

The vitality of Angolar

A study of attitudes on São Tomé Island

Marie-Eve Bouchard

University of British Columbia, Canada

This article examines Santomeans' attitudes toward Angolares, a minority creole-speaking community descendant of maroons on São Tomé Island, and their language. The status of Angolar varies from vigorous to shifting, depending on the source, and according to Maurer (2013), it is unclear whether Angolar is being passed on to new generations. In this article, it is argued that Angolares are shifting toward Portuguese, a process that has already commenced among Santomeans living in the capital. Since prevailing attitudes regarding a language are important for its use and maintenance, this study investigates the transmission of attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes as a possible explanation for the actual shift toward Portuguese in the country. Based on ethnography, analysis of interview excerpts, and questionnaires, an account of the attitudes held by Santomeans is provided, showing how different attitudes toward Angolares are intertwined and point toward rural, creole-speaking Angolares as being the lowest on the social scale of the island. This article demonstrates how attitudes held by Forros, the dominant ethnolinguistic group on São Tomé Island, as well as by Angolares themselves, may negatively impact the maintenance of Angolar Creole.

Keywords: language attitudes, language endangerment, Angolar Creole, Angolares, São Tomé Island

1. Introduction

The islands of São Tomé and Príncipe were under Portuguese colonial domination from 1493 to 1975 (Hodges & Newitt 1988). After the islands' independence from Portugal, the government of the new republic adopted Portuguese as the only official language of the country. This decision certainly contributed to the decreasing use of the native creoles of the islands (Forro, Angolar, and Lung'Ie) and to the ongoing language shift toward Portuguese. Today, Portuguese is the

most prestigious language in the country, and according to the most recent census (INE 2012a), it is spoken by 98.4% of the Santomean population (total of 179,200 inhabitants). Yet, little attention has been given to the endangerment of the native creoles of São Tomé and Príncipe. Exceptions to this include the local efforts to preserve Lung'le in schools on Príncipe Island, and Forro on radio and television on São Tomé Island. At the academic level, linguists have described the languages through grammars (Maurer (1995) for Angolar; Maurer (2009) for Lung'le), a Forro-Portuguese dictionary (Araujo & Hagemeyer 2013), and a pedagogical method of Lung'le (Agostinho 2015). The three native creoles of São Tomé and Príncipe are at different stages on the ethnolinguistic vitality scale: Forro is shifting (Bouchard 2019a), Lung'le is nearly extinct (Agostinho 2015; Maurer 2013), and the status of Angolar varies from shifting (Hagemeyer 2018) to vigorous (Araujo 2020; Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020), depending on the source, and where and how the data were collected.

This article focuses on the role that attitudes might play in the use of Angolar, the creole spoken by Santomeans who identify themselves as Angolares or descendant of Angolares. Attitude is an important concept that was first developed in social psychology. An often-cited definition of attitude is the one given by Allport's (1954: 6): an attitude is a "learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way." Attitudes are a social construct, they are learned, and people are not necessarily conscious of the attitudes that they hold and that are part of their everyday lives (Garrett 2010). Attitudes cannot be observed directly; it is rather through behavior and speech that they become observable. We notice them more when they are explicitly articulated, for example if we were to state that speakers of European Portuguese have better opportunities when looking for employment than speakers of Santomean Portuguese do. The attitude that is being transmitted here is that Santomean Portuguese is not as valuable as European Portuguese on the job market.¹ Attitudes manifest themselves in different ways, including stereotypes, emotions, reactions, and facial expressions. Attitudes are considered an important criterion to assess language vitality (cf. Lüpke & Storch 2013; Lüpke 2015), as positive attitudes can lead to language maintenance and negative attitudes can lead to language shift and loss (Bradley & Bradley 2002).

In the 1960s, Lambert and his colleagues at McGill University developed the matched-guise test to study attitudes toward a language and its speakers (Lambert et al. 1960). This influential work inspired decades of studies on language attitudes

1. Santomean Portuguese is not a standardized variety. The spectrum of variation in Santomean Portuguese is quite broad, and some (educated) Santomeans show a high degree of convergence with European Portuguese (cf. Bouchard 2017).

in social psychology and in sociolinguistics (cf. for reviews: Agheysi & Fishman 1970; Edwards 1982; Milroy & Preston 1999; Garrett 2010; Preston 2013). Several studies showed that the two main dimensions of evaluation for language varieties are *social status* (with the judges evaluating different voices for their intelligence, ambition, and confidence, for instance) and *group solidarity* (with the judges evaluating for friendliness, generosity, and such features). Speakers of a majority language or a standardized form are usually rated higher on the social status dimensions and lower on the group solidarity dimensions, and the opposite is true for speakers of a minority language or a non-standardized form. While social psychologists have mainly investigated attitudes about languages as a whole, sociolinguists have taken a more detailed approach and have focused on specific linguistic features associated with particular language varieties (Milroy & Preston 1999). Such studies include Labov's (1966) influential sociolinguistic work on the social stratification of speech and the social meanings of postvocalic r-sounds in New York City.

The current article is a contribution to the study of language attitudes in creole-speaking communities (cf. Wassink 1999 in Haiti; Mühleisen 2001 in Trinidad; Rajah-Carrim 2007 in Mauritius; Balam 2013 in Belize). Its main objectives are to examine the attitudinal phenomena related to linguistic choices among the Angolares communities of São Tomé Island, and to present updated information on the language community as well as the current state of the language. I argue that the lack of prestige associated with Angolar and its speakers is one of the factors contributing to the shift to Portuguese among the Angolares community. Throughout the article, a comparison is made between the use of Angolar, along with the beliefs that surround its use, and Forro, the creole spoken on the northern and northeastern sides of the island, where language shift toward Portuguese is more advanced.

This article is structured as follows. First, this work is situated in the literature by briefly reviewing the history of the Angolares and the study of their language. I then explain how the data were collected during field research. The main section of this article, which involves disentangling different categories of attitudes toward Angolar and Angolares, is divided into three main sections: language, ethnolinguistic affiliation, and living environment. In the last section, it is concluded that Angolar is not as vigorous as it might have been in the past. Highly pejorative attitudes toward Angolar play a role in the undergoing language shift on the island by putting pressure on the speakers to favor Portuguese over Angolar.

2. Context of the study: Who are the Angolares?

Pereira de Araújo e Azevedo, general-ombudsman of São Tomé and Príncipe between 1712 and 1716, was the first to mention the existence of the Angolares on São Tomé Island (Seibert 2004). According to him and other authors writing about the Angolares in the nineteenth century, the Angolares were descendants of enslaved Angolans who escaped from a shipwreck off the coast of São Tomé Island (Cunha Matos [1842] 1916; Greeff 1882; Negreiros 1895). The exact date of the so-called shipwreck is unknown, but it would have occurred sometime between 1540 and 1550 (Ferraz 1974). If this hypothesis were right, it would explain why Angolar, the language spoken by the Angolares, has a lexicon strongly influenced by Bantu languages: “The Angolares have retained until today the Bundu language brought from Angola on their immigration to São Tomé” (Greeff 1882 in Ferraz 1974:178). What Greeff calls Bundu language is, according to Ferraz (1974), Umbundu or Kimbundu, two Angolan languages. However, the shipwreck hypothesis does not explain the similarities between Angolar and the other creoles of the Gulf of Guinea: “The language spoken by [the Angolares] is a mixture of the dialect of São Tomé [...] and N’bundo” (Negreiros 1895:297–298 in Ferraz 1974:178). According to Seibert (2006: 43–44),

Portuguese authors of the 19th century and their followers have constructed the legend of the shipwreck to explain the existence of a black community on the island outside the government’s control. The Portuguese denial of the existence of communities of runaway slaves who had survived in the virgin forests was necessary, because at that time the flight of slaves and subsequently contract workers had also become a problem for the booming cocoa plantations.

