Nascent *angolanidade* in the Angolan short story:

reevaluating Arnaldo Santos and early Luandino Vieira

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Abstract

Jared W. Hendrickson: Nascent *angolanidade* in the Angolan short story:
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(Under the direction of Ellen W. Sapega)

The present work examines the linguistic and thematic legacy of three Angolan prose works from the 1950s and 1960s: *Quinaxixe* by Arnaldo Santos and *A cidade e a infância* and *Luuanda* by Luandino Vieira. The twenty-two stories contained in the collections portray Angola as an ethnically and linguistically diverse colonial society undergoing rapid transformation. In depicting the divisions and injustices imposed by Portuguese colonial policies in a literary language that approached nascent linguistic patterns of an emerging Angolan Vernacular Portuguese, Vieira and Santos exemplified how the Portuguese language could be used to express *angolanidade*, the distinct character of Angolan society. This project details the historical and socio-cultural context in which these collections were written and provides an overview of the ways in which their linguistic experimentation mirrored linguistic processes at work as a result of the intensified contact between Portuguese and Bantu languages in Angola in the mid-twentieth century.

Keywords: *angolanidade*, Angolan Vernacular Portuguese, *musseque*, assimilation, Santos, Vieira, Angola

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Introduction

This project will reflect on the evolution of Angolan literature in prose during the final period of Portuguese colonial control up until independence (1948-1975), focusing on the contrastive assimilation and linguistic processes occurring concurrently in the rapidly transforming landscape of mid-twentieth century Luanda as evidenced in the works *Quinaxixe* (1965) by Arnaldo Santos and *A cidade e a infância* (1960) and *Luuanda* (1963) by Luandino Vieira. The linguistically and ethnically diverse characters and language crafted by Santos and Vieira reflect a colonial society characterized by deep divisions: linguistic, socio-economic, racial, and spatial. Socio-economic and linguistic divisions were codified and intensified through various colonial policies[1] instituted in the 20th century by terms including *assimilado, indígena, civilizado,* and *não-civilizado* that indicated adherence to, or rejection of, the intrusive colonial culture and language of the Portuguese. Cities were spatially divided into urban spaces of center, the *cidade de asfalto*, and periphery, the *musseque*. *Musseque* from the Kimbundu *mu seke* meaning "sandy place" originally referred to areas of the city where asphalt did not reach and that were therefore characterized by sandy earth (Moorman 32). Racial and spatial divisions were visible in that most white colonists resided in the city center's modernized *cidade de asfalto*, while *mestiços* and both assimilated and unassimilated people of color generally resided in the

[1] Laws included the Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena (1914) the Estatuto Político, Social e Criminal dos Indígenas de Angola e Moçambique (1926), the Acto Colonial (1930), the Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português e Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina (1933), and finally, the Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique (1954) (Marques, 677-81).

peripheral *musseques*. These divisions existed in stark contrast to the harmonious relations and cultural integration touted by the *lusotropicalist* ideology adopted by Salazar's Estado Novo.

In the years prior to Angola's armed struggle for independence, which lasted from 1961-1974, a generation of young intellectuals became committed to asserting an Angolan literary voice and cultural identity, commonly referred to as *angolanidade*. For this generation, *angolanidade* celebrated the confluence of European and African cultures present in Angola while emphasizing and reclaiming the importance of African cultural contributions to Angolan society. Historian Marissa Moorman traces the formation of a cultural *angolanidade* that is pluralistic, urban, African and cosmopolitan, back to Luanda's *musseques* in the 1950s, though the term itself did not emerge until the following decade (40). A contemporary definition of the term can be found in the *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, which defines 'Angolanness' or '*angolanidade'* as:

> "The concept of what constitutes the Angolan nation. Angolanness is many things to many people, but it implies social consensus about nation-building and norms of governance that embrace all, regardless of background, social standing, political affiliation, or ethnicity. Angola has to create this environment for people to consider themselves Angolan rather than attach loyalty to some other moniker" (James 8).

As *angolanidade* implies a social sense of belonging to a nation, it is not surprising that it was conceived in opposition to the Estado Novo's anti-independence, homogenizing, imperial *portugalidade.*[2] The term *angolanidade* that emerged in the mid-twentieth century, has evolved to gain meaning and applications over time, including anthropological, sociological, literary, etc.

[2] The term was coined by Portuguese historian Alfredo Pimenta in *Em Defesa da Portugalidade* in 1947 and utilized in political discourse thereafter by the Estado Novo to refer to Portugal and its overseas colonies as one, indivisible Nation, "Portugal do Minho a Timor."

Since its conception, *angolanidade* has been the subject of debate for Angolan intellectuals both before and after independence, including Mário Pinto de Andrade, Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, Manuel Jorge, José Carlos Venâncio, Luís Kandjimbo, Víctor Kajibanga and Patrício Batsîkama, among many others from outside of Angola. Although Angolan essayist Costa Andrade claims that the term had been circulating in intellectual discussions since 1959, the first written uses of the term date to 1961 when Portuguese essayist Alfredo Margarido included the term *angolanidade* in an essay while describing the poetry of future Angolan president, Agostinho Neto. In the same year, *angolanidade* appeared in an article by Costa Andrade, "Dedicado a dois poetas da angolanidade," commissioned by Mário Pinto de Andrade for an issue of the French African literary magazine *Présence Africaine* dedicated to Angola (Kandjimbo 75). Both Margarido and Costa Andrade utilized the term to describe the shared literary and cultural substratum characteristics of poetry by Agostinho Neto and António Jacinto that they believed were evidence of an *other* cultural specificity that existed in contrast to *portugalidade*. Mário Pinto de Andrade understood the notion in terms of his Marxist-Leninist beliefs, as existing above racial or ethnic lines: "angolanidade requer enraizamento cultural e totalizante das comunidades humanas, abraça e ultrapassa dialecticamente os particularíssimos das regiões e das etnias, em direção à nação" (Pinto de Andrade *apud* Kandjimbo 80).

In 1968, Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira published a collection of essays entitled *Luanda <<Ilha>> Crioula* that conceptualized what he considered to be a parallel notion of *crioulidade* that would further complicate the debate surrounding Angolan cultural identity. Mário António's essays likened the coastal urban cities Luanda and Benguela, the primary sites of Euro-African contact in Angola, to the social realities of Atlantic creole islands such as Cape Verde and São Tomé. His *crioulidade* did not draw from the continental African context but was

informed by theories from new-world anthropologists like Gilberto Freyre and was characterized by an enthusiasm for the Portuguese colonizer act that his contemporary and future critics would deem dangerously close to *lusotropicalism*.

It is important to emphasize that *angolanidade* was conceived by cultural elites and was first expressed through cultural production such as literature. However, for Vieira, Santos, and their contemporaries, *angolanidade* was not merely a cultural notion, but also a political and linguistic one. In the context of Angola's armed struggle for independence, the Marxist-Leninist MPLA (Movimento Popular da Libertação de Angola, formed in Luanda in 1956) of which both Vieira and Santos were sympathizers, imagined a national identity for the Angolan *povo* that was pluralistic: pan-ethnic, multiracial, and supra-tribal. The party itself, however, was composed primarily of *mestiços*, assimilated and unassimilated people of color (principally ethnic Kimbundus), and ethnic Portuguese residing in and around the colonial capital of Luanda. The language through which MPLA intellectuals sought to express *angolanidade* was Portuguese, albeit a variety that had been Angolanized by sustained contact with Bantu languages like Kimbundu.

Two additional liberation groups were formed during the same time period that were ideologically, geographically, ethnically, and linguistically distinct from the MPLA and the Portuguese against whom they fought. The FNLA[3] (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola) led by Holden Roberto originated to the north of Luanda and was based in Kinshasa in neighboring Zaire (present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo). Composed primarily of French and Kikongo speakers of the ethnic Bakongo in the northernmost reaches of Angola and

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[3]Founded in 1954 as the União dos Povos do Norte de Angola, it was known as the UPA (União dos Povos de Angola) from 1959-61 when it merged with the PDA (Partido Democrático de Angola) in an attempt to become a national political movement.

the south of Zaire, the FNLA's ideology was equal parts anti-colonial and anti-communist. A third movement was born in 1966 when former Holden Roberto lieutenant Jonas Savimbi became disillusioned with the FNLA's concentration in Angola's north and organized UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola). Savimbi was a political opportunist whose ideology placed him in the nativist camp, emphasizing national unity, but relying heavily on support from his own ethnic group, the Umbundu-speaking Ovimbundu of Angola's central highlands. For the purpose of this project, we utilize a pre-independence notion of *angolanidade* as conceived by Mário Pinto de Andrade and the MPLA, to refer to a pluralistic social sense of belonging to an imagined independent Angolan nation whose cultural, historical, and linguistic reference was the capital city of Luanda.

As Benedict Anderson points out in his seminal work, *Imagined Communities*, language, along with literature and history are central to imagining the nation. For this generation of authors and intellectuals who conceived *angolanidade* and imagined an independent Angolan nation, the history and language of Luanda were the history and language of the nation. Luanda and other coastal urban centers had been the principal sites for European and African cross-cultural and linguistic colonial contact, mixing and exchange since the Portuguese arrived on the continent.

Portuguese explorers first arrived in present-day Angola in the late 15th century. Soon after, with the blessing of the dominant Kingdom of Kongo, fortified trading posts called *feitorias* were established along the coast to centralize and dominate the trade of local products and slave labor between Europe, the Americas, and Asia. In 1576, São Paulo da Assunção de Luanda was founded. The settlement became the center of the Portuguese colony of Angola in 1627. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Angola was the principal source of slave labor for

Brazil's sugar cane plantations and mines. Despite the colony's importance, by the mid-19th century the white population had still never surpassed more than two thousand (Bender 64-5).

From the beginning of its colonial project on the continent, Portugal, with its relatively small population, had a difficult time convincing peasants and laborers to resettle in Angola as the tropical climate and diseases like malaria gave the colony the reputation as the white man's grave. Therefore, starting in the 16th century, the Portuguese became the first European power to officially use prison populations (*degredados*) as a colonizing presence. Rather than use Angola as a penal colony, Portugal simply sent freed prisoners with little or no control over their activities, and with the single stipulation that they not return to Portugal until they completed their sentence (Bender 60-1). The population of *degredados* was disproportionately male with gender ratios as high as 10:1 in favor of males (Bender 52). While most of those who survived their sentence opted to return to Europe, for those who stayed, the scarcity of white women led to miscegenation. Many Portuguese men took African wives and adopted their Bantu languages. Their offspring came to constitute a small, semi-acculturated *mestiço* or *"creole"* elite society within the colony's coastal urban centers that controlled most aspects of local economy and occupied many colonial administrative posts. While this elite was familiar with Portuguese, Kimbundu (or other Bantu languages) was their dominant language (Inverno 2018, 113). Until the beginning of the 20th century this elite outnumbered the white Portuguese population. Known by many names, among them *filhos da terra*, *filhos do país* or *angolenses*, this Luso-African elite acted as a bridge between the two cultural worlds. In general, they were literate, Catholic, and cosmopolitan like their elite counterparts in Brazil and the metropole, yet they were bilingual and educated principally in Bantu languages by their African mothers and servants as their African ancestors had been before them (Vansina 279). Many would have been initiated into, and

become intimate with, Bantu society and its customs through their mothers, relatives, servants, and neighbors.

Although the end of trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 19th century, shifting colonial policies, and an influx of white immigration to the colony, "greatly reduced patterns of creolization and the accessibility of class ascendancy to all but a limited number of blacks and mestizos," the creolized Luso-African elite left a legacy that would greatly influence the search for *angolanidade* in the years prior to Angolan independence (Peres, 3). As early as the late 19th century, members of the Luso-African elite began to celebrate and assert their creolized identity resulting from the "interpenetration of Portuguese culture with African culture" in print (Corrado 104). *Filhos da terra* like Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da Matta began to cultivate intellectual respect for Kimbundu culture and language and advocate for an autochthonous Angolan literature. Cordeiro da Matta penned titles that valorized African linguistic and cultural heritage, 1891's *Filosofia popular em provérbias angoleneses* and a Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary that was published in Lisbon in 1893.

This era in Angolan letters is characterized by the first attempts to elaborate and assert a distinct cultural identity resultant from the contact between Europeans and Africans without denying African heritage coincided with a renewed Portuguese interest in Angola as a viable settler colony. Earnest attempts to colonize beyond the coast were not undertaken until after the Berlin Conference of 1884. The occupation of the interior was motivated in response to the colonial ambitions of other European powers, such as France, Germany, and Britain who also sought to extract wealth and natural resources from the vast continent during the aptly named Scramble for Africa.

Given that Angola is nearly fourteen times larger than Portugal and that until the end of

the 19th century few concerted efforts were made to settle the interior, it is unsurprising that until relatively late in their colonial history, most Angolans had limited contact with any variety of Portuguese, and even fewer had any occasion to speak Portuguese to each other. Therefore, development of an Africanized dialect of Portuguese, such as the Angolan Vernacular Portuguese currently spoken in the country, was hampered. Throughout its colonial history, however, there was extensive contact between Europeans and Angolans in coastal urban centers such as Luanda and Benguela. While Portuguese was no doubt spoken by European settlers, the *creole* elite, and as a second language by urban-dwelling Angolans, African languages were the primary means of communication among Africans and were frequently used by Europeans as well, serving as the *linguas francas* in the colony from the arrival of the Portuguese well into the early twentieth century (Lipski 8). The bilingualism of the Luso-African elite and the existence of well-established *linguas francas* are possible explanations for why a Portuguese pidgin never arose in Angola in the way that it did in other African colonies such as Cape Verde, Guiné, and São Tomé. The linguistic reality of Angola for over three hundred years was that daily colonial life was carried out in Kimbundu and other Bantu languages.

Following Brazilian independence in 1822, international recognition of Angola's borders (1884-5), and with mounting international pressure to end transatlantic slave trade, Portugal finally took measures to settle and administer Angola directly. These occurrences and the resultant growing number of white settlers broke the three-century monopoly that the Luso-Africans had held in administration and trade. Although African languages continued to be the most-spoken languages among Africans, especially in the vast interior, for the first time, Portuguese settlers outnumbered Africans and Euro-Africans in a handful of growing cities (Sá da Bandeira/Lubango and Moçâmedes/Namibe). The mere presence of more settlers encouraged

Africans and the Luso-African elite to acquire a more thorough knowledge of Portuguese and to use the language more frequently as it was associated with economic success and social prestige (Vansina 277, Inverno 117). Most transformative, however, were the previously mentioned colonial policies passed in the first half of the 20th century that made proficiency in European Portuguese a requirement for citizenship and the ascription of civilized status. From the 1950s onward, with the ever-increasing number of Portuguese in Angola, the colony's demographics and linguistic reality drastically changed resulting in a diglossic situation between Portuguese and Bantu languages that would endure well after independence. This particular diglossic situation maintained Portuguese as the high variety: the language of formal interaction with the government, education, and media, while national languages endured as low varieties: the language of daily life and informal interaction.

Apart from a small number of Khoisan[4] groups in the extreme southwest, the majority of Angola's African population is of Bantu extraction, comprising six principal ethnolinguistic groups that arrived in the area during the great Bantu expansion believed to have occurred in two waves during the past 2-3,000 years. The most populous ethnolinguistic group representing nearly 40% of the country's 2014 population is the Ovimbundu, Umbundu speakers generally associated with the central highlands and south-central coast (INE 2016). The Ambundu (or Mbundu) represent the second-largest ethnolinguistic group in Angola at nearly 25% of the country's total population. The Kimbundu-speaking Ambundu have long resided in the country's northwest corner, in and around Luanda. Due to its geographic distribution near the colonial capital, Kimbundu has long been the principal *lingua franca* for the colony and the principal substrate influence on the Angolan Portuguese spoken in and around Luanda. The Bakongo (or

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[4] 'Khoisan' is a catch-all term for the various indigenous groups of Southwestern Africa that do not speak Bantu languages.

Kongo) people are Kikongo-speakers concentrated in the north of Angola (and in the neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo and Republic of Congo) that constitute the third largest ethnolinguistic group in the country at around 13% of the population (INE 2016). Bantu-speaking groups such as the Ovambo in the south, the Chokwe in the northeast, the Luvale in the southeast, and others still, constitute a minority.

To this day, Portuguese remains the only official language of the Republic of Angola and is the language habitually used at home by 71.2% of the population nationwide (INE 2016). National languages have decreased starkly in usage since independence with Umbundu, Kikongo, and Kimbundu being spoken by 23%, 8.2%, and 7.8% of the population nationwide respectively. The drastic and rapid increase in usage and sheer number of multi-lingual speakers of Portuguese within Angola has allowed for rapid, albeit late, development of a partially restructured Angolan Vernacular Portuguese. The catalyst for the emergence of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese was undoubtedly the implementation of assimilation policies during Portugal's late intensified colonial aspirations on the continent that encouraged adoption of the Portuguese language. Intensified contact between Portuguese and Bantu languages immediately prior to independence and the decision to make Portuguese the sole official language after independence were also key factors in the late development of an Angolan lect of Portuguese. The works that form the corpus of this project*, A cidade e a infância, Quinaxixe,* and *Luuanda* portray these processes of assimilation, moments of cultural and linguistic tension, contact, and exchange that contributed to the emergence of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese and a linguistic cultural identity in Portuguese, a linguistic *angolanidade*.

In the first chapter of this project I will detail the formation and evolution of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império—a social and cultural student association formed in the mid-twentieth

century for students from Portugal's colonies in Africa and Asia attending university in the metropole. The CEI's bulletin *Mensagem*, published from the 1940s to the 1960s, included literary and political contributions from students who would become key figures in the African liberation movements, among them Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, and Mário Pinto de Andrade. *Mensagem* was a pioneering publication that disseminated African literature written in Portuguese throughout the Empire, the metropole, and abroad. Many notable authors of African literature written in Portuguese began their literary careers with participation in the publication: Alda do Espírito Santo, Luandino Vieira, Luís Bernardo Honwana, Arnaldo Santos, and Noémia de Sousa among many others. The CEI played a crucial role in bringing down the very regime that created it by opening a space for young authors and intellectuals to publish, depicting colonial realities and cultural and linguistic identities literarily. Their literary efforts are replete with a desire for the revindication of African cultural expression that recall the incipient nationalism and search for *angolanidade* that began in the latter part of the 19th century with Cordeiro da Matta's generation of Angolan intellectuals.

In the second chapter I will analyze two collections of short stories released by the CEI's Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos that represent a key moment in the evolution of Angolan national literature in prose: *A cidade e a infância* (1960) by Luandino Vieira and *Quinaxixe* (1965) by Arnaldo Santos. Both authors and their collections were deeply shaped by growing up in the working-class *musseques* of Luanda during a time of rapid societal transformation due to a wave of increased Portuguese immigration after the Estado Novo came to power.

José Luandino Vieira was born José Vieira Mateus da Graça in 1935 in rural Ourém, Portugal. His family migrated to Angola when he was very young. He left school at the age of

fifteen to work odd jobs, including a stint as a mechanic. In 1956 he left Luanda in military service, travelling to the Huambo region (Nova Lisboa), an experience that would show him that the colonial reality was very different outside of the capital city. Since his early teenage years, he was a member of the MPLA (Movimento para Libertação da Angola) that fought against the Portuguese in favor of independence and the formation of an Angolan Republic. He was arrested in 1959 during the *Processo dos 50*, accused of connections with the organization. After his initial imprisonment and release, he would again be arrested by the PIDE in 1961, charged with subversive political activities against the State and spend the next three years in various prisons throughout Luanda. In 1964, Vieira was transferred to the infamous Tarrafal prison camp in Cape Verde. Although he had experimented with writing from an early age, the majority of his published work, including the celebrated *Luuanda* (1964), was written during his eleven-year stint in prison. During this period of intense censorship in the Salazarist dictatorship, it was inconceivable that work written by an imprisoned nationalist MPLA supporter, would gain notoriety in the metropole, let alone win a literary prize like the Grande Prémio de Novelística from the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores in 1965. Awarding Luandino this prize was an overt protest of his detention in violation of habeas corpus laws. Due to its examination of the oppressiveness of the colonial administration in Angola, the book was banned by the Portuguese government until 1974 and the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores was closed as punishment for awarding the prize. This, along with translations of the novel into French and English, would bring to readers outside of Angola an awareness of the colonial situation under the Portuguese. The novella would not only expose the horrors of continued Portuguese rule to an international audience, but also inspire revolutionary consciousness that would both fuel that very struggle and

serve as the basis for a new national, cultural and literary production in the post-independence years.

Vieira would remain in Tarrafal until 1972 (serving eleven of his fourteen-year sentence) before being conditionally released to Portugal. He returned to Angola in 1975 after the Revolução dos Cravos and resulting independences of the Portuguese possessions in Africa. He would live and work in Angola holding notable posts in media, the MPLA government (which he supported until 1978), and the Union of Angolan Writers (União dos Escritores Angolanos formed in 1975, in which he served as the first Secretary-General). With the recommencement and intensification of the Angolan civil war in fall of 1992 following the contentious first free elections in the country, he decided to return to Portugal, where he continues to reside in the Minho province until the present day.[5]

Arnaldo Santos (Arnaldo Moreira dos Santos) was also born in 1935, but in the Ingombota neighborhood of Luanda. His mother was *mestiça,* the daughter of an African woman from the neighborhood of Kissama in Luanda and a Portuguese soldier. Santos' father was a recent Portuguese immigrant from Valongo. He spent his childhood and adolescence in the *musseque* of Quinaxixe and graduated from Puxa-Beatas secondary school. In the mid 1950s, he spent time working as a civil servant in Uíge. In 1959 and 1960 he traveled to Portugal where he

[5]The Bicesse Accords, also known as the Estoril Accords or Margaret's Peace (after UN supervisor Margaret Anstee), were signed in May of 1991 by President José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in an attempt to end the 17-year-long civil war. They laid out a transition to multi-party democracy under the supervision of the United Nations' UNAVEM II mission (The United Nations Angola Verification Mission II). General elections were then held in September of 1992 to elect both a President and National Assembly, the first multi-party elections had ever been held in the country. The ruling People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) won both elections, however eight opposition parties, in particular UNITA and Savimbi, rejected the election as rigged. UNITA sent negotiators to the capital, but at the same time prepared measures to resume the civil war. Consequently, hostilities erupted in Luanda and immediately spread to other parts of the country. War resumed immediately (Birmingham 170-3; Chabal, 2002: 103-4, 121).

began to frequent the Casa dos Estudantes do Império where he would meet or reencounter influential names such as Castro Soromenho, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Amílcar Cabral. Upon returning to Angola, he worked as a journalist and collaborated in various Angolan and Portuguese publications such as *Cultura*, *o Jornal de Angola*, *ABC* and the CEI's *Mensagem*. While Vieira eventually left Angola for Portugal, Santos still resides in Angola where he has continued to participate in the Union of Angolan Writers and the Angolan Academy of Letters (Academia Angolana de Letras), both organizations in which he served as a founding member.

The second chapter will elaborate the ways in which the collections examine the role and power of language in assimilation processes. Both Santos and Vieira's collections represent a key moment in the evolution of Angolan national literature in prose precisely because they are preoccupied with questions of linguistic and cultural hybridity, identity and belonging. I will focus my analysis on portrayals of assimilated versus un-assimilated life and attempt to identify linguistic precursors to so-called "mature" Angolan literature in prose capable of capturing the distinctiveness of Angolan linguistic and cultural identity, commonly referred to as *angolanidade.* As Luandino Vieira's *Luuanda* (1963) is widely considered to be a model for how to successfully capture *angolanidade* in prose, it seems reasonable to evaluate his earlier work and that of his contemporary and friend, Arnaldo Santos, to shed light on the development of an Angolan literary Portuguese.

In the third chapter I will analyze Luandino Vieira's linguistic innovation and experimentation in *Luuanda.* I will explore the ways in which the literary language that he crafted is representative of the partially restructured vernacular Angolan Portuguese that was emerging in the mid-twentieth century as a result of intensified language contact between Portuguese and Bantu languages. I will provide an overview of the main linguistic traits and the

substrate Kimbundu interferences that distinguish Angolan Vernacular Portuguese from Standard European Portuguese. I will then provide examples of the various linguistic and genre-based innovations and experimentations present in the three stories of the collection. The overall goal of the project is to elucidate the ways in which Vieira and Santos were successful in capturing and defining a linguistic *angolanidade* of the Portuguese language in their prose while Angola fought for political autonomy.

Chapter 1

The evolution of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império and its editorial production

In the mid-twentieth century, the African, Asian, and Timorese students from the overseas provinces of the Portuguese Empire studying in the university cities of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Porto had a need to preserve their cultural identities and to dedicate themselves to both civic and cultural activities while facing the new reality of living among European students in the metropole. Therefore, *casas*[6] representative of the various overseas provinces began to form as centers of support, recreation, cultural, and civic activity for the students. Objectives of the *casas* were not limited to the support of current students living in Portugal, but also aimed to increase the enrollment of students from the colonies, serving as both a refuge and resource center. The first *casa* emerged in Coimbra when a group of Mozambican students founded the Casa dos Estudantes de Moçambique in December of 1941. The following year, the Casa dos Estudantes de Angola was formed in the same city. In Lisbon, houses representative of each overseas province were similarly established: the Casa de Estudantes de Angola first in 1943, with respective *casas* de Moçambique, de Cabo Verde, da Índia, and de Macau forming a year

[6] Although the name suggests a place where students may reside, the houses (*casas)* only served as student dormitories for a small fraction of their membership and in the specific case of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império, initially no students were housed in the headquarters.

later in 1944 after receiving encouragement from then Colonial Minister, Francisco Vieira Machado (Rosas 15).

In the summer of 1944, Francisco Vieira along with the future Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano (then the National Commissioner of the Mocidade Portuguesa), promoted the unification of all said houses to form a singular Casa dos Estudantes do Império (CEI). Darlene Sadlier points out that it was not only difficult for the government to monitor several student organizations, but that the existence of separate houses seemed to conflict with the regime's propaganda that the Empire was an indistinguishable collective (142). This singular *casa* would serve to promote the unity of the Portuguese Empire while also solving the problem of students being spread amongst several origin-distinct student associations. By November of 1944 headquarters of the CEI would be located at Avenida Duque d'Ávila, 23, on the Largo do Arco do Cego. The association was formed from the various regional overseas student associations under the tutelage and supervision of various organizations of the Salazar regime, chiefly the Ministério das Colónias and later the Mocidade Portuguesa. The centralization of the CEI corresponded not only to a realization of the ideal of a unified Empire, but also served to place the *casa* firmly under political and police control. From the beginning, the Salazarist regime sought to shape and guide the activities of the CEI via its sponsorship, stating that the *casa* could well be considered a child of the Mocidade Portuguesa.[7] The creation of the CEI in Lisbon would be followed by the formation of branches in Coimbra (December of 1944) and much later in Porto (March of 1959).

Although the association was initially created, funded, and maintained by the Portuguese government, the CEI would pass through periods of radical change in its twenty years of

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[7] "a Casa dos Estudantes do Império pode bem considerar-se uma filha da Mocidade Portuguesa" (Castelo 24).

existence and would eventually become a cradle for revolutionary ideologies and nationalist movements. Many revolutionaries and future African leaders met, were educated, and embraced anti-colonialist, pro-independence ideologies while in the CEI.

