Você + 2SG in Cabindan Portuguese (Angola): Two effects of language contact

Você + 2SG no Português de Cabinda (Angola): dois efeitos do contato linguístico

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Abstract

This article describes the system of address forms in Cabindan Portuguese (Angola), particularly the widespread use of *você* (largely displacing both *o senhor* and *tu*) and the formation of a paradigm that –only if our interest is diachronic– can be characterized as hybrid. This paradigm is defined by the combination of the independent/oblique pronoun *você* with at least some forms derived from the *tu*-paradigm (object clitics, possessives, and, to a much lesser extent, verb endings). Additionally, it is proposed that the adaptative success of both features in Cabinda was partlt determined by contact with (West) Kikongo, a continuum of genetically and typologically related Bantu languages, which provides structural and pragmatic models that seem to have been transferred to Portuguese in the usage of bilingual speakers. Finally, it is suggested that these features might be particularly well represented within the *Romania Bantu*, i.e. the Bantu-influenced areas of the Romance-speaking world.

Keywords:

Angolan Portuguese. Colonial Portuguese. Kikongo Language Cluster. Romania Bantu. Politeness distinction. Independent pronouns. Linguistic typology.

Resumo

Este artigo descreve o sistema de formas de tratamento no português de Cabinda (Angola), particularmente o uso generalizado de *você* (substituindo em grande parte tanto *o senhor* quanto o *tu*) e a formação de um paradigma que – somente se nosso interesse for diacrônico – poderia ser caracterizado como 'híbrido'. Esse paradigma é marcado pela combinação do pronome independente/oblíquo *você* com pelo menos algumas formas derivadas do paradigma de *tu* (clíticos de objeto, possessivos e, em uma extensão muito menor, terminações verbais). Além disso, propõe-se que o sucesso adaptativo de ambos os fenómenos foi, até certo ponto, determinado pelo Kikongo, um continuum de línguas bantas genética e tipologicamente relacionadas, que fornece modelos estruturais e pragmáticos que parecem ter sido transferidos para o português no uso de falantes bilíngues. Por fim, sugere-se que essas características podem estar particularmente bem representadas na *Romania Bantu*, ou seja, nas áreas de língua românica influenciadas pelas línguas bantas.

Palavras-chave:

Português angolano. Português colonial. Kikongo Language Cluster. *Romania Bantu.* Distinção T/V. Pronomes independentes. Tipologia linguística.

Introduction: Cabindan Portuguese

This study examines (1) the neutralization of the "politeness distinction" (according to the terminology of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS) and *Grambank*) and (2) the creation of a diachronically 'hybrid' paradigm "*você* + 2SG" in Cabindan Portuguese (henceforth, CP), i.e., in the Portuguese (PORT) varieties spoken in the Angolan province and exclave of Cabinda. This hybrid paradigm results from combining the independent/oblique pronoun *você* with at least some forms from the *tu* paradigm, specifically object clitics, possessives, and, to a lesser extent, verb endings. Both phenomena will be related here to contact with Bantu languages.

The intention is not to claim that contact exclusively determines the current outcomes in CP, which are also likely conditioned by general vernacular tendencies of PORT and by diachronic universals. However, it is argued that many linguistic developments of CP, including its address system, would likely have been different, qualitatively or at least quantitatively, without the influence of contact (almost no model of *contact-induced change* excludes this type of convergence from linguistic explanations[1]). An alternative, perhaps more interesting, approach to studying

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[1] In fact, "contact-induced change" can simply be considered as "any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation" (Thomason, 2001, p. 62).

linguistic innovations in language contact settings is to avoid trying to isolate the specific trigger of change. Instead, it is important to acknowledge the cumulative influence of various linguistic factors. These factors include the regular use of a linguistic feature in the model language, its presence in at least some vernacular varieties of the replica language, its alignment with universal developments characteristic of L2- and/or L1-acquisition, its consistency with diachronic universals (or, at least, well-attested diachronic tendencies crosslinguistically), and its widespread representation in the world's languages (which, nowadays, can be assessed with relative ease for those features included in databanks like the *WALS* and *Grambank*). The more factors that point to a specific linguistic result, the more likely it is that the innovation will effectively take root in a given speech community. The focus here, though, will deliberately be on the language contact perspective, which seems to have traditionally been less explored in the study of address systems, despite the fact that their evolution sometimes takes place in language contact settings and therefore involve multilingual speakers.

In Cabinda, PORT is spoken alongside different Kikongo languages (henceforth, KIK), most of which belong to the West KIK sub-clade within the so-called *Kikongo Language Cluster* (Bostoen; De Schryver, 2015; Goes, 2022). Despite some idiosyncrasies resulting from its geographic position, surrounded by the Republic of the Congo (RC) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which also means that it is surrounded by the use of French as a postcolonial language, Cabinda has historically maintained close ties with the rest of Angola, especially with other KIK-speaking provinces (Zaïre, Uíge), as well as Luanda. The Luanda-Cabinda axis notably intensified in the 19th century, and the definitive political union with the rest of Angola occurred in the mid-20th century, during the colonial period, and has remained to the present day (see Gutiérrez Maté, in press *a*, for a historical overview of Cabinda's position in the Lusophone world). Therefore, CP should be considered a subvariety of Angolan Portuguese (henceforth, AP)[2].

My considerations in this study are based on my own data resulting from fieldwork in Cabinda, which also served as the empirical basis for other work by the author (see section of bibliographical references). Specifically, my fieldwork, conducted in March/April 2019 and February/March 2020, involved several semi-structured interviews (in total, about 100 hours of recordings) with nearly 60

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[2] According to intuitions expressed in various contexts by many Angolans, both at the level of folk metalinguistic perceptions and in academic events (cf. Pedro, 2023), there appears to be a dialectal diversification of AP that is partly influenced by the different Bantu languages spoken in Angola. This hypothesis is likely to be confirmed by scientific research; however, to date, there has been limited comparative research accross different regions to establish a comprehensive dialectology of AP (see, for example, Gutiérrez Maté, 2023, p. 344, based on the sparse available data regarding the geographical variation of the double negation structure of the type *não…não*).

informants (all KIK/PORT bilinguals) in 15 locations across the province, often accompanied by a local collaborator, a KIK/PORT bilingual himself. The idiolects that have constituted the focus of my work are generally those of elderly individuals from rural areas, typically with low literacy levels, who nonetheless have had some exposure to and practice with PORT since their childhood or youth during the colonial period, having acquired the language in a predominantly or exclusively unmonitored manner. This includes, for example, the idiolects of those who worked on former Portuguese *fazendas* ('plantations'). In the examples interspersed throughout my work, I will clearly indicate the age and gender of the informants, along with their multilingual repertoire, which includes at least PORT and a KIK language from Cabinda –namely, Iwoyo, Ikwakongo, Ikoci, Cilinji, Civili, Kiyombe, and Kisundi (Goes 2022)– along with the locality and *município* (Cabinda [CB], Cacongo [CA], Buco Zau [BZ], Belize [BE]) where the interview took place[3]. To ensure maximum data transparency, the audio files corresponding to the examples presented throughout this paper are available for consultation and download in Gutiérrez Maté (2024c), which constitutes the supplementary materials for this paper. The transcriptions have been checked several times against the recordings[4].

The following maps depict the position of Cabinda in Central Africa (Figure 1), as well as the political map of Cabinda (Figure 2). The latter also indicates the distinction between the coastal region and the Mayombe forest area and includes the 15 locations where fieldwork has been conducted[5].

Two additional notes on CP are warranted. Firstly, although I will not deal specifically with this aspect here, the period immediately before and after the onset of official Portuguese colonization in 1885 should be considered the ultimate catalyst for Cabinda's incorporation into the Lusophone world[6]. In this regard, one could

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[3] The audio (and often video) files of the interviews are projected to be shared through the Zenodo repository. Many of the transcribed interviews have been included as an appendix to Gutiérrez Maté (2024b, p. 531-710).

[4] For the most challenging cases, consultations were held with my Cabindan friend and collaborator, A. Massiala, who is highly experienced in listening to the PORT varieties spoken by the *mais velhos* in Cabindan villages.

[5] However, it is important to make a note regarding the village with number 15. The interviews were not actually conducted in Miconje, but in Rocha, a neighbourhood of Belize (nr. 14) that people from Miconje received for resettlement about two decades ago.

