

Portuguese

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26 Angola

Abstract: The presence of Portuguese in Angola begins with the arrival of Portuguese colonists in 1482/1483. It is Angola's only official, supra-regional, and supra-ethnic lingua franca, its use having enormously increased in the last decades. Portuguese is becoming the first language of more and more Angolans, especially in urban areas and among younger speakers. This happens at the expense of Angola's numerous autochthonous Bantu and Khoisan languages. The country is currently experiencing a linguistically conflictual situation. While social elites proclaim an orientation towards European Portuguese, most Angolans do not fully master this exogenous norm. Official language policy measures are sparse, and a partly divergent endogenous standard variety of Angolan Portuguese is emerging. Literature, media, schools and public institutions as well as "ordinary" speakers thus find themselves in a field of linguistic tension that is still insufficiently explored.

Keywords: Angolan Portuguese, exogenous norm, endogenous norm, language change, language policy

1 Sociolinguistic situation

1.1 Geographical distribution of languages

Portuguese – Portuguese is the uncontested supra-regional and supra-ethnic lingua franca in present-day Angola and also Angola's language of international relations (cf. Zau 2011, 90). Speaker percentages are lower in rural than in urban areas (49 % vs. 85 % in 2014, cf. INE 2016, 51, 99s.), where, moreover, being a (young) first language speaker of Portuguese is more and more synonymous with being monolingual in this language (cf. Cruz 2013, 145, 150s., 157; Miguel ²2014, 13–18, 31; Undolo 2014, 136; Adriano 2015, 41s.). This tendency, though time-delayed, is also true of rural areas (cf. Zau 2011, 23s.). Angola is part of the African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* – PALOP), the Lusophone countries, and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* – CPLP).

Bantu languages – With a total of forty-six languages (cf. Hammarström et al. 2023 and for a slightly lower number, Eberhard/Simons/Fennig 2023), Bantu languages are the most wide-spread autochthonous languages in Angola, and different Bantu languages are the numerically most important autochthonous languages in all eighteen provinces (cf. Figure 1; INE 2016, 51). Kikongo is the most spoken Bantu language in the

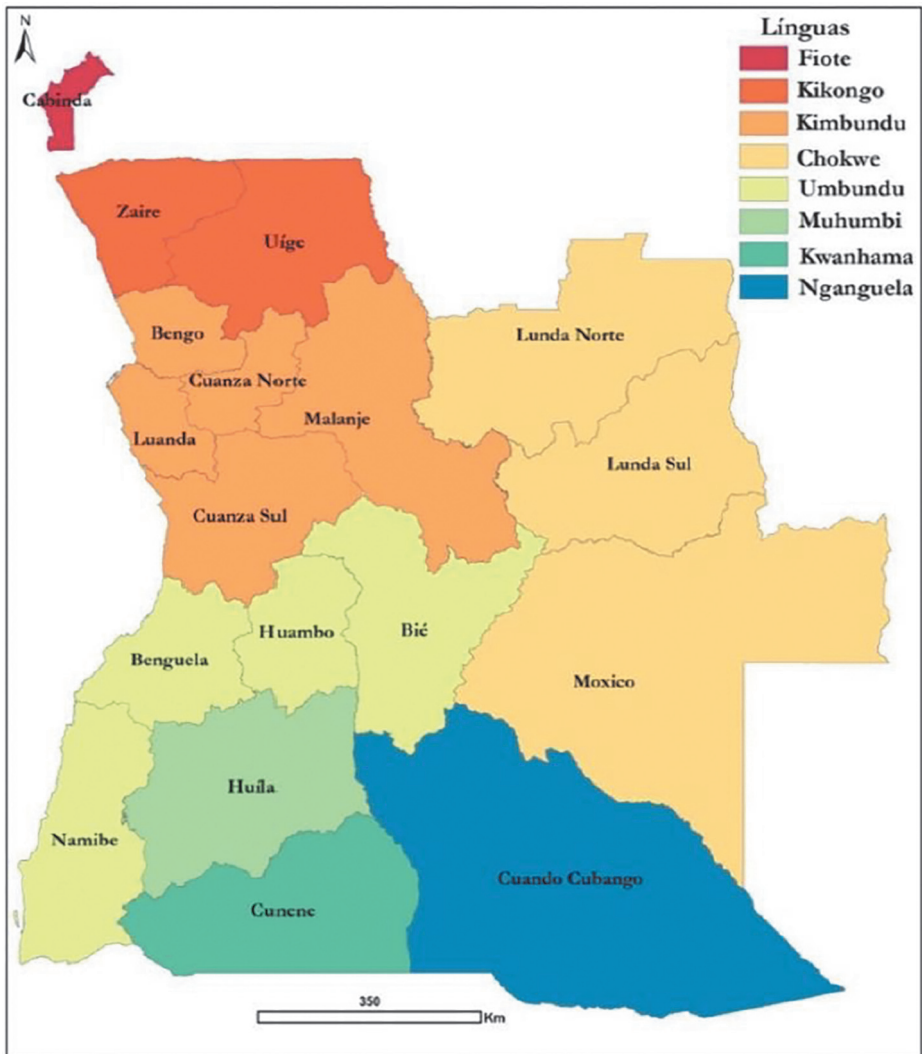


Figure 1: Predominant autochthonous languages according to province (INE 2016, 51)

northern provinces of Uíge and Zaire, as well as in the exclave province of Cabinda, where it is often referred to as Fiote or Ibinda. The central-western provinces of Bengo, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Luanda, and Malanje share Kimbundu as the most important Bantu language, and Chokwe plays this role in the central-eastern provinces of Luanda Norte, Luanda Sul, and Moxico. In the south-western provinces of Benguela, Bié, Huambo, and Namibe, Umbundu is predominant. The same applies to Nkhumbi (Muhumbi) in the south-western province of Huila, to Kuanyama (Kwanhama/Oshiwambo) in the southern province of Cunene, and to Nyemba (Nganguela) in the south-eastern province

of Cuando Cubango. Other important Bantu languages are Herero, Kibala, Lunda, Luvale, Mbangala, Mbunda, Nsongo, and Nyaneka.

Khoisan languages – The second autochthonous language family (marginally) present in Angola is Khoisan. Northern Ju (!Kung) and North-Central Ju (!Kung-Ekoka) have 5,630 and 5,500 speakers, respectively (cf. Eberhard/Simons/Fennig 2023). They are spoken in Cunene and Cuando Cubango in the bordering area with Namibia, as well as in the bordering provinces of Namibe and Huila. Kxoe (Khwe, Khwedam) has about 200 speakers in Cuando Cubango in the bordering region with Zambia. Kwadi, which became extinct at least forty years ago, was spoken in the southwest of Angola.

1.2 Social distribution of languages

Portuguese – In 2014, when the last Angolan census was carried out (cf. INE 2016, 51), roughly 16.9 million of 23.7 million Angolans aged two or older (71%) spoke Portuguese, although these numbers do not distinguish between first and second language speakers. The next Angolan census is planned for 2024 and the Angolan population is among the fastest-growing in the world. As of 2022, the total population of Angola is estimated to be 34.5 million (cf. Worldometers 2022). Competence in Portuguese is a *conditio sine qua non* for social ascent in Angola (Chavagne 2005, 36; Zau 2011, 90s.; Undolo 2014, 95; Adriano 2015, 40s.), this high status having led to a dramatic increase of Angolans with Portuguese as their first language. Although there exists, to the best of our knowledge, no data representative of the entire country, Cruz's (2013, 110–134) results for the cities of Lubango and Huambo are most likely valid for Angola on a whole: Portuguese language proficiency is positively correlated with schooling, high socio-economic status, and with being white (also cf. Zau 2011, 90s.). Table 1 – excerpted from Mendes (1985), Endruschat (1990, 31), Hodges (2004, 25), and INE (2016, 51) – provides a look at the evolution of speaker percentages of Portuguese in Angola. Although it needs to be regarded with caution due to the partial lack of distinction between first and second language speakers, it shows that since Angola's independence in 1975 the percentage of speakers of Portuguese (both as first and second language) has increased enormously from 1–2% first language speakers and 15–20% second language speakers in 1975 to an overall percentage of 71% in 2014.

Table 1: Percentages of speakers of Portuguese in Angola (1975–2014)

Year	Portuguese	
	first language	second language
1975	1–2%	15–20%
1985		33%

Table 1: (continued)

Year	Portuguese	
	first language	second language
1996	26 %	?
2014		71 %

Autochthonous languages – Umbundu, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Chokwe, Nyemba, Nyaneka, and Kuanyama are the most spoken autochthonous languages. Nevertheless, the stigmatization of these and other autochthonous languages – referred to as linguistic neo-colonialism by Bernardo/Severo (2018, 223) – leads to their sharp decline especially but not only in urban areas. Speakers tend to avoid using them in public, but more and more also in familiar situations. They often have negative and sceptical attitudes towards their autochthonous languages, which is detrimental to their preservation. Table 2 provides the overall speaker numbers and percentages of the most important autochthonous languages spoken in Angola as of 2014. The percentages refer to the population share weighed against that of the entire country. The first seven autochthonous languages *where* once referred to as national languages in official Angolan terminology, even though in present-day Angola this term is often used for all autochthonous languages spoken in the country (cf. 2.2).

