Afro-Brazilian Cupópia

Lexical and morphosyntactic features of a lexically driven in-group code

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The present paper focuses on the speech of a rural Afro-Brazilian community called *Cafundó*, situated 150 km from São Paulo. In 1978, when linguistic data were collected, the community constituted approximately eighty individuals, descendants of two slave women who inherited their owners' proprieties. According to earlier studies, when the inhabitants of Cafundó spoke in their supposed 'African language', *Cupópia*, they used structures borrowed from Portuguese and a vocabulary of possible African origin. A lexical analysis shows that the etymologies match historical and demographical data, indicating that speakers of varieties of Kimbundu, Kikongo, and Umbundu dominated in the community. Through a morphosyntactic analysis, specific features were found in the data, such as copula absence and variable agreement patterns. By showing that some of Cupópia's specific grammatical features are not derived from the Portuguese spoken by the same speakers but are instead shared with more restructured varieties, this paper defends the hypothesis that this lexically driven in-group code is not simply a regional variety of Portuguese with a number of African-derived words.

Keywords: Cupópia, Cafundó, Portuguese, Afro-Brazilian, Brazil, Creolization, Restructuring, Lexicon, Morphosyntax

1. Introduction

There are few Afro-Brazilian speech communities where varieties of Portuguese with African-derived lexicons can be observed in use as 'secret codes', or 'cryptolects' (Fry, Vogt & Gnerre 1984; Vogt & Fry 1983, 1996, 2005; Queiroz 1998; Byrd 2012; Petter 2013). As defined by McArthur (1998), a **cryptolect** is a 'private language … intended to be opaque to all or most outsiders' that can also be

referred to as a 'hidden dialect'. One community where such a situation exists is *Cafundó*, which is situated only 150 kilometers from São Paulo in the municipality of Salto de Pirapora, and was first documented by a Brazilian journalist in 1978. That same year, the University of Campinas sent a group of researchers to study the community. At the time, Cafundó comprised approximately 80 individuals, descendants of Antônia and Ifigênia, two female Brazilian-born slaves who had inherited the proprieties of their owners in the 1880s (Vogt & Fry 1996). The aim of the present paper is to describe and discuss the lexical and structural characteristics observed in the speech of the members of this rural Afro-Brazilian community as well as to comment on their origins.

Between 1978 and 1980, when the inhabitants of Cafundó spoke in their so-called 'African language', Carlos Vogt and Peter Fry recorded approximately 46 hours of interviews in the community and concluded that they mainly used structures borrowed from Portuguese and a vocabulary of possible African origin (Vogt & Fry 2005: 39). In some interviews, the speakers code-switched between the supposed 'African language', an oral code with specific functions in limited contexts, and the regional variety of Portuguese, referred to as Cafundó Portuguese in the current paper.

The secret code that is referred to as *Cupópia* in the current paper has been classified by scholars in several ways. Its speakers talk about it as an 'African language' and call it *Cupópia*. Scholars have classified the same variety as an 'anti-creole' (do Couto 1992; see also Petter 1999), as a 'symbiotic mixed language' (Smith 1994: 369), as a 'special language' (Petter 1998), and as a creole language.[1] Vogt and Fry (1996: 26) also refer to Cupópia as a 'linguistic practice'. Although classifications of this linguistic variety differ, most scholars would agree that today, Cupópia is nearly extinct as a spoken language.[2]

Cupópia may be defined as a **lexically and contextually driven in-group code**, that is, a language based primarily on the manipulation of part of a lexicon (160 words) that is used in restricted settings. When Cupópia is spoken, the tendency is for all the nouns that are used to derive solely from Cupópia's vocabulary, as well as most verbs and adjectives, while all the grammatical morphemes in Cupópia come from Portuguese.

In contrast to Vogt and Fry (1996), the present paper suggests that when speakers code-switch from Cafundó Portuguese to Cupópia, they produce something different from a contemporary regional variety of Portuguese with a number

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1. See current *Ethnologue* edition http://www.ethnologue.com/language/ccd

2. According to Petter (1998: 199), there were only adults who spoke Cupópia fluently at that time. During a visit to Cafundó in December 2014, one of the authors of this paper met two men who explained that they were the only remaining speakers of 'the language'.

of African-derived words. Rather, the passages in which Cupópia is used comprise specific grammatical features, suggesting that the variety has its own grammar.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 presents various classifications of Cupópia from earlier studies, and in section 3 a brief overview of the materials and methods used for this study are provided. Section 4 introduces the social history of Cafundó. While section 5 offers an analysis of the lexical characteristics of Cupópia by exploring the relation between lexical and demographical data, section 6 focuses on morphosyntactic features of the variety. Section 7 compares the particular features encountered in Cupópia with the ones found Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Hispanic speech varieties, African varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, and the regional variety of Portuguese spoken in the interior of the state of São Paulo in the 20th century, as well as Vernacular and Standard Brazilian Portuguese. Some general conclusions are offered in section 8.

2. Classifications of Cupópia

The classification of contact vernaculars needs to take into consideration both the outcomes of contact-induced language change and the processes through which such changes appear. In this section, several earlier classifications of Cupópia are defined and illustrated with respect to other languages.

An **anti-creole** is defined as a language variety that has the grammar of the dominant language in the region where it is spoken and the lexicon of a substrate or dominated languages, in this case, African languages (do Couto 1992: 75). This definition could be applied to other Afro-varieties of Portuguese with African-derived lexicons such as the *Língua do negro da costa* (Queiroz 1998) and *Calunga* (Byrd 2012), both of which are spoken in rural communities in the state of Minas Gerais. Petter argues against the label of anti-creole being applied to Cupópia because the code has not undergone a creolization process (1999: 114).

Petter (1998: 185) suggests, rather, that Cupópia should be classified as a **special language**, which is defined as a code used, for example, by groups determined by age or profession or as a kind of slang. Petter further affirms that these languages are characterized by the contexts in which they are used and can work as secret languages (1998: 199). However, earlier studies on different kinds of special languages include examples of secret codes that differ from surrounding varieties in more than just parts of their lexicon (Aceto 1995; Goyvaerts 1996).

Another classification of Cupópia, first proposed by Smith (1994), is that of **symbiotic mixed language**, whose speakers form 'separate dependent communities, unlike those groups, like scientists, which use *registers* containing specialized lexical items' (Smith 2000: 123). A symbiotic mixed language:

> […] combines the grammatical structure of one language, and a varying number of lexical items – from hundreds to thousands in number – either from another language (often the original language of the group), or else from a variety of different sources, some words possibly being constructed or deformed deliberately. These languages exist in a symbiotic and dependent relationship with (dominant) unmixed languages with (virtually) the same grammar, and a lexicon from the same source as that grammar. (Smith 2000: 122)

This description is a good fit for Cupópia, and Smith also states that a symbiotic mixed language is never 'the only language of its speakers' and that it often has the function of a 'secret language' Smith 2000: 122).

