguar' (A).

Periá 'rabbit' (A).

Puco 'rat' (A).

Quijongo 'cricket' (A).

Quimboto 'toad' (A).

Quiombô 'wild pig' (A).

Sanjo/Sanjô/Sanja 'chicken', 'hen' (A).

Sengo/Sengue/Senguê 'forest', 'green' (A).

Viango/Vinhango 'sugar cane' (A).

4.5.3 People and relationships

Aprumar banzo 'to have sex' (A).

Arangá 'son of a single mother' (A).

Banzo 'sexual relation' (A).

Camano 'man', 'person' (A).

Camano Cá 'I, me'.

Camano Cafamo 'white man' (A).

Camano desaprumado 'fool', 'stupid man' (A).

Camano maioral 'man of respect', 'boss', 'God' (A).

Camano ôa 'bad man' (A).

Camano ofú 'black man' (A).

Camanim 'boy' (A).

Candando 'hug' (A).

Candango 'bad person', 'bandit' (A).

Cangundo 'mischievous person' (A).

Cueto 'companion' (A).

Dandara/Dandará 'child' (A).

Dandarazim 'toddler' (A).

Dandará santo 'newly born' (A).

Dandará ofú 'black child' (A).

Exoa 'foolish' (A).

Ganga 'boss', 'owner' (A).

Guriô 'father' (A).

Imabe 'mischievous person' (A).

Malungo 'brother', 'equal', 'same' (A).

Mangonheiro 'swindler', 'mischievous person' (A).

Matumba 'foolish' (A).

Ocai/Ocaia/Ocaio 'woman' (A).

Ocaizim 'girl' (A).

Ocai santo 'virgin', 'single woman' (A).

Ocai de banzo 'prostitute' (A).

Ocai ofú 'black woman' (A).

Odara 'pretty' (A).

Otaca/Otata 'father' (A).

Quicumbi 'young person' (A).

Quissanda 'mischievous woman' (A).

Quitata 'prostitute' (A).

4.5.4 Human body

Amera 'face' (A).

Amparo de cupia 'hat', 'cap' (A).

Amparo de mirante 'glasses' (A).

Amparo de omenha 'umbrella' (A).

Buraco de nanga 'pant pocket' (A).

Buraco de duana 'shirt pocket' (A).

Cafuim 'curly hair' (A).

Caixinha de semá (cemá) 'vagina' (A).

Caputo 'blind' (A).

Cemá 'hair' (A).

Conena 'anus', 'butt', 'excrement' (A).

Cupia/Cupiá 'head' (A).

Cutá 'ear' (A).

Desaprumado 'bad', 'sick' (A).

Duana 'shirt', 'coat' (A).

Duana cafamo 'clear shirt' (A).

Duana imbuno 'dark shirt' (A).

Duana indaro 'yellow, red shirt' (A).

Duana mavero 'white shirt' (A).

Duana ofú 'black shirt' (A).

Duana sengo 'green shirt' (A).

Ganzipe 'penis' (A).

Inhoto 'bone' (A).

Jibundo 'cry', 'sadness', lament' (A).

Jifeto 'grimace' (A).

Lubra 'chest' (A).

Macura 'fat (noun)' (A).

Mataco 'buttocks' (A).

Mocó 'arm', 'weapon', 'knife' (A).

Mocó de espirro 'fire arm' (A).

Mavero 'milk', 'breast', 'white' (A).

Milongo 'medicine' (A).

Mirante 'eye' (A).

Mocó 'arm', 'weapon', 'knife' (A).

Monzape 'hand' (A).

Muchinga 'nose' (A).

Mucota/Micota 'mouth' (A).

Muxima 'heart' (A).

Nanga 'clothes', 'pants' (A).

Nanga mavero 'white clothes' (A).

Nanga sengo 'green clothes' (A).

Nanga cafamo 'clear clothes' (A).

Nanga imbuno 'dark clothes' (A).

Inhoto 'bone' (A).

Opô 'eye' (A).

Pandú 'stomach' (A).

Ponto de mirante 'eye' (A).

Ponto pisante 'foot' (A).

Quindú 'fat (adj)' (A).

Quinhama/*Quinhamba* 'leg' (A).

Semá (cemá) 'hair' (A).

Semá cor de indaro 'blond hair' (A).

Semá de mucota 'moustache' (A). See *semá* and *mucota*.

Semá ofú 'black hair' (A).

Saná (Cená/Ciamá) 'beard' (A).

Tipune/Tipungue/Tipungo 'hat' (A).

Zingrim 'tooth' (A).

4.5.5 Work and money

Adufe 'baker' (A).

Aprumado 'rich', 'better' (A).

Camano maioral 'man of respect', 'boss', 'God' (A).

Cumbe 'city', 'village' (VF).

Curima 'work', 'job' (A).

Curimá(r) 'to work' (A).

Ganga 'boss', 'owner' (A).

Ingugiá(r) 'to keep watch' (A).

Injó de zipaque 'bank' (A).

Kimbo 'city', 'town', 'village' (A).

Kukiá(r) 'to dawn, wake up' (A).

Zipaque 'money' (A).

4.5.6 Festivities and social life

Ariranha 'cigarette', 'smoke' (A).

Atindundu 'wine' (A).

Bacuri 'sound', 'music', 'box' (A).

Curriola 'group' (A).

Injó de marafo 'bar' (A).

Marafa(o) de uíque 'beer' (A).

Marafa(o) de vinhango 'cachaça' (A).

Ocai de banzo 'prostitute' (A).

Omenha de vinhango 'cachaça' (A).

Orirá(r) 'to sing' (A).

Quissanda 'mischievous woman' (A).

Quitata 'prostitute' (A).

Quizumba 'party', 'mess', 'confusion' (A).

Sarava 'dance' (A).

Saravá 'goodbye' (A).

Sucano 'marriage', 'wedding' (A).

Ximbado 'drunk' (A).

4.5.7 Verbs

Aprumá(r) 'to do, make, happen' (A).

Assungá(r) 'to come' (A).

Bungulá(r) 'to jump' (A).

Cafangá(r) 'to leave' (A).

Calungá(r) 'to talk (Calunga)' (A).

Cubá(r) 'to do, make, arrange' (A).

Cuciá(r) 'to dawn, wake up' (A).

Cupiá(r)/Copiá(r) 'to understand' (A; B).

Curimá(r) 'to work' (A).

Curitá(r) 'to sing' (A).

Curirá(r) 'to cry' (A).

Desaprumá(r) 'to undo' (antonym of *aprumá(r)*) (A).

Engonhá(r) 'to save time' (A).

Gambiá(r) 'to walk' (VF).

Ganzipá(r) 'to have sex' (VF).

Goná(r) 'to sleep' (VF).

Gudunhá(r) 'to take, grab' (A).

Ingugiá(r) 'to keep watch' (A).

Marafoná(r) 'to drink (alcohol)' (VF).

Matungá(r) 'to eat' (VF).

Orirá(r) 'to sing' (A).

Quimimbá(r)/Quimbimbá(r) 'to die' (A).

Quinhamá(r) 'to walk, travel' (A).

Saravá(r) 'to dance' (A).

Sucaná(r) 'to marry' (A).

Uanjá(r) 'to cook' (A).

Xaxatá(r) 'to touch' (A).

4.5.8 Lexical analysis

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of Calunga grammar is the lexicon, which is possibly drawn mostly from Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo. Interestingly, lexical items are what Calunga speakers most often cite when asked what Calunga *is*. This is probably due to the fact that the Calunga speakers are conscencious that Calunga grammar is closely related to BPV. Furthermore, this raises a separate question as to when exactly BPV ends and Calunga begins? The Calunga lexicon is the best answer to this question. That is, if Calunga were defined solely by the grammatical patterns of phonology and morphosyntax, it could not be concluded decisively as an Afro-Brazilian speech; however, when the lexicon enters the discussion, the picture is more complete. Hence, this lexicon is what truly distinguishes this speech as "Afro-Brazilian" and which

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most purely captures its sociohistoric and linguistic links to Africa and to Brazilian slavery of the colonial past. According to Queiroz (1998:104-5), this type of "africanização lexical" has a two-fold objective: i.) For the purposes of a "secret language," and ii.) For the recreation of a remote past of "uma África mítica em que os indivíduos negros eram livres, donos de seu espaço de terra, do trabalho, do seu destino, afinal."

The Calunga lexical items gathered in this chapter and in the glossary are not only specific to Calunga, but to other *falares africanos* and even to BPV (see Lopes (2003) for discussion). These lexical interrelations present the enhancement of Brazilian Portuguese by the African slaves. Indeed, while some words have remained essentially specific to *falares africanos* such as Calunga, others have entered the lexicon of BPV of the region, and throughout Brazil. Azevedo elaborates:

> As the [Portuguese] language traveled far and wide, it was adopted in the newly established settlements by people who used it as their first or second language. In so doing they modified it to meet their communicative needs and to reflect the new natural, cultural, and linguistic environment in which they lived.
>
> […]
>
> [In Brazil] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries slaves were primarily of Bantu origin and spoke languages such as Kikongu and Kimbundu. Destined initially for the labor-intensive sugar cane industry and later for mining and for coffee plantation, a number of slaves who worked in homes acquired varying degrees of fluency in Portuguese through interaction with members in the household. Today African influence is noticeable at the lexical level, where several hundred words are incorporated – often, as in the case of words of Indian origin, regionally – in everyday vocabulary, involving various aspects of social life. (Azevedo 2005:181, 219)

Looking at the Calunga terms, the "various aspects of social life" of the Calunga speakers come out in these lexical items: that is, food and drink, flora and fauna, people and relationships, work and money, and social events. Furthermore, these are the basic topics which are talked about when Calunga is employed. Given that the social oppression of slavery is a thing of the past, the sociolinguistic function of "secret language" is not as relevant to the present as it used to be. On the other hand, these lexical items remain a fundamental testimony to that slave past.

In examining the Calunga terms, there are roughly five categories that comprise the lexicon: i.) Direct Africanisms; ii.) Metaphoric Africanisms (i.e. with a metaphorical sense); iii.) Portuguese; iv.) Hybrid Portuguese-Africanisms; and v.) Tupi-derived terms.

Direct Africanisms are words that are equivalent both in one or another Bantu language and Calunga. Some examples of these Direct Africanisms are:

Chipoquê/Chipoque/Tipoquê 'beans'. Umbundo *ochipoke* 'bean' (L:213); Kimbundu *kipoke* 'bean' (VF:335).

Cuendá(r) 'to walk'. Kimbundo *kuenda* 'to walk' (L:86; VF:299).

Curiá 'food'. Kimbundo *kudia*, *kuria* 'to eat' (L:87; VF:301); Umbundo *kulya* 'to eat' (L:87).

Curima 'work', 'job'. Kimbundo *kudima, kurima* 'to work' (L:88; VF:301); Umbundo *okulima* 'to cultivate, labor' (L:88).

Cuzeca 'sleep', 'tiredness'. Kimbundo *kuzeca, kuzeta* 'to sleep, rest', 'tiredness' (L:89; VF:303).

Embuete 'wood', 'tree', 'stick', 'club'. Umbundo *mbweti* 'stick', 'wood' (L:95; VF:304).

Imbuá 'dog'. Kimbundo or Kikongo *mbua* 'dog' (L:115); Kikongo *mbwa* 'dog' (BE:62).

Metaphoric Africanisms are terms for which the slaves likely had no equivalent in their native languages, and therefore adapted a similar or related term to the concept:

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Angora 'horse'. Kimbundo *ngolo* 'zebra' (L:30; VF:309).

Indaro 'fire', 'yellow', 'red'. Kimbundo *ndalu* 'fire' or Umbundo *ondalu* 'fire' (L:28; VF:287).

Maiaca 'seed'. Kikongo *mayaca* 'manioc' (L:133).

Malungo 'brother', 'equal', 'same'. Of uncertain Bantu origin, possibly related to Kimbundu *ma'lugo* 'companion' or Kikongo *ma-lùngu* (plural of *lùngu*) 'suffering, pain, death', or *na-lùngu* 'he who suffers' or *madungo* 'stranger'; hence, this term may be a joint idea of all these ideas since the slaves suffered together without knowing each other (L:135). Or, possibly from Kimbundu *malungo* 'companion', 'of the same condition', 'adopted brother' (VF:315).

Marafa 'cachaça', '(alcoholic) drink'. Kimbundu or Kikongo *malavu* 'wine' (BE:336; L:141; VF:316).

Marangó 'donkey'. Related to Kimbundu *ngolo* 'zebra' or Umbundo *ongolo* 'zebra' (L:30, 168; VF:309).

Mavero 'milk', 'breast', 'white'. Umbundo *omavele* or Kimbundo *mavele*, both plural forms of *avele* 'milk' (L:146); Kimbundu *mele* 'breasts', 'milk' is the plural form of *diele* and *avele* (VF:318).

Calunga also has a number of terms derived from Portuguese. For example, *mirante* 'eye' from archaic Portuguese *mirar* 'to see', different from contemporary Portuguese term *olho* and corresponding verb *olhar*. It is not entirely understood why such terms would come about, given that Bantu languages have these words:

Arigó 'late person'. Regional Brazilian Portuguese *arigó* 'rustic person', 'bumpkin' (VF:288).

Atuá 'day'. Possibly Portuguese *atual* 'in the present' (C:83).

Escutante 'ear'. Portuguese *escutar* 'to hear'.

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Fuzilo 'lightning'. Possibly from Portuguese *fuzil* 'rifle', 'shotgun' (C:373).

Greta 'hole'. Portuguese *gretar* 'to split, crack' (C:395).

Grimpa 'high', 'up'. Portuguese *grimpar* 'to rise, go up' (C:396).

Inglaterra 'region', 'land'. Possibly Portuguese *Inglaterra* 'England'.

Calunga hybrid Portuguese-Africanisms join both Portuguese and Africanisms to create terms, often with a metaphorical sense:

Amparo de curiár 'fork'. *Amparo* 'covering', 'protection': Portuguese *amparar* 'to protect, defend' (C:41). *Curiá* 'food': Kimbundo *kudia*, *kuria* 'to eat' (L:87; VF:301); Umbundo *kulya* 'to eat' (L:87).

Amparo de omenha 'umbrella'. *Amparo* 'covering', 'protection': Portuguese *amparar* 'to protect, defend' (C:41). *Omenha/Omeia* 'water': Kimbundo *menha* 'water' (L:167).

Aprumá(r) banzo 'to have sex'. *Aprumar* 'to do, make, happen': Portuguese *prumo* 'iron instrument used to check verticality', 'prudence' (C:643); regional Brazilian Portuguese 'to make a better life' (VF:287). *Banzo* 'sexual relation': Possibly related to Kikongo *banzu* 'goat' or Kimbundo *mbonzo* 'passion' (L:39, 40); or Kimbundu *mbanze* 'love amulet' (VF:289).

Aprumá(r) omenha 'to rain'. *Aprumar* 'to do, make, happen': Portuguese *prumo* 'iron instrument used to check verticality', 'prudence' (C:643); regional Brazilian Portuguese 'to make a better life' (VF:287). *Omenha/Omeia* 'water': Kimbundo *menha* 'water' (L:167).

Camano desaprumado 'fool', 'stupid man'. *Camano* 'man', 'person': Possibly from Umbundo *omanu* 'man' (L:58); or Kimbundu *muana, mona* 'son', 'daughter', *kamona* 'of the son' (VF:292). *Desaprumar* 'to undo': See *aprumá(r)* above.

Cumba serena 'night'. *Cumba* 'time', 'hour', 'sun': Kimbundo *kumbi* 'sun',

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'light', 'hour'; Umbundu *ekumbi* 'sun' (L:86; VF:300). *Serena* 'serene':
Portuguese.

Dandará santo 'newly born'. *Dandara*/*Dandará* 'child': Possibly Kikongo
ndandala 'that which lasts a long time' (by irony or sarcasm) (L:90);
Kimbundu *ana* 'children' (VF:322). *Santo* 'pure': Portuguese.

Finally, a few Tupi-derived terms are found in the Calunga lexicon. Though it is in no way certain, these few terms suggest that Calunga speakers acquired them from an Indigenous Brazilian language of the colonial period, likely *língua geral*, or from Brazilian Portuguese via *língua geral*:

Guaxaúna 'squash'. Possibly Tupi (see C:399 for related flora and fauna Tupi
morphemes with *guax-*).

Ingazeiro 'penis'. Possibly from Tupi *inga* 'common name for vegetable plants'
(C:436).

Manaíba 'manioc'. Tupi *mani'iua* 'manioc' (C:493).

Maturi 'child'. Possibly Tupi *matu'ri* 'green cashew' (C:507; VF:318).

On a final note, Calunga terms are interesting because they are not exclusive to just the Calunga speech community but many are known throughout the Patrocínio region, some throughout Minas Gerais, some even throughout Brazil. This may suggest a strong presence of these Bantu-derived *falares africanos* in colonial Brazil (see especially Lopes (2003) for a comprehensive list of Bantu-derived words spoken in Brazil). For example, one term for 'coffee' in Calunga, *gatuvira*, is well-known in the Patrocínio region, though the Portuguese *café* is undoubtedly the most frequent. While several of these terms are somewhat obscure or archaic to many speakers – even to some speakers in Patrocínio – there may have been a time in the past when these words were more common, though there is no way to verify this.

4.6 Conclusion

With the exception of the lexicon, Calunga grammar shows many characteristics of BPV, that may or may not be influenced from Bantu grammar. The lexicon, which is typically cited as the very essence of Calunga, is restricted to certain topics of discussion and is drawn largely from three Bantu languages: Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo. Grammatical elements in Calunga show some possibilities of Africanization, though this is certainly open to interpretation. That is, while there may be certain evidence of infiltration of BPV in the grammatical system of Calunga, it is far more difficult to conclude definite grammatical influence of Bantu beyond the lexicon. That said, there are some interesting parallels between Calunga, BPV, and Bantu phonological and morphosyntactic patterns that raise questions as to whether there are possible Bantu elements of Calunga beyond the lexicon of BPV.

5. Conclusions

To end this study, a review is presented of the five fundamental research questions:

1.) What type of "language" is Calunga? Is it essentially some Africanized dialect of Brazilian Portuguese, or a simplified (or restructured) dialect of one or several Bantu languages?

2.) What is the history of Calunga?

3.) What is the grammatical structure of Calunga? Does it have grammatical aspects of Bantu, of Portuguese, or of both (i.e. language mixing)?

4.) To what extent do Calunga and BPV coincide, contrast, or divert?

5.) Is the current state of Calunga a case of language change or language death?

5.1 What is Calunga?

Calunga is classified as a *falar africano* that is perhaps best translated and characterized as an *Africanized speech*. This terminology, I think, is correct given that Calunga is not a completely independent and fully grammatical *language* that is spoken natively within a speech community. I would not regard this as a pidgin, given the considerable size and creativity of its lexicon. It is not a creole either – as it is not a complete native language – a hallmark of most if not all true creoles. Instead, the linguistic data demonstrate that Calunga is not a fully expanded language with a completely autonomous lexicon and grammar. While the lexicon is derived largely from Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo, there is definite infiltration of BPV in the phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax of the language. Thus, from the data it appears to be more of an Africanized dialect of BPV than a descendant dialect of Bantu languages.

An analysis of Calunga's Bantu lexicon might lead one to interpret it as an African language, but a careful investigation of the grammar shows far more elements of BPV than of Bantu, characteristic of the termed "anti-creole" (Couto 1992a; Petter 1999)

or even of "intertwined language" (Bakker & Muysken 1995; Thomason 1995). Proof of this is observed first in the phonetics and phonology: Calunga has no "foreign" phonemes (e.g. phonemic tones, prenasalized stops, etc.) that are common in Bantu languages. Furthermore, no morphosyntactic patterns that are also present in BPV can be observed in Calunga, or *aportuguesamento*, in Castro's terms. What is rather salient, however, is the heavy reduction and simplification of the grammar. There are virtually no inflections, but there abound highly analytic syntactic patterns – a common feature of pidgins and creoles created by African slaves. It seems plausible, therefore, that Calunga is the result of linguistic restructuring by African slaves who acquired Brazilian Portuguese (in its multiple varieties). A noteworthy point is that BPV employs similar reductions and simplifications. If both Calunga and BPV are reduced in their grammar, then this raises the question as to whether one is the result of the other and/or vice-versa; Calunga and BVP could, of course, also be the result of independent developments. But this seems unlikely given that Calunga speakers are BPV speakers as well.

5.2 What is the history of Calunga?

The history of Calunga begins on the Portuguese slaving forts of western Central African coast – likely the forts of Luanda and Benguela – in what is today Angola. Millions of Bantu-speaking slaves were sent to the new colony of Brazil for agriculture and mining work. From the evidence of Calunga's Bantu lexicon, it appears that these slaves were speakers of Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo – Bantu languages commonly spoken in and around the above-mentioned slave forts. During colonial times, African slaves made up the large majority of the Brazilian population. As a result of these millions of slaves, a number of *falares africanos* were spoken throughout the colonial plantations and mining communities, in the urban population, and in clandestine communities called *quilombos*. Some historians and linguists (e.g. Vogt & Fry 1996) theorize that Calunga may have been a *quilombo* language spoken in the *Triângulo Mineiro*, which was host to some of the largest and most important *quilombo* communities in all of Brazil. Though this hypothesis may be rational, there is not

sufficient evidence to support it. Contemporary speakers of Calunga, many of whom have been cowboys, mention speaking Calunga with other cowboys during their cattle drives through the neighboring states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Goiás. Other speakers of Calunga were former miners in the area, urban construction workers from Patrocínio, or farmers in and around the *Triângulo Mineiro*. Hence, to trace Calunga to one group of speakers is not possible, although the region of the *Triângulo Mineiro* and the city of Patrocínio do place a physical locus of this speech community within Minas Gerais' colonial slave heartland.

The secrecy of Calunga appears to reflect the slavery past in that it was traditionally a speech that slave descendents utilized to communicate in secrecy so that they would not be understood by people of power, a common theme articulated by older Calunga speakers. Hence, this *Africanized speech* is regarded as "secret language" by its speakers that are available to speakers of a common thread, possibly to the past history slavery. Today Calunga is no longer a race-specific or "ethnic" language, as European descendents have also acquired it. More of a mystery is why there are not more female speakers of Calunga. Perhaps the answer can be found in Brazilian society. That is, speaking Calunga is no longer a societal necessity in a world with education and mass communications available to almost all Brazilians. A speech community like that of Calunga cannot be compared to, for example, the Spanish-speaking community of Los Angeles, California, which is more identifiable in both geographical and sociolinguistic terms. Instead, Calunga is more of an evasive speech community: that is, somewhat restricted to the general speech community of Patrocínio, where BPV is instead the popular language, though it certainly has left its mark on the lexicon of the local variety of BPV.