Table 2: Speakers of autochthonous languages in Angola (INE 2016, 51, 99)

Language	Number of Speakers	%
Umbundu	5,449,819	22.96
Kikongo (including Fiote/Ibinda)	2,524,487	10.63
Kimbundu	1,855,951	7.82
Chokwe	1,553,019	6.54
Nyemba	739,070	3.11
Nyaneka	812,357	3.42
Kuanyama	537,533	2.26
Nkhumbi	502,881	2.12
Luvale	248,002	1.04
other autochthonous languages (including non-Bantu)	854,045	3.6
	15,077,164	63.5

Multilingualism – According to the 2014 census (cf. INE 2016, 99), the overall number of Angolans aged two or older who speak more than one language is 9,020,404 (38 %). How-

ever, it does not give insights into which languages are mostly involved in bi- or multilingualism. Thus, no conclusions can be drawn with regard to how many of these speakers are plurilingual in autochthonous languages and Portuguese or in several autochthonous languages only.

2 Linguistic history

2.1 Establishment of Portuguese

The beginning of the Portuguese presence in Angola can be traced back to the arrival of the explorer Diogo Cão at the mouth of the river Zaire in the Kingdom of Congo in 1482/1483 (cf. Zau 2011, 94). At first, the relations between the few Portuguese colonists, whose settlements were limited to the coastline, and the autochthonous were peaceful to the extent that the two parties even entered into an initial alliance (cf. Fernandes/Ntondo 2002, 101; Zau 2011, 95; Adriano 2015, 34). Portuguese expansion slowly set off in the sixteenth century when the Portuguese king Dom Sebastião ordered the foundation of São Paulo de Luanda (1576), which is the present-day Luanda. By the end of the sixteenth century, the colony comprised little more than Luanda itself, the city of Benguela, and some forts in the interior along the Kwanza river (cf. Inverno 2008, 120s.). The first phase of Portuguese presence mainly aimed at the exploitation of the colony in terms of natural resources (especially silver) and manpower through slavery (cf. Undolo 2014, 33s.; Inverno 2008, 120s.). Despite Portuguese being the official language, early colonization did not coincide with significant linguistic expansion. Instead, Kikongo, and later Kimbundu, played the role of vehicular languages between the Portuguese and the autochthonous. This is also supported by high rates of miscegenation, mixed children (*mestiços*) of Portuguese men usually being raised with the autochthonous language of their mothers (and/or of domestic servants) as their first language (cf. Inverno 2008, 120s.). Missionaries tended to use autochthonous languages in their schools (cf. Mingas 2000, 56).

The seventeenth century is characterized by territorial expansion also helped by newly recruited Portuguese colonists from Brazil (cf. Chavagne 2005, 26s.), by a temporary territorial loss due to attacks by Dutch troops, and by a number of subsequent wars between the Portuguese and autochthonous tribes. The Portuguese language began to serve as a lingua franca between Portuguese traders and Angolan chiefs of the interior part of the country, even though Portuguese political control basically remained restricted to Luanda. Here, in turn, and except for some rare exceptions, Kimbundu continued to be the dominant language, also because a considerable number of Afro-Portuguese *mestiços* – and, in fact, Brazilians (cf. Chavagne 2005, 26s.) – started to occupy high positions in the military and in local administration (cf. Inverno 2008, 121s.).

In the eighteenth century, Luanda continued to be mainly Kimbundu-speaking, the vast majority of its estimated 7,204 inhabitants at the end of the century still being black (cf. Inverno 2008, 122). The marginal presence of the Portuguese language did not go un-

noticed by the Portuguese themselves, who started to undertake first official steps – that is, an active language policy – in its favour. In this vein, ‘the Jesuit school [founded in 1584] was closed in 1760 as it was being considered responsible for the diffusion of Kimbundu’.¹ Likewise, between 1764 and 1772, the Portuguese governor in Angola, Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Coutinho (1726–1780), stipulated that white families of Portuguese origin had to teach their children Portuguese and that they should also teach it to the indigenous (cf. Adriano 2014, 60). In doing so, Coutinho followed the language policy model of the decrees issued by Marquês de Pombal in 1757 and 1758 for Brazil. Despite some explorations of the southern part of the colony, no significant territorial advances were made in the eighteenth century, even though Benguela ‘was transformed into the main port for the export of slaves to Brazil’.²

The nineteenth century marks the beginning of what Inverno calls “the start of the African Empire” (2009, 102) and what Chavagne refers to as ‘the true colonization’ (“[I] a véritable colonization”, 2005, 26). Incited by the Brazilian independence in 1822 and the concomitant fear of a similar process in Africa, the Portuguese Crown drastically changed its colonial policies. Measures comprised the strengthening of the Portuguese language (fostered also by the construction of the first Portuguese public school in 1835 and the first theatre in Luanda in 1839), the intensification of commercial trade, and the establishment of planned settlements (*povoamentos planeados*), i.e., the establishment of a plantation economy. In addition, the Portuguese expanded territorial control through new settlements at the coast and by further exploring, and later populating, the hitherto neglected interior. Although the number of Portuguese settlers was still low in the first half of the century (between 1,000 and 2,000 in total, also cf. Bender 2013, 80, and Table 3 below), Portuguese was gaining some ground, particularly in the newly established plantations in the Moçâmedes area. For this area, there also are reports of the emergence of mixed languages such as Olumbali (possibly Kimbundu- and Umbundu-based). An important landmark was the Berlin Conference of 1884/1885, distributing the African continent among the colonial powers. As a reaction, the Portuguese undertook numerous military campaigns in Angola, established a rudimentary infrastructure, and founded new settlements, especially in the Huila region (also cf. Chavagne 2005, 26s.). Despite the fact that uprisings in the south as a reaction to the reintroduction of slave trafficking – suspended between 1836 and 1842 and formally abolished in 1878 (but note that forced labour continued until 1962; cf. Chavagne 2005, 26ss.) – severely reduced the number of Portuguese colonists in the 1860s, their number in Angola had, at least in Luanda, doubled by the end of the century. At that time, local elites in such coastal areas had become completely bilingual. Nevertheless, even in Luanda, Portuguese was still a minority language in a polyglossic reality, its mastery in the interior remaining even

1 “Em 1760, a escola jesuíta foi encerrada, por ser considerada responsável pela difusão do kimbundu” (Inverno 2008, 122).

2 “[...] se ter transformado no principal porto de exportação de escravos para o Brasil” (Inverno 2008, 122).

more reduced. The continuing coexistence of Portuguese and African languages is at the origin of many of the features attested in present-day Angolan Portuguese (cf. 4 and Inverno 2008, 122ss.).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, and as represented in [figure 2](#), Portugal only controlled about 10 % of Angolan territory, mostly limited to the coast and to areas located near large rivers (cf. Inverno 2008, 124). In the first three decades of the century, Portugal succeeded significantly in expanding its territory. De jure, the autochthonous had access to the same political and civil rights as the colonists. Yet, de facto segregation was cemented by the fact that such rights were only granted if the person showed full assimilation, which meant that the person had to

‘1.° know how to read and write the Portuguese language; 2.° possess the means necessary for their subsistence and that of their families; 3.° have good behaviour, attested by the administrative authority of the area in which they reside; 4.° differentiate themselves by their uses and customs from the usual of their race’.³

The mentioning of written proficiency in Portuguese refers to its ‘correct’ use in contrast to Bantu-influenced Portuguese pejoratively called *pretoguês* (< *preto* ‘black’ + *português* ‘Portuguese’, cf. Zau 2011, 101). Knowledge of Portuguese was, thus, directly associated to the ‘degree of civilization’. The autochthonous languages were forbidden in most official contexts in 1921 by the Portuguese governor of Angola, General Norton de Matos (cf. Chavagne 2005, 26s.). The legal basis for this policy was created by Decree 77, which banned all autochthonous languages from written and spoken use, for example in schools (Article 2) and in the catechism (Article 3; cf. Matos 1953, 103s.). Matos (1953, 91) justified these measures by saying that Bantu speakers had never developed a written language and that it would thus be advantageous if the “languages of Angola” were forgotten as soon as possible. In this regard, Cristóvão (2008, 51s.) speaks of “linguistic imperialism” modelled on the French Revolution. Still, all this should not obscure that in the 1920s Kimbundu continued to be the most-widely used language in Luanda and surroundings (cf. Inverno 2008, 125).

³ “1.° saber ler e escrever a língua portuguesa; 2.° possuir os meios necessários à sua subsistência e à das suas famílias; 3.° ter bom comportamento, atestado pela autoridade administrativa da área em que reside; 4.° diferenciar-se pelos seus usos e costumes do usual da sua raça” (Marques 2001, 26).