[6] This is particularly evident for the Cabindan Mayombe, which had scarcely been visited by Europeans until that time. Thus, the "origins" of CP should primarily be traced to this period, although this colonial PORT was established upon PORT varieties, including simplified vehiculars or *pidgins*, that circulated earlier, notably in the first half of the 19th century, in the coastal areas of Cabinda. In theory, these earlier varieties could have left an imprint, too, on the PORT spoken later in Cabinda, as linguistic remnants of the pre-colonial era. A similar idea on the transmission of PORT in Angola was already highlighted by 19th-century European travellers,
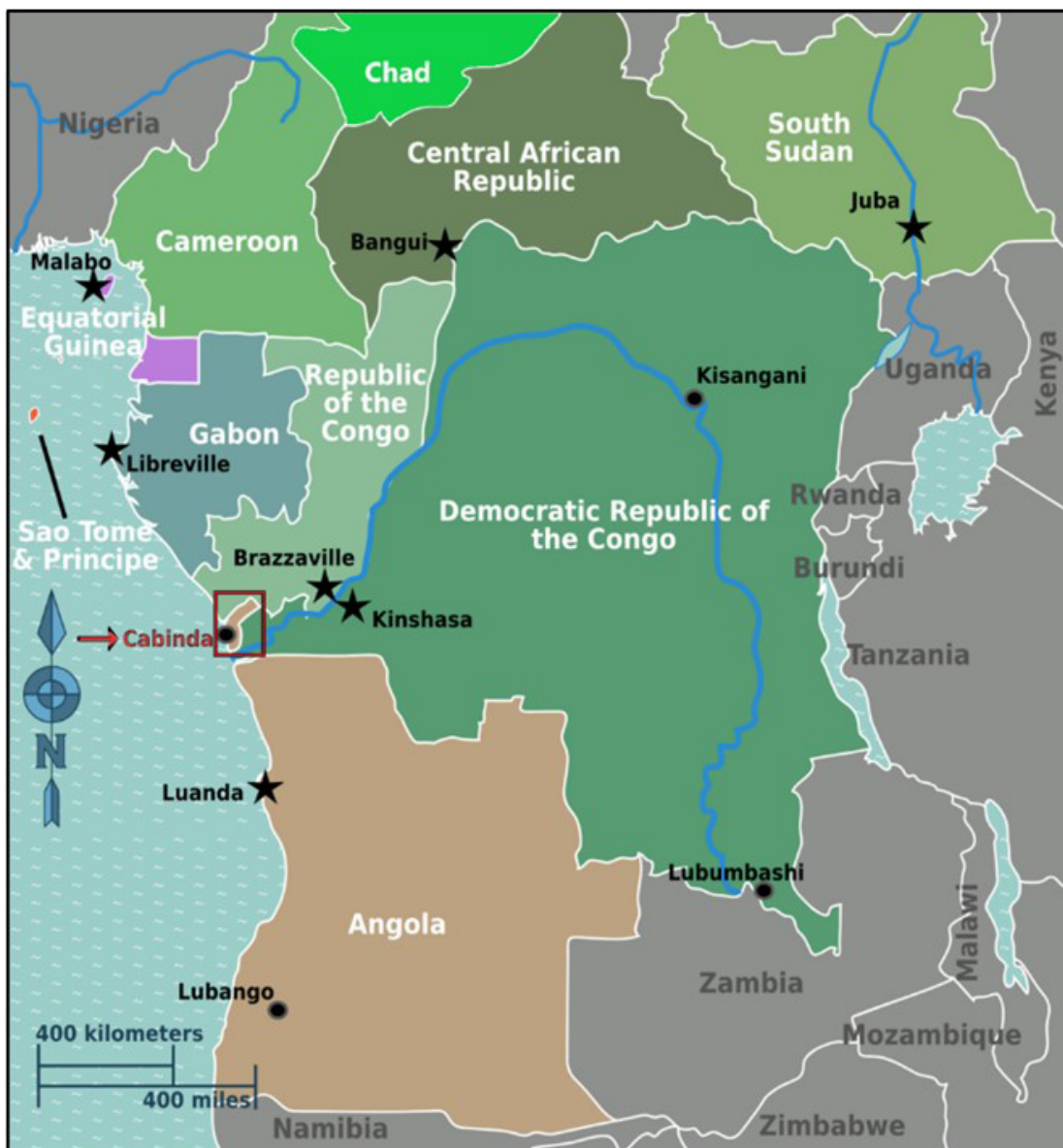
Figure 1. Central Africa.
Source: Adapted from *Central Africa*, https://en.wikivoyage.org/wiki/Central_Africa.

state that today's CP, like any other language, is the result of its own diachronic evolution, which also presupposes intergenerational linguistic transmission. Generally, in multilingual ecologies, even the languages spoken less frequently and/or lacking traditional identity value –as in the case of European languages in many regions of Africa and other (post)colonial settings– can, to varying degrees, involve intracommunity transmission from parents and/or other older community members to children and youngsters. Consequently, restructured features that once resulted from the relatively

when stated that the PORT first brought by missionaries in the 16th century had been transmitted intergenerationally (alongside Bantu languages) until the dawn of the colonial era (cf. Monteiro, 1875, p. 122-123). See Gutiérrez Maté (in press), for further discussion and for the historical sources that substantiate these claims.

Figure 2. Cabinda.
Source: Adapted from Google Maps.

late acquisition of a language can continue to be transmitted intergenerationally (structurally, these features may resemble those described as "fossilized interlanguages" in Selinker's (1972) sense). Similarly, the features resulting from linguistic transfer are passed from one generation to the next, reinforced by the continued bilingualism of subsequent generations in both the replica language and the model language. All in all, when studying the linguistic features of a variety within an ecology that has been multilingual for generations, it is crucial not to consider this variety as being completely reinvented with each new generation of bilingual speakers[7]. More precisely, not only

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[7] In many African ecologies, the acquisition of the originally European language is not only (sometimes not even primarily) related to access to schooling and input from public/official discourses, nor solely related to the church, but also to the imitation of older community members who

are the different members of the multilingual repertoire transmitted and modified over time, but so too are the community's multilingual practices (including their code-mixing dynamics). Applying this historically-oriented framework to the current situation of AP, it would be valuable for future research to investigate the extent to which the PORT varieties spoken today by young Angolans in urban settings (who, as a consequence of the decline of the so-called *línguas nacionais* 'national languages' in such settings, are often monolingual speakers of a vernacularized variety of PORT) are inherited from the varieties previously spoken by their parents, grandparents, and earlier generations[8], and how much is due to new developments of the current era. This era is characterized by reduced multilingualism, as well as higher literacy rates and, consequently, more consistent access to institutional AP; additionally, it marked the formation of new urban identities and increased exposure to other varieties of PORT within the context of a globalized world (s. further below).

Secondly, the development of CP, like other varieties of PORT in Africa, has traditionally had European Portuguese (EP) as the model language for school instruction and the media, at least in theory[9]. Most importantly, Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has traditionally had little to no influence on the evolution of CP, despite some Cabinda-Brazil contacts in the first half of the 19th century (Gutiérrez Maté, in press *a*) and recent exposure to Brazilian music and *telenovelas* throughout Angola over the last 20 years. Regarding the latter aspect, it is unclear to what extent current BP is influencing contemporary AP, but it is hardly conceivable that my informants from rural areas, particularly those who acquired PORT during the colonial era, could have been affected by the developments of BP. Consequently, it is not expected to see a genetic relationship between the phenomena discussed in this work and possible parallel phenomena in BP (like those studied by Lopes and Marcotulio, 2019). Of course, in these parallel developments, nothing prevents some PORT varieties from reaching a particular linguistic outcome favored by language contact while other PORT varieties –evolving in different ecologies– achieve the same result due to internal motivations[10].

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sometimes speak the language. Even today, this fact is relatively easy to identify for visitors who live with the studied communities for an extended period.

[8] In theory, this implies not only considering the linguistic situation during the colonial era to fully understand the current postcolonial context, but also taking into account the pre-colonial situation (see footnote above).

[9] See Hagemeijer (in press) and Gerards and Meisnitzer (2023) for a state of the art on the extent to which an endogenous standard specific to AP may be emerging. In any case, the differentiation of spoken AP from the European variety is remarkable (cf. Chavagne, 2005).

[10] In the specific case of the phenomena analyzed in this paper, the fact that the change from V to T undergone by *você* in BP and its hybridization with the paradigm of *tu* –commonly attested in the first half of the 20th century (Lopes; Marcotulio, 2019)– has not been attributed to lan-

The rest of this paper is structured as follows: in section §2, I address the V > T change and the origin of T/V-unmarked 2SG pronouns from a universalist perspective. In §3, I present and comment on the available data regarding the use of *você* in Cabinda. Despite some exceptions (such as the occasional use of the form *tu* as an object or the possessive determiner *vosso*), the trends I consider characteristic of CP will be clearly recognized in the data. In §4, I explain how these trends could result from a transfer from KIK. Finally, §5 concludes with a review of the most important findings and a discussion of the implications of this work for the study of what could be termed *Romania Bantu*.

On the change V > T in the world's languages

The T-V dichotomy (Brown; Gilman, 1960), while simplistic, facilitates cross-linguistic comparisons and thereby supports the study of forms of address from the perspectives of language typology and language contact. Indeed, both the WALS (*World Atlas of Language Structures*) and the APICS (*Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Languages Structures*) employ this dichotomy for their typological approach to studying "politeness distinctions in pronouns" across the world's languages (Helmbrecht, 2013; Haspelmath; the APiCS Consortium, 2013a). In addition to T and V pronouns, one could consider a third category, an unmarked or neutral (N) pronoun, in cases where such markedness distinction is relevant for typological purposes[11].

The T-V formal distinction in pronouns is far from universal. According to feature 45A of the WALS (Helmbrecht, 2013), it exists in only 30.9% of the world's languages (64 out of 207), encompassing both languages with multiple

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guage contact does not preclude the possibility that the same result may have been triggered by language contact in other areas. This same argumentation has been used to explain, for instance, that while the existential *ter* in AP is likely a result of contact with Bantu languages –being clearly favored in bilinguals that learned PORT in an unmonitored manner– the same phenomenon in BP could have an independent, 'internal' motivation (cf. Avelar; Álvarez López, 2018; Gutiérrez Maté; Steffen, 2021).

[11] In my view, considering a distinct category N is only typologically relevant when it coexists with –and opposes– another pronoun(s) marked for familiarity (T) and/or politeness (V); in other words, when it is part of an "inclusive opposition" in the sense of Coseriu (1976, §2.3.4.1). An unmarked (N) 2SG pronoun should be possible in a wide range of situations and particularly appropriate, for example, when the social meaning associated with 2SG pronouns is consciously avoided and/or when the parameters of the interpersonal relationship between speech act's participants have not yet been established. If a language displays a single pronoun for both T and V and makes no further pronominal distinction based on (pragmatic, informational, social) markedness, I would simply call this pronoun a T/V- (i.e., a "both T and V") pronoun. This approach –relying on previously considered analytical categories– is theoretically preferable over creating a new ad-hoc category (N) for our linguistic descriptions. In languages with a T/V-pronoun, markedness is conveyed by other strategies different from pronominal distinctions; for example, by using nominal forms of address.

and binary politeness distinctions, with most European languages falling into the latter category. Conversely, the absence of a politeness distinction is the prevailing option worldwide, occurring in 65.7% of languages (136 out of 207), and is particularly dominant in America and Africa. Recent data from *Grambank* are even more striking: out of the 1739 languages considered, only 242 (13.9%) introduce a formal distinction between two or more pronouns, while the vast majority (1497, or 86%) use a single T/V pronoun (The Grambank Consortium, 2021, ft. GB415).