As suggested by Seibert (2006), it is important to remember that much of the history of São Tomé and Príncipe was written by Portuguese nationals. Consequently, it is highly probable that the history of these islands is biased in favor of Portuguese imperialism. Linguists, historians and geneticists who have taken an interest in the Angolares in recent decades suggest another hypothesis that is more plausible.

At the end of the fifteenth century, with the settlement of the Portuguese and their African slaves on São Tomé Island, it is likely that a new linguistic system had begun to develop. That system, called “Proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole” or “Proto-GGC” (Hagemeijer 2000:7), is most likely the root of the four creoles of the Gulf of Guinea: Forro, Angolar, Lung’Ie, and Fa d’Ambô (Ferraz 1979; Hagemeijer 1999; Schang 2000). According to Hagemeijer (2000), proto-GGC evolved into what is today Forro. The idea that it developed into Forro has a geographical explanation, since the birth of the new language occurred where Forro devel-

oped. The other three creoles appear to have branched off at different stages (Hagemeijer 2011). Angolar is a descendant of this proto-GGC, but also the outcome of a society of runaway enslaved Africans (Lorenzino 1998), while Lung'le and Fa d'Ambô are the historical results of varieties of the proto-GGC whose speakers settled on Príncipe Island and Annobón Island, respectively (Bandeira 2017). Ferraz (1979) was the first to link the four creoles; prior to this, Angolar was thought to be a Bantu language (Greef 1882; Valkhoff 1966) or a blend of Forro and Kimbundu (Negreiros 1895). The differences between these four languages can be explained by their early geographical separation and differences in their substratum (Hagemeijer 2011).

According to such scholars of São Tomé's creoles as Lorenzino (1998, 2007), Hagemeijer (1999, 2009), and Maurer (1995), the Angolares are descendants of maroon Africans who escaped from the plantations and formed their own community in the early phases of Portugal's colonization of São Tomé Island. This hypothesis is supported by research on the genetic patterning of São Tomé Island (cf. Coelho et al. 2008; Almeida et al. 2021). The Angolares were partially involved in the abandonment of the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "The Angolar raids on São Tomé Island in the second half of the 16th century and lasting as far as the end of the 17th century, caused extensive damage and led large numbers of settlers to leave for Brazil" (Lorenzino 1998:179). Historically, the majority of the Angolares have lived on the southeastern coastlines (between São João dos Angolares and Porto Alegre, in the district of Caué) and on the western coastlines (around Santa Catarina and Neves, in the district of Lembá) (Figure 1). Today, the number of speakers of Angolar is higher in the district of Caué, which encompasses the southeastern part of the island (INE 2012a). Valkhoff (1966) believed that there were 7,000 Angolares in the 1960's, and Lewis (2009) that there were only 5,000 in 1998. Maurer (2013) estimated that 5,000 Santomeans speak Angolar, but according to the last census (INE 2012a),² 11,377 Santomeans (6.6%) reported speaking Angolar. Although small groups have begun to assert the rights of the Angolar language and culture, the prestige of the language is very low (Maurer 1995).

2. If these numbers were correct, it would mean that the number of Angolar speakers would have more than doubled in the past twenty years. Yet, this seems implausible, and it does not correspond to the population growth (see Lahmeyer 2016 for a demographic overview of the population of São Tomé and Príncipe). This inconsistency might be due to the unreliability of one set of results, or both sets (from 1998 and 2012), or to a difference in how the results were obtained.



Figure 1. Detailed administrative map of São Tomé Island

Lorenzino (1998) suggested that the social and economic prestige of the Forros during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – a period where Portugal had lost interest in São Tomé and Príncipe – might have encouraged the Angolares to learn Forro. Angolares most probably had some or even good command of Forro, due to exposure and to the fact that these languages, although mutually unintelligible, have much in common. In this sense, Forro might have had a *lingua franca* status, which nowadays belongs to Portuguese (Bouchard 2019a).

The creole languages continued to exist alongside their lexifier until the language shift processes began in São Tomé City with the arrivals of indentured labourers (coming mainly from Angola starting in the 1870s, and from Cabo Verde and Mozambique in the early 1900s (Seibert 2006)) and the use of Portuguese as a *lingua franca* (Bouchard 2019a; Hagemeyer 2018). Portuguese spread throughout São Tomé and Príncipe at the expense of the indigenous creole languages, encroaching on most vernacular domains. Education in Portuguese has definitely played a major role in the shift from creoles to Portuguese, because of the perceived social and economic advantages of speaking Portuguese. At the time of independence in 1975, São Tomé and Príncipe adopted a monolingual and monocultural approach, and Portuguese was recognized as the only official language of the country. In so doing, the government marginalized the native languages of the islands, speeding up the language shift toward Portuguese as Santomeans focused greater attention on this privileged language. No policies were adopted to promote the creole languages. In discussing the shift from Forro to Portuguese, Bouchard (2019a) considers language ideologies to be key to understanding this shift. The shift from Angolar to Portuguese is recent and it is not as advanced as it is for Forro. Also, fewer studies have been conducted on Angolar and the Angolares (among the exceptions are Lorenzino (1998) and Maurer (1995), but they do not focus on the shift).

According to Lee (2018), the risk of endangerment for contact languages (such as Angolar) is twice that of all the world's languages. Nonetheless, there are more studies in the existing literature on the emergence of contact languages than on their endangerment and loss (Lee 2020; Garrett 2006). The present article fills this gap by examining the attitudes held by Santomeans toward Angolar and the impact such attitudes might have on its vitality. I do not consider the survival of Angolar to be as certain as in the past. Although the language is still considered to be a marker of cultural and ethnic identity, it is not perceived by most Santomeans (including the Angolares) as having the same assets as the Portuguese language.

Angolar is generally considered to be vigorous by Santomeans themselves and in the foreign literature (e.g., Araujo 2020; Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020), with the exception of Hagemeyer (2018), who suggests that it is shifting. In the last census, 6.6% of the population reported speaking Angolar (Table 1). The fact that Angolar and Cabo Verdean Creole were not included in the census before 2012

is suggestive of historical discrimination towards these groups and of the negative language attitudes that Santomean decision makers hold regarding these languages. Note that Forro is considered to be shifting (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020), with 36.2% of the population having reported speaking it (Table 1).

Table 1. Percentage of speakers per language (1981–2012). ** Adapted from Gonçalves and Hagemeyer (2015: 91) and INE (2012a)

	Total population	Portuguese	Forro	Lung'le	Angolar	Cabo Verdean *
1981	96 661	62.6%	56.3%	1.6%	–	–
1991	117 504	80.8%	59.5%	1.3%	–	–
2001	137 599	99.3%	72.4%	2.4%	–	–
2012	173 015	98.4%	36.2%	1.0%	6.6%	8.5%

* These speakers of Cabo Verdean Creole are descendants of workers (called *serviçais* 'servants' or *contratados* 'contract laborers') that emigrated to São Tomé and Príncipe starting in the early 1900s to work on coffee and cocoa plantations.

** As noted in Bouchard (2019a), the number of people reporting speaking Forro and Lung'le in the 2001 Census (72.4% and 2.4% respectively) is surprisingly high compared to the results from the preceding (59.5% and 1.3%) and following (36.2% and 1%) censuses. This is most probably related to differences in the gathering of the data; however, no information regarding this process is given in the censuses. These numbers imply that the speakers of Forro increased from 59.5% to 72.4% in the decade to 2001, and then dropped to 36.2% in the following decade; this is clearly implausible.

If we look at the percentage of speakers according to age groups, we get a clearer picture of the ongoing language shift (Table 2). The maintenance of Angolar might have been taken for granted because of a perceived historical, geographical, cultural, and linguistic separateness. But in reality, as shown in Table 2, the rate of transmission of Angolar to the younger generations is low, and the number of speakers is decreasing. If Forro is considered to be shifting, with a ratio of 1:5 when we compare the number of speakers in the youngest and the oldest generations respectively, then Angolar should also be considered to be shifting as it also has a ratio of 1:5 between the number of speakers in the youngest and oldest generations. These numbers show that the Angolares are also shifting toward Portuguese.