The evolution of the CEI is visible through a reconsideration of the efforts of its members in *Mensagem,* the bulletin and literary organ of the organization. *Mensagem* is undeniably important as a document that brought together a multitude of names and discourses that would help to define the cultural debate surrounding the continued existence of colonial empires post-World War II, an era that saw rapid decolonization throughout Africa and Asia. The bulletin was edited between 1948 and 1964, but only saw eleven years of production due to periods of government repression. The resultant three phases of *Mensagem*: 1948-1952; 1957-1961; 1962-1964, reveal an evolution of political ideologies and literary experimentation adequate to depict the individual realities of the various Portuguese African contexts. In particular, the transitional second phase of the bulletin (1957-1961) will be herein discussed as central in raising awareness of the violence of Portuguese colonialism. Contributions in poetry, prose, and essays announced a decidedly anti-colonial, anti-Salazarist sentiment, and a sense of resistance that evolved even further in the collections and anthologies that the CEI released in this, its most prolific phase.

Before the creation of the CEI, no organization with participation and administration by overseas citizens had managed to legitimately unify the disparate colonies of the Portuguese Empire for more than a few years. The people of the colonies had previously little in common beyond the imposed language and the culture of their colonizer. They had never found so many of their young minds in one central location where they might debate issues such as identity and colonialism. Although there were cultural and historical ties between some of the geographically proximate colonies, i.e., Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, or Angola and São Tomé, etc.; none of

the Portuguese overseas territories shared land borders. The CEI itself was the first time for many of the Empire's colonial citizens to be brought together and to interact with one other. This opportunity led to a multicultural dialogue, a deepening of mutual understanding, a sharing of ideals, and the intellectual and political formation of a generation. The CEI was a place where members discovered that what connected the far-reaching spaces that constituted the Empire was not merely a common language and the culture imposed by the Portuguese. What bound them together was a need to discover and affirm their own specific, national, and cultural identities as distinct from those of the Portuguese. This desire would be touched upon not only by the CEI and other groups based in the metropole, but also by cultural and nationalist associations and publications throughout the Empire.

By the time of its closure, the need for colonial independence(s) would come to be a point of overwhelming consensus among the members of the CEI. In the years following the closing of the CEI, major geo-political events would transform the modern face of both Portugal and its colonial possessions. The Carnation Revolution in 1974 would bring an end to the Estado Novo, over five hundred years of colonial ambitions, and pave way for democracy in Portugal. Soon after, Portugal's African colonies would gain independence, and many would see long and bloody civil wars (in the cases of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau). Processes of nation-building, societal (re)structuring, and political transformation would be experienced by the peoples and places that formerly constituted the Portuguese Empire. All would be touched in some way by debate, critical consciousness, and ideologies that began and/or were cultivated to some extent in the CEI.

That the CEI was so successful in fostering debate and critical consciousness was mostly due to the specific moment of its genesis and existence. The literature that *Mensagem* and the

Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos produced has largely been outshined by the role that many of its members played in the political destiny of their respective nations. The legacy of the CEI as the first example of a unified, singularly African organization with wide geographic reach and participation fighting against Portuguese occupation and rule was extremely successful in sparking debate on the colonial issue that faced Portugal and its colonies in the mid-twentieth century. This chapter will detail the emergence and evolution of the association by recounting the historical context in which the CEI opened and closed; it will enumerate what it artistically produced and ideologically promoted during its 20-years of existence.

Between 1930 and 1950, the ideological paradigm of Portuguese colonialism was largely restructured. The Acto Colonial of 1930 redefined the status of the Portuguese colonies and effectively ended the limited financial and administrative autonomy of the colonies. The act centralized economic policy and general governance away from the colonies and back to the metropole under the Ministério das Colónias. For the Estado Novo, which was established in 1933, just a year after Salazar had become Prime Minister, the overseas Empire was an essential part of the Portuguese Nation. In the same year of the Estado Novo's establishment, a new constitution reiterated what the Acto Colonial had already set forth: that Portugal was a multi-continental country. The constitution also declared the country as corporative and of a single-party. According to this document, the Empire was formed by divine right, and the mission of the Portuguese, that had begun in the Age of Discovery was, is, and would continue to be to evangelize, colonize, and spread the Catholic faith. In doing so, the Portuguese purportedly elevated the races and cultures that they colonized, integrating them into the mother-country and turning them into Portuguese citizens. The civilizing mission and the essentiality of Empire to the nation became the justification for a continued presence on the African continent and in the

Asian enclaves. Portugal, by nature was a colonial nation. The principal objective of the Estado Novo in Africa was to centralize control and impose a uniform administration (Newitt 43). Any colonial autonomy was viewed as endangering the fragile Portuguese economy. At the same time, the global political climate post-World War II brought a renewed anxiety to Portugal and scrutiny to its place and policy on the world stage. Portugal's decidedly one-party and colonial nature proved obvious to any foreign observer, resulting in increased international pressure for Portugal to decolonize.

The historical context regarding the formation of African student organizations in the metropole and access to education for Africans (white or otherwise) during the first half of the 20th century is somewhat obscure. One of the first African student groups formed in the metropole was the Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África (JDDA) formed in 1912 in Lisbon by a group of intellectuals from São Tomé, Angola, and Cape Verde (Rocha 47-8). The association was intent on affirming black identity and the capability of Africans to attain a high level of education. The association also called for colonial autonomy, the right to education and justice, and the abolition of long-established practices of compulsory "contract labor" and *assimilado* versus *indígena* statuses. Many of their tenets would fall in line with what in the 50s would come to be known as *negritude*. The JDDA, like the eventual CEI, would be greatly influenced by American intellectuals like W.E.B DuBois and Booker T. Washington, and the father of Pan-Africanism, Liberian Edward Wilmot Blyden (Rocha 47). The JDDA even had a journal that served as their mouthpiece for a short period, *A Voz de África* (1911-13). The organization ceased activity in 1921.

In the early 1920s, two additional African associations were formed in Portugal: the Liga Africana in 1920 and the Partido Nacional Africano in 1921 (Rocha 48). The former was rather

liberal and continued where the JDDA had left off. The latter was not merely intellectual in nature, allowing for membership to extend beyond students. It was idealistic in its desire to group all African peoples into a confederation and place them on equal footing with the Portuguese. The Liga Africana had greater success, although it was decidedly more elitist. It was effective in creating bridges between the intellectual communities in Lisbon and the colonies as well as forging contacts and discussions with other African associations based in France and North America. This would be true when in 1923 the 3rd Pan-African Congress took place in Lisbon. The Congress called for self-rule of Africa and the development of the continent for the benefit of Africans and not for the profit of Europeans. The Liga Africana would also influence the Liga Nacional Africana (1930) that would in effect inherit many of their ideals, establishing them firmly in the colonial context in Luanda (Rocha 76). However, each of these groups were short-lived and had little effect on changing Portuguese colonial policy (Rocha 42). Policy change only came when international pressure, political and economic changes in Western Europe, and growing discontent in the colonies themselves converged in the 1950s and 60s. In response, the Portuguese government implemented nominal reforms in colonial policy that could be seen as purely tactical measures meant to appease stronger Western powers and to placate unrest in the colonies. Measures included accelerated economic development, the abolishment of "contract labor," the abolishment of the *estatuto indígena* that distinguished between "civilized" and "non-civilized" Africans, and a more forceful policy of assimilation, principally through education.

Portugal had weak control over its colonial African possessions as late as the first decades of the twentieth century. Its colonies were unruly and unstable. Only after the Berlin Conference (1884-5) declared effective occupation to be the general rule in African colonialism

did Portugal endeavor to penetrate beyond its coastal fortresses into the African interior. Several attempts at pacification of local peoples ensued. In Angola, the wars of pacification lasted until 1919, in Mozambique until 1918, and in Guinea until 1936 when the Bijagós archipelago was finally brought under control (E. Ferreira 32). A lack of Portuguese capital had made it necessary for Portugal to open its colonies to foreign investment, which came to dominate all colonial economies with the exception of São Tomé (Newitt 33). Things became worse during Republican control (1910-1926). First, the outbreak of World War I (1914) saw German aggression in northern Mozambique. Similarly, the British sought to control the prosperous port of Lourenço Marques and to gain contract labor from southern Angola for work in South African mines (Newitt 35).

Until the end of the Republic, the Portuguese colonies in Africa were largely beholden to the British. Things would become much more stable after the military coup of 1926 that installed the Ditadura Nacional that would eventually give way to the Estado Novo. While previous attempts at development, pacification, investment in infrastructure and production were relative failures, the Acto Colonial which called for an end to colonial autonomy and limited power of concession companies, helped to usher in a period of renewed attempts to develop colonial economy and infrastructure.

In 1940, there were only around 27,000 white Portuguese in Mozambique, 44,000 in Angola and 1,400 in Guiné (Newitt 152). These low numbers, which included settlers, military personnel, administrative officials, and convicts, illustrate the relative failure of over a century of regular attempts to establish a white population in the colonies. To illustrate the scope of this failure, nearly 1.5 million Portuguese emigrated to Brazil between 1850 and 1950 (Newitt 153). As the vast majority of settlers in Portuguese Africa were not immigrants, but rather members of

the military, officials of the Portuguese government, or convicts, several colonial schemes had been hatched between 1850 and the end of the Republic to encourage white immigration. Initially, the Portuguese that immigrated to Africa were largely poor and illiterate. They were offered assisted passage, free land grants, tax remission, and often government aid in the form of equipment and food subsidies. Africa was an unpopular immigration destination in comparison with Brazil because of the difficulty of physical and economic survival there. Mosquito-born illnesses such as malaria created a substantial problem for the health and survival of native European settlers, as did competition from the native African labor force. Additionally, the administration was ineffective at helping to establish the peasant class of immigrants into an agricultural work force as desired by the government. Many settler families abandoned their agricultural schemes and settled into working as hunters, tradesman, and transport riders as these offered a steadier wage (Newitt 154). This inability to establish white settler colonies, virtually nullified the need, at least in the eyes of the Portuguese government, to educate the population residing in the colonies. Access to education had never been a priority in Africa under the Portuguese and was limited to high school. Much of the education in the colonies had been left to religious orders (especially to North American Protestant missions). As in the metropole, in the mid-1960s illiteracy remained extremely high in the colonies with percentages reaching nearly 40% among Europeans in Angola and over 90% among Africans (E. Ferreira 71).

Under Salazar, attempts to encourage white immigration to Africa found success. Mostly the Estado Novo sought to develop the economic potential of the colonies in order to solve Portugal’s domestic economic problems. By the late 1940s and 1950s, Africa was finally receiving 50% of all emigrants from Portugal, nearly twice as many as Brazil (Newitt 164). This

rapid transformation of the racial and socio-cultural landscape of Portuguese Africa would bring identity issues and debate on the future of colonies to the forefront.

Prior to this period of intensified white immigration in the mid-twentieth century, the population of white Portuguese within the colonies had been too small to occupy all colonial posts. There were also not enough white women whom Portuguese men could marry. They in turn, intermarried with women of other racial groups, principally black Africans. The children of the unions came to constitute a privileged class of *mestiço* elite. It was common for these children to be recognized as legitimate, educated in the European manner, and hold jobs within the colonial administration. The *mestiço* elite came to exercise great power in colonial society along with a smaller number of educated and assimilated black Africans. The decline in their power due to the intensified presence of white settlers would also contribute to the debate on racial ideology.

In their shared colonial subjection, the growing numbers of white, *mestiço*, and black students in the colonies who sought higher education, whether to assimilate or achieve social ascension, had to study in the metropole. Institutions of higher education were not established in the colonies until 1962 and then only in Angola (Sá da Bandeira, [present-day Lubango], Nova Lisboa, [present-day Huambo], and Luanda) and Mozambique (Lourenço Marques, present-day Maputo) (Sadlier 141). Courses offered in the colonies included general studies and tended toward vocational and technical instruction. Specific area studies would still need to be completed in Portugal. Finding themselves far from home in the metropole, overseas students began to form student associations with their fellow countrymen for support and camaraderie. As we have already discussed, these *casas* would eventually be unified into the singular CEI. It is no wonder that the regime preferred centralizing the student associations into one *casa* to maximize

and stream-line their surveillance of the overseas students, their education, and activities much in the same way they had done with colonial autonomy over a decade prior with the Acto Colonial. It is within this context, in the twilight years of World War II and a recentralized control over all of its citizens that the *casas* emerge in Portugal.

From the beginning, the CEI was composed of autonomous sections representing the formerly individual cultural and geographical student houses. Each section maintained its own administration, elected by its constituency membership. The central administration was a collegial organ formed by the presidents of all the sections: the nephew of the Governor of Angola, Alberto Marques Mano serving as first president of the CEI and representing the Angolan section; Aguinaldo Veiga of Cape Verde; Vasco Benedito Gomes of India, Gonçalo de Sousa and Macedo Mesquitela of Macau; and Francisco Maria Martins of Mozambique. Due to this fragmentary administrative structure the separate houses continued to exist, albeit under a centrally controlled larger power. The association's central administration would oversee five divisions of services that sought to address the various needs of the organization and its members. These five divisions included the Direcção de Cultura e Propaganda, responsible for publishing (initially), advertising and news items; the Direcção de Informação e Estatística, which would (eventually) be responsible for keeping statistics and figures for the association; the Direcção de Desporto e Educação Física, responsible for the organization of games, sport, and other recreation; the Direcção de Procuradoria e Assistência, which would provide legal advice and general support, information on course offerings, and deal with issues involving tuition; and the Direcção de Intercâmbio, which organized foreign language courses and entered into contact with similar neighboring foreign student associations (such as in Spain).

The association's first year of activity included conferences, lectures, and roundtables on colonial themes with participation from university professors, film screenings, and beginning plans for a literary organ that would serve to circulate the activities and creative expression of the CEI. According to Cláudia Castelo in her historical synthesis of the CEI's activities, in their first year of existence the association also opened a health clinic, announced a scholarship contest, sent out information to colonial schools on opportunities for higher education in the metropole, organized a library, helped students find accommodation, and sponsored various sporting events (24). Although prolific in its activities and offerings, the association found itself outspending its budgetary means. The second year would see the association's new leadership, under Angolan Carlos Torres de Sousa, appeal to the Ministério das Colónias for financial help. With its newfound financial support, the CEI continued in its mission, attracting an even larger number of members. By the end of 1945 the Lisbon chapter had grown to almost 600 and the Coimbra chapter, to over 115 (Castelo 24).

Initial student membership of the CEI was largely white, including children of Portuguese colonists, many of whom were administrators living throughout the Empire. Membership also included children of some of the former *mestiço* elite and a small number of black Africans, nearly all of whom hailed from urban areas and who held *assimilated* status. The demographics were such due to the vast expenses incurred by studying in the metropole. In the 1950s and early 1960s, the membership of the *casa* became progressively more African due to the improving economic situation of a small African bourgeoisie and the perception on the part of national elites that an education in Portugal might correspond to true social and economic ascension.

From its inception in 1948 until 1952, in what can be considered a first phase of existence, the CEI functioned relatively autonomously, that is without government interference. Described by a member as an oasis of democracy and liberty in a vast colonial-fascist desert (Querido 117), the CEI was a complex living institution of many contradictions and was by no means homogenous. It included students of varied cultural, socio-economic, and ideological backgrounds. However, within the CEI, debate and discussion of ideas were frank and uncompromising. In the general assembly of the section heads, grievances were made to the presidency without reservation. In his memoirs of time spent in the CEI, Angolan Sócrates Dáskalos described the atmosphere of the CEI's early years as being one where open debate regarding the association's governance was common, but one where political leanings and ideological discussion were more often left to smaller, private groups (9-10). Dáskalos emphasized the difficulty in developing and maintaining a national consciousness and identity (described by him as *angolanidade*) while simultaneously trying to hide from colonial repressive eyes any trace of nationalism distinct from a collective Portuguese-ness or *portugalidade* (12). He described the membership as being almost evenly divided between anti-colonialists, those indifferent, and those favorable to the current colonial situation. The informal education provided in debate, however open, of values such as liberty, democracy, tolerance, and the importance of identity, helped to counter the cultural and mental alienation caused by centuries of colonial domination, felt still in the metropole by overseas students. In later phases of the CEI, open political engagement would become an almost central activity of the organization.

Although the CEI was initially formed under the tutelage of the Mocidade Portuguesa and the Ministério das Colónias, and did not immediately see government opposition from its student members, as early as 1945, a portion of its students would be against open cooperation

with the regime. Many would begin to subscribe to the ideas set forth by the pro-democratic oppositional MUD (Movimento de Unidade Democrática) and in the following year align themselves with the MUD Juvenil, strongly influenced by the Portuguese Communist Party once it was formed. This opposition to the Estado Novo was evident in 1948-9, when many students openly supported the MUD candidate, General Norton de Matos, in his failed Presidential bid. Notable names from the CEI who openly supported the MUD in this time period include Agostinho Neto, Amílcar Cabral, Marcelino dos Santos, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Vasco Cabral. They and others began to be watched by the PIDE suspected of subversive political beliefs and activities (Castelo 24).

It is also noteworthy that the Lisbon CEI was throughout this first period more conservative in nature and political engagement than the Coimbra chapter. Members of the Coimbra chapter developed not only an intense political involvement with the MUD, but also an intense cultural involvement in the dissemination of African literature thanks not only to their participation in the CEI publication of *Mensagem*, but also in their own bulletins *O Meridiano* (1947) and *Momento* (1950) and in the contacts they maintained with the French African publication, *Presénce Africaine* (1947) (Laranjeira XXVIII-XXIX).

In 1948, *Mensagem,* the bulletin of the CEI was first published. It would become an undeniably important document, not only for bringing together many culturally and artistically important names in their writing debuts, but also for revealing the fundamental debate that would come to affect all of Lusophone Africa: the quest for independence. In *Mensagem's* first period, thirteen numbers were produced along with two special supplements, one dedicated to Angola and the other to Mozambican poetry. The circular published poetry, short stories, critical reviews, and essays. The non-fiction subject matter included writings on art, culture, and history.

The literary contributions tended more toward Pan-Africanism and *negritude*. Poetry was the preferred genre, thematically inspired by poets such as Aimé Césaire, Langston Hughes, and Nicolás Guillén. Notable contributors in this first phase include the Angolan poets Alda Lara, Alexandre Dáskalos, and Mário Pinto de Andrade; Santomean-born poet Francisco José Tenreiro; Cape Verdean writers Baltazar Lopes and Aguinaldo Fonseca; Guinean-born Cape Verdean agronomist and future revolutionary Amílcar Cabral; and poet and future Angolan President Agostinho Neto, among others. In the first editions of the circular, images of an African awakening and a call to reevaluate Africa abound. Ana Maria Martinho points out that in the first phase of *Mensagem*, there is a certain eclecticism in style with neo-romantic and neo-realist tendencies frequently present (51).

In 1951 and 1952, the CEI began to appear ideologically and racially more "African," due to growing numbers of *mestiço* and black members and as *negritude* came to dominate the discussion of African cultural production. This would be reflected in the changing tone of the last two numbers of the first phase of *Mensagem* that increasingly came to include essays and other expository works of a political, anti-colonial nature, alongside what had before largely been poetic works (Sadlier 151). These essays that sought to define the parameters of African poetry and literary expression were among the first essays on black literature in Portuguese. In his essay entitled, "A literatura negra e os seus problemas," (*"Black literature and its problems"*) which spanned two numbers, Mário Pinto de Andrade refuted a lecture published by literary critic Tomé das Neves in *O brado africano* in 1950. Andrade's response took the form of an essay on what literature written by (black) Africans should and should not do and/or be. He contended that African literature is born from an overwhelmingly oral tradition, where poetry can be epic, dramatic, and satirical, and where storytelling can be moral, mythical, and cosmogonic. Andrade

set forth two main problems for the African writer: the issues of language and assimilation, either partially or wholly, to European cultural and literary traditions. Sadlier underscores that Andrade was deeply inspired by black literature from the Americas, seeing many of its poets as authoring rallying calls against "systems that fostered racial tensions and class divisions" (153). For Andrade, the *negritude* movement produced the kind of writing that African literary expression written in Portuguese should aspire to. Andrade was also active in the French pan-African literary magazine *Présence Africaine* where in a 1955 submission entitled "Qu'est-ce que le *lusotropicalismo?*" he denounced *lusotropicalism* under the pseudonym Buanga Fele.

Most associated with the theories of its best-known proponent, the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, *lusotropicalism* celebrates the distinctive character of Portuguese imperialism overseas. Freyre proposed that the Portuguese were better colonizers than other European nations due to a supposed ability to adapt to life in tropical regions. Portuguese colonization, Freyre contended was one of amiable interaction with peoples of the tropics. From this idea of amiable contact with nonwhite people, came a cult of miscegenation and a uniquely acculturated but dominantly Lusitanian society. Developed in the 1930s, the asserted strength of *lusotropicalism* is based on the frequency of miscegenation and the privileged position which a small *mestiço* creole elite historically enjoyed in Portuguese colonies such as Angola. Yet since the end of the nineteenth century, the frequency and privilege of such positions had all but ceased to exist in Angola. The new laws and regulations that openly discriminated based on race affected "civilized" and "uncivilized" Africans, and the former *mestiço* creole elite alike. Contrary to the racial mixing that *lusotropicalism* detailed and celebrated, the Portuguese were not interested in forging cultural exchange, but rather only in imposing their own culture, religion, and language as a means of controlling the populace.

The marked politicization of the CEI and *Mensagem* in the early 1950s would lead to a government takeover of the organization by an administrative committee directly linked to the Salazarist regime. The change in direction of the association extended from May of 1952 until 1957 (from 1955 to 1957 in the case of the Coimbra branch) and marked a second phase of the CEI in which production of the association's literary organ, *Mensagem*, was completely suspended. During this period, there were no elections for the governing bodies and cultural activity was strictly confined to parameters of Estado Novo doctrine. The many voices of dissent that began to be heard in *Mensagem* were substituted by silence. Many members distanced themselves from the association, while others only came to take advantage of services such as the medical clinic or the cafeteria (Rosas 18).

During this period, recently formed African organizations such as the Clube Marítimo Africano (1954), and the Centro de Estudos Africanos (1950-54) began to attract the intellectual and cultural attention and involvement of many CEI members who wished to avoid the Estado Novo-controlled CEI. The former was a recreational club comprised of sailors and progressive students. Informal in its conception, and never with a centralized location or stable financial situation, the club was a space of congregation and awareness-raising for numerous members of a marginalized African population residing in Portugal. The club's convivial and recreational nature proved attractive for both the working-class sailors and the more politically minded young students. The traveling nature of a sailor's life and work would also facilitate the rapid transport of news and the circulation of mimeographed literature throughout the Portuguese-speaking world (Rocha 95). The latter organization was formed by CEI students for the purpose of creating an exchange of cultural and political ideas, principally regarding African identity and the rediscovering of an African "I". Also, initially informal in nature, many of the CEA's

meetings took place in the Lisbon residence of Tia Andreza (aunt of CEI member Alda do Espírito Santo) in the form of intellectual chats (Medeiros 36). The genesis of the CEA is representative of what Sócrates Dáskalos referred to in his memoirs: that in the early years, political debate found a more natural home, in smaller, more private groups that might more easily evade the PIDE's watchful eyes.

It is precisely during this phase of government control (1952-1957) that select CEI members were captured, questioned, and even tortured by the PIDE. Notable names include Mário Pinto de Andrade, Marcelino dos Santos, and Agostinho Neto. In truth, the PIDE had for some time kept a close eye on the association, both in Coimbra and Lisbon, considering it a breeding ground for communists and clandestine opposition (Castelo 24, Rocha 91-2).

Between 1957 and 1961, the CEI in its third phase, resumed activity and in doing so gained hundreds of members, some of whom had left during the Estado Novo control. Following the dismissal of the administrative commission, a general assembly was held to discuss and approve the new statutes of the CEI. During the government controlled second phase (1952-1957), the essential structure of the association had been changed to eliminate autonomous sections which were viewed by the regime to be hotbeds of nationalism that had been seen internally as divisive (Dáskalos 10). With a regained autonomy, the association began a new phase of cultural and recreational activity: promoting colloquia, conferences, literary contests, dances, dinners, cinematic and musical sessions, sporting events, and an intensified editorial production beyond that of *Mensagem* itself under student-editors Carlos Ervedosa, Costa Andrade, José Ilídio Cruz, Fernando Mourão, and Alfredo Margarido. A previous attempt at editorial production beyond *Mensagem* had unfortunately coincided with the 1952 government takeover of the *casa.* The CEI's first sponsored release, *Godido e outros contos* by João Dias,

was posthumously published in 1952 and boldly depicted the conflict between colonizer and colonized in Mozambique. A second release and the CEI's first anthology of poetry, *Poesia negra de expressão portuguesa,* edited by Mário Pinto de Andrade and José Tenreiro, was the rare exception of a publication that managed to be released during the period of government control in 1953 and would prove an example for its editorial production moving forward.

In 1960, Ervedosa, spokesman for the Cultural Division (Direcção da Cultura) of the CEI, stated that one of the imperatives of the association was the spreading of African cultural values, "a divulgação de valores culturais ultramarinos" through editorial means (*Mensagem*, March-April 1960). As such, from 1960 on, the CEI experimented in various modes of literary and editorial production that made this phase its most prolific. The most obvious mode of literary production was *Mensagem*, which had served as the principal literary forum for the CEI since 1948. The relaunch of *Mensagem,* now transformed into a bulletin, was decidedly less militant than the circular. It dedicated more space to works of prose, both short stories and essays. The bulletin phase of *Mensagem* saw participation from a multitude of important names, including Angolan author Costa Andrade; Mozambican poet Noémia de Sousa; Santomean poet Alda do Espírito Santo; Cape Verdean poet Jorge Barbosa; and the continued participation of Agostinho Neto and Aguinaldo Fonseca. The relaunch also saw the participation of non-student contributors residing in the colonies, such as Angolans António Jacinto, Viriato da Cruz, Mário António, Arnaldo Santos, and Luandino Vieira. Carlos Ervedosa had entered into contact with these members of the Angolan Sociedade Cultura (of the journal *Cultura*) to secure their participation and effectively create a cultural bridge between Lisbon and Luanda. The success of this phase of *Mensagem* was predicated on its ability to transcend national boundaries.

This second phase of *Mensagem* marked a transitional and evolutionary period in which writing became a tool for cultural affirmation. This cultural affirmation sought to distinguish artistic expression and identity from earlier classifications as "imperial" and "colonial" while still in favor of a collective designation of "*ultramarino*" ("overseas"). Inocência Mata defines this *ultramarine/(overseas)* literature as beyond merely colonial, containing national singularities and distinctiveness (36). Mata points out that it is important to recognize that this designation constituted an evolutionary step in viewing the literature as autonomous, distinct from colonial literature (36). The "*ultramarinização*" of the CEI sought to reclaim regional identities of the various colonies as distinct, if not from each other, then from those of the metropole.

Though some of the literature of this phase contained in *Mensagem* lacked an outright political tone, it did break with colonial literary tradition in portraying African characters at the center of narratives. Similarly, African voices and imagery were at the center of poetics. Traditionally African allegory and metaphor were used to convey opposition to continued Portuguese rule in both poetry and prose. The literature moved beyond a Pan-Africanism to reveal the particularities and distinctness of each of the various colonial contexts of the Portuguese Empire. The specific identities and qualities of African literature written in Portuguese began to reveal themselves in poetic, prose, and essay experimentation that sought to describe and depict the daily oppression of Africans by white colonizers and illuminate the inherent contradictions of colonial society.