From a diachronic perspective, it is crucial to acknowledge that the meaning of address pronouns is not inherently stable over time, nor is the inventory of forms within address systems, which can transition from binary to ternary, from binary to simple, from simple to binary, and so forth. Notably, when address pronouns undergo linguistic change, it is important to observe that the shift from V to T (or, rather, at least in its first evolutionary stage, from V to T/V) is, if not universally, undeniably more prevalent than the reverse shift from T to V (or, first, from T to T/V)[12]. The latter change is frequently associated with societal transformations, including politically motivated efforts to establish egalitarian societies (cf. Brown; Gilman, 1960, p. 266), whereas the former, although linked to societal changes too, is often attributable to broader sociological motivations in conjunction with general principles of linguistic change.

There are at least four processes, often interrelated, that can account for the change V > T. First, in linguistic cultures where social class differences are reflected in asymmetric addressing (V from lower to upper class individuals, T from upper to lower class individuals), individuals from lower classes, who frequently aspire to upward social mobility, may demand V in certain situations. If this aspiration is accepted by other members of the community the use of V can become widespread, particularly in environments where traditional social rules are more prone to rapid evolution. Second, in linguistic cultures where the V pronoun is also used for symmetrical address among individuals of the upper class, lower-class individuals may seek to emulate the upper class by adopting their linguistic practices, including

[12] In the history of well-documented European languages, we frequently observe V > T, as seen with the extension of English *you*, the late medieval/early modern Spanish *vos*, etc. Another suitable context for evaluating this hypothesis is provided by the address systems in Creole languages. If we consider Creoles with Romance lexifiers, formed from Spanish, French, and Portuguese –languages with politeness distinctions in pronouns– we notice that, in those cases where linguistic changes in 2SG pronouns have occurred, these generally consist of V > T(/V). For instance, the French Creoles of the Antilles (Haitian Creole, Guadeloupean Creole, Martinican Creole) all use *ou* [u] (< *vous*) as the sole 2SG pronoun. The only case where the T-pronoun appears to have displaced V forms is Tayo, spoken in a small community in New Caledonia, where *ta* (< *toi*) has ultimately displaced the former V form (*vunde*) (Ehrhart; Revis, 2013). The Palenquero case, where *bo* (< Sp. *vos*) and *(u)té* (< Sp. *usted*) can both be used as T/V, should be considered separately (Gutiérrez Maté, 2019).

the use of V among themselves. This is another possibility for the V pronoun to extend its use. Third, in linguistic cultures where the use of a V pronoun can be strategic (Briz Gómez, 2004 on positive "strategic politeness"), this strategy can, over time, become generalized to the point that the use of the V pronoun becomes routinized. This routinization, or rhetorical devaluation, can be understood as the consequence of an 'inflationary' process similar to that leading to grammaticalization and related linguistic changes (cf. Haspelmath, 1999, p. 1060). Fourth, in newly emerging societies where T-pronouns are linked to a traumatic past from which the society actively seeks to distance itself, the use of traditional T-pronouns tends to be avoided. This avoidance can naturally lead to the overgeneralization of V.

The relevance of these processes depends on the specific ecology (Mufwene, 2001) where the linguistic change occurs. For example, the first two processes were considered decisive in the context of early Spanish colonies in the New World, according to Rosenblat's (1977) intuitive model of *hidalguización* for the sociolinguistic history of Latin American Spanish: being geographically distant from the rigid social norms of the metropole, Spanish settlers from different social milieus saw the opportunity to reinvent themselves as part of a new emerging powerful class, acting accordingly at a linguistic level. The third process may be accelerated in linguistic ecologies isolated from normative centers and, therefore, free from normative pressures such as those imposed by schools and governmental institutions. The fourth process is the most specific but it is relatively widespread in postcolonial societies, where the T pronoun carries the historical stigma of having been used asymmetrically by colonizers to address the colonized. In this regard, Brown and Gilman (1960) –writing at the dawn of the independence movements in Africa– already pointed out a power/race-based address asymmetry in former French colonies in Africa. They noted the limited chances for successful adaptation of such a "galling custom" in post-independence societies:

> In French Africa […] it is considered proper to reorganize a caste difference between the African and the European, and the nonreciprocal address is used to express it. The European says T and requires V from the African. This is a galling custom to the African […] (Brown; Gilman, 1960, p. 266).

All four factors may have influenced the evolution of address pronouns in CP (and AP), characterized by the primacy of *você* and the marginal use of other address pronouns. This tendency aligns with the universal preference for the lack of politeness distinctions in pronouns. However, given that the change studied here did not occur in EP, and considering the pervasive multilingualism between PORT and Bantu languages in Angola, I will specifically focus on how contact with Bantu languages may have activated or accelerated the neutralization of the

politeness distinction. Additionally, I will examine the formation of the resulting hybrid paradigm "*você* + 2SG", relating it to the absence of syncretism between 2SG and 3SG in KIK and other Bantu languages.

The Cabindan Portuguese data

Você as an N pronoun

Before delving into the widespread use of *você*, it is important to note that the canonical address pronouns of contemporary EP, *tu* (T) and *o senhor* (V), do appear, albeit marginally, in my data. Regarding *o senhor*, it is occasionally employed in highly deferential or distant contexts, often combined with the use of *senhor* as a vocative. For example, in (1), an informant reconstructed in direct speech how one should speak to an older manager of a service establishment, whereas in (2), an older informant addressed me, a foreigner, with *(o) senhor*:

1. *você tá lá, vais precisar falar com ele [...]: "**senhor**, permito, preciso falar só com **o senhor**"*
'[when] you are there and you need to speak with him [...]: "Sir, may I, I need to speak only with you"'
(30/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

2. *sim, **senhor**, eu conta aquel[e] que eu... que eu vi para **o senhor***
'Yes, Sir, I am telling you what... what I saw'
(71/m_Kiyombe/Port_Lites, BZ)

During the colonial era, the prototypical use of *(o) senhor* took place when an Angolan worker addressed a Portuguese settler. Consequently, there is reason to suspect that, for elderly individuals who worked for the *Companhia de Cabinda* or for Portuguese *fazendeiros* during the colonial era, the use of *(o) senhor* is still favored when addressing white foreigners like myself (who –despite notable efforts during my partly anthropological-oriented fieldwork– never fully managed to be considered an actual member of the community[13]). Conversely, among younger informants, from whom I also recorded isolated examples, the use of *o senhor* more closely aligns with its canonical usage in contemporary EP.

As for the use of *tu* in my data, it is unusual among most Cabindans and completely absent from the speech of elderly rural speakers –at least in its canonical use

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[13] In some villages, it was common for me to present myself first, showing my governmental authorization to conduct fieldwork, which added to the distance. Only the passing of hours and the constant presence of my Cabindan collaborator, who is very sociable and well-acquainted with the realities of these villages, reduced this distance.

as a subject pronoun (interestingly, elderly individuals do occasionally use the form *tu* as a non-canonical object pronoun: s. §3.2). The rejection of subject *tu* among the older generation may be tied to the stigma it carried during the colonial era, marking the relationship between master and slave (cf. Mattos e Silva, 1904, p. 372; see further below). Its occasional use among middle-aged and younger speakers generally involves alternation with *você*: *tu* is part of an address-switching strategy where the pragmatically unmarked pronoun is always *você*. This is evident from the following pairs of examples, taken from conversations where the identity of the speaker and the hearer remained constant: in (3)-(4), we see the subject forms, while the other two pairs of examples illustrate other forms of the grammatical paradigm of *tu* and *você* [object clitics in (5), and oblique objects in (6), the latter taken from the Facebook profile of a Cabindan friend (Figure 3)]:

3. A middle-aged woman to his 90-year-old grandfather:
   a. *tem que ser **tu** o que el[e] tá falar*
   'it has to be you [who repeats] what he is saying'
   b. *o que el[e] tá falá é que **você** va[i] repetir*
   'what he's saying is what you're going to repeat'
   (ca.42/f_Kisolongo/Port_Cabinda City, CB)

4. A middle-aged man emphatically speaking to another one
   a. *eu, não **você***
   'me, not you!' (='I am the one [who is speaking]')
   b. […] *nunca mais **tu** vai trabalhar*
   'you will never work again!'
   (40/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

5. A man threatening another one:
   a. *eu já vou **lhe** bater*
   'I am going to beat you now'
   b. […] *vou **te** bater*
   'I am going to beat you!'
   (ca.35/m_Kiyombe/Port._Buco Zau, BZ)

6. A girl expressing her love to his boyfriend throughout Facebook
   a. *Pensando em **v[o]c[ê]** coisa doida*
   'thinking of you, my little fool'
   b. *Pensando em **tiiii** meu chato coisa doce*
   'thinking of youuuu, my annoying sweet one'
   (ca.20/f_Port_Cabinda City, CB)

Figure 3. Facebook post

In (3.a), *tu* carries sentencial focus, inasmuch as it is employed as the focused element of a cleft sentence. This context is absent in (3.b), where the sentence focus is not on the pronoun, and *você* is preferred. In the subsequent examples, the imposing nature of the illocutionary force of the speech act seems to progressively intensify: the intensity of reproach/warning escalates in (4), the threat intensifies in (5), and the expression of love deepens in (6). These dynamics substantiate the shift from *você* to *tu*.