5.3 What is the grammatical structure of Calunga?

The grammatical structure of Calunga appears to have been conditioned more by reductions and acquisitions of BPV than by Bantu languages, with the exception of the lexicon. There are no particular phonemes, inflections, or syntactic structures that are

uniquely Calunga, with the exception of gaps, reductions, and systematization of BPV. Such a grammar has been labeled an "anti-creole" (Couto 1992a; Petter 1999) due to the fact that traditional creoles tend to adopt the lexicon of the superstrate language whilst maintaining grammatical aspects (phonology, morphosyntax, etc.) of the substrate language. While some phenomena could be secondary results of African languages, the grammatical data lean more toward the second language restructuring of BPV with Africanisms and simplifications rather than the African restructuring of Portuguese as observed in Portuguese-based creoles such as Guinea-Bissau creole, or Sãotomense and Angolar creoles.

There are no historical linguistic data from Calunga which could offer historical clues as to how this Africanized speech evolved. Calunga could have been "more African" in its grammatical structure in past centuries, but currently available evidence is not sufficient to ascertain this hypothesis. However, Calunga could, at a much earlier stage, have been a more "complete" language – one that that did not rely on Portuguese to fill grammar gaps. Calunga also may be passing currently through decreolization toward BPV, leaving subsequent traces of lexical items, though this too cannot be objectively proven.

5.4 To what extent do Calunga and BPV coincide, contrast, or divert?

Calunga diverts only slightly from BPV in that it has further reductions, gaps, and simplifications in the grammatical system, though its lexicon has many Africanisms from Bantu languages. One may view it as linguistically intertwined speech (Bakker & Muysken 1995; Thomason 1995), or even as an "anti-creole" (Couto 1992a; Petter 1999). However, the sketchy record of Calunga creates difficulties in attempting to answer this question. Nevertheless, it is possible that this speech has some (semi-)creole elements that have been eroded by the superstrate language (i.e. BPV).

5.5 Is Calunga in a state of language death or language change?

Whether or not Calunga is approaching language death cannot be answered satisfactorily, as it is not clear whether we are indeed dealing with a fully structured autonomous language. Calunga in its current linguistic state is ultimately dependent on core elements of BPV grammar, with which it is intertwined. Therefore, as long as the Calunga lexicon persists and is passed on from generation to generation, Calunga, in a certain sense, will continue to exist. If Calunga was indeed at one time an autonomous language that was independent grammatically and lexically, then it may be viewed has having entered its final stage of language death. If these lexical elements are either eventually forgotten and/or absorbed into the BPV lexicon in the Patrocínio area, which appears to be occurring, then Calunga as a *falar africano* will eventually cease to exist in the future. On the other hand, if contemporary Calunga is mostly parallel to a past form, albeit with certain differences, then its current state is simply one of language variation. Languages cannot and do not exist in isolation, i.e. without speakers or practitioners, hence the future of Calunga depends on the actual speakers.

5.6 Concluding remarks

This dissertation has attempted to present a grammatical description and historical overview of an Afro-Brazilian speech known as Calunga. Much future work remains to be done: for instance, further *in situ* research is needed into other Calunga communities that are rumored to exist in the surrounding areas of the *Triângulo Mineiro*, including in the neighboring states of Goiás and Tocantins, not to mention other Afro-Brazilian speech communities in Minas Gerais and throughout Brazil. Such communities are valuable in presenting a more comprehensive picture of the Brazilian linguistic puzzle of Minas Gerais. Furthermore, they may better answer questions as to the African influence in Brazil, and they may also illuminate whether or not Brazilian Portuguese Vernacular is in fact influenced grammatically by (semi-)creolized speech. Difficult problems as these will only be solved by fieldwork and additional documentation of contemporary Afro-Brazilian language.

A vexing and central question remains with regard to Calunga and possibly related speech varieties: Were these *falares africanos* at one time creoles that have since decreolized and are now dying out, or have they been more or less in the same grammatical state since their evolution? Although currently impossible to answer, this question seeks to answer whether or not African slaves contributed significantly – well beyond the lexicon – to popular Brazilian speech. Calunga is but one piece in this linguistic puzzle, albeit a particularly puzzling one.

Appendix: Calunga interviews

This appendix includes excerpts of recorded interviews in Calunga. The interviews were transcribed and translated by Steven Byrd and Daniela Bassani Moraes, a native of southern Minas Gerais who is knowledgable in Calunga. All Calunga transcriptions follow Brazilian spelling patterns though some devices are employed in order to highlight speech patterns of the participants: e.g. *camanu* < *camano* 'man'; *apumanu* < *aprumando* 'making'; etc.

Calunga interview 1
August 1, 2003
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
B: Belarmindo, born 1926
JB: José de Barros, born 1935
JC: João Crispim, born 1933
TB: Tadeu de Barros, born 1960
DB: Daniela Bassani
SB: Steven Byrd

Calunga	Portuguese	English
TB: Ela que é a mãe da menina.	**TB**: Ela que é a mãe da menina.	**TB**: She is the mother of the girl.
DB: Ah, ela que é a mãe da menina. Que linda que ela é.	**DB**: Ah, ela que é a mãe da menina. Que linda que ela é.	**DB**: Ah, she is the mother of the girl. How pretty she is.
JB: Acho que não vai precisar não (…) ô imbundu.	**JB**: Acho que não vai precisar não (...) ô negro.	**JB**: I think that you will not need [it], no (...) oh black man.
JC: (…) aprumô pa aqueis *imbó*, lá, naquela cumbaca, lá per da…(10) camano deu ôa no enjó de cuzeca, aprumô cua ocaio no amparo de cuzeca, camano ca aprumô.	**JC**: (...) foi para aqueles *imbó* (?), lá naquela cidade lá perto da...(10) homem deu problema na pousada, foi para cama com a mulher, eu arrumei.	**JC**: (...) he went to those *imbó* (?) there in that city there close to...(10) the man had problems in the inn, went to bed with the woman, I got some.
JB: Aprumá o ingazeru na ocaio. Camano levantô, foi lá danô cum (…)	**JB**: Ter relação sexual com a mulher. O homem se levantou, foi lá danou com (...)	**JB**: Had sexual relations with the woman. The man got up, went there and got in trouble with (...)
JC: Ô imbundo, num tá veno que ai num é lugar de aprumá ocaio! Ah não porque eu	**JC**: Ô negro, não está vendo que aí não é lugar de arrumar mulher! Ah não porque eu	**JC**: Oh black man, you are not seeing that there is not a place to get women! Ah no because

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tava… Aí,(20) "quinhama, quinhama." Aí ele quinhamô, foi embora.	estava... Aí,(20) "vai embora, vai embora." Aí, ele caminhou, foi embora.	I was... There,(20) "go away, go away." There he walked, he went away.
B: Ocaio aprumô pu sêngo, né?	**B**: Mulher foi para o mato, não é?	**B**: The woman went to the forest, right?
JC: Aprumô no sengo.	**JC**: Foi para o mato.	**JC**: She went to the forest.
JB: Não, aprumô no injó porque era la na cumbaquinha, né?	**JB**: Não, foi para a casa porque era lá na cidadezinha, não é?	**JB**: No, she went home because there it was a small town, right?
B: Na cumbaquinha… lá na cumbaca grande.(30)	**B**: Na cidadezinha... lá na cidade grande.(30)	**B**: In the small town... there in the big city.(30)
JC: Na cumbaca grande. Aí, de lá nóis quinhamô pa ota cumbaca pa queimá uns ingomo. Foi quemano, foi quemano. Posô lá no oto engomo, injó de cuzeca, lá tinha oto ocaio tamém.	**JC**: Na cidade grande. Aí, de lá nós fomos para outra cidade para vender gado. Foi vendendo, vendendo. Pousamos lá em outra fazenda, pousada, lá tinha outra mulher também.	**JC**: In the big city. From there, we went to another city to sell cattle. We were selling, selling [the cattle]. We lodged there at another estate, an inn, there were women there too.
B: Aprumada?	**B**: Bonita?	**B**: Pretty?
JC: Aprumada tamém.	**JC**: Bonita também.	**JC**: Pretty too.
JB: (…)(40) nóis tinha tudo que era bão. Era peteca, era tudo (…) tudo era bão.	**JB**: (...)(40) nós tínhamos tudo que era bom. Tínhamos peteca, tínhamos (...) tudo era bom.	**JB**: (...)(40) we had everything that was real good. We had "peteca" [badminton-type game], we had (...) everything good.
B: Lá o povo (…) ô camano, fala uma calunga aí pra mim?	**B**: Lá o povo (...) ô homem, fala uma calunga aí para mim?	**B**: There the people (...) oh man, can you speak some Calunga for me?
JB: Ha, ha... uma calunga pra mim?!	**JB**: Ha, ha... falar calunga para mim?!	**JB**: Ha, ha... speak Calunga for me?!
JC: Não, o imbundo cá ia aprumá calunga cum ocaio, se ele é…(50) quantas cumba que ele tem… Ah, camano tem pocas cumba…	**JC**: Não, eu ia falar calunga com a mulher, se ela é...(50) quantos anos que ela tem... Ah, o homem tem poucos anos...	**JC**: No, I was going to speak Calunga with the woman, if she is...(50) how old is she... Ah, oh man she is young...
B: Se ia sucaná cu camano…	**B**: Se ia casar com o homem...	**B**: If she was going to marry

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cê tem que aprumá a calunga é cu camanim, camano tá…	você tem que falar calunga com o moço, eu estou...	the man... you have to speak Calunga with the boy, I am...
JB: Camanim… tá aprumano a calunga.	**JB**: O moço... está falando calunga.	**JB**: The boy... is speaking Calunga.
B: Ocaio não,$_{(60)}$ ocaio é do camano cá.	**B**: A mulher não,$_{(60)}$ a mulher é do homem aqui.	**B**: The woman no,$_{(60)}$ the woman is with the man here.
JC: Agora, a ocaio tá cu mirante aprumado…no cemá né? As quinhama, né? Mas a ocaio tá aprumano mirante é no camanim! Num sabemo se é sucanado ô não.	**JC**: Agora, a mulher tem o olho bonito, o cabelo, não é? As pernas, não é? Mas a mulher está de olho (interessada) no moço! Não sabemos se é casada ou não.	**JC**: Now, the woman has pretty eyes, hair, right? Legs, right? But the woman is looking at (interested in) the boy! We do not know if she is married or not.
DB: Nós num somos casados não.$_{(70)}$	**DB**: Nós não somos casados não.$_{(70)}$	**DB**: We are not married.$_{(70)}$
TB: É. Ele falô… cê intendeu, né?	**TB**: É. Ele falou... você entendeu, não é?	**TB**: Yes. He said... you understood, right?
DB: Entendi, eu tô entendeno já.	**DB**: Entendi, eu estou entendendo já.	**DB**: I understood, I am understanding now.
JB: É. Ela tá entendeno.	**JB**: É. Ela está entendendo.	**JB**: Yes. She is understanding.
JC: Isso que eu falei aqui agora cê entendeu?	**JC**: Isso que eu falei aqui agora você entendeu?	**JC**: That which I said here you understood?
DB: Entendi. Tudo.	**DB**: Entendi. Tudo.	**DB**: I understood. Everything.
B: Ela tá intendeno. Viu ô camano!$_{(80)}$	**B**: Ela está entendendo. Viu ô amigo!$_{(80)}$	**B**: She is understanding. Did you see friend!$_{(80)}$
JC: Tão num pode calungá bestera… calungá mafora.	**JC**: Então não pode falar besteira, falar assuntos imorais.	**JC**: So we cannot talk nonsense, speak about immoral things.
B: Dá ôa na calunga. Ceis num é casadu não, né?	**B**: Pára de falar calunga. Vocês não são casados não, né?	**B**: Stop speaking Calunga. You are not married, right?
DB: Não, a gente namora.	**DB**: Não, a gente namora.	**DB**: No, we are dating.
JB: Intão ocê é ocaio santo?	**JB**: Então você é solteira?	**JB**: Then you are single [girl]?
DB: É, ocaio santo.	**DB**: É, sou solteira.	**DB**: Yes, single.

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JB: Camano tá… camano tá aprumano curima noto *imbú*, ó!(90)	**JB**: O homem está... o homem está trabalhando em outro *imbú* (palavra desconhecida), ó!(90)	**JB**: The man is... the man is working in another *imbú* (unknown word), oh!(90)
B: Ah é? É ele continua, num tá apumano cuzeca mai não…	**B**: Ah é? É ele continua, não está descansando mais não?	**B**: Oh yes? Yes he continues, he is not resting anymore?
JB: Ah não?! Só apruma cuzeca agora…	**JB**: Ah não?! Só descansa agora... ('está aposentado')	**JB**: Ah no?! He just rests now ('he is retired')
B: Não, ele só apruma a cuzeca…	**B**: Não, ele só descansa...	**B**: No, he just rests...
JC: É.	**JC**: É.	**JC**: Yes.
B: Hum… é só lá nu injó de curiá?(100)	**B**: Hum... é só lá no restaurante?(100)	**B**: Hum... just there in the restaurant?(100)
JB: É... tá curimano só lá noto injó.	**JB**: É... está trabalhando só lá na outra casa.	**JB**: Yes... he is working just there in another house.
B: Ocaio tamém?	**B**: A mulher também?	**B**: And the woman too?
JB: É... ocaio tamém.	**JB**: É... a mulher também.	**JB**: And... the woman too.
B: Mai num é sucanado, né?	**B**: Mas não é casada, não é?	**B**: But she is not married, right?
JC: Não, vai sucaná. É o pedaço?	**JC**: Não, vai casar. É seu filho?	**JC**: No, she is going to marry. It is your son?
B: É, é pedaço.	**B**: É, é meu filho.	**B**: Yes, he is my son.
JC: Pois é, mais os ocaio apruma a cuzeca aqui(110) nu injó?	**JC**: Pois é, mas as mulheres dormem aqui(110) em casa?	**JC**: Yes, but the women sleep here(110) in the house?
JB: É nu injó.	**JB**: É na casa.	**JB**: Yes, in the house.
JC: Mai pa curimá é aqui o nu oto injó?	**JC**: Mas para trabalhar é aqui ou na outra casa.	**JC**: But to work, it is here or in another house.
JB: É noto injó. No enjó de curiá.	**JB**: É na outra casa, no restaurante.	**JB**: It is in the other house, in the restaurant.
TB: O camanim pedaço	**TB**: O filho dirige.	**TB**: The son drives.

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quinhama no urungo.

JB: E a ocaio quinhama tamém.(120)

JC: A curima noto injó é, é…menos zipaque, né?

TB: É.

JB: E, lá é injó de curiá.

TB: A curima lá é aprumada!

JC: Puis é.

B: E… que dia que é, qual é cumba que o camano qué quinhamá? Pa cumbaca?(130)

JB: Inda num sabe não.

B: E o camano pedaço…

TB: O camanim vai quinhamá pota cumbaca, o camanim lá ó.

B: Ocaizim tamém?

TB: É, a ocaizim também, no urungo.

B: O urungo é do camano ô…(140)

TB: É do camano, do camano pedaço.

B: Tão eis tem urungo…

TB: Tem.

B: Eis quinhama no urungo deis. E né ôa o urungo deis não?

JB: E a mulher vai [dirige] também.(120)

JC: O trabalho na outra casa é é... paga menos, não é?

TB: É.

JB: E, lá é o restaurante.

TB: O trabalho lá é bom!

JC: Pois é!

B: E... que dia que é, qual dia que você quer ir? Para a cidade?(130)

JB: Ainda não sabe não.

B: E o filho...

TB: O moço vai para outra cidade, o moço, lá olha.

B: A moça também?

TB: É, a moça também, no carro.

B: O carro é do homem...(140)

TB: É do homem, do filho.

B: Então eles têm carro...

TB: Têm.

B: Eles vão no carro deles. E não é ruim o carro deles, não?

JB: And the woman [drives] too.(120)

JC: To work in another house is... less pay, right?

TB: Yes.

JB: Yes, there is the restaurant.

TB: The work there is good!

JC: That's right!

B: And... what day is it, which day do you want to go? To the city?(130)

JB: Still don't know.

B: And the son...

TB: The boy is going to go to another city, the boy, look there.

B: And the girl too?

TB: Yes, the girl too, in the car.

B: The car is the man's...(140)

TB: It is the man's, the son's.

B: So they have a car...

TB: They have.

B: They go in their car. And their car is not bad, right?

TB: Não, é aprumado! O camano é aprumado do zipaque.(150)	**TB**: Não, é bom! O homem tem dinheiro.(15)	**TB**: No, it's good! The man has money.(150)
JC: É! Ha, ha, ha…	**JC**: É! Ha, ha, ha...	**JC**: Yes! Ha, ha, ha...
DB: E, se tem urungo, né? É aprumado do zipaque.	**DB**: E, se tem carro, não é? Tem dinheiro.	**DB**: Yes, [the man] has money, right? [He] has some money.
B: Ea tá boa no negócio já. Num tá?	**B**: Ela está boa no negócio [da calunga] já. Não está?	**B**: She is good at this business [of Calunga] already. Isn't she?
JC: Tá aprendeno tudo, né? O zipaque é coisa boa, num é?	**JC**: Está aprendendo tudo, não é? O dinheiro é coisa boa, não é?	**JC**: She is learning everything, right? Money is a good thing, right?
B: Num sei, mais quem tem urungo,(160) normalmente tem zipaque. Pissá tomá cuidado que o zipaque é inimigo do dono, né?	**B**: Não sei, mas quem tem carro,(160) normalmente tem dinheiro. Precisa tomar cuidado que o dinheiro é inimigo do dono, não é?	**B**: I don't know, but who has a car,(160) normally has money. You need to be careful because money is the enemy of the owner, right?
DB: É.	**DB**: É.	**DB**: Yes.
B: É. Hoje tá difícil, né?	**B**: É. Hoje está difícil, não é?	**B**: Yes. Today is difficult, right?
DB: É. Hoje tá.	**DB**: É. Hoje está.	**DB**: Yes. Today is.
B: Mai camano cá quinhamô muito cum ingomo, né?	**B**: Mas eu andei muito com o gado, não é?	**B**: But I worked a lot walking with cattle, right?
B: Umbundu também.(170) O camanu du injó também.	**B**: O negro também.(170) O homem desta casa também.	**B**: The black man too.(170) The friend of this house too.
JB: Aprumava u curiá.	**JB**: Comia.	**JB**: He used to eat [with us].
B: Cê aprumava tamém.	**B**: Você comia também.	**B**: You used to eat [with us] too.
TB: Tamém. E aprumava u curiá.	**TB**: Também. Eu comia.	**TB**: Me too. I used to eat [with you] too.
JB: Aprumava u curiá.	**JB**: Comia.	**JB**: He used to eat [with us].
B: É.	**B**: É.	**B**: Yes.

B: U cumpadi Gerardo (…) tamém, (…). Aprumô cumigu muitas veis! Muito memo!(180) Ocê aprumô tamém?

JB: Mai o camanu aí tamém quinhamô juntu.

B: Puis é! Ele quinhamô muito cumigu tamém. Ele o Zé, o Negu, o Joaquim…tudu.

DB: Quantus dias cês ficavam fora?

JB: Iche! 60, 90 dia.(190)

DB: Ah, era muito, né?

B: Que? As viage nossa? Ah, era um meis, dois meis, treis meis… depende do lugar que ia, né?

JB: (…) Nóis viaja mais pu istadu de São Paulu.

DB: Ah, é?

SB: E… cês calungavam u tempu tudu?(200)

TB: Ah… calungava muitu. Quandu chegava uma pessoa nóis ia… "Ah camanu tá aprumado nu enjó, tá quereno apruma u curiá, qué aprumá a cuzeca."

JB: Gatuvira cê sabe quê que é, né?

DB: Gatuvera… café.

B: E mirante?(210)

DB: Olhu.

B: O compadre Geraldo (...) também, (...). Comeu comigo muitas vezes! Muitas mesmo!(180) Você também?

JB: Mas você também foi junto.

B: Pois é! Ele andou muito comigo também. E o José, o Negro, o Joaquim... todos.

DB: Quantos dias vocês ficavam fora?

JB: Iche! 60, 90 dias.(190)

DB: Ah, era muito, não é?

B: Que? As viagens nossas? Ah, era um mês, dois meses, três meses... depende do lugar que ia, não é?

JB: (...) Nós viajávamos mais para o estado de São Paulo.

DB: Ah, é?

SB: E... vocês calungavam o tempo todo?(200)

TB: Ah... calungávamos muito. Quando chegava uma pessoa nós começavamos... "Ah o homem tem uma casa bonita, está querendo comer, quer dormir."

JB: "Gatuvira," você sabe quê que é, não é?

DB: "Gatuvira"... café.

B: E "mirante"?(210)

DB: Olho.

B: Our friend Geraldo (...) also, (...). He ate with me many times!(180) Many times! You too?

JB: But you also traveled together.

B: Of course! He travelled with me too. And José, Black, Joaquim... all of them.

DB: How many days were you traveling?

JB: Wow! 60, 90 days.(190)

DB: Ah, it was a lot, right?

B: What? Our trips? Ah, it was a month, two months, three months... it depended on the place we were going.

JB: (...) We travelled mostly to the state of São Paulo.

DB: Oh, yes?

SB: E... you spoke Calunga all the time?(200)

TB: Oh... we spoke Calunga a lot. When someone would arrive we would begin... "Oh the man has a nice house, (we) are wanting to eat, to sleep."

JB: "Gatuvira," you know what that is, right?

DB: "Gatuvira"... coffee.

B: And "mirante"?(210)

DB: Eye.

B: E pontu de fuenti.

DB: Não. Issu eu num sei que qui é.

TB: E ingrimo?

DB: Ingrimu…

JB: Ingrimu, ingrimu é os denti.

DB: Ah é! Ingrimu é denti.

B: E mucota?(220)

DB: Boca.

TB: E pontu de poenti é o nariz.

DB: Ah, é? A genti ficô sem sabê! Tá vendo? Como qui é?

B: Pontu fuenti.

DB: Pontu fuenti.

TB: E escutanti?

DB: Ovidu.(230)

TB: É… ea tá aprendenu.

B: E cemá? Aprumadu, disaprumadu…

DB: Quê que é cemá?

TB: É cabelu. E munzá?

DB: Num sei.

TB: E a mão. E embuá?

B: E "ponto de fuente"?

DB: Não, isso eu não sei quê que é.

TB: E "ingrimo"?

DB: "Ingrimo"...

JB: "Ingrimo" são os dentes.

DB: Ah é! "Ingrimo" é dente.

B: E "mucota"?(220)

DB: Boca.

TB: E "ponto de poente" é o nariz.

DB: Ah, é? A gente ficou sem saber! Está vendo? Como que é?

B: "Ponto de fuente."

DB: "Ponto de fuente."

TB: E "escutante"?

DB: Ouvido.(230)

TB: É... ela está aprendendo.

B: E "cemá" ('cabelo')? "Aprumado, desaprumado" ('bonito', 'feio')...

DB: Quê que é "cemá"?

TB: É cabelo. E "munzá"?

DB: Não sei.

TB: É a mão. E "embuá"

B: And "ponto de fuente"?

DB: No, that I don't know what that is.

TB: And "ingrimo"?

DB: "Ingrimo"...

JB: "Ingrimo" are teeth.

DB: Oh yes! "Ingrimo" is tooth.

B: And "mucota"?(220)

DB: Mouth.

TB: And "ponto de poente" is the nose.

DB: Oh yes? We don't know! You see? How is it?

B: "Ponto de fuente."

DB: "Ponto de fuente."