It is not altogether surprising that this phase of the CEI more directly addressed the "*questão colonial*," the colonial issue. After the five-year period of government control and suspension of publication, the first Sub-Saharan African independence had been achieved (Ghana in 1957), the Bandung Conference had seen issues of decolonization and the Third

World discussed on a world stage (1955), and political unrest in the Empire had erupted in incidents such as the massacre at Batepá in São Tomé (1953). These events along with a new generation of students (*a nova vaga)* arriving from the colonies, would usher in a prolific period of publication.

In "O beijo do cacimbo já se foi" (*Mensagem* No. 2, Ano II, Fev. 1959, 5-7), Angolan Henrique Guerra addresses the *questão colonial* through the story of an African family displaced by newly arrived Portuguese immigrants. Displacement was a common occurrence when the Portuguese intensified colonization efforts post-World War II. In the story, half of the family-run coffee plantation is seized by the government and given over to white settlers who quickly begin to transform the land. Since much of the family's livelihood and home has been taken, the family's son seeks solace at an important family site on the property. At the new property line, two coffee trees that his mother had planted to honor her son's birth have been unearthed. The plants are the family's last remaining link to their mother, who years earlier was forced into contract labor. The injustice is clear in the mournful lament, "Então o branco fica com tanta terra, com um terreno tão grande que se não podia percorrer sem descansar os pés, e o preto fica só com um pouco de nada?" (*Mensagem* No. 2, Ano II, Fev. 1959, 6). When the son confronts the local Portuguese administrator, he is severely punished for his audacity:

> "Ouve lá, ó meu negro da p… Julgas que não tenho mais nada que fazer? Julgas que vim da metrópole só para ouvir as vossas queixas? Cipaio, toma conta deste gajo. Dá-lhe 50 palmatoadas e depois manda-o para o contrato, que é para eles tomarem emenda e não me virem p'ra aqui chatear sem razão" (7).

The son has met the same fate as his mother and will be subjected to an unknown number of years in forced labor. The story is firmly set in colonial Angola, with mentions of the dry

season, the *cacimbo*, coffee production (common near Amboim), and contract work. The narration is sympathetic to the plight of its African characters, depicting them as victims of tragic policy and unjust treatment. The narrator refuses to fully spell out the insulting words uttered by the Portuguese administrator, "meu negro da p…", and adds that the son was not only punished, but severely punished ("severamente castigado") (7).

Similarly, "Liki," by Angolan Helder Neto (*Mensagem,* Ano II, No. 3, 1959, 37-41), tells the story of an African washerwoman, who suffers from an unnamed chronic illness. The woman's son Liki longs to learn to read. She refuses to see the doctor as she believes that her son will one day become a doctor and cure her. The community supports the young boy throughout his local education and is proud of his academic progress. He eventually leaves the village to study in Portugal. His letters arrive less and less frequently while his mother's condition worsens. Still, she refuses to seek treatment, believing that her boy will return to his homeland and cure her. When news reaches the village that Liki has married abroad, it appears that he will never return to cure his mother. Faced with no other option, she is convinced by the townspeople to seek medical treatment from a local doctor. The story serves as a cautionary tale for those who would choose assimilation for selfish reasons rather than to help improve the lives of their own people. Liki's mother and his community sacrificed for him to receive an education, only for their support to be taken for granted and not reciprocated when they were most in need. The story calls for solidarity and creates a dichotomy of "us" versus "them." In the last lines of the story, a wise elder advises the mother to see the local doctor as he is one of them, "Ele é da nossa gente" (*Mensagem,* Ano II, No. 3, 1959, 41). It is implied here that assimilation may require a certain negation of the African-self, "Não espera mais p'lo teu filho. Ele não vai mais vir" (41).

The desire to affirm African cultural values while denouncing the Portuguese colonial system is also notable in poetic contributions to the bulletin during this period. In “O novo canto da mãe,” Santomean Tomás Medeiros writes in a collective voice to a mythical, African mother. He speaks of marginality, hunger, and forced labor. Allusions to São Tomé are present, with mentions of “obós,” Santomean forests, and “os meninos das roças” referring to the island’s forced monoculture of coffee and cacao (*Mensagem*, Ano III, No. 5/6, 1960). Medeiros also affirms a sense of African solidarity, children of a collective mother, marginalized in life as “capitães d’areia, os meninos negros à margem da vida” (26). This could be a reference to the similarly titled 1937 socialist realist novel, *Capitães da Areia*, by Brazilian author Jorge Amado, where a group of street children live a violent existence in Salvador. The novel was censored and burned in Brazil’s Estado Novo as communist propaganda. The message of the poem echoes the sentiment of the novel, with marginalized children doing whatever they must to survive in a hostile world.

Similar in tone, the poem “Recordação,” by Arnaldo Santos laments a people under the yoke of colonialism, mourning their condition as a buried people, “hoje sei que as sereias da lagoa / Te uniam ao luto enorme que choravam / De um povo inteiro sepultado” (Ano III, No. 2, Fev. 1960, 24). In “Muimbu ua Sabalu (Canção de Sabalu)” Mário Pinto de Andrade composes in song form a lament for a son taken away from a family in Angola and forced into contract labor in São Tomé. The son dies exiled from both his family and his homeland, “Mandaram-no p'ra S.Tomé / Nosso filho não voltou / A morte levou-o / Aiué! / Mandaram-no p'ra S.Tomé” (Ano II, No. 2, Fev. 1959. 17-8). Andrade included versions in both Portuguese and Kimbundu.

In the poem “Quintandeira,” by Agostinho Neto the traditional figure of the *quintandeira*, an African woman who sells fruits and vegetables, is employed to illustrate the daily struggle of

Angolans under the Portuguese. The supposed fragility and diffidence of the woman exists in stark contrast to her inner monologue that recounts her use of alcohol and religion to try and assuage her troubles to no avail. The woman is a metaphor for Angola, a collective image on which to portray the game played between colonizer and colonized. Her role in life is to sell oranges and provide nourishment to others. She sees no future for herself as her sons have died, they were reduced to dust on the road or buried in plantations after perishing from forced contract labor. "E aí vão as minhas esperanças / como foi o sangue dos meus filhos / amassado no pó das estradas / enterrado nas roças…" (*Mensagem,* Ano III, No. 1, Jan. 1960, 14-15). She has an existential crisis and questions whether in selling the oranges, she is selling herself.

In "Para lá da praia," Santomean Alda do Espírito Santo, writes of the struggles of daily life in São Tomé. She enumerates the simple pleasures of one's land, and the general acceptance of the hardships and realities that life in colonial society brings. Although specifically writing of São Tomé, mentioning by name Praia Gamboa, the poem speaks of a general colonial existence that could very well apply to anywhere in the Empire, "na venda do peixe / pela luta da fome / da gente pequena" (Ano II, No. 2, Fev. 1959, 21).

Essay contributions during this phase covered a range of topics from anthropology, sociology and education to literary criticism and agriculture. Two examples from this phase that illustrate this range are found in Ano II, No. 3 from 1959, Luís Ribeiro's "O preconceito racial e as relações humanas," and Iko Carreira's "Indígenas e educação." The two essayists attempt to demystify the supposed superiority of Western civilizations and denounce the ways in which Portuguese culture continues to be imposed on African peoples. Both essays, as well as the literary contributions discussed above, show a concern for the current state of society in their respective homelands. By calling attention to issues such as racism and failing educational

standards, by depicting scenes of violence and social injustice, the student contributors in the metropole are dedicated to shining light on the *questão colonial* in the context of Portuguese Africa.[8]

Beyond the important work published in *Mensagem,* a milestone in CEI's editorial production included the poetry and short story anthologies and collections of Luso-African writing that finally provided wider access to what had previously been exclusively published in periodicals. *Poetas Angolanos* edited by Ervedosa was released in 1960, as were the Fernando Mourão-edited *Contistas Angolanos* and the *Poetas Moçambicanos* (1960) from Luís Polonah. Later, after a brief, second government shutdown, three additional anthologies of poetry from editor Alfredo Margarido, *Poetas Angolanos* (1962), *Poetas Moçambicanos* (1962), and *Poetas de São Tomé e Príncipe* (1963) were published. These collections were the first time for many African authors to be published in book form. Few had the means to publish collections of their own, so the anthologies afforded them an indispensable opportunity to share their creative work with a readership beyond the confines of their home province. Many authors published in these anthologies would come to be politically and literarily important: Rui Nogar, Francisco José Tenreiro, Alda do Espírito Santo, Tomaz Medeiros, Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, Costa Andrade, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Helder Neto, among many others.

The CEI's Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos series was similarly fundamental in introducing original, previously unpublished works of poetry and prose from African writers to a

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[8] It is germane to the discussion at hand to mention that other authors of note such as Mozambican-born, Angolan novelist Castro Soromenho at this same time were publishing works in Africa that also shined light on the *questão colonial*. Soromenho in his *Camaxilo* trilogy of novels: *Terra morta* (1949), *Viragem* (1957), and *A chaga* (1972), depicts a colonial society in which the European colonizer and the native African inhabit different parts of the same land, with clearly demarcated borders based on skin color. Because of his criticism of the Estado Novo, Soromenho was forced into exile in France, the United States, and ultimately died in Brazil in 1968.

larger readership in the metropole, the colonies, and abroad. The collection's production began in 1960 with three volumes: *Amor*, poems by Mário António*, A Cidade e a Infância*, short stories from Luandino Vieira, and *Fuga*, poetry by Arnaldo Santos. The second year of publication would be the most productive with several works from Angolan authors including *Poemas* by Viriato da Cruz; *Poemas de circunstâncias* by António Cardoso; *Terra de acácias rubras*, poems by Costa Andrade; *Kissange*, poems by Manuel de Lima; *Poemas*, by Agostinho Neto; *Poemas* by António Jacinto; *Poesia*, by Alexandre Dáskalos; *Poesia Angolana*, by Tomaz Vieira da Cruz all published in 1961, along with *Diálogo*, a short story collection from Henrique Abranches. In 1962 only one work of poetry by Cape Verdean Ovídio Martins entitled *Caminhada* was released. Finally, between 1964 and 1965, a collection of short stories, *Quinaxixe*, from Angolan Arnaldo Santos and a volume of poetry, *Chigubo*, from Mozambican José Craveirinha were the last works published under the Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos series. The vast majority of works produced in the Colecção were poetry, with only three short story collections being released. The works were also overwhelmingly authored by white or *mestiço* Angolan men. Both the poetry and prose efforts greatly emphasized the social reality in the colonies, specifically that of Africans. The works attempted to draw a national awareness, revindicate African values, and establish national modes of literary expression and identity, much in the way that Mário Pinto de Andrade had laid forth just years earlier in his essay detailing the potential of African literature to affect change.

These works were mimeographed with printed covers and were produced in limited numbers, sometimes with less than 500 copies in total being produced. The editions circulated among students and intellectual circles in Portugal. Copies often made their way to the colonies, most often to Angola, via sailors (of the Clube Marítimo) and travelling students (F. Andrade

98). What the CEI and its literary production chiefly meant for the literature of Luso-Africa was that it took it out of territorial isolation and circulated it among a larger, more geographically diverse readership.

While the CEI was publishing in the metropole, its members and some frequent contributors still living in the colonies had also begun producing literary magazines for their own respective cultural associations. ANANGOLA (Associação dos Naturais de Angola) named their magazine *Mensagem* after the CEI's publication. *Mensagem* (Angola) had only two issues (4 numbers) from 1951-2. The literary content was limited but included a tone of social protest and a strong sense of regional solidarity that Russell Hamilton contends somewhat idealistically transcended race and class (63-4). *Cultura,* the review of the Sociedade Cultural de Angola had nineteen issues from 1945-1951. The content therein had a wide range of focus, from science to literature and the arts. In its first period of production, Hamilton characterizes its overarching tone as one of diffused European provincialism. He praises its second phase however, from 1957 onward, as he likens the spirit to that of the CEI's *Mensagem* (65). The content of the review became more authentic as literary efforts began to recognize and highlight the importance of African oral tradition in defining Angolan poetry and prose. Names that participated in both Angolan reviews include the already-familiar Arnaldo Santos, Luandino Vieira, Henrique Abranches, and Mário António. The Imbondeiro series headquartered in Sá de Bandeira (Lubango), Angola, under the leadership of Garibaldino Andrade, would mirror efforts made in the metropole by the CEI's Colecção Ultramarina. They produced larger collections of poetry and prose, although they heavily relied upon non-African authors. They would, however, manage to print important works by notable authors and CEI contributors such as Luandino Vieira, Alda Lara, and Mário António.

In addition to its intensive literary production, the third phase of the CEI was marked by decisive politicization. Liberation movements created by the older members of the CEI, known collectively as *os mais velhos* began to surge in this period. This generation of older CEI members had arrived in Portugal between 1948 and 1950. Those among the generation included Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Marcelino dos Santos. These members aligned themselves early on with oppositional parties and anti-fascist political activities that led them to be targets of the PIDE. From 1952 to 1959, the *mais velhos* appeared only sporadically at the CEI, preferring more politically engaged associations such as the Clube Marítimo Africano and the Centro de Estudos Africanos. Some of them were imprisoned, while others chose exile. Many became central figures in the various African liberation fronts in their homelands. The MPLA (Movimento Popular de a Libertação de Angola) had formed in 1956 with Agostinho Neto as President, in the same year the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) was formed with participation from Amílcar Cabral, and FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) appeared in 1962 with founder Marcelino dos Santos.

As early as 1958, the CEI itself had a clear objective to raise awareness for the independence movements of Portugal's African colonies. This made it impossible to hide the growing tensions between the CEI and the power structures of the Estado Novo. In 1960, The United Nations released a resolution criticizing Portugal's continued existence as a colonial empire. Portugal, however, continued to deny this reality preferring to tout itself as a unitary state with territories on many continents. Capitalizing on the international attention brought by the UN resolution, students from the Coimbra branch of the CEI aligned with the MPLA in a published manifesto entitled, "*Mensagem ao povo português"* that called for an immediate

recognition of the rights of the African colonies to self-rule. The government's response would be to hand both CEI chapters over to administrative committee control for a second, albeit much shorter (eight-month) period.

With the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola in 1961 and back fresh from the second administrative committee control period, the CEI entered its final phase which would be marked by frequent criticism and challenging of the colonial regime and the imprisonment of a number of its members. In the same year, nearly one hundred of CEI's members (mostly from Angola, where the armed struggle had begun earlier that year) left Portugal to join the fledgling liberation fronts in Africa in what came to be known as the *fuga dos 100* (flight of the one hundred). The flight came as a surprise to both the Estado Novo and to opposition parties within the metropole (Medeiros 39).

The publication of *Mensagem* during this final phase of CEI existence was irregular due to the general political tumult of the time. Due to fears of CEI participation in the liberation fronts, the Ministério do Ultramar began to reduce funding. Despite the obstacles of reduced funding and no subsidies between 1960-1964, *Mensagem,* during this phase was a mature, well-produced magazine, with some issues being nearly 100 pages in length featuring former and new members, as well as authors participating from the war-torn colonies and in exile. Essays and editorials were even more pointed in their dedication to the definition and description of national literatures as distinct from Portuguese patterns. The evermore varied poetic, narrative, and essayistic contributions were overt in their affirmation and revindication of African cultural and artistic values, and linguistic expression. The Estado Novo responded in 1965 by definitively shutting down the Casa dos Estudantes do Império. By that year, the Portuguese were fighting a

multi-front colonial war in Africa, in Angola (since 1961), in Guinea-Bissau (since 1963), and in Mozambique (since 1964).

The CEI has recently received well-deserved retrospection after celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation in 1994 and more recently the fiftieth anniversary of its closure in 2015. For many years, the full extent of its legacy was largely ignored as many former members worked within dire political situations in newly independent countries (the Guinean Civil War lasted from 1998-99, the Mozambican Civil War from 1977-1992 and the Angolan civil war from 1975-2002). In retrospect, the CEI was key as a place of convergence for emerging intellectuals from the colonies to engage in debate as to the political and artistic future of their respective homelands, to question colonial society and the relationship between colony and metropole, and to meditate on the potential of African literature written in Portuguese. The editorial production of the CEI, including *Mensagem*, provided the means through which this debate might take place and circulate. The CEI brought literary voices and the realities they depicted out of territorial isolation and circulated them among a larger, more geographically diverse, readership. The seeds planted during the transitional phase of the CEI's publication would evolve and shape the fledgling literatures of the Portuguese colonies while they fought for their independences throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. In particular, two collections of Angolan short stories produced in the CEI's Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos series, *A Cidade e a Infância* (1960) and *Quinaxixe* (1965) represented key moments in the evolution of Angolan national literature in prose that will be further discussed in the coming chapter.

Chapter 2

Convivência e Contradição: the *musseque* in *A cidade e a infância* and *Quinaxixe*

The word *musseque* from the kimbundu "*mu seke*" meaning "sandy place," came to signify the impoverished peripheral neighborhoods of Portuguese African colonial city spaces that surrounded urbanized, Europeanized city centers (Amaral, 296). In nineteenth and early twentieth-century Luanda, these spaces were inhabited by people of various races and socio-economic classes. Between 1900 and 1920, the white population in Angola nearly doubled and by independence it would constitute over 25% of the capital city's population at nearly 125,000 (Bender 20, Amaral 299). The rapid urbanization of Luanda during and after the second World War would see the city's total population swell nearly tenfold from around 50,000 in 1930 to above 475,000 in 1970 (Amaral 295). While much of this population included white settlers from the metropole, there was also a marked influx of rural Angolans to the capital city. New arrivals were attracted by economic opportunities promised by the rapid industrialization in urban centers such as Benguela, Nova Lisboa (present-day Huambo), and Luanda. Consequently, many *musseques* were rapidly being transformed into modern *cidades de asfalto* to house newly arrived Portuguese. Still other newly constructed neighborhoods would come to be known as *musseques*, spaces that from then on, were defined by their peripheral location and lack of modernity, i.e. organization and amenities.

The rapid growth and European-style urbanization of Luanda and other cities erected physical barriers between city spaces that accentuated the existent racial, socio-economic, and linguistic divisions already present in the colony. Between 1914 and 1961 the presence of new

laws and regulations that openly discriminated based on race, as well as the presence of an ever-increasing number of whites in Luanda, invariably contributed to an intensified atmosphere of racism and petty discrimination.[9] Foundational to this systemic racism was the concept and policy of assimilation. During Portuguese colonialism in Africa, the adoption of Portuguese cultural practices and social patterns by Africans marked a successful if incomplete transition from "uncivilized" to "civilized" life. The adoption or mere following of practices and patterns of the European colonizers came to legally constitute a racial and socio-economic class of supposed semi-privilege within Angola known as the *assimilados,* or assimilated ones. These cultural practices and social patterns included the ability to read, write, and speak Portuguese fluently, earn wages from a trade, eat, dress, and worship as the Portuguese, maintain a standard of living and customs similar to the European way of life, and have no criminal record.

In the 1950s, Angolan authors José Luandino Vieira and Arnaldo Santos began to highlight the *musseque* and the racial tensions of a city and society in transition through short story collections. These stories revisit the Luanda of their childhood in the mid-1940s. During this tumultuous period, Portugal maintained neutrality in World War II and instead turned its attention to colonial projects in Africa. This intensified colonial interest in Africa constituted a period of radical societal transformation in cities such as Luanda. The *musseques* of the authors' childhood where whites, blacks, and *mestiços* seemed to coexist harmoniously, were physically transformed into *cidades de asfalto*, European-style neighborhoods designed for white Portuguese inhabitants. The short story collections *A cidade e a infância* (1957/1960) by Luandino Vieira and *Quinaxixe* (1965) by Arnaldo Santos depict the clash of cultures and the exploitation inherent in colonial social structures that arose from the rapidly increasing numbers

[9] See footnote 1.

of white Portuguese settlers in the colony, a trend that would continue until independence. Throughout the collections, assimilation and a preoccupation with identity are at the forefront. Whether willingly or unwillingly, adolescent characters of color engage in assimilation practices and through them are made aware of the social ironies that stem from racial and linguistic prejudice, socio-economic tensions, and color distinctions in a colonial society. The collections' stories lay bare the contradictions and hardships of living under a regime that had proclaimed itself to be at the helm of a harmonious and prosperous multi-racial and multi-continental empire. Both authors examine the role and power of language in assimilation processes and are preoccupied with questions of linguistic and racial hybridity and identity. Vieira and Santos critique assimilation and *lusotropicalism* by juxtaposing and contrasting assimilated versus un-assimilated life amidst the rapidly transforming backdrop of the city of Luanda.

In spite of past oppression and continued repression up until independence, the myths and violent realities of *lusotropicalism* began to be refuted and contradicted in literary works starting in the 1950s and 60s.[10] These literary portrayals of Angola under the Portuguese revealed a self-awareness of the realities of colonialism by both Angolans and Portuguese, especially as to the false legitimacy and justification of continued Portuguese presence on the African continent in the second half of the twentieth-century. The collections embody Angola's coming of age and attempt to forge an imagined collectivity, one that is concerned with finding a voice, capable of

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[10]In the foundational, *Voices from an Empire* (1975), Russell Hamilton cites poetry and short stories from names such as Agostinho Neto, António Jacinto, Viriato da Cruz, and António Cardoso in poetry and Candeias da Silva, Arnaldo Santos, Mário António, Luandino Vieira, Santos Lima, and Domingos Van-Dúnem among others in prose (69-159). Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 1, at the same time the tenets of *lusotropcialism* also began to be refuted in essay form: Mário Pinto de Andrade's 1955 critique of the concept in *Présence africaine*, Baltazar Lopes's *Cabo Verde visto por Gilberto Freyre* (1956), Gabriel Mariano's *Cultura caboverdiana: ensaios*, published in 1991, but written in the 1950s.

expressing an ever-transforming Angolan identity.

It is generally accepted that Angolan literature can be said to have come into its own as an autonomous national literature with the virtual explosion of literary production made possible by national independence (November 11, 1975), the end of the dictatorship (April 25, 1974), and its censorship. While foundational texts of Angolan autonomous national literature such as *Mayombe* (1980) by Pepetela and *João Vêncio: os seus amores* (1979) by Luandino Vieira were published after independence, many titles such as these were written during the period of anti-colonial struggle (1961-1974)—as is reflected in their themes. For both Russell Hamilton and Ana Mafalda Leite, the publication of Luandino Vieira's *Luuanda* in 1964 marks a turning point in the development of Angolan prose writing. The work emerged as a model for how to unite linguistic innovation and stylistically African storytelling techniques with the conventional format of the short-story situational plot with an ironic twist. In *Luuanda*, Vieira developed *estórias* that evoked, revindicated, and valorized the traditional, folkloric, African sensibilities of storytelling and narrative fiction in the context of late colonial Luanda. *Luuanda*, and other contemplative fiction of Angolan literature or truly autonomous Angolan literature, could be described as such due to its attempt and success in definitively breaking from standard Portuguese modes of language and narration. This autonomy was achieved via a new and radical concern with linguistic innovation. Vieira sought to capture in prose an Angolanness or Angolan quality, the *angolanidade* of the Portuguese language spoken in the country's *musseques*. He attempted to reflect in prose the African oral tradition and linguistic legacy of African languages present in Angolan Portuguese.

There is, however, a difficulty in categorizing the Angolan prose published in the pre-independence and anti-colonial struggle period of the 1950s and early 1960s. The literary

production of this period was constituted almost exclusively by poetry and short stories. Russell G. Hamilton's *Voices from An Empire*, published just after the end of the armed struggle in 1975, was one of the first comprehensive studies of African literature written in Portuguese. Scholars such as Hamilton have described such prose from this pre-independence and pre-armed struggle period as "compelling examples of ethnographic and neorealist writing in a conflictive colonial sphere," that established a thematic framework for the contemplative prose fiction that would emerge in Angola after independence but that lacked characteristics of such later works of Angolan literature (2003: 261; 265). While the short stories published in the 1950s and 1960s by some of the same authors, including Luandino, may not fall neatly and completely into the above category of breaking definitively with Portuguese literary modes, they do show a spirit of budding nationalism and underscore growing racial, socio-economic, and linguistic tensions. They demonstrate a preoccupation with (re)defining Angolan cultural values as distinct from Portuguese ones, a willingness to experiment with narration, and a linguistic playfulness. The narrative, linguistic, and thematic experimentation within early texts of Luandino and Arnaldo Santos therefore merit reexamination.

In *A Cidade e a Infância* (1957/1960), Luandino Vieira recalls the *musseque* of his childhood and adolescence (the 1940s) where whites, blacks, and *mestiços* had once coexisted harmoniously within the colonial capital sphere. Luandino juxtaposes this idealized Luanda with that of his adulthood/the present (the mid-late 1950s). The stories of the collection simultaneously depict the transition from childhood innocence to adult awakening and the city's transition into a colonial city modeled on European modes of modernity. The intensified urbanization of the city erased many of the spaces of racially harmonious coexistence (the *musseques*) of Luandino's childhood. Physical barriers in the form of paved streets and

sidewalks (the *cidade do asfalto*) were erected that would clearly demarcate divisions between white and black, colonizer and colonized.

There is an extensive bibliography available on the later works of Luandino Vieira, his linguistic innovation, his role in the creation of a national Angolan literature, and his lasting influence on other Angolan writers. Little attention, however, has been paid to his first published volume of short stories, *A cidade e a infância* (1957/1960). This may be due to the collection being viewed as stylistically immature in comparison with later works. Salvato Trigo, in *Luandino Vieira o logoteta,* deems the collection an *antetext* to Luandino's other writings. *Antetext* here refers to a prior text which resonates in the text under scrutiny. It could be a prior version or variation of the text, a previous material that frames the text, or merely a text that contains antecedent practices or techniques, such as linguistic or narrative ones. The latter definition is applicable to *A cidade e a infância*.

In his chapter on Portuguese-language African literature in *A History of Twentieth-Century African Literatures,* Russell Hamilton describes the stories as odes to the creole-African city that contain traces of techniques and discourses that later will characterize Luandino Vieira as the foremost Angolan storyteller. Manuel Ferreira explains how the collection was frustrated from an editorial point of view, given that the first edition (which contained just four stories, only one of which would reappear in the second edition) was seized and destroyed by the printer in 1957, to be expanded and reprinted in 1960. Ana Mafalda Leite, in *Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa,* highlights how Luandino is interested in the ethical and moral questions which rise from the experience of children on the verge of growing up into adulthood. She sees these particular stories as depicting an unforgettable realm of childhood in which good and evil confront each other and where everything seemed possible.

While these passing discussions and mentions of the collection reduce it to a minor, underdeveloped work, Phyllis Peres in *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative* gives it some well-deserved attention. She observes that the narrative focus of the collection moves from the fragmentation of *luandense* identity to the emergence of a new identity initially voiced through protests against conditions in the colonial city. For Peres, this new identity is represented through the present alienated positions of the narrators and characters from an idealized past (19). The racially harmonious, creolized Luanda of the author's childhood is juxtaposed with a city that has been transformed, revealing a self-awareness of division, racial tension, and contradiction.