Despite these observations, my data generally indicate the use of *você* across a wide range of situations. For instance, it appears in V contexts, as illustrated in (7) during a phone call to sell a product. It is also used in prototypical T contexts, as seen in (8), where a father addresses his son. Additionally, *você* occurs in contexts that universally straddle T and V, where the selection of one pronoun over the other is culturally determined. This is exemplified in (9), where a son addresses his father:

7. *Oh aló! Sim. Esse é o senhor Baldomiro Fernando? [...] Olha, **você**...eh...tens um prémio que ganhaste [...]*
'Hi, is that Mr. Baldomiro Fernando? Look, you have a price that you have won […]'
(36/m_Kisundi/Port_Belize, BE)

8. *mas **você**! esse é seu irmão*
'beware you! that is your sister' [telling a traditional story and, at that particular point in the narrative, rendering the speech of a father speaking to his son]
(36/m_Cilinji/Port_Loango Pequeno, CA)

9. *Papa, é assim, são pessoas que vieram fazer inquérito do bairro, dos mais velhos antigos do bairro, então **você** tem que falá do bair[r]o antigo*
'Papa, it's like this, these are people who came to survey the neighborhood, the *mais velhos* in the neighborhood, so you have to talk about the old

neighborhood'
(65/m_Kisolongo/Port_Cabinda City, CB)

In the examples provided, we also observe *você* combined with different forms of nominal address, such as the appositional *senhor* in (7) (marked for V) and the vocative *papa* in (9) (marked for T). These combinations delineate the precise psychosocial relationship between the speaker and the listener, along with potential affective nuances.

Moreover, in CP, as well as in other varieties of Portuguese, nominal forms can assume a quasi-pronominal role, being integrated into the sentence with a syntactic function. It is particularly noteworthy that these uses sometimes occur within a discourse sequence where the pronoun *você* is predominant, thereby specifying its meaning in terms of T or V. In the following example, a speaker uses the very frequent form of nominal address *mano* (lit. 'brother') –here preceded by an article– alternating it with *você*, which is the prevailing form in the context:

10. ***você*** *tá pensar que [...] é mesma coisa que falámo; por exemplo, vou dizer do microfone, eu vou falar de uma outra maneira, microfone, e* ***o mano*** *também vai expressar de uma outra forma, eu vou estranhar da tua parte e* ***você*** *também vai estranhar da minha parte*
'You are thinking that [...] it is the same thing we said; for example, speaking about the microfone, I will speak in a different way, [in front of the] microphone, and you will also express yourself in a different way; I will find it strange on your part [when you speak to me] and you will also find it strange on my part [when I speak to you]'
(30/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

To sum up, *você* is the 2SG pronoun par excellence in CP, used in potentially any situation, with any interlocutor. It therefore qualifies as an N-pronoun. It can be accompanied by nominal forms of address (with diverse meanings regarding the T-V-continuum: *chefe*, *mestre*, *mano*, *senhor*, *mwana mama* [from KIK, lit. 'the mother's son'], etc.) and even alternate with other pronouns. This is the case when speakers, for whatever reason, need to introduce pragmatic nuances related to intensification/expressivity (which is what seems to trigger the occasional use of *tu*, re-incorporated in younger generations) or further specify the formality/familiarity of the situation. In this regard, there is still some room for the use of *o senhor* (markedly distant) or for the quasi-pronominal use of *mano* (markedly familiar) –either introduced by article, as in the example (10), or without article (as in example (22)).

The grammatical paradigm of você

Beyond the domain of use of *você*, which for the most part behaves as an N pronoun, special attention must be paid to the grammatical paradigm of *você*, which is generally intertwined with that of *tu*. To begin with, object clitics and possessives are predominantly imported from the paradigm of *tu* (the corresponding forms of *você* –i.e. the object clitics *o/a*[ACC] and *lhe*[DAT/ACC][14] and the possessive determiner *seu/sua*– are extremely unusual in my data):

11. *então, tem memo aldei[a] que [...] quando **você** falá português ninguém **te** ente:nde*
'so, there are some villages where, when you speak Portuguese, nobody understands you'
(32/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

12. ***você** vai chamar o **teu** amigo assim*
'you are going to call your friend like that'
(47/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

As illustrated by (11), the typical object form agreeing with *você* is *te*. Occasionally, there is the non-canonical use of the form *tu* as an object (see Gutiérrez Maté, in press *a*, 2024b, for further details). So far, I have only documented the phenomenon in a few idiolects, occurring with relative consistency among elderly speakers from the Mayombe area. In most idiolects, however, the variant with the canonical form of the object clitic *te* prevails. In addition, some expressions like *eu tu falei!* 'I told you!' can also occasionally be used by younger bilingual speakers.

The nature of this phenomenon is substantially different from the well-known phenomenon of BP wherein clitics are replaced with post-verbal tonic object pronouns, as in *eu vi ela* 'I saw her'. The emergence of this Cabindan phenomenon is yet to be fully understood, but we must acknowledge two factors: (1) *tu*, having been almost completely replaced by *você* as a subject in CP, becomes a somewhat 'free' form in the system that some speakers might therefore reuse for other syntactic roles; and (2) the verbal prefix for "object concord" (the closest equivalence to Romance object clitics in Bantu languages) is *(k)u-* in some KIK languages, including Kiyombe, the most widely spoken KIK language in the Cabindan Mayombe. Therefore, a phonetic attraction from KIK *(k)u-* over PORT *te* (turning it into *tu*)

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[14] The non-restructured use of *lhe* is DAT, but it can also be used as ACC in CP (and other varieties of AP), as in example (5.a) or in the following one:
ᴱ*u tem meu marrido, é verdade, eu **l[h]e** amo muito bem*
'I have my husband, it's true, I love him very much'
(ca.50/f_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE)

cannot be precluded. Although the examples are few, they are distributed among various speakers, with the phenomenon typically manifesting in multiple occurrences per individual. The alternation with *te* remains possible, as clearly illustrated in the final example, which also demonstrates that *tu* can be used for object doubling (in this case, with direct object *você*):

13. *vai... vai **tu** encontrar qualquer lugar*
    'I will find you somewhere'
    (75/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

14. *Esse que vou **tu** falar*
    'That is what I well tell you'
    (72/m_Ikoci/Port_Tando Pala, CA)

15. *É respeito. [A]quele que não tinha respeito, sofreu, bateu. **Tu** bata!*[15] *razão você não tem respeito*
    'It was all about respect. Those who had no respect suffered, got beaten. They beat you! because you had no respect'
    (71/m_Kiyombe/Port_Lites, BZ)

16. *ntão…tem mulhere aqui, [a]quer[e] mulher era forte [...] você ta aqui, ele[=ela] pode lançar*[16]*; **tu** pega você e te lança lá*

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[15] The form *bata* corresponds to what in Standard PORT would be conveyed by means of the verb forms *bateram* ('they beat you / you were beaten') or *batiam* ('they (used to) beat you'). It is important to note that the "final vowel" *-a* is the most common ending for verb forms in KIK (including those in the dissociative past: Dom; De Schryver; Bostoen, 2018), which might have influenced the spontaneous emergence of the form *bata*. However, the word *bata* is also a noun in some idiolects (corresponding to the Standard PORT *batida*), which in this context would be verbalized or constructed with an omitted light verb (*dar/meter*). Indeed, the same speaker also used the construction *meter bata* ('give a beating') in other parts of the interview. As for the selection of *tu* in the example above, following the non-canonical use of *bateu* with a passive diathesis reading ('he got beaten'), the speaker may have felt the need to explicitly signal the object/patient in the subsequent sentence (throughout the interview, *bater* is more frequently employed with an agentive subject, following the canonical use in Standard PORT). Thus, *tu* might be used for disambiguation or perhaps, when compared to *te*, to add more expressivity. This usage is consistent with at least some other examples in the corpus: for instance, speakers who say *eu **te** falei* in pragmatically neutral contexts might use *eu **tu** falei* 'I (already) told you!' when the corresponding speech act is a more direct reproach.

[16] Upon close examination of the recording, one might discern an enclitic *t[e]* following the infinitive (*pode lançar-te*), although this phonetic realization and clitic placement –both phenomena being reminiscent EP– are extremely rare in my corpus, particularly among elderly informants. My Cabindan collaborator, A. Massiala, perceives instead a very rapidly articulated clitic preceding the infinitive, which is consistent with the typical Cabindan (and Angolan) clitic placement (*pode te lançar*). Regardless, the subsequent use of the pronoun form *tu* (in *tu pega você*) is unequivocally clear.

'so, there was a woman here… that woman was strong […] If you were here,
she could lift and throw you; she would catch you and throw you over there'
(78/m_Civili/Ikoci/Port_Zenga, CA)

Interestingly, a few informants employed the possessive *vosso/a* with a singular
reference, corresponding to the possessive form of the (archaic) 2SG pronoun *vós*[17].
Apart from the possessive, the other forms of its grammatical paradigm appear to
have also become extinct in Cabinda. Among these speakers, its usage was incon-
sistent, alternating with *teu/tua*, as illustrated in (17). Most importantly, examples
like (19) clearly demonstrate that, in these idiolects, *vosso/a* is inserted into the
paradigm of *você*, as both forms appear in the same sentence (*se você tem vosso carro*).