TB: And "escutante"?

DB: Ear.(230)

TB: Yes.. she is learning.

B: And "cemá" ('hair')? "Aprumado, desaprumado" ('pretty', 'ugly')...

DB: What is "cemá"?

TB: It is hair. And "munzá"?

DB: I don't know.

TB: It is the hand. And

	('cachorro')?	"embuá" ('dog')?
DB: Tamém num sei.	**DB**: Também não sei.	**DB**: Again I don't know.
B: Cê apruma maveru de ingomo na mucota?(240)	**B**: Você toma "maveru de ingomo" ('leite')?(240)	**B**: Do you drink "maveru de ingomo" ('milk')?(240)
DB: Não, maveru de engomu não.	**DB**: Não, "maveru de ingomo" ('leite') não.	**DB**: No, milk no.
JB: É leite de vaca.	**JB**: É leite de vaca.	**JB**: It is cow's milk.
DB: É, eu tomo.	**DB**: É, eu tomo.	**DB**: Yes, I drink [it].
B: Mavero é o leite, farinha e mapuim e ingomu é a vaca.	**B**: Mavero é leite, farinha é "mapuim," e "ingomu" é vaca.	**B**: "Mavero" is milk, flour is "mapuim", and "ingomu" is cow.
TB: Camanu cá, camanu cá, quinhamô muitu cumigu. Cu camanu cá não.(250) E emberela, cê sabe o quê que é?	**TB**: Este homem, este homem, andou muito comigo. Com este homem aqui não.(250) E "emberela," você sabe o que é?	**TB**: This man, this man, travelled a lot with me.(250) And "emberela," do you know what that is?
DB: Emberela…carne.	**DB**: "Emberela"... carne.	**DB**: "Emberela"... meat.
B: E imberela de ingomu?	**B**: E "imberela de ingomu"?	**B**: And "imberela de ingomu"?
DB: Carne de vaca.	**DB**: Carne de vaca.	**DB**: Cow's meat.
TB: E imberela de (…)	**TB**: E "imberela de (...)"	**TB**: And "imberela de (...)"
JB: É porco.	**JB**: É porco.	**JB**: It is pork.
B: E imberela de sanjo?	**B**: E "imberela de sanjo"?	**B**: And "imberela de sanjo"?
DB: É frango.	**DB**: É frango.	**DB**: It is chicken.
TB: Ea tá boa na calunga(260) já!	**TB**: Ela está boa na calunga(260) já!	**TB**: She is good at Calunga(260) now!
B: Massa de viango?	**B**: "Massa de viango"?	**B**: "Massa de viango"?
DB: Massa de viango é… quejo?	**DB**: "Massa de viango" é... queijo?	**DB**: "Massa de viango" is cheese?
B: Rapadura!	**B**: Rapadura!	**B**: "Rapadura" (a raw, hard

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		brown sugar candy)!
DB: Ah, é… viango é…	**DB**: Ah, é... "viango" é...	**DB**: Oh, it is... "viango" is...
TB: Quejo é massa de mavero.	**TB**: Queijo é "massa de mavero."	**TB**: Cheese is "massa de mavero."
DB: Ah é, tá certo.	**DB**: Ah é, está certo.	**DB**: Oh it is, certain.
B: Cê apruma omenha$_{(270)}$ de viango na mucota?	**B**: Você toma "omenha$_{(270)}$ de viango"?	**B**: Do you drink "omenha$_{(270)}$ de viango"?
SB: Num sei.	**SB**: Não sei.	**SB**: I don't know.
DB: Não.	**DB**: Não.	**DB**: No.
B: Num pruma não, né? Cê tamém não? Camanu aqui apruma.	**B**: Não toma não, não é? Você também não? Eu tomo.	**B**: You don't drink, right? You don't either? I drink.
TB: Não, aprumu não!	**TB**: Não, toma não!	**TB**: No, he doesn't drink!
JB: O camanu aprumava.	**JB**: Eu tomava.	**JB**: I used to drink [it].
TB: Mai num aprumu mai não.$_{(280)}$	**TB**: Mas não toma mais não.$_{(280)}$	**TB**: But he doesn't drink [it] anymore.$_{(280)}$
B: Mai aprumava muito, camanu cá tamém aprumava.	**B**: Mas tomava muito, eu também tomava.	**B**: But he used to drink a lot, I used to drink [it] too.
DB: Agora num apruma mais, né? É pinga, né? Ele num apruma não.	**DB**: Agora não toma mais, não é? É pinga, não é? Ele não toma não.	**DB**: Now you don't drink [it] anymore, right? Cachaça, right? He doesn't drink [it] now.
SB: E aí, teve mulheres que calungavam?	**SB**: E aí, teve mulheres que falavam calunga?	**SB**: And, were there women that spoke Calunga?
B: Hein?	**B**: Hein?	**B**: What?
SB: Mulheres?$_{(290)}$	**SB**: Mulheres?$_{(290)}$	**SB**: Women?$_{(290)}$
TB: Mulher é ocaio.	**TB**: Mulher é "ocaio."	**TB**: Woman is "ocaio."
SB: É, mais as mulheres calungavam?	**SB**: É, mas as mulheres falavam calunga?	**SB**: Yes, but were there women that spoke Calunga?
B: Tamém, tamém.	**B**: Também, também.	**B**: Also, also.

TB: Tem também. Tem umas que calunga. Tem ocaio *facero*, tem ocaio sucanado, ocaio mucafu.	**TB**: Tem também. Tem umas que falam calunga. Tem mulher *facero* (palavra desconhecida), tem mulher casada, mulher negra.	**TB**: There are also. There are some that speak Calunga. There are *facero* (unknown word) woman, there are married women, black women.
JB: Mai ei tá perguntano se tem ocaio que calunga.(300)	**JB**: Mas ele está perguntando se tem mulher que fala calunga.(300)	**JB**: But he is asking if there are women that speak Calunga.(300)
B: Tem, tem ocaio que calunga tamém. Tem sim, mai num é muitas não.	**B**: Tem, tem mulher que fala calunga também. Tem sim, mas não são muitas não.	**B**: There are, there women that speak Calunga. There are yes, but there are not many.
JB: É pocas.	**JB**: São poucas.	**JB**: They are few.
B: A minha, quase que arguma coisa ela apruma.	**B**: A minha [mulher], quase que alguma coisa ela fala.	**B**: My [woman], almost can speak some.
TB: É pocas muié que sabi.	**TB**: São poucas mulheres que sabem.	**TB**: There are few that know [it].
SB: Por que?	**SB**: Por que?	**SB**: Why?
JB: Porque num viajava, né?(310) Na época eas num viajava, né?	**JB**: Porque não viajavam, não é?(310) Na época elas não viajavam, não é?	**JB**: Because they didn't travel, right?(310) At the time, they didn't travel.
TB: Isso tamém era muita brincadera que o povu inventava, né? Intão as muié ficava em casa, né?	**TB**: Isso também era muita brincadeira que o povo inventava, não é? Então as mulheres ficavam em casa, não é?	**TB**: There was also a lot of jokes that the people invented, right? So the women stayed at home.
DB: Num tinha muita mulher tropera, né? Era difícil de tê mulher tropera, né?	**DB**: Não tinha muita mulher tropeira, não é? Era difícil de ter mulher tropeira, não é?	**DB**: There were no women cowboys, right? It was difficult to have women cowboys, right?
JB: E marangola?(320) Cê sabe quê que é?	**JB**: E "marangola" ('cavalo', 'burro')?(320) Você sabe quê que é?	**JB**: And "marangola" ('horse', 'donkey')?(320) Do you know what that is?
DB: Não.	**DB**: Não.	**DB**: No.
B: Camanu cá aprumava na marangola.	**B**: Eu levava gado.	**B**: I took cattle.

DB: Ah é, cavalo.	**DB**: Ah é, cavalo.	**DB**: Oh yes, horse.
B: Cavalo, burro. E embuá, cê sabe quê que é?	**B**: Cavalo, burro. E "embuá" ('cachorro'), você sabe quê que é?	**B**: Horse, donkey. And "embuá" ('dog'), do you know what that is?
DB: Já vi mais eu num lembru.	**DB**: Já vi mas eu não lembro.	**DB**: I saw but I don't remember.
B: Cachorru.(330)	**B**: Cachorro.(330)	**B**: Dog.(330)
DB: Ah é, cachorru. E tem o gatu qui é…	**DB**: Ah é, cachorro. E tem o "gato" que é...	**DB**: Oh yes, dog. And cat what is it...
B: Papa ratu.	**B**: "Papa rato" ('gato').	**B**: "Papa rato" ('cat').
DB: Papa ratu?	**DB**: "Papa rato"?	**DB**: "Papa rato"?

Calunga Interview 2
June 25, 2004
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
MF: Marlenísio Ferreira, born 1955
C: Carlos, born 1947
AF: Ângela Ferreira, born 1960
TB: Tadeu de Barros, born 1960

Calunga	Portuguese	English
MF: Calunga cá. O ocai aprumô nus casuá, aprumô nus casuá, das cumbaca.	**MF**: Fala aqui. A mulher saiu nas ruas, saiu nas ruas da cidade.	**MF**: Speak here. The woman left for the streets, she left for the streets of the city.
AF: Não a mas a ocai apruma pus casuá da cumbaca mai p'que ea foi buscá zipaque, né?	**AF**: Não mas a mulher sai na rua da cidade mas porque ela foi buscar dinheiro, não é?	**AF**: No but the woman left for the streets of the city but because she went to look for money, right?
C: Ah, foi buscá zipaque...	**C**: Ah, foi buscar dinheiro...	**C**: Ah, she went to look for money...
AF: Foi buscá zipaque.	**AF**: Foi buscar dinheiro.	**AF**: She went to look for money.
C: Pa aprumá noto injó!	**C**: Para ir em outra casa.	**C**: So to go to another house.
AF: Pa aprumá noto injó,(10) entendeu?	**AF**: Para ir para outra casa,(10) entendeu?	**AF**: So to go to another house,(10) you understand?
C: Esse zipaque nu pruma nesse injó de cá.	**C**: Esse dinheiro não se consegue nesta casa aqui.	**C**: That money is not gotten in this house here.
AF: Não. Sabe? O camanu aí ficô disaprumadu du zipaque calunga ôa.	**AF**: Não. Sabe? Esse homem aí ficou pobre, falando bobagem.	**AF**: No. You know? That man there got poor, speaking dumb things.
MF: Isso!	**MF**: Isso!	**MF**: That's right!
C: É oto injó mais aprumado.	**C**: É outra casa mais bonita.	**C**: It's another house that is more beautiful.
MF: Isso!	**MF**: Isso!	**MF**: That's right!
AF: Isso.(20)	**AF**: Isso.(20)	**AF**: That's right.(20)
MF: (...) mas aqui, a ocai	**MF**: (...) mas aqui, essa	**MF**: (...) but here, this woman

cumeça aprumá os cumba, cumeça aprumá os cumba, cumeça calungá ôa.	mulher começa a ficar velha, começa a falar besteira.	is beginning to get old, she starts to speak nonsense.
C: Não, não.	**C**: Não, não.	**C**: No, no.
MF: E fica aprumanu calunga ôa.	**MF**: E fica falando besteira.	**MF**: And keeps speaking nonsense.
C: Num tá calunga ôa não, tá bem aprumada a calunga.	**C**: Não está falando besteira não, está falando muito bem.	**C**: She is not speaking nonsense, she is speaking very well.
MF: A ocai, o camanu cá...(30)	**MF**: Essa mulher, eu...(30)	**MF**: That woman, I...(30)
AF: Eu vô fa... a ocai bem aprumada (...) é aprumo, né?	**AF**: Eu vou fa[lar]... a mulher bem bonita (...) é me animo, né?	**AF**: I am going to sp[eak]... the woman is real pretty (...) yes, I get excited, right?
C: Ocai morrudu, né?	**C**: Mulher forte, não é?	**C**: Strong woman, right?
MF: Morrudu.	**MF**: Forte.	**MF**: Strong.
C: Ai ó, tá veno, assim apruma muito, assim apruma.	**C**: Aí olhe, está vendo, assim se anima muito, assim se anima.	**C**: Look there, she is looking, so she gets excited, so she gets excited.
AF: Pra ocai que apruma o indaro, pra ocai que apruma um (...) sabe? Pra í pru injó de letra.(40) Hoje no cumba ofu.	**AF**: Para mulher que ascende o fogo, para mulher que um (...) sabe? Para ir para a escola.(40) Hoje nos tempos negros.	**AF**: So that a woman that goes up the fire ('get ahead in life'), so that a women that (...) you know? So she goes to school.(40) Today in the dark times.
MF: No cumba ofu.	**MF**: Nos tempos negros.	**MF**: In the dark times.
C: É.	**C**: É.	**C**: Yes.
MF: Aí ocai, a ocai sucanada cu camanu cá, né? Apruma os cumba cum calunga desaprumada, né? E o camanu cá num cupia.	**MF**: Aí a mulher, a mulher casada comigo, né? Fica velha falando besteira, né? E eu não entendo.	**MF**: There a woman, a woman married with me, right? She gets old speaking nonsense, right? And I don't understand.
AF: Hummm!	**AF**: Hummm!	**AF**: Hummm!
C: Ah mai o camano pedaço da(50) ocai era broto da calunga	**C**: Ah mas o filho da mulher era da(50) calunga também!	**C**: Ah but the woman's son also spoke(50) Calunga also!

tamém!

MF: Sim!

AF: Ah era, era!

C: Eu lembro, nóis brincava muito. Ei calungava muito comigo, às veis eu num sabia, falava "o camano pô, o camanu cá ta viajanu essa aí."

AF: É! Porque o camanu sucanadu$_{(60)}$ aí é aprumadu de calunga, né?

C: É.

AF: Mai a hora que cê apruma num zipaque...

C: Calunga ôa. É ôa, num pode calungá zipaque não?

AF: Calunga ôa. Eu falo "apruma um zipaque pa mim compá imberela, no injó di imberela."$_{(70)}$ Ei fala "não, emberela de camanu desaprumadu du zipaque é imberela de sengo."

C: De sengo? Nossa!

AF: E é imberela mucafa ainda.

C: É! Uai, porque que é imberela mucafa? Uai, uai! Uai, ai não uai! Imberela mucafa não, uai!$_{(80)}$ É aprumá nu indaro, fica muitas cumba pa aprumá, uai, que isso, uai!

AF: Diz que é melhor, né?

MF: Sim!

AF: A era, era!

C: E me lembro, nós brincávamos muito. Ele falava calunga muito comigo, às vezes eu não sabia, eu falava "ô homem poxa, eu não estou entendendo essa aí."

AF: É! Porque o homem casado$_{(60)}$ aí fala bem a calunga.

C: É.

AF: Mas a hora que você pede um dinheiro...

C: Fala bobagem. É ruim, não pode falar de dinheiro, não?

AF: Fala besteira. Eu falo "dê-me um dinheiro para eu comprar carne, no assougue."$_{(70)}$ Ele fala "não, carne de homem pobre é carne no mato (da caça)."

C: Do mato? Nossa!

AF: É carne velha ainda.

C: É! Uai porque que é carne velha? Uai, uai! Uai, aí não uai! Carne velha não, uai!$_{(80)}$ É cozinhar no fogo, demora muito tempo para ficar boa, uai, o que é isso, uai!

AF: Diz que é melhor, não é?

MF: Yes!

AF: He did, he did!

C: And I remember, we used to play a lot. He used to speak Calunga a lot with me, at times I didn't know, I used to say "oh man, I don't understand that."

AF: Yes! Because the married man$_{(60)}$ there speaks Calunga well.

C: Yes.

AF: But when you ask for money...

C: Nonsense. It's bad, you can't talk about money, no?

AF: Nonsense. I say "give me some money so I can buy meat, at the butcher."$_{(70)}$ He says "no, meat for a poor man is forest meat (from hunting)."

C: From the forest? Gosh!

AF: It's even old meat.

C: Yes! *Uai* (expression of surprise), why is it old meat? *Uai, uai*! *Uai*, there no *uai*! Old meat no, *uai*!$_{(80)}$ It has to be cooked, it takes a long time to get good, *uai*, what's that, *uai*!

AF: You say it is better, right?

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MF: Ô mas o camanu cá num cupia essa calunga de zipaque, aprumá zipaque.

AF: "Ó aprumá zipaque" a calunga é oa!

C: É fala de zipaque que o camanu viaja, ai ó!$_{(90)}$ Ei tá ôa de zipaque, ó!

AF: Aprumá calunga de ocai de pocas cum[ba]... sabe? De, de, de pocas cumba, ocaizim de pocas cumba. Assim ó, de mataca aprumado, assim sabe? Aí os mirante que tá (...), sabe? Apruma que é uma beleza!

C: Ha, ha, ha, mira longe!

AF: Mira longe!$_{(100)}$

C: Muitas cumba pra frente!

AF: Muito, muito pra fente!

C: Tá certo, aí eu sei, aí eu sei. Mai num pode calungá de zipaque cu camanu?

AF: Não. É ôa!

MF: Camanu cá num cupia calunga...

C: Camanu cá... cumé que fala "quando$_{(110)}$ nóis istudava juntu," cumé que fala na calunga.

MF: É no injó de letra, dandarazim.

MF: Ô mas eu não entendo essa fala de dinheiro, conseguir dinheiro.

AF: "O conseguir dinheiro" a [fala de] calunga está ruim.

C: É falar de dinheiro que o homem não presta atenção aí, olhe!$_{(90)}$ Ele está ruim de dinheiro, olhe!

AF: Falar calunga sobre mulher nova... sabe? De, de, de poucos anos, meninas novas. Assim olhe, de nádegas bonitas, assim sabe? Aí os olhos que estão (...), sabe? Olha que é uma beleza!

C: Ha, ha, ha, olha longe!

AF: Olha longe!$_{(100)}$

C: Muitos anos para frente!

AF: Muito, muito para frente!

C: Está certo, aí eu sei, aí eu sei. Mais não pode falar calunga de dinheiro com ele.

AF: Não. É ôa!

MF: Eu não entendo calunga...

C: Eu... como é que fala "quando$_{(110)}$ nós estudávamos juntos," como é que fala na calunga.

MF: E na escola, menininho.

MF: Oh but I don't understand that talk about money, to get money.

AF: "To get money" and the Calunga [talk] is bad.

C: It's just to talk about money that the man doesn't pay attention there, look!$_{(90)}$ He is bad with money, look!

AF: To speak Calunga about a young woman, do you know? Young, young girls. So look, nice butt, you know? There eyes are (...), you know? Look at what a beauty!

C: Ha, ha, ha, look far [away]!

AF: Look far [away]!$_{(100)}$

C: Very many years ahead!

AF: Very, very ahead!

C: That's right, I know, I know. But you can't speak Calunga about money with him.

AF: No. It's bad!

MF: I don't understand Calunga...

C: I... how do you say "when$_{(110)}$ we used to study together," how do you say that in Calunga.

MF: And in school, kid.

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AF: Injó de letra.	**AF**: Na escola.	**AF**: In school.
C: É dandarazim calungava cu camanu cá "não camanu, assim num dá," queria que fosse assim muito certim, nunca fui, né?$_{(120)}$ Uai! Si fui expulso do Colégio Santo Antônio. Uai, expulso! Do Colégio Santo Antônio, então quer dizer que num foi boa a...	**C**: E menininho falava comigo "não homem, assim não dá," queria que fosse assim muito certinho, nunca fui, não é?$_{(120)}$ Uai! Se fui expulso do Colégio Santo Antônio. Uai, expulso! Do Colégio Santo Antônio, então quer dizer que não foi boa a...	**C**: And the kid used to say to me "no man, that doesn't work," he wanted me to be very correct, I never was, right?$_{(120)}$ *Uai*! If I was expelled from the Colégio Santo Antônio. Uai, expelled! From Colégio Santo Antônio, then that means that it wasn't good...
AF: É eu sei, a calunga é ôa desde dandará mes[mo]! Ha, ha, ha...	**AF**: E eu sei, a calunga era ruim desde menino mesmo! Ha, ha, ha...	**AF**: And I know, that Calunga [speech] was bad since he was a kid! Ha, ha, ha...
C: Aí pegô, né? Mas o camanu cá era aprumadu!	**C**: Aí pegou, não é? Mas eu era danado.	**C**: There it worked, right? But I was damned.
AF: É!?$_{(120)}$	**AF**: É!?$_{(120)}$	**AF**: Yes!?$_{(120)}$
C: Era aprumadu lá!	**C**: Era bom lá!	**C**: I was good there!
MF: É!	**MF**: É!	**MF**: Yes!
AF: É!? Muito santim pa ocaia sucanada!	**AF**: É!? Muito santinho para mulher casada!	**AF**: Yes!? A lot of saints for a married woman!
MF: Ah!	**MF**: Ah!	**MF**: Ah!
C: Não mai nu injó de letra, eu e o camanu, muito certinho, né?	**C**: Não mas na escola, eu e ele, muito certinho, não é?	**C**: No but at school, me and him, very correct, right?
MF: Muito bem!	**MF**: Muito bem!	**MF**: Very good!
AF:Ah!$_{(130)}$	**AF**: Ah!$_{(130)}$	**AF**: Ah!$_{(130)}$
C: Ei calungava muito comigo, p'que, "ó, fica aí p'que assim num dá." Não, camanu cá queria era bagunça, era farra.	**C**: Ele falava muito comigo, porque, "olhe, fica aí porque assim não dá." Não, eu queria era bagunça, era farra.	**C**: He used to speak a lot with me, because, "look, stay there because such doesn't do." No, I wanted problems, it was trouble.
MF: Calunga aprumada do camanu.	**MF**: Conversa boa a desse homem.	**MF**: Good conversations with that man.

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C: Não, foi calunga aprumada, p'que se eu escutasse, hoje eu ia tá melhor, né? Mai tá bom.	**C**: Não, foi conversa boa, porque se tivesse escutado, hoje, eu ia estar melhor, não é? Mas está bom.	**C**: No, it was a good conversation, because if I had would have listened, today, I would be better, right? But it's good.
AF: Ó,$_{(140)}$ ei tem os mirante (...) pa mucafa.	**AF**: Olhe,$_{(140)}$ ele tem olhos (...) para velhas.	**AF**: Look,$_{(140)}$ he has eyes (...) for old ladies.
C: Pa mucafa?	**C**: Para velha?	**C**: For an old lady?
AF: É, a mucafa...	**AF**: E, a velha...	**AF**: And, the old lady...
C: Não! Não! Isso é depois dus cumba.	**C**: Não! Não! Isso é depois dos anos.	**C**: No! No! That is for the later years.
AF: Hum, hum.	**AF**: Hum, hum.	**AF**: Hum, hum.
C: Não, isso é depois dus cumba, camanu cá tamém é assim, num mira ocai mucafa. Num$_{(150)}$ mira ocai mucafu não, não, não! Ha, ha, ha...	**C**: Não, isso é depois dos anos, eu também sou assim, não olha mulher velha. Não$_{(150)}$ olha mulher velha não, não, não! Ha, ha, ha...	**C**: No, that is for the later years, I am also like that. Don't$_{(150)}$ look at old ladies, no, no, no! Ha, ha, ha...
AF: Quando o camanu sucanadu tá cu dandarazim, sabe? A calunga des [deles] é aprumada.	**AF**: Quando este homem casado [quando meu marido está com nosso filho] está com o seu filho, sabe? Eles conversam uma calunga muito boa.	**AF**: When this married man [when my husband is with our son] is with his son, you know? They speak really good Calunga.
C: A calunga... eu cunheçu o oto camanu!	**C**: A calunga... eu conheço o outro homem [o filho]!	**C**: Calunga... I know another man [the son]!
AF: A ocai chega ó psiu!	**AF**: A mulher chega olhe, psiu!	**AF**: The woman arrives, look, psiu!
C: Cabô! Num pruma mirante.	**C**: Acabou! Não vê [não sabe].	**C**: It is over! She does not look [does not know].
AF: Não!$_{(160)}$	**AF**: Não!$_{(160)}$	**AF**: No!$_{(160)}$
C: Num calunga.	**C**: Não fala calunga.	**C**: She doesn't speak Calunga.
AF: Não!	**AF**: Não!	**AF**: No!