3.   Materials and methods

The Cafundó corpus consists of approximately 46 hours of the recordings made by Vogt and Fry between 1978 and 1980.[3] The present study is based on the 15 hours that had been transcribed, including interviews with 25 members of the community and a total of approximately 100,000 words. Since Cupópia data is scarce in the interviews, the morphosyntactic analysis was mainly based on an interview from 1978 in which five speakers code-switched between Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese, producing approximately 6,000 words, of which 506[4] were a portion of the Cupópia lexicon. This represents the largest Cupópia sample in the transcribed materials.[5]

All sentences containing Cupópia lexical items were analyzed in order to discover specific syntactic behavior. The analysis compared structures found in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese in the same recordings. This methodological approach enabled us to compare the morphosyntax of Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese produced by the same speakers on the same occasion. The question is whether the specific grammatical features found in Cupópia appear in Cafundó Portuguese.

This comparison is highly relevant to the discussion of whether Cupópia is a variety of rural Brazilian Portuguese with a set of loanwords of African origin or

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3. These materials were digitalized in 2013 with funding from STINT (the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in research and Higher Education) and can be found at the Centro de Documentação Alexandre Eulálio, University of Campinas.

4. Fifty-six individual Cupópia words that are used a total of 506 times in the sample.

5. Interview performed by Carlos Vogt the on May 13th 1978 in Salto de Pirapora, São Paulo. Cafundó Collection, Centro de Documentação Alexandre Eulálio, University of Campinas.

if it shows particular grammatical features not found in the Cafundó Portuguese spoken by the same speakers. For features that occur in a higher number, such as reduced morphology in the NP and the VP, a small quantitative comparison is conducted in order to find out if the phenomena that occur in Cupópia as well as in Cafundó Portuguese in the corpus actually occur with the same frequency.

The lexical database in this study is not limited to the Cupópia words found in the selected sample. It is based on the wordlist included in Vogt and Fry and includes a total of 160 different words that the authors recorded and classified as being specific to the Cupópia lexicon (1996: 122–126, 285–341). Words and expressions registered in other communities visited by the same authors are excluded. This procedure makes it possible to better relate demographic, historical, and linguistic data to shed light on the origins of African components in Cafundó culture.

The methodology adopted for the lexical study was to verify the proposed etymologies for the Cupópia lexicon identified by Vogt and Fry (1996) and focus on the correlation between linguistic and demographic data, as well as on the conclusions about the sociocultural context that may be drawn from the analysis of the distribution of the lexicon in different semantic fields (people, fauna, flora, food and drink, recreation, work, place names, beliefs and customs, anatomy and clothing, domestic life, unpleasantness), and word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). The same methodology was used in the research papers included in Bartens and Baker (2012), which analyzed data from a wide variety of contact languages: Portuguese-lexifier creoles in Africa, Latin American varieties of Spanish and Portuguese, Mauritian Creole, several English- and French-lexifier Caribbean creole languages as well as Berbice Dutch Creole, Ndyuka, and Saramaccan.

The analysis of the vocabulary explored the etymologies with the purpose of confirming if the source languages that were suggested matched the demographic data concerning the origins of African population in the region. The languages identified may also be possible source languages for the particular grammatical features that may be explained by contact with specific African languages.

By making comparisons with Standard Brazilian Portuguese, Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese, the regional varieties of Portuguese, other Afro-Brazilian varieties, and Afro-Latin contact varieties this paper aims to shed some light on whether the level of restructuring in Cupópia is comparable to restructured contact varieties of Spanish and Portuguese. The concept of restructured varieties is used to describe vernacular varieties that 'presuppose shift by a linguistically heterogeneous population,' which may result in morphological reductions, but also in the emergence of innovative features (Holm 2009: 339–342).

According to Winford,

> we have tended to ignore or overlook the similarities in the processes associated with lexical borrowing, classic code-switching and language intertwining on the one hand, and the similarities in the processes associated with second language acquisition, language shift and attrition, and creole formation on the other.
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> (Winford 2003: 148)

In trying to understand the phenomena observed in Cupópia, this paper follows Winford's (2003, 2005, 2009, 2010) lines of reasoning concerning language shift and aims to distinguish between retention of lexical items by speakers of the source language (substrate) and borrowing of the lexicon by native speakers from the recipient language (in this case Portuguese).

4.   Social history of Cafundó

In order to be able to reconstruct the process of creation of Cupópia, it is important to consider the linguistic input of the contact situation. In this particular case, it is known that Africans arrived in the São Paulo region after 1750, and various historical sources indicate that the predominant language among captives was probably Kimbundu (see Vogt & Fry 1996: 181–182). At that time in Brazil, 'Angolla' was equal to 'Luanda,' meaning that the person referred to as such had embarked at the port of Luanda (Karash 1987: 19; Miller 2001: 29). However, during the first half of the 19th century, Africans were also brought to southeastern Brazil from other ports in Central Africa, such as Ambriz and Benguela (speakers of Kikongo and Umbundu, Vogt & Fry 1996: 185).

In 1801, in the city of Sorocaba, not far from Cafundó, 39% of the slaves were African-born, and 87% of them were registered as 'Angolla' (Vogt & Fry 1996: 182–184). The same year, the great grandfather of the owner of Antônia and Ifigênia had among his slaves eight 'Angolla,' three 'Congo,' and one 'Monjolo,' indicating that the original community had a higher proportion of speakers of Kikongo and Umbundu than nearby Sorocaba (Vogt & Fry 1996: 352).

The first written records of the ancestors of the main family group in Cafundó are from 1803, when Florinda, the great grandmother of Antônia and Ifigênia, the two sisters who first inherited the land from their owner, was registered among the slaves as a seven-year-old Brazilian-born girl (see Slenes, in Vogt & Fry 1996: 56–59). The detailed genealogies presented by Slenes reveal that the stable family situation made it possible for parents to pass on their oral traditions from generation to generation (see Vogt & Fry 1996: 57). It is also known that the great grandfather of Antônia and Ifigênia's owner came to the region in the middle of

the 18th century and that, in the first half of the 19th century, approximately 50% of the slaves in the region were Africans, the rest having been born in Brazil (Vogt & Fry 1996: 53, 182).

