Translation, Multilingualism, and Prefiguration in the Work of José Luandino Vieira

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Short Abstract

In this thesis, I discuss Portuguese-born Angolan writer José Luandino Vieira (1935–) and his work *of* translation and *in* translation, examining the ways in which translation constitutes a central principle of his literary project. This examination draws on close-readings of and archival research into selected works by Luandino Vieira and their English and French translations, his critically neglected translation of Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange* (1974), and the more recently published *Papéis da Prisão* (2015). Through this corpus, I introduce into critical debates surrounding the Angolan writer's multilingual work an attention to language and its function as a site of experimentation, which seeks to expand—in light of the Angolan anticolonial struggle (1961–1974), Angolan independence (1975), and the promise of decolonisation—the 'horizon of possibility' for a post-independence Angola.

Where extant criticism has read Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' through a predominantly Bhabhian vocabulary, which emphasises the frameworks of 'hybridity' and the 'third space', I turn instead to the concepts of translation and translationality. This shift, I argue, makes possible an interpretation of this 'linguagem luandina' that takes seriously recent developments in African linguistics and its efforts to decolonise broadly Eurocentric conceptions of language and language use. By recasting Luandino Vieira's work in terms of three key terms—multilingualism, translation, and prefiguration—I seek to take the measure of its prefigurative potential, not least for the ways in which criticism approaches language itself.

Extended Abstract

In this thesis, I discuss Portuguese-born Angolan writer José Luandino Vieira (1935–) and his work *of* translation and *in* translation, examining the ways in which translation constitutes a central principle of his literary project. This examination draws on close-readings of and archival research into selected works by Luandino Vieira (namely, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, 1961; *Luuanda*, 1963; *Nós, os do Makulusu*, 1967; *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, 1968; *No Antigamente, na Vida*, 1969–1971) and their English and French translations, his critically neglected translation of Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange* (1974), and the more recently published *Papéis da Prisão* (2015).

Luandino Vieira is a prolific Angolan writer, mainly of short fiction (referred to as *estórias*) and novellas. Accused of subversive activities against Portugal's colonial regime, Luandino Vieira was detained by the Estado Novo's International and State Defense Police (PIDE) in 1961, the year in which the Angolan anticolonial struggle broke out. He was sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment, eleven of which were served in prisons in Angola and Cape Verde, before he was released into exile in Lisbon in 1972. As such, Luandino Vieira was unable to participate directly in the Angolan anticolonial struggle. Through this chosen corpus, produced under varying degrees of clandestinity, I introduce into critical debates surrounding the Angolan writer's multilingual work an attention to language and its function as a site of experimentation, which seeks to expand—in light of the Angolan anticolonial struggle (1961–1974), Angolan independence (1975), and the promise of decolonisation—the 'horizon of possibility' for a post-independence Angola.

Where extant criticism has read Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' through a predominantly Bhabhian vocabulary—see, for example, Phyllis Peres's emphasis on the framework of 'hybridity' and Irwin Stern's mobilisation of the concept of the 'third space'—I

turn instead to the concepts of translation and translationality. This shift, I argue, makes possible an interpretation of this 'linguagem luandina' that takes seriously recent developments in African linguistics and its efforts to decolonise broadly Eurocentric conceptions of language and language use. By recasting Luandino Vieira's work in terms of three key terms—multilingualism, translation, and prefiguration—I seek to take the measure of its prefigurative potential, not least for the ways in which criticism approaches language itself.

This thesis is divided into two parts—'José Luandino Vieira and his Work of Translation' and 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work in Translation'—which are each comprised of two chapters.

In Chapter 1, I take Luandino Vieira's *Papéis da Prisão* as the basis for an extended examination of the ways in which his literary language developed over an eleven-year period of incarceration, becoming, I argue, more self-consciously multilingual and, indeed, translational. I provide an overview of the 'language question' with respect to Luandino Vieira's work, situating it in light of debates within African literature more broadly. Through close-readings of the *Papéis da Prisão*, I chart the development of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina' from his time in what are termed 'prisões nacionais' or national prisons—that is, prisons located within Angola—to his detention in the Tarrafal Concentration Camp in Cape Verde, during which the Angolan writer's literary language grew to reflect the distinctive cosmopolitanism of the prison. I argue that the multilingual—and cosmopolitan—character of the numerous prisons the Angolan writer was detained in between 1961 and 1972 comes to be reflected in the increasingly multilingual character of his contemporaneous as well as subsequent writing.