Quinaxixe, the first collection of short stories by Arnaldo Santos was published as a first edition in 1965 as part of the Lisbon chapter of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império's *Colecção de Autores Ultramarinos*. The author had written the collection in the mid-1950s while working in Uíge as a civil servant. Santos' first solo publication was a collection of poetry, *Fuga* (CEI, 1960). Later he would publish poems and selected short stories in African literary magazines such as *O Brado Africano*, *Cultura*, and the anthology, *Novos contos de África* (Sá da Bandeira, 1962). The most well-known of *Quinaxixe*'s stories, "A menina Vitória," would appear in print in *Mensagem*, the literary organ of Lisbon's CEI (v. 15, n. 1 in April of 1963) prior to the publication of the collection as a whole. The same story would later appear in Mário de Andrade's anthology *Literatura africana de expressão portuguesa*, v. 2 *Prosa* in 1968. The titular short story "Quinaxixe," would likewise appear in Amândio César's anthology *Contos portugueses do ultramar,* v. 2 in 1969. Santos has stated that once removed from his childhood home in Luanda, he was able to analyze with more clarity that moment in time when a multi-racial society seemed possible, a "sociedade onde brancos, pretos, *mestiços…,* todos se

misturavam e criavam uma forma de convivência que me parecia nova, quase modelar— em termos de padrão— e que poderia ser, eventualmente, projecto de uma sociedade futura" (in Laban, 1991, 498-9).

There are passing mentions of "A menina Vitória" in Russell G. Hamilton's *Voices From An Empire* and in his more recent chapter on Portuguese-language African literature in *A History of Twentieth-Century African Literatures*, as well as in Ana Mafalda Leite's chapter on Angolan literature in the Patrick Chabal-edited, *Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, Manuel Ferreira's *Literaturas africanas de expressão portuguesa* and in Maria Aparecida Santilli's introduction to the anthology of Luso-African short stories *Estórias africanas: história & antologia*. In the majority of these considerations, the story is analyzed singularly without full consideration of the context of the collection as a whole. The aforementioned scholars characterize the story as a simple tale of colonial oppression and suppression of native linguistic and cultural values through assimilation processes.

In his contribution to *Nação e narrativa pós-colonial I: Angola e Moçambique*, Alberto Oliveira Pinto provides a singular essay-length discussion of six of *Quinaxixe*'s short stories. In the essay, Oliveira Pinto writes of the autobiographical nature of the collection and how it evokes the supposedly racially harmonious colonial society of the author's childhood. It is from that colonial society, before the independence discourses of the post-war years, that the adolescent author witnessed an emerging nationalist sentiment. For Oliveira Pinto, Santos writes into the pages of *Quinaxixe* the growing anti-colonial and pro-nationalist discourses that were forged during the turbulent changes occurring in 1950s Angola.

Though short stories by nature are episodic and may seem to be a series of distinct, unrelated incidents or static sketches, they are often unified by common spaces, characters,

motifs, and themes. A volume of short stories is by nature collected and organized into a sequence, either by an author or an editor. We the reader are then tasked with encountering underlying patterns of coherence that might link the singular reading experiences into a larger one. We experience patterned closure in each story but also the rewards of discovering larger unifying strategies. Within the context of the sequence of stories, each short story is thus not a completely closed formal experience. Each successive story prepares us for the next, yet also sheds light on previous ones. The collection as a whole therefore becomes what Robert M. Luscher describes as an "open book" that invites the reader to construct a network of associations that bind the stories together and lend them cumulative thematic impact (149, 166). This reminds us that while we may consider short stories individually, and that it is not wrong to do so, for a more complete reading experience, we may consider how stories in a collection interact with and inform one another.

Luscher compares the short story collection or what he calls a short story sequence (sometimes known as a *short story cycle*) to disparate movements of music that form a larger, cohesive piece. "As in a musical sequence, the story sequence repeats and progressively develops themes and motifs over the course of the work; its unity derives from a perception of both the successive ordering and recurrent patterns, which together provide the continuity of the reading experience" (149). Consequently, within a sequence individual stories do not lose their distinctiveness but rather expand and elaborate the contexts, characters, symbols, or themes developed by the others. Much in the way a piece of music introduces a melody, only to contrast it with a countermelody played in direct counterpoint, and in harmony with the original, the individual stories play off one another to give an overall harmonious effect. This chapter's analysis will draw upon Luscher's concept of a short story sequence to explore the ways in

which stories dialogue with each other within their own collections as well as the ways in which two collections of Luandino Vieira and Arnaldo Santos dialogue with each other. It is no wonder that the works of these two authors dialogue so naturally, as they have been friends for much of their lifetime and have similar backgrounds and connections to the *musseques* of Luanda.

A cidade e a infância, Luandino Vieira's first published work, consists of ten stories, written between September of 1954 and April of 1957, whose narrations wander in and out of time and spaces, in a journey between past and present and the *musseques* and the *cidade de asfalto*. The stories are largely presented in the order in which they were written (between September of 1954 and March of 1957). *A cidade e a infância* depicts the transformation of Luanda's cityscape, once dominated by the *musseques,* working-class neighborhoods populated with blacks, whites and *mestiços*, now physically, racially, and socio-economically divided between the *cidade de asfalto* and the *musseques*. The dominance of memories and nostalgia for a Luanda that no longer exists and a desire for a return to what is familiar and local, i.e. of the *musseque*, speak to Luandino's identification with Angola and not the dominant European colonial society. Vieira attempted to publish a different group of stories under the same name in 1957. The volume was seized at the printer. Only one of the original stories, "O Encontro de Acaso" which opens the collection, was included in the 1960 edition published by the Casa dos Estudantes do Império.

Quinaxixe, is composed of nine short stories whose narrations similarly wander in and out of the *musseque* of Quinaxixe, focused on the Largo do Quinaxixe, and the Baixa of Luanda. While all nine stories of the collection merit consideration, five of the collection's stories that show contrastive and complementary views on assimilation and the role of language within it will be at the heart of my analysis. The first two stories of the collection offer a panorama of the

musseque, its lively mix of races, classes, culture, and languages. Three later stories contrast this universal view with three episodes involving a schoolboy alienated by colonial assimilation practices and the *cultural mulattoism*[11] that he experiences daily while moving between the racially and socio-economically diverse *musseque,* and the predominantly white and upper class *baixa*. These five stories provide us with a contrastive view of assimilated versus un-assimilated life for a group of adolescent characters in 1950s Luanda. Particular attention is paid to the role of, a reverence for, and a reclaiming of African cultural values, specifically those of language and linguistic expression.

The opening story of *A cidade e a infância*, "Encontro de acaso," tells of a chance reunion between childhood friends, one white, and the other black. Initially, the African friend does not recognize the white friend, "Já não me conhecia. Era-lhe estranho," as time has made their racial and socio-economic difference materially notable (13). The white friend has seen his old friend frequently and has made several attempts to be recognized, "Muitas vezes tentei a aproximação, mas só o olhar de ódio dele me respondia" (13). Then, on the day of the chance encounter, at a tavern in the old *musseque*, the two men drink and reminisce of earlier and easier

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[11] 'Cultural mulattoism' is a concept expounded upon by Trey Ellis in his 1988 essay, "The New Black Aesthetic." In his essay, Ellis identifies a rupture between the black aesthetics of previous generations and the new black aesthetics of artists of what he calls, the "black bourgeoisie boom" of 1980s American intellectual, artistic and popular culture. He aims to describe how racial experience has changed in the United States, especially for individuals of mixed-race(s). While mulatto typically refers to a person of mixed black and white ancestry, Ellis defines cultural mulatto as a black person who is highly educated and usually a part of the middle or upper-middle class. He argues that cultural mulattoes therefore (can) easily assimilate into traditionally white environments. Cultural mulattoes are supposedly skilled in code-switching and may be equally comfortable around blacks as around whites. Their ability for easy interaction with both blacks and whites is supposedly what ultimately allows for opportunities of class and status upward mobility. While much of the essay celebrates cultural mulattoism, Ellis does allude to assimilationist practices of black artists that attempt to please both worlds rather than themselves as nightmarish, that ultimately end up truly pleasing no one. (234-243).

times. The story recounts how as children, race did not separate them, but as adults it has, “A vida separou-nos, cada um com a sua cela nesta imensa prisão” (13). Whereas they once shared a collective identity as friends and residents of the *musseque*, that identity and that space, have been severely altered by time. The story, narrated by the white man, is recounted as a painful reminder of the lost innocence of childhood, racial inclusivity and conviviality, and the socio-economic and physical division that now exists between the two. The narrator laments, “como são dolorosas as recordações,” and likens the time that has passed to a wound that won’t heal, “mas tudo se modificou e só a ferida feita pela memória persiste ainda” (12).

As children, the two were equals, kings of the neighborhood, indulging in the pleasures of youth, “Oh, quem me dera outra vez mergulhar o corpo na água suja e ter a alma limpa como nos tempos em que ele, eu, o Mimi, o Fernando Silva, o João Maluco, o Margaret e tantos outros, éramos os reis da Grande Floresta” (12). While many members of the group are named, both friends of the chance encounter exist principally as mere subject pronouns—a white “I” and a black “Other.” The African man, referred to at times as “o chefe da Grande Floresta” or “o chefe do bando,” was, at eight years old, the leader of their group of friends. He was respected for his prowess with a slingshot and was admired for his vivid imagination. He would invent adventures for the boys in the waters that collected in the forested area near the neighborhood. This once imaginative and skillful boy in adulthood has given way to a man crippled by life: “A vida fez dele um farrapo” (12). He has also appeared to have turned to drink, “Ele avançou para mim, cambaleando… O seu hálito tocava-me” (14).

While the man of color seems to be imprisoned in a life of hard labor and poverty, the narrator’s prison cell is one of assimilation to norms of white behavior in the colonial sphere, “Reconhecer-me-ia ele por detrás do meu disfarce feito de fazenda e *nylon*, de uma barba bem

escanhoada, dos meus sapatos engraxados? Não, ele não podia ver que eu era o mesmo menino do bando" (13). Although life has separated the two, for this one night and this one chance encounter, they walk together, arm in arm, "os dois amigos cambaleavam abraçados" (15). The harmonica that plays as they leave the tavern is likened to a tune of racial harmony formed by all of his childhood friends, black and white, that once formed the bando do Quinaxixe, "no fundo era a canção de todos nós, meninos brancos e negros que comemos quiquérra e peixe frito, que fizemos fugas e fisgas e que em manhãs de chuva deitávamos o corpo sujo na água suja e de alma bem limpa íamos à conquista do reduto dos bandidos do Canaxixe" (15). Like the friendship they once enjoyed, the physical space, the forest that had neighbored the *musseque* of Quinaxixe, was razed to the ground to create a new building to house some of the city's many new inhabitants, "tractores invejosos a soldo de bandos de inimigos desconhecidos invadiram-nos a floresta e derrubaram as árvores" (12).

The improbability of this chance meeting is echoed throughout the story in the form of the lament "um encontro de acaso!" As adults the two men inhabit separate, if not mutually exclusive worlds, a world of privilege and one that exists as peripheral to it. The black friend, depicted as an Other, unemployed, ragged, and drunk, is not permitted to occupy places of white privilege within the colonial *baixa*, but rather, is relegated to the peripheral sphere of the *musseque*. Only when the white friend decides to revisit the spaces of his childhood in a "deambular pelo musseque," do the two have a chance of running into each other (14). This fact is underscored by the initial look of hatred, "o olhar de ódio," that is returned to the narrator when he tries to attract the man's attention. For the "chefe de bando," this white man could be any white man, who may choose to assert racial superiority over him. This racial superiority is evident in the white man's ability to enter into and occupy both spaces of privilege (the

baixa/cidade de asfalto) and periphery (*musseque).* This dichotomy serves as a living reminder of the loss of childhood innocence and the harsh colonial realities that have been made aware to him in adulthood: "Ele despertava em mim todas as imagens da minha infância" (14-5). The story sets the stage for the collection's meditation on the innumerable spatial, cultural, racial and linguistic barriers that have been erected during this intensified Portuguese colonialism and rapid urbanization in mid-twentieth century Luanda.

The second and third stories, "O Nascer do Sol," and the titular, "A Cidade e a Infância," tell of childhood games, nascent sexuality, and near-death illness. Both highlight the vulnerable state of adolescence and show how characters and their surroundings experience rapid change in a short period of time. In contrast with the other stories of the collection, "A cidade e a infância" is unique due to its highly fragmentary structure told in five episodes. The white narrator, Zito, deeply ill, recalls moments of his childhood erratically, through feverish dream-like images and memories juxtaposed in a distorted haze that his illness and a disillusionment with the present have brought. At eleven pages in length, it is also by far the longest story of the collection. The fragments wander in and out of the present and the past, revisiting the vibrant and diverse *musseque* of Braga that has given way to the luminous and clean Bairro do Café. Happy and healthy childhood memories of the people, the sounds, and the street names of the *musseque* have given way to sickness in the protagonist and the city: "Hoje muitos edifícios foram construídos. As casas de pau-a-pique e zinco foram substituídas por prédios de ferro e cimento, a areia vermelha coberta pelo asfalto negro e a rua deixa de ser a Rua do Lima. Deram-lhe outro nome" (27). The protagonist's illness is echoed in the colorless state of the modern city. In a childhood spent flying kites, shooting slingshots, and frequenting the cinema, "tudo tinha cor e vida" (36). As a teenager however, life is dull and symbolically black and white. The only

images of color in the present are the sunshine on white walls and the black asphalt of the *cidade de asfalto*. The end of the story makes clear that three weeks have passed since the last doctor's visit and that Zito has fully recovered. In his feverish delirium, the memories of his childhood vibrantly and colorfully returned to him. The illness has passed and has made him into a man, "Fizera-se homem" (36). After regaining his health, his childhood memories and the spaces that served as the stage for them remain distant from him, existing merely as dull snippets of memories. Diluted in the reality of the present, the world, like the colonial system has returned to black and white:

> Livres ao Sol, nus de cintura para cima e dos joelhos para baixo, correndo aquele mundo deles que hoje tractores vão alisando e alicerces vão desventrando para onde desce o bairro do Café, sucessor moderno daquele Braga da infância de todos eles... Tudo tinha cor e vida. Agora eram apenas recordações baças, bonecos desarticulados, mexendo-se no vácuo da imaginação (36).

In the pivotal fourth story of *A cidade e a infância*, "Fronteira de Asfalto," urbanization has destroyed physical spaces and the childhood sense of collectivity, *convivência*, racial harmony, and coexistence that the author so cherished. In this story, the pavement is not only a physical separation between the past and present, but also a racial boundary between adolescents Ricardo, a young black man, and Marina, a white, blonde-haired, blued-eyed girl who in childhood, "quando não havia a fronteira de asfalto," were friends (39). The story opens with the two childhood friends playing under a tree filled with violet flowers falling to the ground like snow. Feeling that their friendship has changed and wishing that someone might contradict this impression, Ricardo asks Marina if she remembers their not-so-distant childhood and if she believes that everything is the same as it was back then. From her lack of response, and reticence

to look him in the eye, Ricardo is made aware of the answer and of his own cruelty in posing such a question. Marina wonders why Ricardo is bringing up this painful question and reality now. She has always been a loyal friend, even when having been subjected to racist comments from her classmates, and censure from professors and family. Although she too is aware that the nature of their friendship has changed and that it now is viewed disdainfully, she points out that she has never abandoned him, "Alguma vez te abandonei?" (39). The two were fast friends, neighborhood playmates, and classmates at the local school. Ricardo was the son of the washerwoman and would make a young Marina laugh, "servia de palhaço à menina Nina" (39). Although a suitable childhood companion, even then his friendship consisted of amusing and serving his white counterpart.

While Ricardo laments the blatant contradiction of *lusotropicalism* evidenced by the present impossibility of their continued friendship, his nostalgia implies that the relationship between the two was always subject to said colonial racist ideology, "Quando eu era o teu amigo Ricardo, um pretinho muito limpo e educado, no dizer de tua mãe?" (38). Even then, as a child, he was only ever nearly equal to his white friend and had to strive to erase his color via assimilation to distinguish himself as 'clean' and 'educated.' It appears difficult for Ricardo to suppress an awareness of the harsh reality of colonial society in Luanda, as he wishes to return to a time when there were no questions, definitive answers or explanations with regard to his relationship with Marina. In fact, racial coexistence in early 20th century Luanda pre-Estado Novo was limited, but existent. Yet that limited coexistence was made nearly impossible by the policies of the Estado Novo that contributed to newly erected barriers, such as the titular, *fronteira de asfalto*. Although not always physically present, the pavement placed a tangible marker on what was already a part of Portuguese colonialism, a racial division of hierarchy and

exclusion.

When the two friends tearfully and angrily depart after this tense interaction they both return to their respective worlds, the *musseque* and the *cidade de asfalto*. Ricardo turns from the lovely purple tree towards his home, "Virou os olhos para o seu mundo" (38). Their worlds are starkly different. Marina's large house stands on one side of the street, shaded by beautifully-colored trees. On the other side of the street, sand stirred from the red dirt by gusts of wind, covers everything. There is no sidewalk, no colorful trees and the houses are the typical *pau a pique,* soil and sticks, "do outro lado da rua asfaltada não havia passeio. Nem árvores de flores violeta" (38). After this exchange Marina too returns home crying only to find etched in her desk, "Marina e Ricardo—amigos para sempre" (39). She tears a photograph of the two together and lies in her bed staring at the pink walls. She contemplates the socio-economic differences between her and her dear friend and thinks of the houses on the unpaved side of the street where numerous families of color live. In a room the size of her bedroom, Ricardo sleeps with his four siblings. Why couldn't she continue to be his friend? Why are things different now? Marina's mother enters and pleads with her to see the impossibility of her friendship with Ricardo. "Isso é muito bonito em criança. Duas crianças. Mas agora…um preto é um preto… As minhas amigas todas falam da minha negligência na tua educação" (40). Marina is crushed, but ultimately accepts what her mother considers to be an unavoidable eventuality.

In the second half of the story, Ricardo, overcome with a desire to talk with his friend, crosses the *fronteira de asfalto* in the moonlight. He jumps the wall surrounding her house and calls out to Marina from beneath her window. Through tears, Marina lies and says she is busy studying and that they can speak at the bus stop the following day. Suddenly, a beam from a policeman's flashlight falls on Ricardo's face. Seized with great fear, "o medo do negro pelo

polícia," he runs from the scene (41). The policeman runs after him while yelling to stop, "Alto aí seu negro. Pára. Pára negro!" (41). Ricardo hurls himself over the wall but slips, causing his head to crash against the edge of the pavement with great force. Dogs bark, windows in many neighboring houses light up, and Marina's scream rings through the air. In the steel-blue moonlight, the policeman's flashlight shines over the fallen body of Ricardo, who lies on the sidewalk strewn with the purple flowers that have fallen from the tree. The wall is not only a physical separation between the past and present, but also a racial boundary that ultimately cost lives.

But why couldn't the boy of color and the white girl continue to be friends if *lusotropicalism* celebrated the Portuguese aptitude for miscegenation and amiable contact with peoples of the tropics? The newly erected physical barrier between the worlds of white and black made plain the limits of social ascension and assimilation as promised by the *lusotropicalist* ideology touted by the Salazar regime in its later years. The promise made to children of color that they could be full citizens of the Empire, unbeknownst to them, was one made under the guise of controlling and subjugating them. Assimilation promised the opportunity for a better life but could never change skin color or the way that race was perceived by the Portuguese, exemplified by the explanation given by Marina's mother, "um preto é um preto" (40).

The collection's following three stories "Bebiana," "Marcelina," and "Faustino," recount daily experiences of characters of color as they engage in assimilationist behavior with white colonialists. Whether the stories depict miscegenation, prostitution, or overt racism in the workplace, they each provide depictions of the false promise of assimilation and the unjust inequalities and disparities in the colonial experience. In "Bebiana," Don'Ana, an elderly African woman and former *quintandeira* tries to convince the narrator, a young white man, to marry her

mulata daughter, Bebiana. On Saturday nights, she hosts neighborhood dances at her home. The old woman serves as the keeper of knowledge for the neighborhood. She knows the secrets and desires of the young people and the stories of the old people. Don'Ana's own story as the mother of a mixed-race child causes the narrator to question the motivating forces behind the two sides of miscegenation. Would this be a match based on mutual affection? Would their union serve as the girl's ticket to social ascension? Would their children suffer racism due to their African ancestry? "Gostaria Bebiana mesmo de mim ou seria eu só mais um degrau na sociedade? Os nossos filhos mesmo com sangue negro, já seriam mais aceites, já não haveria a lembrança da Don'Ana, velha quintandeira que se deu a um branco" (47). The narrator questions the legitimacy of *lusotropicalism* and how racial politics and assimilation practices can impact romantic relationships. The narrator's ruminations underscore how the Estado Novo had selectively appropriated Freyre's *lusotropicalism*, embracing the idea of a Lusitanian predisposition to colonization in the tropics without his enthusiasm for miscegenation.

In "Marcelina," a young white man is intrigued by a *mulata* prostitute, who shares a miserable room with her young white daughter. Marcelina has dreams of marrying the girl's father, but in the meantime must rely on her charms to provide what little she can for the girl. The story recounts the strained socio-economic conditions in which many women of color lived in the *musseque*. "Olhei para ela e pensei também na vida sem esperança, dela e de outras mulheres, costureirinhas ou empregadas de fábricas que se davam aos brancos para conseguirem melhoria de vida" (52). Although the young narrator frequents brothels, he is in a way altruistic, seeing the world as it is and wishing it were different. He possesses no means to lift the prostitute or her daughter out of poverty, yet the image of the two living in misery lingers in his mind.

In "Faustino," daily racism experienced by the titular character, a doorman at a

predominantly white apartment building, is recounted. Faustino longs to read books and study for school, but instead must serve the residents of the building. In contrast, the school-aged children in the building complain to their mothers about having to study. The ill-mannered white children who use the elevator as a play space call Faustino 'Bóbi', the name of a loud and rambunctious lapdog that lives in the building. "Bóbi era o cão de luxo da senhora do terceiro andar. E Faustino nem era ao menos um cão de luxo. Era um negro porteiro que tinha a mania de estudar" (59-60). This antonomasia makes clear Faustino's place in the hierarchy of Angolan colonial society. Although he is an adult, Faustino is constantly infantilized by his employer and the buildings' residents. The ridicule that Faustino is subjected to comes not only from the children, but also from the adult residents and his boss. One woman scorns his attempts to educate himself while frustrated that she must wait at a doorway, "tu estás aqui para estudar ou para abrir a porta?" (56). Faustino's many duties include watering the flowers, washing the steps, manning the elevator and watching the children who frequently play in it. He possesses a curiosity and hunger for education, which due to his socio-economic limitations weren't fully realized during childhood. In the rare instance that he finds a free moment, he relishes the opportunity to peruse textbooks and learn about the world that surrounds him. Faustino's boss considers his educational attempts to be mere pipedreams, criticizing his age and socio-economic condition, "Já não tens idade para estudar. Estudar não é para ti. Trabalha, trabalha" (57).

The subject matter of the educational books Faustino reads is indicative of the Eurocentric nature of education in Angola during the time. While reading on the subject of houses, European-style houses are depicted as the definitive model for what a dwelling is and ought to look like.

<<A Casa>>. A casa tem muitos quartos. O quarto disto. O quarto daquilo. O quarto da

> costura. O quarto das crianças. O quarto das crianças! Mas em casa dele os irmãos pequenos—são dois que passam o dia a comer areia nas ruas dos musseques onde brincam—dormem todos juntos com a irmã e a mãe! E os olhos mostram-lhe casas novas, casas nunca vistas no seu mundo. (56)

Apart from studying while on the job, Faustino enjoys two aspects of his work: the flowers he cares for, and the visits of Maria, a girl who works at a nearby tobacco factory. She brings him cigarettes on the mornings that she doesn't work. Once she loses her job and the boss forbids her from visiting, Faustino's only remaining solace are the flowers. However, his boss finds a way to criticize the way he performs even this task, "Já te disse mais de uma vez que o teu trabalho não é estragar as flores. Estás aqui para as regares e não para lhes tocares. As flores são para as senhoras do prédio" (58). Faustino does not comprehend why flowers should belong to some people and not others. "Flores são flores, não são de uns nem de outros. São de todos. Nascem da terra se os brancos plantam ou se os pretos plantam. E não nascem mais bonitas por serem plantadas por brancos." Here Faustino and Luandino present a thinly veiled, yet extremely rational critique of colonial life and racial hierarchy, that no one has a right to something solely based on skin color.

In an act of defiance, Faustino allows the children to run wild throughout the building, picks a flower, takes off his uniform, grabs his books, and leaves. Although he is initially preoccupied with the thought of both himself and Maria unemployed, rather than dwell on his loss of income, he opts for optimism while opening his science textbook to study. He is finally able to pursue his studies free from ridicule.

In "Faustino," Luandino assumes the role of first-person narrator and storyteller for the very first time. He announces his presence in both the story's opening and closing, "Contarei a

história do Faustino" and "Contei a história do Faustino" (55, 60). This authorial interference in the narration will be a hallmark of Luandino's mature prose in which he assumes the role of storyteller, one who transmits tradition, culture, and knowledge orally through the telling of stories and historical events. With the adoption of this narrative technique, he begins to assert a distinctively oral and traditionally African quality in the collection. As a fully formed narrator inserted into his own stories, in *Luuanda*, Vieira will speak for, and to Angola. He will tell Angolan tales with distinctly Angolan language and Angolan narrative structure.

In the eighth story of the collection, "Quinzinho," a black Angolan boy is fascinated by, and eventually killed by, machines. The story is told in first-person narration by a white friend of Quinzinho who stands at his grave with red roses and laments his passing at the hands of a machine. This machine, while literal, is also metaphorically, the colonial machine. Quinzinho's death does not slow the progress of the machine. It is a cold and unyielding entity. In comparison with the machine, Quinzinho is weak and dispensable. Quinzinho is described as a poet and a dreamer by nature, but within the colonial machine he is but a laborer, *"um operário,"* and laborers cannot afford to dream. The narrator describes the life of a laborer as a struggle with life itself and its cruel realities. Quinzinho's fascination with machines is ultimately what leads to his death, his deep need to understand how they operate is what pulls him into the machine and crushes him. The implication that Quinzinho and others like him are meant to only work in but never question nor fully understand the colonial machine, reveals the cruel and dangerous nature of assimilation under the Portuguese. In the penultimate story of the collection, "Companheiros," four young African friends have migrated from all over Angola to the *musseques* not of Luanda, but of Nova Lisboa (modern-day Huambo). They live in poverty and suffer brutality from the police. The final story of the *A cidade e a infância,* "O Despertar," will be analyzed later with the

closing story of *Quinaxixe*, “Despertar,” as they are similar titled and deal with moments of epiphany.

Vieira’s *A cidade e a infância* easily captures the linguistic distinctiveness of Luanda’s *musseques* through dialogue, as had previous colonial literature. More notable is his narration’s ability to successfully capture the orality and familiarity of *musseque* speech. Vieira accomplishes this feat with a decidedly informal register replete with succinct, yet highly descriptive and rhythmic prose. Consider these lines from “Companheiros”: “Negro João filho do capim. No capim gerado, no capim parido. Os pés descalços, os jornais sob o braço, vendendo a leitura pela cidade jovem de Nova Lisboa” (68). The repetition of the word *capim* (‘grass’) and the description of Negro João as barefoot, *os pés descalços*, grounds the story in the *musseque*, where in place of asphalt, grass abounds, and it is possible to walk about the urban space without shoes. In *Luuanda*, Vieira will expand upon this narration by subverting and bending the syntactic and morphological rules of European Portuguese to more faithfully express Angolan tales and identity.