According to historical records, in 1872 Florinda's granddaughter Ricarda married African-born Joaquim Congo, who arrived in Brazil in 1840 at the age of 12. The denomination 'Congo' was used in Brazil at the time to label individuals from the Kingdom of Kongo, north of modern-day Angola (Karash 1987: 15). Consequently, Joaquim Kongo's name indicates that he may have been a speaker of a variety of Kikongo (see Álvarez López 2012: 58–59).

Based on the information above, it can be assumed that Cupópia emerged after 1750. Part of the slave population may have been bilinguals who shifted from African languages to regional Portuguese in the beginning of the 19th century, since in comparable situations the third generation shifts to the dominant language (Winford 2009: 311). One hypothesis is that, after Portuguese became the dominant language of the community, lexical items from an original ancestral Bantu-based koiné (Kimbundu/Kikongo/Umbundu) were incorporated. In such a case, Cupópia would be the outcome of a process described by Winford (2005: 399) as 'lexical borrowing under RL [Recipient Language] agentivity' and can be compared to the case of Angloromani, another symbiotic mixed language (Smith 1994, 2000). According to Vogt and Fry (1996: 190–191), the members of the community affirmed that an African named Alexandre taught the language to members of the neighboring community of Caxambu as a secret code and that the community of Cafundó learned it from them. In any case, there are similarities with Angloromani, such as the motivation for lexical borrowing from ancestral sources, in that 'A longing for the old language supports the maintenance of a core vocabulary, a few productive rules of vocabulary formation, and a few fossilized expressions' (Matras et al. 2007: 149).

By code-switching between Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese, the speech community of Cafundó may have negotiated a group identity that, in Smith's words, 'uses both the dominant language and their own secret language' (Smith 2000: 123). In 2012, Cafundó was recognized by the government as a remaining maroon community with rights to (parts of) the land where they live.[6]

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6. On the site of the Palmares Foundation, founded by the Brazilian government, the Cafundó community is presented as a maroon community speakers with their own language, which is described as a variety of Bantu. See http://www.palmares.gov.br/?p=17733

5.   Linguistic description of Cupópia

In the Cupópia passages in the analyzed sample, the majority of the lexical morphemes are from the specific Cupópia vocabulary, and all grammatical morphemes are from Portuguese. In line with its function as a secret code, the lexicon is very productive, and lexical and semantic expansions have been observed through metonymy, analogy, homonymy, metaphorical uses of language, and periphrastic constructions (Vogt & Fry 1996: 129–134).

The great dominance of lexical items from the Cupópia vocabulary means that code-switching between Portuguese and Cupópia can be easily identified. When Cupópia is used in the sample, all nouns (a total of 306 occurrences) are from the Cupópia lexicon. With respect to verbs, discounting copulas and auxiliary verbs, 80% (157 of 197 occurrences) are from the Cupópia lexicon and 20% from the Portuguese lexicon. No Portuguese adjectives are attested, whereas a few Cupópia adjectives are used. The words *nani* ('small, a little, none') and *vavuru* ('big, a lot') are used as adjectives as well as adverbs and quantifiers. The words *vimbundo* ('black') and *olofombe* ('white') are used as adjectives as well as nouns. All adverbs, except *nani* and *vavuru*, when they are used as such, come from Portuguese, this group being dominated by locative and temporal adverbs such as *hoje* ('today'), *agora* ('now'), *aqui* ('here'), or *lá* ('there'). Auxiliary verbs, copulas, pronouns, articles, conjunctions, and prepositions are exclusively of Portuguese origin, as are all bound grammatical morphemes, including tense, mode, and aspect (TMA) and participle suffixes on verbs, as well as diminutive suffixes on nouns.

5.1   Lexical features of Cupópia

This section includes an analysis of the 160 lexical items collected in Cafundó by Vogt and Fry (1996: 285–341), who proposed that 101 of these words are of African origin, the rest being mostly of Portuguese and Tupi origin. Eight words with possible African origins can be added to the group, which results in a total of 109 Africanisms.[7]

In creoles and transplanted varieties of European languages, most African-derived words are nouns (see Bartens & Baker 2012). Among the 17 languages examined in Bartens and Baker (2012), the average proportion of nouns in the African-derived lexicon is 74%. In the Cupópia lexicon, nouns represent 82% (131/160).

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7. Variants of the same word were not added to the total number of words. Eight lexical items were added to the list of Africanisms after having consulted a series of dictionaries in order to revise etymologies given by Vogt and Fry (1996) (see Álvarez López & Bartens 2014). There is still uncertainty regarding the etymologies of 33 of these words.

Table 1 shows the results after a first revision of the etymologies proposed by Vogt and Fry (1996). Among the words of proposed African origin, the proportions are 83% (91/109) nouns, 11% verbs, 7% adjectives and adverbs, and 1% classified as 'other.' According to Vogt and Fry (1996), 85% of the Africanisms have possible Kimbundu etymology.

Table 1. African-derived lexicon in Cupópia according to wordclasses and origin

Word class	African origin 68% (109/160)	Etymologies
noun	83% (91/109)	32% (29/91)Kimbundu 13% (12/91) Kikongo 8%(7/91) Umbundu 46% (42/91) Shared between 2 of 3 languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu) 1% (1/91) Yoruba
verb	11% (12/109)	25% (3/12)Kimbundu 17% (2/12) Umbundu 8% (1/12) Kikongo 50% (6/12)Shared between 2 of 3 languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu)
adj./adv.	7% (8/109)[8]	62.5% (5/8)Kimbundu 12.5% (1/8)Ronga 25% (2/8) Shared between 2 of 3 languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu)
other (greeting)	1% (1/109)	Probably Kikongo

The revision presented in Table 1 shows that vocabulary of possible Kimbundu origin may represent 32% of all African-derived nouns, 25% of the African-derived verbs, and 62.5% of the African-derived adjectives or adverbs. Almost half of the nouns and verbs may be shared by two or three Bantu languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu).

The relatively high proportions of Kimbundu etyma in word classes other than noun indicate that this language may have played a more important or more specialized role than other African languages in the formation of Cupópia. As the findings can be related to the history of the peopling of the region by speakers of Kimbundu, the analyzed data support Baker's hypothesis that groups with higher demographic weight in the earliest periods of colonization contribute more words in general and more lexical items that belong to word classes other than noun (Baker 2012: 283). At the same time, these findings support the hypothesis

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8. Three lexical items classified as adj./adv. were also computed as nouns.

mentioned in section 4 concerning the possibility that speakers of Kikongo and Umbundu had a stronger presence in the Cafundó community than in the region in general. The Yoruba word may have been introduced in the 20th century through contact with Afro-Brazilian religious groups where it has been attested (Cacciatore 1977), and the origin of the Ronga lexical item has not been confirmed.