In Chapter 2, I conduct one of the first full-length studies dedicated to Luandino Vieira's translation of Anthony Burgess's novel *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) from English into Portuguese, commissioned by Edições 70 and published in Portugal in 1974 under the title *A Laranja Mecânica*. If, in Chapter 1, I trace the emergence of a translational literary language during Luandino Vieira's eleven-year period of incarceration, this chapter traces its implementation in the context of the author's own work as a translator. To this end, this chapter features an account of the circumstances under which the translation was conceived—that is, both in terms of its commission and its completion—as well as an assessment of the translation strategies at work in Luandino Vieira's translation of *A Clockwork Orange*, through a comparison between source and target texts. I aim, moreover, to advance an argument in favour of the inclusion of the hitherto critically neglected translation, *A Laranja Mecânica*, as a constituent part of Luandino Vieira's literary project, due to the multilingual nature of both the source text (written in English and Nadsat, consisting chiefly of relexified Russian words) and the target text (written in Portuguese and a re-relexified Nadsat).

If in Part 1, 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work of Translation', I discuss the role of translation within Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, in Part 2, 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work in Translation', I turn to Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* in translation. As such, in Chapter 3, I discuss the translation strategies at work in the English translations of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (1961) and *Luuanda* (1963)—published in 1978 and 1980, respectively, by Heinemann Educational Books as instalments of the *African Writers Series* (AWS). I assess these translation strategies against the stated purpose of the *AWS* itself, insofar as the series professed to serve a dual educative purpose, of expanding the Anglophone world's literary canons, on the one hand, and structuring the curricula of English-speaking Africa, on the other. I conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts themselves—that is, between translations of the

same source text and between translations of different source texts. To these ends, I draw on hitherto unstudied archival material, particularly on documents held in the Archives of British Publishing and Printing housed at the University of Reading's Special Collections.

In a similar manner to Chapter 3, in Chapter 4, I discuss the translation strategies at work in Michel Laban's French translations of Luandino Vieira published by Éditions Gallimard, namely *Autrefois, dans la vie* (1981), *Nous autres, de Makulusu* (1989), and *João Vêncio: ses amours* (1998). I conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts. Through this assessment, I reframe Laban's translations of Luandino Vieira as collaborative translations. As a scholar of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, Laban sets himself apart from other translators—such as Michael Wolfers and Tamara Bender, discussed in Chapter 3, who also collaborated with the Angolan writer, though to a lesser extent—in his increased attention to the interanimation between the aesthetic and the political in the creation and re-creation of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina'. I argue that his long-standing interest in this 'linguagem luandina', and his efforts to produce a (similarly collaborative) inventory of *vocábulos* featured in Luandino Vieira's work, has a profound influence on his translations—translations characterised not only by a back-and-forth movement between author and translator, but also by a back-and-forth movement across and between languages, central to Luandino Vieira's literary project.

Introduction —
Multilingualism, Translation, and Prefiguration

'Banza-o o léxico, o patuá?', asks the eponymous protagonist of José Luandino Vieira's novella, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* (1968), in a self-reflexive reference to the work's linguistic medium.[1] Here, the verb 'banzar'—rendered in the novella's English translation as 'to astonish'—performs its own meaning. Derived from the Kimbundu verb 'kubanza', and conjugated in accordance with Portuguese grammatical conventions, the construction 'banza-o' itself surprises the reader, as it is seen to occupy the space between Portuguese and Kimbundu. This 'in-between' space is central to Luandino Vieira's novella. Indeed, its subtitle announces that its narrative constitutes 'uma tentativa de ambaquismo literário a partir do calão, gíria e termos chulos'.[2] *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* takes a particular kind of language use as its principal concern.