Table 2. Percentage of speakers in the country according to age. (Adapted from INE 2012a.)

	Angolar	Forro
0–19 years old	2.7%	15.0%
20–39 years old	8.9%	50.8%
40–59 years old	12.6%	67.0%
60 years old and more	14.3%	73.8%

While the Angolares still have a geographically defined home based (i.e. the southern part of São Tomé Island, especially in the district of Caué), they are distributed in different communities. Their district is the most disadvantaged in the country and many Angolares live in precarious conditions. Men are traditionally fishermen and women, *palayês*.³ Many work on a large (private and foreign-owned) palm tree plantation near Ribeira Peixe. Most of their children's language socialization currently takes place in Portuguese only or in both Portuguese and Angolar (Portuguese at school, and Angolar and Portuguese at home and in the community) – rather than only in Angolar. Their language is recognized as a fully-fledged language, but it is associated with highly pejorative beliefs and stereotypes, especially among Forros. I believe that out-group attitudes (i.e. those held by the Forros, the dominant ethnolinguistic group of the island) have a significant impact on the Angolares' attitudes toward their own language and its use.

This article focuses on the community members' attitudes toward their own language (in-group attitudes), but also on the attitudes that other Santomeans, more specifically Forros, have toward Angolar. It examines contextualized speech and its social meanings in order to understand how speakers position themselves and their language use in relation to dominant language(s) and speakers. The attitudes of Santomeans from the capital are considered to be relevant in the assessment of the maintenance or endangerment of Angolar since they are perceived as constituting the dominant group of the island.

3. Methodology

The current study is based on a long period of fieldwork conducted on São Tomé Island during 2015–2017, in two locations: São Tomé City (district of Água Grande) and at a location in the southeast of the island, near Ribeira Peixe (district of Caué). The data to be discussed derives from ethnographic research and tape-recorded, semi-structured interviews conducted with Santomeans aged between 12 and 73 years. A total of 112 interviews on São Tomé Island were conducted, of which 65 are used for the current study: 48 interviews with participants from the capital, and 17 interviews with participants from Ribeira Peixe, Malanza, and Porto Alegre (three communities of the district of Caué) (Table 3).

3. *Palayê* (written according to the officialised writing system; cf. Araujo & Hagemeyer 2013) is a Forro word used in São Tomé and Príncipe to refer to the ladies who sell (fruits, vegetables, grains, prepared meals, sweets, etc.) at the market and on the streets.

Table 3. Sample of Santomeans for interview data, by age, gender and district

Age	Água grande		Caué		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
18–29	6	6	3	4	19
30–39	6	6	1	1	14
40–49	6	6	2	1	15
50+	6	6	2	3	17
TOTAL	24	24	8	9	65

Access to these communities was achieved with the support of the community leaders. The objective of the interviews was not to specifically study the use of Angolar, but rather to record the Santomean variety of Portuguese, to investigate language use and choice, and to remain open to other topics brought up by the interviewees. Participants were asked questions about language use, identity, culture, affiliation, and everyday life in São Tomé and Príncipe. The recording sessions followed no predetermined structure; the scope of the conversations was not limited and participants were free to elaborate on topics that interested them.

Participant observations were also integral to this study in order to understand group dynamics as well as community and local practices. Although I do not speak Angolar, assessment of knowledge of Angolar was made based on observations, during the interviews, or through a self-evaluation by means of a questionnaire.

In addition to the interviews, a small-scale study based on a questionnaire was conducted to grasp the urban/rural distinction among young Santomeans and information regarding their language use. In São Tomé City (urban setting), 40 students from a grade 12 class, aged between 18 and 20 years, completed the questionnaire, as did 40 students from a grade 10 class in São João dos Angolares (rural setting), aged between 16 and 20 years.⁴ In this questionnaire, participants were asked about their language use, language choice, social network, self-evaluation of language proficiency, and language attitudes. However, results concerning language attitudes are not included in the current study because some of the results are not valid.⁵ These questionnaires were mainly used to

4. There are no grades 11 and 12 in the district of Caué, and students need to go to the capital to complete their high school education.

5. For instance, one attitude-related question in the questionnaire for the Angolares was “Provide three words to describe Angolar” (*Dê três palavras para descrever a língua angolar*). I explained the question and gave examples. Even so, a few students did not understand the questions, and others wrote the examples given to them. Consequently, these results will not be included in this article.

determine the number of creole speakers among the two ethnolinguistic groups and the extent to which the participants speak creole in their social network. In the following section, the study of language attitude concerning Angolar and the Angolares is based on prominent themes that emerged during interviews and in ethnographic observations.

4. Results: Disentangling attitudes toward Angolar and the Angolares

In this section, attitudes on São Tomé Island and the impact they might have on the use of Angolar are addressed by discussing three intertwined categories of attitudes: attitudes toward language, ethnolinguistic affiliation, and living environment. The results indicate that the attitudes and stereotypes about Angolares and their language have created pressure for speakers to abandon their native language in favor of Portuguese, a process that the Forros began to experience decades ago.

4.1 Attitudes toward language

First, in order to investigate the use of creole on São Tomé Island and compare language choice among Angolares and Forros, 40 high school students from São Tomé City and 40 from São João dos Angolares were asked if they speak a creole language and if so, which creole. Results indicate that, in comparison with those of the capital, a higher percentage of young Santomeans in São João dos Angolares speak a creole language. Among the students from the capital, 38.5% reported speaking a creole language, and among those of São João dos Angolares, 92.5% did. This difference is noteworthy, as it represents a ratio of almost 1:2.5. The only creole spoken by the students in São Tomé City is Forro (38.5%);⁶ no student reported speaking Angolar. The main creole spoken in São João dos Angolares is Angolar (87% of the students speak it), and 24% of the thirty-nine students who answered this particular question in São João dos Angolares also speak Forro.⁷ These results are illustrated in Figure 2. The fact that almost one quarter of the young Angolares have a command of Forro might be an indicator that this language enjoys a higher prestige than Angolar. In fact, it could be related to a tendency to learn Forro among non-Forros (as it were in the past, as mentioned in Section 2). But as 12 out of the 40 young Angolares (30%) have at least one parent

6. This number corresponds to the percentage of Santomeans who reported speaking Forro in the last census, i.e. 36.2%. (See Table 1.)

7. Students were not asked if they speak Cabo Verdean Creole; only Forro and Angolar were included in the questionnaire.

who come from São Tomé City, this number might rather reflect the increasing mobility and mixing among Santomeans.

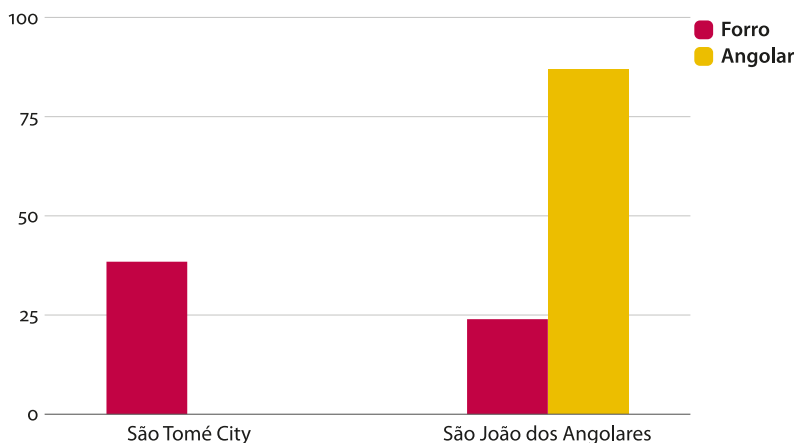


Figure 2. Percentage of speakers of a creole language in São Tomé City and in São João dos Angolares (based on the questionnaire)

Based on these numbers, Angolar appears as vigorous. However, the high rate of creole use is very surprising (especially among young Santomeans); it does not correspond to my observations nor to the census data – in which 54% of the Santomeans aged between 15 and 24 and living in the district of Caué reported speaking Angolar (INE 2012b). Therefore, it is relevant to question what “speaking creole” actually means for them. For instance, does understanding Angolar and not speaking it fluently count as proficiency in the language? Do beliefs regarding the importance of speaking Angolar within the community influence their answers? This type of information is more easily validated during interviews than through questionnaires. However, a glance at the participants’ self-evaluation of their language proficiency provides more information. The Angolares participants were asked “How do you evaluate your knowledge in Angolar and Portuguese?” (*Como avalia seu grau de conhecimento em angolar e português?*) and they had to answer whether they thought it was “very good”, “good”, “enough”, “not good”, “not at all.” Twenty-four students out of forty answered that they consider their knowledge of Angolar to be “very good” or “good”; this represents 60% of the group. Consequently, the actual proficiency of the participants who answered that they speak Angolar (Figure 2) varies from having some knowledge of the language to speaking it fluently. 60% of participants speaking Angolar is a number that corresponds more closely to my observations and to the results obtained with the participants interviewed. Among the

seventeen Santomeans interviewed in the southeastern part of the island, nine speak Angolar, which represents 53% of the total interviews conducted there.