As nouns are more easily borrowed than other word classes, they predominate in the Cupópia lexicon. It is also known that nouns tend to be borrowed particularly when new or unknown objects and concepts need to be named (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 77). This means that basic vocabulary is less likely to be borrowed than more culture-specific vocabulary. However, with respect to the list of 100 basic vocabulary items compiled by Swadesh (1971), 28% (44/160) of all Cupópia words and 30% (33/109) of the African-derived lexical items in the language belong to core vocabulary and are distributed in different semantic fields. Quint (2012: 15) drew similar conclusions for Cape Verdean Creole, stating that 'African words are frequent in CV's lexical periphery where the first generations of slaves did not have the opportunity of acquiring the corresponding Portuguese terms.' Quint's explanation describes the result of a creolization process in a different setting and does not account for the presence of core vocabulary in Cupópia. As affirmed in section 4, the maintenance of a core vocabulary in Cupópia is best explained by RL agentivity.

Table 2 shows that the African-derived vocabulary used in Cupópia is distributed among different semantic fields or domains and is not restricted to specific activities associated with African cultures or slavery. In fact, a quarter of the words have to do with everyday life. In order to categorize and compare the semantic fields of the vocabulary, the first classification in 12 fields is the one proposed in Bartens and Baker (2012).

Since Baker (2012: 275–277) acknowledged difficulties in deciding to which of his 12 semantic fields some of the lexical items should belong, resulting in many words ending up in the category 'unclassified,' an alternative classification in 8 semantic domains is proposed (universe/creation, person, language and thought, social behavior, daily life, work and occupation, physical actions, and states). These eight domains are clearly specified with subdomains in the *Fieldworks Language Explorer software* used to organize the lexical database (http://fieldworks.sil.org/flex/). Such classification in semantic domains left no 'unclassified' items, and seven items were classified in more than one domain due to their various meanings.

For the semantic field 'place names,' *Cafundó* has been included, which has a possible Kikongo/Kimbundu origin (Castro 2001). Table 2 shows that the distribution in semantic domains confirmed the concentration of 24–26% of the lexical items in the field of 'domestic/daily life.'

Table 2. African-derived lexicon in Cupópia, according to semantic field and semantic domains

Semantic fields (categories from Bartens and Baker 2012)		Semantic domains (categories from Fieldwork Language Explorer)	
People	9% (10/109)	Universe/creation	17%
Fauna	11% (12/109)	Person	28%
Flora	6% (7/109)	Language and thought	5%
Food & drink	11% (12/109)	Social behavior	7%
Recreation	2% (2/109)	Daily life	24%
Work	5% (5/109)	Work and occupation	12%
Place names	1% (1/109)	Physical actions	1%
Beliefs & customs	4% (4/109)	States	8%
Anatomy & clothing	9% (10/109)		
Unpleasantness	9% (10/109)		
Unclassified	7% (8/109)		

5.2 Morphosyntactic features of Cupópia

The present section includes an analysis of grammatical features that are considered particularly interesting, as they are not found in the Cafundó Portuguese produced by the Cupópia speakers in the sample. The qualitative analysis of three features (copula absence, extended use of copula, and deviant word order) that occur a few times each in the sample is followed by a quantitative comparison of NP and VP morphology in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese in the sample.

First, two cases of copula absence were found in the Cupópia samples:

(1) nhacorucoto[9] vavuro
      head   big
      'my head is big'

(2) nhacorocotu nani
      head   small
      'my head is small'

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9. The speaker who produced the examples in (1) and (2) stated, on the one hand, that *nhacorocotu* means 'head' and, on the other hand, translates *nhacorocotu vavuru* as 'my head is big' and *nhacorocotu nani* as 'my head is small'. On the basis of this information it is not possible to conclude if *nhacorocotu* means 'head' or 'my head', or perhaps even both. It is possible that *nha* is a prefix derived from the Portuguese feminine 1SG possessive pronun *minha*. *Nha* is also the 1SG possessive pronoun used in Cape Verdean Creole (Baptista 2002: 59).

We know that the translations include copulas, as the sentences were immediately translated to Portuguese by the speaker that uttered them in the recording. Variable copula absence is not present in the Cafundó Portuguese produced in the same recording, and it is ungrammatical in Standard Brazilian Portuguese. With the exception of Helvécia Portuguese, where copula absence has been found in the speech of older people (Lucchesi et al 2009c: 93–94), this phenomenon is generally not found in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese.

   We also found two cases of extended use of copula, shown in examples 3 and 4:

(3)   quantos   camanacu o   jocorocotu tá
      how.many child   DEF.M old.man   COP.3SG
      'how many children does the old man have'

(4)   tatinha   é   orombongui vavurinho
      man.DIM COP.3SG money   much.DIM
      'the little man has a little much money'

In example (3), the Portuguese copula *estar*, which has non-permanent properties, is used to indicate possession. In example (4), the Portuguese copula *ser*, which has permanent properties, is also used to indicate possession. The use of these two copulative verbs without any following preposition to express possession is not observed in the analyzed sample of Cafundó Portuguese and is furthermore atypical for Portuguese, independently of variety or register.

   The third particular case of a grammatical feature not encountered in Cafundó Portuguese spoken by the same speakers consists of three examples of a word order that is unconventional in Portuguese. All these examples concern the words *vavuro* (which means 'big,' 'much,' 'very,' or 'a lot') and *nani* ('small,' 'little,' 'a little,' as well as possible uses for negation and as a negative indefinite pronoun). These two words appear in a number of different contexts and seem to be able to incorporate characteristics of adjectives, quantifiers, or adverbs. The following examples show the cases of unexpected word order:

(5)   foi   cuendado[10]   tatinha   nani
      AUX.PAST *transitive.light.verb*.PST.PTCP man.DIM little
      '(something) was slightly done to the little man'

(6)   nani   nani   do   orombongui nani
      little/none little/none PREP.DEF.M money   little/none
      'no/little money'

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10. The verb *cuendar* seems to have a very broad meaning in the analyzed sample. It appears in a variety of contexts and has a strong tendency to be transitive. In example 5, the exact meaning of *cuendar* is not clear, which is why it has been glossed simply as a transitive verb and is translated as 'something was done to somebody'.