C: Num faiz nada, né?	**C**: Não faz nada, não é?	**C**: She doesn't do anything, right?
AF: Hum, hum. Aí o assunto michô.	**AF**: Hum, hum. Aí o assunto acabou.	**AF**: Hum, hum. There the topic ended.
C: Aí eu sei. Aí o camanu já chega, já bate a calunga aqui e pronto, né? Cumé que fica? Assim num podi, uai! Uai, cumé$_{(170)}$ que eu vô calungá cu ocai santu, seno que tá cum camanu pedaçu! O ocai calunga cu ocai tatá, pronto aí!	**C**: Aí eu sei. Aí o homem já chega, já começa a calunga aqui e pronto, não é? Como que fica? Assim não pode, uai! Uai, como é$_{(170)}$ que eu vou falar com moça solteira, sendo que está com filho! A moça fala para a mãe dela, pronto aí!	**C**: There I know. There the man arrives, he begins to speak Calunga here and ready, right? Like that you cannot, *uai*! *Uai*, how is it$_{(170)}$ that I am going to speak with a single woman being that she is with [her] son! The girl speaks with her mother, ready there!
AF: É ruim heim!	**AF**: É ruim heim!	**AF**: It's bad huh!
C: Ah não, num dá.	**C**: Ah não, não dá.	**C**: Ah no, it doesn't work.
AF: É ruim heim!	**AF**: É ruim heim!	**AF**: It's bad, huh!
C: Aí chega ó, ó o amparo de cuzeca aqui em cima ó! É isso aqui ó [apontando para o sofá], o amparo de cuzeca$_{(180)}$ vai sê isso. É o amparo sem amparo ainda.	**C**: Aí chega olhe, olhe a cama aqui em cima olhe! É isso aqui olhe [apontando para o sofá], a cama$_{(180)}$ vai ser isso. Vai ser a cama sem amparo ainda.	**C**: There arrives, look, look at the bed up there! It is that that looks here [pointing at the sofa], the bed$_{(180)}$ is going to be that. It is going to be a bed without support still.
MF: O amparo de mataca é que é o amparo de cuzeca do camanu.	**MF**: O sofá é que vai ser a cama do homem.	**MF**: The sofa is going to be the man's bed.
AF: É mais diz que é, diz que a calunga pra camanu mucafu, é só calunga com o candumbí maioral.	**AF**: É mas diz que é, diz que a calunga para homem velho, é só calunga com o *candumbí maioral* (palavra desconhecida).	**AF**: It is but he says that it is, he says that the Calunga is for old men, it is only Calunga with the *candumbí maioral* (palavra desconhecida).
C: Só!	**C**: Só!	**C**: Only!
AF: É.	**AF**: É.	**AF**: Yes.
C: Não, aí não.$_{(190)}$	**C**: Não, aí não.$_{(190)}$	**C**: No, it is not.$_{(190)}$
MF: É, o camanu que	**MF**: É, o homem que vai para	**MF**: Yes, the man that goes to

quinhama pu injó santu pra calungá com...	a igreja só para falar com...	church only to talk with...
C: Não, aí o camanu cá quando vai no injó santu, quando vai no injó santu, o camanu misura as ocai. Num vai lá por causa da calunga santa não, vai po causa das ocai.	**C**: Não, aí eu quando vou na igreja, quando vou na igreja, eu meço (olho) as mulheres. Não vou lá por causa da reza não, vou por causa das mulheres.	**C**: No, when I go to church, when I go to church, I look at the women. I do not go there to pray no, I go because of the women.
AF: É, tá perdido memo![200]	**AF**: É, está perdido mesmo![200]	**AF**: Yes, he is truly lost![200]
C: Vô pa levá uma calunga cas ocai.	**C**: Vou para falar com as mulheres.	**C**: I go to talk to the women.
MF: (...) vai calungá com ocai sucanado do camanu e com *ganasã* no injó santo.	**MF**: (...) vai falar com as mulheres casadas com o homem ou com *ganasã* (?) na igreja.	**MF**: (...) you go to talk to the married women or to the *ganasã* (?) in the church.
AF: Hum, tá veno, aí tá certo, né? Com o *ganasã* aí cê num calunga não?	**AF**: Hum, está vendo, aí está certo, não é? Com o *ganasã* aí você não fala não?	**AF**: Hum, you see, it is certain, isn't it? With the *ganasã* there you don't talk no?
MF: Apruma, no injó o ocai apruma[210] o imbuete na cupia do camanu e o *ganasã* de injó santo apruma bebida com o camanu.	**MF**: Bate, em casa a mulher bate[210] com o pau na cabeça do homem e o *ganasã* da igreja bebe com o homem.	**MF**: She hits, at home the woman hits[210] [me] with a stick on my head and the *ganasã* from the church drinks with him.
AF: Carlos, cê tá ferrado! Melhor ficá calado.	**AF**: Carlos, você está com problemas! Melhor ficar calado.	**AF**: Oh Carlos, you have problems! It is better to remain quiet.
C: É mas, apruma mesmo! A ocai lá é... ocai do sengo, cê já viu, né?	**C**: É mas, bate mesmo! A mulher lá é... mulher do mato, você já viu, não é?	**C**: It is but, she hits (me) really! The woman there is... woman from the forest, you saw, right?
AF: Tem é que pegá firme mes.[220]	**AF**: Tem é que pegar firme mesmo.[220]	**AF**: You have to grab (him) really firm.[220]
TB: Cu embuete?	**TB**: Com o pau?	**TB**: With the stick?
AF: É!	**AF**: É!	**AF**: Yes!

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MF: É!	**MF**: É!	**MF**: Yes!
C: Uai, cê tá doido, uai. E quais [quase] que ocai do camanu cá... sucanô aquela ocai sabeno que o ocai já era... era de mais cumba do que o camanu cá.	**C**: Uai, você está doido, uai. E quase que minha mulher... casei com aquela mulher sabendo que ela já era... era mais velha que eu.	**C**: *Uai*, you are crazy, *uai*. And almost that my woman... I almost married that woman knowing that she was already... she was older than me.
MF: Hummm.(230)	**MF**: Hummm.(230)	**MF**: Hummm.(230)
AF: Hummm.	**AF**: Hummm.	**AF**: Hummm.
C: Uai, foi uai! Aí viu?	**C**: Uai, foi uai! Aí viu?	**C**: *Uai*, it was *uai*! Did you see?
MF: Hummm!	**MF**: Hummm!	**MF**: Hummm!
AF: Ai coitado!	**AF**: Ai coitado!	**AF**: Oh poor thing!
C: (...) coitado! Mas foi!	**C**: (...) coitado! Mas foi!	**C**: (...) poor thing! But it was.
AF: Ai coitado!	**AF**: Ai coitado!	**AF**: Oh poor thing!
C: Aí o camanu cá num era muito chegado nessas ocai santa não.	**C**: Aí eu não era muito interessado em essas mulheres solteiras não.	**C**: I was not very interested in those single women no.
MF: Ó!(240) Camanu de pocas cumba, cupia, aprumado!	**MF**: Olhe!(240) Homem novo, inteligente, bonito!	**MF**: Look!(240) Young man, intelligent, handsome!
C: Aí o camanu cá deu uma parada nos cumba, pensô, né? "O camanu cá vai tê que dá uma arrumada." Cumé que faz, né?	**C**: Aí eu dei uma parada no tempo, pensei, não é? "Eu vou ter que dar uma melhorada." Como é que faz, não é?	**C**: There I stopped for a time, I thought, right? "I am going to have get better." What do you do, right?
AF: Vai aprumá, ó!	**AF**: Vai se arrumar, olhe!	**AF**: He is going to get himself [a woman], look!
C: O camanu maioral do camanu cá falô "ó vô aprumá uma ocai pro cê agora."(250) Falô "mas o camanu ca num curima, cumé que vai arrumá?" Ha ha ha... O camanu cá nunca gostô de curima cumé que vai arrumá, uai?	**C**: O meu chefe falou "olhe, vou arrumar uma mulher para você agora."(250) Falou "mas eu não trabalho, como é que eu vou arrumar?" Ha ha ha... Eu nunca gostei de trabalhar, como é que vai arrumar, uai?	**C**: My boss said "look, I am going to arrange a woman for you now."(250) He said "but I do not work, how is it that I am going to arrange [a woman]"? Ha ha ha... I never liked to work, how is it that I am going to arrange [a

woman]?

MF: Mas o camanu tatá do camanu é caium... caiumba, aprumado na curima.	**MF**: Mas o pai do homem é on... onça ('fera'), muito trabalhador.	**MF**: But the man's father is a jag... jaguar ('fierce'), hard worker.
AF: É! Ele trabalhô com meu pai. Eu lembro do seu pai.(260)	**AF**: É! Ele trabalhou com meu pai. Eu me lembro do seu pai.(260)	**AF**: Yes! He worked with my father. I remember your father.(260)
C: Era aprumado na curima.	**C**: Era muito trabalhador.	**C**: He was a hard worker.
MF: Curima aprumada memo uai. E o camanu, disaprumado de curima, dizaprumado de zipaque...	**MF**: Trabalhava bem mesmo, uai. E o homem (filho), vagabundo, pobre...	**MF**: He used to work really hard. And the man (the son), a bum, poor...
AF: E ela aprumô?	**AF**: E ela se animou?	**AF**: And she got excited?
MF: Aprumô! A coitada aprumô numa calunga ôa.	**MF**: Se animou! A coitada se animou em uma besteira.	**MF**: She got excited! The poor girl got excited in nonsense.
AF: Tadinha!	**AF**: Coitadinha!	**AF**: Poor girl!
C: Mai(270) a ocai tinha zipaque, eu pensei, eu fui lá no sengo, missurei lá. Falei "não, é cum esse ocai qu'eu vô sucaná p'que..."	**C**: Mas(270) a mulher tinha dinheiro, eu pensei, eu fui lá no mato ('fazenda', 'sítio'), medi (olhei) lá. Falei "não, é com essa mulher que eu vou me casar, porque..."	**C**: But(270) the woman had money, I thought, I went there to the forest (rural estate), I observed there. I said "no, it is with that woman that I am going to marry, because..."
MF: Hmmm.	**MF**: Hmmm.	**MF**: Hmmm.
AF: Não mai tamém quandu eu sucanei cu camanu aí eu achei que ele...	**AF**: Não mas também quando eu me casei com esse homem aí, eu achei que ele...	**AF**: No but also when I got married with that man there, I thought that he...
C: Cê achô que ele era aprumadu du zipaque?(280)	**C**: Você achou que ele era rico?(280)	**C**: You thought that he was rich?(280)
AF: Era aprumadu du zipaque!	**AF**: Era rico!	**AF**: [That] he was rich!
C: Achô!	**C**: Achou!	**C**: You thought!
AF: Achei! Eu pensei "agora eu num preciso curimá nunca mais, cabô."	**AF**: Achei! Eu pensei "agora eu não preciso trabalhar nunca mais, acabou-se."	**AF**: I thought! I thought "now I do not need to work ever again, it has ended."

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C: Ah... depois que aprumô cu zipaque num pensei assim em curimá mais tamém não, falei "ah, eu num vô aprumá isso..." Aí, a curima mai não!(290) Essa ocai, muito sengo aí... vaca cumé que fala? É... **MF**: Ingomo.	**C**: Ah... depois que consegui o dinheiro não pensei assim em trabalhar mais também não, falei "ah, eu vou fazer isso..." Aí, o trabalho mais não!(290) Essa mulher, muito mato aí... "vaca" como é que fala? É... **MF**: "Ingomo."	**C**: Ah... after I got the money I did not think about working no more, I said "ah, I am going to do that..." There, no more work!(290) That woman, much forest there... "cow" how do you say? It is... **MF**: "Ingomo."

Calunga interview 3
June 26, 2004
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
VO: Vicente Otaviano, born 1938
EA: Eurípedes Alves, born 1940
Mãe de EA: Mother of Eurípedes Alves

Calunga	Portuguese	English
EA: Pode. Pode í. O camanu cá, o camanu cá tava aprumadu lá nu injó onde o camanu apruma cuzeque, na onde o camanu lá apruma marafu pus camanu. Aí u camanim quinhamô lá naqueli injó, aí o camanu calungô com o camanu: "Quê que cê qué aqui camanu?$_{(10)}$ Qué aprumá marafu?" "Queru." Tem um camanu aí que nóis já quinhamô cos ingomu, ele foi cuzecu aqui per... du... du... onde se apruma marafa, Vicente Otavianu. "E aí, quem é aqueli camanu?"	**EA**: Pode. Pode ir. Eu, eu estava lá na casa onde você dorme, onde você toma cachaça. Aí o homem foi lá naquela casa, aí o homem falou com o homem: "Quê que você quer aqui homem?$_{(10)}$ Quer tomar cachaça?" "Quero." Tem um homem aí que nós já andamos com os bois, ele foi dormir aqui perto... do... do onde se toma vinho, Vicente Otaviano. "E aí, quem é aquele homem?"	**EA**: You can, you can go (speak). I, I was there in the house where you sleep, where you drink cachaça. There the man went to that house, there the man spoke with the man: "What do you want here, man?$_{(10)}$ Do you want to drink cachaça?" "I do." There is a man there that we already went walking with the cattle, he went to sleep here close by...by... where you drink wine, Vicente Otaviano. "And there, who is that man?"
VO: É aquei camanu imbundu que gosta de aprumá ua marafa na cupia, né?$_{(20)}$	**VO**: É aquele homem negro que gosta de tomar uma cachaça, não é?$_{(20)}$	**VO**: It is that black man that likes to drink cachaça, right?$_{(20)}$
EA: Ah... esse camanu apruma marafa na cupia até hoje, uai?	**EA**: Ah... esse homem toma cachaça até hoje, uai?	**EA**: Ah... that man drinks cachaça untill today, *uai*?
VO: Apruma.	**VO**: Toma.	**VO**: He drinks.
EA: Ah... mai esse camanu, nóis quinhamô cum ingome, aquei camanu era aprumadu nu berrante. Cadê o berrante? Eta mundu, se nóis tivesse um berrante pa nóis tocá.	**EA**: Ah... mas esse homem, nós andamos com os bois, aquele homem era bom no berrante. Onde está o berrante? Está mundu, se nós tivéssemos um berrante para nós tocarmos.	**EA**: Ah... but that man, we went walking with the cattle, that man was good at the gaudy. Where is the gaudy (cattle horn)? If we only had a gaudy for us to play.
VO: Pois é!$_{(30)}$	**VO**: Pois é!$_{(30)}$	**VO**: That's right!$_{(30)}$

EA: Camanu, eu lembru, nóis tava quinhamanu cus ingome, o camanim cá, ocê trabaiava na guia da boiada, eu lembu duma passage, camanu, cê calungô: "O boi, da Vera." Nóis tava quinhamanu cus ingome lá, das ota cumbaca que tem. Cê era solteru camanu, cê vê o tan de anu qui tem issu."[40]	**EA**: Homem, eu lembro, nós estávamos andando com os bois, eu, você trabalhávamos na guia da boiada, eu lembro de uma passagem, homem, você falou: "O boi, da Vera." Nós estávamos andando com os bois lá, de outras cidades que tem. Você era solteiro, você vê o tanto de anos que tem isso."[40]	**EA**: Man, I remember, we used to walk with the cattle, me, you used to work on the cattle routes, I remember a passage, man, you said: "Oh ox, da Vera" We were walking with the cattle there, from other cities. You were single, you see how long ago it was."[40]
VO: Tem muitus cumba.	**VO**: Tem muitos anos.	**VO**: It was a long time ago.
EA: Muintus cumba, camanu! Aí camanim, agora vortanu a falá lá donde cê tá aprumanu cuzeca, eu fui aprumá ua marafa na cupia, camanu, lá naquei...	**EA**: Muitos anos, homem! Aí menino, agora voltando a falar lá de onde você está dormindo, eu fui tomar uma cachaça, homem, lá naquele...	**EA**: Many years, man! There boy, now returning to speak about where you were sleeping, I went to drink cachaça, man, there in that...
VO: Nu injozim...	**VO**: Na casinha...	**VO**: In the little house...
EA: Nu injozim de marafa.	**EA**: No barzinho.	**EA**: In the little bar.
VO: Nu[50] injó de marafa per du enjó du camanu cá.	**VO**: No[50] bar perto da minha casa.	**VO**: In[50] the bar by my house.
EA: Camanu...	**EA**: Homem...	**EA**: Man...
VO: Calunga!	**VO**: Fala!	**VO**: Speak!
EA: Camanu, tava aprumanu marafu. Marafu não, omenha de viago, camanu.	**EA**: Homem, estava tomando cachaça. Cachaça não, cachaça (há dois nomes para cachaça), homem.	**EA**: Man, I was drinking cachaça. Cachaça no, cachaça (another type of cachaça or licor), man.
VO: Omenha de viangu!	**VO**: Cachaça!	**VO**: Cachaça!
EA: Porque marafa é de... Centru Ispírita né, camanu? (Quando[60] o informante diz Centro Espírita, ele está se referindo ao Terreiro de Umbanda)	**EA**: Porque "marafa" é de Centro Espírita não é, homem? (Quando[60] o informante diz Centro Espírita, ele está se referindo ao Terreiro de Umbanda)	**EA**: Because "marafa" ('cachaça') is from the Spirtual Center, right man? (Refers[60] to an Umbanda religious group)
VO: É, é sim.	**VO**: É, é sim.	**VO**: It is, it is yes.

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EA: Nóis tava aprumanu omenha de viango, aí chegô um camanu imbundu, e calungô cu camanu maioral du injó: Pruma marafu aí! Aí o camanu,(70) prumô marafa pra ele, o camanu...	**EA**: Nós estávamos tomando cachaça, aí chegou um negro, e falou com o dono da casa: Ponha cachaça aí! Aí o homem(70) pegou uma cachaça para ele, o homem...	**EA**: We were drinking cachaça, there arrived a black man and spoke with the owner of the house: Put a cachaça there! There the man(70) grabbed a cachaça for him, the man...
VO: Prumô na mucota.	**VO**: Tomou.	**VO**: He drank.
EA: Prumô na mucota.	**EA**: Tomou.	**EA**: He drank.
VO: E aí?	**VO**: E aí?	**VO**: And then?
EA: E aí cumeçô a calungá vapora.	**EA**: E aí começou a falar coisas sem sentido.	**EA**: And then he began to speak about things that don't make sense.
VO: Calungá vapora.	**VO**: Falar coisas sem sentido.	**VO**: Speaking about things that don't make sense.
EA: E cumeçô a calungá vapora. O camanu cá aprumô nu injó pra aprumá...(80) os uíque.	**EA**: E começou a falar sem sentido. Eu fui para casa para tomar(80) as bebidas alcólicas (algo "doce," talvez cerveja).	**EA**: And he began to speak things that don't make sense. I went home to drink(80) (something "sweet," maybe beer).
VO: Uíque.	**VO**: Bebida "doce."	**VO**: A "sweet" drink.
EA: Mais o camanu qui tava aprumanu omenha di viangu na mucota, cumeçô a ficá vapora.	**EA**: Mas o homem que estava tomando cachaça, começou a ficar louco.	**EA**: But the man that was drinking cachaça, began to get crazy.
VO: Calungá vapora.	**VO**: Falar coisas sem sentido.	**VO**: To speak things that don't make sense.
EA: Na calunga, e o camanu, que foi aprumá... "leiti de ingome."(90)	**EA**: Na calunga, e o homem, que foi tomar... "leite de boi."(90)	**EA**: In Calunga, and the man went to drink "milk" of the cow.(90)
VO: "Omenha de ingome," omenha de ingome!	**VO**: "Omenha de ingome ('leite') ("água de boi")," "omenha de ingome"!	**VO**: "Omenha de ingome ('milk') ("water from the cow")," "omenha de ingome"!
EA: É o "omenha de engome,"	**EA**: É "omenha de engome,"	**EA**: Is it "omenha de

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camanu?

VO: Omenha de engome!

EA: Omenha de engome!

VO: O camanu tá...

Mãe de EA: É a marafa na cupia.

EA: Aí foi calunganu,$_{(100)}$ foi calunganu, foi calunganu, aí o camanu que foi aprumá a omenha de ingome, calungô: "Ô camanu, cê tá aprumanu omenha de viangu na mucota e... tá calunganu vapora." Ele, u camanu qui tava aprumanu omenha de viangu calungô: "Que! Calunganu calunga vapora!$_{(110)}$ Eu vô ti aprumá o faim." Foi aprumô o faim nu camanu, o camanu aprumô nele o mocó de indaru.

VO: Ah... o mocó de indaru!

EA: E aprumô nele o mocó de indaru. E o camanu aprumô na Ingraterra, aprumô quimbimbi.

VO: Aprumô quimbimbi.

EA: E o camanu qui foi aprumá...$_{(120)}$ a omenha de maveru, quinhamô e saiu fora da calunga. O camanu maioral du injó calungô cus caiumba: "Opa, aprumô o quimbimbi aqui nu meu injó de marafu e os caiumba aprumô. É o camanu cor de imbundu que levô o mocó de indaru, qui aprumô o mocó de indaru, qui tava aprumanu$_{(130)}$ marafa e foi cu camanu aprumá o maveru.

homem?

VO: "Omenha de engome"!

EA: "Omenha de engome"!

VO: O homem está...

Mãe de EA: É a cachaça na cabeça.

EA: Aí foi falando,$_{(100)}$ foi falando, foi falando, aí o homem que foi tomar leite, falou:
"O homem, você está tomando cachaça e falando coisas sem sentido." Ele, o homem que estava tomando cachaça, falou:
"Que! Falando falando coisas sem sentido!$_{(110)}$ Eu vou lhe furar [com faca]." Foi e atacou o homem, o homem pegou uma arma de fogo.

VO: Ah... a arma de fogo!

EA: E atirou nele. E o homem caiu no chão e morreu.

VO: Morreu.

EA: E o homem que foi tomar...$_{(120)}$ tomar leite, saiu fora da conversa. O dono da casa falou com os "soldados" (a polícia):
"Opa, morreu aqui no meu bar e os soldados se interessaram. É o homem negro que levou a arma de fogo, que atirou com a arma de fogo, que estava tomando$_{(130)}$ cachaça e foi com o homem tomar leite. O

engome," man?

