

Principense

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1 Introduction

Principense (autoglossonym: *lung'le*, literally 'the language of the Island') is spoken in the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa, on the island of Príncipe which has about 7'000 inhabitants (estimation 2007). Príncipe forms, together with the island of São Tomé, the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe. Principense is an endangered language; my estimation is that there are less than one hundred native speakers left who have a good active command of the language. These native speakers live on Príncipe, on São Tomé and in Portugal. The official language of São Tomé and Príncipe is Portuguese, which all native speakers of Principense speak actively. Besides Portuguese, Cape Verdean Creole plays a major role on Príncipe, because it is the mother tongue of 50% or more of the inhabitants of Príncipe; Cape Verdean is a language which the parents transmit to their children, which is not the case with Principense.

Principense	
<i>autoglossonym</i>	<i>lung'le</i>
<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>dialeto, dioleto</i>
<i>number of speakers</i>	less than 100
<i>major lexifier</i>	Portuguese
<i>other contributing languages</i>	Edo, Yoruba, Kikongo
<i>location</i>	Príncipe and diaspora communities in São Tomé and Portugal
<i>official language of São Tomé and Príncipe</i>	Portuguese

2 Sociohistorical background

The islands of Príncipe and São Tomé were uninhabited when they were discovered around 1470 by the Portuguese. São Tomé was populated almost from the beginning with the following groups: free Portuguese, deported Portuguese imprisoned criminals, some free Africans, 2'000 deported Jewish children under 8 years from Spain, and African slaves. Príncipe was populated from São Tomé around 1500; however, it is not clear whether besides free Portuguese and African slaves there were representatives of the other groups which lived on São Tomé.

Principense probably arose from an early variety of Santome. It shares many grammatical structures and an important part of the vocabulary with this language (as well as with the other two Portuguese based Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea, Angolar and Annobonese). The slave population came chiefly from Nigeria and the Kongo area. It is the Nigerian languages which most influenced Principense, at least in its current state. From a sample of some 1'650 lexical items, 80% are of Portuguese origin, 14% of Nigerian origin, mostly from the Edoid subgroup of Benue-Congo, and 1% of Kikongo origin. The origin of the remaining 5% has not yet been identified. Principense shares only a small part of the lexicon of African origin with Santome. However, since little is known about the social history of Príncipe, it is difficult to say at which stage the African lexicon was retained or incorporated into the language.

The first known document of the language is a manuscript written in 1888 by Ribeiro, which, although very limited, contains some interesting information about an earlier stage of the language and constituted the base of Schuchardt's (1889) article on Principense, which was the first printed paper on this language. The next publication was Günther's (1973) grammar of Principense, and the most recent one Maurer (2009).

3 Sociolinguistic situation

As already mentioned, Principense is currently spoken by less than 100 people, mostly over 60 years old. In my view, the obsolescence of the language has its roots in a sleeping sickness epidemic around 1900 which, according to Günther's (1973: 12f.) sources, only 300 people survived. This led the Portuguese colonial authorities to import indentured labourers from their African colonies Angola, Mozambique and particularly from Cape Verde. Another reason for the obsolescence of the language is the little interest the native speakers had in giving access to their language to the immigrants which soon outnumbered them. A last reason for the obsolescence of Principense is the fact that since about four or five generations, many speakers have stopped transmitting their language to their children, forbidding them to use it, so that at school, the children would perform better in Portuguese.

Most of the native speakers of Principense are at least trilingual (Principense, Santome and Portuguese), many also speak Cape Verdean Creole. Principense is rarely used in daily communication; this is only the case when old people meet. It is hardly impossible to hear Principense in the streets of the capital of the island, Santo António.

There are some efforts made to preserve the language through radio broadcasts in and about the language twice or three times a week and through daily news on the radio. The government has the intention to create and officialize a spelling system for the three Creole languages spoken in São Tomé and Príncipe, but no effort has been made to standardize the grammar and the lexicon.

Principense is called *Lung'le* (literally 'language of the Island') by the native speakers; it is also referred to by *dialeto* or *dioleto* in Portuguese.