(7)   tatinha   é   orombongui vavurinho
      man.DIM   COP.3SG money   much.DIM
or: man-DIM   COP.3SG money   indeed.DIM
      'the little man has a lot of money'
or: 'the little man has money indeed'

In example (5), *nani* appears to function as an adverbial by modifying the clause 'something was done to the little man' in a way that weakens the meaning expressed by the semantically bleached transitive verb *cuendar*. This weakness has been translated with the English word 'slightly' in the example above. The placement of the adverbial after the modified clause and disconnected from the finite verb is not found in the Cafundó Portuguese passages and is atypical for Portuguese, where the expected placement of the adverbial would be directly after the finite verb, as in the example *foi um pouco (abraçado) o homemzinho* 'the little man was slightly (hugged)'. In example (6), *nani* seems to mean 'little' or 'none' and is repeated before and after the modified prepositional phrase 'of the money'. This placement of the modifier is not is not found in Cafundó Portuguese in the sample. In Portuguese, the expected placement of the modifier would generally be before the modified phrase (*pouco do dinheiro*). The placement of the modifier after the modified phrase (*do dinheiro pouco*) is unconventional, albeit not completely unthinkable in informal spoken discourse.

In example (7), two alternative interpretations of the word *vavuro* are considered. On the one hand, *vavuro* may be functioning as a quantifier indicating a large quantity of the noun with the meaning 'money'. In Portuguese, the quantifier normally is placed before the modified noun, and not after, as found in this Cupópia example. On the other hand, *vavuro* may be functioning as an adverb modifying the clause 'the little man has money' and intensifying the meaning of the verb, which was translated with the English word 'indeed' in the example. For this interpretation, the placement of the adverb is possible in Portuguese, where the expected position would be directly following the verb or at the end of the clause (*o homem tem mesmo dinheiro* or *o homem tem dinheiro mesmo*).

In the next step of the morphosyntactic analysis, the paper analyzes some general properties of the NP as well as the VP and make comparisons between Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese. Starting with the NP, the features that are analyzed are variable gender agreement, variable plural marking, bare nouns in subject or direct object position, and the use of definite articles before nouns in prepositional phrases functioning as adjectival locutions. The total number of NPs and VPs in the analyzed material is too small to test the statistical significance of the differences found between Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese. However, the authors find it relevant to present the small quantitative comparisons that was

Table 3. The NP in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese in the sample

Cupópia	Cafundó Portuguese
4/41 (**10%**) of the lexical items classified as nouns in the analyzed sample show variable gender agreement.	**No** variable gender agreement for nouns.

(8) cuenda   cupópia atrás   d**a**   **curima**
     speak.3sg cupópia behind PREP.DEF.F event
     'speak cupópia behind the event'

(9) **o**   **curima** é   **o**   **curima**
     DEF.M event   COP.3SG DEF.M event
     'the event is the event'

| In **all** NPs in plural form (28 occurrences), only the first element has a plural marker. | 7/11 (**64%**) of NPs in plural form mark plural only in the first element. |

(10) cupópia pr**o-s**   **tata** levar
     cupópia PREP.DEF.M-PL man bring
     'cupópia for the men to bring'

| Bare nouns in subject or direct object position in 9/51 occurrences (**18%**). | **No** bare nouns in subject or direct object position. |

(11) **camanacu** tá   curirano
     child   AUX. PRS.3SG cry.PROG
     'the child is crying'

(12) tá   querendo   cuembá
     olombongue AUX. PRS.3sg want.PROG take money
     da   tataiova vimbundo
     PREP.DEF.F man   black.M
     'he wants to take the black man's money'

| Prepositional phrases with the function of adjectival locutions, where the noun is preceded by definite article, even when this is not expected in any variety of Portuguese. | **Not** found. |

(13) agora tem   camberere d**o**   **canguru**
     now   there.is meat   PREP.DEF. M. pig
     'now there is pork'

(14) tava   meio ingrimado d**o**   **anguara**
     COP.PAST:IPFV.3SG half drunk.M   PREP.DEF.M liquor
     'he was quite drunk from liquor'

performed, as the differences are quite striking, which gives us an indication of grammatical differences and similarities between the two linguistic codes. The results of the NP analyses are resumed in Table 3.

In the Cupópia sample, plurality is consistently marked only on the first element of the NP (see example 10 in Table 3). The 28 plural NPs all contain 2 elements: determiner and noun. In all cases, the plural suffix -s from Portuguese is only affixed to the determiner. This paper defends the hypothesis that the nouns in Cupópia are morphologically invariable, as plural is the only morphological property that is affixed to nouns in Portuguese. In Cafundó Portuguese, the same structure, with plural marking only on the first element of the NP, is found in 7 out of 11 plural NPs. However, in four cases, all elements of the NP are marked for plural as in Standard Portuguese.

On 9 occasions in the Cupópia sample, bare nouns occur in subject and direct object contexts (see examples 11–12 in Table 3), whereas in the remaining 42 subject and direct object contexts, the nouns are preceded by a determiner, as in Standard Portuguese. In the Cafundó Portuguese sample, this variable behavior is not observed, as nouns in this context are always preceded by a determiner.

A rather surprising morphological behavior of the Cupópia NP is the use of definite articles in prepositional phrases with the syntactic function of adjectival locution (see examples 13–14 in Table 3). The context indicates that the nouns are generic and not specific, and for Portuguese a bare noun would be expected in this context. This structure is not found in the sample of Cafundó Portuguese, nor has it to our knowledge been mentioned in studies of Afro-varieties of Portuguese and Spanish. It is possible that the contraction of the preposition *de* and the definite article *o* (*do*) has been reinterpreted as a preposition in Cupópia. However, the preposition *de* occurs alone in other contexts, and the contraction *do* appears in contexts where the original meaning is maintained, which may contradict this hypothesis.

When it comes to the VP, the findings do not indicate a higher degree of restructuring in Cupópia than in Cafundó Portuguese. All verbal inflections for TMA found in Brazilian Portuguese are also found in Cupópia, as shown in examples (15)–(20) in Table 4. There are no contexts where an expected TMA inflection is absent in the corpus. This result shows that Cupópia verbs have morphological inflections, in contrast to the variety's seemingly invariable nouns. For TMA, Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese present the same behavior as Standard Brazilian Portuguese. The comparison of VP features in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese is resumed in Table 4.

Table 4. The VP in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese

Cupópia	Cafundó Portuguese
Verbal inflections for TMA.	Verbal inflections for TMA.