VO: "Omenha de engome"!

EA: "Omenha de engome"!

VO: The man is...

Mother of EA: It is the cachaça in [his] head.

EA: There he went on talking,$_{(100)}$ went on talking, went on talking, there the man that drank milk spoke:
"Oh man, you are drinking cachaça and speaking things without making sense." He, the man that was drinking cachaça, said:
"What! Speaking, speaking things without making sense!$_{(110)}$ I am going to stab you [with a knife]." He went and atacked the man, the man grabbed a a firearm (a gun).

VO: Ah... a firearm!

EA: And he shot him. And the man fell to the floor and died.

VO: He died.

EA: And the man that went to drink...$_{(120)}$ drink milk, left the conversation. The owner of the house spoke with the "soldiers" (the police):
"Oh, someone died here in my bar and the soldiers got interested. It is the black man that took the firearm, that was drinking$_{(130)}$ cachaça and went with the man to drink milk. The white man shot the black man, [...] he fell down.

O camanu maveru aprumô o mocó de indaru nu camanu imbundu, [...] caiu fora.

VO: Aí os caiumba...

EA: Os caiumba... saiu procuranu o camanu.

Mãe de EA: Caiu nu sengu.

VO: Nu sengu.

EA: E$_{(140)}$ o camanu aprumô fora da cumbaca, aprumô fora da cumbaca e... não deu pa pegá o camanu.

VO: O camanu quinhamô.

EA: O camanu quinhamô! Ah mas e o camanu qui aprumô o quimbimbi? O camanu qui aprumô o quimbimbi, tava com o marafu na cupia, a omenha de viangu$_{(150)}$ na cupia e calunganu vapora. E aprumô nu camanu qui ia aprumá a omenha de de de de de...

VO: De viangu. Omenha de viangu!

EA: Ah sô! Omenha de viangu não, camanu! Omenha de ingome! O camanu que ia aprumá a omenha de engome que$_{(160)}$ aprumô o mocó de indaru nu camanu qui ia aprumá cu ele nu faim.

VO: Ah...

EA: E aí camanu, e aprumô o mocó e aprumô o faim.

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homem branco atirou no negro, [...] caiu fora.

VO: Aí os soldados...

EA: Os soldados sairam procurando o homem.

Mãe de EA: Caiu no mato.

VO: No mato.

EA: E$_{(140)}$ o homem foi para fora da cidade, saiu da cidade e... não deu para pegar o homem.

VO: O homem saiu.

EA: O homem foi embora! Ah mas e o homem que morreu? O homem que morreu estava bêbado, estava bêbado$_{(150)}$ e falando coisas sem sentido. E pegou o homem que ia pegar a "omenha" de de de de de...

VO: De "viango" ('cachaça'). "Omenha de viango"!

EA: Ah senhor! "Omenha de viango" não, homem! "Omenha de ingome" ('leite')! O homem que ia pegar o leite que$_{(160)}$ atirou no homem que ia feri-lo com uma faca.

VO: Ah...

EA: E aí homem, e pegou a arma e pegou a faca.

VO: There the soldiers....

EA: The soldiers left to look for the man.

Mom of EA: He went to the forest.

VO: To the forest.

EA: And$_{(140)}$ the man went outside of the city, left the city and they couldn't catch him.

VO: The man got away.

EA: The man got away! Ah but the man that died? The man that died was drunk, he was drinking$_{(150)}$ and speaking things without making sense. And he grabbed the man that was going to grab "omenha" ('water') of of of of...

VO: "De viango" ('cachaça'). "Omenha de viango"!

EA: Ah senhor! "Omenha de viango" ('cachaça') no, man! "Omenha de ingome" ('milk')! The man that was going to grab the milk that$_{(160)}$ shot the man that was going to hurt him with a knife..

VO: Ah...

EA: And there the man, and he took out a firearm and took out a knife.

VO: Corta aí, ele tá repitinu. Tá repitinu demais.	**VO**: Corta aí, ele está repitindo. Está repitindo demais.	**VO**: Cut there, he is repeating. He is repeating too much.
EA: Não uai, tô te contanu.	**EA**: Não uai, estou te contando.	**EA**: No *uai*, I am just telling you the story.
VO: Mais isso aí cê já falô!	**VO**: Mas isso aí você já falou!	**VO**: But you already said that!

Calunga interview 4
June 27, 2005
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
JB: "Barraca" (João Batista), born 1954
JRS: Jorge de Souza, born 1964
JLS: Joel de Souza, born 1962
JL: Joaquim Luis, born 1928
GL: Glauce de Souza
TB: Tadeu de Barros
SB: Steven Byrd
DB: Daniela Bassani

Calunga	*Portuguese*	*English*
JB: E aí camanu ofú, vamu aprumá pa dentu du injó, uai.	**JB**: E aí negro, vamos para dentro de casa, uai.	**JB**: And there black man, let's go in the house, *uai*.
JRS: Camanu num tá apumanu a nanga mai, não.	**JRS**: Homem não veste calça mais não.	**JRS**: He is not putting on [nice] pants anymore.
JL: Eu falei que era pa aprumá uma nanga, sô!	**JL**: Eu falei que era para vestir uma calça, senhor!	**JL**: I said that it was to wear [nice] pants, sir!
JRS: O camanu!	**JRS**: O homem!	**JRS**: O man!
JB: Uai! Ei já calungô ca ocai ca nanga daquei jeito, agora... vamu lá Chiquito,(10) que ocê é mai veio.	**JB**: Uai! Ele já falou aqui com a mulher daquele jeito, agora... vamos lá Chiquito,(10) que você é mais velho.	**JB**: *Uai*! He has already spoken with the woman in that way, now... let's go Chiquito,(10) you are older.
DB: Num precisa trocá de calça não, né?	**DB**: Não precisa trocar de calça não, não é?	**DB**: You do not need to change your pants, ok?
JRS: Bora lá Chiquito!	**JRS**: Embora lá Chiquito!	**JRS**: Let's go Chiquito!
JB: Vá, vai lá Chiquito que o senhor é mai veio eu num vô te matá.	**JB**: Vá, vai lá Chiquito que o senhor é mais velho eu não vou entrar na sua frente.	**JB**: Go, go there Chiquito that you are older I am not going get in your way.
JL: Nãã, eu vô... o que ceis calungá, eu vô dá ôa na calunga do ceis!(20)	**JL**: Não, eu vou... o que vocês falam, eu vou acabar com a calunga de vocês.(20)	**JL**: No, I am going... what you speak, I am going to do bad in your Calunga [talk].(20)
JL: Entra pra dentro, sô!	**JL**: Entra para dentro, senhor!	**JL**: Come inside, sir!
TB: Tá bão!	**TB**: Está bom!	**TB**: OK!

JB: O camanu e a ocai tá querenu qui os camanu cá calunga sobri?	JB: O homem e a mulher estão querendo que nós falemos [calunga] sobre?	JB: The man and the woman are wanting that we speak [Calunga] about?
DB: Qualqué coisa que ceis quisé calungá.	DB: Qualquer coisa que vocês quiserem falar [calunga].	DB: Whatever you want to talk [in Calunga] about.
JB: Os camanu é de qual omenha?	JB: Vocês são de qual "omenha" ('água', 'região')?	JB: You [both] are from which "omenha" ('water', 'region')?
DB: Eu?(30) Omenha é o quê memo?	DB: Eu?(30) "Omenha" é o quê mesmo?	DB: Me?(30) "Omenha" is what?
JB: De qual água que ceis é?	JB: De qual "água" que vocês são?	JB: From which "water" are you [both] from?
DB: Uai num sei, eu num intendu issu não!	DB: Uai não sei, eu não entendo isso não!	DB: *Uai*, I don't know, I don't understand that!
TB: Qual cidade?	TB: Qual cidade?	TB: Which city?
DB: Qual água?	DB: Qual água?	DB: Which water?
JB: Qual cidade, qual cumbaca que ceis é?	JB: Qual cidade, de qual "cumbaca" ('cidade') que vocês são?	JB: Which city, from which "cumbaca" ('city') are you [both] from?
DB: Ah! Eu sô de... daqui de Minas, eu sô de Arceburgo.(40)	DB: Ah! Eu sou de... daqui de Minas, eu sou de Arceburgo.(40)	DB: Ah! I am from... from here from Minas, I am from Arceburgo.(40)
JB: E o camanu?	JB: E o homem?	JB: And the man?
DB: Ele é de...	DB: Ele é de...	DB: He is from...
SB: Inglaterra.	SB: Terra (sem entender).	SB: Land (not understanding).
JB: Ó!	JB: Ó!	JB: Oh!
SB: Inglaterra qué dizê fora, né?	SB: "Inglaterra" quer dizer 'fora', não é?	SB: "Inglaterra" means 'away', doesn't it?
DB: Ei é d'otas inglaterra.	DB: Ele é de outras "inglaterra."	DB: He is from other "lands" ('foreign lands').
SB: Otras inglaterra.	SB: Outras terras.	SB: Other "lands."

JB: E... o camanu gosta de aprumá$_{(50)}$ saravá o cumé que é?	**JB**: E... você gosta de dançar$_{(50)}$ ou como é que é?	**JB**: And... you like to dance$_{(50)}$ or what?
SB: Saravá? Quê que é saravá? Saravá é... ah! esqueci saravá.	**SB**: "Saravá" ('dançar')? Que é "saravá"? Saravá é... ah! Esqueci "saravá."	**SB**: "Saravá ('dance')?" What is "saravá"? "Saravá" is... ah! I forgot "saravá."
JB: Camanu gosta de aprumá uíque na mucota?	**JB**: Você gosta de beber [álcool]?	**JB**: You like to drink [alcohol]?
SB: Ah! Gosto, gosto de cerveja.	**SB**: Ah! Gosto, gosto de cerveja.	**SB**: Ah! I like, I like beer.
JB: Omenha de vinhango não, né?	**JB**: Cachaça não, não é?	**JB**: Not Cachaça, right?
SB: É... um poquinho.$_{(60)}$	**SB**: É... um pouquinho.$_{(60)}$	**SB**: Yes... a little bit.$_{(60)}$
JB: E marafa?	**JB**: E vinho?	**JB**: And wine?
SB: Ah... eu gosto, de vez em quando, um pouquinho só, né.	**SB**: Ah... eu gosto, de vez em quando, um pouquinho só, não é?	**SB**: Ah... I like, sometimes, only a little bit.
JB: O camanu gosta de ocai ou não?	**JB**: Você gosta de mulher ou não?	**JB**: Do you like the woman or not?
SB: Gosto.	**SB**: Gosto.	**SB**: I like her.
JB: O camanu é sucanado?	**JB**: Você é casado?	**JB**: Are you married?
SB: Hum?	**SB**: Hum?	**SB**: Hum?
JB: Ocai tamém não, né?	**JB**: A mulher também não, não é?	**JB**: The woman too, right?
DB: Não.$_{(70)}$	**DB**: Não.$_{(70)}$	**DB**: No.$_{(70)}$
JB: O camanu já apruma nessas cumbaca há quantus cumba?	**JB**: Você já está nesta cidade há quanto tempo?	**JB**: How long have you been in the region?
SB: Eu tô com trinta.	**SB**: Eu estou com trinta. (Sem entender a pergunta)	**SB**: I am thirty. (Not understanding question)
DB: Não quatro *es*cumba.	**DB**: Não, quatro anos.	**DB**: No, four years. (Not understanding question)

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SB: Juntos?	SB: Juntos? (Sem entender a pergunta)	SB: Together? (Not understanding question)
JB: Quantos cumba que o camanu apruma nessas cumbaca aqui?	JB: Quantos anos que você está nessas cidades aqui?	JB: How many years have you been in this region here?
SB: Quatro?$_{(80)}$ É, quatro cumba.	SB: Quatro?$_{(80)}$ É, quarto anos.	SB: Four?$_{(80)}$ Yes, four years.
JB: E o camanu tá... quereno calungá pes...	JB: E você está... querendo falar [calunga] pes...	JB: And you are... wanting to speak [Calunga] about?
JL: Mai cum (...), né?	JL: Mas com (...), não é?	JL: But with (...), right?
DB: Oi?	DB: Oi?	DB: What?
JL: Morrudu, né?	JL: "Morrudu" ('forte', 'grande'), não é?	JL: "Morrudu" ('strong', 'great'), right?
DB: Qué isso? Num sei.	DB: Que isso? Não sei.	DB: What is that? I don't know.
JB: Agora cê tem que expricá pra ela.	JB: Agora você tem que explicar para ela.	JB: Now you have to explain for her.
JL: (...)$_{(90)}$	JL: (...)$_{(90)}$	JL: (...)$_{(90)}$
JB: É...	JB: É...	JB: It is...
JRS: O mucafo tá...calunganu...	JRS: O negro velho está falando [calunga]...	JRS: The old black man is speaking [Calunga]...
JB: Tá... calunganu mei... otas calunga, calunga de umbundu.	JB: Tá... falando (calugando) meio... outras calungas, calunga de negro. (uma calunga desconhecida)	JB: He is... speaking Calunga with some other Calunga words, Calunga words of blacks. (an unknown Calunga)
DB: Cê calunga tamém?	DB: Você fala calunga também?	DB: Do you speak Calunga too?
GL: Não, não. Entendo alguma coisa só mas num calungu não.	GL: Não, não. Entendo alguma coisa só mas não calungo não.	GL: No, no. I understand some things but I don't speak Calunga, no.
JB: O camanu vai aprumá curima aqui nu...$_{(100)}$ nu... nas	JB: O homem vai trabalhar aqui nu...$_{(100)}$ nu... nas outras	JB: Are you going to work here in...$_{(100)}$ in... in these

otas cumbaca?	cidades?	parts?
SB: Aprumá curima... cumbaca...	**SB**: "Aprumá curima..." (sem entender) "Cumbaca..." (sem entender)	**SB**: "Aprumá curima... ('to do work')" (not understanding) "Cumbaca... ('city')" (not understanding)
TB: Trabalhá aqui na região?	**TB**: Trabalhar aqui na região?	**TB**: Work here in the region?
DB: Não, nós num vamu.	**DB**: Não nós não vamos.	**DB**: No, we are not going to.
SB: Ah, Serra do Salitre.	**SB**: Ah, Serra do Salitre (sem entender)	**SB**: Ah, Serra do Salitre (not understanding)
JL: Vai aprumá calunga nas cumbaca e saravá lá nas cumbaca da omenha grande.	**JL**: Vai falar calunga na cidade e dançar lá na cidade da cidade grande.	**JL**: You are going to speak Calunga in the region and dance there in the big city.
DB: Quê que é saravá?[110]	**DB**: Quê que é "saravá" ('dançar')?[110]	**DB**: What is "saravá" ('dance')?"[110]
JRS: Mai o mucafo é...!	**JRS**: Mas o negro velho é...!	**JRS**: But the old black man is...!
JL: Num sabe quê que é saravá não?	**JL**: Não sabe quê que é "saravá," não?	**JL**: He doesn't know what "saravá" is, right?
DB: Na calunga não.	**DB**: Na calunga não.	**DB**: In Calunga no.
JL: É í...	**JL**: É ir...	**JL**: It's 'to go'...
DB: Oi?	**DB**: Oi?	**DB**: What?
JL: É í lá pra cidade, í lá...	**JL**: É lá para cidade, ir lá...	**JL**: It's there in the city, to go there...
DB: Ah tá!	**DB**: Ah tá!	**DB**: Ah ok!
JRS: O camanu aprumô ua marafa na mucota ali.[120]	**JRS**: Você bebeu vinho ali.[120]	**JRS**: You drank wine there.[120]
JB: O camanu aprumô ua marafa, num tá querenu calungá.	**JB**: O homem [JRS] bebeu cachaça, não está querendo falar [calunga].	**JB**: The man [JRS] drank cachaça, he is not wanting to speak [Calunga].
JRS: Não é que...	**JRS**: Não é que...	**JRS**: No, it's that...
JB: Por que que esse camanu	**JB**: Por que que esse homem	**JB**: Why is that man not

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tá sem calungá?	está sem falar [calunga]?	speaking [Calunga]?
JRS: Camanu tá... ofu tá (...) tá...	**JRS**: Homem está... negro está (...) está...	**JRS**: Man is... the black man is... (...) is...
JB: Tá ôa de calunga lá.	**JB**: Está mau de calunga lá.	**JB**: His Calunga is bad.
JL: Não!(130) Pode aprumá na calunga. Num tem nada a vê, uai.	**JL**: Não!(130) Pode falar calunga. Não tem nada a ver, uai.	**JL**: No!(130) He can speak Calunga. It has nothing to do with it, *uai*.
DB: A lá chegô!	**DB**: A lá chegou!	**DB**: There he arrived!
JL: Num é só cum ocai que cê vai aprumá não. Cê vai aprumá cu imbundu, cu (...)	**JL**: Não é só com a mulher que você vai falar. Você falar com negro, com (...)	**JL**: It's not just with the woman that you are going to speak. You are going to speak with the black man, with (...)
JB: Cu imbundu.	**JB**: Com negro.	**JB**: With the black man.
JLS: Pó aprumá gatuvira na mucota?	**JLS**: Pode beber café?	**JLS**: Can I drink coffee?
JL: Heim? E vai aprumá...(140)	**JL**: Heim? E vai beber...(140)	**JL**: What? And he is going to drink...(140)
JRS: O zipaque no buraco da nanga dos camanu cá?	**JRS**: Vai pagar nos?	**JRS**: Is he going to pay us?
JLS: Aprumá gatuvira na mucota.	**JLS**: Beber café?	**JLS**: Drink coffee?
JRS: É o camanu maveru.	**JRS**: É o homem branco.	**JRS**: And the white man.
JB: É o camanu maveru que aprumô us camanu.	**JB**: É o homem branco que juntou a gente.	**JB**: It is the white man that brought us together.
JRS: É o camanu maveru du urungu.	**JRS**: É o homem branco do carro?	**JRS**: Is it the white man with the car?
JB: Du urungu?(150) Du urungu cor de malumbi? Cumé qui é? O urungu de cor de malumbi vai aprumá o zipaqui nu buracu da nanga dus camanu cá?	**JB**: Do carro?(150) Do carro cor de peixe? Como que é? O carro cor de peixe vai pôr dinheiro no nosso bolso?	**JB**: With the car?(150) With the fish color car? What's going on? The fish color car is going to give us money?
JLS: Dus ofu?	**JLS**: Dos negros?	**JLS**: To the black men?

TB: Vai!	**TB**: Vai!	**TB**: He is going!
JB: Puquê, o camanu cá vai calungá... E o camanu tá calunganu$_{(160)}$ cu ocai mai o camanu? Ei calungô cu camanu ofu qui ia aprumá o zipaque no buracu da nanga du camanu ofu.	**JB**: Porque, eu vou falar... E o homem está falando calunga$_{(160)}$ com a mulher mas o homem? Ele falou comigo que ia me pagar.	**JB**: Because, I am going to speak... And the man is speaking Calunga$_{(160)}$ with the woman but the man? And he spoke with me that he was going to pay.
JL: Do imbundu! O imbundo quinhama nu injó, da ôa nu pontu de cuzeca. Em vei de aprumá um gatuvira, aprumô um gatuvira nu indaru. Vai aprumá$_{(170)}$ as otas calunga lá... lá...	**JL**: Do negro! O negro vem na casa, acorda. Em vez de tomar um café. Eu pus uma água pa ferver. Vai falar$_{(170)}$ calunga de outra coisa lá... lá...	**JL**: Of the black man! The black comes to my house, and he is sleepy. Instead of drinking coffee. I put water to boil. He is going to speak Calunga$_{(170)}$ about other things there...there
JB: Lá de otas cumbaca.	**JB**: Lá de outras cidades.	**JB**: There from other cities.
JL: Lá de faim...sá? Então, agora chega na casa du imbundu, nu injó du imbundu e qué aprumá un gatuvira na mucota.	**JL**: Lá de faca... sabe? Então, agora chega na casa do negro, na casa do negro e quer tomar um café.	**JL**: There from the knife... you know? Then, now he arrives in my house, in my house and wants to drink coffee.
JLS: Qué aprumá gatuvira na mucota.	**JLS**: Quer tomar um café.	**JLS**: He wants to drink coffee.
JRS: (...) mai não.$_{(180)}$ Vai quimbimbá! Assim quimbimba.	**JRS**: (...) mas não.$_{(180)}$ Vai morrer! Assim morre.	**JRS**: (...) but no.$_{(180)}$ He is going to die. So die.
JB: O camanu tá disaprumadu.	**JB**: O homem está desanimado.	**JB**: The man is not in good spirits.
JRS: Tá disaprumadu.	**JRS**: Está desanimado.	**JRS**: He is not in good spirits.
JB: Tá sem imberela, uai!	**JB**: Está sem carne, uai!	**JB**: He is without meat, *uai*!
JRS: Quimbimba!	**JRS**: Morre!	**JRS**: Die!
JB: O camanu aprumô um bacuri na mucota? Ai cumeça...	**JB**: Você cantou? Ai começa...	**JB**: Did you sing? There he goes...
JLS: A gatuvira do imbundu tá	**JLS**: O café do negro está	**JLS**: The black man's coffee

ôa, viu!(190)

JB: Tá ôa? A gatuvira du camanu. É o camanu cá que tá ôa. Eu falei pra ele que camanu maveru gostava de gatuvira sem uíque. Que o camanu cá já curimô cus camanu dessas cumbaca. Só gostava de gatuvira sem uíque.

JLS: Camanu foi tomá nu (...). Não?(200)

JL: Camanu que apruma viangu na cupia, é...tem que sê um gatuvira ôa.

JLS: É ôa!

JL: É... ôa.

JRS: O camanu num tá marafadu não?

JLS: Tá mei marafiado, né?

JB: Camanu deve tê aprumadu marafa nu cumba passada.(210)

JL: É.

JB: Nu cumba passada, nu cumba ôa num tomô inda não uai. Camanu pedaçu tá achanu que o camanu aprumô marafa hoji na cupia.

JLS: Não, num aprumô marafa na cupia não.

JB: Só foi nu cumba passadu, num foi?(220)

JLS: Camanu cá tava (...) nu injó.

JRS: Camanu cá tava

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ruim, viu!(190)

JB: Está ruim? O café do homem. E o homem aqui está ruim. Eu falei para ele que o homem branco gostava de café sem açúcar. Que eu já trabalhei com homem da terra dele. Só gostava de café sem açúcar.

JLS: O homem foi tomar no (...). Não?(200)

JL: O homem que fica bêbedo, é... tem que ser um café ruim.

JLS: É ruim!

JL: É... ruim!

JRS: O homem não está bêbado, não?

JLS: Está meio bêbado, não é?

JB: O homem deve ter bebido antes.(210)

JL: É.

JB: Antes, na hora ruim, não tomou ainda não uai! Primo está achando que ele bebeu hoje.

JLS: Não, não bebi hoje não.

JB: Só foi antes, não foi?(220)

JLS: Eu estava em casa.

JRS: Eu estava na casa lá.

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is bad!(190)

JB: It's bad? The man's coffee. And the man here is bad. I told him that the white man liked coffee without sugar. I have already worked with the man in his land. He liked coffee without sugar.