4 Phonology¹

Table 1. **Vowels**

	front	central	back	
close	i		u	Principense has a system of seven oral phonemes which all have a nasal counterpart. The nasals, however, are realized exclusively as nasals only in word final position; in word internal position, they can be realized (a) as oral vowels followed by a nasal consonant, (b) as nasal consonants followed by a nasal consonant, or (c) as a nasal vowels, as in <i>umpan</i> 'bread', which can be realized [ùpá], ² [ùmpá] or [ùmpá].
close-mid	e (ê)		o (ô)	
open-mid	ɛ (e)		ɔ (o)	
open		a		

Minimal pairs opposing oral with nasal vowels are rare: *fya* [fjá] 'market' vs. *fyan* [fjá] 'wheat flour'. Besides the oral and nasal vowels, Principense has two syllabic nasals, which are rare, as in *m'baka* 'machete' or *n'têw* 'burial'.

¹ Where the spelling differs from IPA characters, this is indicated in brackets after the correspondent IPA character.

² The accents on the vowels refer to tone: the acute marks high tone, and the grave marks low tone.

Table 2. **Consonants**

		<i>bilabial</i>	<i>labio-dental</i>	<i>labio-velar</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>post-alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>
<i>plosive</i>	<i>unvoiced</i>	p		kp	t			k
	<i>voiced</i>			gb				g
<i>implosive</i>		ɓ (b)			d (d)			
<i>nasal</i>		m			n		ɲ (nh)	ŋ (n)
<i>trill</i>					r			
<i>fricative</i>	<i>unvoiced</i>		f		s	ʃ (x)		
	<i>voiced</i>		v		z	ʒ (j)		
<i>affricate</i>	<i>unvoiced</i>					tʃ (tx)		
<i>lateral</i>					l		ʎ (lh)	
<i>approximant</i>								

There are 22 **consonants** in Principense, of which *s/ʃ* and *z/ʒ* are in complementary distribution: *f* and *ʒ* appear before *i*; *s* and *z* before the other vowels: *xinku* ‘five’ (< Portuguese *cinco*) vs. *usuva* ‘rain’ (< Portuguese *chuva*). The **labiovelars** are relatively rare (between 30 and 40 lexical items); the following mi-

nimal pair shows them in contrast: *ugbami* ‘chin’ vs. *ukpami* ‘traditional fish dryer (frame)’. The phoneme *ʎ* is also marginal.

Principense is a **tone** language with two tones: high and low (or unspecified). As in many tone languages with two tones, the realization of the tones is variable, i.e. depending on tone sandhi rules. A frame in which all the logically possible tonal patterns of disyllabic nouns appear is one in which the noun is located in subject position, followed by the habitual or future marker *ka* which modifies the following verb, e.g. *N ka kume* ‘N will eat’. In such a frame, *kobo* ‘snake’ is realized HH, *pôkô* ‘pig’ HL, *arê* ‘king’ LL and *kasô* ‘dog’ LH.

The syllable structure is either V or CV or a combination of it up to five syllables. Vowels in hiatus are rare; but in some cases, a sequence of two different or two identical vowels can occur. Here are some examples of words with three to five syllables: *u-a-ri* V-V-CV ‘air’, *kô-ô-su* CV-V-CV ‘stone (of a fruit)’, *u-gbô-gô-dô* V-CV-CV-CV ‘valley, precipice’, *a-li-fan-di-ga* V-CV-CV-CV-CV ‘customs’, *pu-lu-mu-ni-a* ‘pneumonia’ CV-CV-CV-CV-V.

5 Noun phrase

The **noun** is invariable. **Natural gender** is usually distinguished by different words, as in *mwin* ‘mother’ vs. *pwe* ‘father’, or by *mye* ‘woman’ and *omi* ‘man’ following the noun, as in *kaba omi* ‘he-goat’ vs. *kaba mye* ‘she-goat’.

Number is expressed by the preposed pronoun of the third person plural *ine* ‘they’, as in *ine mye* ‘the women’. If the noun is inanimate, it must be marked as definite to be modified by *ine*, e.g. by the use of the demonstrative *sê* ‘this’, as in *ine laanza sê* ‘these oranges’; * *ine laanza* is not grammatical. This shows that *ine* expresses not only plurality but also definiteness.