The results obtained also show that Santomeans who live in São João dos Angolares use creole in a more extensive social network. In response to the question *Quem são as pessoas que você ouviu falar crioulo?* ‘Who are the people you hear speaking creole?’, students from São João dos Angolares answered: grandparents, parents, friends, family members, teachers, neighbors, aunts, cousins, and colleagues. Students from São Tomé City answered: grandparents and elders. These results indicate that the use of creole (mainly Angolar) in São João dos Angolares and its surroundings is still common, and that the language shift is not as advanced as it is in the capital. This supports the views of previous research (Bouchard 2019b) that maintains that there is a higher level of bilingualism among Santomeans who live in rural areas, while urban Santomeans are becoming more and more monolingual in Portuguese.

We now turn to the discourse information derived from the interviews. The Santomeans’ discourse about Angolar and Angolares points toward highly derogative beliefs and stereotypes. These attitudes are most probably remnants from colonial times, when Portuguese was perceived as more prestigious than the local languages (Bouchard 2019a). Nowadays, some creole languages are perceived more negatively than others – and such is the case for Angolar. For the majority of Santomeans living in the capital of São Tomé and its surroundings (mainly Forros), Angolar is associated with backwardness, lower level of education, and rural lifestyle. To investigate this further, the qualities attributed to Forro and Angolar (the two native creoles of São Tomé Island) during the interviews with Santomeans were gathered. These qualities are listed in Table 4, in which we see that the two creoles are not evaluated or valued in the same way. On the one hand, Forro is viewed quite positively by Forros. In the table, qualities that appear in brackets refer to comments made about the language in the past. For instance, one participant said that when he was a child, people used to say that creoles were *feios* ‘ugly’ and *inferiores* ‘inferior.’ This does not refer to their actual opinions, but rather to what they would hear in the past. Interestingly, no qualities were attributed to Forro during discussions with the Angolar participants. In their interviews, there is less metadiscourse and reflection about language use and attitudes. This might be related to the lower level of education among Angolares; Santomeans with a higher socioeconomic status who had studied or worked abroad and who had come into contact with Portuguese or Brazilians had greater metalinguistic awareness.

On the other hand, Angolar is perceived quite negatively by my interviewees from the capital. Some perceive the language as an “animal language” (*língua de bicho*), and the Angolares are aware of this attitude (see Excerpt 1). The Angolares

I interviewed view Angolar as “different” and “difficult”, but also as their “mother tongue” (*língua materna*). Generally speaking, older Santomeans of both ethnolinguistic groups also had greater metalinguistic awareness and discussed more openly the stereotypes that surround the creole languages.

Table 4. Qualities attributed to the autochthonous creoles of São Tomé Island by Forro and Angolar participants

Ethnolinguistic group	Languages	
	Qualities	
Forros	Forro	old language, important, pretty, good, poetic, mother tongue, our identity, identity card, shame, adult language, confusing, [ugly], [inferior], [marginalized]
	Angolar	animal language, different, hard to understand, unintelligible, agitated
Angolares	Forro	–
	Angolar	different, animal language, contempt, difficult, our language, mother tongue

Results presented in Table 4 are not simply “good” versus “bad”, or “valuable” versus “non-valuable”. The qualities mentioned during the interviews when referring to creole languages were varied and mixed. However, as a generalization, what these results suggest is that both creoles are linked to identity (“mother tongue”, “our language”, “identity”, “our identity”, “important”). Also, more gratifying qualities are attributed to Forro (“important”, “pretty”, “good”, “poetic”) than to Angolar. This perception of Forro is quite recent; Santomeans from the capital might value their creole more now that the society is shifting toward Portuguese. According to elderly interviewees, during twentieth century colonialism, attitudes toward Forro were also pejorative (“ugly”, “inferior”, “marginalized”). That being said, I believe that the attitudes of Santomeans from the capital toward Angolar have an impact on the perceptions and attitudes that Angolares have toward their own language because since colonial times, the Forros from the capital have been perceived as the ethnolinguistic group with more power on the island. In a speech community, linguistic practices are commonly evaluated against the practices of the dominant group (cf. Bourdieu 1982). In the case of São Tomé, ever since the country gained its independence in 1975, the Forros have been dominant in terms of numbers and power, and this is key to understanding the shift from creoles to Portuguese on the island. When Forros and Angolares started to have more fre-

quent contact (after independence, according to my research participants),⁸ the Forros had already started their language shift toward Portuguese. Their perception of their own creole language was highly pejorative, and so was their perception of Angolar and its speakers. Such attitudes are transmitted through speech and behavior (Garrett 2010).

In the following excerpt, Filipe,⁹ who is the lead singer of the band Vungu,¹⁰ explains the reception that his group, which performed in the capital for a special event several decades ago, had from Santomeans in the capital. This excerpt is representative of how attitudes toward a language (and its speakers) are transmitted in a society.

Excerpt 1. Attitudes toward Angolares singing in their creole language

Criamos uma banda em Angolares [ok] começamos a cantar em língua Angolar [sim] quando íamos pa cidade pa parque popular, cantavam “Foooraaa!” o forro dizia “Foooraaaa! Cantam bicho!” porque desprezava essa língua angolar, fomos desprezados muitas vezes.

‘We created a band in São João dos Angolares [ok] and we were singing in Angolar [yes] when we’d go to the city to the central park, they’d shout “Get out!” Forros would say “Get out! You sing in animal language!” because they despised Angolar, we were despised many times.’

(Filipe, 45 years old, São João dos Angolares)

In Filipe’s narration of the event, his band is clearly rejected by Santomeans in the capital (whom he refers to as Forros) based on the language in which the band sings. The members of the audience yelling at the band refer to Angolar as *língua de bicho* (*Cantam bicho!* “You sing in animal language!”). This expression literally means “animal’s language.” The meaning is not as derogative in Portuguese as it is in English, but it is still highly pejorative. It is through such interactions that speakers of Angolar have become aware of the negative attitudes of Forros toward the Angolar creole. Similar experiences were narrated by Angolar participants who are not public figures, as presented in Excerpt 2.

8. It was mentioned a few times during the interviews with Forro participants that they became more aware of the existence of the Angolares after the independence of the country. However, according to Seibert (2014), this contact already started in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

9. All names are pseudonyms.

10. The band’s name is also a pseudonym. *Vungu* means “song” in Angolar (Maurer 1995).

Excerpt 2. Attitudes towards Angolares speaking Angolar

Forro também não gostava desta língua [angolar], porque... até ainda há forro que quando um angolar chega a falar, fica a rir [autor: ah é?] sim, ri-se do angolar, a dizer que angolar é língua de bicho.

“Forros didn’t like this language [Angolar], because... still today some Forros laugh at Angolares when they speak Angolar, they laugh [author: really?] yes, they laugh at the Angolar, they say that Angolar is animal language.”