The word *ambaquismo* refers to the region of Mbaka (sometimes spelled Ambaca), in what is now the province of Kwanza Norte, to the east of the Angolan capital of Luanda. Mbaka was one of several towns that connected the Angolan hinterland with colonial settlements along the Atlantic coast, of which 'none was more important in the slave trade'.[3] As a result of its strategic position, Mbaka, as Jill Dias observes, constituted throughout the seventeenth century 'uma vasta fronteira territorial e política oscilante entre a zona ocupada administrativamente pelos portugueses e as sociedades africanas autônomas vizinhas'.[4] A 'lugar de interação entre diferentes modelos sociais e culturais, europeus e africanos', Mbaka—along with the term *ambakista*, alternatively spelled *ambaquista*—came to be

[1] José Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1979), p. 64.
[2] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 31.
[3] Jan Vansina, 'Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade c. 1760-1845', *Journal of African History* 46 (2005), 1–27 (p. 1).
[4] Jill R. Dias, 'Novas Identidades Africanas em Angola no Contexto do Comércio Atlântico', in *Trânsitos Coloniais: Diálogos Críticos Luso-Brasileiros*, ed. by Cristiana Barros, Miguel Vale de Almeida, and Bela Feldman-Bianco (Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 2007), pp. 315–344 (p. 327).

associated with 'populações culturalmente heterogêneas e muito diferenciadas social e politicamente'.[5] The case of Mbaka embodies the extent to which, '[p]aradoxalmente', as Dias notes, 'o tráfico de escravos transatlântico constitiu uma força coesiva que uniu as duas sociedades, europeia e africana'—a force that gave rise to 'novas identidades' constructed on the basis of the 'adaptação e incorporação' of both African and European cultural signifiers.[6]

In his preface to the 1978 edition of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, Fernando J. B. Martinho comments on the 'carácter contraditório, paradoxal, ambíguo do narrador-protagonista', whose monologue has, as one of its defining characteristics, what Martinho terms the 'justaposição de contrários'.[7] Many are the oxymorons interspersed throughout João Vêncio's monologue, fulfilling both a rhetorical and thematic function by foregrounding the 'carácter contraditório' of its narrator. João Vêncio, for example, tells the *muadié*, his interlocutor: 'Então não sabe o que é fogo frio, calma calema, como pode-se mesmo ser amigo de mulher e amor de homem,' a statement which defies the strict boundaries between hot and cold, between tranquil and tempestuous seas, as well as the heteronormative conventions of the time.[8] In another example, João Vêncio describes his relationship with Mimi, one of his three *amores*: 'Ele era meu, eu era o dono—e eu era o escravo trabalhador, ele o senhor.'[9] However, one particular instance of oxymoronic rhetoric stands out in the novella. 'Agora o muadié me diga ainda,' João Vêncio asks his interlocutor, 'ser e não ser, ao mesmo tempo, pode-se? Gostar e não gostar, dor e alegria, água e fogo?—eu odiava a Màristrêla no meu amor.'[10] Here, the playful subversion of the most famous lines of William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*—'To be, or not to be, that is the question'—draws attention to the function of the

[5] Dias, 'Novas Identidades Africanas', pp. 327–328, p. 337.
[6] Dias, 'Novas Identidades Africanas', pp. 337–338.
[7] Fernando J. B. Martinho, 'Prefácio', in Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 27.
[8] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 34.
[9] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 60.
[10] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 54.

(now modified) conjunction. The 'question' is no longer posed as a choice between two alternatives, to be *or* not to be; rather, Luandino Vieira's 'narrador-protagonista' faces a different dilemma: to be *and* not to be, 'ao mesmo tempo'.[11]

An 'ambaquista, mukua-Ngulungu', as he denominates himself, João Vêncio occupies the 'lugar de interação' implied by the conjunction 'and'.[12] As members of a 'nova comunidade econômica e cultural no espaço colonial português', which occupied that 'vasta fronteira territorial e política', the *ambaquistas* have often been described as intermediaries—interpreters, translators, and lawyers—responsible for mediating between those 'diferentes modelos sociais e culturais, europeus e africanos'.[13] Indeed, the *ambaquistas* have been regarded as 'ubiquitous and eternal cultural interpreters between Africa and the Western world'.[14] It is within this 'lugar de interação' that the character of João Vêncio—'contraditório, paradoxal, ambíguo'—locates himself, attempting to transgress the very 'fronteira' which, during Portugal's colonial regime in Angola, sought to separate European and African, white and black, Portuguese and Kimbundu. Indeed, João Vêncio describes himself as a 'sungaribengo'—'de nascimento branco, cruzado' and 'de nascimento negro, cruzado'—inhabiting, therefore, in both language and identity, the 'lugar de interação' embodied by the figure of the *ambaquista*.[15] As Dias notes, the *ambaquistas* forged 'novas identidades' as 'cultural interpreters' between Africa and Europe, embodying 'as ambivalências e paradoxos produzidos historicamente por [...] processos sincréticos, que perturbam quaisquer tentativas de interpretar as relações coloniais portuguesas em Angola em