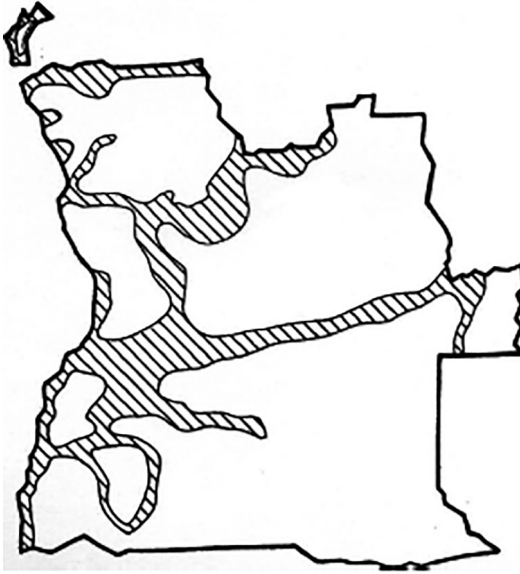


Figure 2: Portuguese-controlled areas in 1906 (Chavagne 2005, 53)

In the 1950s – that is, seventeen years after the installation of the conservative, corporatist, nationalist, and autocratic New State (*Estado Novo*) in Portugal – a new massive wave of Portuguese colonists arrived in Angola for the re-establishment of the *povoamentos planeados* in the interior (cf. Table 3). At the same time, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 led to Portugal’s abandoning of the label colony (*colónia*) for Angola and to its renaming as overseas province (*província ultramarina*) in 1951 (Undolo 2014, 35). Pre-independency conflicts (or in Undolo’s 2014, 36, words, a ‘colonial war’, “guerra colonial”) arose in February 1961, even though the discriminatory Indigenous Statute (*Estatuto do Indígena*, an umbrella term for several laws aiming at the cultural assimilation of the autochthonous population in Portuguese colonies introduced between 1926 and 1954) was abolished in the same year. Especially in the coastal cities, the white elite – strongly influenced by the “Colonial propaganda [...] throughout the *Estado Novo*” (Inverno 2009, 117) – had taken over the public sector and important economic and political positions from the Afro-Portuguese population. This further incited repression of and discrimination against blacks and *mestiços*. At the same time, the agricultural settlements in the interior did not flourish as desired: many Africans fled the country due to warfare or left for the poor neighbourhoods (*musseques*) of the big coastal cities, the latter also being true of many colonists. All this contributed to urban melting pots composed of Angolans with different linguistic origins and of impoverished colonists. Such melting pots, where Angolans, at least to some extent, also had exposure to the Portuguese language, were the locus of linguistic koineization processes. In the interior, on the other hand, the African population remained basically uninfluenced by

the Portuguese language until the 1970s, despite efforts by the Portuguese government to strengthen its linguistic presence. Here, the Portuguese also founded numerous settlements (*aldeamentos*) “often surrounded by barbed wire, where previously dispersed Africans populations were kept together” (Bender 2004, 264s., quoted from Inverno 2009, 129, her translation). This also contributed to the massive exodus of black and Afro-Portuguese Angolans to neighbouring countries, bringing about the necessity of importing labour force from linguistically different Angolan regions to the *aldeamentos*. As a consequence, in the interior, too, linguistic koineization started, but this time between different autochthonous languages. In fact, only 0.1% of the population in the interior is reported to have made frequent use of Portuguese shortly before the Angolan independence in 1975, while 83% had either no or only rudimentary knowledge of Portuguese (cf. Inverno 2008, 124–127; 2009, 114–120).

Table 3 provides an overview of the diachronic changes in the ethnic composition of Angola’s population between 1845 and 1970:

Table 3: Ethnic composition of Angola, 1845–1970 (Zau 2011, 100, our translation)

	1845	1900	1920	1940	1950	1960	1970
African	99.9 %	99.7 %	99.3 %	98.1 %	97.4 %	95.3 %	93.3 %
Mestiço	0.01 %	0.06 %	0.18 %	0.75 %	0.72 %	1.1 %	1.57 %
White	0.03 %	0.02 %	0.48 %	1.2 %	1.9 %	3.6 %	5.1 %

2.2 Milestones of its further development

Angola declared independence from Portugal in November 1975. Agostinho Neto, leader of the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (*Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola* – MPLA), became the first president of the newly founded, one-party People’s Republic of Angola. Immediately after the declaration of the First Republic, a civil war broke out (1975–2002), which was especially bloody in rural areas and caused many white settlers to flee the country (cf. Adriano 2015, 34s.). Many African Angolans with very diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, too, were forced to leave their war-torn areas of origin, heading for urban centres such as Lubango, Benguela, Lobito, and Luanda (for more background, cf. Undolo 2014, 37–47). The high number of internally displaced persons strengthened the role of Portuguese as a lingua franca (cf. Zau 2011, 90; Undolo 2014, 42). In 1991, with the fall of the Soviet Union and under pressure of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (*União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* – UNITA), the MPLA was forced to transform Angola into a democratic multi-party state, thus leading to the declaration of the Second Republic (cf. Undolo 2014, 45). With everything seeming to point towards a democratic transition, UNITA, however, refused to accept the results of the first free and fair elec-

tions in 1992. As a consequence, the atrocious fratricidal war flared up anew and a peace agreement between MPLA and UNITA was only reached in 2002 (2014, 46ss.). The economically important exclave of Cabinda in the north, where until today secessionist groups have a non-negligible influence, is still not fully pacified. As of 2002, forty years of nearly uninterrupted warfare had battered Angola to the core and continue to do so in highly instable Cabinda. It thus comes as no surprise that in 2020, Angola had a poverty rate of 40.6% (much higher in rural areas), was among the twenty countries world-wide with the lowest life expectancy in 2019, and figured among the twenty countries with the highest rate of malnutrition in the world in 2021 (cf. Statista 2022a; 2022b; 2022c). Economically, present-day Angola highly relies on exports of oil (coming mainly from the exclave of Cabinda in the north), gas, and diamonds. The main import and export partner of Angola is China, to the extent that nearly 300,000 Chinese citizens lived in Angola before the outbreak of the COVID 19-pandemic (cf. PM 2019).

Important hallmarks of language policy in post-colonial Angola include the foundation of the National Institute of Languages (*Instituto Nacional de Línguas* – INL) in 1979, initially led by the Angolan linguist Celeste Kounta (1936–1987). The goal of this institution was to research the situation of the autochthonous languages and to create objective conditions for putting them on an equal footing with Portuguese. In this spirit, the INL, shortly after its foundation, chose Chokwe, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Kuanyama, Nyemba, Umbundu and somewhat later Nyaneka as national languages (*línguas nacionais*; cf. Inverno 2008, 118). The concept of “national languages” in relation to Angola’s autochthonous languages is somewhat problematic: firstly –as the former Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos put it– these languages are mostly limited to a regional radius (cf. Fernandes/Ntongo 2002, 18) and often spoken far beyond national borders (cf. Miguel 2008, 38). Secondly, the official term *national languages*, nowadays, seems to also be employed to refer to all of Angola’s autochthonous languages *tout court* (cf. Mingas 2000, 54ss.). In 1983, to take into account Neto’s political goal of promoting and equalizing Angola’s autochthonous languages, the institute was renamed Institute for National Languages (*Instituto de Línguas Nacionais* – ILN). Neto’s efforts, however, somewhat fizzled out after his term in office and there still is no clear national legal regulation policy concerning autochthonous languages by the government (cf. Sassuco 2016, 205; 3.1). One reason for this is that the autochthonous languages are spoken in very different regions and communicative contexts, which makes a fair and general language policy equally appreciating all autochthonous languages a difficult endeavour. In fact, until the enactment of Article 23 of the 2010 Constitution, citizens who did not speak or understand Portuguese were regularly discriminated against and disadvantaged by authorities in some parts of the country (cf. Leclerc 2021).

3 External language policy

Although Angola's external language policy takes into account both Portuguese and the autochthonous languages, Angola must be described as de facto monolingual in terms of language use in most of the public sphere (Bernardo/Severo 2018, 213ss.). This at least partly explains the stigmatization and decline of the autochthonous languages and explains Miguel's (2008, 39) view of Angola as being a monolingual state with a bilingual or partly multilingual population.

3.1 Legislation

In the Constitution of 1975 and its revisions of 1978, 1980, 1991, 1992, and 1995, there was no mention of or resolution on language(s). It is only in the Constitution of 2010 that Portuguese was established as the only official language:

'The official language of the Republic of Angola is Portuguese'.⁴

The same article provides for state support for the use of Angola's autochthonous languages and of the main languages of international communication:

'The State shall value [...] the use of the other languages of Angola, as well as the main languages of international communication'.⁵

The Constitution also states that no one may be disadvantaged or discriminated against on the basis of their language:

'No one shall be prejudiced, privileged, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty by reason of his [...] language [...]'.⁶

Likewise, the state is obliged to protect and promote the languages of national identity and communication:

'The following shall constitute fundamental tasks of the Angolan State: [...] Protect, value and dignify Angolan languages of African origin as cultural heritage and promote their development as languages of national identity and communication'.⁷

4 "A língua oficial da República de Angola é o português" (C-AO, art. 19).

5 "O Estado valoriza [...] a utilização das demais línguas de Angola, bem como das principais línguas de comunicação internacional" (C-AO, art. 19).

6 "Ninguém pode ser prejudicado, privilegiado, privado de qualquer direito ou isento de qualquer dever em razão da sua [...] língua [...]" (C-AO, art. 23).

7 "Constituem tarefas fundamentais do Estado angolano: [...] Proteger, valorizar e dignificar as línguas angolanas de origem africana, como património cultural, e promover o seu desenvolvimento, como línguas de identidade nacional e de comunicação" (C-AO, art. 21).