JLS: The man went to drink in (...). No?(200)

JL: The man gets drunk, yes... it has to be bad coffee.

JLS: It's bad!

JL: Yes... bad!

JRS: The man is not drunk, right?

JLS: He is half drunk, right?

JB: The man must have drunk before.(210)

JL: Yes.

JB: Before, at a bad time, I have not drank yet! Cousin is thinking that he drank today.

JLS: No, I did not drink today.

JB: It was just before, wasn't it?(220)

JLS: I was at home.

JRS: I was at home there.

aprumanu o injó lá.		
JB: Tava aprumanu ua omenha nu injó.	**JB**: [Ele] estava tomando "água" em casa.	**JB**: [He] was drinking "water" at home.
JL: E esse ocai, e esse ocai ofu, e esse ocai vei aprumá o iscutante pa depois aprumá calunga vapora.(230)	**JL**: E essa mulher, essa mulher negra, essa mulher veio escutar para depois sair falando bobagem.(230)	**JL**: And that woman, that black woman, that woman came to listen so to tell others nonsense later.(230)
JB: Pa calungá (...)	**JB**: Para falar [calunga]...	**JB**: To speak [Calunga]...
DB: Cê intendi, num intendi?	**DB**: Você entende, não entende?	**DB**: You understand, don't you understand?
GL: Não, eu intendu assim, que eis tá falanu de mim.	**GL**: Não, eu entendo assim, que eles estão falando de mim.	**GL**: No, I understand so so, that they are talking about me.
JL: Cê põe ua marafa, aí cumeça calungá que é ua coisa doida. Põe ua marafa no ocai cor de ofu! Cê vê ele calungá!	**JL**: Você põe uma cachaça, aí começa a falar que é uma coisa doida. Põe uma cachaça na negra! Você vê ela falar calunga!	**JL**: You put some cachaça in her, she begins to speak [Calunga] which is crazy. Put some cachaça in the black woman! You see her speak Calunga!
DB: Ah é?! Então vão pegá um marafo!(240)	**DB**: Ah é?! Então vão pegar uma cachaça!(240)	**DB**: Oh yes!? Then get some cachaça!(240)
JB: Põe ela caruda!	**JB**: Põe ela caruda!	**JB**: Get her drunk!
JRS: A ocai ofu pa calungá tem qui marafá mai tem qui ficá catorze!	**JRS**: A negra para calungar tem que tomar cachaça mas tem que ficar ruim (muito bêbada)!	**JRS**: For the black woman to speak Calunga she has to get [really] drunk!

Calunga Interview 5
June 28, 2004
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
R: Ramiro Paulino, born 1930
O: Oswaldo Diniz, born 1949
J: José de Barros, born 1935

Calunga	Portuguese	English
O: Camanu cá, ummm.	**O**: Eu, ummm.	**O**: Me, ummm.
R: E o imbundu, o imbundu.	**R**: E o negro, o negro.	**R**: And the black man (I), the black man (I).
O: Foi atrás do imbundu e traz.	**O**: Foi atrás do negro (eu) e traz[-me].	**O**: Went after the black man (me) and brought [me].
R: E o imbundu quinhamô, nu urungu aqui...	**R**: E o negro veio, no carro aqui...	**R**: And the black man (I) came, in the car here...
O: Tava aprumanu cuzeca.	**O**: [Você] estava dormindo.	**O**: You were sleeping.
R: Tava aprumanu cuzeca e...	**R**: Estava dormindo e...	**R**: I was sleeping and...
O: A cuzeca tava ôa e... disaprumô du injó...(10) cu mirante ôa.	**O**: O sono estava ruim e... saiu de casa...(10) com o olho ruim.	**O**: You slept bad and you left the house...(10) with tired eyes.
R: O mirante aprumô e o mirante tava disaprumandu mais aprumô o mirante	**R**: Eu abri o olhos e meus olhos estavam ruins mas agora estão bons.	**R**: I opened my eyes which were tired but now they are alright.
J: Num aprumô uma omenha na cupia, não?	**J**: Não pôs uma água na cabeça, não?	**J**: You did not put water on your head, no?
O: Oh oche! O camanu cá, o camanu cá chamô o camanu pra aprumá um gatuvira ei diz que num,(20) já tinha aprumadu.	**O**: Oh puxa! Eu, eu chamei o homem para tomar um café e ele disse que não,(20) já tinha tomado.	**O**: Oh gosh! I, I called the man to drink coffee and he said no,(20) that he had already drank [some].
J: Hmmm já tinha aprumadu, né?	**J**: Hmmm já tinha tomado, não é?	**J**: Hmmm he had already drank some, right?
R: Então, aí, o imbundu cá aprumô nu urunguim pa vim aprumá calunga, sabe?	**R**: Então, aí, eu entrei em um carrinho para vir falar calunga, sabe?	**R**: So, there, I got in the car to come and speak Calunga, you know?

O: Nota cumbaca?	**O**: Em outra cidade?	**O**: In another city?
R: Nessa cumbaca. Agora, o imbundu cá já tá acustumadu a quinhamá potas cumbaca, transportanu ingomo,$_{(30)}$ sabe? Isso eu tinha, já tem uns trinta, quarenta ano qui eu cumpanho.	**R**: Nessa cidade. Agora, eu já estou acostumado a ir para outras cidades, transportando gado,$_{(30)}$ sabe? Isso eu tinha, já tem uns trinta, quarenta anos que eu acompanho.	**R**: In this city. Now, I am already used to going to other cities, taking cattle,$_{(30)}$ you know? That I have done, it has been some thirty, forty years that I accompany [the cattle].
O: O camanu cá chegô na casa du imbundu... o imbuá queria aprumá o zingrin nu...	**O**: Eu cheguei em casa do negro (de você)... o cachorro queria pôr o dente no... (me morder)...	**O**: I arrived at the black man's home (your home)... the dog wanted to put the tooth in... (bite me)
J: É!	**J**: É!	**J**: Yes!
O: Quis, é!	**O**: Quis, é!	**O**: He wanted to, yes!
J: Nossa!	**J**: Nossa!	**J**: Wow!
R: Ei lá, no injó du imbundu cá, tem um punhadu de...$_{(40)}$	**R**: Ele lá, na minha casa, tem um punhado de...$_{(40)}$	**R**: He there, in my house, has a lot of...$_{(40)}$
J: Imbuá?	**J**: Cachorro?	**J**: Dogs?
R: De imbuazim mas eis é custoso, sabe? E agora, os camanu apruma na batedera do injó du imbundu cá, ele tem que tá de oio senão eis poi aprumá o zingrim na quinhama dus camanu, né? E... a gente fica assim, coisa, quilibranu.	**R**: De cachorrinho mas eles são difíceis, sabe? E agora, os homens batem na porta da minha casa, eu tenho que estar de olho senão eles podem morder as pernas dos homens, não é? E... a gente fica assim, coisa, equilibrando.	**R**: Puppies but they are dificult, you know? And now, the men knock on the door of my house, I have to keep an eye on them because if not they can bite the legs of the men, right? And... we get like, something, a balanced life.
O: E$_{(50)}$ esse camanu cá aprumava a marafa.	**O**: E$_{(50)}$ eu tomava cachaça.	**O**: And$_{(50)}$ I used to drink cachaça.
J: É? Fica ôa.	**J**: É? Fica ruim.	**J**: Yes? It is bad.
R: E prumava bem aprumadu, né?	**R**: E tomava muito, não é?	**R**: And I used to drink a lot, right?
J: Marafa na cupia.	**J**: Bêbado.	**J**: Drunk.
R: Hoje, o imbundu tá ôa de tudu, tá ôa, mais ou meno. Ei pruma aquelis marafinha, esses	**R**: Hoje, eu estou ruim de tudo, estou ruim, mais ou menos. Eu tomo aquelas	**R**: Today, I am unhealthy of everything, I am unhealthy, more or less. I drink those

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marafinha, que num pode aprumá a marafa, sabe?(60) Porque... o relógio do imbundu cá, é quatorze, sabe? Assim mei quatorze, sabe? Tá quereno dá ôa, já deu ôa já uma veizi, mais prumô.	cachacinhas, essas cachacinhas, que não posso tomar cachaça, sabe?(60) Porque... o meu relógio é quatroze ('ruim'), sabe? Assim meio quatroze, sabe? Está querendo dar problema, já deu problema uma vez, mas se recuperou.	little cachaças, those little cachaças, but I can't drink cachaça, you know?(60) Because... my clock is fourteen ('bad'), you know? Like half fourteen, you know? It is asking for a problem, I already had a problem once, but I recovered.
O: Se não, ... ele ia aprumá e ia pu embuete, né?	**O**: Se não, ... ele ia para a madeira ('caixão') [ia morrer], não é?	**O**: If not,... it would go to the wood ('coffin') [you would die], right?
R: Pois é. E eu sempre tô (...)	**R**: Pois é. E eu sempre estou (...)	**R**: That's it. And I always am (...)
J: É uai!	**J**: É uai!	**J**: It is, *uai*!
R: Pa vê se escapa.(70) Nos cumba que vem vino mais pa tras, a gente já tá mais desaprumado assim de...	**R**: Para ver se me escapo.(70) Nos anos que vem vindo, a gente já está pior assim de...	**R**: To see if I escape.(70) The years that keep coming, we get worse like that of...
J: O camanu tem imbunim?	**J**: Você tem filho [negro]?	**J**: Do you have [black] children?
O: Ah, tem uai!	**O**: Ah, tem uai!	**O**: Ah, I have, *uai*!
J: Quantos imbunim?	**J**: Quantos filhos [negros]?	**J**: How many [black] children?
R: Sô... o imbundu cá é... aprumô dez imbunim.	**R**: Senhor... eu tenho dez filhos [negros].	**R**: Sir... I have ten [black] children.
J: Dez!?	**J**: Dez!?	**J**: Ten!?
R: Dez imbunim,(80) o imbundu cá é aprumadu cum dez imbunim.	**R**: Dez filhos [negros],(80) eu tenho dez filhos.	**R**: Ten [black] children,(80) I have ten children.
J: E ocai inda tá aprumada?	**J**: E a mulher ainda está boa?	**J**: And your wife is good?
R: Ocai du imbundu cá?	**R**: Minha mulher?	**R**: My wife?
J: É.	**J**: É.	**J**: Yes.
R: A ocai de camanu cá já ficô quatorze.	**R**: Minha mulher já ficou quatorze (ela morreu).	**R**: My wife became fourteen already (she died).

J: Já ficô catorze!? Nossa!!

R: Já quatorze, tá cum quinze anu que... tô desaprumadu.(90)

O: Tá aprumadu em otas cumbaca.

R: Tá aprumada em otas cumba, sabe?

J: Ah sei.

R: Em otos cumba. Agora, imbundu cá, tá ôa, tá quinhamanu... pa vê se pruma alguma ocai e coisa. As ocai tá aprumada(100) em riba du imbundu mas o imbundu, né? Tá ôa.

J: O imbundu tem injó?

R: Tem injó, o injó lá.

O: O camanu tá caçanu ocai aprumada de zipaque.

J: De zipaque!

R: Maisi os ocai tá querenu aprumá nu imbundu cá, aprumá assim qué.(110) O imbundu cá tem injó, é pu bem aprumandu.

J: E o zipaque?

R: O zipaque, ele é ôa! Maisi qué disaprumá o imbundu cá! Qué disaprumá o imbundu cá! E o imbundu cá, sem injó num tem jeitu de...

J: Já ficou quatorze!? Nossa!!

R: Já quatroze, já faz quinze anos... estou pior.(90)

O: Está arrumado em outas cidades.

R: Ela era bonita em outros tempos, sabe?

J: Ah sei.

R: Em outros tempos. Agora, eu estou ruim, estou andando (procurando) para ver se arrumo alguma mulher e coisa. As mulheres estão(100) interessadas em mim mas eu, né? Estou ruim.

J: Você tem casa?

R: Tenho casa, a casa lá.

O: Você está caçando mulher rica.

J: De dinheiro!

R: Mas as mulheres estão querendo ficar comigo, ficar assim querem.(110) Eu tenho casa e é bonita.

J: E o dinheiro?

R: O dinheiro, é pouco! Mas quer me atrapalhar! Quer me atrapalhar! E eu, sem casa não tem jeito de...

J: She already became fourteen!? Wow!!

R: She [is] already fourteen, it has been fifteen years... I am worse.(90)

O: You are going to other cities.

R: She was pretty in other times, you know?

J: Ah I know.

R: In other times. Now, I am unhealthy, I am going to see if I can get another woman and such. The women are(100) interested in me but I, right? I am unhealthy.

J: Do you have a house?

R: I have a house, a house there.

O: You are hunting (looking for) a rich woman.

J: With money!

R: But the women are wanting to stay with me, to stay so they want.(110) I have a house and it is nice.

J: And the money?

R: The money, it is little! But it wants to cause problems! It wants to cause problems! And I, without a house, there is no way to...

J: Sucaná.	**J**: Casar.	**J**: To marry.
R: De prumá, né?(120)	**R**: De arrumar, não é?(120)	**R**: To arrange, right?(120)
O: O camanu cá...	**O**: Eu...	**O**: I...
J: Ummm...	**J**: Ummm...	**J**: Ummm...
O: O camanu cá ele... o camanu cá arrumô ocai que tem urungu.	**O**: Eu... eu arrumei mulher que tem carro.	**O**: I... I arranged a woman that has a car.
R: É! Ha ha ha...	**R**: É! Ha ha ha...	**R**: Yes! Ha ha ha...
J: Tem urungu?!	**J**: Tem carro?!	**J**: She has a car?!
R: Ha ha ha... é issaí.	**R**: Ha ha ha... é essa aí.	**R**: Ha ha ha... that's it there.
J: Mai tem que sucaná memo, uai!(130)	**J**: Mas tem que casar mesmo, uai!(130)	**J**: But you have to marry, *uai*!(130)
O: É uai!	**O**: É uai!	**O**: Yes *uai*!
R: É... eu... vão levanu, né? O imbundu cá quinhama assim cu as ocai... mai só mes calunga com eles, a calunga assim...	**R**: É... eu... vamos levando, não é? Eu passeio assim com as mulheres... mas só mesmo falo com elas, a fala assim...	**R**: Yes... I... we are going on, right? I go out with women... but I just talk to them, just talk...
O: O camanu cá já apumô muito em riba de ingomo potas cumbaca.	**O**: Eu já arrumei muitas no caminho para outras cidades.	**O**: I have arranged many [women] on the road to other cities.
J: Tamém?(140) Ah! Intão foi que nem eu!	**J**: Também?(140) Ah! Então foi que nem eu!	**J**: Also?(140) Ah! So you were like me!
R: Ah muitas cumbaca, tem quarenta, quarenta e cinco anu, eu aprumava...	**R**: Ah muitas cidades, tem quarenta, quarenta e cinco anos, eu fazia...	**R**: Ah many cities, it has been forty, forty five years, [that] I used to do...
O: Injó de ingomu.	**O**: Casa de boi.	**O**: Ox's house.
J: Quandu mexia cus ingomu, aprumava injó...	**J**: Quando mexia com o gado, conseguia casa...	**J**: When I used to work with cattle, I used to get a house...
O: Marangola.	**O**: Cavalo.	**O**: Horse.
R: Marangora. Eu quemava o	**R**: Cavalo. Eu	**R**: Horse. I used to cook...(150)

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aio...(150)

O: Tipoque.

R: É, eu quemava o aio, o tipoque pa pus camanu, sabe? Dez camanu...

O: Aprumá na mucota.

R: Dez camanu quinhamanu... quinhamanu cus ingomu, né? Cumigu. E nóis, eu sempe quemava o aiu; todus, todus cumba.(160) Todu dia, né? Du cumba, eu quemava o aiu direitinho pra eles, né? Dois cargueru, né? Porque... de quinhamá cu *macenete* nosso, né? Eu quemava o aiu, arriava, disarriava, tudu diretu.

O: Cumbaca dali...

R: Pus ingomu num soprá, pus ingomu num soprá os urungu. É...(170) o imbundu cá quinhamô muito!

J: O camanu doido pa sucaná cu ocai!

O: Não mai o camanu que eu tabaiava no urungu du injó, tem muito zipaque.

R: É u camanu é aprumadu du zipaque! É dotas cumbaca, né? Aprumá o...

J: Intão (180) é pur isso que qué sucaná, uai!

O: É, iche, é!

R: Eu aprumava em muitas cumbaca!

cozinhava...(150)

O: Feijão.

R: É, eu cozinhava, o feijão para os homens, sabe? Dez homens...

O: Comer.

R: Dez homens viajando... viajando com o gado, não é? Comigo. E nós, eu sempre cozinhava todos, todos os dias.(160) Todo dia, não é? Um ano, eu cozinhava direitinho para eles, não é? Dois cargueiro, não é? Porque... de viajar com *macenete* nosso, não é? Eu cozinhava, arriava, desarriava, tudo direito.

O: Cidade de ali...

R: Para o gado não soprar (não morrer), para o gado não soprar os caminhões. É...(170) eu viajei muito!

J: O homem está doido para casar com mulher!

O: Não mas o homem com que trabalhava na oficina, tem muito dinheiro.

R: É o homem tem muito dinheiro! É de outras cidades, não é?

J: Então (180) é por isso que quer casar, uai!

O: É, iche, é!

R: Eu ia em muitas cidades!

O: Beans.

R: Yes, I used to cook, beans for the men, you know? Ten men...

O: To eat.

R: Ten men travelling... travelling with the cattle, right? With me. And we, I used to cook every, everyday.(160) Everyday, right? One year, I used to cook everyday for them, right? Two cargos, right? Because... to travel with our *macenete*, right? I used to cook, I used to prepare, to desmantle [the cargos], all right.

O: City from there...

R: So that the cattle would not blow (to die), for the cattle not to blow (to die on) the cargos. Yes...(170) I travelled a lot!

J: The man is crazy to marry [a woman]!

O: No but the man that used to work for in the mechanic shop, has a lot of money.

R: Yes, the man has a lot of money! He is from somewhere else, right?

J: So it for that that he want to marry, *uai*!

O: It is, *iche*, it is!

R: I used to go to many cities!

Column 1:

O: Cumbaca de longe.

J: Os camanim já tá tudo ôa, né?

O: Heim?

J: Os camanim? Já tá tudu oa já?(190)

O: Ah os camanu já tá aprumado, uai.

R: Os camanim... dez camanim! Já tá tudu curimanu e tudu sucanadu, sabe? São sucanadu e já tem imbunim já. Todus e... dois, três imbunim, né? Fii du imbundu cá.

O: A curima deis é só... monsapi.(200)

R: É, pedaço du imbundu cá. É, dez e todus dez... já tá aprumadu os camanim dele! Aprumadu!

O: Só de monsapi.

J: O injó du camanu é aonde?

O: Umm?

J: Onde é que é o injó du camanu?

O: O injó du camanu é...(210) fica nas cumbaca por lá.

R: Onde é que os urungu quinhamava, de pareia, de onde os urungu quinhamava pa otras cumbaca, sabe?

Column 2:

O: Cidades de longe.

J: Os meninos já estão todos crescidos, não é?

O: Heim?

J: Os meninos? Já estão todos crescidos já?(190)

O: Ah os meninos já estão arrumados, uai.

R: Os meninos... dez meninos! Já estão todos trabalhando e todos casados, sabe? São casados e já têm filhos já. Todos e... dois, três filhos [negros], não é? Meus filhos.

O: O trabalho deles é so... monsapi (palavra desconhecida).(200)

R: É, meus filhos. É, dez e todos dez... já estão tendo os filhos deles!

O: Só de monsapi.

J: Sua casa é onde?

O: Umm?

J: Onde é que a sua casa?

O: A minha casa é...(210) fica na região por lá.

R: Onde é que os caminhões iam, de pares, de onde os caminhões partiam para as outras cidades?

Column 3:

O: Faraway cities.

J: The kids are all grown up, right?

O: Huh?

J: The kids? They are all grown up now?(190)

O: Ah the kids are all taken care of, *uai*.

R: The kids... ten children! They are all working and all married, you know? They are married and they have children now. All and... two, three [black] children, right? My children.

O: Their work is *mansapi* (unknown word).(200)

R: Yes, my children. Yes, ten and all ten... now have their own kids!

O: Only at *monsapi*.

J: Your house is where?

O: Umm?

J: Where is your house?

O: My house is...(210) it is in the region over there.

R: Where is it that the trucks were going, in pairs, from where did the trucks leave for other cities?

J: Sei!	**J**: Sei!	**J**: I know!
R: É aquele injó grande, onde quinhamava os urungu diretu. E agora, prumaru, o injó.	**R**: É aquela casa grande de onde partiam os caminhões direto. E agora reformaram a casa.	**R**: It is that big house from where the trucks would leave straight. And now they reformed the house.
O: Onde $_{(220)}$ ficava muitus caiumba pa vê se pegava o imbundu de otra...	**O**: Onde $_{(220)}$ ficavam muitos "soldados" (polícia) para ver se pegava o negro de outra...	**O**: Where$_{(220)}$ they used to have many "soldiers" (police) to see if they would grab the black man from another...
R: É! O camanu quinhama.	**R**: É! O homem anda.	**R**: Yes! The man walks.
O: Aí a omenha vinha aprumava na inglaterra.	**O**: E aí chovia.	**O**: And there it was raining.