[11] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 54.
[12] Martinho, 'Prefácio', p. 27; Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 45.
[13] Dias, 'Novas Identidades Africanas', pp. 327–328.
[14] Jean-Luc Vellut, 'New Perspectives on the Ambaquista Network: Review of *Afrikanische Pioniere: Trägerkarawanen im westlichen Zentralfrika (c. 1850–1890)*, by Beatrix Heintze', *Journal of African History* 45 (2004) 327–329 (pp. 327–328).
[15] From the Kimbundu *kusunga o ribengu*, meaning 'Puxar o rato', the word *sungaribengo* is defined by Luandino Vieira, in 'Apontamentos para um glossário para uso exclusivo do autor', as a 'nome depreciativo dado aos mestiços [desconheço a razão]'. [Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 134.]

termos de uma simples dicotomia entre colonizador e colonizado'.[16] It is this ambivalent 'lugar de interação' that João Vêncio occupies. It is, perhaps, this same 'lugar' that the Portuguese-born Angolan writer, José Luandino Vieira, himself seeks to occupy.

Biographical and Contextual Overview

José Vieira Mateus da Graça was born on 4 May 1935 in Lagoa do Furadouro, a hamlet in the region of Alto Ribatejo, in central Portugal.[17] A few years after his birth, da Graça's parents made the decision to leave Portugal for Angola—one of tens of thousands of Portuguese families who, prompted by the Estado Novo's migration policies under António de Oliveira Salazar, left the metropole to settle in the colonies, whether in urban centres dotted along the coast, or in the hinterland, as a result of the State's project of *povoamento planeado*.[18] The family established itself in the Angolan capital of Luanda between 1937 and 1939, led first by

[16] Vellut, 'New Perspectives on the Ambaquista Network', p. 328; Dias, 'Novas Identidades Africanas', p. 328. It is fruitful to position the figure of the *ambaquista* in relation to a wider tradition of resistance in Angolan letters. As Dorothée Boulanger notes: 'The late nineteenth century was a key moment in the construction of a collective identity supported by a literary discourse of resistance to colonial rule.' [Dorothée Boulanger, 'Centring Women or Rehabilitating Masculinity? Gender, Literature and Late Nineteenth Century Angola', in *Gendering the Portuguese-Speaking World: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 179–198 (p. 183).] Catarina Madeira Santos, for example, has written on the instrumentalisation of writing by members of communities 'longtemps considérées par l'historiographie comme des sociétés largement éloignées des pratiques de l'écrit' [Catarina Madeira Santos, 'Écrire le pouvoir en Angola: Les archives ndembu (XVIIe -XXe siècles)', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64:4 (2009), 767–795 (p. 767].

[17] 'Cronologia', in José Luandino Vieira, *Papéis da Prisão: Apontamentos, Diário, Correspondência (1962–1971)*, ed. by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, Mônica V. Silva and Roberto Vecchi (Alfragide: Editorial Caminho, 2015), pp. 1009–1034 (p. 1012).

[18] The Estado Novo (1933–1974) was a dictatorial regime that prevailed in Portugal for over four decades under António de Oliveira Salazar (1932–1968) and his successor Marcello Caetano (1968–1974). The Estado Novo began with the promulgation of the Constituição Política da República Portuguesa de 1933, and ended with the Revolução de 25 de Abril (also known as Revolução dos Cravos) in 1974. The Estado Novo revised Portugal's relationship with its colonies, regulated by the Acto Colonial, approved in 1930. With the revocation of the Acto Colonial in 1951, Portugal's *colônias* were to be reconceived as 'províncias ultramarinas', in line with the Estado Novo's Política Ultramarina and its emphasis on promoting the idea of a 'nação multirracial e pluricontinental'. The Estado Novo's approach to colonialism in Angola, as well as in Mozambique, may be described as settler colonialism, much like the case of the British colonies of South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and Kenya. However, Cláudia Castelo notes that, '[e]m qualquer destes territórios, não encontramos um modelo puro de colónias de povoamento, mas a combinação de diferentes aspectos de colónias de povoamento e colónias de exploração: a colonização fez-se simultaneamente por via do domínio político e jurídico da metrópole sobre as populações indígenas, da exploração da mão-de-obra e dos recursos locais e do povoamento europeu com carácter definitivo.' [Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para África: O Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (1920–1974)*, (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2007), p. 21.] In the 1940s and 1950s, the Estado Novo promoted policies which sought to encourage '[o] povoamento europeu com carácter definitivo'—policies which led to an increase in the colonies' white population.