There is no **definite article**; the **indefinite article**, which follows the noun, corresponds to the numeral *ûa* ‘one’: *dya ûa* ‘upon a day’.

Generic noun phrases are expressed by zero-marked nouns, as in

- (1) *Liman ka twa.*
 lemon HAB be.bitter
 ‘Lemons are bitter.’ (Maurer 2009: 103, ex. 629)

The **adnominal demonstratives** *sê* ‘this’ and (*i*)*xila* ‘that’ exhibit a distance contrast, whereas the adnominal demonstrative *xi* modifies nouns which refer to entities that are out of sight. The corresponding **pronominal demonstratives** are *isê*, *ixila* and *ixi*.

Adnominal possessives follow the noun, as in *kaxi me* (house my) ‘my house’; the paradigm of the adnominal possessives appears together with the personal pronouns in the table below. **Pronominal possessives** are formed with the possessive noun *ki* (which is unanalyzable) and the adnominal possessives, as in

- (2) *Kaxi sê ki têt.*
 house DEM POSS POSS.2SG
 ‘This house is mine.’ (Maurer 2009: 39, ex. 142)

The **numerals** used nowadays are all of Portuguese origin. Formerly, they all followed the noun, but now all precede the noun, except for *ũa* ‘one’, which also functions as indefinite article.

1	<i>ũa</i>	2	<i>dôsu</i>	3	<i>têxi</i>	4	<i>kwatu</i>	5	<i>xinku</i>	6	<i>sêy</i>	7	<i>setxi</i>
8	<i>wêtu</i>	9	<i>nove</i>	10	<i>dexi</i>	11	<i>onji</i>	12	<i>dôzê</i>	13	<i>trêzê</i>	14	<i>katôzê</i>
15	<i>kinji</i>	16	<i>dizasêy</i>	17	<i>dizasexti</i>	18	<i>dizawêtu</i>	19	<i>dizanove</i>	20	<i>vintxi</i>		

Except for some very rare cases, **adjectives** are invariant and follow the noun, as in *omi ũa ve* (man one old) ‘an old man’. The **comparison of the adjective** is made in the following ways:

Table 3. **Comparison of the adjective**

	<i>construction</i>	<i>examples</i>
<i>comparative of equality</i>	<i>mo</i> ‘manner’	<i>Kaxi me gaani mo kaxi têt.</i> house my big manner house your My house is as big as your house.
	<i>minda</i> ‘measure’	<i>Kaxi me gaani minda kaxi têt.</i> house my big measure house your My house is as big as your house.
<i>comparative of superiority</i>	<i>maxi ... dêkê/dôkê</i>	<i>Kaxi me maxi gaani dêkê/dôkê kaxi têt.</i> house my more big than house your My house is bigger than your house.
	<i>pasa</i> ‘to pass’	<i>Txi gôdô pasa mi.</i> you fat to.pass me You are fatter than I am.
	<i>maxi ... pasa</i>	<i>Txi maxi gôdô pasa mi.</i> you more fat to.pass me You are fatter than I am.
<i>superlative</i>	<i>maxi ... dêkê/dôkê N tudu</i>	<i>Kaxi sê ê maxi tamwin dêkê kaxi tudu pe.</i> house this it more big than house all IDEO This house is the biggest.
	<i>more ... than N all</i>	<i>Ê maxi kitxi na udêntu ine.</i>
	<i>maxi ... na udêntu N</i> <i>more ... in interior N</i>	<i>he more small in interior they</i> He is the shortest of all of them.

Dependent and independent personal pronouns only differ in the singular, as in table 3:

Table 4. Personal pronouns and adnominal possessives

	dependent pronouns		independent pronouns	adnominal possessives
	subject	object		
1SG	in/un/n/m	mi/n	ami	me
2SG	txi	txi	atxi	tê
3SG	ê	li/e	êli	sê
1PL	no/non	no/non	no/non	no/non
2PL	owo	owo	owo	owo
3PL	ine/ina	ine/ina	ine/ina	ine/ina
INDEF	a			

Subject and object pronouns are only (partially) differentiated in the first and third person singular. The adnominal possessives differ from the personal pronouns only in the singular.