(15) **cuendei**   o   tata
transitive.light.verb.PAST.1SG DEF.M man
'I did something to the man'

(16) se nós não **cuendá**   o   cambere
if 1PL NEG eat.FUT.SBJV DEF.M meat
'if we don't eat the meat'

(17) jÁ   **cuendava**   o   cambererá
already eat.IPFV.PAST3SG DEF.M meat
'he was already eating the meat'

(18) **coçumbou** a   cupópia na   ambara
hear.PST.3SG DEF.F Cupópia PREP.DEF.F village
'he heard Cupópia in the village'

(19) o   tata vimbundo tá   **coçumbando**
DEF.M man black.M   AUX.PRS.3SG hear.PROG
'the black man is hearing/listening'

(20) queria   que   eu **picopiasse**
want.IPFV.PAST.3SG COMP 1SG speak.PAST.SBJV.1SG
'he wants me to speak'

Application of subject-verb agreement rules 33/42 occurrences (79%). | Application of subject-verb agreement rules 167/212 occurrences (**79%**).

(21) **cupopiamo**   vavuru
speak.PRS.1PL a.lot
'we speak a lot'

(22) **nós chega**   lá   no   injó
1PL arrive.PRS.3SG there PREP.DEF.M house
'we arrive there in the house'

For subject-verb agreement, variation is found in both Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese. For 9 out of 42 verbs in which the subject is pronounced or inferable from the context, the verb does not agree with the subject. In the cases in which agreement is lacking, third person singular always substitutes the forms for first or third person plural, as shown in examples 16 and 22 (Table 4). However, the standard inflections for first person singular and plural are also found, as shown in examples (15) and (21) in Table 4.

6.   Comparison with other contact languages

After having already presented the earlier classifications, social context of forma-
tion, and linguistic characteristics of Cupópia, this comparison will focus on the
linguistic outcomes, or modifications in the RL structures, and the processes that
may have produced such outcomes. This section therefore includes a comparison
between lexical and specific grammatical features analyzed in the Cupópia sample
and the same features in Standard and Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, regional
varieties of Portuguese, other Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Hispanic varieties.

6.1 Lexical features

Calunga (Byrd 2012) and *Língua do Negro da Costa* (Queiroz 1998) are similar
lexically and contextually driven Afro-Brazilian in-group codes that can be com-
pared with Cupópia or with a symbiotic mixed language. The *Calunga* vocabu-
lary consists of 307 words (Byrd 2012: 123), and *Língua do negro da costa* of 176
(Queiroz 1998: 91). In both cases, many of the words have African origins, and
nouns predominate. In a comparative study of the lexicons of these speech com-
munities and Cupópia, Byrd (2012: 148) concluded that Cupópia and Calunga
have the most terms in common, with a total of 42. As a comparison with another
symbiotic mixed language, speakers of Angloromani know between 85 and 350
lexical items identified as Romani (Matras et al. 2007: 165).

Compared with the distribution of Africanisms in semantic fields in the
studies presented in Bartens and Baker (2012: 275–279), the only fields in which
Cupópia has 50% less than the average for the 17 languages studied is 'beliefs and
customs' and 'recreation'. These are fields where African-derived lexicon would
be expected to concentrate, since these include words that name aspects of slaves'
lives that should not have been influenced by their owners. Instead, the results
from both classifications unexpectedly show that a quarter of the words belong to
the field of 'domestic life', which represents more than 50% of the average in the
languages included in Bartens and Baker (2012). This result may be related to the
prevailing function of Cupópia as a secret code, or marker of social distance, used
in everyday life, that is, settings in which words for domestic life were needed.

6.2 Morphosyntactic features

A. *Copula absence*
Although it is not observed in Cafundó Portuguese, copula absence may be ob-
served in a few varieties of Afro-Brazilian Portuguese considered to have gone
through grammatical restructuring due to 'irregular linguistic transmission', such

as the one spoken in Helvécia (Lucchesi et al. 2009c: 93–94). Nevertheless, the Afro-Brazilian varieties studied in Lucchesi et al. (2009a) are partially restructured, but African-derived lexicon (other than the African-derived lexical items common for Brazilian Portuguese) has not been attested for them.

Loss of copula is not uncommon in pidgin and creole languages and has been attested in Afro-Hispanic varieties such as Afro-Cuban, Afro-Dominican, Afro-Panamanian, and Chota Valley Spanish (Green 1997: 91; Lipski 1989: 26, 2005: 161; Ortiz López 1998: 93; Sessarego 2013: 77). With respect to Atlantic creoles, most require the copula before NPs; a different optional copula appears before locative expressions; no copula usually appears before adjectives; and an equative copula (highlighter) often occurs before fronted constituents (Holm et al. 1999: 114). Exceptions are Papiamentu and Angolar (both have a uniformly expressed copula) as well as Haitian and Dominican Creole French (both have optional copula in all cases, except for the highlighter). In Palenquero and Cape Verdean, copulas occur before adjectives, and they preserve the distinction of their lexifiers between permanent (*ser*) and temporary (*estar*) states. Such a general Atlantic pattern is not attested in the non-Atlantic creoles. Nevertheless, Sharma and Rickford's findings about omission of copula in African American Vernacular English and in creoles show that

> […] conditioning of copula absence in the second language data does not resemble the AAVE and creole pattern. […] The findings reduce the possibility that the overall AAVE/creole pattern derives from a general tendency in second language acquisition and increase the possibility that the pattern reflects a shared substrate influence from West African languages or other historical contact factors.
>
> (Sharma and Rickford 2009: 53–54)

Accordingly, the two cases of copula omission found in the Cupópia sample may be explained by the fact that in Kimbundu, one of the substrate languages, the equivalent of the Portuguese copula *ser* is not usually expressed (Chatelain 1889: 4). Variable omission of copula is also one of the simplification processes of SLA mentioned by Winford (2009: 320). At the same time, Holm (2009: 339) states that losses 'tend to make the partially restructured varieties more like their substrate languages'. Copula omission may be rare in Brazilian Portuguese varieties, but it has been attested in earlier stages of Afro-Brazilian rural varieties (Lucchesi et al. 2009c: 94) and may be a vestigial trace of massive and unguided SLA. Moreover, Angloromani also shows omission of the present-tense copula (Matras et al. 2007: 173).

B. Possessive constructions with copulas

Possessive constructions with copulas and prepositions instead of a possession verb, like English *to have* or Portuguese *ter*, can be found in both Kimbundu (Chatelain 1889: 8) and Kikongo (Tavares 1915: 107). The two cases of this innovative feature in the sample may be explained by substrate influence or a simplification due to unguided SLA. However the copula is not used together with a preposition in this case. Nonetheless, loss of prepositions has been attested in several varieties of Portuguese and Spanish in contact with African languages (Avelar 2014).