The opening and titular story of the Arnaldo Santos’s *Quinaxixe* echoes the longed-for boyhood adventures of “Encontro de acaso” from *A cidade e a infância*. The narrative is divided into five fragments, each one marking specific times of day and specific spaces throughout the neighborhood that in the early and mid-1950s constituted the Largo do Quinaxixe and its surroundings. The story paints a vibrant portrait of boyhood in Luanda, with young characters coexisting harmoniously, unaware of the social inequalities that may someday separate them. Their blissful ignorance and youthful innocence, which the adult characters in “Encontro de acaso” have lost, is destined to be fleeting.

The first fragment begins at sunrise and continues to mid-morning, with the early

morning hubbub in the household of D. Zulmira, the *mulata* wife of a white shopkeeper. The fragment focuses on her son Nito as he attempts to sneak out of the house in order to meet up with his friends. The neighborhood boys are a racially diverse bunch including black, white, and *mulato* children of varied socio-economic backgrounds. The adventures depicted include the typical childhood activities of fishing, playing, and the occasional fight. While the majority of the boys appear rather carefree, the boy nicknamed Barriga de Ginguba ("Peanut Belly"), in reference to his distended belly, is a cause for concern for the other boys as he frequently appears malnourished and in need of care. Nito is reminded of how when Barriga de Ginguba passes by his house, his mother fears that he will starve to death. "Enquanto se encaminhava para ele o Nito lembrou-se de que ele ia morrer. A sua mãe repetia-o sempre que o via passar com a sua enorme barriga. Coitado!" (8-9). The other boys wonder why his parents don't feed him, "Mas o pai dele, porque é que lhe não dá comida? –perguntava o Neco recriminando o egoísmo dos pais do Barriga de Ginguba." (9). The children are unaware that his parents may not have the means to provide for him. One of the children mentions that his servants receive both food and pay in exchange for work and it becomes obvious that Barriga de Ginguba's parents either do not or are unable to work. Here we see recognition of, yet not a full comprehension of, disparity in socio-economic and racial status among the neighborhood's children. The conversation, however serious, is fleeting and the children decide to head to the LAL (Luz e Água de Luanda) where they will steal lead pipes to exchange for sweets.

In the second fragment the friends fishing, swimming and sling-shooting rocks at frogs in the Lagoa do Quinaxixe. On their way to the *patinagem*, the boys see a drunk white widow and jeer at her. In the third fragment, the boys encounter a rival group of neighborhood boys. Zeca is nervous to see Miranda, a boy who makes fun of Zeca for refusing to drink from garden water

pumps, claiming that he is a mama's boy. A fight ensues between Zeca and Miranda. Zeca, though smaller, is somehow triumphant. In the fourth fragment, the boys gather in the shade by Pitta-Groz's shop to hear stories from Chôa and João Maluco, older neighborhood boys who cat-call girls as they pass by and swear in Kimbundu. These two relate the plots of American westerns that they have recently seen. The younger boys admire how Chôa and João Maluco dare to go to the predominantly white National cinema, even though it is close to the Portuguese army barracks which might bring interaction with, and scrutiny from, colonial authority. The pair are interesting role models as they speak in Kimbundu. "O João Maluco preto fulo, disparatou em quimbundo." (16).

In the final fragment of the opening story one of the boys' mother, D. Ana de Sousa, worries what the future may bring for her child as she puts him to bed. D. Ana asks Mário to wash his feet and then applies iodine tincture to combat fleas. He dreams of the day's neighborhood adventures. "Vivia então o seu grande e único sonho de Liberdade—o da sua infância." (20). The implication that in this colonial reality freedom is possible during childhood, suggests that adulthood in the same reality may bring struggle and discord. While he sleeps, his mother ponders his future. The last two paragraphs are perhaps the most poignant of the story as they speak of the inevitable loss of childhood innocence. D. Ana de Sousa questions the destiny of her son, "O que será de ti, amanhã, meu filho...?" (20). This question sets the tone for the collection and will be revisited throughout. She likens him to a defenseless bird, "Pobre passarinho indefeso…" D. Ana fears for her son and may be right to do so. After all, many Angolan children of this generation were destined to grow into the adults that would fight against, as well as with, the Portuguese for independence.

Throughout the subsequent stories in the collection, these boys and others of the

neighborhood will age and become more aware of their place in colonial Luanda. "Quinaxixe," as the opening story sets the tone for the collection and introduces us to the themes, spaces, and faces that will populate the rest of the stories. The open-ended question "O que será de ti, amanhã, meu filho...?" will only begin to be answered by the stories that follow. The language usage in this first story is by far the most innovative. It anticipates many of the techniques that Luandino Vieira will employ in *Luuanda* to faithfully depict the *angolanidade* of *musseque* Portuguese. Santos utilizes code-switching with the inclusion of Kimbundu expressions such as "*ua dilongo*" (10; *in EP "bem-feito";* "well done") and "*Mucaje ia kingando*" (17; *in EP "mulher do grande jacaré";* "woman of the big crocodile"[12]) to illustrate that many of the *musseque* residents were bilingual or heritage speakers of African languages that exerted a marked substrate influence on the local spoken Portuguese. Santos also employs multiple direct loans lexical items from Kimbundu, principally for items such as flora, fauna, and food that do not have a corresponding word in European Portuguese (referred to henceforth as EP): *mulembeira, mafumeira, pírula, cacusso, mateba, gonguenha, quimbombo, matacanha, funji*. Santos also employs direct loans for concepts for which speakers of Angolan Portuguese would favor a word of African origin over a Portuguese one: *quinda (in EP cesto;"basket")*, *matabicho (in EP pequeno-almoço/café da manhã; "breakfast")*, *quinjongo (in EP gafanhoto; "grasshopper")*, *jinguba (in EP amendoim; "peanut")*, *quissanda (in EP mulher ordinária; "common woman")*. This second type of direct loans serves to affirm the uniqueness and distinctness of Angolan Portuguese.

The most inventive linguistic element contained within "Quinaxixe" that will later come to define literary Angolan Portuguese is the inclusion of neologisms, or new words created to

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[12] This phrase appears to be a catcall to describe a "home wrecker."

effectively describe actions and items unique to *musseque* life. These neologisms reflect linguistic processes of hybridization as they lexicalize words of African origin into Portuguese frequently by changing their part of speech or simply by adapting the word to Portuguese morphological rules. Examples of neologisms present in "Quinaxixe" include the verbs *xaxatar* (8) "to grope" formed from the Kimbundu *kuxaxata* "to grope" plus the first conjugation verbal suffix -*AR; bungular* (19) 'to wiggle' from *kubungula* "to bewitch/move like in witchcraft' + -*AR,* and the adverb *cabindamente* (9) 'in the style of/like someone from Cabinda" from the Kikongo and Kimbundu terms for the people and region of Cabinda *kambinda* plus the Portuguese adverbial suffix -*mente*. The linguistic freedom with which Santos writes mirrors the freedom felt by the children as they play in the neighborhood. In subsequent stories, the language approaches and approximates a more standard Portuguese as the narration follows the adolescent characters into spaces that require more conservative language usage and more formal registers of Portuguese.

The second story of *Quinaxixe*, "O Velho Pedro," features the *ambaquista*[13]/nativist figure of the old man Pedro, living on the outskirts of the *musseque*. Pedro is a mystical character in the eyes of the children whose parents force them to take him food. He is an educated man whose status as *ambaquista* has gone from one of privilege in the colonial system to feared and disparaged. His very existence as an educated man who lives in abject poverty and isolation not only confounds the children, but also causes them to question the role of education in upward-mobility and assimilation. Pedro lives in isolation, removed from the other residents of the *musseque* in a "cubata de zinco, isolada, junto das barrocas da LAL." (23) The parents warn their

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[13] The term *ambaquista* served to distinguish, until the beginning of the XX century, those African traders and merchants that around the town of Ambaca, some 260km from the capital, served as intermediaries between the Portuguese and the inhabitants of the interior of the country. They spoke both Portuguese and native languages. The term came to indicate assimilation to certain aspects of the colonizer's culture, but also an intimate knowledge of native culture.

children about playing there and that they should not bother the old man. Two of the neighborhood boys, Zeca and Neco risk approaching the man's shack after heavy rains brought fish to the waters nearby. When Pedro comes into view, it is as a formidable figure, "Se ele aparecia mesmo, silenciava no alto da barroca, magro, anguloso, como um diquixi de madeira. No rosto ossudo, os olhos redondos brilhavam febris sobre uma barba castanha. Os garotos ficavam transidos, sem reacções, prensados entre aquele olhar fixo e imperativo, e o fundo vermelho do buraco." (24). He would scream at the boys with confusing language, "Fora, chafurdos!" One boy's mother said it must be Kimbundu, although in actuality it is an archaic Portuguese word. The old man becomes an enigma to young Zeca. At first he likens the old man to his servant, who also speaks in Kimbundu. The boys are forbidden from imitating the Kimbundu speech of the servants. "Mas enfim, devia ser quimbundisse, pois também o criado dele, o Catuto, metia muitas palavras na conversa, que a mãe lhe proibia imitar, porque eram de quimbundo" (24). The boys cannot comprehend why the people of the neighborhood tolerate Pedro, but not the other elderly black men who wander about the city. Neco considers it a waste to provide old Pedro with food. His mother chastises him and explains why he deserves respect:

> 'Oh! Neco tu não vês que ele não é igual aos outros!' D. Zulmira, branca de condição, mas mulata de nascimento, pressentia com alguns remorsos, aquela activa animosidade do filho, e lançava água na fervura, falando-lhe vagamente do passado de um homem rico, que o velho Pedro tinha sido há muito tempo, das suas viagens, e de um filho mulato que ele também tinha no Brasil. E um dia acrescentou com energia como utilizando um argumento decisivo: 'Olha ele até sabe francês.' (25-6).

Neco questions why an educated man would be relegated to social isolation and poverty. If Pedro was indeed all the things that his mother said, then why did he spend his days in

isolation in a humble metal shack, living off the charity of others? Neco posits that the old man is a sorcerer and that the people of the neighborhood fear him and feed him out of a sense of duty. One day, Neco's sister, Juju, is sent by D. Zulmira to take a basket of food to Pedro. She cries and protests to no avail. When she returns, she is smiling and singing Sr. Pedro's praises. "Juju ficou aflita, chorou muito…. Voltava até sorridente… Dizia muitas vezes o Sr. Pedro p'raqui, o Sr. Pedro p'rali." (26-7). Zeca is later forced to go visit Pedro as punishment and appears to have also been won over by the old man as he starts to refer to him as "Sr. Pedro" and no longer as "o cambungú" (*the boogeyman*). This could be due to Pedro's abilities as a teacher. Zeca proudly explains to his friends what a mailbox ("receptáculo do correio") is and its function.

> Zeca que também tinha sido castigado com o velho e que lhe falava dos novos companheiros, pretos e mulatos, graúdos e bassuleiros que passavam os intervalos a lutar. Mas do cambungú nada! Parece que tinha desaparecido. Falavam de um Sr. Pedro, brando, que ensinava a ler na cartilha e soletrava pacientemente o bê-á-bá, como se falasse com as almas dos meninos tranquinas. 'Diz também umas palavras difíceis' (27).

Afraid of the unknown, Neco waits much longer to muster the courage to take a basket to Sr. Pedro. He asks many questions about the man beforehand, "'Como é que um negro, pode saber aquilo tudo?' E de pena 'por que que ele tinha ficado tão pobre?' 'Mamã porque é que o Sr. Pedro anda sempre tão roto' (28). When Neco finally does go, he is accompanied by Benjiquisse, one of the household's black servants. As they approach he is scared to look at the old man who greets them in Kimbundu. Neco is unnerved by the incomprehensible greeting, ashamed that he doesn't know how to respond. The old man reassuringly puts a hand on his shoulder and smiles as Neco's eyes meet his. In that moment, the scary old hermit ceases to exist, and Sr. Pedro is born, a role model of color and a symbol of African cultural knowledge

and values. While Zeca and Neco initially fear Pedro, they later grow to respect the old man, what he represents, and stands for. The children learn that socio-economic status is not an indication of worth, potential, or productivity, contrary to what Portuguese colonialist ideology and policy would have them believe.

The four stories of *Quinaxixe* not analyzed in this chapter follow various characters introduced in "Quinaxixe" as they continue to explore different parts of the neighborhood. In the fifth story of the collection, "Almas do Outro Mundo," two characters from the opening story find themselves alone in a cemetery outside of Quinaxixe at night. The story is a meditation on death, fear, and feeling discomfort while in an unfamiliar setting. The following story, "Quarta-feira de Cinzas" is a story of young love and loss of innocence for another of the characters we first met in "Quinaxixe." The seventh and eighth stories of the collection prominently feature white Portuguese characters residing in the *musseque* and touch on the concept of *cafrealização,* or the adoption of the lifestyle of the local inhabitants. In "a Mulher do Padeiro," the baker's wife is infamous in the neighborhood for being racist, cruel, and demanding. She forbids her son from interacting with the *mulato* and *preto* boys of the neighborhood, considering herself and her family to be racially and culturally superior. Despite her infamy, the inhabitants of the neighborhood do not fear her and even choose to openly mock her. "Morte do Velho Noronha," depicts the funeral of a white, "cafrealized" *musseque* shopkeeper. Old Noronha's siblings are ashamed of him because of the benevolent way he treated the neighborhood's inhabitants of color. It is suggested that while alive he had been disowned by the family for this very reason. When *musseque* residents show up to pay their respects the air is heavy with racial tension. These stories show the racial and socio-economic tensions present in the ever-changing urban landscape of mid-twentieth century Luanda without touching specifically on assimilation and

without great detail to the role that language plays within it.

In the third, fourth, and final story of *Quinaxixe*, "Exames da 1ª Classe," "A menina Vitória," and "Desperatar," race and education are at the forefront. The three stories feature a *mulato* boy named Gigi whose attempts to assimilate through education and adherence to Portuguese language and cultural norms are documented. Santos presents coming-of-age moments while providing insight into the thoughts and feelings of one character. At the heart of the stories are meditations on self-worth and identity as the main character grows from boy to young man. The first story involving Gigi, "Exames da 1ª Classe," follows, as the title suggests, a day of exams in a Luanda grade school. The exams will determine which students may continue on to high school. Gigi comes from a middle-class, mixed-race family that resides in Quinaxixe. His father, Sr. Sílvio Marques, is a white shopkeeper, and his mother, D. Angelina is a *mestiça* housewife. The Marques family is well-off: they have a car, servants, and can afford nice clothing and study materials for their son. D. Angelina values education above all else. While preparing him for his upcoming exams she speaks to him of "meninos bonitos, que passam nos exames, que estudam muito e que se tornavam pessoas ricas e consideradas" (33). The racial and socio-economic disparity at the *musseque* school he attends is visible while the schoolchildren hopefully await the beginning of the exams. Gigi's classmates of similar socio-economic background are also dropped off by family members, dressed in their finest clothing, with parted and oiled hair. The majority of the children of color arrive on foot, poorly dressed from the outer areas of the *musseque.* The children of color are frequently targets of ridicule for, not only Gigi's parents, but also the teachers of the school. D. Rute at times strikes students of color and spouts racist ideology, "Uma raça atravessada! Não estou disposta a aturar isto…" (36). Gigi witnesses this happening to his classmates and takes particular notice of how it affects

his best friend Arlindo, a native of Caxito who is often singled out by D. Rute because of the tattered state of his clothing and a fear that he might have lice.

Upon learning his exam's result, Gigi looks to the other students in order to see how he is expected to react. Only then does he celebrate by jumping and screaming happily. Gigi then tries to locate Arlindo's results. After several attempts he turns to his friend and informs him, "—Tu, não" (39). The two friends' eyes meet and a silence that has never existed between them lingers. For a moment, the revelation that one of them has failed seems to have little significance, but Gigi is aware that the result will effectively dissolve the friendship between the two as they will no longer be able to attend school together. The knowing looks he receives from Arlindo remind him of the importance that his parents had placed on the exam. Gigi, while initially baffled by the significance of the exam early on in the story, now realizes that it has decided futures. Although education promises opportunity, it will also serve to separate and mark differences in accordance with colonial policy. Only then does Gigi become aware once again of his surroundings and other senses. He once more hears the voices and joyful shouting of his successful classmates. In an attempt to fill the silence between the two friends, Gigi jokes and sings as they used to. Gigi sees a timid smile come over Arlindo's face that quickly gives way to tears and crying.

The language in "Exames de 1ª Classe" is conservative in comparison with the previous stories of *Quinaxixe*. There are decidedly fewer Kimbundu lexical items, and a complete lack of neologisms. This conservative language usage could be seen as contributing to the anxiety and general ominousness of the setting of the exams themselves. The school is a space wherein assimilation is the end goal: standard Portuguese usage is stressed over native languages, European style of dress is encouraged, etc. The overall conservativeness of the narrative

language is evidence of Gigi's success in *cultural mulattoism* in this particular setting. Gigi's successful assimilation hinges on his kempt appearance and facility in Portuguese. Any linguistic subversion or creativity would be equal to him rebelling against his education, assimilation, and the upward mobility that it promised.

"A menina Vitória," the second story involving Gigi, directly follows "Exames da 1ª Classe," and tells of his mid-year transfer to Puxa-Beatas secondary school in the Baixa of Luanda. He is transferred by his parents as they seek to rid him of the bad influences of his former school. These bad influences include what they consider to be the bad hygiene of his black classmates and the weakness of the academic curriculum. His parents are overly proud of the new arrangement, with D. Angelina bragging to the neighbors about, "Aqueles meninos muito arranjadinhos, levados pela mão dos criados, e alguns até de carro…! Que diferença!" (43-4). Once enrolled in the new school and out of the *musseque*, Gigi becomes the target of racial prejudice of the *mulata* teacher Vitória. A product of successful assimilation, Vitória was educated in the metropole. She exaggeratedly applies her makeup and enjoys running her hands through the silky blond hair of the white students who occupy seats of privilege in the front rows of the classroom. From his very first day Gigi is targeted by Vitória due to perceived inferior aptitude and abilities in writing and speaking Portuguese. These prejudices are based purely on the color of his skin. He becomes withdrawn from his (white) friends and is made to sit in the back of the classroom with the only other student of color, Matoso. Although Gigi was once a promising student, the hostile environment causes him to abstain from speaking unless called upon, rarely raising his eyes from his desk. Gigi's only happiness comes in the form of his ride to and from school in the sidecar of his father's motorcycle. This is the main story of the collection that moves freely between the *musseque* and the Baixa. Gigi's social ascension via education has

granted him access to the predominantly white space of the Baixa. Though a space of privilege, Gigi primarily experiences discomfort while inhabiting this space. He polices his behavior as a means to fit in and is most frequently met with ridicule for his mere presence within the space.

Gigi cannot comprehend how nor why another person of color would seek to humiliate him while he attempts to receive an education. He assumes that this prejudice extends to his classmates as well. When he does venture to lift his eyes from his desk, it is with the fear of being caught doing so, "Olhava para os colegas de soslaio, inseguro. Eles iriam troçar também dele, da sua bata modesta de brim, dos seus sapatos puídos, quase rotos?" (45). Timidity, fear, and a desire to pass unnoticed extend to his schoolwork, in which he avoids writing and speaking about his life as a *musseque* dweller in order to assimilate to acceptable Portuguese style, intonation, and register. "Nas suas redações vagueava então tímido sobre as coisas, com medo de poisar nelas... Imitava passivamente a prosa certinha do gosto da menina Vitória" (46).

Gigi feels a deep need to fundamentally change himself in order to be accepted. He envisages acceptance as tied to becoming more Portuguese. He attempts to adapt to the new surroundings of the *baixa* while eschewing the influences and behaviors of the *musseque*, "esforçando-se num mimetismo impotente por imitar os gestos dos meninos da baixa. Tenho que ser como eles, refletia no recreio, afastando-se dos alunos da 4ª classe, que eram, na maioria, os seus companheiros de vadiação do Kinaxixe" (45). This need is reinforced by his white Portuguese father, whose friends advise him to keep his son from interacting with the servants and neighborhood children in an attempt to improve his pronunciation. And while Gigi engages in these assimilation practices, the only model for supposedly successful assimilation is that of Vitória, who to Gigi embodies a self-hate and negation of African cultural values that is all but incomprehensible. Vitória's assimilation appears to be impermanent, a mask that she must

reapply as often as she does her makeup, "Renovava o pó-de-arroz nas faces sempre que tivesse um momento livre" (44). Nonetheless, in an effort to win her approval, Gigi distances himself from Matoso, the only other student of color for fear of incurring further wrath, "Tenho que andar pouco com ele, pensava preocupado o Gigi. A professor pode virar-se contra mim" (47). In the end, Vitória's disapproval and severity are inevitable.

The denouement of the story presents a particularly soul-crushing episode in which Gigi's composition on an important government official is read and critiqued in front of the class. He had been pleased with his effort, as he remembered to use expressive adjectives as per instructions. "O Gigi naquele dia estava contente com o seu trabalho. O tema era sobre uma figura importante do Governo e ele não esquecera os adjetivos mais expressivos que na véspera a professora tinha proferido. Isso dar-lhe-ia com certeza satisfação" (43). The model students of the Baixa had not fared well in their compositions and although initially confident, Gigi trembles at the sound of his own name. His inner monologue quickly wanders to all the possible horrible outcomes to the situation, causing him to miss whatever in the composition that has offended the teacher. He sees the other students turn in their chairs to look perplexedly at one another, then at him. Had he forgotten an important detail? What could the mistake have been? Then he sees that in his composition he neglected to refer to the government official with the correct formality. This gives Vitória the ammunition needed to humiliate Gigi in front of the entire class, "tu julgas que ele anda sujo e roto como tu, e come funje na sanzala?" (49). Gigi is overcome with shame and embarrassment. "Sentiu-se muito fraco" (49). His confusion and weakness quickly give way to anger as he asks himself why a fellow person of color could want to humiliate him in this way. "Mas por que, por que, que ela, logo ela, o queria humilhar? Ela que tinha carapinha. Ela que era filha de uma negra, pensou com furor" (49).

Santos's critique centers on how access to education was the main way to assimilate and in turn ascend socially in 20th century colonial Angola. Yet, the education system was riddled with racial, ethnocentric and linguistic prejudices. While Gigi had once enjoyed a privileged position in his neighborhood school, here he is the target of ridicule, prejudice, and violence. Education as an assimilation process has ironically not made Gigi identify with the colonizing power, but rather resent it and recoil from it. His initial desire to belong has begun to give way to a nascent self-awareness of the realities of colonialism and the false promises of Portuguese colonialism. The confusion and marginalization initially felt by Gigi in this story intensify and reach a turning point in the final story of the collection in which he is also the protagonist.

In the closing story of *Quinaxixe,* "Despertar," Gigi becomes even more self-aware of the racial injustice inherent in the colonial system while at a crowded cinema. In an attempt to mimic the colonial hierarchy into which he has been placed, he picks a fight with a young black boy to impress a girl and assert his superiority over the two. Gigi attempts to rationalize his place, how he is to behave, and ultimately fit into the various *meios* or environments of colonial Luanda to which he now has access. While in the Baixa, he is seen as, and caused to feel, inferior by his white classmates and teacher. This reality exists in contrast to the social mobility, ascension, and opportunity assimilation had promised. While in the *musseque*, the situation is reversed: Gigi enjoys the admiration of his neighbors and an elevated social position due to his status as educated.

While back in the once familiar *meio* of the *musseque,* Gigi meditates on how he should behave now that he is a high school student. He rationalizes his right to occupy the cinema's more prestigious seating due to his new status, "Mas mesmo que só encontrasse geral não ia para os bancos de pedra. Aquilo era só para os pretos de pé descalço" (97). Gigi sees himself as

superior to the black children while in the setting of the *musseque*. His self-recognition of superiority furthers the discourse of racial hierarchy and highlights what assimilationist ideology preaches. He compares and contrasts the Cine Nacional to the Cine Colonial. In the national cinema of the Baixa the audience is typically populated with “moças lindas, brancas e cabritas de cabelos ondulados, de fala suave,” whereas the colonial cinema is generally filled with girls from the *musseque*, “Mal penteadas, com vestidos feios de flores berrantes” (97). Gigi feels compelled to participate in the racial hierarchy and engage in behavior similar to that of his severe instructor. He believes that he should no longer frequent the colonial cinema, even if it is cheaper. Yet to his surprise, Gigi does not feel out of place in the colonial cinema, he even derives a small amount of enjoyment from feeling a sense of superiority around the inferior company. His sense of pride comes from believing that his education is a marker of his evolved state while the *musseque* dwellers are stuck in a primitive state, “tinha ficado no começo da vida e competia já, desesperadamente, por necessidades primárias” (98). While walking to the cinema past the house of an acquaintance of his mother he hears her daughter say, “É o menino Gigi, o filho da D. Angelina. Anda no liceu!” (99). Her admiration only adds to his feeling of superiority. He is offended that she feels that she can even refer to his presence and decides to feign that he has not heard her lest their interaction become known at school, “Não olhou na direcção da casa e alteou a cabeça com arrogância. Não podia fraquejar” (99). He instead thinks of one of his white female classmates, whose affections he longs for. “Zezette, as suas mãos finas e brancas, que ele sonhava acariciar… Não. Não poderia arriscar” (99). Reality sets back in as Gigi becomes aware that his good school shoes have begun to fill with sand, a reminder of the clash between the formal dress clothes required in the Baixa and the sandy earth of the *musseque*.

The promise of a high school education and subsequent social ascension causes Gigi to ponder anxiously what career his adult life might bring: "O que é que ele poderia vir a ser? Engenheiro? Advogado?" (98). This question echoes the sentiments of D. Ana de Sousa in the opening story, "Quinaxixe", although here it is self-reflective rather than the musings of a mother as to the destiny of her son. This anxiety contrasts markedly with the carefree *musseque* boys enjoying childhood adventures in the opening story of the collection. Gigi, faced with the tensions and confusions of adolescence and identity, has begun to lose his innocence.

Free from the anxiety of the Baixa, Gigi's senses are overtaken by nostalgia and he gives himself over to the pure joy of being in the colonial cinema, which he likens to a refuge, "ao abrigo da escuridão heterogênea, de pretos, brancos e mulatos, que gritava, ria e cheirava mal, parecia plasmada num só corpo agitado por uma emoção uníssona e fraterna" (98). As he enters the cinema, the crowd pushes him forward and Gigi runs into a classmate, Semião, nicknamed Cambonzo, after the town in Uíge province. The two sit together on one of the crowded stone benches near the screen. Gigi's attention wanders as he hears people in the crowd speaking in Kimbundu, which makes him smile. He is reminded of his Portuguese language classes and the boring, monotone teacher's voice that is far from the exclamatory, boisterous nature of Kimbundu. Gigi asks Semião to save his spot so that he might watch the neighborhood boys scale the cinema walls to avoid paying. We question whether Gigi had once done the same and longs to once again. He relishes watching them and realizes his privilege in being able to afford a ticket. He decides to offer them his ticket stub so that more might enter through the side doors. Gigi alternates between wanting to participate in *musseque* behavior and a knowledge that engaging in it is no longer socially acceptable if he wishes to be maintain his status as *assimilado*.