The form *ina* for the third person plural pronoun and possessive is an old form which nowadays is obsolete.

The **indefinite pronoun** *a* is only used as a subject pronoun. It may have an indefinite referent, but may also replace a definite

third person singular or plural subject:

- (3) [...] *pinxipi sê ki a panha na ubuka paa bê tan pikareta ũa.*
 prince DEM REL INDEF take LOC mouth beach also take pick one
 '[...] the [other] prince who was found on the beach also took a pick.' (Maurer 2009: 61, ex. 326)

- (4) *Dya ũa a kumbina di we uvôdô na ose.*
 day one INDEF agree of go party LOC heaven
 'One day, they (= Tortoise and Parrot) agreed to go to a party in heaven.' (Maurer 2009: 57, ex. 291)

Subject pronouns are obligatory, but object pronouns are not always used, as in the following example:

- (5) *N daka ___ ô n daka ___ fa?*
 1SG bring or 1SG bring NEG
 'Did I bring her [= the queen] back, yes or no?' (Maurer 2009: 160, ex. 1144)

When both the direct and the indirect object are pronominalized, the indirect object precedes the direct object (double object construction):

- (6) *Ningê ki ka sanu savi me, fêê mi favô da mi êli.*
 person REL FUT find key POSS.1SG do 1SG favour give 1SG.IO 3SG.DO
 'I hope that the person who finds my key will give it back to me.' (Maurer 2009: 60, ex. 31)

6 Verb phrase

Principense has three overt **tense, aspect and mood** markers (*ka, sa* and *tava*) and a zero marker; the following five combinations are possible: *tava ka, tava sa, ka sa, ka tava* and *ka tava sa*. For the functional analysis of the markers, three **lexical aspects** (or *aktionsarten*) have to be distinguished: dynamic verbs, type-A statives (i.e. which are zero-marked for present

reference) and type-B statives (i.e. which are marked by *ka* for present reference). The functions of these markers and their combinations are summarized in the following table:

Table 5. **Tense-Aspect-Mood markers**

	<i>lexical aspect</i>	<i>tense/aspect</i>	<i>mood</i>
\emptyset	type-A statives dynamic verbs, type-B statives	simple present habitual present perfective past	
<i>ka/a</i>	all dynamic verbs type-B statives	future habitual/generic present	counterfactual
<i>sa/a</i>	dynamic verbs all	simple present habitual present progressive present instead of <i>ka</i> in negated sentences	
<i>tava</i>	type-A statives dynamic verbs	simple past past-before-past	
<i>tava ka/a</i>	dynamic verbs type-B statives	habitual past simple past habitual past	
<i>tava sa/a</i>	dynamic verbs	progressive past	
<i>ka sa/a</i>	dynamic verbs	habitual + progressive present	
<i>ka tava</i>	all		counterfactual (past, present, future)
<i>ka tava sa/a</i>	dynamic verbs		progressive counterfactual

Both *sa* and *ka* have an allomorph *a*. This leads to a certain functional confusion, in the sense that *sa* may take over functions which are normally exerted by *ka*, especially the habitual function.

The combinations *ka tava* and *ka tava sa* are only used in counterfactual sentences:

- (7) *Xi ontxi n ka tava tê tempu, n ka tava we lala.*
 if yesterday 1SG COUNT MOD have time 1SG MOD COUNT go there
 'Yesterday, if I'd had time, I'd have gone there.' (Maurer 2009: 166, ex. 1196)

- (8) Xi no *ka tava sa* xivi wosê, no ka tava tê dyô.
 if 1PL COUNT PAST PROG work now 1PL COUNT MOD have money
 ‘If we were working now, we would have money.’ (Maurer 2009: 166, ex. 1203)

Except for some specific contexts like counterfactual sentences, *ka* may not occur in negated sentences; it must be replaced by *sa*:

- (9a) *Amanhan n sa kume fa.* (9b) **Amanhan n ka kume fa.* (Maurer 2009:
 tomorrow 1SG FUT eat NEG
 ‘Tomorrow I won’t eat.’ (Maurer 2009: 83, ex. 484 & 485)

The fact that *sa* obligatorily replaces *ka* in negated sentences reinforces the confusion between these two markers mentioned above.