‘Citizens and communities have the right to the respect, appreciation and preservation of their cultural, linguistic and artistic identity’.⁸

3.2 Languages used in the public sphere

Portuguese is the only language of authorities and administration in Angola and all laws and official decrees must be in Portuguese. For instance, the Consumer Protection Act of 2003 (*Lei de Defesa do Consumidor*) stipulates that instructions for use, descriptions of quality, quantity, composition, symbols and dimensions, as well as other explanations, must be in Portuguese:

‘The offer and presentation of goods and services must ensure correct, clear, precise, ostensive information in the Portuguese language about their characteristics, quality, quantity, composition, price, guarantee, validity periods and origin, among other data, as well as the risks they present to the health and safety of consumers’.⁹

The same applies to the Road Traffic Regulations of 2008 (*Código de Estrada*), which states that road signs and markings –unless internationally recognized and valid– must be edited in Portuguese:

‘Inscriptions on road signs are written in the official language, except as provided for in international conventions’.¹⁰

The same holds of the Customs Code of 2006 (*Código Aduaneiro*), which determines that a custom tax procedure is invalid if the person does not speak Portuguese and has not been provided an interpreter:

‘The entire customs procedure is null and void if [...] no suitable interpreter has been appointed for the defendant or the person civilly liable where they do not understand Portuguese or cannot make themselves understood [or] where the defendant is deaf, mute, illiterate or does not know Portuguese’.¹¹

8 ‘Os cidadãos e as comunidades têm direito ao respeito, valorização e preservação da sua identidade cultural, linguística e artística’ (C-AO, art. 87).

9 ‘A oferta e apresentação de bens ou serviços devem assegurar informações correctas, claras, precisas, ostensivas e em língua portuguesa sobre suas características, qualidade, quantidade, composição, preço, garantia, prazos de validade e origem, entre outros dados, bem como sobre os riscos que apresentam à saúde e segurança dos consumidores’ (Law 5, art. 20).

10 ‘As inscrições constantes nos sinais de trânsito são escritas na língua oficial, salvo o que resulte das convenções internacionais’ (Decree-Law 5/2008, art. 6).

11 ‘É nulo todo o processo fiscal aduaneiro quando [...] não tenha sido nomeado intérprete idóneo ao arguido ou à pessoa civilmente responsável quando estes sejam desconhecedores da língua portuguesa ou

According to Adriano (2014, 71), autochthonous languages are not used in government, health care, public institutions, or courts although the Constitution does recognize the right of every detainee to be informed of their rights in their own language and to defend themselves in their own language, with the assistance of an interpreter, if necessary:

‘Everyone deprived of his or her liberty shall be informed, at the time of arrest or detention, of the reasons for the arrest or detention and of his or her rights, in particular: [...] Communicating in a language he or she understands or through an interpreter’.¹²

3.3 Languages used in education

The civil war left deep scars on the Angolan education system; nevertheless, the system is slowly recovering. Children start school at age six and the first four years of school are free of tuition. Primary school is six years and also focuses on developing and expanding expressive and communicative skills. Importantly, article 19 of the Angolan constitution provides for state support for the teaching and learning of Angola’s autochthonous languages and of the main languages of international communication:

‘The State shall value and promote the study [and] teaching [...] of the other languages of Angola, as well as the main languages of international communication’.¹³

Likewise, the Angolan Education System Framework Law of 2001 (*Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação*) stipulates that teaching in schools must be in Portuguese but that the education system also fosters and ensures measures to promote national languages:

‘Teaching in schools shall be imparted in Portuguese. The state shall promote and ensure the human, scientific, technical, material and financial conditions for the expansion and generalization of the use and teaching of national languages’.¹⁴

não possam fazer-se compreender [ou] sendo o arguido surdo, mudo, analfabeto, desconhecedor da língua portuguesa” (Decree-Law 5/2006, art. 235).

¹² “Toda a pessoa privada da liberdade deve ser informada, no momento da sua prisão ou detenção, das respectivas razões e dos seus direitos, nomeadamente: [...] Comunicar em língua que compreenda ou mediante intérprete” (C-AO, art. 63).

¹³ “O Estado valoriza e promove o estudo [e] o ensino [...] das demais línguas de Angola, bem como das principais línguas de comunicação internacional” (C-AO, art. 19).

¹⁴ “O ensino nas escolas é ministrado em língua portuguesa. O Estado promove e assegura as condições humanas, científico-técnicas, materiais e financeiras para a expansão e a generalização da utilização e do ensino de línguas nacionais” (Law 13, art. 9).

The latest modification of the same law, passed in 2020, further strengthens the autochthonous languages but also the promotion of measures for the teaching of the major international languages, especially English and French:

‘Without prejudice to that set forth in paragraph 1, the other languages of Angola may be used in the different Education Subsystems, under the terms to be regulated by means of a specific statute’.¹⁵

‘The State promotes public policies for the insertion and massification of the teaching of the main international communication languages in all education subsystems, with priority for the teaching of English and French’.¹⁶

The laws cited above do provide a legal basis for the teaching of autochthonous languages in schools. In addition, Resolution 3 from 1987 – drafted after a commission of experts had concluded that despite high numbers of speakers, Bantu languages had suffered dialectalization and that their acquisition was incomplete (cf. Mingas 2000, 55) – approved alphabets and transcription rules developed by the ILN for Chokwe, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Kuanyama, Mbunda, and Umbundu. Nevertheless, *de facto*, Angolan education is, with very scarce exceptions, almost entirely in Portuguese (cf. Adriano 2014, 73) and multilingualism is still seen by most Angolans as a problem and a hindrance to education (cf. Bernardo/Severo 2018, 214ss.). Most curricula in schools are oriented towards Portugal and Portuguese, thus contributing little to the valorization of autochthonous cultures and languages.

There are, however, first attempts to systematically introduce some autochthonous languages in the first two grades of Angolan primary schools: on the basis of Resolution 3 and of the Angolan Education System Framework Law, didactic materials were developed for the teaching of Chokwe (region of Luanda-Sul – Cidade de Saurimo), Kikongo (region of Mbanza Kongo), Kimbundu (region of Cuanza Norte), Kuanyama (region of Cunene – Cidade de Ondjiva), Nyaneka (region of Huila – Cidade de Lubango), Nyemba (region of Cuando Cubango – Cidade de Menongue), and Umbundu (region of Huambo – Cidade de Huambo) in order to promote their dissemination and use. This introduction began experimentally in 2007 in a total of 21 classes and by help of 105 teachers, but a systematic implementation is still a long way off. A severe problem is that the autochthonous languages are taught as second languages. They are not means of communication in subject lessons, which thwarts the envisaged bilingual teaching (cf. Bernardo/Severo 2018, 225–230). Finally, note that protestant schools are pioneers in promoting the use of autochthonous languages, which finds an interesting parallel in the fact that these were already used by missionaries in their schools in colonial times (cf. Mingas 2000, 56; 2.1).

15 “Sem prejuízo do previsto no n.º 1, podem ser utilizadas as demais línguas de Angola, nos diferentes Subsistemas de Ensino, nos termos a regulamentar em diploma próprio” (Law 32, art. 16).

16 “O Estado promove políticas públicas para a inserção e a massificação do Ensino das principais línguas de comunicação internacional, em todos os Subsistemas de Ensino, com prioridade para o ensino do inglês e do francês” (Law 32, art. 16).

Foreign languages taught at school are especially English and French. At university level, the languages of teaching are Portuguese, English, and French.

3.4 Languages used in the media

Press Law – The latest version of the Press Law (*Lei de Imprensa*), dating from 2016, stipulates that there must be a Portuguese version of all Angolan press publications:

‘All Angolan publications shall be issued in Portuguese, notwithstanding the fact that the respective editions may be bilingual’.¹⁷

Yet, national languages must be disseminated and defended by the press and information societies should disseminate information in the national languages:

‘For the purposes of this law, it shall be understood as being of public interest the information that has the following general purposes: [...] to contribute to the promotion of national and regional culture and the defence and dissemination of national languages; [...] media companies shall, as a rule, broadcast information in the official language and in the other languages of Angola’.¹⁸

Press – Newspapers are published in Portuguese. The major daily state-owned newspaper is *Jornal de Angola*, important private weekly newspapers are, for example, *Semanaário Angolense*, *O País*, and *A Capital*. The Angolan state news agency (*Agência Angola Press* – ANGOP), founded in 1975, is a founding member of the Association of Portuguese Language News Agencies (*Aliança das Agências de Informação de Língua Portuguesa* – ALP, also cf. Arden/Meisnitzer 2013, 42).

Radio – Angolan radio stations broadcast almost exclusively in Portuguese. However, the Press Law of 2017 (Law 1) has at least had the effect that in the last years some autochthonous languages have also found their way into the media, for example at the radio station *Ngola Yetu* ‘Our Angola’ which broadcasts the daily news in fourteen autochthonous languages (Chokwe, Herero, Kimbundu, Kikongo (with a special edition in Fiote), Kibala, Kuanyama, Lunda, Luvale, Mbangala, Nsongo, Nyaneka, Nyemba, and Umbundu).

Television – Important TV stations are the state-run *TPA 1 & 2* and *TPA Internacional* and the privately-run *TV Zimbo*, *AngoTV*, and *Televisão Comercial de Angola*. Angolan TV mainly broadcasts in Portuguese, but TPA also offers the daily news in eight autochthonous languages (Chokwe, Kimbundu, Kikongo (with a special edition in Fiote), Kuanya-

¹⁷ “Todas as publicações angolanas devem ser redigidas em língua portuguesa, sem prejuízo de as edições respectivas serem bilingues” (Law 1, art. 41).