Also gathered near the wall is a group of attractive young girls of color. A fight erupts between a *musseque* boy and Gigi for the attention of one of the young black girls. A colonial policeman separates the two of them and threatens the black boy with his nightstick. During the fight the young girl asks tearfully, “P’ra quê só isso, p’ra quê…” (103). The question awakens something within Gigi. He asks himself “Afinal, para quê, não poderia ter evitado?” (103). In this moment, Gigi looks to the policeman dumbfounded, lowers his head in shame and runs back into the crowd. As he sits back next to Semião and images begin to flood the screen, Gigi is overcome by a “cansaço estranho” (103). What follows in the final two pages of the story is an epiphany during which Gigi’s inner monologue grapples with questions of identity, colonial power structures, the falsehoods inherent in the promise of assimilation, and his place within it all. He questions his own worth, what he would be willing to fight for in life, and against whom it might be necessary to fight.

> ‘O que é que ele defenderia com tanto desespero?’, pensou. Pouco tinha que defender. Ele nascera sem nada e a vida, depois pouco lhe tinha dado. Mas o pouco que ele defendia, o que criara para si, numa existência árida e sem conforto, talvez fosse agreste, mas devia ser-lhe tão essencial com a própria vida. O que seria? Devia ser alguma coisa abstracta, assim como uma atitude perante a vida, uma noção de liberdade, ou talvez a sua própria condição de ser livre e poder reivindicar. Era realmente muito pouco o que lhe restava—a vida para oferecer em holocausto à sua ambição de existir como ser humano. Mas ele não teria o direito de lutar pelo que era? De utilizar as possibilidades que não lhe tinham retirado e impor-se, criar a sua posição na vida? Eles não eram iguais. Mas lutar contra quem? Contra ele! O que é que ele lhe poderia negar, ou impedir? Só a circunstância de poder dispor da sua força, das suas renúncias e da coragem dos seus

sacrifícios. Então contra quem exigir? (104)

Gigi realizes that he'll never be seen as fully equal in the eyes of (all of) his white classmates. He recalls what one of his white female classmates said about racial difference and how she views people of color who are attempting to assimilate, "Estes mulatos julgam que somos da laia deles…" (104). He then draws the correlation to the violence enacted upon the young black boy. He asks himself when he might be the target of such physical colonial violence? "Quando é que o polícia, o ameaçaria também com o cassetete?" (105). Gigi recognizes the existent racial and social order as flawed and unjust, realizing that at some point he too could be the target of physical colonial violence. When confronted by Semião because of his swollen eye, Gigi responds simply, "Deixa lá. A culpa foi minha" (105). Gigi accepts responsibility for his role in perpetuating racial inequality. As the title suggests, the story is an episode of awakening, depicting Gigi's realization as to the impossibility of full assimilation and a desire to not participate in the violence of it.

"Despertar" and the earlier two stories that follow Gigi are a meditation on and a critique of the harsh lines that were being drawn between the *musseques* and the *baixa*, between the world of heterogeneity and difference and the world of assimilation and cultural whitening. While assimilation called largely for an abandonment or a relinquishing of African cultural values in favor of Portuguese ones, Angolan identity, particularly the one that was starting to be imagined through this and other literature centered in the capital of Luanda was not preoccupied with denying any particular cultural contribution. Cultural revindication of African values included reclaiming of the importance of African languages, cultures, and traditions to the Angolan identity. This cultural revindication can be seen in the linguistic freedom, creativity and pride for African linguistic heritage written into the stories "Quinaxixe" and "O velho Pedro." In

contrast, Gigi has been awakened to the harsh realities of assimilation and colonial life as a person of color. We, the reader, like Gigi and Santos long to return to the authenticity and vibrancy felt in the *musseque*/Luanda/Angola of their childhood.

The final story of *A cidade e a infância* by Luandino Vieira, similarly entitled "O Despertar," portrays another awakening. In his most philosophical story of the collection, Vieira writes of a man who has regained a sense of self and purpose after spending time in prison for petty theft. While living in his father's house, he attempted to lead an assimilated lifestyle. He studied and worked as expected, but soon became disillusioned with his place in society, "Mas com o Tempo veio o conhecimento dos factos e dos homens. Perdeu o interesse no estudo porque morreram as suas ilusões" (74). His world became dominated by material possessions that he couldn't afford and a lifestyle of drinking and excess in the Baixa. He borrowed to feed his habits and when his friends refused to loan him money, he resorted to stealing. The man meditates on the impossibility of morality in a corrupt colonial society, "Os amigos contavam-lhe histórias de fraudes e negócios escuros de quase todos os que lhe haviam mostrado como exemplos de honestidade. De moralidade. De exemplos a seguir" (74). While in prison, he initially lost faith, "começou a perder o respeito e a confiança nos outros," but then was awakened to life's great lesson, "a prisão foi para ele grande utilidade" (75-6; 77). To be truly free, he needs to be free from participating in and perpetuating the colonial hierarchy. Instead, he finds freedom in embracing *musseque* life. "Agora era livre. LIVRE" (74). He decides to look for manual labor, "Um emprego manual. Seguiria com a vida. Devia vivê-la. Seguiria e com as mãos pequenas agora calosas das grades da prisão, trabalharia. Tinha a Vida à sua frente. Tinha mãos para a possuir" (75). He rejoices in the natural beauty of his *musseque* surroundings: the sparrows that sing in the *muxixeiro* trees and the women selling fish in the streets. This praise of

traditional *luandense* imagery and nature, suggests yet again that it in order to recover a life worth living and to restore one's freedom it may be necessary to return to what is familiar and local, i.e. of the *musseque* and to resist and reject what has been imposed, i.e. an intensified culture of assimilation.

Arnaldo Santos and Luandino Vieira are but two of the authors writing in the 1950s and 1960s that sought to use literature as an instrument of change in the fight for freedom and as a means to express Angolan identity. They are, nonetheless, two of the authors who were most committed to, and successful in affirming Angola's cultural and linguistic distinctiveness during the fight for independence and the years that immediately followed. The Angola that they imagined for the future would resemble an Angola of the past. The Angola of their childhood, an idealized time and space characterized by less racial tension and division, was their benchmark. Santos and Vieira portray their childhoods to write back into existence all that has been lost, forgotten, or ignored in Angola. They portray social injustices, conflicts and tension, friendships lost, untimely deaths, and the humiliation and indignity endured by countless others. By writing what they lived and witnessed, dreamed and longed for, Arnaldo Santos and Luandino Vieira demonstrate how literature is an art form capable of asserting and expressing a certain *angolanidade*, an Angolan identity. Both collections are shining examples of what Manuel Ferreira described when he affirmed that literature is the tool necessary and capable of awakening a colonized people, "o instrumento de despertar o povo colonizado" (1989, 153).

While Angolan prose published in the pre-independence and anti-colonial struggle period of the 1950s and 1960s has not been considered mature or stylistically independent of European literary modes, it is evident that it was a literature committed to engaging its readers in the realities of Angola and dedicated to expressing a burgeoning Angolan identity. These authors

depict the awakening national consciousness of a society in transformation molded by multiple cultural contributions. In contrast to assimilation practices, which asked Angolans to fundamentally change everything about themselves, the national consciousness evoked in these short story collections recognized and valorized both African and European cultural contributions to Angolan identity. Asserting the existence of an *angolanidade* also effectively refuted and contradicted the claim that Angola and Angolans were an integral part of Portugal and that Portugal had succeeded in bringing civilization to Africa. After World War II, in a desperate attempt to hold on to their colonies and justify exploitation of them, Portugal declared that her colonies were overseas provinces, each one as integral to the Empire as the regions of continental Portugal. Arnaldo Santos and Luandino Vieira early in their writing careers began to make space for *angolanidade*, separate and distinct from Portuguese identity, to be explored through art. This expression of identity is primarily affirmed in these collections thematically, through the revindication of African cultural values and the valorization of the hybrid nature of Angolan society found in Luanda. Yet, in their respective first published collections of prose, both writers became increasingly attuned to the role of language in forging a new Angolan cultural identity. Arnaldo Santos began to experiment with neologisms in order to represent the linguistic hybridity and creativity of Angolan Portuguese, while Luandino Vieira tentatively announced himself as a narrator-storyteller willing to insert himself directly into his stories. Once imprisoned, Vieira would fully dedicate himself to linguistically and narratively express the complexities of Angola and *angolanidade* in literature. The two primary hallmarks of Angolan prose fiction that Vieira will draw upon and expand in *Luuanda* are the same elements that began to be explored by Arnaldo Santos in *Quinaxixe* and by Luandino Vieira himself in *A cidade e a infância:* the innate orality and linguistic hybridity of Angolan Portuguese.

Chapter 3

The *cajueiro* bears fruit: capturing the *angolanidade* of the Portuguese language

Portuguese is the *only* official language of Angola. Today it is spoken by over 70% of the population as their first or second language at home (INE 2016). With a population of over 25 million, this makes Angola the country with the second largest number of Portuguese speakers in the world (roughly 17.5 million), after Brazil, and ahead of Portugal. Angola's linguistic history is, and will continue to be shaped, by the unavoidable contact between Portuguese and more than 30 African Bantu, Khoisan, and Vátwa languages.

The coexistence between the languages has not been without tension. Since its foundation as a Portuguese colony, until the mid-19th century, Angola was essentially a colony of exploitation, a source of abundant slave labor that might be transported to Brazil and other colonies in the Americas. The actual Portuguese presence was meager at best. Colonists established a dozen or so urban centers on the coast and along the main river systems. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the colonists, as well as their mixed-ancestry offspring would primarily use a local language, Kimbundu, as the dominant lingua franca for nearly 300 years. Portugal only began to colonize Angola in earnest once Brazil gained independence and other European nations turned their attention to the continent. In the end of the 19th century, the Scramble for Africa and the Berlin Conference pressured European occupation of African territories in order to claim them. This ended Portugal's centuries-long tradition of informal imperialism and

marked the beginning of direct rule. Only then did a predominance of the Portuguese language become a reality in colonial urban centers such as Luanda.

Just a few decades later, in the early twentieth century, an influx of white Portuguese immigration and a state policy of assimilation required fluency in Portuguese in order for Angolans of color to ascend socially in urban society and thereby obtain "civilization." Language then became the medium through which the hierarchical structure of Empire was perpetuated. Assimilation was only achieved through mastery of standard European Portuguese, while other existing variants of Portuguese, as well as use of African languages, would be subjugated and its speakers, marginalized.

In the wake of these linguistic, cultural and racial tensions, Angolan intellectuals began to search for a cultural discourse capable of expressing a sense of freedom and a distinctiveness of Angolan national identity, which they coined *angolanidade*. For intellectuals and revolutionaries such as Agostinho Neto, Viriato da Cruz and Mário Pinto de Andrade who conceptualized *angolanidade*, Luanda's *musseques* were the cradle of Angolan national culture. *Musseques* were melting pots characterized by continuous contact between people of different races, cultures, and linguistic backgrounds.

Just like the capital city's multi-racial, pluri-ethnic and pluri-lingual peripheral neighborhoods, a variety of the Portuguese language capable of expressing *angolanidade* would similarly be hybrid, reflecting the contact and tension between Portuguese and African cultural and linguistic varieties. The Portuguese language was not inherently capable of expressing *angolanidade*, it needed to be appropriated to become a distinct and unique form in order to do so. The linguistic task of constructing and representing *angolanidade* in literature could begin only by seizing the language of the colonizer and replacing it in a discourse fully adapted to the

colonized place as suggested by Ashcroft et al. in *The Empire Writes Back* (37). The process of appropriating the colonizer's language involves both the rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication and an embrace of the complex of speech habits that characterize the local language (37-8). Through this process of appropriation, Portuguese could be made to bear the burden of expressing the cultural experience of Angola, of *angolanidade.*

Following independence, Portuguese was adopted as the sole official language of the Republic of Angola. The desire to create a Nation State, unified and indivisible, was at the heart of the essentially political decision to maintain Portuguese as the sole official language after decolonization. This decision placed national languages on a secondary level as regards their administrative, economic, and political roles. The current, 2010 Constitution set forth as one of the fundamental tasks of the state, "to protect, value, and dignify Angolan languages of African origin, as part of the cultural heritage, and to promote their development, as living languages which reflect national identity" (10). However, languages of African origin are often relegated to local or regional use as Portuguese remains the sole language of prestige, utilized by the government, media, and educational systems. Additionally, Portuguese serves as a vehicular language, through which the citizens of this multiethnic, plurilingual society might communicate.

Although European Portuguese is the referential norm for the country, a partially restructured vernacular Angolan Portuguese emerged in the mid-twentieth century as a result of intensified language contact and intensified assimilation processes. Linguist John Holm coined the term "partially restructured vernacular," to refer to linguistic varieties that display a significant portion of the grammar of European languages as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage structural features. Holm explains that partially restructured vernaculars

emerge in multilingual settings in which learners of the European language have only partial access to it due to social restrictions often connected with servitude (2-3).

Politically engaged writers such as Luandino Vieira took an active role in their country's fight for independence by portraying the innate socio-cultural tensions of colonial society. Language played a crucial role in this. They sought to emulate the variety of Portuguese spoken by the common people of Angola, *o povo.* Historically, these varieties had been referred to by many names: *português popular, pequeno português* or *linguagem/língua do musseque*. This hybrid speech had long been disparaged and discouraged by the Portuguese, it was even pejoratively referred to as *pretoguês,* a portmanteau of *preto* and *português*. The term is overtly racist as *preto* can be a racial slur or a pejorative term to refer to people of African origin or ancestry (Mingas 21, T. Macedo 173).

The appropriated Portuguese employed by authors such as Luandino Vieira includes many linguistic features found in the oral speech of the *luandense* variety of Portuguese. Linguist Liliana Inverno cautions against taking this literary language at face value. She reminds us that literary language principally attempts to reproduce speech patterns resultant from the contact between Portuguese and Kimbundu in Luanda's *musseques* (2006: 33). Hence, the phenomena portrayed within this literary language might not be representative of AVP as a whole, but rather of AVP in Luanda. However, Jorge Macedo points out that the "Angolanized Portuguese" used by Angolan writers of the 1960s and 1970s did not intend to capture faithfully the exact speech of the *povo*, but rather sought to empower and dignify all those in Angola who spoke non-standard varieties of Portuguese and who had suffered discrimination for doing so (J. Macedo 2002). By elevating stigmatized African vernacular to the level of a literary language, Vieira gave primacy to Angolan Portuguese as an essential part of *angolanidade*.

As discussed in the previous chapter, both Luandino Vieira and Arnaldo Santos recognized the pivotal role that language played in Angolan cultural identity and expression. They were fascinated with the power that language exerted in the lives of their characters, and in the lives of the Angolan *povo*. They saw language as central to their struggle: language limited or assured their acceptance into the hierarchy of the colonial machine and language was also the principal means of affirming their distinctness from the colonizers who imposed it and used it as a tool to assure their continued subjugation. The linguistic experimentation begun in *A cidade e a infânica* and in *Quinaxixe,* would in *Luuanda* demonstrate the full potential of Portuguese as an African literary language.

Luandino Vieira's masterpiece *Luuanda* was a construction of *angolanidade* through language. In *Luuanda*, Vieira highlighted the linguistic and racial tensions between Africans and non-Africans that defined the socio-cultural and political landscape of Luanda of the 1950s and 60s. He remolded the Portuguese language to enable it to convey specifically Angolan cultural messages, drawing from Africa's age-old tradition of storytelling.

In this chapter, I will analyze the ways in which Vieira as storyteller took hold of two specific means of representation: language and genre, to appropriate and transform them into African cultural vehicles capable of portraying *angolanidade* in literature. This literature communicated with the world, affirming a cultural reality and valorizing an identity of the citizens of Luanda during the mid-twentieth century. In both content and technique, *Luuanda* announced that both traditional and contemporary African culture were relevant and appropriate for the articulation of contemporary needs and goals of the Angolan people. Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong'o defined "a quest for relevance" as the struggle to find a cultural identity and the search for a liberating perspective within which to see oneself clearly in relationship to

oneself and to other selves in the universe (87). Luandino Vieira's search for a way to depict and see Angola clearly in literature through Angolan language captured for the first time, a linguistic *angolanidade*.

The first part of this chapter will present existing analyses of Vieira's literary language and his overall impact on the Angolan literary landscape. The second part will present the main linguistic traits that distinguish AVP from Standard European Portuguese. The final part of the chapter will present the Angolanized literary Portuguese found in the three stories of the collection *Luuanda* and how Portuguese varieties depicted therein are representative of emergent Vernacular Angolan Portuguese trends of the second half of the twentieth century.

Perspectives on Luandino Vieira's innovation

In 1975, Russell G. Hamilton published the first comprehensive study of African literature written in Portuguese in *Voices from an Empire: a History of Afro-Portuguese Literature*. Earlier, both in Portugal and abroad, academics such as Gerald Moser, Manuel Ferreira, and Mário Pinto de Andrade had organized studies of individual authors, geographical areas, or anthologies of poetry and short fiction. Hamilton provided a more in-depth study that elucidated the modern cultural history of Portuguese Africa, relating it to important social and political factors. In doing so he formed a comprehensive and analytical picture of the poetry and prose produced in the five Lusophone African states. That the timeliness of his publication[14] coincided with the end of the empire that he refers to in his title made the study all the more pioneering. Prior to the 1974 Carnation Revolution and the subsequent declarations of

[14] Hamilton's research and writing took place prior to April of 1974. The book was then published in 1975, with Hamilton adding details regarding the future of the former colonies to his foreword and conclusion. (Brookshaw 161).

independence of the former Portuguese African colonies, African literature written in Portuguese can be divided into two types. The first type of prevalent pre-independence literature was written primarily by white Portuguese settlers. This literature often adhered to the colonial ideals enshrined in *lusotropicalism*. This literature frequently followed European modes of narration and exoticized Africa and Africans. Conversely, a second type of pre-independence literature existed which sought to express regional consciousness, focused on the social reality of Africans. This literature even promoted a certain, regional, if not national identity. Many of the authors of this second type of African literature in Portuguese were imprisoned or exiled even before the beginning of the armed struggles for independence (António de Assis Júnior). After the beginning of the armed struggles, authors such as Luís Bernarndo Honwana, Agostinho Neto, and Luandino Vieira saw their works banned by the Estado Novo. Many of these names would later emerge to play key roles in their countries' political and cultural lives post-independence.

Voices from an Empire detailed the history of both types of literature, providing a contrastive picture of the historical and contemporary literary landscape in the (formerly) Portuguese colonial spaces. Among the authors whose work sought to express a regional consciousness, to focus on the social reality of Africans, and to promote a literature of national identity was Luandino Vieira. Hamilton's analysis of Vieira's unique literary linguistic experimentation was among the first. While Hamilton himself was not a linguist, his analysis did touch upon the artistic liberties for which Vieira's language was both polarizing and celebrated in Portugal at the time of its publication.

Luuanda was written in 1963 while Vieira was in prison in the Cadeia Central da PIDE in Luanda. A year later, Vieira was moved to the infamous Tarrafal prison camp in Cape Verde. The stories were smuggled out of the prison and published in 1964. The controversy surrounding

Luuanda can be directly tied to receiving the Portuguese Writers Society's (Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores) 1965 first prize for the best prose fiction of the year produced in Portugal and the overseas provinces. During this period of intense censorship in the Salazarist dictatorship, it was inconceivable that a work written by a "subversive" nationalist MPLA supporter, would gain a following in the metropole, let alone win a literary prize from a Portuguese literary society. Due to *Luuanda*'s examination of the oppressiveness of the colonial administration in Angola, the book was banned by the Portuguese government until 1974 and the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores was closed as punishment for awarding the prize. Beyond this initial controversy, the artistic value of the work was also questioned. Hamilton offers that this was due to the characteristic "*Africanness*" of the language in which the work was written. The work was considered by some to lack literary value as it was written in the "incorrect" Portuguese that Africans speak (135). Hamilton characterizes Vieira's use of borrowed lexical items, as "a smattering of Kimbundu words." (135). He compares the reticence of some to accept the linguistic representation in *Luuanda* to how some Cape Verdeans had rejected the use of creole or creolized Portuguese as a literary language. While furthering his explication of the "*Africanness*" of Luandino's language, Hamilton goes on to say that some critics have likened the speech patterns in the stories to the way whites think blacks talk.

Hamilton explains that in many works of colonial literature, white writers frequently attempted to simulate Portuguese as spoken by Africans by exaggerating errors and deviation from standard language structures. These deviations could be portrayed through gender and verb tense discordances or orthographic deformation to suggest peculiarities in pronunciation. This often had the effect of distracting from the work, making the reader aware of the stylistic choices laden with condescending racist and classist overtones. Hamilton praised Vieira for stylizing a

re-creation of *musseque* speech patterns that did not rely on stereotype or exaggeration. Hamilton implied that Vieira, along with the other writers of this second type of African literature dedicated to raising regional consciousness, might be writing for a different audience. For Hamilton, the success of Vieira's technique lay in the incorporation of African Portuguese lexical items and phrasing into the indirect narration so as to avoid stark contrast between standard language and dialect. Hamilton contends that, in general, the use of Kimbundu doesn't present the reader (of standard European Portuguese) with any more difficulty than Brazilian regionalisms would. This is encouraging as Luandino's refusal to include a glossary of Kimbundu terms, neologisms, and expressions made readers surrender to the language.[15]

Hamilton contrasts *Luuanda* with *Vidas novas*, the transitional collection between *A cidade e a infância* and *Luuanda*, also written during Vieira's imprisonment. He makes clear that prior *to Luuanda*, Vieira was still developing his artistic techniques, conceding that while there is no obvious use of African Portuguese, he does manage to capture the flavor of *musseque* speech. He concludes that when Vieira won the prize in 1965, he represented the "maturity of Angolan literature" (138). Hamilton would go on to become a central figure both in the Anglophone and Lusophone world in the new discipline of African literature in Portuguese, working with other critics such as Manuel Ferreira, Pires Laranjeira, and Salvato Trigo. While critics such as Hamilton, Laranjeira, and Ferreira consider *Luuanda*'s publication as a turning point in Angolan literature, Trigo prefers to think of it as marking a linguistic and ideological rupture (11).

In *Luandino Vieira o Logoteta*, Trigo dedicates over six hundred pages to analyzing the evolution of Luandino Vieira's writing style. Trigo details the trajectory of Vieira's literary project and reveals what he considers to be two distinct periods of production, with *Luuanda*

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[15] Not until the 8th Portuguese edition (1981) did Vieira authorize the inclusion of a glossary for Kimbundu terms, creole expressions, and neologisms.

establishing a new Angolan literary language via an ideological and linguistic rupture. He utilizes Roland Barthes' concept of a "logothete," a founder or inventor of a new language or discourse as laid forth in *Sade/Fourier/Loyola* (1971), to support his argument[16].

Trigo describes Vieira's artistic creative force as a struggle with how to best capture in fiction the rhythmic-cultural dynamism of *angolanidade*. Trigo sees this process of founding a new language as being a rupture, a turn away from earlier literary linguistic strategies found in *A cidade e a infância* and *Vidas novas*. He points to Vieira's imprisonment and discovery of the linguistic freedom and flexibility in the works of João Guimarães Rosa as essential moments of self-reflection and discovery.[17]

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[16] In *Sade/Fourier/Loyola*, Barthes offers a treatise on the nature of philosophical creation, examining the ways in which the three names mentioned, all founded languages. Sade founded the language of erotic freedom, Fourier, the language of social perfection and happiness, and Loyola, the language of divine address. For Barthes, a founder of a language, a logothete, must have recourse to four operations: isolation, articulation, ordering, and theatricalization. Firstly the new language must arise from a material vacuum: an anterior space must separate it from the other common, idle, outmoded language, whose "noise" might hinder it. Secondly the language must have articulation, or arrangement. There are no languages without distinct signs, and these signs must be arranged or articulated in order to subsequently be decoded and have meaning divined. Thirdly languages must contain ordering, subjecting their sequences to something that might be considered a higher order, not necessarily syntactical, possibly metrical, but something that in the end, orders. Lastly, theatricalization, or the unlimiting of the language is required when founding a language.
For Trigo, Luandino completes all of these functions. Luandino found isolation in the form of his imprisonment; articulation from his need to express the African reality, in an African manner; ordering in the free anarchy with which he writes, not requiring words to follow a syntax, but rather a metric and/or poetry; and finally theatricalization via the importance that orality holds in his writing.

[17] And while many point to the influence Rosa had on Vieira, according to Vieira, he had already written *Luuanda* when he read *Sagarana* for the first time, which he calls a "revelation." (Laban, 1980: 27). He said that Rosa taught him that a writer has the freedom to create a language that isn't what his characters use. Rather, a writer should attempt to have the same creativity that the people use when they serve themselves in utilizing Portuguese, although their native linguistic structures and intuitions might be far from standard Portuguese.

Trigo establishes 1961 as the point of arrival and departure for all studies of Luandino. 1961 is a key year in the history of Angola, as two events mark the beginning of the armed struggle for independence in Angola. On February 4, 250 MPLA *guerrilheiros* stormed the São Paulo prison in Luanda in an attempt to free political prisoners. Although a failure, just a month later, UPA (later FNLA) leader Holden Roberto launched a much larger attack of between 4-5,000 militants against the Portuguese in the province of Bakongo. Later in 1961, Vieira would begin an eleven year-long stint in prison. African literature in Portuguese began to focus attention more squarely on the colonial reality of social repression as authors worked to find in literature an effective way of promoting national identity and raising consciousness of the fledgling armed struggle. Vieira would realize these goals through a rejection of the linguistic constraints of European Portuguese and an appropriation of Angolan Portuguese as a culturally significant discourse.

In contrast to Trigo, Phyllis Peres finds all Luandino's work to be part of an ongoing project that is a process of inventing identity, which changes over time and becomes increasingly concerned with how to represent hybridity within narrative discourse. While Trigo understands *Luuanda* as a rupture, Peres sees it as a violent negotiation of hybridity to define the liminal space that can be claimed for Angolan narrative. The space of liminality is the transculturated *estória*. Peres explains that for Luandino Vieira, "the process of imagining a nation can only be realized through the invention of a language that is itself hybrid and nonhierarchical" (37). Peres claims that even the earliest of Luandino's narrative works attempt to incorporate hybrid language that is based on popular practices of creolization so that the discourses of the marginal become the voices of imagining nationness and Angolan identities (37). For her, the use of such language is part of transculturation as a claiming of imposed structures that are then made

Angolan. The language in which these narrative voices speak are themselves acts of resistance that work against assimilation practices of the Estado Novo, which would not acknowledge local patterns of creolization, but instead tied the use of a standard language to social mobility and rights of citizenship. She concludes that this is a language, then, that counters acculturation and becomes a means of resistance, both for the characters and for the readers. Because Vieira employed a neologized language based on popular practices, his works are aimed at creating a (future) literature of Angola. She points to Vieira's stand against glossaries, even years after independence, as evidence of this. For Peres, the language holds the secrets of the imagined linguistic community. As an invented language, it envisions nationness as the space in which the peripheral registers are valorized as literary discourse (38).