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Calunga Interview 6
June 29, 2004
Patrocínio, Minas Gerais

Participants:
JI: João Ilarindo, born 1925
JEM: José Eustáquio Mendes, born 1945
MDF: Marcely Damião Fernandes, born 1954
TB: Tadeu de Barros, born 1960

Calunga	*Portuguese*	*English*
JI: Qualqué assuntu?	**JI**: Qualquer assunto?	**JI**: Any topic?
TB: Quarqué assuntu qui cês falá.	**TB**: Qualquer assunto que vocês falam.	**TB**: Any topic that you [want] to talk about.
MDF: O João, a abertura é sua.	**MDF**: O João, a abertura é sua.	**MDF**: João, you start.
JEM: É, João ocê qui é o chefe, o mais véio...	**JEM**: É, João você que é o chefe, o mais velho...	**JEM**: Yes, João you are the boss, the oldest...
JI: Ieu num sei, uai.	**JI**: Eu não sei, uai.	**JI**: I don't know, *uai*.
JEM: Cê qui é o camanu maioral.[10] O camanu du sengo, o camanu du sengu tá de... mirante.	**JEM**: Você que é o mais velho.[10] O homem do mato, o homem do mato está de... olho	**JEM**: You that are the boss.[10] The man from the forest, the man from the forest is... watching
JI: Ei foi caçá... ei foi pescar.	**JI**: Ele foi caçar... ele foi pescar.	**JI**: He went hunting... he went to fish.
JEM: Remante, remanu...	**JEM**: De barco, remando...	**JEM**: Boat, rowing...
JI: Mai ei foi aprumá nu sengo ei foi aprumá malumbí não, ei foi aprumá o curima.	**JI**: Mas ele foi para o mato... ele pescar não, ele foi trabalhar.	**JI**: But he went to the forest... he did not go to fish, he went to get some food.
JEM: Pois é, aprumá o curiá cus camanu...[20]	**JEM**: Pois é, pegar a comida com os homens...[20]	**JEM**: Yes, to get some food with the men...[20]
JI: Cus camanu maiorá lá, né?	**JI**: Com os chefes lá, não é?	**JI**: With the bosses there, right?
JEM: É.	**JEM**: É.	**JEM**: Yes.
JI: Pegá malumbí, né? E ele	**JI**: Pescar, não é? É ele que	**JI**: To fish, right? And he

diz quei quimbimbô, né?	estão dizendo que morreu, não é?	says he died, right?
JEM: É. Levaru imbuá?	**JEM**: É. Levaram cacharro?	**JEM**: Yes. Did they take dogs?
MDF: ...	**MDF**: ...	**MDF**: ...
JEM: O colega.	**JEM**: O colega.	**JEM**: Hey friend.
TB: Ô Marcely!	**TB**: Ô Marcely!	**TB**: Hey Marcely!
MDF: Hum.	**MDF**: Hum.	**MDF**: Hum.
JEM: Levaru imbuá?(30) Pu sengu.	**JEM**: Levaram cachorro?(30) Para o mato.	**JEM**: Did they take dogs?(30) To the forest.
MDF: É. Levaru.	**MDF**: É. Levaram.	**MDF**: Yes. They took [them].
JEM: Levô?! Ha ha ha...	**JEM**: Levou?! Ha ha ha...	**JEM**: He took?! Ha ha ha...
MDF: A omenha de viangu, era... é forte.	**MDF**: A cachaça, era... é forte.	**MDF**: The cachaça was... it is strong.
JEM: Pois é, isso que eu...	**JEM**: Pois é, isso que eu...	**JEM**: Yes it is, that that I...
JI: Tudu marafu.	**JI**: Toda cachaça.	**JI**: All cachaça.
MDF: Omenha de viangu, uai.	**MDF**: Cachaça, uai.	**MDF**: Cachaça, *uai*.
JEM: Pois é, esquentô uma marafa na cupia lá.(40)	**JEM**: Pois é, esquentou uma cachaça na cabeça lá.(40)	**JEM**: Yes, he got warmed up with cachaça there.(40)
MDF: Omenha de viangu.	**MDF**: Cachaça.	**MDF**: Cachaça.
JI: Nooosa!	**JI**: Nooosa!	**JI**: Wow!
JEM: Tá doido.	**JEM**: Está doido.	**JEM**: You're crazy.
JI: Mas ficava... o cumba, quandu dava ôa, tava dismorumbinu a mema... o memo cumba?	**JI**: Mas ficava... o dia, quando dava problema, estava "despescando" a mesma... o mesmo dia?	**JI**: But he was... the year, when he was doing bad, he was "un-fishing" the same... the same day?
MDF: Os camanu maiorais?	**MDF**: Os chefes?	**MDF**: The bosses?
JI: É... aprumava café na mucota e...(50) pegava o	**JI**: É... tomava café e...(50) pescava e passava os dias só	**JI**: Yes... he drank coffee and...(50) fished and spent the

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molumbí de omenha e aprumava os cumba só pra apruma...	se divertir.	days only to have fun.
JEM: Embe... emberela...?	**JEM**: Carne... carne [de boi]?	**JEM**: Meat... meat (beef)?
MDF: Só pa aprumá na mucota.	**MDF**: Só para comer.	**MDF**: Just to eat.

Calunga glossary

      Given the little that is known about the history and evolution of Calunga, etymologies for Calunga words are tentative, many being uncertain or unknown. In some cases, more than one language may have been a possible source of the Calunga term. Hence, when applicable, all possible origins and subsequent commentaries are presented. Orthographic patterns of the Calunga terms originate primarily from Calunga informant José Astrogildo's (personal interview) handwritten compilation of Calunga terms; others are from bibliographic sources. In gathering etymologies, the following sources appear in the glossary:

(A)   = Astrogildo, José (Calunga informant)

(AL)   = Alves, P. Albino (1951)

(B)   = Batinga, Gastão (1994)

(BE)   = Bentley, W. Holman (1887/1967)

(C)   = Cunha, Antônio Geraldo da (2001)

(L)   = Lopes, Nei (2003)

(LA)   = Laman, K.E. (1964)

(VF)   = Vogt & Fry (1996:283-341)

(J)   = Johnston, Sir Harry H. (1919)

(M)   = Maia, António da Silva (1994)

<u>A</u>

Adufe 'baker' (A). Undetermined, possibly related to Arabic *ad-duff* 'tambourine' (VF:285).

Afochê 'shotgun' (A). Undetermined.

Aiêto 'big', 'large' (A). Undetermined, possibly related to Macua *nèthi* (pl. *anèthi*) 'big' or Kikongo *nyètuka* 'to be fat, prosperous' (L:26).

Ambuá/Arambuá/Embuá/Imbuá 'dog' (A; B). Kimbundu or Kikongo *mbua* (L:115); Kikongo *mbwa* 'dog' (BE:62).

Amera 'face' (A). Umbundo *omela* 'mouth' (L:28); Umbundo *mela* 'mouth' (VF:293).

Amparo 'covering', 'protection' (A). Portuguese *amparar* 'to protect, defend' (C:41).

Amparo de conena 'chair' (A). See *amparo* and *conena*.

Amparo de cupia 'hat', 'cap' (A). See *amparo* and *cupia*.

Amparo de curiá(r) 'fork' (A). See *amparo* and *curiá(r)*.

Amparo de cuzeca 'bed' (A). See *amparo* and *cuzeca*.

Amparo de mirante 'glasses' (A). See *amparo* and *mirante*.

Amparo de omenha 'umbrella' (A). See *amparo* and *omenha*.

Angora 'horse' (A). Kimbundo *ngolo* 'zebra' (L:30; VF:309).

Aprumado 'rich', 'better' (A). Past participle of *aprumá(r)*.

Aprumá(r) 'to do, make, happen' (A). Portuguese *prumo* 'iron instrument used to check verticality', 'prudence' (C:643); regional Brazilian Portuguese 'to make a better life' (VF:287).

Aprumar banzo 'to have sex' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *banzo*.

Aprumar curiá(r) 'to eat' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *curiá(r)*.

Aprumar cuzeca 'to sleep' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *cuzeca*.

Aprumar mirante 'to look, see' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *mirante*.

Aprumar mucota 'to eat, kiss' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *mucota*.

Aprumar omenha 'to rain' (A). See *aprumá(r)* and *omenha*.

Aprumar omenha do ganzipe 'to urinate' (A). See *aprumá(r)*, *omenha* and *ganzipe*.

Arangá 'son of a single mother' (A). Undetermined.

Arigó 'late person' (VF). Regional Brazilian Portuguese *arigó* 'rustic person', 'bumpkin' (VF:288).

Ariranha 'cigarette', 'smoke' (A). Possibly from Umbundo *lya* 'to devoir, absorb' or Umbundo *lila* 'food' (L:31); Kimbundo *dikanha* 'tobacco' (VF:288).

Assungá(r) 'to come' (A). Possibly Kimbundo *sunga* 'to pull' (L:207; VF:288); regional Brazilian Portuguese *sungar* or *assungar* 'to pull up, raise' (VF:288).

Atindundu 'wine' (A). Undetermined.

Atuá 'day' (A). Possibly Portuguese *atual* 'in the present' (C:83).

Áua 'dumb' (B). Undetermined.

B

Bacuri 'sound', 'music', 'box' (A). Possibly regional Brazilian Portuguese *bacurinho* 'boy' (VF:289).

Bacuri de calunga 'radio', 'telephone' (A). See *bacuri* and *calunga*.

Bacuri de cumba 'watch' (A). See *bacuri* and *cumba*.

Bambi 'cold' (A). Kimbundo *mbambi* 'cold' (VF:289); Umbundu *ombambi* 'cold' (L:36).

Banga 'charm' (A). Undetermined.

Banzo 'sexual relation' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *banzu* 'goat' or Kimbundo *mbonzo* 'passion' (L:39, 40); Kimbundu *mbanze* 'love amulet' (VF:289).

Berrida 'running' (A). Undetermined.

Bifunfa/*Bufunfa* 'money' (B). Undetermined.

Bombo 'manioc' (B). Kimbundo or Kikongo *mbombo* 'ground, cooked manioc' (L:45).

Bungulá(r) 'to jump' (A). Possibly Kikongo *bungula* 'to raise, lift' (LA).

Buraco/*Buraca* 'bag carried on the animal's back for the purpose of travel' (A). Of uncertain origen, possibly from Umbundo *ombuluaka* 'travel bag'; or from Provençal and/or Spanish to Portuguese *burjaca* > *bruaca* (C:128; L:46).

Buraco de nanga 'pant pocket' (A). See *buraco* and *nanga*.

Buraco de duana 'shirt pocket' (A). See *buraco* and *duana*.

C

Cá 'I (1st-person marker)' Portuguese *(a)cá* 'in this place', 'here' (C:130); or possibly from Bantu prefix *ka* giving a diminitive feeling or importance, or value (L:57-8).

Caceba 'old', 'used' (A). Undetemined.

Cacimbo 'fog' (A). Kimbundo *kixibu* 'fog, calm or fresh season' (L:52).

Cacunda 'back' (A). Kimbundo *kakunda* 'hump, hunchback(ed)' (L:53).

Caçutu 'important person' (A). Undetermined.

Cafamo 'clear' (A). Undetermined.

Cafangá(r) 'to leave' (A). Of undetermined African origen (C:136); possibly related to Kikongo *kifwanga* 'laziness', 'indolence' or Kimbundu *kufunga* 'to get angry' (L:53). Kimbundu *cafunga* 'pastor', 'protector of cattle' (VF:291).

Cafifa 'luck' (A). Kimbundo *kafifi* 'a fly' (L:53).

Cafofo 'white man' (A). Of uncertain origin, possibly Umbundo *kifofo* 'blind' (L:54).

Cafombe 'white' (VF). Kikongo *ka-mfumbi* 'albino', 'blond' (L:54).

Cafuim 'curly hair' (A). Undetermined.

Caiumba 'soldier', 'police officer' (A). Possibly related to *kiniumba* 'spirit' (L:190).

Caixinha/*Ca(i)xim* 'vagina' (B). Diminutive of Portuguese *caixa* 'box'.

Caixinha de semá (cemá) 'vagina' (A). See *caixinha* and *semá*.

Calunga 'speech', talk' (A). According to some Patrocínio natives, the term is derived from Portuguese *(a)cá + língua* 'language here' (José Dinamérico, personal interview). However, Lopes (2003:57-8) argues for a multilinguistic Bantu term *kalunga* 'God' from the verb *oku-lunga* 'to be inteligent, clever'. In the Ambos and surrounding African tribes it is found with this usage. Or, perhaps the word originates from Kimbundo *kalunga* 'sea' which is type of secondary god in the Bantu cults (C:142). Castro (2001:192-3) argues that *calunga* came from either Kikongo, Kimbundu, or Umbundu *kalongela > kalonga* 'helper or carrier of the carriage'. *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasilera de cultura* (1963) provides one definition of *calunga* as "rapaz auxiliar nas carroças e automóveis de transporte de carga." Another definition of *kalunga* in Umbundu is 'to shout' or a type of special greeting in order to engage in conversation (AL). According to www.pantheon.org, *calunga* (or *kalunga*) is the father of patron god(dess) Musisi – the ancestral god, or supreme being, of creation and death – for the Lunda people of Angola, Zaire, and Zambia.

Calungá(r) 'to talk'. See *calunga*.

Camano 'man', 'person' (A). Possibly from Umbundo *omanu* 'man' (L:58); or Kimbundu *muana, mona* 'son', 'daughter' or *kamona* 'of the son' (VF:292).

Camanante 'person' (VF). Variation of *camano*.

Camone 'child' (B). Kimbundo *kamona* 'child' (L:61).

Camanje 'the other' (VF). Possibly related to Kikongo *iandi* 'he' (L:58); or Kimbundu *amakua enje* 'others' (VF:292).

Camano cá 'I, me'. See *camano* and *cá*.

Camano Cafamo 'white man' (A). See *camano* and *cafamo*.

Camano desaprumado 'fool', 'stupid man' (A). See *camano* and *desaprumado*.

Camano de outras inglaterra 'foreigner' (not necessarily from another country, but simply from "somewhere else") (A). See *camano* and *inglaterra*.

Camano maioral 'man of respect', 'boss', 'God' (A). See *camano*; Portuguese *maioral* 'great'.

Camano ôa 'bad man' (A). See *camano* and *oâ*.

Camano ofú 'black man' (A). See *camano* and *ofú*.

Camanim 'boy' (A). Diminutive of *camano*.

Camboque 'cheese' (A). Undetermined.

Camuca/Canuca 'mother' (VF). Undetermined.

Candando 'hug (noun)' (A). Undetermined.

Candiaboro/Candamburo 'rooster' (B). Umbundu *ekondombolo* 'rooster' (L:62).

Candango 'bad person', 'bandit' (A). Uncertain Bantu origin, possibly Kimbundu *kan-gundu* diminutive form of *kingundu* 'bad', 'villain' (L:62).

Candunga 'sun' (A). Possibly from Umbundo *ndunga* 'egg yolk' (L:64; VF:294); or related to Kikongo *dunga* 'important man' (L:64).

Cangundo 'mischievous person' (A). Kimbundo *kan-gundu*, diminuitive form of *kin-gundu* 'villian', 'bad person' (L:62).

Canguro 'pig' (VF:294). Kimbundo *ka-ngulu* 'small pig', dimunitive form of *ngulu* 'pig' (L:65; VF:294).

Capenga 'crippled' (VF:295). Kimbundo *kiapenga* 'crooked' or Umbundo *chyapenga* 'crooked' (L:67); or Portuguese *capenga* 'one who limps' (VF:295).

Capixo/Capuxoca 'hair' (B). Undetermined.

Caputo 'blind' (A). Undetermined.

Casuá 'street', 'road'. Undetermined.

Cauba 'jaguar' (A). Undetermined.

Cavanza 'fight' (A). Undetermined.

Cazumbi 'spirit' (A). Kimbundo *nzumbi* 'ghost', dimunitive form of *ka-nzumbi* (L:76).

Cemá/Semá 'hair' (A). See *semá*.

Cheba 'weak' (A). Undetermined.

Chia 'butter' (A). Possibly from Kikongo *kya* 'egg' or Umbundo *ochitapi* 'butter' (L:77); undetermined (VF:296).

Chicongo 'shadow' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *otji-kongo* 'wings' (L:78); or Kimbundu *pungo* or *tipungo* 'hat' (VF:296).

Chipoquê/Chipoque/Tipoquê 'bean(s)' (A). Umbundo *ochipoke* 'bean' (L:213); Kimbundu *kipoke* 'bean' (VF:335).

Ciamá(r)/Siamá(r) 'to walk' (B). Undetermined.

Conena 'anus', 'butt', 'excrement' (A). Kimbundo *kunena* 'to defecate' (L:82; VF:297).

Corumbéia 'old woman' (VF:298). Kimbundu *kurumba* 'old woman' (VF:298); Kikongo *kuluba* 'to age' (L:88).

Coteque 'night' (A). Umbundo *uteke* 'night' (L:84); undetermined (VF:298).

Cubá(r) 'to do, make, arrange' (A). Undetermined.

Cuciá(r) 'to dawn, wake up' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *kia* 'dawn', *kuma kukia* 'the day dawns' (BE:52); or related to Kimbundo *kúkia* 'to dawn, wake up' (M).

Cuendá(r) 'to walk' (B). Kimbundo *kuenda* 'to walk' (L:86; VF:299).

Cueto 'companion' (A). Umbundo *ukwetu* 'companion' (L:86); undetermined (VF:299).

Cuiavo 'river' (VF). Possibly related to Kimbundo *kiavulu-kiavulu* 'much' (L:86). According to VF, *cuiavo* is derived from the expression *menha iavul* 'water (pl.)', hence *cuiavo* originates from *kiavulu* 'much' having absorbed the lexeme *menha* (VF:299).

Cumba 'time', 'hour', 'sun' (A). Kimbundo *kumbi* 'sun', 'light', 'hour' or Umbundu *ekumbi* 'sun' (L:86; VF:300).

Cumbaca 'city', 'village' (A). Kimbundu *ku-mbara* 'in the village' (VF:300); Umbundo *ochimbaka* 'city', 'capital', 'fortress' (L:86).

Cumba ofú 'night' (lit. 'black hour') (A). See *cumba* and *ofú*.

Cumba imbuno 'night' (A). See *cumba* and *imbuno*.

Cumba serena 'night' (B). See *cumba*; *serena* 'serene' from Portuguese.

Cumba de indaro 'day' (A). See *cumba* and *indaro*.

Cumba raiante 'moon' (B). See *cumba*; *raiante* 'radiant' from Portuguese.

Cumbata 'hut', 'shack' (A). Undetermined.

Cumbe 'city', 'village' (VF). Kimbundu *ku-mbara* 'in the village' (VF:300); possibly related to Umbundu *kumbi* 'pasture' or to Kikongo *nkumbi* 'ant hill' (L:86-7).

Cupia/Cupiá 'head' (A). Possibly Umbundo *oku-popya* 'to talk' (the "head" produces speech) (L:87).

Cupiá(r)/Copiá(r) 'to understand' (A; B). Kimbundu *ku-pupia* 'to speak' (VF:301); Umbundo *oku-popya* 'to talk' (L:87).

Curiá 'food' (A). Kimbundo *kudia*, *kuria* 'to eat' (L:87; VF:301); Umbundo *kulya* 'to eat' (L:87).

Curiata 'rice' (B). Possibly related to *curiá* 'food' (rice, along with beans, are basic foods of the Brazilian diet). In Kikongo, *loso* 'rice' is derived from Portuguese *arroz* (BE:180).

Curima 'work', 'job' (A). Kimbundo *kudima, kurima* 'to work' (L:88; VF:301); Umbundo *okulima* 'to cultivate, labor' (L:88).

Curimá(r) 'to work' (A). See *curima*.

Curitá(r) 'to sing' (A). Undetermined.

Curirá(r) 'to cry' (A). Kimbundo *ku-dila, kulila, kuririla* 'to cry' (L:88; VF:302).

Curriola 'group' (A). Undetermined; possibly related to Portuguese *curral* 'place where cattle are

collected' (C:235).

Cutá 'ear' (A). Possibly Kikongo *kutu* 'ear' (L:89); undetermined (VF:302).

Cuzeca 'sleep', 'tiredness' (A). Kimbundo *kuzeca, kuzeta* 'to sleep, rest', 'tiredness' (L:89; VF:303).

Cuzecá(r) 'to sleep' (A). See *cuzeca*.

D

Dandara/Dandará 'child' (A). Possibly Kikongo *ndandala* 'that which lasts a long time' (by irony or sarcasm) (L:90); Kimbundu *ana* 'children' (VF:322).

Dandarazim 'toddler' (A). Dimunitive of *dandara*.

Dandará santo 'newly born' (A). See *dandara* and *santo*.

Dandará ofú 'black child' (A). See *dandara* and *ofú*.

Desaprumá(r) 'to undo' (A). See *aprumá(r)*.

Desaprumado 'sick' (A). Past participle of *desaprumá(r)*.

Duana 'shirt', 'coat' (A). Undetermined.

Duana cafamo 'clear shirt' (A). See *duana* and *cafamo*.

Duana imbuno 'dark shirt' (A). See *duana* and *imbuno*.

Duana indaro 'yellow, red shirt' (A). See *duana* and *indaro*.

Duana mavero 'white shirt' (A). See *duana* and *mavero*.

Duana ofú 'black shirt'(A). See *duana* and *ofú*.

Duana sengo 'green shirt' (A). See *duana* and *sengo*.

Duque 'insect' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *nduki* 'child' (L:93); Kikongo *vuku* 'insect' (VF:303).

E

Ei 'bad' (A). Kimbundu *ei* 'thieves', 'lack of conscience' (VF:304).

Embuete 'wood', 'tree', 'stick', 'club' (VF). Umbundu *mbweti* 'stick', 'wood' (L:95; VF:304).

Endaro 'mill' (B). Undetermined.

Engarona 'mare (female horse)' (B). Related to Kimbundu *ngolo* 'zebra' or Umbundo *ongolo* 'zebra' (L:30, 168).

Engere 'dead (person)' (B). Undetermined.

Engolo/Engoro 'donkey', 'horse' (B). Related to Kimbundu *ngolo* 'zebra' or Umbundo *ongolo*

'zebra' (L:30, 168).

Engonhá(r) 'to save time' (A). Possibly related to Umbundu *ngoña* 'indolent', 'lazy' (AL).

Enguape 'thief' (B). Undetermined.

Escutante 'ear' (VF:304). Portuguese *escutar* 'to hear'.

Exoa 'foolish' (A). Possibly from Kikongo *swa* 'newborn' (L:99); undetermined (VF:304).

F

Faim 'knife' (A). Uncertain, possibly of Bantu origen (L:100); undetermined (VF:304).

Fimba 'swimming', 'diving' (A). Undetermined.

Fojo 'hole' (A). Undetermined.

Frize 'axe' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundu *–ta fidila* 'to wound' (L:102); undetermined (VF:305).

Fuá 'mess' (A). Possibly from Kimbundo *fufu* 'dust', 'dirt' or Kikongo *fwa* 'death', 'cadaver' (L:102).

Fuzilo 'lightning' (A). Possibly from Portuguese *fuzil* 'rifle', 'shotgun' (C:373).

G

Gadanha 'hand' (B). Undetermined.

Gâmbia 'leg' (VF). Undetermined.

Gambiá(r) 'to walk' (VF). Undetermined.

Gamboa 'bird' (A). Undetermined.

Gananzambe 'father' (VF). Possibly Kimbundu or Kikongo *ngana nzambi* 'father god', 'great supreme being' (L:107; VF:309).

Ganga 'boss', 'owner' (A). Multilinguistic Bantu *nganga* 'master' (L:107).

Ganzipá(r) 'to have sex' (VF). Undetermined.

Ganzipe 'penis' (A). Undetermined.

Gatuvira 'coffee' (A). Possibly Umbundo *katwila* 'to raise up, stand' (L:109); undetermined (VF:306).

Gomba 'married' (VF). Possibly Kikongo *nkómba* 'father of the bride' (L:110); undetermined (VF:306).

Goná(r) 'to sleep' (VF). Kimbundu or Kikongo *ngona* 'to snore' (L:110; VF:307).

Greta 'hole'(B). Portuguese *gretar* 'to split, crack' (C:395).

Grimpa 'high', 'up' (A). Portuguese *grimpar* 'to rise, go up' (C:396).

Guaxaúna 'squash' (A). Possibly Tupi (see C:399 for related flora and fauna Tupi morphemes with *guax-*).

Gudunhá(r) 'to take, grab' (A). Undetermined.

Gumbo 'day', 'today' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundo *kuma* 'day' (L:113); undetermined (VF:307).

Gunga 'bell' (A). Kimbundo *ngunga* 'bell' (L:113; VF:307); Kikongo *ngunga* 'bell (of a European pattern)' (BE:20).

Guriô 'father' (A). Undetermined.

I

Imabe 'mischievous person' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *umbiu* 'disobedience', 'naughtiness' (BE:439).