(Carlinho, 28 anos, Ribeira Peixe)

Being laughed at, as explained by Carlinho in Excerpt 2, may lead to shame and avoidance of speaking a language. This is a key factor in determining the potential for the loss of a language (UNESCO 2003). “Shame” (*vergonha*) of speaking a creole language was mentioned more than once during the interviews. For instance, validating Carlinho’s experience, Claudinho, a 47-year-old Angolar man from Malanza, explained to me that nowadays, many creole speakers are ashamed to speak their language (*muita gente sente vergonha*), and as a consequence of this shame, they choose to speak Portuguese (*quer só falar o português*). According to my participants, this feeling of shame has its roots in their contact with non-Angolares (whether it was with Portuguese nationals in the past, or more recently, with Santomeans from the capital). Contact between Angolares and Santomeans living in the capital (regardless of ethnolinguistic affiliation) is more frequent since independence. The Angolares participants indicated that they travel to São Tomé City to access different services that are only available in the capital, such as the hospital, the banks, government-related services, stores, etc. This contact between Angolares and urban Santomeans is not necessarily frequent, but most Angolares contacted during the research visit the capital once in a while or regularly.¹¹

The attitudes addressed in the above paragraph have certainly led to the depreciation of Angolar and prejudices toward its speakers at the national level. Angolares are aware of this discrimination toward their creole, and they, like most Santomeans, perceive Portuguese as more prestigious. These attitudes favoring the use of Portuguese are leading toward a language shift among the Angolares communities as well. Attitudes that favor the use of Portuguese only (rather than bilingualism, for instance) are also transmitted in the classrooms, where children

11. There is daily transportation between the capital and the southern tip of the island (Porto Alegre). The van (called *yas*, from “Toyota Hiace”) travels from Porto Alegre to the capital early in the morning and returns later in the afternoon. There is only one main road, and the van stops in all communities.

are taught exclusively in Portuguese¹² and are forbidden to speak creole. This is illustrated in the following excerpt by Eduardo, a 21-years-old young man from Malanza, who explains that his teacher would not let him speak Angolar with his colleague at school:

Excerpt 3. Forbidden to speak Angolar in school

[Na escola] é português só. [...] Se tem colega de Malanza, a gente fala angolar mesmo [autor: ah é?] é, depois a professora que zanga pessoa, pa melhorar também, pa aprender a falar português.

“[In school] it’s only in Portuguese. [...] If there’s a colleague from Malanza, we speak Angolar together [author: really?] yes, but then the teacher gets angry at us, so we can improve, so we learn how to speak Portuguese.”

(Eduardo, 21 years old, Malanza)

This, of course, does not mean that speaking creole is officially prohibited by local authorities. But on São Tomé Island, as demonstrated by the teacher’s behavior toward Angolar in Excerpt 3, speaking a creole language is often perceived as an obstacle to speaking Portuguese and to upward mobility. This ideology was transmitted during colonial times and persisted until today, supported by a monolingual and Portuguese-only school system. There is a belief that “creole spoils Portuguese” (*o crioulo estraga o português*), as mentioned by Tomás, a 50-years-old Forro from the capital. Forbidding children to speak creole in school favors societal monolingualism and the discrimination of creole speakers.

4.2 Attitudes toward ethnolinguistic groups

Ethnic and linguistic affiliations can hardly be separated on São Tomé Island. This is why I refer to the different groups that constitute Santomean society as ethnolinguistic groups. Santomeans usually refer to the three native ethnolinguistic groups, i.e. Forros, Angolares, and Principenses, as *raças* ‘races’. But as no hereditary physical traits establish clear boundaries or explain cultural variations (cf. Ericksen, 2010), using the term ethnolinguistic group seems more appropriate because it refers to the ascription of belonging to a group (cf. Barth 1969) and not the physical characteristics of the members. In this section, I discuss how I came to understand ethnicity on São Tomé Island through fieldwork, and how it is interrelated with social power and linguistic stratification. To date, very few stud-

12. A political decision that is also based on an ideology that favors Portuguese over the local languages.

ies have been conducted on race and ethnicity in São Tomé and Príncipe. Exceptions to this are Seibert (2004, 2006), Areosa Feio (2008), and Bouchard (2020).

Attitudes toward Angolares are highly pejorative, even today. The Forros and Angolares are groups that were formed on São Tomé Island at the beginning of the early colonial period in the sixteenth century. Both groups have a similar African origin, but they believe themselves to be genetically different and emphasize their different historical, cultural, and linguistic background to mark their identity. On the one hand, Forros consider themselves to be superior; they are the *filhos da terra* ‘children of the land’; they are more numerous, they became the most powerful ethnolinguistic group of the island between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the Portuguese had lost interest in the island (Tenreiro 1961), and they were the only local group who possessed slaves and land (Seibert 2006). According to the Forros, their origin legitimizes their higher status and the place they occupy in society, as well as their political and economic power.

On the other hand, the Angolares are considered “more African”, inferior and primitive. This reproduces the racial ideology of the colonial slave masters: the more European somebody is, the more intellectual, cultural and socially advanced they are.¹³ Conversely, being more African is associated with backwardness, savagery, stupidity, and inferiority.¹⁴ These beliefs regarding Angolares were mainly constructed by Forros, the dominant group that has considered itself as being representative of *santomensidade* (which could be translated as ‘Santomean-ness’, and refers to the feeling of being Santomean), as distinguished from the other ethnolinguistic groups.

During an interview, Catarina, a 43-year-old Forro from São Tomé City, was asked if there were any differences between the ethnolinguistic groups of the island. Her response sets the different groups apart, and indicates how Angolares are perceived as more violent and stubborn.

Excerpt 4. Differentiating Forros and Angolares

Por exemplo, por exemplo, os que vêm de... vêm de... família por exemplo dos Angolares são... como que eu posso dizer, hum... são pessoas muito teimosos (risos) e aborrecem facilmente, não se convencem facilmente (risos) e gostam muito... mais de conflito [ok] são pessoas mesmo conflituosas, porque depois não

13. The literature on white supremacy covers how this concept is historically and socially constructed, and perpetuated in order to maintain and defend a system of wealth, power, and privilege (e.g. Allen 1994; Pearson 2015; Hill 2008).

14. Smedley and Smedley (2011) examined the evolution of the concept of race and how we came to believe that our societies were composed of unequal human groups.

se convencem, mesmo tando errado a gente faz a pessoa entender mas, é nada... e mínima coisa tenta aí a violência (risos).

‘For example, for example, the ones who come from... come from... for example a family of Angolares are... how can I say that, hum... they are really stubborn (laughs) and they get upset easily, it’s hard to make them change their mind (laughs) and they like... conflict [ok] they are really confrontational, and then you can’t change their mind, when someone is wrong you can change their mind but... And simple things make them turn to violence (laughs).’

(Catarina, 43 years old, São Tomé City)

It is through such local discourses that attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes about the different ethnolinguistic groups are transmitted. Catarina laughs a lot when she describes her perception of the Angolares’ character. This is perhaps because she is aware that she is transmitting derogative information about the Angolares, or maybe because what she is sharing relates to stereotypes, and not necessarily facts. But similar stereotypes regarding the Angolares are also transmitted among the Angolares themselves. For instance, Fernão, a 65-years-old man from Malanza, considers Angolares to be less intelligent than Forros. He associates this difference with the lower level of education of the Angolares.

Excerpt 5. Angolares as less intelligent than Forros

O Forro quase é mais inteligente, a nossa raça gosta de estudar pouco [autor: ah é?] exato, eu falo claro, a nossa raça gosta de estudar pouco.

‘Forros are kind of more intelligent, our race [or ethnolinguistic group, referring to Angolares] doesn’t like to study [author: yeah?] exactly, I’m being honest, our race doesn’t like to study.’