da Graça's father, Joaquim Mateus da Graça; he was followed by his wife, Maria Alice Vieira, and their two children.[19] The 1930s saw Estado Novo officials, such as Armindo Monteiro (Ministro das Colónias, 1931–1935) as well as Salazar himself, defend that settlers in Portugal's African colonies should comprise 'apenas indivíduos com conhecimentos técnicos, quadros da indústria, do comércio e, sobretudo, da agricultura; técnicos que vão dirigir grandes empresas, técnicos que tomem conta de pequenas e médias explorações agrícolas'—that is, 'portugueses com capacidade financeira, iniciativa e qualificações técnicas'.[20] It was nevertheless the case that a portion of those who established themselves in the African continent, including da Graça's family, were Portuguese whites with little education and little means (broadly referred to as 'poor whites')[21] who were forced to settle in Luanda's *musseques*.[22]

In 1944, José da Graça's family installed itself in what was known as the *musseque* Braga (later Bairro do Café), situated between the neighbourhoods of Maculusso, to the north, and Alvalade, to the south.[23] The formative years of da Graça's childhood—which served as

[19] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1013.
[20] Cláudia Castelo, 'Migração Ultramarina: Contradições e Constrangimentos', *Ler História* 56 (2009), 69–82 (para. 9–10).
[21] According to Gerald Bender, the success of Portugal's policy of *povoamento planeado*—or planned settlement—depended on the 'quality' of *colonos* who were sent to the African colonies. However, as members of Portugal's middle and upper classes chose either to remain in the metropole or to settle in the Americas, the Estado Novo's bids to prospective *colonos* often appealed to peasants from the country's rural, agriculture-based regions or to poor labourers working in Portugal's urban centres. Bender notes, moreover, that few of these *colonos* desired to settle in the Angolan hinterland; rather, they were more inclined to establish themselves in urban centres, such as the port cities of Luanda and Benguela, forcing the black population out of unskilled work, aided, as they were, by the strict racial hierarchies that govern settler societies. [Gerald Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 98; Christoph Kalter, *Postcolonial People: The Return from Africa and the Remaking of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), p. 32.].
[22] From the Kimbundu *museke*, meaning 'Area grossa; terra saibrosa', the word *musseque* came to designate informal settlements on the outskirts of Luanda, characterised by the red-coloured sand of its unpaved streets—in contrast with the urbanised, asphalted Cidade Baixa. Unlike the Cidade Baixa, the *musseques* were primarily inhabited by the indigenous African population. [António de Assis Júnior, *Dicionário Kimbundu-Português* (Luanda: Edição de Argente, Santos & Cia. Ltda., n/d), p. 317.]
[23] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1013. The *musseque* Braga and the process of gentrification that led to the construction of its successor, the Bairro do Café, are documented in *A Cidade e a Infância* (1960). The narrator of 'A Cidade e a Infância', which lends its title to the collection as a whole, provides a description of this process: 'Moravam numa casa de blocos nús com telhado de zinco. […] Hoje muitos edifícios foram construídos. As casas de pau-a-pique e zinco foram substituídas por prédios de ferro e cimento, a areia vermelha coberta pelo

the basis for the *estórias* collected in *A Cidade e a Infância* (1960)—were spent precisely in these *musseques,* alongside the neighbourhood children, 'nós, meninos brancos e negros'.[24] 'A infância vivida nos bairros populares,' affirms Rita Chaves, 'em comunhão com os meninos negros e mestiços e a gente pobre da cidade, deixaria marcas fortes e seria convertida em poderosa experiência.' [25] For da Graça, the *musseque* came to embody this 'comunhão' between the white, black, and mixed-race inhabitants of the Angolan capital—a capital marked by a distinctive Creole culture—and became a privileged site of aesthetic and political investment.[26] Indeed, in an interview with Ana Mafalda Leite, the Angolan writer is quick to recognise that '[i]f I had not lived where I lived, and if I had not had the freedom I had, I would have been just like the child of any other settler'.[27] '[U]m produto feliz do paradoxo do sistema colonial português,' in the words of Russell G. Hamilton, José da Graça, raised in