Principense has two **verb phrase negators**: *fa* (as in the preceding example) and *na*. *Fa* is located in verb phrase final position, whereas *na* immediately precedes the tense, aspect and mood markers. They are in complementary distribution: *na* occurs only in purposive and desiderative *pa*-clauses, whereas *fa* appears in all other contexts.

- (10) *Maji ê munda poto pa ê sata fa ô.*
 but 3SG change door PURP 3SG jump NEG VAL
 ‘But he hasn’t changed the door through which he will have to pass.’ (Maurer 2009: 135, ex. 929)
- (11) *Mene bê kukunu kôndê pa uwê jingantxi na vê li.*
 also crouch hide PURP eye ogre NEG see 3SG
 ‘Mene crouched and hid for the ogré’s eyes not to see him.’ (Maurer 2009: 138, ex. 954a)

In example (10), *fa* negates the verb of the main clause, *munda* ‘to change’, and in example (11), *na* negates the verb of the purposive clause, *vê* ‘see’.

The fact that, contrary to the other Gulf of Guinea Creoles, Principense has no double negation like Santomense *na ... fa* is probably due to the existence of the validator *na* (epistemic modality), which has the same shape and the same position as the negator *na*, namely immediately preceding the tense, aspect and mood markers:

- (12) *Ine na ka kume kani pôkô dyêxi tudu pe.*
 3PL VAL HAB eat meat pig day.DEM all IDEO
 ‘They really eat pork every day.’ (Maurer 2009: 67, ex. 372)

There are five verbs or verbal expression that refer to ontic, deontic and epistemic **modality**, as in table 6:

Table 6. **Modal verbs**

	<i>deontic</i>	<i>ontic</i>	<i>epistemic</i>
<i>obligation</i>	<i>tê di</i> have to		
<i>necessity</i>	<i>xya pa</i> it is necessary that <i>divya/pudya</i> should		<i>divya/pudya</i> must
<i>possibility</i>	<i>po</i> can	<i>po</i> can	<i>ê ka po sa ya</i> it can be that

The verb *po* ‘can’ expresses deontic as well as epistemic possibility; the difference between the two functions is rendered by the different tense and aspect markers. In the case of deontic possibility, the verb is zero-marked for present reference, and if *po* refers to ontic possibility, the verb is marked by *ka*:

- (13) *N sa ke lega uman za o.” – Txi po lega.*
 1SG PROG IPFV.GO let hand already VAL 2SG can let
 ‘I will open my arms now.’ – ‘You may do so.’ (25-26) (deontic possibility) (Maurer 2009: 106, ex. 660)
- (14) [...] *ê fa sun arê ya ê ka po gbô xi xin.*
 3SG tell Mr king COMP 3SG IPFV can defecate without press
 ‘He told the king that he could defecate without pressing down.’ (Maurer 2009: 106, ex. 661) (ontic possibility)

The verbs *divya/pudya* may express deontic as well as epistemic necessity; it is the context which decides what function the modal verbs have:

- (15) *Ê bê pudya/divya ka tê pene sê.*
 3SG also should MOD have pity POSS.3SG
 ‘He should have pity for him.’ (Maurer 2009: 106, ex. 658 a & B) (deontic necessity)
- (16) *N sêbê kumin Pedu sa fa. Ê pudya/divya sa xivi wosê.*
 1SG know place COP NEG 3SG should PROG work now
 ‘I don’t know where Pedu is. He must be working right now.’ (Maurer 2009: 106, ex. 664a) (epistemic necessity)

Volition is expressed by *mêê ~ mêê* ‘to want’:

- (17) *M mêê pa txi fêê kwisê.*
 1SG want COMP 2SG do this
 ‘I want you to do this.’ (Maurer 2009: 107, ex. 665)

Except for locative predicators, non-verbal predicators have no **copulas** in affirmative matrix clauses:

- (18) *Ine tava meze sa kume.*
 3PL COP.PST table PROG eat
 ‘They were eating at table.’ (Maurer 2009: 95, ex. 560a)
- (19) *Ê ladran mutu.*
 3SG thief much
 ‘He is a big thief.’ (Maurer 2009: 96, ex. 574)
- (20) *Vida no bôn fa.*
 life POSS.1PL good NEG
 ‘Our relationship is not OK.’ (Maurer 2009: 99, ex. 600a)

It is only in some restricted contexts that the copula becomes obligatory with non-locative predicators, e.g. when nouns occur in relative clauses or in object clauses headed by *pa*:

(21a) *Omi xila, ki sa dôôtô, ê vika fa.* (21b) *... *ki ___ dôôtô ...*
 man DEM REL COP doctor 3SG come NEG
 'That man, who is a doctor, didn't come.' (Maurer 2009: 98, ex. 588a&b)

(22a) *M mêsê pa txi sa dôôtô.* (22b)*... *pa txi ___ dôôtô.*
 1SG want COMP 2SG COP doctor
 'I want you to be a doctor.' (Maurer 2009: 98, ex. 593a&b)

Principense is a serializing language; the most common **serial verbs** are *da* 'to give' for dative-benefactive, *pwê* 'to put' for GOAL, *fo* 'to come from' for SOURCE, *tama/panha* 'to take' for THEME or INSTRUMENT, and directional verbs like *lenta* 'to enter', *subi* 'to go up', *we* 'to go' or *vika* 'to come'.

7 Simple sentences

Principense has **SVO word order**; neither the subject nor the direct object are morphologically marked for case. In transitive clauses, the indirect object precedes the direct object, yielding thus a **double object construction**. Noncore arguments are generally located either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence:

(23) *Ôzê Mene ka paga Pedu dyô sê na kaxi sê.*
 today Mene FUT pay Pedu money POSS.3SG LOC house POSS.3SG
 TEMPORAL SUBJECT IO DO LOCATIVE
 'Today Mene will pay Pedu his money in his house.' (Maurer 2009: 141, ex. 980)

Expletive subject pronouns exist, but are not obligatory:

(24) *(Ê) tê ningê nhon di pasa lala fa.*
 EXPL have person no of pass there NEG
 'There is nobody who passes by over there.' (Maurer 2009: 58, ex. 301a&b)

There is no morphological **passive voice**. **Reflexive voice** is expressed in several ways (valency reduction, body/head, -self), depending on the semantics of the verb:

(25) *Ê lava.*
 3SG wash
 'She washed herself.' (Maurer 2009: 152, ex. 1074b)

(26) *Ê kôndê igbê/kabese sê.*
 3SG hide body/head POSS.3SG
 'She hid.' (Maurer 2009: 152, ex. 1076a&b)

(27) *N vê ami mesu na supê.*
 1SG see 1SG self LOC mirror
 'I saw myself in the mirror.' (Maurer 2009: 152, ex. 1079)

Causative voice is formed with the verb *fêzê* 'to make'; **reciprocal voice** is formed with *ôtô* in subject and object position:

(28) *Mosu, ê a ke fêzê no mwê.*
 boy 3SG PROG IPFV.GO make 1PL die
 'This boy, he will make us die.' (Maurer 2009: 153, ex. 1090)

(29) *Ôtô sa faa ôtô bê.*
 other PROG tell other hello
 'They were greeting each other.' (Maurer 2009: 152, ex. 1085)

Principense has three **sentence final particles**: *a*, *ê* and *ô*. *a* is a question particle, *ê* functions as a vocative, and *ô* is a validator or expresses respect.

8 Interrogative and focus constructions

In **content questions**, the interrogative phrase is moved to the left and functions as the head of a relative clause, whereby the relative pronoun is not obligatory. The question marker *a* may be used at the end of the sentence:

(30a) *Ki dya ki txi xiga a?* (30b) *Ki dya txi xiga?* (30c) *Ki dya (ki) txi xiga a?*
 whatday REL 2SG arrive Q
 'When did you arrive?' (Maurer 2009: 146, ex. 1017)

Polar interrogative sentences may or may not contain the question particle *a*; if the question particle is not present, the intonation rises at the end of the sentence, whereas the question particle bears a low boundary tone.