¹⁸ “Conteúdo de interesse público. Para efeitos da presente lei, entende-se como sendo de interesse público, a informação que tem os seguintes fins gerais: [...] contribuir para a promoção da cultura nacional e regional e a defesa e divulgação das línguas nacionais; [...] As empresas de comunicação social devem, em regra, veicular informação em língua oficial e nas demais línguas de Angola” (Law 1, art. 11/12).

ma, Nyaneka, Nyemba, and Umbundu; also cf. Adriano 2014, 141; Undolo 2014, 92). Many Angolans also frequently consume Brazilian television (e.g., *RecordTV* and *TV Globo*; cf. Arden/Meisnitzer 2013, 42), which may have an influence on Angolan Portuguese (cf. Cruz 2013, 170; Miguel ²2014, 12 and introduction to section 4). Portuguese TV stations (*RTP*, *RTP África* and *RTP Internacional*) are also available but less frequently consumed than Brazilian ones.

Internet – As to language use on the Internet, Portuguese seems to clearly be the language of choice for most Angolans in almost all situations of online communication. Nevertheless, there do exist some platforms fostering the use of autochthonous languages, such as for instance the Facebook pages *Kallun*, *Evalina*, and *Dicionário Ngola Yetu*. The discussion language of these –not very actively used– platforms is, however, almost exclusively Portuguese.

4 Linguistic characteristics

This section gives an overview of the linguistic characteristics of Angolan Portuguese. It is both selective and simplifying, the latter in the sense that it abstracts away from potential inner-Angolan variation, which could, for example, be due to different constellations of bilingualism and multilingualism. Three further issues concerning the description of Angolan Portuguese should be noted. Firstly, it is still lacking a national, supra-regional norm. Instead, it still is a highly instable variety “in the making” that has not yet been prescriptively recorded (cf. Cabral 2005, 3; Undolo 2014, 283; 5). To the best of our knowledge, thus, none of the linguistic characteristics to be presented is categorically used in Angolan Portuguese: speaker profiles are heterogeneous, with some speakers’ idiolects being more similar to European Portuguese and others’ being very distinct from it, a fact that seems to largely depend on social status and education (cf. Chavagne 2005, 277ss.). Secondly, research on Angolan Portuguese, particularly on phonetics, phonology, and lexis, is still in its infancy. Thirdly, many peculiarities of Angolan Portuguese are also typical of Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Gärtner 1997; Chavagne 2005, 274s.; Lipski 2008; 3.4). This is important also with regard to the hypothesis that the restructuring of Brazilian Portuguese is due to Bantu contact (cf. Álvarez López/Gonçalves/Avelar 2018).

4.1 Pronunciation

Angolan Portuguese presents, or rather can present (cf. Massiala 2019), a number of phonetic and phonological peculiarities that set it apart from European Portuguese.

Oral vowels – Among others, Undolo (2017) lists the following peculiarities, which he ascribes to Bantu influence: differently from European Portuguese, centralized [i] tends to occur in absolute final unstressed position only, being substituted by [e] elsewhere, as for example in *presidente* [prezi’dēti] instead of [prizi’dēti] (also cf. Chavagne 2005, 79ss.,

also for frequent substitutions of final [i] by [i], which are also attested in Brazilian Portuguese). Stressed European Portuguese /e/ often corresponds to [ɛ] in Angolan Portuguese in cases such as *beleza* [be'leza] instead of [bɛ'leze]. The same tendency of vowel opening is true of stressed /o/, which in Angolan Portuguese often becomes [ɔ], as can be seen in the example of *desgosto* [deʒ'gɔʃtu] instead of [diʒ'goʃtu] (also cf. Mingas 2000, 64; Chavagne 2005, 76). European Portuguese unstressed /a/ is often not elevated, leading to the realization of [a] instead of [ɐ] such as in *casa* ['kaza] instead of ['kaze] (also cf. Mingas 2000, 63; Chavagne 2005, 83; Gonçalves 2013, 164). The same holds of pretonic (and, though rarely, also posttonic, cf. Chavagne 2005, 78) unstressed /o/, which is [u] in European Portuguese, while usually remaining [o] in Angolan Portuguese, as can be seen in *namorar* [namo'rar] instead of [nɛmu'rar] (also cf. Gonçalves 2013, 164; Manuel 2015, 45). The latter tendency is also shared by Brazilian Portuguese.

Nasal vowels – As for nasals, European Portuguese [ẽ] is –as in Brazilian Portuguese– generally substituted by [ã] in cases such as *recanto* [re'kãtu] instead of [ɾɛ'kẽtu] (also cf. Mingas 2000, 63). The denasalization of vowels, probably due to Bantu influence, is also attested, as shown in examples like *banco* ['baku] and *dente* ['dɛte] instead of [bẽku] and [dẽti] (cf. Chavagne 2005, 86ss.).

Diphthongs – Massiala (2019, 84–90) shows that most European Portuguese diphthongs are frequently monophthongized in Angolan Portuguese at the expense of the second vocalic element, as for instance in *primeiro* [pri'meru] instead of [pri'mɛjru] or *soluções* [solu'sõj] instead of [sulu'sõj] (also cf. Mingas 2000, 66; Chavagne 2005, 88ss.).

Liquids – Several studies report a depalatalization or a delateralization of /ʎ/, resulting in forms such as *olha* ['ɔle]/['ɔje] instead of ['ɔʎe] (cf. Chavagne 2005, 105s.; Manuel 2015, 47; Massiala 2019, 91). As in Brazilian Portuguese and in European Portuguese, the rhotic, too, is subject to variation and can be realized as [ʀ], [ʁ], [r], [χ], or [r], at least in simple onsets. Variation of complex onset and coda /r/ is slightly reduced but [ʀ], [r], and [r] are attested (cf. Massiala 2019, 92ss.). Chavagne (2005, 99ss.) also discusses rhotics, hypothesizing a future phonological merger of /ʀ/ and /r/. Cases of lambdacism of /ʀ/ in examples such as *carro* ['kalu] instead of ['kaʀu] have been observed, paired by cases of rhotacism of /l/ such as *faltar* [fa'r'tar]/[faʀ'tar] instead of [fe'ʎtar] (cf. Chavagne 2005, 103ss.; Nzau/Venâncio/Sardinha 2013, 167; Sassuco 2016, 207).

Nasals – The nasal palatal /ɲ/ is sometimes realized as [j] or [j̃] in examples such as *testemunha* [teʃte'muɲa] instead of [tiʃti'muɲɐ] (cf. Massiala 2019, 90), alternating, in addition, with the uvular nasal [ɴ] (cf. Chavagne 2005, 106s.).

Plosives – Another notable consonantic phenomenon of Angolan Portuguese is the Bantu-influenced pre-nasalization of plosives in cases such as *banco* [ᵐbaku] or *dente* [ᵐdɛte] instead of [bẽku] and [dẽti] (cf. Chavagne 2005, 95ss.; Sassuco 2016, 208). Sonorization of intervocalic voiceless plosives, especially preceded by nasalized vowels and sometimes also combined with consonant nasalization, seems to also be quite common and is exemplified by *pente* [peᵐde] instead of [pẽti] (cf. Sassuco 2016, 208). Importantly though, Chavagne (2005, 110ss.) also observes the devoicing of intervocalic voiced plosives, as, for instance, in *lixado* [li'fatu] instead of [li'fadu].

Fricatives – The European Portuguese sibilants [s], [z], [ʃ], and [ʒ] are subject to manifold instabilities and different realizations in Angolan Portuguese. As in Northern European dialects, Standard European Portuguese pre-vocalic [z] can be realized as [ʒ], as, for example, in *outros ou* ['o.tru.ʒu] instead of ['o.tru.zu] or, due to Bantu influence, as voiceless [s], that is, ['o.tru.su]. Standard European Portuguese pre-consonantic [ʃ] and [ʒ] in coda position, in turn, can be realized as semi-vocalic [j] in cases such as *mas nem* [mej'něj] instead of [mez'něj]. Another realization of Standard European Portuguese pre-consonantic or absolute final coda [ʃ] attested is [s], as, for example, in *basquete* [bas'keti] instead of [beʃ'keti] or in *depois* [de'pojs] instead of [dɨ'pojʃ], which is also typical of many Brazilian Portuguese varieties. Table 4, taken from Chavagne (2005, 110), shows the different realizations of Standard European Portuguese [s], [z], [ʃ], and [ʒ] attested in Angolan Portuguese.