Regarding the difference in language employed in *A cidade e a infância* and *Luuanda*, Peres writes that while the former employed creolized speech, it was primarily lexical, and always in dialogue, and never appeared in indirect narration (37). In later works, of course, we find both characters and narrator using creolized words, and the narrative voice at both the lexical and syntactic levels employing Africanized Portuguese. Peres, like others before her, does consider that *Luuanda* marks a turning point in Luandino's prose. She views the transformation of the Portuguese spoken in Angola into an acculturated literary language as a newfound valorization of marginalized and popular speech, evidence of political solidarity expressed through a collective language. The language utilized by Luandino is the language of resistance that establishes the strength of the *musseque* community. For Peres, Vieira's language and resistance texts propose transculturated forms and language to narrate the *estória* of Angolan nationness, its imagined pasts, and its possible futures (46).

Laura Cavalcante Padilha views Vieira's development of a transculturated literary Angolan Portuguese as a means of confronting the colonizer and their language through an affirmation of difference:

> "Percebe-se, então, que o colonizado se apropria da linguagem do outro, ao mesmo tempo em que mostra também ter sido por ela possuída. Em Angola esse enfrentamento ganha maior força na década de 1950, adquirindo contornos mais definidos após o ínicio do confronto armado de 1961, pela recusa crescente de uma aceitação passiva da dominação, o escritor angolano busca criar uma fala literária propria, a fim de que possa enfrentar a do colonizador. A ficção de Luandino serve como bom exemplo disso" (203).

Similarly, Rita Chaves underscores how Luandino's linguistic and literary project is successful in affirming *angolanidade* linguistically via a process of language appropriation:

> "a rebeldia do escritor realiza-se nas rupturas que impõe à língua imposta pelo colonizador. Modificá-la, ampliando o léxico e alterando-lhe a sintaxe, é, sem dúvida, uma maneira de dela apropriar-se. O padrão normativo identificado com o colonizador é rejeitado e em seu lugar emerge uma língua transformada, revigorada pela circulação dos elementos da terra, revitalizada pela aproximação com as línguas nacionais, num processo de apropriação capaz de converter um objeto do dominador num signo da angolanidade que se quer aprofundar" (90)

We agree with the assessments from Peres, Padilha and Chaves, that the linguistic innovation and appropriation present in *Luuanda*, is multilayered, interactive, and recreated consistently and accurately many linguistic patterns of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese directly influenced by Angola's national Bantu languages. In the following parts of this chapter, we will explore the intricacies of this innovation and appropriation.

AVP: an overview of patterns divergent from European Portuguese

The following overview of the vernacular Portuguese that emerged in Angola in the 20th century, AVP, is largely based on Chavagne (2005), Inverno (2006, 2018) and Undolo (2014) and to a lesser extent (Czopek 2014, Lipski 1995, Mingas 2000, and Vilela 1999). The overview will be subdivided into a discussion of selected lexical and morphosyntactic features of AVP that resulted from the contact between Portuguese and African substrate languages, and in particular, those that can also be found in the literary language of Luandino Vieira. While a more detailed discussion of AVP would also include a description of relevant phonetic, prosodic and phonic patterns, they fall beyond the scope of what is capable while analyzing phenomena present in a literary language.

On the lexical level, AVP is replete with examples of Bantu transfers. A transfer is the application of a linguistic feature from one language to another by a bilingual or multilingual speaker. The Bantu-based lexicon transfers present in AVP are primarily drawn from Kimbundu, and to a lesser extent, Umbundu, Kikongo and Cokwe. The most productive mechanism of Bantu-based lexical innovation in AVP is borrowing. Borrowing happens in the form of direct loanwords, loan blends, and to a lesser extent, semantic extensions. A direct loanword is integrated into the vernacular from a foreign or substrate language. The loanword may or may not suffer orthographic or phonetic changes.

Examples: 1) **direct loanwords**:

a. ***calunga*** in AVP ‘ocean; death,’ from the Kimbundu < *kalunga* ‘ocean ; death’ (Mingas, 2000: 60).

b. ***jindungo*** in AVP ‘chili pepper/sauce,’ from the Kimbundu < *jindungu* plural form of *ndungu* ‘chili’ (Chavange, 2005: 152).

c. ***cambuta*** in AVP 'short,' from the Kimbundu < *kambutu* 'short' (Mingas, 2000: 60).

d. ***marimbondo*** in AVP 'hornet/wasp,' from the Kimbundu <*marimbondo* plural form of *rimbondo* 'hornet/wasp' (Assis Júnior, 1949: 278)

A loan blend refers to the blending of two or more words to form a new one. In the case of AVP, words of Bantu origin are often lexicalized into AVP by the addition of Portuguese morphemic prefixes or suffixes to change their part of speech (i.e. noun to adjective, noun to verb, etc.). The resulting lexical item is a loan blend with elements of both languages.

2) **loan blends**:

a. ***ajindungado*** in AVP 'spicy,' from the Kimbundu < *jindungu* plural form of *ndungu* 'chili' (Chavange, 2005: 170)

This loan blend resulted from the addition of the Portuguese morphemic prefix *a-* from the Latin *AD-,* meaning 'approximation to or transition to a state of,' and the morphemic suffix/participle ending -*ado*, making the new lexical item into an adjective.

b. ***desbundar*** in AVP 'to have fun,' from the Kimbundu < *bunda* 'butt' (Chavagne, 2005: 169).

The loan blend resulted from the addition of the Portuguese morphemic prefix *des-*, possibly from the Latin *DIS-,* indicating 'negation, suspension or separation,' and the morphemic suffix/verb ending -*ar* making the term a verb.

3) **semantic extensions**:

a. ***kínguila/quínguila*** in AVP 'black market,' from the Kimbundu < *kukingila* 'to wait (for)' (Chavagne, 2005: 149)

b. ***bazar*** in AVP 'to leave quickly,' from the Kimbundu <*[ku]baza* 'to break' (Nzau, Venâncio, Sardinha, 2013: 168)

In both examples above, the original meaning of the term has been extended to signify a

different linguistic concept. This is also known as semantic shift, and may include that the term's meaning has undergone processes including amelioration, pejoration, broadening, semantic narrowing, or bleaching.

Several morphosyntactic patterns that diverge from standard European Portuguese (EP) structures have been identified in several linguistic studies as recurrent traits of AVP. Many of these patterns are primarily explicable as resembling patterns found in the substrate Bantu languages. One of the most cited morphosyntatic traits of AVP is the use of the subject pronoun *você* with the verbal forms corresponding to *tu* (Lipski 17, Undolo 192, Inverno 2018: 127, Inverno 2006: 143, Mingas 73-5, Vilela 182). This was one of the stereotypical reasons for which standard Portuguese speakers looked down on so-called *pequeno portguês*/*pretoguês*. Portuguese of this variety was frequently included in the dialogue of colonial literature depicting Angolans. This particular usage was seen as proof that Africans didn't know how or could not speak Portuguese correctly. John Lipski offers that a possible explanation for the frequency of this feature is that Africans were expected to use the more formal pronoun *você* when addressing Europeans, while in general Europeans addressed Africans with informal *tu* forms (17). The frequency with which European Portuguese speakers use *tu* forms without the accompanying subject pronouns (which is to be expected in a pro-drop language such as Portuguese) combined with the prescribed use of *você* for Africans to address Europeans, may have contributed to the common combination of *você* plus second-person verb forms in *musseque* speech (Lipski 17-8). It is not uncommon for a speaker of AVP to address someone as both *tu* and *você* in the same conversation, with conflicting verb forms. Another possible explanation for this pronominal confusion is offered by Amélia Mingas, who points out that in Kimbundu there exists only one verb form for all subjects and that the language lacks an honorific or formal 'you' form (73-4).

Lheísmo is another widespread morphosyntactic phenomenon found in AVP motivated by substratum Bantu interference. In *lheísmo*, most pronominal direct object clitics are replaced by the traditionally indirect object clitic '*lhe*' (Czopek 10-1, Mingas 71-3, Inverno 2018: 126, Inverno 2006: 141-2, Undolo 160-9, 275-6, Vilela 181). In contrast with Portuguese, the pronominal system of Bantu languages is agglutinative: the clitic for both direct and indirect object complements is represented by the same pre-verbal morpheme 'mu' (Mingas 71). As this morpheme always precedes the verb in Bantu languages, there is also a preference in AVP for proclisis rather than the enclisis common to EP (Undolo 275). *Lheísmo* can be seen as a simplification of the complex EP pronominal system, especially as regards clitic placement and spelling changes with enclisis.

Most sources cite a predilection for preposition generalization as another key morphosyntatic feature of AVP. In particular, AVP favors the preposition '*em*' in contexts where EP would require other prepositions to be used (Czopek 12-14, Mingas 75-7, Inverno 2018: 127-8, Undolo 199-208, Lipski 21-2, Vilela 181-3). This is especially common as regards the preposition '*a*,' which many studies pointed to as the most likely to be replaced with '*em*.' In other contexts, prepositions are dropped altogether, most frequently with verbs that commonly require them in EP (*gostar **de**, começar **a***, etc.) or when used as a constructional element in tenses such as the periphrastic progressive (estar + **a** + infinitive).

Additional morphosyntactic patterns of AVP to be cited in some, but not all studies include bipartite negation (not unlike the French *ne…pas*) as a standard sentential negation strategy (Lipski 22, 25, Inverno 2018: 128, Holm 111); a tendency to replace subjunctive tenses with their indicative counterparts (Czopek 11, Undolo 170-182, Inverno 2018: 127); a usage of 3rd person present indicative to express imperative in both affirmative and negative, regardless of

the intimacy between interlocutors (Undolo 170-182, Inverno 2018: 128); a lack of WH (*QU*) movement in questions (Lipski 21); elimination of definite articles (Czopek 11-12, Lipski 23, Vilela 185); a preference for the possessive forms *dele(s)/dela(s)* over *seu(s)/sua(s)* (Inverno 2006: 139-41, Vilela 181, Czopek 10); morphological reduplication and expansion of adverbial phrases for emphasis (Czopek 15) ; and the ellipsis or unnecessary usage of the conjunction *que* (Czopek 14). These phenomena will be discussed later with examples from *Luuanda*.

The Angolan literary Portuguese of Luandino Vieira

The literary language created by Vieira is characterized by a number of the lexical and morphosyntactic patterns described above as recurrent in AVP. Although his linguistic innovation attempted to capture in prose the contemporary and hybrid Angolanness or Angolan quality (*angolanidade)* of the Portuguese language spoken in the country, stylistically it also reflected African oral tradition, and included a valorization of pre-colonial Angolan history and culture. Two aspects of Vieira's linguistic innovation, proverbs and allegorical speech, had deep ties to the traditionally African oral narrative form, known in Kimbundu as the *mussoso*. In the *mussoso*, knowledge is maintained and transmitted linguistically through proverbs. Allegorical speech forms of didactics and philosophy are also integrally important in acting as bridges between the knowledge of elders and the modern world. Vieira utilizes the *mussoso* and the various *makas*, conflicts, of colonial society to elucidate the trials and tribulations of the people of Luanda during the last phase of Portuguese colonialism.

Vieira opens *Luuanda* with a epigraph in Kimbundu, "Mu'xi ietu iá Luuanda mubita ima ikuata sonhi…" (7). The glossary translation into Portuguese makes clear the confrontational nature of the collection: "Na nossa terra de Luanda, passam coisas que envergonham" (133). ["In

this our land of Luanda, shameful things are happening."] The three stories contained in the collection portray the daily injustices and humiliations endured by *musseque* inhabitants of Angola's capital Luanda. *Luuanda* appearing as it does, spelled in the Kimbundu language, with two 'u's, suggests that the reader should be prepared to enter not the Europeanized Luanda of the baixa, but rather the African and creole *musseques* of Luanda.

The first story, "Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos," recounts the story of an elderly woman and her grandson and their daily struggle to eat and survive[18]. The story opens on the pair's humble *cubata*, a rustic dwelling of zinc sheets patched together with clay. The dry season has officially ended now heavy rain threatens to turn the *cubata*'s dirt floor into mud. Zeca, a somewhat unambitious teenager with a bad habit of wasting precious money on clothes, has returned once more from his job hunt empty-handed. He explains to Vavó Xíxi that the once sympathetic white shop-owner, sô Souto, inexplicably whipped him when he inquired about work, adding that he could not employ the son of a *terrorista*. The crestfallen boy asks his grandmother if there is anything to eat. Neither has consumed more than watery coffee in two days. Vavó Xíxi unwraps a package of food that she has collected from the trash: a few half-rotten oranges and some roots that she claims to be manioc. Zeca recognizes the roots to be dahlia bulbs. Disgusted and angry, he leaves the *cubata.*

In her grandson's absence, Vavó Xíxi boils and eats the flower roots which make her ill. In a disconnected passage, we revisit her past and are made aware of her stark descent into present indigence. She was once known as Dona Cecília de Bastos Ferreira, part of the *mestiço*

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[18] My readings of *Luuanda*'s three stories have been informed and shaped by the foundational analyses of the work contained in Russell Hamilton's *Voices from an Empire*, 1975: (134-140) and Phyllis Peres' *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative,* 1997: (16-46), as well as classroom discussions at the University of Wisconsin-Madison with Professors Ellen W. Sapega and Luís Madureira.

elite that enjoyed great privilege within Luanda society prior to the wave of increased Portuguese immigration after the Estado Novo came into power. She had a large house, wanted for nothing, and was respected by her neighbors and the white Portuguese colonists alike. Vavó Xíxi realizes the futility of nostalgia to resolve her current problems. She leaves the hut to chat with a neighbor woman.

The story's perspective shifts to Zeca. He is with his friend Maneco who offers him lunch. Deeply ashamed of his poverty and hunger, Zeca lies and says that he has eaten already. Eventually, he begrudgingly accepts a banana, and while his friend is distracted hastily eats a second and chances a rushed glass of wine. Zeca continues to look for work, this time answering an advert in the *baixa*, the Europeanized city center. His unkempt appearance puts him instantly at a disadvantage. He is quizzed on his city of birth and immediately sent away, accused of being lazy, a thief, a terrorist. Later he meets again with Maneco, who has arranged him a job at the port loading bags of cement for a grueling shift of ten hours a day. Although the promise of work is welcome, the foreman expects a payout in exchange for letting him have the meager-paying job. Later, when Zeca meets the girl he is in love with, Delfina, he is too ashamed to share any details of the job. Though the date goes well initially, Zeca's hunger paired with jealousy of a rival suitor, leads him to touch Delfina inappropriately. Delfina considers this advance an assault on her virtue, she strikes him, and runs away while screaming insults.

Zeca returns home, utterly defeated by the day. He finds his grandmother lying alone in the dark, still unwell from the dahlia roots. She again asks about his work prospects. Ashamed by the lowly job he has managed to find and his disastrous fight with Delfina, he dodges her questions. In an attempt to lift his spirit's through a practical joke, Vavó Xíxi asks Zeca if he wants to eat some of "yesterday's fish." His eyes widen and scan the *cubata* for traces of food.

She tells him he'll get yesterday's fish after he buys it with today's money. The story ends rather sadly, with Zeca Santos breaking into tears and leaning his head on his grandmother's shoulder for comfort.

"Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos," most closely resembles the Portuguese literary genre of neorealism. Portuguese neorealism was a reevaluation of traditional realism. It was inspired by dialectical materialism and sought to represent and give voice to the desires of the poor and working class. Neorealist literature was committed to depicting reality, specifically the harsh conditions plaguing the lower classes. Vieira's first story exemplifies the neorealist genre by portraying extreme poverty, hunger, and the extreme shame that come with them. The reader is allowed to slowly, but surely, become aware of the struggles implied by race, place of birth, and a changing urban landscape that was erasing what had once been a once multicultural and harmonious *musseque*. Reinforcing the neorealist flavor of the first story is the lack of the word *estória* in its title, the only story of the collection thus titled. The term *estória* being preferred over *história* by Brazilian authors of popular, fable-like tales of oral tradition, such as Jorge Amado and Guimarães Rosa. Without the *estória* designation, its reality appears to be more stark, authentic, and plausible. Also unique to the first story is the lack of a narrator who openly inserts himself into the narration, effectively announcing himself as the storyteller. We rely on only two perspectives in the story, those of Vavó Xíxi and Zeca. Therefore, we see, experience, and feel what they do, as they do. While the narration and genre might not be as innovative as the following stories, the story is as linguistically innovative as its sister stories. While the technical simplicity of a neorealist narrative may appear to present an easy reading, the inclusion of countless elements of AVP demonstrate Luandino's skill as a logothete.

Perhaps the mostly recognizable feature of AVP present in Vieira's literary language is the inclusion of direct loans, Kimbundu exclamations and lexical items left untranslated in the text. Code-switching is frequently employed to linguistically describe a speaker's mental reality and the physical reality of the world that surrounds them. Code-switching with exclamations can be attributed to a sudden change in mood. A bilingual speaker knows two or more languages, but their mood decides their choice of language. We can better understand the mood and reaction of the speaker through their choice and use of language. In "Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos," we hear Kimbundu exclamations pass through Vavó Xíxi's lips on more than one occasion. She sighs and utters, "Sukua'!" (14) to express disgust and frustration with her grandson's utter lack of ambition. Similarly, other characters use the same exclamation to show their impatience and displeasure in the face of unresolvable situations.

As discussed in Ashcroft, Gareth and Tiffin's seminal *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature*, the technique of selective lexical fidelity which leaves some words untranslated in the text is underscored as a widely used device in post-colonial literature for conveying a sense of cultural distinctiveness (63). Such a linguistic device not only acts to signify the difference between cultures, but also illustrates the importance of discourse in interpreting cultural concepts. The inclusion of untranslated words is a clear signifier of the fact that the language which informs the work is appropriated language, distinct from the standard Portuguese imposed by the metropole. Additionally, Vieira's refusal to gloss these lexical items registers a sense of cultural distinctiveness. The reader can deduce the meaning of the word from context clues and subsequent conversation, but further understanding will require an expansion of the reader's vocabulary.

While code-switching of this variety is widespread in each of the stories of the collection, it is unsurprising to find numerous instances in the first story as it contains the most complete physical description of the *musseque* and also sets the tone for how much linguistic innovation to expect throughout the collection. A selection of lexical code-switching in the form of direct loans from Kimbundu present in the first story can be seen in the following table. Notice how the items suffer little phonetic change from Kimbundu to AVP. Also, as they are examples of direct loans, there is no semantic shift, maintaining their original part of speech.

Table 1.1. Direct loan lexical items from Kimbundu in "Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos:"

Kimbundu	**Angolan Vernacular Portuguese (AVP)**	**European Portuguese (EP)**	**English**
kubassula	bassula	rasteira	foot sweep (as in martial arts)
kixibu	cacimbo	orvalho	dew
imbamba (sing.) jimbamba (pl.)	imbambas	haveres	belongings
mangonha	mangonha	preguiça	laziness
matete	matete	papas de mandioca; mingau	manioc porridge
mona ndengue	monandengue	miúdo	child
monangamba	monangamba	carregador	porter
muxoxo	muxoxo	estalo com a língua e os lábios para mostrar desprezo	tut-tut
ngueta	ngüeta	branco (pejorativo)	pejorative term for a white person
kisemu	quissemo	zombaria/desdém	mockery/disdain
kissende	quissende	recusa	rejection

One of the more inventive linguistic innovations that Vieira employs in this first story is the inclusion of loan-blend neologisms, or brand-new words formed through the lexicalization of Kimbundu words into Portuguese. As described earlier, this lexicalization is normally achieved with the addition of Portuguese morphemic prefixes and suffixes, frequently changing the word's part of speech. The majority of neologisms that Vieira employs are the result of transforming Kimbundu nouns into Portuguese verbs. The most common way to achieve this is by adding the first conjugation -*AR* suffix to the adjective. As with the inclusion of direct loan lexical items, neologisms also help to convey a specific notion that may be lacking a term in the superstrate language.

Three loan blends in the first story demonstrate how a Kimbundu noun might be transformed into a verb in AVP using Portuguese morphemic verbal suffixes. The verb, *muxoxar*, results from the Kimbundu noun *muxoxo* meaning 'tut-tut'+ *ar* = 'to make a clicking sound in the mouth to express displeasure':

"Vavó Xíxi **muxoxou** na desculpa, continuou varrer água no pequeno quintal" (13).

Similarly, the verb *xuculular* = 'to roll one's eyes, or to stare with disdain/disapproval' is formed from the noun [*ku*]*xukulula* 'a look of disdain or disapproval + *ar*:

"Ri os dentes brancos dela, parece são conchas, **xuculula**-lhe, mas não é raiva nem desprezo, tem uma escondida satisfação no fundo desse revirar dos olhos bonitos e, no fim, aponta a esteira, quase sério" (20).

Finally, the same formula is applied to the noun *xuaxalho* 'the sound wind makes while passing through the branches and leaves of a tree' + *ar* = *xaxualhar (*now *xuaxalhar*) = 'to blow in the wind':

"Só um quente novo, um fresco bom, melhor que o vento que soprava **xaxualhando** as

pequeninas folhas verdes das acacias, empurrando as flores, algumas deixavam cair as suas flores vermelhas e amarelas, parecia era mesmo uma chuva de papel de seda em cima deles" (36).

Less common in Luandino's literary language are loan-blends resulting from nouns being made into adjectives. One example from the first story is the adjective *mangonheiro*, used as an adverb (this is allowed in EP as well) in the following description: "O sol desce **mangonheiro** para trás do morro da Fortaleza e todo o Coqueiros está a se cobrir com uma poeira de luz que faz parecer o mar" (19). The adjective is formed from *mangonha* 'laziness' + *eiro*, a suffix that typically forms nouns, but here signifies possessing a quality or tendency: *mangonheiro* = 'lazily.'

The act of creating neologisms can also be representative of what has been called "interlanguage." The term was coined by Nemser (1971) and Selinker (1972) to characterize the genuine and discrete linguistic system employed by second-language learners, the fusion of the linguistic structures of two languages. The concept of an interlanguage reveals that utterances of a second-language learner are not deviant forms or mistakes, but rather are part of a separate but genuine linguistic system (Ashcroft et al. 65). Use of interlanguage offers an opportunity for post-colonial literature to appropriate European languages, escaping their inadequacies and constraints while asserting the distinctiveness of post-colonial culture and identity.

Variable agreement between nominal subjects and predicates in the form of confusion between *tu* and *você* subject usage and their corresponding verb forms is a hallmark of Vieira's literary language. When Vavó Xíxi chastites Zeca for not having found a job, she oscillates between third person subjects (*o menino, você*) and *tu* and *você* verb forms, while employing both second and third person clitics (*te*, *lhe*), and informal commands:

> "O menino **foste** no branco sô Souto, **foste**? **Te** avisei ainda para ir lá, se **você trabalha** lá, ele vai, nos fiar almoço!... **Foste**? … Então, **você**, **menino**, não **tens** mas é vergonha?...Ontem não **te** disse dinhero 'cabou? Não disse para **o menino** aceitar serviço mesmo de criado? Não **lhe** avisei? **Diz** só: não **lhe** avisei?..." (14).

We see a similar phenomenon present during an exchange between Zeca and Deflina where they both naturally employ a mix of informal and formal second-person pronouns and verbal endings:

> "**Ouve** então Fininha. **Você esqueceste** o sábado? Aquilo que **disseste**, enh? Para quê **você está se** zangar? E depois, falar assim à toa nesse sungabidengo de Rosa, para quê? Eu não fico raivado, qu'é que **você pensa**? Agora tenho o meu emprego aí com Maneco, na estação de serviço… E depois, **você sabe**, **você viu** no baile, Marcelina anda-me chatear…" (34).

> "**Você pensas** eu sou da **tua** família, **pensas**? Que sou dessas, deita no capim, paga cinquenta, vem dormir comigo? **Pensas**?" (37).

Another feature of AVP found in the first story is a lack of WH (*QU*) movement. WH movement refers to the rules of syntax which mandate that question words (interrogatives in English traditionally begin with '*wh';* in Portuguese this might be better described as *QU* movement) be placed at the beginning of clauses in many European languages. In Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos," we have "'vavó, comida **então**?', 'vavó, matete **onde** está?', 'vavó vamos comer é o **quê**?'" (40). Notice that the interrogatives are located near, or at the end of the clauses. Typically, in EP and other European languages, the question word must move to the front of the clause and thus demonstrate WH (*QU*) movement. We would expect the above questions to be structured thus: "**Então** vavó, comida? Vavó, **onde** está o matete? Vavó **o que** é

que vamos comer?"

Yet another linguistic phenomenon of AVP found frequently in the first story is morphological reduplication. We find two principal types of morphological reduplication at work, the first of which occurs with adverbs to express urgency and to give emphasis: "Zeco levou **logo-logo** a mão na cara para esconder, mas já era tarde: vavó tinha visto bem, e na cabeça dela, as ideias começaram brincar" (41). The second type of morphological reduplication concerns direct and indirect object clitics, which also serves to emphasize the action being enacted on or to a specific person: "… **me** arreou-**me** não sei porquê, então vavó!" (16), "Até mesmo no olho, chicote **te** apanhou-**te**!" (41).

Finally, we see many proverbs and examples of allegorical speech that help to ground the neorealist story with orality. As explained earlier, in the African narrative *mussoso*, knowledge is maintained and transmitted linguistically through proverbs. Therefore, it is unsurprising that explanations for, and solutions to problems (*makas)* would be offered in the form of proverbs.

While gossiping with a neighbor woman about the possibility of a white Portuguese man having fathered a neighbor's baby, Vavó Xíxi responds with a proverb: "Mu muhatu mu 'mbia! Mu tunda uazele, mu tunda uaxikelela, mu tunda uakusuka…" (24) "Mulher é como panela! Dela sai o que é branco, o que é negro, o que é vermelho! (133) [Woman is like a pan/pot, out of it comes what is white, what is black, what is red…[19]] She also gives Zeca some hard knock advice about hard work and surviving with a proverb of her own invention: "Se gosta peixe d'ontem, deixa dinheiro hoje, para lhe encontrar amanhã!" (42)

Luuanda's second tale, "Estória do ladrão e do papagaio" tells the story of a quarreling, unlikely band of criminals in Luanda. We first meet Lomelino "Lóló" Dosreis, a middle-aged

[19] My translation.

Cape Verdean husband and father of two after he has been arrested for stealing ducks. He is greeted at the station by a friend, Xico Futa who shows him the ropes while Lomelino tells him his story. He blames his arrest on a member of his gang who he believes ratted him out: Garrido "Kam'tuta" Fernandes, a young mulatto boy, lame in one leg. Because of his disability he is crippled by insecurity and a fear of rejection. He is hopelessly infatuated with the young and beautiful Inácia. He is implicated by Lomelino and lands in jail after police search his residence and find he has stolen Inácia's parrot after being scorned by her. As Lomelino recounts his story to Xico Futa, he realizes and admits that the boy couldn't have possibly been the police's informant and decides to come clean.

Xico Futa, the mouthpiece of the narrator/storyteller, meditates on how stories and truths, how they start, how they spread, how they multiply. He likens the genesis and perpetuation of stories and truths to the life cycle of a *cajueiro*, a cashew tree. The tree is a metaphor for life, its trials, tribulations, and the resiliency of the human spirit.