C. Variable gender agreement

Although variable gender agreement does not occur in the analyzed sample of Cafundó Portuguese, it has been attested in Cafundó Portuguese by Petter (1999: 112–113). Cases of variable gender agreement were recorded by Amaral (1982: 70) in varieties of Portuguese spoken in the interior of São Paulo in the early 20th century, not long after the abolition of slavery. The same feature was observed in the region in the 1970s by Rodrigues (1974, cited in Lima 2007: 161). Moreover, this phenomenon occurs in some speech communities that are not defined as Afro-Brazilian (Lopes & Pagozzo 2014; Lima 2007) as well as in various Afro-Brazilian rural communities (Baxter 1998: 118–119; Byrd 2012: 177–178; Careno 1997: 90; Lucchesi 2009a: 305; Petter & Zanoni 2005; Queiroz 1998: 85) and in varieties of Portuguese and Spanish spoken in Africa (Inverno 2009: 163–165; Gonçalves 1997: 61–62; Lipski 2004; Lucchesi 2009a: 305). It has been found in literary texts reproducing the speech of Africans with Spanish or Portuguese as an L2 (Lipski 2005; Alkmim & Álvarez López 2009) as well as in Afro-Hispanic varieties spoken in Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Panama (Green 1997: 98; Lipski 1989: 18–20, 2008: 20, 2015: 109–110; Sessarego 2013).

D. Variable plural marking

Variable plural marking is typical for all spoken varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, although its degree varies depending on social factors such as level of education, rural or urban settings, and age (Baxter 2009: 269–293; Lucchesi 2009b: 526–527). The categorical and invariable plural marking found in the Cupópia sample has not been registered in other varieties of Portuguese, but most of the examples presented by Amaral (1982: 70–71), Byrd (2012: 176–177, 185–186), Careno (1997: 90) and Queiroz (1998: 85) appear to have plural marking only in the first element in the NP.

Baxter (2009: 278, 293) shows that the tendency to mark plural only on the determiner is strong but not categorical in the Portuguese of Helvécia, as well as in the Portuguese of the Tongas of São Tomé, and attributes this feature to historical

restructuring due to the SLA of Portuguese by Africans. The same tendency, although not as strong, has been observed in other varieties of Brazilian Portuguese (Guy 1981; Scherre 1988: 142–241; Lopes 2001) and São Tomé Portuguese (Figueiredo 2008: 30–32) as well as in varieties of Mozambican and Cape Verdean Portuguese (Jon-And 2011: 99–100; 123–125). Lipski (2010, 2015: 111–112) attested a tendency to mark plural on the determiner in the Spanish of Afro-Bolivians, Afro-Colombians from Palenque, Afro-Ecuadorians, and Afro-Paraguayans. Lipski (2004: 84–87) also presented examples of systematic plural marking in the first element of the NP in a number of Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Portuguese varieties and suggested that this feature may have been spread through pidgins used by slave traders during colonial times. According to Lipski (2015: 111), such systematic marking by using a suffix on the first element of the NP cannot be traced to the Bantu substrates with prenominal class markers and agreement prefixes.

E. Bare nouns

Bare nouns for subjects and objects with definite reference are not uncommon in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (Baxter & Lopes 2009: 328) and in Afro-Hispanic varieties (Lipski 2005: 267–268, 2015: 112; Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sessarego 2011). Baxter (2002: 31–33) showed that bare nouns in definite contexts are common in Tonga Portuguese of São Tomé and attributes this to the influence of the Bantu substrate. Inverno (2009: 189) included an example of a bare noun in direct object position in Angolan Portuguese. This structure does not appear in the analyzed sample of Cafundó Portuguese but was attested by Petter (1999: 107).

F. Subject-verb agreement

The pattern of variable subject-verb agreement in both Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese appears to have been common in regional Portuguese as reported by Amaral in 1920 (see Amaral 1982: 72–73). Similar patterns have been attested for Afro-Latin-American varieties (Byrd 2012: 188; Careno 1997: 91; Lipski 2005: 253; Queiroz 1998: 83) and informal varieties of Brazilian and African Portuguese (Lipski 2004: 87–88, 2015: 110). According to quantitative studies of Afro-Brazilian Portuguese in isolated rural communities, the proportion of application of the agreement rule is 13% for women and 19% for men (Lucchesi et al. 2009b: 358). Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese show a much higher proportion of application of the agreement rule (79%) than the varieties with no specific African lexicon described by Lucchesi. This result is consistent with the proportion of application of this rule in Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro on a more general level (Brandão & Vieira 2012: 24). The correspondence of the proportion of verbal agreement in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese may, of course, be a coincidence

due to the low number of analyzed VPs. This result may, however, be an indication of a similar behavior for the VP in the two linguistic codes.

G. Summary

In sum, the results of this study show that the same speakers produce different grammatical patterns in Cupópia and Cafundó Portuguese, and the tendency is that a higher degree of restructuring is found in Cupópia. In the comparison of the analyzed features presented in Table 5, all features encountered in Cupópia are shadowed in the Cupópia column. Thus, the compared varieties are ordered from left to right according to the number of shared grammatical features with Cupópia. When two varieties presented the same number of shared features, the one that is geographically closest was placed to the left. Whenever 'tendency' appears, it indicates that such a tendency was observed in the examples presented in the sources, but the authors do not affirm that this feature appears categorically.

Some of the specific features that were encountered (loss of agreement, bare nouns, loss of copula, and extended use of copula in possessive contexts) may be explained as the result of transfer from the Bantu languages attested in the Cupópia etymologies that were historically spoken in the Cafundó region. Nevertheless, the same features may be explained by simplification mechanisms due to unguided SLA: 'TL [target language] input, L1 influence, processes of simplification, and internally driven changes' (cf. Winford 2009: 317–318).

The agreement patterns in Cupópia NP are similar to earlier stages of the regional Portuguese spoken in the region and documented by Amaral in the beginning of the 20th century. Accordingly, Petter (1999: 101) suggested that this was a dialect close to the *Caipira* Portuguese described by Amaral (1982). The specific grammatical features attested in Caipira Portuguese can be explained as the result of unguided SLA by speakers of Bantu languages.

There was also a higher level of restructuring of the NP of Cupópia than in the NP of Cafundó Portuguese in all aspects that were analyzed (variable plural and gender agreement and bare nouns in specific contexts). The VP of Cupópia, in contrast to the NP, seems to present the same behavior as the VP of the Cafundó Portuguese, with the same inflections and the same variation in agreement expected in other varieties of Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese.