17. *nós cabindanos gos...gostam muito de **vossa** cor aí, pa nascer sempre crianças
   e nenês bem mulato [...] aqui vão te tirar, vai esquecer **tua** dama*
   'we Cabindans like... really like your color skin, so that children and babies
   can always be born very white[18]; They [the local women] will catch you here,
   and you will forget about your lady'
   (ca.40/f_Ikoci/Port_Lândana, CA)

18. *você vive aonde? Me leva [e]mbo[ra] também a **vossa** terra*
   'where do you live? Take me to your land too'
   (ca.40/f_Ikoci/Port_Lândana, CA)

19. *um dia que você vem, se você tem **vosso** carro, se não… Vai chegar até no Alto
   Sundi, eu vou te levar lá.. ehh*
   'one day when you come, if you have your car, because if not... You will arrive
   up to Alto Sundi, I will take you there… ehh'
   (ca. 50/f_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE)

Further documentation and analysis of this phenomenon are necessary to sub-
stantiate any hypotheses about its actual use (for now, I have observed this form
predominantly when female speakers were addressing me). Aside from these few
cases, the possessive form used with *você* is generally *teu/tua* (or, occasionally, *seu/sua*).
   Regarding verb desinences, variation between the forms of 2SG and 3SG is
observed. Frequently, the same speakers alternate between these forms:

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[17] Cunha and Cintra (2017, p. 175, 299) describe the SG *vós* as highly archaic, occasionally sur-
   viving when addressing God. In the Lusophone context, only PORT-lexified Creoles, with the
   exceptions of Lung'Ie and Diu Indo-Portuguese (according to the corresponding descriptions in
   the APICS), have retained a 2SG pronoun descended from *vós* to this day.

[18] The best translation of *mulato*, at least in rural Cabinda, is 'white'. It does not necessarily refer
   to people of both European and African ancestry.

20. <Bu nge bwedi bemwen[a] ya[u]?> ***Você** a*[19]*...**viu**_{[3SG]} tal tabaco onde? ah? se es[se] cois[a] ta... ta escondido, **você viste**_{[2SG]} como?*
((in KIK)) 'so, how did you see that?' ((following in PORT)) 'Where did you see such tobacco? Huh? If that thing is hidden, how did you see it?'
(ca. 50/f_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE)

21. *Quando **você sa[i]**_{[3SG]} no serviço já **estás**_{[2SG]} lá na buala, já não **vais**_{[2SG]} expressar o português; dávamos interesse o português dos colonos quando **estás**_{[2SG]} lá trabalhar; por exemplo, **você estás**_{[2SG]} na empresa dos português, **va[i]**_{[3SG]} começar falar bocado português*
'When you go out of work, once you're there in your village, you won't speak Portuguese anymore; we used to have an interest in the Portuguese language of the colonizers when working there, for example, if you're in a company with Portuguese people, you will start speaking Portuguese a little bit'
(57/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

The alternation between 2SG and 3SG verb endings when agreeing with *você* should be viewed as a linguistic variable influenced by a range of factors that can be pragmatic, semantic, morphosyntactic, and sociolinguistic, which I will briefly consider in the remainder of this section. For instance, Silva-Brummel's (1984) interpretation, based on dialogues from Angolan novels from the latter half of the 20th century, suggests that "*você* + 3SG endings" is more formal or polite than "*você* + 2SG endings". However, this does not necessarily resonate with my findings, where both forms often convey similar levels of solidarity and politeness. Conversely, the study by Álvarez López *et al.* (2018), which analyzed surveys in Cabinda City, posits that "*você* + 3SG endings" is more commonly used as a generic pronoun (i.e., when 'you' rather means 'one'), and "*você* + 2SG endings" is more frequently used when specifically referring to the actual interlocutor. This observation may align to some extent with my data, but it does not fully explain the instances where alternation occurs with the very same referent, which can be specific, as in (20) and (23), or generic, as in (21). On the other hand, it would be worthwhile to pay attention to the verb tenses with which 2SG appears most often (in my data, for example, the *perfeito simples* might stand out: *foste, viste, ganhaste*, etc.). Another factor observable in my data is the common use of "*você* + 2SG endings" in contexts

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[19] One could interpret this *a* as a hesitation marker. However, it is not impossible, especially in a context like the one above where the speaker is in a "bilingual mode" (Grosjean, 2001), that this *a*, occasionally found in different CP idiolects before preterite forms –particularly those referring to the completive past of an aspectually dynamic verb– is a material copy from KIK. Specifically, it originates from the prefix used in the dissociative past completive construction (*a-* + verbal base + *-a*) (Dom; De Schryver; Bostoen, 2018).

that naturally reflect orality, such as direct speech quotes. Although there is still variation with 3SG, employing 2SG seems to ensure a more vivid narration, as in examples (22)-(23):

22. ***você vai***[3SG] *dizer uma palavra leviado*[sic] *e uma palavra pesado, aquele pesado é que* ***você tem***[3SG] *que carregar, é que disse "kó"*[20]*, tás a ver, você carregou, "kó" [...] é isso aí, tipo tou conversar com* ***mano***, ***você vai***[3SG] *vir [...] "**você** já me* ***estragas[te]***[2SG] [21] *o telefone!", "você... quem* ***fez***[3SG] *isso!". Então* ***você*** *me* ***perguntou***[3SG] *aquilo aí em dialeto, né? [...]*
   'You will say a light word and a heavy word, that heavy one is what you have to emphasize, and then say *kó*, you see, you stressed it, *kó* [...] that's it, like I'm talking to you, my friend, you will come [and I will say:] "you already damaged my phone", meaning that you are the one who did that. Now, you asked me that in the dialect, right? [...]'
   (30/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

23. *o amigo tira o meu número [...] "Olha!* ***você tens***[2SG] *um premio que ganhaste aqui na Unitel, mas, antes de... receber ese prem[i]o aí,* ***deve***[3SG] *que depositar sei[s] mil [kwanzas];* ***ganhaste***[2SG] *um i-phone, uma geleira, uma plasma e... e um carro!" ((cry of disbelief))*
   'That friend takes my phone number [...] "Look, you have a prize that you won here at Unitel, but before you receive this prize, you have to deposit 6000 Kz; you won an i-phone, a fridge, a plasma TV and... and a car!" ((cry of disbelief))'
   (36/m_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE)

Lastly, the age of the speakers emerges as a crucial factor in my data. Initially, we can examine the forms agreeing with *você* in a few idiolects from the oldest and/or most illiterate speakers in my corpus of interviews (Table 1). These idiolects generally correspond to the most 'divergent' compared to the standard PORT presented in schools, institutions and the media. In all cases, the subject pronoun *você* was either explicitly expressed or clearly retrievable from the context (instances of the object pronoun *tu* instead of the 2SG *te* are noted in brackets in the "object clitics" column, although they are not included in the final absolute and relative frequencies;

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[20] I was inquiring about the imperative/intensification particle in KIK, which generally takes the form *ko* (s. Güldemann/Hagemeijer 2019; Gutiérrez Maté 2023), though some speakers articulate it with a distinct nasalization [kó].

[21] The emphasis is clearly on the second *a*, suggesting that the form is a spontaneously reduced realization of *estragaste* (*perfeito simples*) rather than a realization of the present form (*estragas*). In any case, the verb ending pertains to the 2SG.

the very few instances of *vosso/a* were also not considered for the frequencies, but are added in brackets in the "possessives" column).

Table 1. Grammatical paradigm of *você* among the elderly and middle-aged generations

Idiolect	Desinences		Object clitics		Possessives	
	2SG	3SG	2SG	3SG	2SG	3SG
90/m_Kisolongo/Port_Cabinda City, CB	1	14	1	0	0	2
86/m_Kiyombe/Port_Lites, BZ	0	2	0	0	0	0
85/m_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BZ	0	20	28	0	0	0
80/m_Iwoyo/Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	1	1	1	0	0	0
78/m_Civili/Ikoci/Port_Zenga, CA	1	21	2 (+2)	0	0	0
75/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	0	9	2 (+1)	0	0	0
72/m_Cilinji/Port_Tando Pala, CA	1	18	2 (+1)	0	2	0
71/m_Kiyombe/Port_Lites, BZ	8	10	1 (+5)	0	1 (+1)	0
60/f_Cilinji/Port_Lândana, CA	0	1	0	0	0	0
52/f_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BZ	0	6	1	0	2	0
50/f_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BZ	11	81	13 (+1)	0	5 (+1)	0
∑ N	23	183	51	0	10	2
%	11,1	88,8	100	0	83,3	16,6

It is particularly enlightening to compare these findings with those from a group of younger speakers (Table 2), who have had significant exposure to and active use of PORT, far more than the members of the previous group.

Table 2. Grammatical paradigm of *você* among younger (young and middle-aged) generations

Idiolect	Desinences		Object clitics		Possessives	
	2SG	3SG	2SG	3SG	2SG	3SG
40/m_ Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	1	12	0	0	0	0
ca.40/f_Ikoci/Port_Lândana, CA	8	32	6	0	3 (+3)	0
36/m_Kisundi/Port_Belize, BE	10	19	4	2	1	0
ca.35/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	4	0	1	1	0	0
32/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	5	23	3	0	3	0
30/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	17	52	2	0	2	0
ca.30/f_Cilinji/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	1	0	0 (+1)	0	0	0
ca.25/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ	2	0	0	0	0	0
22/f_Kisundi/Port_Rocha, Belize, BE	2	7	0	0	3	1
20/m_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE	2	0	0	0	0	0
∑ N	52	145	16	3	12	1
%	26,3	73,6	84,2	15,7	92,3	7,6

When comparing both generations, a clear increase in the use of "*você* + 2SG endings" is observed: 26.3% as opposed to 11.1%. Furthermore, the latter percentage would be even smaller –and thus, the difference with the younger generation even more pronounced– if imperative forms were excluded from the counts. It is plausible that the context of immediacy, in which imperatives are often used, has encouraged a more rapid integration of 2SG forms into the grammars of bilingual speakers. For instance, all eight occurrences of 2SG in the idiolect "71/m_Kiyombe/ Portuguese_Lites, BZ" are imperative forms, such as *vorta* [*volta*] 'come back', *vem* 'come', *sei* [*sai*] 'get out', etc. Table 3 is designed to facilitate this comparison:

Table 3. Grammatical paradigm of *você* in both generations

	Verbal desinences				Object clitics				Possessives				
	2SG		3SG		2SG		3SG		2SG		3SG		
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	Σ
> 50 y.o.	11,1	23	88,8	183	100	51	0	0	83,3	10	16,6	2	269
20-40 y.o.	26,3	52	73,6	145	84,2	16	15,7	3	92,3	12	7,6	1	229

The preceding discussion represents an initial approach to studying the hybrid grammatical paradigm of *você* in CP. Future quantitative research will need to determine the statistical significance of the factors mentioned above, as well as the potential impact of other variables, on the incorporation of 2SG verbal endings into the grammatical paradigm of *você*. Nonetheless, a clear trend emerges: *você* almost exclusively combines with object clitics and possessives from the *tu* paradigm, and it, at the very least, admits verbal desinences from the latter pronoun's paradigm, particularly among the younger generation of bilingual speakers.