In **focus constructions**, the focussed element is moved to the left and marked by *êli*, which corresponds to the independent pronoun of the third person singular, by the relativizer *ki* or by both:

(31a) *Mene êli ki xiga.* (31b) *Mene êli xiga.* (31c) *Mene ki xiga.*
 FOC REL arrive
 'It is Mene who arrived.' (Maurer 2009: 142, ex. 988a-c)

All arguments of the verb may be focussed; if verbs are focussed, they leave a copy in the background clause. Adjectives do not leave a copy in the background clause, but the copula, which is normally absent in relative clauses, must occur:

(32) *Mene kutu a? Ade, lôngô êli ki ê sa.*
 short Q no tall FOC REL 3SG COP
 'Is Mene short? No, he is tall.' (Maurer 2009: 101, ex. 609a)

9 Complex sentences

The **coordination conjunctions** are *i* 'and' (which is not obligatory), *maji* 'but', *ô* 'or' and *ni* 'neither'.

Object clauses are headed by *ya* (with declarative, epistemic and perception verbs such as *fa* 'to say', *kuda* 'to think', *sêbê* 'to know', *têndê* 'to hear' or *xintxi* 'to feel'), *pa* (with verbs that refer to or imply a directional speech act, like *fa* 'to tell to do', *manda* 'to order' or *mêsê* 'to want') and *xi* 'whether', which heads indirect polar interrogative sentences.

Adverbial clauses are headed by e.g. *antxi pa* ‘before’, *ora (ki)* ‘when’, *mo* ‘as’, *xi* ‘if’, *pa* ‘in order to’, *pidi/pôkê* ‘because’, *ki* ‘so that’, *xi pa* ‘without’ or *ênvê pa* ‘instead of’.

Relative clauses are all headed by *ki*. Relativized subjects, direct objects and indirect objects leave no trace in the relative clause; other arguments leave a trace which in most cases can be an invariable trace or a resumptive pronoun which agrees in number with its antecedent, as with comitative antecedents:

(33) *Ine têtêxi minu sê ki txi foga kôli ka ta ni.*
 PL three child DEM REL 2SG play with.3SG IPFV live here
 ‘These three girls you played with live here.’ (Maurer 2009: 53, ex. 266a)(invariable trace, *kôli* does not agree in number with its antecedent)

(34) *Ine têtêxi minu sê ki txi foga ki ine ka ta ni.*
 PL three child DEM REL 2SG play with 3PL IPFV live here
 ‘These three girls you played with live here.’ (Maurer 2009: 53, ex. 266b) (resumptive pronoun; *ine* agrees in number with its antecedent)

10 Other features

The **reduplication** of nouns, adjectives and verbs can have an intensifying function, as in

(35) *Omi sê fê fê.*
 man DEM ugly ugly
 ‘This man is very ugly.’ (Maurer 2009: 174, ex. 1248)

Reduplicated head nouns of relative sentences express indefiniteness:

(36) *Kumi kumi ki ê ka xiga, a ka bii poto d’e.*
 place place REL 3SG HAB arrive INDEF HAB open door give=3SG
 ‘Wherever he goes, they open the door for him.’ (Maurer 2009: 174, ex. 1252)

Reduplicated numerals have a distributive function. In this case, the reduplication is usually partial:

(37) *N da kêdê ningê livu dô-dôsu.*
 1SG give each person book two-two
 ‘I gave two books to each person.’ (Maurer 2009: 44, ex. 186)

Several nouns which refer especially to plants and animals are reduplicated; however, their simple forms are not semantically transparent. Examples are *bwê-bwê* ‘kind of fish’, *kparu-kparu* ‘cola nut’, *sapu-sapu* ‘soursop’, *txo-txo* ‘kind of bird’ or *toni-toni* ‘pimple’.