Table 5 shows that Cupópia patterns has most features in common with African and Afro-Latin-American varieties of Portuguese and Spanish and then with rural varieties of Portuguese spoken in the region before 1920. In contrast, Cafundó Portuguese shares its profile with Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, followed by Standard Brazilian Portuguese. From that perspective, Cafundó Portuguese seems to be moving toward a less restructured variety than it was in the beginning of the 20th century.

Table 5. Cross-linguistic overview of grammatical features encountered in Cupópia

	Cupópia	Afro-Brazilian Portuguese (morpho-syntactically restructured), no African lexicon	Afro-Hispanic varieties	Caipira Portuguese 1920	Afro-Brazilian Portuguese (lexically-driven in-group codes)	Spanish/ Portuguese in Africa	Cafundó Portuguese	Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese	Standard Brazilian Portuguese
Copula absence	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Copula expresses possession	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Plural marking only on determiner (NP)	100%	tendency	tendency	tendency	tendency	tendency	tendency	tendency	–
Variable number agreement (NP)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Variable gender agreement (NP)	10%	4%	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Variable subject-verb agreement	21%	84%	+	+	+	+	21%	20%	–

Sources. Alkmim & ÁlvarezLópez (2009); Amaral (1982); Baxter (1998, 2002, 2009); Baxter & Lopes (2009); Brandão & Vieira (2012); Byrd (2012);Careno (1997); Figueiredo (2008); Gonçalves (1997); Green (1997); Gutiérrez-Rexach & Sassarego (2011); Guy (1981); Holm et al. (1999); Inverno (2009); Jon-And (2011); Lima (2007); Lipski (1989, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010); Lopes (2001); Lopes & Pagozzo (2014); Lucchesi et al. (2009a); Ortiz López (1998); Petter (1999); Petter and Zanoni (2005); Queiroz (1998); Sessarego (2013); Scherre (1988)

7.   Discussion

The revision of the glossary included in Vogt and Fry (1996) shows that 68% (109/160) of the Cupópia words in their glossary have possible African etymologies, meaning that one-third of the words has other origins (mostly Portuguese and Tupi). The lexical analysis shows that the proposed African etymologies match historical and demographical data, indicating that the group of L1 or L2 speakers of Bantu languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu), or a Bantu based koiné, contributed more words in general and that Kimbundu speakers contributed more lexical items that are not classified as nouns. One-third of the African-derived lexical items were identified as core lexicon, and a quarter of the words belong to the semantic field 'domestic/daily life'. This was an unexpected result and may be partially explained by the fact that Cupópia has the function of a secret code used to distance between speakers and out-groups and is used in everyday life by members of in-groups as an identity marker. In that sense, Cupópia can be understood as a discursive practice:

> […] speakers, in their choices of how they say what they say – which may be as detailed as a breath intake at a particular point in the interaction – are interpreted as making use of (indexical) devices that cue listeners on how to read their messages as interactively designed. It is through a reading of these means that hearers (or more generally, recipients) come to a reading of the speaker's intentions and ultimately to a reading of how speakers present a sense of who they are.
>
> (Bamberg et al. 2011: 182)

Other Afro-Brazilian groups also maintain the lexicons of ancestral languages as identity markers (see, for example, Álvarez López 2004; Byrd 2012).

The present paper has also shown that Cupópia has contact-induced structural patterns in common with an earlier stage of regional Portuguese that was spoken in the region when African-born ex-slaves were still living there. Moreover, the morphosyntactic analysis shows that Cupópia is structurally different from the Portuguese used by the same speakers in the sample and that such differences are concentrated in the NP. The level of restructuring is also higher than expected for most Afro-Latin contact varieties, and, in the case of copula absence, there is a similarity with pidgins and creoles. However, the proportion of agreement rules that apply to the VP is higher than what is attested for other Afro-varieties of Portuguese in Brazil.

Summing up, there are at least three different explanations for the higher level of restructuring found in Cupópia compared to Cafundó Portuguese. First, restructuring may be a direct inheritance from the structures observed in Caipira Portuguese in the early 20th century. However, this hypothesis does not explain all singularities observed, since Cupópia and Caipira Portuguese do not seem to share

all the features compared in Table 5. At the same time, the Cafundó Portuguese spoken by the same speakers is closer to other vernacular varieties. So why are the NPs in Cupópia not moving towards vernacular varieties if the VPs are doing so?

Second, there is a possibility that grammatical restructuring occurred in a process of massive borrowing by speakers who were not fluent in the source language(s) from which Cupópia may have emerged. However, this is difficult to prove, as there are no records of Cupópia from earlier periods.

Third, there is a possibility that the grammatical restructuring is a result of a higher flexibility that may be associated to a symbiotic mixed language. Winford (2005: 386) argues that 'certain structural innovations in a RL [Recipient Language] appear to be mediated by lexical borrowing'. Still, Winford does not give a detailed explanation of how lexical borrowing mediates restructuring. A logical way to explain this may be to compare Cupópia with a similar variety, Angloromani, which contains omissions from the perspective of the Standard language, since it offers flexibility:

> Angloromani allows greater flexibility in the omission of overt indications that information is contextually highly retrievable. […] We suggest that the relative ease with which overt indication of contextually retrievable information […] is omitted in Angloromani is indeed connected to the conversational functions of Angloromani, and thus to the attitudes surrounding it. It is not primarily a means of conveying propositional content, but is rather a means of emphasizing the emotive aspects of the message. (Matras et al. 2007: 173)

The observations presented in this paper may point to the third explanation, as the comparison with Angloromani appears to be highly relevant, considering its lexicon and grammatical structures and what it may tell us about its origins. In Table 5, Cupópia is closer to the Afro-Brazilian morphologically restructured varieties than to other lexically driven in-group codes. The demographic circumstances of Cupópia were comparable in all settings where these varieties arose and do not explain why lexically driven in-group codes emerge in some communities but not in others. In sum, this leads us to believe that emergence and maintenance of Cupópia may be motivated by Portuguese dominant speakers' intentions and negotiations of identity and explained by processes of borrowing. Finally, all three explanations are possible and are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	first person	M	masculine
2	second person	PL	plural
3	third person	PREP	preposition
AUX	auxiliary	PROG	progressive
COMP	complementizer	PRS	present
COP	copula	PST	past
DEF	definite	PTCP	participle
DIM	diminutive	SG	singular
F	feminine	SBJV	subjunctive
FUT	future		

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