4. The two effects of language contact

Before examining how Cabindan bilinguals may have transferred some properties from KIK to CP, it is essential to closely examine the grammar and pragmatics of the 2SG pronoun in KIK.

In KIK, there is a single 2SG pronoun used to convey both T and V: *ngeye-nge*[22], which "is always used in addressing one person, without regard to age, rank, or importance" (Laman, 1912, p. 121). João de Mattos e Silva, a Portuguese doctor working in Cabinda in the last decade of the 19th century, commented on the 2SG pronoun in KIK as follows:

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[22] This pronoun displays different phonetic variants throughout the KLC and even within the same dialect: final *-e* or the entire segment *–ye* can be omitted, [g] can be palatalized to become [ʤ], etc.

O quasi geral na conversação é indjé [= *nge*, MGM[23]] *que bem corresponde ao nosso* você; *designa a pessoa a quem se fala se é inferior, igual ou um pouco superior, mas que não tenha título de nobreza, porque n'este caso, só um igual ou superior lhe dara tal tratamento. […] O que é rarissimo é o tratamento por* tu, *so o usará o dono para com o escravo, mas fallando em português; os parentes, mesmo os paes aos filhos, os irmãos entre si, etc., tratam-se por* indjé, *ou então empregando as palavras* pae, mãe, filho, *etc.*

'The almost universal [address term] in conversation is *indjé*, which corresponds well to our *você*. It refers to the person being spoken to, whether they are inferior, equal, or slightly superior, but without any noble title, as in such cases, only an equal or superior would address them with such form [...] What is extremely rare is the use of *tu*: only the owner will use it towards the slave when speaking in Portuguese. Relatives, including parents to children, siblings among themselves, etc., address each other as *indjé*, or alternatively using the words *father, mother, son,* etc.' (Mattos e Silva, 1904, p. 372; translation MGM)

Incidentally, Mattos e Silva's statement also provides a clue about the wide range of use of *você* among Portuguese settlers in Angola in the late 19th century. Additionally, it offers insight into the use of *tu* in PORT, specifically for a markedly non-reciprocal usage from owner to slave. Interestingly, we could infer that communication from the slave to the owner might also occur in KIK, and in that case, *nge* was the pronoun used. This hypothesis is supported by the following example, in which one of my informants recreates how Cabindan workers used to speak to Portuguese *fazendeiros* during the late colonial era. In the example, *nge* is combined with the PORT honorific apositional vocative *Senhor* (or rather its reduced form *seó/só*):

24. *o **nge**, **Se[nh]o[r]** Rafael, bi kukinga mi*
    o   ngeye   <Senhor Rafael>   bika   kufinga minu
    ALP   2SG   Mister Rafael leave(/NEG) insult 1SG
    'You, Mister Rafael, do not insult me!'
    (71/m_Kiyombe/Port_Lites, BZ)

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[23] *Indjé* is none other than *nge[ye]*, where Mattos e Silva's Portuguese ear perceived a prothetic vowel and a syllable-final nasal instead of a nasalized plosive. See the previous note regarding the palatalization of /g/ before /e/, which is what Mattos e Silva represents with <dj>; the palatalized variant is also observed in example (24) (s. Gutiérrez Maté, 2024c).

In another vein, it is worth considering the morphological paradigm of *nge(ye)* in comparison to that of other grammatical persons. The members of the *nge(ye)* paradigm are formally distinguished from those of other grammatical persons, with the only exception being the partial syncretism between the 2SG and 3SG subject prefixes. In fact, all 2SG allomorphs are identical to those of 3SG, and it is the allomorph *ka-* (used after frontalized objects, after *wh-* and relative pronouns, in negative sentences, or in the "subjunctive mood": Carter; Makoondekwa, 1987, p. 21) that unambiguously conveys 3SG. This distinction is highlighted in Table 4, which depicts the morphological paradigm for each grammatical person. While this representation is not exhaustive of all dialectal variations, it includes at least some of the most widespread forms, which are separated by commas in the table, whereas the different allomorphs are separated by slashes ("/").

Table 4. Morphological paradigm of personal pronouns in KIK (based on Carter, 1999, p. 24-25; De Clercq, 1921, p. 24-26; Kyala, 2013, p. 79-89; Laman, 1912, p. 120-132, etc.). N = Nasal consonant; G = Gemination (of the following consonant)

	Indep. pronoun	Subject affix	Object affix	Possessive
1SG	mo(no), mi(nu)	i-/y-/n-/ndi-	-N-	-ame
2SG	nge(ye)	o-/u-/w-/Ø-	-G-, -ku-/-u-	-aku
3SG	yandi	o-/u-/w-/Ø-/ka-	-NG-	-andi
1PL	beto, betu	tu-/tw-	-tu-	-eto, -etu
2PL	yeno, yenu	nu-/nw-	-nu-	-eno, -enu
3PL	yau	b-/(b)a/(b)e	-(b)a-	-au

The question now arises as to how the use and grammar of KIK *nge(ye)* relate to what has been discussed about CP. To recap, two main features of CP were previously highlighted: (1) the widespread use of the independent pronoun *você* –at the expense of the near-complete disappearance of *tu* among traditional speakers and the marginalization of the use of *o senhor*– and (2) its combination with a grammatical paradigm derived –at least partially– from *tu*. As I will argue in the remainder of this section, contact with KIK likely played a relevant role in both cases.

The explanation for the first phenomenon follows the pattern observed in other contact-induced changes where the source language lacks a formal distinction displayed by the replica language, as illustrated in Figure 4. The question remains why, during language acquisition and the establishment of creative equivalence, the pairing was made between KIK *nge(ye)* and PORT *você* rather than between KIK *nge(ye)* and PORT *tu*. Since, in the historical period of interest (from the late 19th century onwards), the pronouns *você* and *tu* were likely equally grammatical forms, the grammatical/lexical distinction –which predicts that equivalences are first made between lexical meanings, more perceptible than their grammatical counterparts

(cf. Haspelmath, 1999)– could not play any role, unlike what we regularly observe in cases of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine; Kuteva, 2010).

In my view, the spontaneous preference for *você* was simultaneously determined by its wide spectrum of uses –entailing some uses of V that were therefore apt to undergo the sociological and linguistic changes highlighted in §2– as well as by the colonialist stigma associated with the use of *tu* –which, as also highlighted in §2, parallels the stigma of T forms in French-speaking Africa–.
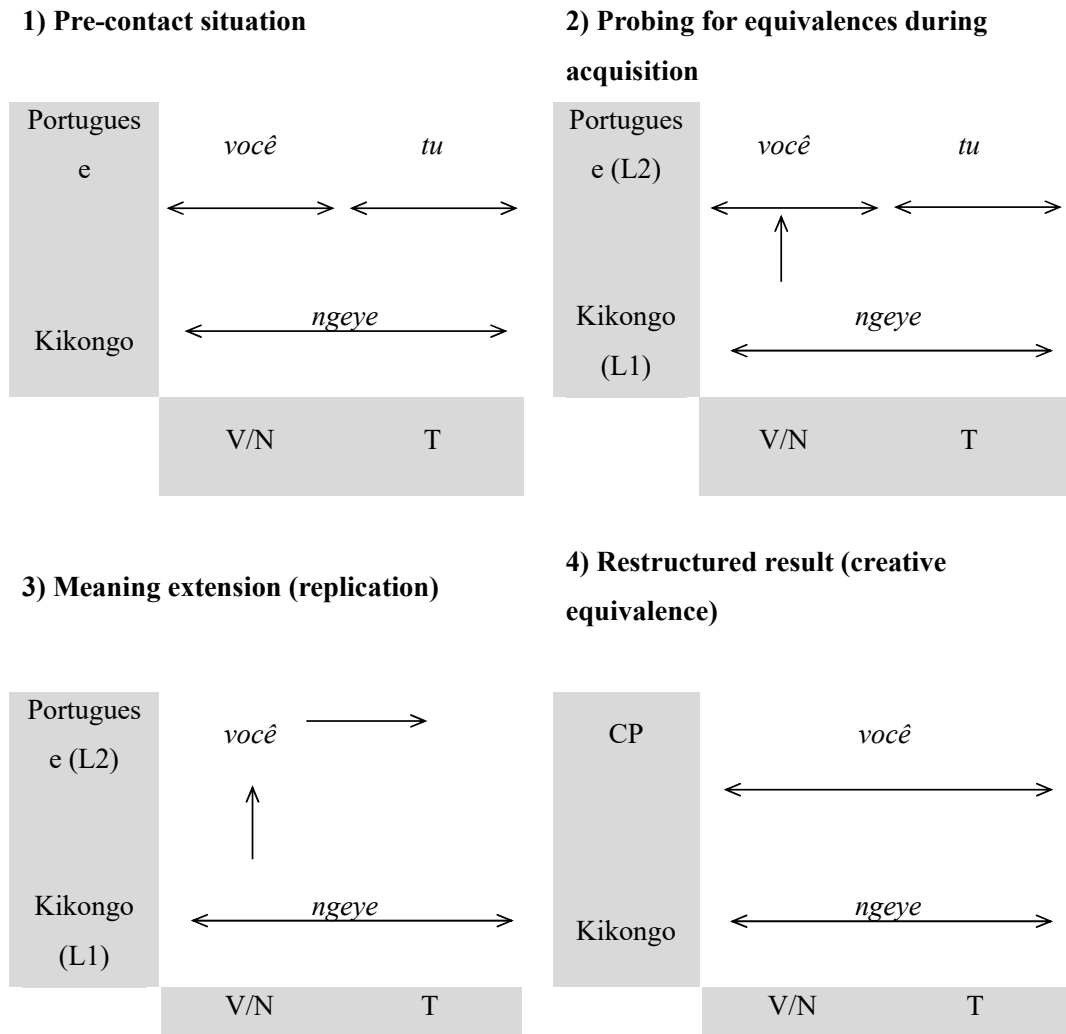
1) Pre-contact situation