Imberela 'meat' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *mbelela* 'that which accompanies the meal' (L:115); possibly related to Kimbundu *camberera* 'meat' (VF:293).

Imberela de omenha 'fish' (A). See *imberela* and *omenha*.

Imbuá 'dog' (A). Kimbundo or Kikongo *mbua* 'dog' (L:115); Kikongo *mbwa* 'dog' (BE:62).

Imbuá de sengo 'wolf' (A). See *imbuá* and *sengo*.

Imbuele 'wood', 'tree' (VF). Kimbundu *mbala* 'wood' (VF:308); Umbundo *mbweti* 'staff', 'club', 'stick', 'wood' (L:95).

Imbuete 'piece of bread', 'a club', 'stick' (A). See *imbuele*.

Imbuete de indaro 'match' (A). See *imbuele* and *indaro*.

Imbuno 'dark' (A). From a Bantu ethnic term *mbundu* for the Ambundo tribe (L:115).

Incaca 'armadillo' (A). Kikongo *nkaka* 'anteater' (BE:378; L:116).

Indaro 'fire', 'yellow', 'red' (A). Kimbundo *ndalu* 'fire' or Umbundo *ondalu* 'fire' (L:28; VF:287).

Indaro de cumba imbuno 'moon', 'star' (A). See *indaro*, *cumba*, and *imbuno*.

Indaro de cumba 'sun' (A). See *indaro* and *cumba*.

Indarumim 'moon' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundu *mini, muini* 'light' and *ndalu* 'fire' (VF:308).

Indumba 'girl' (VF). Kimbundu *undumba* 'prostitute' or Umbundo *ndama* 'lover' (VF:308); Kikongo *ndumba* 'girl', 'young lady' (BE:369; L:116).

202

Ingazeiro 'penis' (JB). Possibly from Tupi *inga* 'common name for vegetable plants' (C:436).

Inglaterra 'region', 'land' (A). Possibly related to Portuguese *Inglaterra* 'England'.

Ingomo/Ingombe 'ox', 'cattle' (A). Kimbundu *ngombe* 'ox', 'cow' (VF:309); multilinguistic Bantu term *ngombe* 'ox' (L:117).

Ingugiá(r) 'to keep watch' (A). Undetermined.

Inharra 'snake' (A). Umbundo *onhoha* 'snake' (L:118); undetermined (VF:309).

Inhoto 'bone' (A). Possibly related to Swahile *nyotoa* 'to become skinny' (L:118); Nhaneca *ontho* 'leg bone' (VF:309).

Injequê 'corn', 'popcorn' (A). Umbundo *onjequê* 'bag' (L:168); undetermined (VF:309-10).

Injeré 'nervous' (B). Undetermined.

Injimbe 'money' (VF). Kikongo *njimbu* 'money' (BE:139; VF:310).

Injó 'house' (A). Kimbundo *njo* 'house' or Umbundo *onjo* 'house' (L:118); Kikongo *nzo* (BE:111; VF:310).

Injoquê 'bag', 'cup' (A). Kimbundo *nzeke* 'bag' (L:118); Umbundu *onjequê* 'bag' (L:168).

Injó de banzo 'bordello' (A). See *injó* and *banzo*.

Injó de grade 'jail' (A). See *injó*; Portuguese *grade* 'fence'.

Injó de marafo 'bar' (A). See *injó* and *marafo*.

Injó santo 'church' (A). See *injó* and *santo*.

Injó de zipaque 'bank' (A). See *injó* and *zipaque*.

J

Jamba 'diamond' (A). Undetermined.

Jambi 'saint' (VF). Possibly multilinguistic Bantu term *nzambi* 'supreme being' (L:227); Kikongo *nsambi* 'worshipper', 'one who prays' (BE:391).

Janga 'small, smaller' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *ninga* 'to decrease' (BE:197).

Jangorô 'wall' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *mongo* 'wall' (VF:311).

Jequê/Jiquê 'box' (B). Possibly related to Kikongo *nsiki* 'tree' (L:122).

Jerico 'mischievous person' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *ndjiliko* 'pointer finger (related to pointing out acts of mischievousness)' (L:122); undetermined (VF:311).

Jibundo 'cry', 'sadness', 'lament' (A). Undetermined.

Jifeto 'grimace' (A). Undetermined.

Jijumba 'tatoo' (A). Undetermined.

Jinguba 'peanut' (A). Kimbundo *nguba*, *jinguba* 'peanut' (L:122); Kikongo *nguba* 'ground nut' or *dia nguba* 'plant of gound nut' (BE:98).

K

Kibunde maioral 'God' (B). Undetemined; see *maioral*.

Kimbo 'city', 'town', 'village' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundu *ku-mbara* 'in the village' (VF:300); or possibly related to Umbundu *kumbi* 'pasture' or Kikongo *nkumbi* 'ant hill' (L:86-7).

Kukiá(r)/Cuciá(r) 'to dawn, wake up' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *kia* 'dawn', *kuma kukia* 'the day dawns' (BE:52); Kimbundo *kúkia* 'to dawn, wake up' (M).

L

Lorri 'fish' (A). Possibly Umbundo *loyi* 'type of fish' (L:126); Nhaneca *ohi* 'fish' (VF:312).

Luanda 'party' (VF). Possibly related to Kikongo *luiangalalu* 'happiness' (L:127); undetermined (VF:312).

Lubra 'chest' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *lubula* 'to advance' ('with chest forward') (L:127); undetermined (VF:312).

M

Macura 'fat (noun)' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *makudia* 'food' or Umbundo *kula* 'to grow' (L:132); Kimbundu *makuria* 'foods' (VF:313).

Madubim 'peanut' (A). Undetermined, possibly related to Portuguese *amendoim* 'peanut'.

Mafuim/Mapuim 'flour' (A). Possibly Kikongo *ma-nfunfu* 'flour' or Umbundo *fwika* 'flour' (L:133); undetermined (VF:313).

Maiaca 'seed' (A). Kikongo *mayaca* 'manioc' (L:133).

Maiemba 'medicine' (A). Kimbundo *inhemba* 'medicine' (L:133; VF:314).

Maioral 'superior', 'boss', 'owner' (A). Portuguese *maior* 'greater'.

Malamba 'disgrace' (A). Kimbundo *ma-lamba* 'disgraces' (L:134).

Malambre 'slow, slowly' (A). Possibly Kimbundo *malembe* 'gentle', 'smooth' (L:134).

Malara 'orange (fruit)'. Kikongo *ma-nlala* 'orange tree' (L:134); Kimbundu *malalanza* 'orange' (VF:314).

Malambo de sanjo 'egg' (A). See *malambo* and *sanjo*.

Malombo/Malumbim 'fruit' (A). Related to Kikongo *lombu* 'fruit of the rubber tree' (L:134); Kimbundu *malombo* 'fruit of the Jordan palm tree' (VF:314).

Malungo 'brother', 'equal', 'same' (A). Of uncertain Bantu origin, possibly related to Kimbundu *ma'lugo* 'companion', or Kikongo *ma-lùngu* (plural of *lùngu*) 'suffering', 'pain', 'death', or *na-lùngu* 'he who suffers', or *madungo* 'stranger': the term may be a joint idea of all these ideas (L:135); Kimbundu *malungo* 'companion', 'of the same condition', 'adopted brother' (VF:315).

Mamaiove 'mother' (VF). Umbundo *mama + iove* 'your mother' (L:135; VF:315).

Mambi 'needle' (A). Possibly Umbundo *mbili* 'old knife' or Kikongo *mbambi* 'straw', 'wood whistle', 'horn' (L:136); undetermined (VF:315).

Manaíba 'manioc' (VF). Tupi *mani'iua* 'manioc' (C:493).

Mangonheiro 'swindler', 'mischievous person' (A). Possibly Kimbundu *mangonha* 'lie' (L:138); Portuguese morpheme *–eiro* (e.g. *brasileiro* 'Brazilian').

Manjira 'street', 'road' (A). Possibly Kikongo *njila* 'road', 'path' (BE:156); Kimbundu *njila* 'road' (VF:315).

Marafoná(r) 'to drink (alcohol)' (VF). See *marafa*.

Marafa/Marafo 'cachaça', '(alcoholic) drink' (A). Kimbundu or Kikongo *malavu* 'wine' (BE:336; L:141; VF:316).

Marafa de uíque 'beer' (A). See *marafa* and *uíque*.

Marafa de vinhango 'cachaça' (A). See *marafa* and *vinhango*.

Marangó 'donkey' (VF). Related to Kimbundu *ngolo* 'zebra' or Umbundo *ongolo* 'zebra' (L:30, 168; VF:309).

Mara(n)gola 'horse', 'donkey' (A; B). See *marangó*.

Massa de camboque 'cheese bread' (A). Portuguese *massa* 'dough'; *camboque* 'cheese' (undetermined).

Massa de maiate 'food', 'meal' (VF). Portuguese *massa* 'dough'; *maiate* (undetermined).

Massango/Massongo/Massuango 'rice' (A). Kimbundu *masangu* 'corn', 'cereal' or Kikongo *ma-nsangu* 'corn' (L:144; VF:317).

Mataco 'buttocks' (A). Kimbundu *mataka* 'buttocks', plural form of *taku*, *ditaku* (L:144).

Matumba 'foolish' (A). Undetermined.

Matura 'spell' (A). Undetermined.

Maturi 'child' (VF). Possibly Tupi *matu'ri* 'green cashew' (C:507; VF:318).

Matungá(r) 'to eat' (VF). Possibly related to Umbundo *tunga* 'piece of meat' (L:145).

Mauçu 'hair' (VF). Possibly related to Kikongo *ma-nsuki* 'hair' (L:146); undetermined (VF:318).

Mavero 'milk', 'breast', 'white' (A). Umbundo *omavele* or Kimbundo *mavele*, both plural forms of *avele* 'milk' (L:146); Kimbundu *mele* 'breasts', 'milk' is the plural form of *diele* and *avele* (VF:318).

Melé 'goat' (VF). Undetermined.

Milongo 'medicine' (A). Kimbundo *milongo* 'medicine' (L:148).

Mirante 'eye' (A). Portuguese *mirar* 'to see'.

Missosso 'history', 'story' (A). Kimbundo *musoso* 'history' (M).

Mocó 'arm', 'weapon', 'knife' (A). Umbundo *omoko* 'knife' or Kikongo *moko* 'hands' (L:151); undetermined (VF:318).

Mocó de espirro 'firearm' (A). See *mocó*; Portuguese *espirro* 'sneeze'.

Moca 'coffee' (A). From the toponym *Moca*, a port known for coffee exportation (C:526).

Mongo/Mungo/Mungue 'salt' (A). Kimbundo *mongua* 'denomination of salt for rituals' or Umbundo *omongwa* 'denomination of salt for ritual powder' (L:154); Kimbundu *mungua* 'salt' (VF:321).

Monzape 'hand' (A). Undetermined (VF:319); possibly Bantu (L:155).

Mucafa 'old (fem)' (A). See *mucafo*.

Mucafo 'old (masc)' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *mu-nkavu* 'in half' (L:157); Kimbundu *mukulo* 'old' (VF:319).

Muchinga 'nose' (A). Undetermined, possibly Bantu (L:157); Kimbundu *muxinga* 'end', 'extremity' (VF:320).

Mucota/Micota 'mouth' (A). Undetermined, possibly Bantu (L:157); Kimbundu *mukoto* 'cow' 'hoof', 'paw' (VF:320).

Malumbí 'fish'. Undetermined.

Mufete 'fish' (A). Undetermined.

Mumbacho 'cigarette' (A). Undetermined.

Mumonha 'laziness' (A). Undetermined.

Mumbune/Mumbundo 'black' (VF). Kimbundo *mumbundo* 'black' (L:159).

Muquifo 'bordello' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *kivu* 'latrine' (L:161).

Murrudo 'big', 'strong', 'powerful' (VF). Possibly Kimbundo *mundundu* 'big' (L:161; VF:321).

Mutombo 'manioc' (VF). Kimbundo *mutombo* 'softened manioc' (L:162: VF:321).

Muxima 'heart' (A). Kimbundo *muxima* 'heart' (M).

Muxito 'forest' (A). Kimbundo *muxitu* 'forest' (M).

N

Nagoma 'drum' (A). Kikongo *ngoma* 'drum' (BE:64).

Nanga 'clothes', 'pants' (A). Kimbundu *nanga* 'cloth' or Umbundu *onanga* 'clothes' (L:164: VF:322).

Nanga mavero 'white clothes' (A). See *nanga* and *mavero*.

Nanga sengo 'green clothes' (A). See *nanga* and *sengo*.

Nanga cafamo 'clear clothes' (A). See *nanga* and *cafamo*.

Nanga imbuno 'dark clothes' (A). See *nanga* and *imbuno*.

Nâni 'small' (A). Possibly related to Kikongo *nana* 'nothing' (L:164).

Nasseje 'to go', 'to leave' (A). Possibly Kikongo *nasila* 'to go' (L:164; VF:323).

Nhingomo 'cow' (VF). See *ingomo/ingombe*.

Nhoto 'skinny', 'thin' (A). See *inhoto*.

Niguciê 'cat' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundo *ngatu* 'cat' (derived from Portuguese) and/or to Kimbundo *kisue* or *kisuéia* 'cat' (M).

Niguciê de sengo 'jaguar' (A). See *niguciê* and *sengo*.

O

Ôa 'bad', 'nothing', 'poor', 'worse' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *wa* 'to fall' (L:167); Nhaneca *o* 'worse' (VF:324).

Ocai/Ocaia/Ocaio 'woman' (A). Kimbundu *ucai* 'woman' (VF:325); Umbundo *ukãyi* 'wife' (L:167).

Ocaizim 'girl' (A). Diminutive variation of *ocai*.

Ocai santo 'virgin' (A). See *ocai* and *santo*.

Ocai de banzo 'prostitute' (A). See *ocai* and *banzo*.

Ocai ofú 'black woman' (A). See *ocai* and *ofú*.

Odara 'pretty' (A). Yoruba *dára* 'it's pretty', 'it's good' (VF:325).

Ofú 'black' (A). Umbundo *fufu* 'poor', 'person with ripped clothing' (L:167); undetermined (VF:325).

Omenha/Omeia 'water' (A). Kimbundo *menha* 'water' (L:167).

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Omenha de vinhango 'cachaça' (A). See *omenha* and *vinhango*.

Omenha de urungo 'gasoline' (A). See *omenha* and *urungu*.

Omenha de mavero 'milk' (A). See *omenha* and *mavero*.

Opira 'pretty' (A). Undetermined.

Opô 'eye' (A). Undetermined.

Orirá(r) 'to sing'. Undetermined.

Orofim 'firewood'. Undetermined.

Orogongi 'egg' (A). Possibly Umbundo *ngondi* 'moon' (metaphor of shape) (L:169); undetermined (VF:326).

Orongoia '[wood] bridge' (A). Possibly Umbundo *olungwi* 'wood' (L:169); undetermined (VF:326).

Oropemba 'seethe' (A). Undetermined.

Ossumba 'fear' (A). Umbundo *usumba* 'fear' (L:169).

Otaca/Otata 'father' (A). Kimbundo or Kikongo *tata* 'father' (L:169).

Otanha 'lazy' (B). Undetermined.

Oteque 'sky', 'heaven' (VF). Undetermined.

Oxapo 'without' (e.g. *curima oxapo* 'unemployed' (lit. 'work without'), *mirante/opô oxapo* 'blind') (B). Undetermined.

P

Paim 'hoe' (A). Undetermined, possible variation of Calunga *faim* 'knife'.

Panco 'car' (VF). Undeterimined, possibly of Bantu origen (L:172).

Pandú 'stomach' (A). Undetermined.

Papa rato 'cat' (A). Portuguese *papar* 'to eat' (C:577), Portuguese *rato* 'rat'; Kimbundu *kudipapa* 'to eat' (L:173).

Papiove 'father' (VF). Nhaneca *papayove* 'your father' (L:172; VF:329).

Pegante 'hand', 'arm' (A). Portuguese *pegar* 'to grab'.

Periá 'rabbit' (A). Undetermined.

Pisante 'foot' (VF). Portuguese *pisar* 'to step'.

Pixiê 'food' (A). Undetermined.

Pongue 'corn' (A). Variation of *pungo*.

Ponto de conena 'anus' (A). Portuguese *ponto* 'point'; see *conena*.

Ponto de mirante 'eye' (A). See *ponto* and *mirante*.

Ponto pisante 'foot' (A). Portuguese *ponto* 'point' and *pisar* 'to step'.

Puco 'rat' (A). Kimbundu *puku* (J); Kikongo *mpuku* 'rat' (BE:172).

Pungo 'corn' (VF). Umbundo *epungu* 'corn' (L:179); Kimbundu *upungo* 'corn' (VF:330).

Q

Quicumbi 'young person' (A). Kimbundu *kikumbi* 'puberty', 'celebration of puberty': a Bantu traditional celebration for a young person who has reached manhood or womanhood (L:85).

Quijongo 'cricket' (A). Undetermined.

Quimba 'stump', 'piece' (A). Undetermined.

Quimbim 'dead' (A). See *quimimbar*.

Quimbimba 'dead man' (A). See *quimimbá(r)*.

Quimboto 'toad' (A). Kimbundu *kimboto* '(African) frog' (VF:331); Umbundo *ochimboto* 'toad' (L:187).

Quimimbá(r)/Quimbimbá(r) 'to die' (A). Kimbundo *kimbi* 'death', 'cadaver' (L:187; VF:330).

Quinda 'container' (A). Undetermined.

Quindú 'fat (adj)' (A). Undetermined.

Quinhama/Quinhamba 'leg' (A). Umbundo *ochinama* 'leg' or Kimbundu *kinama* 'leg' (L:189).

Quinhamá(r) 'to walk, travel' (A). See *quinhama*.

Quiombô 'wild pig' (A). Songo (Bantu language in Angola) *ki-ombo* 'pig' (J).

Quipocá(r) 'to talk' (B). Possibly related to Umbundo *okupopya* 'to talk' (L:83).

Quipoque 'conversation' (B). See *quipocar*.

Quissanda 'mischievous woman' (A). Undetermined.

Quitata 'prostitute' (A). Kikongo *kìta-ta* (diminutive of *kìta* 'to buy marriage') (LA).

Quiunda 'anger' (A). Undetermined.

Quizumba 'party', 'mess', 'confusion' (A). Possibly Kimbundo *kuzuma* 'to grumble, roar' (L:192).

R

Ricomo 'knife' (VF). Possibly related to Kimbundo *rikomo, dikombo* 'worker' (L:195; VF:332).

S

Sanjo/Sanjô/Sanja 'chicken', 'hen' (A). Kimbundo *sanji* 'hen' (L:200).

Santo 'pure' (A). Portuguese *santo* 'saint'.

Sarava 'dance' (A). Undetermined; possibly of Bantu origen (L:202).

Saravá 'goodbye' (A). Possible Africanized pronunciation of Portuguese *salvar* 'to save' or
    Greeting in Umbundo 'save!' (L:202; VF:333).

Saravá(r) 'to dance' (VF). See *sarava*.

Semá (*cemá*) 'hair' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *sema* 'iron file', metaphor for the nature of
    African hair (L:203).

Semá cor de indaro 'blond hair' (A). See *semá* and *indaro*; Portuguese *cor* 'color'.

Semá de mucota 'moustache' (A). See *semá* and *mucota*.

Semá ofú 'black hair' (A). See *semá* and *ofú*.

Sená (*Cená/Ciamá*) 'beard' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *sema* 'iron file', metaphor for the
    nature of African hair (L:203).

Sengo/Sengue/Senguê 'forest', 'green' (A). Kimbundu *sengue* 'forest' (VF:334); Umbundo
    usenge 'forest' (L:203).

Senjo 'estate' (B). Undetermined.

Sucano 'marriage', 'wedding' (A). Kimbundo *ku-sokana* 'to marry' (L:206; VF:334).

Sucaná(r) 'to marry' (VF). See *sucano*.

Sumate 'soup' (A). Undetermined.

Suruba 'big party' (A). Undetermined.

T

Tamangô 'egg' (A). Undetermined.

Tareia 'slap' (B). Undetermined.

Tarimba 'bed' (VF). Possibly Arabic *tarima* 'bed base' (C:756); Kimbundo *talimba* 'wooden
    bed, cot' (L:210).

Tatá 'father', 'mother' (VF). Related to Kimbundo *tata* 'father' (L:210).

Tipoquê/Chipoquê 'bean(s)' (A). Kimbundu *kipoke* 'bean' (VF:335); Umbundo *ochipoke* 'bean'
    (L:213); Nhaneca *otuipoke* 'bean' (VF:335).

Tipune/Tipungue/Tipungo 'hat' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundo *kibunga, kibuanga* 'hat'
    (L:213; VF:336).

Tunda 'beating' (A). Possibly Portuguese *tunda* 'beating' < Latin *tundere* (C:797).

Tupiandaca 'lie (noun)' (B). Undetermined.

U

Uacasi 'to be here' (VF). Undetermined.

Uanjá(r) 'to cook' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *onjo* 'community fire' (L:218).

Uí 'yes' (A). Undetermined.

Uíque 'sugar', 'sweet', 'alcohol' (A). Kimbundu *uiki* 'honey', 'sugar' (VF:337); Umbundo *owiki* 'honey' (L:218).

Umbera 'water', 'rain' (B). Umbundo *ombela* 'rain' (L:219).

Umbundu 'black man' (A). Kimbundu *mumbundu* 'black' (L:159).

Urungo 'vehicle', 'car' (A). Possibly related to Umbundu *ulungundju* 'snoar', 'roar' (metaphor for the sound of the motor) (L:220); undetermined (VF:338).

Urungo de omenha 'boat', 'canoe' (A). See *urungo* and *omenha*.

V

Vapora '(nonsense) discussion' (VF). Possibly related to Umbundo *pola* 'to conquer, be superior' (L:221); undetermined (VF:338).

Viango/Vinhango 'sugar cane' (A). Possibly from Umbundo *angu* 'hay', 'herb', 'straw', 'wild grass' or Kimbundu *dianga* 'sugar cane' (L:221; VF:339).

Vimbundo 'black man' (VF). From Umbundo *ovimbundo*, a tribe of the south of the Cuanza river in southern and central Angola (L:170); Kimbundu *vimbundu* 'slave' (VF:339).

Vipeque 'bone' (VF). Possibly related to Umbundo *pekengo* 'weakness', 'fragile' (L:222); undetermined (VF:340).

X

Xaxatá(r) 'to touch' (A). Undetermined.

Ximbado 'drunk' (A). Kikongo *zimbwa*, *zimbala* 'to lose oneself, stray' (L:226).

Z

Zingrim 'tooth' (A). Possibly related to Umbundo *lingo* 'stain', 'spot', 'dirty' (L:230); undetermined (VF:341).

Zipaque 'money' (A). Possibly Kimbundu *vipaco* 'gold' (VF:340); Umbundo *ovipako* 'wealth', 'riches', 'goods' (L:222).

Zue(i)ra/Zoeira 'noise' (A). Possibly related to Kimbundo *zuela* 'to talk' or *dinzuela* 'bells' (L:230).

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