Table 4: Angolan Portuguese realizations of European Portuguese [s], [z], [ʃ], and [ʒ] (Chavagne 2005, 110)

European Portuguese norm	[s]	[ʃ]	[z]	[ʒ]
Angolan Portuguese realizations	[s] [ʃ] [s̺] [ʃ̺] [s̺] [ʒ̺] [ç] [j] [z] [s̺] [ʒ̺] [z̺] [ʒ̺] [ʃ̺] [ç̺] [j̺]			

Suprasegmental structure – With regard to syllable structure, Gonçalves (2013, 163) and Undolo (2014, 221ss.) note an increase of CV, presumably due to Bantu influence, by either suppressing coda consonants in cases such as *mesmo* [me.mu] and *mulher* [mu.ʎɛ] instead of [mez.mu] and [mu.ʎɛr], or by adding paragodic vowels in examples such as *beber* [be.be.re] instead of [bi.ber], or epenthetic bridging vowels between two word-internal syllables, which tend to copy the stressed vowel such as in *ritmo* [ri.ti.mu] instead of [ʁit.mu] (for the latter, also cf. Mingas 2000, 66; Sassuco 2016, 209; for more CV phenomena, cf. Chavagne 2005, 113ss.). The colloquial European Portuguese deletion of (especially word-final) unstressed vowels, such as in *gente* [ʒɛt] instead of [ʒɛti], is not attested in Angolan Portuguese (cf. Mingas 2000, 65; Gonçalves 2013, 163). As for intonational features and prosodic phrasing, there are only few respects in which Angolan Portuguese is different from both European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese. One such feature is the fact that Angolan Portuguese only has simple boundary tones whereas, under certain circumstances, both European and Brazilian Portuguese allow for complex ones (HL%, LH%, where *H* stands for *high tone*, *L* for *low tone*, and % for a tonal boundary, and later * for a pitch accent). In most other prosodic and intonational features, in turn, Angolan Portuguese aligns with at least one or even with both of the latter two varieties: Angolan Portuguese neutral declarative sentences, for instance, are similar to those of most Brazilian and European Portuguese varieties in employing a falling tonal contour H+L* L%. A feature with regard to which Angolan Portuguese only aligns with one of these two varieties, in turn, is tonal truncation in interrogatives. In this regard,

Angolan Portuguese functions like most European Portuguese varieties in prohibiting it, whereas interrogative tonal truncation is widely attested in Brazilian Portuguese. For more information on intonational features and prosodic phrasing of Angolan Portuguese, the reader is referred to Santos (2020).

4.2 Morphosyntax

Agreement – Within the noun phrase, Angolan Portuguese –just like Brazilian Portuguese– can (partially) lack overt number agreement on targets, leading to noun phrases such as *os programa* [instead of *programas*] ‘the programmes’ (cf. Inverno 2009, 153ss., 264ss.; Adriano 2014, 167ss.; Undolo 2014, 182ss.), which has been explained by contact with Bantu languages (cf. Mingas 2000, 66ss.; Chavagne 2005, 240s.). The same holds of gender agreement in cases such as *meu* [instead of *minha*] *terra* ‘my land’ or *no mesmo* [instead of *na mesma*] *barriga* ‘in the same womb’. The use of morphologically masculine default forms instead of feminine ones seems to be most widely attested but the reverse gender mismatch pattern, as in *primeira* [instead of *primeiro*] *filho* ‘first son’, is also documented (cf. Mingas 2000, 70s.; Chavagne 2005, 242ss.; Inverno 2009, 163ss.; Adriano 2014, 204ss.). In the sentential domain, too, overt agreement between pre- and postverbal subjects and the verbal predicate can be lacking. In such cases, and unless an interlocutor is directly addressed (cf. Chavagne 2005, 236s.), the third person singular verb form can be used regardless of the person and number features of the subject in cases such as *nós ficava* [instead of *ficávamos*] *cá* ‘we stayed there’ and *eu vai* [instead of *vou*] *dar ajuda* ‘I will provide help’ (cf. Mingas 2000, 73ss.; Chavagne 2005, 234ss.; Inverno 2009, 247ss.; Adriano 2014, 216ss.; Sassuco 2016, 212). Once more, many of these references link this property (again reminiscent of Brazilian Portuguese) to Bantu influence.

Pronouns – The collocation of object clitics possibly is currently generalizing towards proclisis in all contexts, and clitic climbing is being lost, which can be seen in examples such as *te vejo* ‘I see you’ and *estão (a) se mentir* ‘they are lying to each other’ instead of European Portuguese *veja-te* and *estão-se a mentir* (next to unclimbed *estão a mentir-se*; cf. Gerards 2022, also cf. references therein for different opinions). Generalizing proclisis is, however, still masked by normative European Portuguese **pressure as especially evinced by hypercorrect** enclitics such as in *não vejo-te* ‘I don’t see you’, instead of *não te vejo*. The third person dative pronouns *lhe* ‘him/her’ and *lhes* ‘them’ as well as the full pronouns *ele(s)/ela(s)* are substituting the accusative pronouns *o(s)/a(s)*, which are being lost, as, for instance, in *lhes mataram* [instead of *mataram-nos*] ‘they killed them’ or *mato ela* [instead of *mato-a*] ‘I kill her’ (cf. Chavagne 2005, 227ss.; Inverno 2009, 174ss.; Adriano 2014, 403ss., 440ss.). In addition, there are hints that Angolan Portuguese is evolving towards a (partial) non-prodrop-language, which means that it prefers overt over zero subjects, as in *eu falo* [instead of *falo*] ‘I talk’ (cf. Teixeira 2012, 154–157). Invariable *se* can be used as a reflexive marker for all persons and numbers, as is exemplified by *nós conseguimos se entender* [instead of *entender-nos*] ‘we manage to under-

stand each other’ (cf. Chavagne 2005, 231; Adriano 2014, 221), which, again, has been linked to Bantu influence (cf. Inverno 2009, 182). Note, however, that reflexive marking does not seem to be obligatory, with structures such as *eu chamo* [instead of *chamo-me*] ‘my name is’ being documented (cf. Gärtner 1997, 148; Chavagne 2005, 257). Finally, in the rare cases of climbed clitics, reflexive copies in base position are sometimes not deleted, as can be seen in *me vou me casar* ‘I will get married’ instead of (*me*) *vou casar* (cf. Chavagne 2005, 259; Miguel ²2014, 92). In final **infinitival constructions** with *para* ‘for’, the strong accusative/dative *mim* ‘me’ can replace the nominative *eu* in examples such as *para mim* [instead of *eu*] *mudar* ‘for me to change’ (cf. Chavagne 2005, 229; Miguel ²2014, 95). Differentiation between informal *tu* and more formal *você* seems highly unstable (e.g., cf. Gonçalves 2013, 176s.). All Angolan Portuguese pronominal features are also typical of or at least attested in many Brazilian Portuguese varieties.

Determiners – Definite articles, as in Brazilian Portuguese, can be omitted, especially –but not only (cf. Chavagne 2005, 250s.; Lipski 2008, 92s.)– in combination with the universal quantifier *todo* ‘all’, such as in *todos* [instead of *todos os*] *livros* ‘all books’, and with possessive determiners, such as in *minha* [instead of *a minha*] *empresa* ‘my business’ (cf. Adriano 2014, 432ss.).

Grammatical gender – In Angolan Portuguese, some nouns such as *apetite* ‘appetite’ and *guarda-chuva* ‘umbrella’ that are masculine in European Portuguese can be feminine (cf. Undolo 2014, 191, 237, 252).

Possessive constructions – Possessive constructions can present possessive doubling by postposed prepositional phrases, such as in *sua boca dele* ‘his mouth, (lit.) his mouth of his’ instead of *a sua boca*, or, as in many Brazilian Portuguese varieties, may contain a postposed prepositional phrase only such as in *o partido dele* ‘his party’ instead of *o seu partido* (cf. Vilela 1999, 181; Chavagne 2005, 259; Adriano 2014, 440ss.).

Conjunctions and relative pronouns – The omission of simple complementizer and relative *que* is attested in structures such as *é hoje* [instead of *hoje que*] *ele vai vir* ‘it is today that he will come’ and *há muitas mããs estão* [instead of *que estão*] *a sofrer* ‘there are many mothers who are suffering’ (cf. Chavagne 2005, 256; Adriano 2014, 422ss.; Campos 2016). In contrast, semantically specified conjunctions such as *onde* ‘where’ and *embora* ‘although’, just like in Brazilian Portuguese, appear to contain complementizing *que* more often in Angolan than in European Portuguese. This can be seen in examples of the type *já sei onde que vou* [instead of *onde vou*] *trabalhar* ‘I already know where I am going to work’ and *havia tudo isso embora que houvesse* [instead of *embora houvesse*] *uma administração portuguesa* ‘there was all this although there was a Portuguese administration’ (cf. Gonçalves 2013, 173s.; Adriano 2014, 431s.).

Negation – The Angolan Portuguese verb phrase, too, displays deviations from European Portuguese. With regard to negation, and besides the simple pre-verbal marker *não* ‘not’, Angolan Portuguese, again aligning with Brazilian Portuguese, also employs bipartite negation by means of two separated instances of *não* such as *não cresci com os meus pais não* ‘I didn’t grow up with my parents’, with the last *não* being prosodically integrated into the sentence (cf. Inverno 2009, 275ss.). Negated imperatives – once more as

in Brazilian Portuguese – are frequently indicative such as *não fala assim* ‘don’t talk like this’ instead of employing the subjunctive *não fale assim* as in European Portuguese (cf. Chavagne 2005, 233; Inverno 2009, 237ss.; Undolo 2014, 175ss.). This tendency is not limited to imperatives, as can be seen in phrases such as *não quero que sabem* ‘I don’t want them to know’ instead of *não quero que saibam* (cf. Chavagne 2005, 231ss.; Adriano 2014, 292ss.; Undolo 2014, 171ss.; Campos 2016).