(Fernão, 65 years old, Malanza)

In this excerpt, Fernão evaluates the Angolares’ level of intelligence in comparison to Forros, whom he considers to be more intelligent. It is very common to hear Angolares comparing themselves to Forros when describing themselves – they situate themselves in relation to Forros. Fernão also says further in the interview that the Angolares’ understanding of things is a bit short (*entendimento é um pouco curto*) compared to Forros. The different ethnolinguistic groups in São Tomé and Príncipe reproduce such stereotypes (as in Excerpts 4 and 5) in their everyday life in order to maintain the boundaries between themselves and others. To obtain an overview of how Forros and Angolares perceive themselves and others, the main stereotypes that were mentioned in the interviews with both Forro and Angolar participants are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Santomean's stereotypes regarding Angolares and Forros

Participants	Ethnolinguistic groups	
		Stereotypes
Forros	Forros	arrogant, proud, stylish, cute, lazy, chatty, farmer, feel superior, intellectual, good-hearted, slow, calm
	Angolares	mischief spirit, barbarous, disobedient, does not accept things, difficult to convince, dawdler, loud, clever, brute, short-tempered, confrontational, violent, fisherman, rude, strong, tough, stubborn, bad-tempered
Angolares	Forros	more intelligent
	Angolares	backward, closed-minded, less educated, strong, stronger, rough, robot-like

Again, we see how Angolares are personified by Forros as having a bad character (“barbarous”, “disobedient”, “brute”, “short-tempered”, “violent”, etc.) compared to Forros, who are perceived as superior (“proud”, “arrogant”, “intellectual”, “chatty”).

Angolares did not share a lot of information regarding Forros, except for one participant (Fernão, Excerpt 5) who perceives them as more intelligent. The Angolares participants view their own group with similar attributes than the Forros mention; their qualities are more pejorative, and they often refer to their strong physical appearance and character. These beliefs and stereotypes about the people are transferred to the language they speak (and vice versa, as what is believed about a language can also be transferred to those who speak it).

This being said, the ethnolinguistic groups of São Tomé Island are not as clear-cut as the existing literature and the Santomean discourse suggest, in part because the different groups are not as geographically separated as they have been in the past. Mobility and mixing are increasingly frequent. Local and racializing discourses as well as stereotypes keep the ethnolinguistic groups apart, but the reality is changing. The Angolar participants all agreed that Angolares live between Ribeira Afonso and Porto Alegre (as well as in Santa Catarina, and sometimes Neves, on the northwestern side of the island), including the following communities, named from north to south by Raúl, the community leader of Ribeira Peixe: *Ribeira Afonso, Angra Toldo, Angra Toldo praia, São João dos Angolares, Iô Grande, Praia Pesqueira, Ribeira Peixe praia, Monte Mário, Ponta Baleia, Malanza, Santa Catarina, [...] todo esse território é só angolar* (“all this territory, Angolares only”). But in reality, in some of these communities, ethnic mixing is common. For instance, in Ribeira Peixe, many members of the community are

mixed with Forro, Angolar, Tonga,¹⁵ and Cabo Verdean parents and grandparents. This complicates the scenario, but it is important to see that ethnic mixing is a central element of Santomean society, even if the ethnolinguistic groups are perceived and represented as being separated. In other communities, ethnic mixing is not very common; for instance, in Iô Grande, an isolated community where children are still socialized in Angolar and where access to school is difficult, as well as in Malanza, which is considered by one of my participants to be “the source of Angolares” (*a fonte de angolar*), meaning that only Angolares live there. In part due to ethnic mixing, not all communities of Angolares are at the same level regarding their use of Angolar and the language shift toward Portuguese: some communities (São João dos Angolares and Ribeira Peixe for example) will most probably shift toward Portuguese before Iô Grande and Malanza.

4.3 Attitudes toward living environment

Attitudes toward the different ethnolinguistic groups of São Tomé Island and their languages are also intertwined with living environment. Geographical distribution is an important factor in sociolinguistics (cf. Britain 2003). It is usually divided into urban, semi-urban, suburban, rural, etc. On São Tomé Island, locals divide the inhabitants and their living setting between *roça* ‘plantation’ and *cidade* ‘city’. Of course, these spaces are not fixed, the distinction between the urban and the rural is not entirely clear, and the linguistic limits they entail can be blurry. The process of boundary-making between urban and rural is socially constructed and varies from one place to another. In this section, the attitudes Santomeans hold toward urban and rural Santomeans and their respective languages are presented. The Santomeans’ discourse that creates and maintains a division between urban and rural leads to a devaluation of rural Santomeans, who are associated with Angolares and their languages (including both Angolar and their rural variety of Portuguese).

Santomeans make a clear distinction between urban and rural Santomeans: urban Santomeans (*gente da cidade* ‘people from the city’) are the ones who live in the capital (São Tomé City) and its surroundings, and rural Santomeans (*gente de roça* ‘people from the plantation’) are the ones who live in smaller communities all around the island. The term *roça*, or ‘plantation’, is used to refer to the rural areas – it does not necessarily imply the presence of a plantation. During the interviews, all Santomeans who discussed the difference between urban and rural varieties of Portuguese considered the urban variety to be “better”. The differenti-

15. Tongas are the descendants of the foreign workers who went to São Tomé Island as indentured laborers (see Section 2).

ating of the urban and rural speech is an instance of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Fractal recursivity “involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38). In other words, the contrast that exists in some opposition between groups or linguistic varieties reappears (or persists) at some other levels. The framework for understanding linguistic difference at one level, in this case the difference between Angolares and Forros in terms of language use, ethnolinguistic affiliation, and recognition within the society, served to construct differences at other levels, such as linguistic varieties between the city and the former plantations. One of the reasons why rural Portuguese is considered to be less prestigious than the urban variety is because of the “errors” speakers make, as explained by Andresa in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6. Rural Santomeans making more “errors” than urban Santomeans

Vai lá para roça, vai falar com uma criança por exemplo de Angolares, comparando com uma criança daqui de dezasseis ano que... décimo ano, vai notar também grande diferença, vai ver qualquer erro por aí, não tá a ver.

You go to the rural area, you speak with a child from [São João dos] Angolares, comparing with a 16-years-old child from here... 10th grade, you will notice a big difference, there will be whatever error in there, don't you see.

(Andresa, 30 years old, São Tomé City)

In this excerpt, Angolares are presented as exemplifying those from the *roça*. People from the rural areas are often perceived as making more “errors” than urban Santomeans when they speak Portuguese. (Ironically, Andresa shows absence of nominal agreement (*dezasseis ano* instead of *dezasseis anos* in standard Portuguese) in her speech when pointing to the Angolares’ errors.) These errors refer to the European Portuguese standard, which is still considered to be the prestige form in São Tomé and Príncipe. One typical example of such “errors” comes from mixing creole with Portuguese. As Catarina (43-year-old Santomean from the capital) mentioned, rural Santomeans *às vezes tentam fazer uma pequena mistura (risos)* ‘sometimes they try to make a little mixture (laughs)’. This practice is considered to be incorrect. This is not surprising, as the influence of creole on non-creole languages is often perceived as a form of contamination, especially in post-colonial societies.

Ethnolinguistic affiliation and living environment are often intertwined. In Excerpt 7 (which is similar to Excerpts 1 and 2), Raúl, an Angolar from Ribeira Peixe, links the cultural and linguistic loss of Angolar to their discrimination by the Forros (urban Santomeans) toward the Angolares (rural Santomeans).

Excerpt 7. The mistreatment of Angolares when in contact with Forros in the city

Por isso, nós aqui, de roça, quando a gente vai pa cidade, se você fala dialeto, pessoa de cidade maltrata pessoa daqui [author: maltrata?] sim, “Vê angular! Tá a falar língua de bicho!” » [author: Ah é...] Dizem que tá a falar língua de bicho, por isso que essa cultura tá perdendo, porque os filhos que estão a vir já não está a dedicar a língua de Angular, só estão a falar só português, português, e aqui a língua vai esquecer.

“That’s why, we here, from the plantations [rural areas], when we go to the city, if you speak creole, the city people mistreat us [author: They mistreat you?] yes, “Look at the Angular! He’s speaking animal language!” [author: really...] They say that we’re speaking an animal’s language, that’s why that culture is getting lost, because the children nowadays are not learning Angular, they only speak Portuguese, Portuguese, and the language is going to be forgotten.”