2) Probing for equivalences during acquisition

3) Meaning extension (replication)

4) Restructured result (creative equivalence)

Figure 4. Replication of the lack of poliness distinction

The principle illustrated above regarding the preference of *você* over *tu* primarily affects the linguistic forms that are most perceptible to speakers themselves, i.e., the independent pronouns (those used in elliptical answers, in focus positions, in topicalization contexts, in coordination constructions, or as explicit subjects in *pro-drop* languages; cf. Haspelmath; the APiCS Consortium, 2013b and references therein).

However, the above prediction does not hold for other forms within the corresponding grammatical paradigms, such as subject and object affixes or clitics and possessive determiners. Bilingual speakers were likely exposed to different grammatical forms from the two original paradigms, which they did not distinguish according to any operationalization of the T/V continuum. Generally, when bilingual speakers, while searching for equivalences in the less dominant language, encounter 'too many' linguistic forms –i.e., forms that cannot be distinguished using the semantic categories of the more dominant language– they can either eliminate one subset of forms or reorganize all the forms according to the linguistic categories relevant in the dominant language. Specifically, KIK exhibits a clear formal distinction between most of the forms included in the 2SG and 3SG morphological paradigms, making it contradictory for KIK speakers to use 3SG forms to convey a 2SG meaning (reference to the addressee) when speaking PORT.

The absence of 2SG/3SG syncretism in KIK, specifically in object affixes and possessives (s. Table 4), is one of the key factors contributing to the limited success in adopting the canonical 3SG clitics and possessives from the paradigm of *você*, which KIK/PORT bilinguals could naturally interpret as belonging to the paradigm of 3SG *ele/ela* ('he/she')[24]. Therefore, considering the morphological properties of the 2SG paradigm in KIK, the forms *te* (object clitic) and *teu/tua* (possessive) have the highest chance of success in CP, as they unequivocally belong to the 2SG.

The case of verbal affixes is different. As previously demonstrated, in CP, 3SG verbal endings are more frequent than 2SG endings. However, this phenomenon could also be favored by the morphological configuration of the 2SG paradigm in KIK: specifically, in this language, the syncretism between 2SG and 3SG subject affixes is only partial (needless to say, although subject affixes are prefixes in KIK and suffixes in PORT, typologically this is a relatively minor difference[25]).

Although this 2SG/3SG partial syncretism operates somewhat differently in CP compared to KIK –with the former exhibiting the only unequivocal, non-syncretic allomorph in the 2SG, and the latter in the 3SG–, it can be hypothesized that KIK speakers found it easier to utilize the multiple 2SG verbal affixes existing in PORT to avoid complete syncretism rather than creating a new affix in the 3SG paradigm.

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[24] Furthermore, it is worth noting that subject pronouns such as *você* and *ele/ela*, which could potentially be used to formally distinguish between 2SG and 3SG referents, are frequently omitted in CP, similar to the omission of 2SG *ngeye* and 3SG *yandi* in KIK (although I do not address this aspect in my work, it is important to acknowledge that both (European) Ibero-Romance and KIK, like possibly most Bantu languages (Bergvall 1986), are null-subject or, in the generative framework, *pro-drop* languages).

[25] More significant is the fact that, in both languages being *pro-drop*, these affixes represent the subject in the sentence (see also the preceding footnote).

All in all, what PORT replicates from KIK, allowing for the creation of the hybrid paradigm "*você* + 2SG" as we know it in CP, is the lack of morphological syncretism in object clitics and possessives, and the partial syncretism in subject affixes. To succintly summarize the hypothesis, I present a simplified version of Table 4 in Table 7 and then compare these forms with the corresponding ones in EP (Table 5), mostly considering the diachronic stage of this variety at the end of the 19th century and at the turn of the 20th century (the time when Mattos e Silva observed the equivalence of KIK *nge(ye)* and PORT *você*). This period is particularly important in the history of CP, a time before *você* became the marginal pronoun it is in today's EP (see Lara Bermejo; Guilherme, 2021 on the evolution of the address system in 20th-century EP). The resulting system of CP (Table 6) has adapted PORT linguistic forms to align, to a great extent, with a KIK pattern.

To simplify, the subject affixes indicated in Table 5 and Table 6 are those of morphologically regular verbs: *-a*, as in *canta*; *-e*, as in *come* or *parte*; *-as*, as in *precisas*; *-es*, as in *mexes* or *assistes*. For the sake of clarity and to avoid delving into other issues related to the 2PL, which I have not addressed here, I will only provide the forms for the three singular persons (also, for the sake of clarity in the analysis, I do not indicate the possibility of omitting the clitic –a phenomenon known as *object drop*– which would require indicating the contexts that favor this use). The cases of total or partial syncretism, which are central to my hypothesis, are highlated in shading. Considered together, Tables 5-7 convey a simplified depiction of the contact-induced restructuring of address pronouns in CP.

Table 5. European Portuguese (at the turn of the 20ᵗʰ century)

	Indep. pronoun	Subject affix	Object clitic	Possessive
1SG	eu	-o	me	meu~minha
2SG-T	tu	-as/-es	te	teu~tua
2SG-V/N	você	-a/-e	o~a/lhe	seu~sua
3SG	ele~ela	-a/-e	o~a/lhe	seu~sua
		(2SG/3SG-syncretism)	(SG/3SG-syncretism)	(2SG/3SG-syncretism)

↓

Table 6. Cabindan Portuguese (prevailing trend)

	Indep. pronoun	Subject affix	Obj. clitic/affix[26]	Possessive
1SG	eu	-o	me	meu~minha
2SG	você	-a/-e/-as/-es	te	teu~tua
3SG	ele~ela	-a/-e	o~a/lhe	seu~sua
		(2SG/3SG-partial syncretism)	(no 2SG/3SG-syncretism)	(no 2SG/3SG-syncretism)

↑

Table 7. Kikongo

	Indep. pronoun	Subject affix	Object affix	Possessive
1SG	mo(no), mi(nu)	i-/y-/n-/ndi-	-N-	-ame
2SG	nge(ye)	o-/u-/w-/Ø-	-G-, -ku-	-aku
3SG	yandi	o-/u-/w-/Ø-/ka-	-NG-	-andi
		(2SG/3SG-partial syncretism)	(no 2SG/3SG-syncretism)	(no 2SG/3SG-syncretism)

It is still necessary to discuss why the younger generation uses subject affixes from *tu* (i.e., cases like *você foste*) more frequently than the older generation. An attempt to answer this question can be found in the fact that elderly individuals, whose bilingualism is often heavily biased towards KIK, often overgeneralize the 3SG form across the entire paradigm of grammatical persons. This overgeneralization is evident in the following examples (alternation phenomena with the canonical conjugated verb forms are also relatively common, as depicted in example 26):

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[26] I deliberately leave open the question of whether proclitic objects in CP (with enclisis being nearly non-existent) are actual clitics or should be viewed as relexifications of KIK's pre-radical object affixes.

25. 1SG: *depois eu **fugiu**[3SG] e **foi**[3SG] no Congo*
'then I fled and went to Congo."'
(75/m_Kiyombe/Port_Buco Zau, BZ)

26. 1PL: *tempo de chuva estamos[1PL] bom, tempo de cachimbo*[27] ***nós***
***passa**[3SG] mal aqui*
'during the rainy season, we are well; during the dry season, we suffer here'
(72/m_Cilinji/Port_Tando Pala, CA)

27. 3PL: *sempre **os rapazo vai**[3SG] continu[a]l, [a]inda **vai**[3SG] ser pior, gatuno*
'The boys will always continue like this, they will even become worse,
becoming thieves'
(85/m_Kiyombe/Port_Belize, BE)

Many Cabindans interviewed for this work has used similar forms a few times, but it is easily perceptible that elderly individuals do so more regularly. This phenomenon, unrelated to KIK grammar, could potentially be attributed to the morphological simplification typical of fossilized interlanguages (Selinker, 1972). In such interlanguages, as has been particularly well-studied in the case of migrant varieties, the overgeneralization of verb forms –specifically the 3SG of the present indicative or the infinitive– has been previously described and is therefore not surprising (see Clements, 2005 on Chinese migrants in Madrid; Clyne, 1968, p. 132-134 on Turks and Southern Europeans in Germany; Gutiérrez Maté, in press b, on Haitians in Chapecó, Brazil, and, within the context of regional Intercultural Bilingual Education programs in indigenous communities, Langer and Barbian (2022) on Spanish spoken by Guarani in Misiones, Argentina). Consequently, if the older generation exhibits more 3SG verbal desinences compared to the middle-aged generation and therefore seems to display a closer alignment with the canonical use of PORT *você*, this alignment is likely not the result of a deliberate effort to comply with the rules of EP, but a consequence of another restructuring phenomenon in CP: 3SG overgeneralization. A close alignment with the KIK source, not conditioned by the latter interlanguage phenomenon, would indeed predict variation between 2SG and 3SG endings in CP[28] as a consequence of partial syncretism in KIK.