Prepositions – Changes of subcategorization frames of five different macro-types are frequent (cf. Undolo 2014, 203ss.; Adriano 2015, 190ss.). Firstly, prepositions selected by the verb can deviate from European Portuguese, with *em* ‘in’ apparently – and just like in Brazilian Portuguese – developing towards a default prepositional marker such as in *ir/chegar em* ‘to go to/to arrive at’ instead of European Portuguese *ir/chegar a* (cf. Vilela 1999, 182ss.; Adriano 2014, 333ss.). Secondly, direct objects of some verbs that are transitive in European Portuguese can be prepositional objects in Angolan Portuguese, such as in *avaliar sobre a.c.* ‘to evaluate something’ and *abolir com a.c.* ‘to abolish something’ instead of *avaliar a.c.* and *abolir a.c.* (cf. Adriano 2014, 352ss.). Thirdly, the opposite development is also attested for some verbs such as *assistir a.c.* ‘to attend something’ and *obedecer alguém* ‘to obey someone’ instead of *assistir a a.c.* and *obedecer a alguém* (cf. Adriano 2014, 364ss.). Fourthly, Angolan Portuguese, once more similarly to Brazilian Portuguese, sometimes displays encoding strategies different from European Portuguese for beneficiaries/recipients in the sense that these are not always governed by the dative morpheme *a* but by the prepositions *em* or *para*, such as in *dar informação na/para a senhora* ‘to give information to the woman’ instead of *dar informação à senhora* (cf. Adriano 2014, 337ss., 345s.). Fifthly, infinitival complements in verbal periphrases are often not introduced by prepositions, as can be illustrated with *estar* + infinitive ‘to be doing something’ and *continuar* + infinitive ‘to continue to do something’ instead of European Portuguese *estar a/continuar a* + infinitive (cf. Chavagne 2005, 252; Adriano 2014, 329). Differential object marking with *a* (often called *prepositional accusative*) can occur in contexts from which it is ruled out in European Portuguese, such as *votem ao nosso candidato* ‘vote our candidate’ instead of *votem o nosso candidato* (cf. Adriano 2014, 353s.; Gerards 2023). Cases of a non-normative addition of *de* in subordinate *que*-clauses (*dequeísmo*) as well as opposite cases of a non-normative deletion of *de* in such clauses (*queísmo*), just like in Brazilian and also in colloquial European Portuguese, also occur. This can be seen in examples such as *dizer de que* [instead of *que*] ‘to say that’ and *chegámos à conclusão que* [instead of *de que*] ‘we came to the conclusion that’ (cf. Adriano 2014, 355ss., 376ss.). A further locus of instability are relative clauses, which, once more like in Brazilian and in colloquial European Portuguese, can display a lack of prepositional marking of the relativizer, such as in *assisti ao filme que* [instead of *de que*] *me falaste* ‘I attended the movie you told me about’, or the pronominal resumption of the relativized antecedent, such as in *assisti (a) o filme que me falaste dele* [instead of *de que me falaste*] ‘I attended the movie you told me about’ (cf. Adriano 2014, 380ss.; Hagemeyer 2016, 55ss.). Comparatives can feature either simple *de* or complex grading structures such as *em relação a* ‘in relation to’ to introduce the term of comparison, as can be seen

in cases like *é mais velho dele* [instead of *do que ele*] ‘he is older than him’ and *A Rosa acha a Bela mais simpática em relação à Marta* [instead of *do que a Marta*] ‘Rosa finds Bela more likeable than Marta’ (cf. Undolo 2014, 193ss.).

Verb forms – Irregular European Portuguese verb forms can be subject to analogical regularization in Angolan Portuguese in cases such as *sento* ‘I feel’, *prefero* ‘I prefer’, and *sabo* ‘I know’ instead of *sinto*, *prefiro*, and *sei*, or in *esteje* ‘I am/(s)he is’ instead of the European Portuguese subjunctive *esteja* (cf. Chavagne 2005, 237ss.). The most frequent existential is *ter* instead of the European Portuguese *haver* (cf. Adriano 2014, 320).

4.3 Lexicon

As for the differential lexicon of Angolan Portuguese, Ribas (1997), Chavagne (2005, 144, annex 2), and Undolo (2014, 224ss.) list 4,500, 2,172, and 126 Angolisms, respectively. A discussion of the 709 Angolisms recognized in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* can be found in Sacanene (2019).

Derivation – Especially with verbs, the prefix *des-* is more productive than in European Portuguese and can be found, for instance, in *desconseguir* ‘to fail’ (< *des-* + *conseguir* ‘to succeed’) and *desafastar* ‘to remove, to separate, to detach, to go away’ (< *des-* + *afastar* ‘to remove, to separate, to detach’, cf. Chavagne 2005, 168ss.). Hybrid forms that combine Bantu and Portuguese elements occur, too. In the verbal domain, Angolan Portuguese may present the verbalizing Bantu prefix *a-* such as in *aresponder* ‘to answer’ (< *a-* + *responder*, cf. Chavagne 2005, 170, 177ss.; Sassuco 2016, 209). Loan verbs are generally integrated into the *ar-* class, either with the Bantu verbal prefix *ku-* in examples such as *(ku)xukulular* ‘to cast a disdainful glance’ (< Kimbundu *kuxukulula* ‘to give a bad look’ + *-ar*) or without in examples such as *xingar* ‘to insult’ (< Kimbundu *kúxinga* ‘to insult’ + *-ar*) and *banzar* ‘to think, to imagine’ (< Kimbundu *banza* ‘to think, to imagine’ + *-ar*, cf. Chavagne 2005, 147). In the nominal domain, Angolan Portuguese can make use of the Bantu prefixes *ki-* and *ka-* to form augmentatives and diminutives; examples include *kicasa* ‘big house’, *kivelha* ‘very old’, *kaloja* ‘little shop’, and *kapequeno* ‘smallish’ (cf. Chavagne 2005, 172ss.; Sassuco 2016, 210). More Angolan Portuguese differential lexemes featuring derivational affixes can be found in Chavagne (2005, 168–188).

Composition – Differential composition in Angolan Portuguese seems to be rather rare. Some examples are given in Chavagne (2005, 191s.) and include *farinha-musseque* ‘manioc flour’ (< *farinha* + Kimbundu *museke* ‘neighbourhood in the urban periphery’), *cantalutismo* ‘tendency to celebrate the political fight’ (< *cantar* ‘to sing’ + *luta* ‘fight’ + nominalising suffix *-ismo*), and *bate-boca* ‘lively discussion’ (< *bater* ‘to hit’ and *boca* ‘mouth’).

Reduction – A number of reductive morphophonological processes are attested in Angolan Portuguese (cf. Chavagne 2005, 133ss.). Among these are apocopation (e.g., *panquê* ‘food’ < *panqueca* ‘pancake (colloquial)’; also *pancar* ‘to eat’), syncopation (e.g., *sô* ‘mister [vocative]’ < *senhor*, *sá* ‘madam [vocative]’ < *senhora*), prothesis (e.g., *vavó* < *avó*

‘grandmother’), or a combination of several such processes (e.g., *tuga* ‘Portuguese’ < *Portugal*, *turra* ‘terrorist’ < *terrorista*, *coche* ‘a tiny little bit’ < *poucoquinho*).

Semantic change – Semantic change of lexical elements that also exist in European Portuguese is quite frequently noted in the literature. Examples include *anexo* ‘room, house’ besides ‘subsidiary building, annex’, *deslocado* ‘war refugee’ besides ‘out of place’, *estreito* ‘thin, skinny’ besides ‘narrow’, *falar* ‘to say’ besides ‘to talk, to speak’, *gasosa* ‘bribe [money], corruption’ besides ‘lemonade’, *incomodado* ‘ill’ besides ‘molested’, and *proveniente* ‘person from the area formerly controlled by UNITA, former UNITA fighter, war expellee’ besides ‘coming from’ (cf. Undolo 2014, 234–271). Beyond that, the local adverb *aonde* can mean ‘where to’ as in European Portuguese, ‘where’ (EPg. *onde*), and ‘from where’ (EPg. *donde*, cf. Adriano 2014, 425ss.). A further interesting point is what Chavagne (2005, 204ss.) tentatively calls ‘expletive’ (“explétif”) adverbs, among them *só* ‘only’ in *diz só!*, ‘just say!’, and (*a*)*inda* ‘still’ in *ouve ainda!*, ‘listen [?]’. The precise function of such uses – due to Bantu influence (cf. Chimuku 2019, 53ss.) – is not yet clear, but an analysis in terms of modal particles may be promising (cf. Meisnitzer/Gerards 2016; Gerards/Meisnitzer 2017). *Ainda* has, however, an additional Angolan Portuguese specific meaning ‘not yet’, which is clearly adverbial (cf. Inverno 2009, 285) and not amenable to a potential modal analysis.

Loan words – Much of the differential Angolan Portuguese lexicon are loan words from Bantu languages, especially Kimbundu and Umbundu (cf. Vilela 1999, 180s.). Many of these loans designate extralinguistic realities typical of Angola and not found in Portugal, such as, for instance, flora and fauna, cuisine, as well as religious and cultural practices (cf. Ribas 1997; Chavagne 2005, 211ss.). Among the Bantu loan words repeatedly cited in the literature and considered generalized and stable (Chavagne 2005, 219ss.; for overviews of umbundisms, cf. Costa 2015; Cambuta 2018) are, for example, *bué* ‘much, a lot’ (also in colloquial/youth European Portuguese), *cabaço* ‘hymen, virginity’, *candongá* ‘illegal commerce’, *caxinde* (a medicinal plant), *cota* ‘the elder/respected person’, *dendém* (a type of palm-tree), *imbamba* ‘personal belongings, luggage’, *kamba* ‘friend’, *kimbanda* ‘healer, sorcerer, diviner’, *kimbo* ‘village’, *maximbombo* ‘bus, coach’, *musseque* ‘slum’ (also used in European Portuguese), and *muxima* ‘heart’.