Ideophones are mostly reduplicated and may modify adjectives, participles, nouns and verbs: *vêmê ba-ba-ba* ‘intensely red’, *pobê ozo* ‘very poor’, *danadu koto-koto* ‘completely rotten’, *minu mongo-mongo* ‘baby’ (*minu* ‘child’) *baa fe-fe-fe* ‘to shine brightly’.

Derivation is only productive in the domain of the verb. The **past participle** *-du* can modify any verb (*kumedu* < *kume* ‘to eat’, *kyendu* < *kyen* ‘to be sour [of edible things]’, *golodu* < *golo* ‘to dig’); it is used adnominally and predicatively. The **agentive** *-dô* is also frequent (*faladô* ‘chatterer’ < *fala* ‘to speak’, *pixikadô* ‘fisher’ < *pixika* ‘to fish’), whereas the **action noun** *-mentu* is rare (*paga* ‘pay’, *pagamentu* ‘payment’).

11 Glossed Text (Maurer 2009: 185f)

*Ubuka ki ka fa ben ka fa mali*³

The mouth that says good things also says bad things

1 *Têtuuga*⁴ *pwê poxta ki arê ya ubuka ki a fa ben a*
 turtle put bet with king COMP mouth REL GENER say good GENER
 Turtle made a bet with the king that the mouth that says good things [also]

2 *fa mali. Êli arê f'e: "N sa po konkoda fa. Mo*
 say bad then king say=3SG 1SG CONT can agree NEG manner
 says bad things. The king said to him: "I cannot agree. How

3 *ubuka k'a fa ben ka po fa mali?" "Kê, Sun Arê,*
 mouth REL=GENER say good GENER can say bad oh Mr King
 can a mouth that says good things say bad things?" "Well, King,

4 *ubuka ki a fa ben ka fa mali." Êli ê kumbina ki*
 mouth REL GENER say good GENER say bad then 3SG settle with
 the mouth that says good things also says bad things." Then he agreed to make a bet

5 *arê: "Amanha n keka pa n da Sun prova⁵ ya ubuka*
 king tomorrow 1SG FUT.come PURP 1SG give Mr. proof COMP mouth
 with the king: "Tomorrow I shall come to give you proof that the mouth

6 *ki a fa ben ka fa mali." Pemyan Têtuuga kume minu kwa*
 REL GENER say good GENER say bad morning turtle eat child thing
 that says good things also says bad things." In the morning Turtle ate some food

7 *kwa kî ê tê, xiga palasu. „Ben, n vika za pa non fêê*
 thing REL 3SG have arrive palace well 1SG come already PURP 1PL make
 he had and went to the palace. "O K, I've come already for us to settle

8 *nêgôxyô." "Sim, Senhor"⁶ So ê fa: "Sun Arê sêbê kwa Sun*
 business yes Sir POSS.1SG then 3SG say Mr. King know thing Mr.
 our bet." "Yes, Sir." Then he said: "Your Majesty, you know what you

9 *ka fêzê? Sun ka pega n, gbene uman pwê taaxi, mara ope pwê*
 FUT do Mr. FUT take 1SG tie arm put back bind foot put
 will do? You will take me, tie my arms behind my back, tie my feet, and put

³ Lusitanisms are indicated in the footnotes, with a Principense translation.

⁴ The original audio file has *Êli bê ki pwê poxta*, literally 'he also put bet', but, as this makes no sense out of context, I have replaced it by *têtuuga* 'turtle'.

⁵ Lusitanism for *pova*.

⁶ Lusitanism for *Nhan-xi Sun me* (yes-so Sir my). See also line 10.

10 *na ufi-kumi na udêntu usolu.* "Nhanxi Sun me." *Arê sama ine*
LOC road LOC interior sun yes=so Sir POSS.1SG king call PL
me on the road in the sunshine." "Yes, Sir." The king called his

11 *nengu sê vya Têtuuga uman pwê taaxi, gbene, gbene ope*
servant POSS.3SG turn Turtle hand put back tie tie foot
servants and put the Turtle's arms behind his back, tied them together, tied his feet

12 *tevesa pwê ufi-kumi na udêntu usolu.*
lay.across put road LOC interior sun
and laid him across the road in the sunshine.

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