(Raúl, 50 years old, Ribeira Peixe)

Excerpt 7 shows that the attitudes held toward rural Santomeans are similar to those held toward Angolares. Angolares are generally presented as rural Santomeans in the Santomeans’ discourse. Both terms, *angular* and *gente de roça* ‘rural Santomean’, can be used interchangeably. In Excerpt 7, we see that Raúl identifies as a rural Santomean at first (*nós aqui, de roça* ‘we here, from the plantations’), but the mistreatment he narrates is directed at him as a person from the Angular ethnolinguistic group (*Vê angular!* ‘Look at the Angular!’).

5. Discussion and conclusion

There are two major key points for this article. Firstly, attitudes that other Santomeans hold toward the Angolares, their creole language, and their rural lifestyle are highly pejorative. These attitudes are intertwined, and they create a stereotype persona (the rural Santomean of Angular origin who speaks creole) who is perceived as low on the social scale of the island. It contrasts with the stereotype of an urban Santomean of Forro origin who speaks Portuguese – this persona is positioned higher on the social scale. The low prestige ascribed to Angolares, their language and their lifestyle is most certainly a remnant of attitudes of the colonial period, within a system of beliefs and stereotypes transmitted since that time. The Angolares are aware of these pejorative attitudes and experience a form of rejection when they speak Angular in the city. For some participants, their contact with Forros and urban Santomeans have led to shame and avoidance of speaking Angular. In the discourse of the Angolares interviewed, the loss of Angular is related to these pejorative attitudes transmit-

ted to them when in contact with urban Santomeans, and to the prohibition of speaking Angolar in school.

Secondly, the finding reveals that there is evidence of language shift among Angolares on São Tomé Island and that attitudes are one of the factors affecting this language shift. This corroborate previous work on the links between language attitudes and language shift and maintenance (cf. Gardner 1985; Baker 1992; Bradley & Bradley 2002). The current study also indicates that out-group attitudes, especially if the out-group has more power, are also important for the long-term maintenance of a minority language. Therefore, I believe that out-group attitudes (and not only in-group attitudes) should be taken into consideration while assessing the vitality of a language. Of course, in certain cases the negative attitudes of the majority in power can force the minority to take charge of the revitalization of their language and succeed, as was the case with Catalan in Spain, Māori in New Zealand, and the Hawaiian language in Hawaii, for instance. But the impact can also be negative and lead to the endangerment of a language, and I believe this is (or will be) the case among Angolares on São Tomé Island. Currently, about half of the Angolares speak Angolar, but most of the Angolares interviewed mentioned that their language is getting lost and that children nowadays prefer to speak Portuguese rather than Angolar (as mentioned by Raúl in Excerpt 7, for instance).

Interestingly, Forros and older Santomeans (from both ethnolinguistic groups) did volunteer more information about the topic and spoke freely about the differences between the different ethnolinguistic groups of the island and their languages. Stereotypes and beliefs about Angolares were shared without worrying about them not being politically correct. This certainly indicates how normalized these stereotypes and beliefs have become. The attitudes Forros hold toward Angolares have a negative impact on the use of Angolar among Angolares. Forros have almost completed their language shift toward Portuguese, and the ideologies that are key to understanding this shift are still prevalent throughout the country (cf. Bouchard 2019a). Although Angolar is still considered to be vigorous by many, the shift has already begun. Indicators of this shift are, for instance, adults criticizing the youths for preferring to speak Portuguese, children speaking together in Portuguese, their schooling being in Portuguese only, the reporting of shame when speaking Angolar, and the avoidance of speaking Angolar when in contact with non-Angolares. I argue, based on the attitudes presented in this article and the numbers in Tables 1 and 2, that Angolar should be included in the class of endangered languages.

Portuguese has become more valued than the creole languages in São Tomé and Príncipe not because of the Portuguese themselves, but because of Forros who considered it as more prestigious and advanced. The Forros are in control

of the social and political power in the country. They are the ones who decided that Portuguese would remain the official language of the country, starting in 1975. In this sense, Portuguese is also a symbol of national unity. For Santomeans, Portuguese is the language that grants access to social and economic privileges at the local level. For instance, one has to have a good command of Portuguese to work in a school, a bank, or a government-related appointment. Portuguese also has greater value at the international level. It is perceived as more powerful in part because it gives access to the outside world, more specifically to Portugal, to where many Santomeans emigrate, and to Portuguese-speaking Africa. The abandonment of a minority language and the shift toward the dominant language are determined by such economic factors (Harbert, McConnell-Ginet, Miller & Whitman 2009). Language maintenance also depends on financial resources and governmental support, which Angolares do not have.

Of course, language attitudes are not the sole factor involved in the ongoing language shift among the Angolares; the shift is related to a whole set of political, economic and social factors. But this study indicates that language attitudes play a role in the language shift, and if no conscious efforts are made, Angolar will become endangered, following the trend on the island.

Funding

Open Access publication of this article was funded through a Transformative Agreement with University of British Columbia.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the Santomeans who shared their language, knowledge, and time with me. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for critically reading this manuscript and offering constructive comments.

References

- Agheysi, Rebecca & Joshua A. Fishman. 1970. Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12(5). 127–157.
- Agostinho, Ana Livia. 2015. Fonologia e método pedagógico do Lung'Ie. São Paulo: University of São Paulo dissertation.
- Allen, Theodore. 1994. *The Invention of the White Race, Volume 1: Racial Oppression and Social Control*. New York: Verso.

- Allport, Gordon. 1954. The historical background of modern social psychology. In Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume 1: Theory and Method*, 3–56. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Almeida, João, Anne-Maria Fehn, Margarida Ferreira, Teresa Machado, Tjerk Hagemeijer, Jorge Rocha & Magdalena Gayà-Vidal. 2021. The genes of freedom: Genome-wide insights into marronage, admixture and ethnogenesis in the Gulf of Guinea. *Genes* 12(6). <https://doi.org/10.3390/genes12060833>
- Araujo, Gabriel. 2020. Portuguese language expansion in São Tomé and Príncipe: An overview. *Diadorim* 22(1), 57–78. <https://doi.org/10.35520/diadorim.2020.v22n1a32012>
- Araujo, Gabriel & Tjerk Hagemeijer. 2013. *Dicionário Livre Santome-Português*. São Paulo: Hedra Educação.
- Areosa Feio, Joana. 2008. De étnicos a “étnicos”: Uma abordagem aos “Angolares” de São Tomé e Príncipe. Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e Empresa MA thesis
- Baker, Colin. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Avon: Clevedon.
- Balam, Osmer. 2013. Overt language attitudes and linguistic identities among multilingual speakers in northern Belize. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 6, 247–277. <https://doi.org/10.1515/shll-2013-1150>
- Bandeira, Manuele. 2017. Reconstrução fonológica e lexical do protocioulo do Golfo da Guiné. São Paulo: University of São Paulo dissertation.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1969. Introduction. In Frederik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, 9–38. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Bouchard, Marie-Eve. 2017. Language variation and change in Santomean Portuguese. New York: New York University dissertation.
- Bouchard, Marie-Eve. 2019a. Language shift from Forro to Portuguese: Language ideologies and the symbolic power of Portuguese on São Tomé Island. *Lingua*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2019.06.013>
- Bouchard, Marie-Eve. 2019b. Becoming monolingual: The impact of language ideologies on the loss of multilingualism on São Tomé Island. *Languages*, 50(4). <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages4030050>
- Bouchard, Marie-Eve. 2020. Scaling proximity to whiteness: Racial boundary-making on São Tomé Island. *Ethnography*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138120967373>
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1982. *Ce que parler veut dire: L'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Fayard: Paris.
- Bradley, David & Maya Bradley (Eds.). 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language maintenance*. Routledge: London and New York.
- Britain, David. 2003. Space and spatial diffusion. In Jack Chambers, Peter Trudgill, & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 471–500. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Coelho, Margarida, Cíntia Alves Valentina Coia, Donata Luiselli, Antonella Useli, Tjerk Hagemeijer, António Amorim, Giovanni Destro-Bisol & Jorge Rocha. 2008. Human microevolution and the African Slave Trade. *Current Anthropology* 49(1), 134–143. <https://doi.org/10.1086/524762>
- Cunha Matos, Raimundo José da. [1842] 1916. *Corographia histórica das ilhas de S. Thomé e Príncipe, Anno Bom e Fernando Pó, 4th edition*. São Tomé: Imprensa Nacional.
- Eberhard, David, Gary Simons & Charles Fennig. 2020. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 23rd edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. <https://www.ethnologue.com/>