Loan translations – A case different from loan words are loan translations by means of which Portuguese lexical material is used to translate a Bantu lexeme or phrase. Some such cases are *filho de mulher* ‘daughter, (lit.) son of woman’ (< Kimbundu *mona wa muhatu*), instead of *filha* ‘daughter’, *comeu meu dinheiro*, ‘(s)he spent my money, (lit.) (s)he ate my money’ (< Kimbundu *wadi kitadi kyami*) instead of *gastou* [‘spent’] *o meu dinheiro* (cf. Sassuco 2016, 214s.). Another case is nominalized *o mais-velho* ‘the elder/respected person’ (cf. Undolo 2014, 257), which corresponds to the loan translation of *cota* (cf. above).

5 Internal language policy

5.1 Linguistic purism

There is no legal specification as to which is the officially preferred variety of Portuguese in Angola. The pan-Lusitan spelling reform of 1990 (*Acordo Ortográfico*) is not legally binding as Angola –though co-financing joint spelling projects– criticizes that it does not properly consider Afro-Lusitan varieties. Despite all this, European Portuguese generally has highest overt de facto prestige in Angola. Its actual command, on the other hand, is limited among most Angolans, including teachers and other actors of high social status (also cf. 3.3 and 5.3). This means, in the first place, that beyond the lexicon endogenous usages deviating from the exogenous European Portuguese norm are often not even noticed by speakers themselves, including the most educated ones (cf. Adriano 2014, 134). If, however, deviations from European Portuguese are recognized as such, they often are subject to prescriptive criticism by institutions and speakers alike (cf. Adriano 2014, 115; Bernardo 2017, 45ss.). Especially in formal settings such as public speech and school contexts, speakers who do not adhere to the exogenous European Portuguese norm run the risk of being considered uncouth, coarse, poorly educated, and lacking intelligence (cf. Bernardo 2017, 52). Nonetheless, there are clear hints that Angola is currently undergoing a process of discursive change in this regard. A good example is the discussion of the term *linguistic error* in Adriano (2014, 104–144), who advocates a careful and self-confident re-evaluation of the prestige of differential Angolan Portuguese features as part of the formation process of an endogenous Angolan Portuguese norm (for an early precursor, cf. Marques 1990). Slowly, such expert discourse is also reaching a lay public, as witnessed, for instance, by a newspaper article published in 2021 in *Jornal de Angola*. Its (anonymous) author clearly calls for linguistic emancipation:

‘Linguistic dishonesty reigns in our society, an indoctrinated behaviour created by schools, which, from their own point of view, tend to define what is “wrong” and what is “right”. This hegemonic posture of [European] Portuguese violates the linguistic variety of Angolan Portuguese’.¹⁹

Such positions seem to strike more and more a chord with lay speakers, for whom Angolan Portuguese is gaining covert prestige: the reference status of European Portuguese is no longer taken for granted by many Angolans who begin to consider their Angolan Portuguese a marker of identity (cf. Zau 2011, 94–127; Miguel ²2014, 16–21; Adriano 2015, 49–92; also cf. Cruz 2013, 173s.) and even perceive European Portuguese as “elitist” (cf. Undo 2014, 115s.). The ongoing process of sociolinguistic re-evaluation of Angolan Portu-

¹⁹ “Na nossa sociedade impera a desonestidade linguística, característica comportamental doutrinária construída pela escola, que tende a definir na sua óptica o ‘errado’ e o ‘certo’. Essa postura hegemónica do português estupra a variedade linguística do português angolano” (s.a. 2021).

guese features is also reflected by the foundation of the privately-run *Academia Angolana de Letras* in 2016.

5.2 Description of linguistic characteristics

There are no prescriptive-normative works that would fix or let alone contribute to the formation of the currently emerging endogenous standard variety of Angolan Portuguese. There exist, to date, neither grammars, nor orthographies of Angolan Portuguese, which also explains why endogenous developments are still often stigmatized and considered errors. Ribas (1997) is a singular descriptive dictionary of Angolan Portuguese and contains 4,500 Angolisms. The *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* contains a total of 709 Angolisms (cf. Sacanene 2019). Being a still highly instable, emerging non-dominant variety of Portuguese, linguistic peculiarities of Angolan Portuguese are primarily collected in a quantitatively still very limited number of descriptive publications that strive to classify their use from the perspective of variational linguistics (e.g., Chavagne 2005; Inverno 2009; Adriano 2014; 2015; Undolo 2014; Massiala 2019; references in 4; the extremely useful online data base *Português de Angola*, cf. Inverno/Figueiredo 2022). First attempts to evaluate variants collected in descriptive works as diasystematically neutral are made, for example, in the *Gramática do Português* (Gonçalves 2013). A problem in this regard is that even for linguistic features used in formal contexts there often is insufficient distinction between Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese. Undolo's (2014, 288) urgent call for more descriptive work should, indeed, be taken seriously by the academic community, especially since the unmonitored formation process of an endogenous Angolan Portuguese norm has already and irreversibly begun.

5.3 Usage of linguistic characteristics

Given the sparsity of specialized literature, it is for the most part difficult to evaluate which of the features described in 4 are used in public authorities, schools, the media, and literature – and, if so, to what extent. What is generally safe to say is that, contrary to official discourse, the use of differential Angolan Portuguese features is becoming more widespread at all levels. This increases the gap between the linguistic reality of everyday life and the doctrinal orientation towards European Portuguese.

Variety used by public authorities – With regard to public authorities, we are not aware of any studies scrutinizing their use of differential Angolan Portuguese linguistic features. It is, however, expectable that at least some Angolan Portuguese differential features are making their way into both written and oral productions of public authorities – a hypothesis that needs to be verified or falsified by future research.

Variety used in education – Undolo (2014) and Adriano (2015) are invaluable pioneering studies for the use of differential Angolan Portuguese features in schools. Adriano

shows that Angolan teachers of Portuguese as well as Angolans studying towards such a degree often –and in many cases in their vast majority– use Angolan Portuguese forms deviant from European Portuguese in the domain of clitics and prepositions (cf. 4.2). For both teachers and students, Undolo (2014) comes to similar conclusions not only for the use of clitics but also for verbal mood selection, agreement, comparative structures, and government. On the other hand, Angolan teachers do see it as their task to eliminate Angolan Portuguese peculiarities from their students' language use (cf. Adriano 2014, 115s.). The obvious discrepancy between doctrinal and real language use is one of the main reasons of the high academic failure in Angola (cf. Adriano 2014, 116s.; Bernardo 2017, 42s., 53).

Variety used in the media – Many differential features of Angolan Portuguese are also attested in the media. This is documented in Adriano (2014), who, by way of analysing transcribed radio and TV programmes but without providing quantifications, shows that a wide array of morphosyntactic features of Angolan Portuguese are present in audio-visual media. Some examples are the lack of overt number and gender agreement within the noun phrase and between subject and verbal predicate, indicative mood selection instead of subjunctive, and differential patterns in the use of prepositions and in the collocation of clitics. A further important study is Massiala (2019), who shows that many phonic features of Angolan Portuguese are attested –and sometimes even constitute the major variant– in the formal speech of employees of the Angolan TV station *TPA*. This is true, for instance –and among many other features not listed here for reasons of space– of the monophthongization of diphthongs, the limitation of centralized [i] to absolute final unstressed position, being substituted by [e] or [i] elsewhere, the realization of stressed European Portuguese /e/ as [ɛ] instead of [e] and of stressed /o/ as [ɔ] instead of [o], the realization of unstressed /a/ as [a] instead of [ɐ], the realization of /ɲ/ as [j] instead of [ɲ], and the numerous allophonic realizations of /r/.

Variety used in literature – To the best of our knowledge, there are no studies rigorously investigating the use of differential Angolan Portuguese features in literature. Many examples from different linguistic levels can be found in Chavagne (2005) and a list of examples of pronominal collocation deviating from European Portuguese in Angolan literature is presented in Miguel (2014, 91s.). By way of example, compare the following quotation from Jorge Macedo's 1977 novel *Gente do meu bairro*:

“quando isso conseguimos (um ou outro entre milhões) nos obrigam então renunciar nossos falares regionais” (Macedo 1977, 105, quoted from Chavagne 2005, 28).²⁰

In this quotation, the verb *obrigar* lacks the prescriptively required preposition *a* and comes with a direct object *nossos falares regionais* instead. Likewise, the only prescriptively correct position of the pronominal clitic *nos* is enclisis to *obrigam*, i.e. *obrigam-*

²⁰ ‘When we succeed (one or another among millions) they then force us to renounce our regional languages’.

nos. Yet, in the quotation, *nos* is proclitic to the finite verb *obrigam*. With regard to the use of differential Angolan Portuguese features in literature, note, too, that it is unclear which features are used neutrally and are commonly accepted and which are used for humorous means or to positively or negatively index different social groups. In this regard, one hypothesis could be that Angolan Portuguese lexical features are used ludically or are indexicalized most frequently in literature due to their increased saliency (cf. Chavagne 2005, 218s., but also cf. Macedo's quotation above). As a final remark, it should also be borne in mind that Angolan literature, especially of international impact, is still very often published in Portuguese publishing houses and that some of the major Angolan publishing houses (e.g., *Plural Editores Angola*) are part of the Portuguese *Porto Editora* group. Both may well have a language purist side effect in the sense of linguistic modification by editors.

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