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[27] The speaker clearly used a palatalized realization [ʃ] instead of [s] (*cacimbo*).

[28] As for the younger/middle-aged generation, the linguistic variable "*você* + 2SG/3SG endings" (e.g., *você foste* vs. *você foi*) should be further investigated, not only in Cabinda but also in other Angolan regions, and related to sociolinguistic variables. Whatever the reason for the emergence of "*você* + 2SG endings", it must be acknowledged that its use is more typical of bilingual illiterates, as Teixeira (2008) has shown in the case of Luanda. It should be assumed that educated bilingual speakers may, in certain registers, switch to 3SG verbal desinences (the canonical variant of EP and today's BP).

Coda: implications for the study of the *Romania Bantu*

Throughout this work, I have shown the neutralization of the politeness distinction and the formation of the hybrid pronominal paradigm of *você*, which includes at least some forms from the paradigm of *tu* (regularly occurring in clitics and possessives, and rather occasionally in verb endings). The adaptive success of these phenomena in CP is better understood by considering the pragmatics and morphosyntax of the 2SG pronoun in KIK, a language that Cabindans have generally acquired prior to PORT (cf. Massiala, 2023). While the language contact perspective alone does not fully account for the structural properties of CP, it remains essential to consider the influence of KIK in order to gain a comprehensive understanding. Additionally, other principles of linguistic change and specific aspects of the studied linguistic ecology have been suggested and incorporated into the analysis, particularly the universal preference for V > T over T > V, as well as the colonial stigma associated with the T-pronoun (a factor already noted by Brown and Gilman (1960) and seemingly supported by Cabindan testimonies from the early colonial period).

My data, and thus the validity of my arguments, are initially restricted to the Cabinda province, although they appear to be broadly applicable to understanding the characteristics of PORT throughout Angola (particularly in other KIK-speaking provinces). Moreover, with appropriate adaptations, my conclusions might also be valid for other regions within what could be termed the *Romania Bantu* (Gutiérrez Maté, 2024b). This group could theoretically include the Romance varieties currently spoken by bilinguals in the Bantu-speaking areas of Africa (e.g., French in Cameroon, Gabon, the RC, and the DRC; Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique; Spanish in Equatorial Guinea), as well as, to some extent, the Romance/Bantu[29] Creoles and some Afro-Latin-American non-Creole varieties, especially Afro-Bolivian Spanish[30].

As a matter of fact, the neutralization of the politeness distinction, with various outcomes, is documented in many areas of the *Romania Bantu*. For instance, in Equatorial Guinean Spanish, there is a neutralization between the V (*usted*) and T

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[29] I am using here Michaelis' (2020) "bi-clan" model to classify Creoles according to their lexifier and substrate.

[30] Particularly, we should consider the French-based creoles of the Indian Ocean (with a strong East Bantu substrate), and Palenquero Creole (Colombia), whose main substrate has been proven to be Kikongo (cf. Schwegler, 2016). To a lesser extent, we could consider the PORT-based Gulf of Guinea Creoles, which combine an extra-Bantu substrate (Edo) with a strong Bantu-H adstrate (cf. Güldemann; Hagemeijer, 2019, Hagemeijer, 2011). Among the non-Creole varieties spoken by Afro-descendants in Latin America, we should at least consider Afro-Bolivian Spanish, where the predominance of speakers from the Congo/Angola area (a Bantu-speaking region) among their founders is now considered proven (Lipski, 2008, p. 31; Sessarego, 2013, n. 24, p. 392).

(*tú*) forms. However, contrary to the situation observed in Angola, T can also expand over V (Lipski, 1985, p. 19-20) (in these cases, the meaning extension process would operate in the opposite direction than the one depicted in Figure 4). Interestingly, the instability of address pronouns has likely been a characteristic feature of Equatorial Guinean Spanish since its foundational varieties (see also Gutiérrez Maté, 2024a, p. 619, on the combination of the T-pronoun *tú* with the English V-vocative *Sir* in the same sentence in 19th-century texts[31]). Similarly, there are frequent alternations between *vous* (V) and *tu* (T) in contemporary DRC-French, even within the same sentence, such as ***Tu** as oublié ce que **vous** avez dit* (see more examples in Sesep N'Sial, 2021, p. 49). This can be better understood by ackowleding the fact that *vous* can often be used among friends in the same variety, as in the example *je vous salue* commented on by Bal (1988, p. 69), even though the author referred only to written communication (in this case, the meaning expansion of 2SG pronouns would indeed be similar to the one depicted in Figure 4).

Regarding the combination of V and T pronominal forms in the same grammatical paradigm, previous literature has registered a hybrid 2SG paradigm in other varieties of the *Romania Bantu*: for instance, in various areas of Angola (Silva-Brummel, 1984, p. 273), Mozambique (Gonçalves *et al.*, 1998, p. 138) and, again, in Equatorial Guinea (Quilis; Casado Fresnillo, 1995, p. 188-189). In these varieties, the (cognate) pronouns *você/usted* can even combine with verb endings of *tú/tu* (e.g., *você dizes*, *usted mandas*, etc.). In other varieties, at the very least the incorporation of the clitic *te* into the *você/usted* paradigm has been well documented. For example, in Afro-Bolivian Spanish, examples such as ***oté** tiene que tomá todo que dostor ta **ti** dando* 'you have to take everything that the doctor is giving you'; Lipski, 2008, p. 142) illustrate this phenomenon (Afro-Bolivian Spanish seems to be the only Spanish-American variety with "ustedeo" where the incorporation of forms from the paradigm of *tú* has been described to date).

In my line of reasoning, both phenomena are commonly found in the *Romania Bantu* precisely because they can be linked to Bantu languages. First, as data from *WALS* and *Grambank* show, most languages from this family do not display the politeness distinction (in fact, this is an areal phenomena rather than a genealogical one, as many African languages beyond the Bantu family also tend to avoid

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[31] It is important to note that this use of *tú* emerged in communication between the various urban groups in Santa Isabel (today's Malabo) at the time, particularly among *Fernandinos* (Sierra Leonean descendants) and (Afro)Cubans. This context did not naturally foster the colonial stigma that T-pronouns, used by Europeans in communication with Africans, developed in many parts of Africa. Speculatively, this aspect, in conjunction with the "founder effects" of 19th-century Equatorial Guinean Spanish (see Gutiérrez Maté, 2024), may help contextualize the relative success of *tú* in this variety. Be that as it may, it is important to emphasize that, despite possible similarities, Equatorial Guinea exhibits a distinct linguistic ecology from that of Angola, shaped by a different colonial history and the involvement of other languages.

this distinction). Second, in Bantu languages, there is a general tendency to avoid syncretism between 2SG and 3SG forms, both in object affixes and possessives, but there is partial syncretism in the subject affixes. These features can, in fact, be traced back to Proto-Bantu itself (Güldemann, 2022, p. 396).

Of course, the notes presented in this section, in an impressionistic manner, are not definitive and aim only to highlight the importance of understanding local or regional evolutions not only in their own right but also within the framework of similar language contact scenarios (which can, in fact, be viewed as a particular application of the comparative method). In addition, given that a comprehensive characterization of a particular variety must also consider its parallels and possible sociohistorical connections with other varieties of the same language, it is clear that, for example, comparing the developments of CP with those of other African varieties of PORT (starting with other varieties of AP) and even situating these within the broader context of so-called *portugais d'outremer* (Teyssier, 1980, p. 45) would be an equally valuable endeavor. Ultimately, studies such as the present one are instrumental in positioning CP both as part of the *Romania Bantu* and within the Lusophone world.

List of abbreviations

2SG   2nd Person Singular
3SG   3rd Person Singular
ALP   Allocutive Particle
AP Angolan Portuguese
BE Belize (*município*)
BP Brazilian Portuguese
BZ Buco Zau (*município*)
CA Cacongo (*município*)
CB Cabinda (*município*)
CP Cabindan Portuguese
DRC   Democratic Republic of the Congo
EP European Portuguese
KLC   Kikongo Language Cluster
NEG   Negation
RC Republic of the Congo

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Appendix

Voices from Cabinda: Audio files of the examples in the *LaborHistórico* paper

https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.12820418

DOWNLOAD

01. senhor_o senhor.wav

02. o senhor.wav

03.a. tu.wav

03.b. você.wav

04.a. você.wav

04.b. tu.wav

05.a. lhe.wav

05.b. te.wav

07. você_senhor.wav

08. você.wav

09. você.wav

10. você_o mano_você.wav

11. você_te.wav.wav

12. você_teu.wav

13. vai tu encontrar.wav

14. vou tu falar.wav

15. tu bata.wav

16. tu pega você.wav

17. vossa_tua.wav

18. vossa.wav

19. você_vosso.wav

20. você_2SG,3SG.wav

21. você_2SG,3SG.wav

22. você_2SG,3SG.wav

23. você_2SG,3SG.wav

24. So Rafael.wav

25. eu fugiu e foi.wav

26. nós passa.wav

27. os rapazo vai.wav

Example in a footnote. lhe accus.wav