- Edwards, John R. 1982. Language attitudes and their implications among English speakers. In Ellen Bouchard Ryan & Howard Giles (eds.), *Attitudes Towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. (The Social Psychology of Language 1). 20–33. London: Edward Arnold.
- Ericksen, Thomas Hylland. 2010. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (3rd edition). London: Pluto Press.
- Ferraz, Luiz Ivens. 1974. A linguistic appraisal of Angolar. In *Memoriam Antonio Jorge Dias*, 177–186. Lisbon: Instituto De Alta Cultura/Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.
- Ferraz, Luiz Ivens. 1979. *The Creole of São Tomé*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Gardner, Richard. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Garrett, Paul. 2006. Contact languages as “endangered” languages: What is there to lose. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 21(1). 175–190. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.21.1.05gar>
- Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511844713>
- Gonçalves, Rita & Tjerk Hagemeyer. 2015. O português num contexto multilingue: O caso de São Tomé e Príncipe. *Revista Científica da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* 1(1). 87–107.
- Greif, Richard. 1882. Die Angolares = Neger der Insel São Tomé. *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* XLII (23): 362–364; XLII (24): 376–378.
- Hagemeyer, Tjerk. 1999. As ilhas de Babel: A crioulação no Golfo da Guiné. *Revista Camões* 6. 74–88.
- Hagemeyer, Tjerk. 2000. Serial verb constructions in São-Tomense. Lisbon: University of Lisbon MA thesis.
- Hagemeyer, Tjerk. 2009. Initial vowel agglutination in the Gulf of Guinea creoles. In Enoch Aboh, & Norval Smith, *Complex processes in new languages*, 29–50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.35.04hag>
- Hagemeyer, Tjerk. 2011. The Gulf of Guinea Creoles: Genetic and typological relations. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 26(1). 111–154. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jpcl.26.1.05hag>
- Hagemeyer, Tjerk. 2018. From creoles to Portuguese: Language shift in São Tomé and Príncipe. In Laura Álvarez López, Perpétua Gonçalves, & Juanito Avelar (eds.), *The Portuguese language continuum in Africa and Brazil*, 169–184. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.20.08hag>
- Harbert, Wayne, Sally McConnell-Ginet, Amanda Miller & John Whitman. 2009. *Language and Poverty*. Bristol/Buffalo/Toronto: Multilingual Matters.
- Hill, Jane. 2008. *The Everyday Language of White Racism*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444304732>
- Hodges, Tony & Malyn Newitt. 1988. *São Tomé and Príncipe: From Plantation Colony to Microstate*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE). 2012a. Características educacionais da população. IV Recenseamento geral da população e habitação. <http://www.ine.st/Documentacao/Recenseamentos/2012/TemasRGPH2012/11CARACTERISTICAS%20EDUCACIONAIS%20%20DA%20POPULACAO%20Recenseamento%202012.pdf>

- Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE). 2012b. Caué. *IV Recenseamento geral da população e habitação*. https://www.ine.st/phocadownload/userupload/Documentos/Recenseamentos/2012/Dados%20Distritais%20e%20Nacional%20Recenseamento%202012/Resultado_Distrital_CAUC3%89.pdf
- Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Lahmeyer, Jan. 2016. São Tomé and Príncipe: Historical demographical data of the whole country. *Population Statistics*. <http://www.populstat.info/Africa/stomeprc.htm>
- Lambert, Wallace, Richard Hodgson, Robert Gardner, and Samuel Fillenbaum. 1960. Evaluational reactions to spoken languages. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 60. 44–51. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0044430>
- Lee, Nala. 2018. Contact languages around the world and their levels of endangerment. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 12. 53–79.
- Lee, Nala. 2020. The status of endangered contact languages of the world. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 6. 301–318. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011619-030427>
- Milroy, Lesley & Dennis R. Preston. 1999. Introduction. Attitudes, Perception, and Linguistic Features, Special Issue of *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18(1). 4–9. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X99018001001>
- Lewis, Paul (ed.). 2009. Angolar. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th edition. Dallas: SIL International.
- Lorenzino, Gerardo. 1998. The Angolar Creole Portuguese of São Tomé: Its Grammar and Sociolinguistic History. New York: City University of New York dissertation.
- Lorenzino, Gerardo. 2007. Linguistic, historical and ethnographic evidence on the formation of the Angolares, a maroon-descendant community in São Tomé (West Africa). *Portuguese Studies Review* 15(1–2). 193–226.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2015. Ideologies and typologies of language endangerment in Africa. In James Essegbey, Brent Henderson & Fiona Mc Laughlin (Eds.), *Language Documentation and Endangerment in Africa*, 59–106. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/clu.17.03lup>
- Lüpke, Friederike & Anne Storch. 2013. *Repertoires and Choices in African Languages*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614511946>
- Maurer, Philippe. 1995. *L'angolar: Un créole afro-portugais parlé à São Tomé*. Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg.
- Maurer, Philippe. 2009. *Principense (Lung'le): Grammar, Texts, and Vocabulary of the Afro-Portuguese Creole of the Island of Príncipe, Gulf of Guinea*. London: Battlebridge.
- Maurer, Philippe. 2013. Angolar structure dataset. In Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available online: <http://apics-online.info/contributions/36>
- Mühleisen, Susanne. 2001. Is 'bad English' dying out? A comparative diachronic study on attitudes towards Creole versus Standard English in Trinidad. *Philologie im Netz* 15. 43–78.
- Negreiros, António Lôbo de Almada. 1895. *História ethnographica da Ilha de São Thomé*. Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand – José Bastos.
- Pearson, Heath. 2015. The prickly skin of white supremacy: Race in the “real America”. *Journal of the Association of Black Anthropologists* 23(1). 43–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/traa.12038>

- Preston, Dennis. 2013. Language with an attitude. In J.K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change (Second Edition)*, 157–182. Wiley, New Jersey. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118335598.ch7>
- Rajah-Carrim, Aaliya. 2007. Mauritian Creole and language attitudes in the education system of multiethnic and multilingual Mauritius. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 28(1). 51–71. <https://doi.org/10.2167/jmmd474.1>
- Schang, Emmanuel. 2000. *L'émergence des créoles portugais du golfe de Guinée*. Nancy: University of Nancy 2 dissertation.
- Seibert, Gerhard. 2004. Os angolares da ilha de São Tomé: Naufragos, Autóctones ou Quilombolas? *Textos de história* 12(1/2). 43–64.
- Seibert, Gerhard. 2006. *Comrades, Clients and Cousins: Colonialism, Socialism and Democratization in São Tomé and Príncipe*. Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047408437>
- Seibert, Gerhard. 2014. Colonialismo em São Tomé and Príncipe: hiarquização, classificação e segregação da vida social. *Anuário Antropológico* 40(2). 99–120.
- Smedley, Audrey & Brian Smedley. 2011. *Race in North America. Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Valkhoff, Marius. 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Wassink, Alicia Beckford. 1999. Low prestige and seeds of change: Attitudes toward Jamaican Creole. *Language in Society* 28(1). 57–92. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037>

Address for correspondence

Marie-Eve Bouchard
Department of French, Hispanic, and Italian Studies
University of British Columbia
715 – 1873 East Mall
Buchanan Tower
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1
Canada
me.bouchard@ubc.ca

Publication history

Date received: 14 January 2021
Date accepted: 5 June 2021
Published online: 23 March 2022