The second half of the tale is dominated by Garrido and Inácia's story. Inácia wavers between insulting and encouraging, all the while doting on her mistress's mangy old parrot which she has taught to insult Garrido in Kimbundu. She frequently mocks Garrido by allowing the parrot what she will not allow him, to touch her body. The tryst reaches a boiling point when Inácia promises Garrido a kiss if he will walk on his hands. Thoroughly humiliated, but wishing to please, he does what is asked of him. She responds violently, emotionally crushing Garrido in the process. Soon after, he overhears Lomelino and João Miguel "Via-Rápida" discussing the duck job. The gang was comprised of Lomelino, the muscle, João Miguel, the brains, and Garrido, the lookout. João Miguel is a loose cannon who smokes copious amounts of marijuana to forget a friend and coworker whose death he blames on himself. As Garrido reminds João

Miguel of his dead friend he doesn't want him to be a part of any more jobs. Garrido overhears Via-Rápida refer to him as a half-man and he finally stands up for himself, making it known that he will not be mocked or insulted by anyone. The following evening the gang falls apart, Lomelino is caught stealing the ducks, Garrido resolves to steal Jacó, and João Miguel is lost in his smoke. While attempting to trace the strange interconnectedness between different characters' divergent acts and feelings, Xico Futa philosophizes anew that this is how "the thread of life" gets woven into a collective from disparate strands. Tracing origins and ultimate outcomes remains elusive, much like paring the *cajueiro* back to some essential starting point. After Garrido learns why he was arrested he is rightly upset with Lomelino. Xico Futa plays mediator and when Lomelino comes back from his visit, he brings food from his wife Emília, who likes Garrido. The men try to convince Garrido to come eat with them, he eventually concedes.

The second story is by far the most experimental in terms of narration, structure, and language. The narrator inserts himself into the story at several points to assure us that the story is true, even if it never happened: "E isto é verdade, mesmo que os casos nunca tenham passado" (105). The narrator's statement echoes the sentiment behind Vieira's linguistic and literary project: even though the linguistic and cultural realities of Angolans might be marginalized and silenced by the hierarchy of the Portuguese colonial system, they cannot be negated, and their existence cannot be erased. "Estória do ladrão e do papagaio," is composed of three disparate stories that are interwoven and intertwined like the roots of the *cajueiro* to create a larger, more detailed glimpse into the realities of the three members of the gang. Similarly, the story of Angola is one of interwoven and intertwined cultures, races and languages.

It is in this second story where we find the most concerted attempt at reproducing the prosody and pronunciation of AVP. Vieira is consistent in that he applies this tendency of rapid speech to all characters in the story, lending a rythmic authenticity to the story that contains the most dialogue. Unsurprisingly, words that suffer truncation or reduction in pronunciation include clitics, auxiliary forms of 'estar' and unstressed 'e', much as they would in spoken EP.

"Anda lá! **'tas arreganhar**?" (46).

"O **qu'é** eu ia fazer? Ficar-me? Possa!" (49).

"…aviso-te, **enh**?! Ficas avisado! Quando eu vou com a minha senhora, você nem que me cumprimenta, ouviste? '**tás** perceber? Nem que **t'**atreves a cumprimentar! Senão **t'**insulto mesmo aí no meio da rua!" (68-9).

"**tá** rir de quê, então?" (101).

"Ó Garrido! Vem **'mbora** comer, estamos à espera!" (104).

"Kam'tuta, **hom'ê**! Veja lá se vamos te pedir de joelhos. Vem comer ainda, porra!" (105).

Once again, Luandino stretches his logothete muscles throughout the tale to create loan-blend neologisms capable of conveying specific notions lacking exact terms in European Portuguese giving us the verb *cafucambolar* 'to somersault, roll through' by combining the *kafukambolo,* meaning 'somerault' + *ar*. This, combined with the direct loan *cubata* (from the Kimbundu *kubata*), anchors the narration amongst the houses of the *musseques*:

"Nada. Silêncio de vento a correr **cafucambolando** pelo meio das cubatas" (88).

Although common throughout the three stories, prepositional confusion is extremely prevalent in the "Estória do ladrão e o papagaio," particularly with regards to deletion of prepositions in contexts where EP would require them to follow verbs (*gostar, começar*, etc.).

There is also a general favoring of the preposition '*em*' in situations that would more commonly require '*a*' or '*para*' in EP.

> "Garrido Fernandes gostava **[]** ir lá de tarde, na hora dos poucos fregueses, para provocar as palavras, mirar bem o corpo redondo dela…" (61).

Most often employed as an indirect transitive verb, *gostar* must be followed by the preposition *de*. Here and throughout the collection, we find the preposition missing.

> "Juro! Por acaso tenho! E raiva **no** Jacó!" (74).
>
> "A sorte foi quando o Garrido chegou **na** esquadra, o Lomelino não estava lá na prisão…" (98).

In the above instances the preposition *em* is employed in place of *para* and *a*. Lipski argues that prepositional discrepancies are not systematic in AVP (22), while Undolo contends that prepositional use is still variable with many verbs normalizing their preferred prepositions or a lack thereof (203).

"Estória do ladrão e o papagaio" also contains multiple instances of two common AVP morphosyntactic traits: the avoidance of subjunctive forms and usage of 3rd person present indicative to express the imperative in both affirmative and negative, regardless of intimacy between the interlocutors.

> "E isso, se eles **queriam**, ele falava mesmo…" (54).
>
> "Agora se você **volta** lá na justiça, fala tudo é mentira…" (57).

In both quotes we see a complete avoidance of the past and future subjunctive in hypothetical "if" clauses. The tendency of AVP to employ indicative tenses in situations that would typically require subjunctive is probably not due to Bantu substrate interference, as Bantu languages do have a subjunctive tense. Linguists such as Undolo suggest that subjunctive use is

still variable and unstable in AVP (175), while Holm attests a similar instability in Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (82). Similar variance and instability are exhibited by the presence of indicative forms employed as negative command forms. Undolo confirms the existence of both strong and weak negative commands in AVP, with strong negative commands taking the second person singular form of the subjunctive, as is typical in EP, and the weak negative command taking the third person singular form of the indicative (181-2). Examples of weak negative commands abound in the story:

> "Deixa-lhe só, mano! **Não dá**-lhe corrida" (51).
>
> "**Não zanga**, Naxinha, desculpa ainda!" (67).
>
> "--Oh! **Nem fala** a perna, merda!" (67).
>
> "--Não, Naxa! **Não faz** pouco de mim, assim!" (76).

The final story of the collection, "A estória da galinha e do ovo," as the literal translation of the title suggests, recounts "The Story of the Hen and the Egg." The fable-style tale centers on a *maka*, a dispute and the almost philosophical question of "de quem é o ovo"/ "to whom does the egg belong?": the hen's owner, or her pregnant neighbor in whose yard the hen laid the egg. Zefa, the owner, appears to have a strong claim on the egg: the hen, Cabíri is hers, and therefore the egg must also be. Zefa, however, knowingly allows the hen to wander and forage throughout the neighborhood. Her neighbor, Bina, late in pregnancy, craving eggs, has been known to tempt the hen into her yard with corn in hopes of an egg being laid on her property. When the hen finally lays the egg in the Bina's yard, a verbal and physical confrontation erupts, to both the dismay and deep interest of the entire neighborhood, who gather to view the spectacle of the *maka*.

Bebeca, a wise elder woman is appointed as judge. After hearing both sides of the story, and still unable to resolve the dispute, she systematically defers to several "expert" opinions. Various stock characters including the white shopkeeper, the local boy-genius, the grimy slumlord, and the drunkard who used to be a notary are utilized humorously to portray the daily interaction of the neighborhood's inhabitants and the dichotomy between the exploited and the exploiter. The "expert" opinions stand for various elements of colonial society: the merchant class, the church, property owners, and the judicial system. These characters are either portrayed as self-absorbed and self-interested, or as blindly serving a larger power (such as the church or the law), with little to no sense of community or solidarity with the *musseque*.

Only when a Sargent and two soldiers arrive at the scene and threaten to quell the neighborhood disturbance by confiscating both the egg and Cabíri, does the situation find resolution. Zefa's son imitates a rooster's song, enticing the hen to escape the grasp of the Sargent and allowing her to fly away into the sunset. Zefa then hands over the egg to her pregnant neighbor, admitting that pregnancy cravings are uncontrollable: this gesture of solidarity and resistance in the face of outside exploitation serve as the moral of the story.

The details of the *maka* to the unprivileged reader, although entertaining, might seem unremarkable, but if we consider the historical context previously discussed we can read some of the characterizations as being thinly veiled critiques of colonial presence and policy. The white shop keeper and the grimy slumlord represent the ever-increasing presence of white settlers in the colony and the exploitation they might bring with them. Similarly, the boy-genius and the drunkard who formerly worked as a notary show the double-edged sword that is assimilation. The boy-genius studies endlessly to attain the social ascension as promised by Portuguese assimilation policy only to be seen as socially removed from the other members of the

neighborhood, while the former notary, who attained some level of assimilation in the past, has since lost it and now has fallen into alcoholism.

In his final *estória*, Luandino reutilizes some neologisms he created earlier in the collection, with *xuculular, muxoxar, xaxualhar* all making a reappearance. Additionally, he adds to his newly minted language the verb *fimbar* 'to dive' from the noun *[ku]fimbika* 'a dive' + *ar*.: "Assim como, às vezes, dos lados onde o sol **fimba** no mar, uma pequena e gorda nuvem negra aparece para correr no céu azul…" (107). In EP, the verb *mergulhar* might have been employed.

Similarly, he creates *muximar* 'to flatter' from the noun *muxima* 'heart' + *ar*. Interestingly, this neologism presents semantic shift: with processes of both pejoration and broadening of the original lexeme as acts of flattery frequently express sentiments that could possibly be construed as disingenuous, a connotation that conflicts from the emotions traditionally associated with the noun 'heart': "Bessá, vavô Vitalino!... –outras mulheres faziam também coro com Bebeca, para **muximar**" (120).

One of the most distinctive morphosyntactic patterns prevalent in AVP is the phenomenon of *lheísmo*, or the preference for the traditionally indirect object clitic *lhe* in places where EP would require direct object clitics and their variants [*o(s), a(s), no(s), na(s), -lo(s), -la(s)*]. In the following quotes, the *lhe* stands in for the standard direct object clitic *o*, referering to the egg (*o ovo)*: "A minha galinha é que **lhe** pôs!" "Pois é, mas pôs-**lhe** no meu quintal!" (111). While the general proclivity is for singular, proclitic *lhe*, it isn't uncommon to also find enclitic *lhe* as attested in the second quote above, or even plural *lhes* as in following quote from "Vavó Xíxi e seu neto Zeca Santos": "Parece estas coisas é mandioca pequena, vou **lhes** cozer" (18).

Finally, the ellipsis or unnecessary usage of the conjunction *que* is a widespread morphosyntactic phenomenon found in Vieira's literary approximation of AVP. Frequently the conjunction is omitted in situations where in EP it would introduce a relative clause: "E ela estava ver todos os dias **[que]** eu dava milho na galinha, dava massambala, nada que ela falava, deixava só, nem obrigado…" (112). Conversely, the conjunction is at times unnecessarily added, typically after indefinite negative pronouns such as *nada* or *ninguém*: "Ainda hoje, quando os vizinhos davam encontro com Rosália na porta, esperando os fregueses, ninguém **que** podia fazer pouco o homem dela" (123); "Por isso ninguém **que** deu conta a chegada da patrulha" (127).

According to *The Empire Writes Back,* an effective strategy for highlighting appropriated language is to juxtapose it with one still tied to the imperial center (58). This technique is most at work in the battle of words over the destiny of Cabíri's egg. Vieira expertly juxtaposes the AVP of the *musseque*'s residents with the more standard speech (EP) of white or assimilated characters representing the language of the colonizer. The dialogues of Sô Zé, Azulinho, and the Sargento serve to show just how divergent AVP is from imposed continental varieties. Note the following morphosyntactic patterns present in the quotes below: standard usage of 2nd person (singular and plural) verbal conjugations, presence and emphasis on correct usage of the conjunction *que*, elaborate passive voice construction and personal infinitive inflection, subjunctive usage and prepositional usage, all typical of EP: "Pronto! Já sei tudo. **Tu dizes que** a galinha pôs no teu quintal, **que** o milho **que** comeu é teu e, portanto, **queres** o ovo. Não é?" (114). The shopkeeper, Sô Zé, uses the informal *tu* forms to address the two women in their dispute over the egg. He also employs an elaborate passive voice construction and personal infinitive inflection: "Dona Bebeca, o ovo é meu! **Diga-lhes** para me **darem** o ovo. O milho

ainda não **foi pago**!" (115). Through his dialogue, we are made aware of the linguistic distance between the people of the *musseque* and the shop owner, principally in the formality of their speech varieties. Sô Souto and his language represent the omnipresence of the colonizer in Luandan society and the control they exert its every sector.

Azulinho, the neighborhood egghead, linguistically represents assimilation at its fullest. The language he employs overexaggerates formal structures of EP. His speech approaches language employed by the Catholic church in the most formal of settings, i.e. mass. He frequently emulates Biblic passages with formal second person plural conjugations which were already in decline in spoken EP in the mid-twentieth century: "**Vós tentais-me** com a lisonja! E, como Jesus Cristo **aos** escribas, eu **vos** digo: não me **tenteis**! E peço-**vos que** me **mostrem** o ovo, como Ele pediu a moeda…" (118).

Finally, the Sargento represents a domineering foreign presence in the neighborhood. His language maintains order and prescribed EP tendencies. His language is not exaggerated, but rather measured and unyielding, with zero traces of AVP interference despite his presence in the colony: "Vocês estavam a alterar a ordem pública, **neste** quintal, desordeiras! Estavam reunidas mais de duas pessoas, isso é proibido! E, além do mais, com essa mania de **julgarem** os **vossos** casos, tentavam subtrair a justiça **aos** tribunais competentes!" (129).

The meandering nature of Vieira's *estórias*, resists rigid boundaries and allows for multiple sub-*estórias* within the *estória* at hand. When Vavó Bebeca appeals to the different stock characters for their opinion regarding the dispute, the *estória* embarks on several narrative tangents, providing us with background histories and anecdotes that give insight into the lives of each of the characters and the ways in which they've been shaped by colonialism. On the surface, the story is a parable of hard times in the *musseque* under colonial rule. The dispute over

the egg could be seen to represent hunger and scarcity of resources in an urban environment stretched to its limits after an influx of immigration from the metropole. However, through these narrative tangents the underlying nature of the 'shameful things' happening in Luanda, that were alluded to in the volume's epigraph, are revealed. We learn of the underlying power struggles and political tensions that characterized everyday life in the colonial society that was beginning to fight for its independence. We learn that Bina's husband is in prison for an unexplained reason, though it is suggested by the military men that he is a terrorist-enemy of the State. It is alluded that Sô Vitalino routinely takes sexual advantage of his tenant nha Mília in exchange for rent. And the Portuguese military presence nonchalantly threatens and steals from the *musseque* residents under the guise of violating a law that prohibits groups of more than two people from gathering in public.

At the time the volume was published, games of power and violence were increasing, just as tensions between the Portuguese's desire to hold on to their colony and the desire for Angolan independence erupted in armed struggle in 1961. Politically engaged literature, such as *Luuanda* began to focus attention more squarely on the reality of social repression in Angola. Authors like Vieira worked to find in literature an effective way of promoting national identity. In recreating and valorizing Angolanized speech patterns of those who had traditionally been marginalized and subjugated, Luandino Vieira, from prison, actively resisted continued Portuguese control of Angola. He highlighted the contradictions inherent in the Portuguese colonial project and appealed for an *angolanidade*, a national awareness and consciousness, pride in an identity that was distinct from the Portuguese.

Vieira's literary language accomplished these goals through a rejection of the linguistic constraints of European Portuguese. His appropriation of Angolan Vernacular Portuguese as a

culturally significant discourse capable of expressing *angolanidade* definitively announced the arrival of an autonomous Angolan literature. His literary language celebrated the hybrid linguistic and cultural heritage of Angola. As the first piece of mature Angolan literature, *Luuanda* made clear that Angolans should not be forced to abandon their linguistic and cultural Africanness in an attempt to achieve the impossible promise made by the Portuguese colonial practice of assimilation. Rather, the Africanness of *angolanidade* should be recovered, reclaimed, and celebrated as integral to the identity itself. As elucidated in the epigraph that opens the collection: "Na nossa terra de Luanda, passam coisas que envergonham," the continued subjugation of *angolanidade* and Angolans by the Portuguese, when the rest of Europe had begun decolonization on the continent, was indeed shameful. Independence would not only be accomplished via self-governance, but also via "a quest for relevance" on behalf of its people. During this pivotal moment in Angolan history, Vieira and other contemporary Angolan artists and intellectuals strived to define Angolan cultural identity, *angolanidade,* through language in order for Angola's people, the *povo*, to see themselves clearly in relation to others in the Nation, and the world.

Conclusion

In analyzing works of Angolan literature in prose during the final period of Portuguese colonial control up until independence, this project has sought to reiterate the indispensable role that language played in affirming and utilizing *angolanidade* as a tool in Angola's quest to gain independence from Portugal. Costa Andrade, in a speech to students in Belgrade in 1966 spoke of the importance of cultural production to Angola's independence struggle, "A cultura angolana está, através da literatura e de outros meios, engajada no processo revolucionário da luta pela libertação" (60). There is no doubt that authors like Luandino Vieira who were imprisoned for suspected political activities yet continued to produce literature that spoke out against the colonial regime were deeply committed to using their words to inspire resistance and effect change.

Beginning in 1948, The Casa dos Estudantes do Império and *Mensagem* opened a space for young intellectuals from the colonies to debate the complex issues of belonging, language and identity in writing. The editorial production of the *casa* brought literary voices and the realities they depicted out of territorial isolation and circulated them among a larger, more geographically diverse readership throughout the Empire and abroad. In collections published by the CEI, Luandino Vieira, Arnaldo Santos and other politically engaged authors of their generation began to openly participate in the armed struggle literarily by contributing to a sense of belonging through their works that would inform how revolutionary groups like the MPLA would imagine the nation.

The collections *Quinaxixe* and *A cidade e a infância* championed an idealized version of Angola's past. The mythical time of childhood characterized by less aggressive and less frequent racial and social dissonance served as a reference for how to begin to imagine the future in a multicultural, independent Angola. Both collections denounced the deterioration of their beloved city via marginalization and assimilation processes enacted during increased Portuguese colonial presence that deepened existent racial, ethnic, and linguistic divides. Both authors were preoccupied with the role that language played in these processes and began to experiment with how to portray Angolanized Portuguese and an affirm a linguistic *angolanidade* in prose. Santos began to experiment with incorporating Kimbundu neologisms into his narration and dedicated a whole short story sequence to the depiction of a teenager's identity crisis and anxiety due to linguistic assimilation through education. Vieira began to experiment with narration in order to highlight the traditional storytelling and oral histories that were essential to Bantu culture.

As Fanon points out in *The Wretched of the Earth*, literature that calls upon a whole people to join in the struggle for the existence of the nation is, "combat literature in the truest sense of the word" (173). Through the series of tales present in *Luuanda,* Vieira calls upon the *povo* of Angola to resist. As storyteller, Vieira introduces fundamental, subversive changes to traditional moral lessons like helping one's neighbor in their time of need and the importance of solidarity against a common enemy toward a common good. Vieira's subversive changes are focused on localizing his characters, the dramas they face and the language in which their tales are told in the multicultural *musseque*, site of colonial oppression, injustice, and resistance. In contrast to the classical unities of traditional stories, Vieira's tales are not far removed in time nor place. Instead of "a long time ago in a land far away," Vieira warns the reader in his

epigraph[20] to the collection that these stories and others like it, which he considers to be "shameful," are *happening* precisely "here" in "our city of Luanda." Vieira's use of the present tense and of Kimbundu code-switching in the epigraph transform the collection into cautionary tales destined for the *povo* of the *musseque*. Vieira's *estórias* are populated with complex, diverse, and flawed characters that resist easy categorization according to Manichean binaries of colonizer-colonized and black-white. His ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse characters run the gamut of colonial experiences and allow for a multitude of readers to see themselves and their experiences represented. His characters are the *povo*: misfits, cripples, matriarchs, prostitutes, drunkards, schoolchildren, and shopkeepers. As Fanon reminds us, combat literature has the ability to inform national consciousness, to give it shape and contours, to open up new, unlimited horizons (173). Vieira's tales are proof of that ability. In *Luuanda* Vieira created new linguistic and narrative models for Angolan cultural production capable of imagining an independent nation.

The success of the collection as a politically engaged text, or what Fanon deems combat literature, was predicated on the reception that it received in both Angola and the metropole. In Angola, *Luuanda* received the prestigious Prémio Mota Veiga in 1964 and *ABC-Diário de Angola* journalist José Roby Amorim lauded the work on multiple occasions, announcing in a headline that "<<*Luuanda*>> assinala o nascimento de uma literatura" (10/30/1964, 3). Amorim further praised the ways in which Vieira's work was a faithful literary representation of Angolan language and culture in an article entitled, "Uma língua que nasce (a propósito de Luandino Vieira)." Amorim highlighted Vieira's ability to capture the ways in which the Portuguese

[20]As mentioned earlier, the epigraph was written in Kimbundu and Vieira did not provide a glossary until the 8th edition: "Mu'xi ietu iá Luuanda mubita ima ikuata sonhi" (7); "Na nossa terra de Luanda, passam coisas que envergonham" (133) "In this our land of Luanda, shameful things are happening" (my translation).

language in Angola was evolving to gain new meanings, affirming that, "em Angola, neste momento, estão em formação tanto uma língua como uma literatura" (11/13/1964, 3). In 1965, Portuguese intellectuals of the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores caused a stir when they awarded *Luuanda* the Grande Prémio de Novelística in recognition of the literary value and power of what Vieira had constructed in his cautionary tales of oppression set in the supposedly harmonious Portuguese colonial tropics of Africa. Manuel Ferreira sums up how awarding the text was politically risky and controversial as it was seen to legitimize the anti-colonial tone and themes of the collection, "Os intelectuais portugueses colocaram-se assim ao lado dos intelectuais angolanos, num momento particularmente difícil para ambos" (1980, 116). The subsequent banning of the book and closing of the society cemented *Luuanda*'s legacy as a politically engaged resistance text.

The language through which Vieira narrated the resistance and struggles of the *povo* was invented but inspired by actual linguistic interferences and processes at work in the partially-restructured Angolan Vernacular Portuguese that was emerging during the mid-twentieth century. By appropriating and valorizing AVP structures in his work and elevating Angolanized Portuguese to the level of a literary language, Vieira demonstrated that Portuguese was not merely the language of the colonizer, but also an Angolan language capable of linguistically expressing a social sense of belonging to the Angolan nation, a linguistic *angolanidade*.

For Vieira, Santos, and their contemporaries within the MPLA, the vision they had for the Angolan nation was ideologically Marxist-Leninist and existed in stark contrast to the futures envisioned by the decidedly anti-communist FNLA and UNITA. Throughout the armed struggle for independence, the three movements revealed themselves to be incapable of uniting forces against the common enemy of Portugal. Similarly, after the 25 de Abril, multiple meetings

between party leadership to initiate a peaceful transfer of power from Portugal to a coalition government proved unsuccessful. In July of 1975, the MPLA violently forced the FNLA from Luanda and UNITA voluntarily retreated to its stronghold in the south. By August of 1975 the MPLA controlled eleven of Angola's fifteen provincial capitals. Fearing the presence of a communist neighbor, South Africa invaded Angola from the south in late October in support of the FNLA and UNITA. Zaire followed suit and invaded from the north. Communist Cuba and Yugoslavia sent troops and warships to aid the MPLA against South African intervention which proved successful in maintaining control of the capital, key ports, and areas rich in natural resources, including oil-rich Cabinda. On November 11, 1975, Agostinho Neto declared independence for the República Popular de Angola in Luanda. The same day, Roberto Holden of the FNLA and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA also declared independence in Ambriz and Huambo respectively[21]. On November 23, 1975, the FNLA and UNITA joined forces and formed a coalition against the MPLA beginning a long and destructive civil war that would only end in 2002 with the death of Jonas Savimbi.

After Angolan independence was achieved, the question of language as it pertained to identity remained contentious. The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals who had participated literarily in the fight against the Portuguese and who had sought to define *angolanidade* through cultural production were speakers of Portuguese aligned with the MPLA. In an MPLA-controlled Angola, Portuguese was declared the sole official language of the Republic. Although while fighting against the Portuguese the MPLA had touted a pluralistic nation, after assuming control of independent Angola in 1975 they would adopt a discourse of "um só povo, uma só nação," in which multilingualism was viewed as problematic in that

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[21] Cabinda's FLEC (Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda) also declared independence for Cabinda from Paris.

underscored ethnic difference based on party politics and fomented tribalism and division in the new nation. Although language officialization aimed to create unity and silence racial and ethnic hierarchies of difference, it had the opposite effect, revealing the existence of various linguistic "nations" and identities, no one more or less Angolan than the other.

For Angolan intellectuals such as Víctor Kajibanga who continue to explore the intricacies of identity in post-independence Angola, the notion of *angolanidade,* like the nation, is still in construction and ever-evolving. Kajibanga rejects what he considers to be a reductionist, exclusivist and discriminatory *angolanidade* as employed politically by the MPLA post-independence and throughout the civil war whose essentiality can be summed up in the discourse, "um só povo, uma só nação," one people, one nation. Instead Kajibanga embraces an *angolanidade* that celebrates the multiracial, multi-ethnic and plurilingual coexistence of all communities and cultures that reside within Angola (150). This conceptualization of *angolanidade* seems to be harmonious with the pre-independence definition detailed by Mário Pinto Andrade of a cultural sense of belonging that embraces and transcends ethnic, racial and linguistic particularities. Kajibanga and Luís Kandjimbo call for the Angolan government to promote education and literature, both oral and written, in Bantu languages to expand the notion and allow for a more inclusive *angolanidade* as it pertains to language and linguistic identity.

Like the nation and the notion of *angolanidade*, Angolan Portuguese continues to evolve as well. In a reversal of what assimilation had required of non-native Portuguese speakers, the Portuguese language is now undergoing a process of *Angolanization* as evidenced by the ongoing linguistic processes discussed in Chapter 3. Linguist Maria Helena Miguel summarizes how the official language continues to evolve and adapt to an Angolan worldview to meet the needs of the Angolan *povo:*

> "Ao adaptarmo-la como língua official, tomamo-la como elemento de identidade do povo e da nação angolana… Já não se trata, por conseguinte, de uma língua estrangeira, pois, quando nos apropriamos dela, modificamo-la, adaptamo-la à nossa mundividência, submetemo-la às nossas necessidades comunicacionais, em consonância com a nossa indiossincrasia. Necessariamente, inevitavelmente, está a ficar impressa nela, a nossa angolanidade. A Língua Portuguesa está a angolanizar-se como, também, já se abrasileirou" (40).

Beginning with pre-independence politically engaged texts from Luandino Vieira, Arnaldo Santos and others, Portuguese was revealed to be *one* of the languages capable of expressing a distinct Angolan identity and culture, an *angolanidade*. As the sole official language, it is unsurprising that Portuguese has been the primary means of expressing *angolanidade* since independence. However, keeping in mind how the notion was originally conceived as a sense of belonging that embraces and transcends background, social standing, political affiliation, or ethnicity, a rigid or exclusivist definition of the notion should be resisted. Instead, *angolanidade* like Angolan Portuguese and the nation, should be allowed to evolve and adapt to meet the needs of the Angolan *povo*.

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