asfalto negro e a rua deixou de ser a Rua do Lima. Deram-lhe outro nome. […] Ali cresceram as crianças. Ali o pai arranjou o dinheiro com que anos mais tarde, já eles andavam na escola, comprou a casa no musseque Braga. Casa de zinco com grande quintal de goiabeiras e mamoeiros. Laranjeiras e limoeiros. Muita água. Rodeado de cubatas de negros, capim e piteiras, era assim o musseque Braga onde hoje fica o luminoso e limpo Bairro do Café.' [José Luandino Vieira, *A Cidade e a Infância* (Lisbon: Edições 70/União dos Escritores Angolanos, 1977), pp. 103–104.]

[24] Luandino Vieira, *A Cidade e a Infância*, p. 66.

[25] Rita Chaves, *Angola e Moçambique: Experiência Colonial e Territórios Literários* (São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial, 2005), pp. 22–23.

[26] The term 'Creole' has often been used to describe Angola's Luanda-based elite, which emerged 'from the encounter of African chieftaincies and European merchants from the late sixteenth century onwards, who served as intermediaries in the Atlantic slave trade until abolition in the mid-nineteenth century'. [Dorothée Boulanger, *Fiction as History: Resistance and Complicities in Angolan Postcolonial Literature* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2022), p. 6.] More recently, following Jill R. Dias, the term has come to designate an elite 'of European descent or of indigenous African descent, assimilated in varying degrees to European culture'—an elite which, until the mid-nineteenth century, regarded itself as Portuguese, only to reclaim an identity as *filhos da terra* towards the late-nineteenth century. [Jacopo Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Protonationalism: 1870–1920* (Amherst, MA and New York, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 242.] This heterogeneous 'sociocultural category' was not merely the result of miscegenation; rather, it shared 'uma consciência e um orgulho colectivos de identidade cristã católica e portuguesa, face aos africanos "gentios" do sertão'. [Corrado, p. 243; Jill Dias, 'Uma questão de identidade: Respostas intelectuais às transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930', *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1 (1984), 61–94 (p. 64).] For more on the rise of a Creole elite in seventeenth-century Angola, see Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). For more on the Creole identity of Angola's twentieth-century political elite, see Michel Cahen, 'Pontos comuns e heterogeneidades das cúlturas políticas nos PALOPs — um ponto de vista pós-póscolonial'*, História: Questões e Debates*, 62 (2015), 19–47; Boulanger, 'The Seventeenth Century: Birth of a Nation?', in *Fiction as History: Resistance and Complicities in Angolan Postcolonial Literature*, pp. 65–86.

[27] 'Interview with Luandino Vieira', in *Speaking the Postcolonial Nation: Interviews with Writers from Angola and Mozambique*, ed. by Ana Mafalda Leite, Sheila Khan, Jessica Falconi, and Kamila Krakowska (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 7–32 (p. 11). Despite his family's status within settler society, José da Graça was a pupil at the Liceu Salvador Correia, which catered to the Portuguese colonial elite. ['Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1013.]

Luanda's 'bairros populares' alongside 'meninos das três comunidades rácico-sociais,' 'não só observou como também *participou* da vida crioulo-kimbundu dos musseques'.[28] It is within the material environment of the *musseque* that José da Graça 'adquire grande parte da cultura popular angolana'.[29]

It was also within the *musseque* that the Angolan writer, alongside other Angolan intellectuals, became involved in the politics of Angolan nationalism. In the late 1950s, as Marissa Moorman notes, culture flourished in the *musseques* 'sometimes [as] a cover for nationalist politics, sometimes [as] a stepping-stone to it, and sometimes [as] the creation of a space parallel to politics but political in its own right'.[30] This coincided with the emergence of organised nationalist movements across Angola: the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) was founded in 1954, followed by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola in 1960.[31] This was met with an escalation in the colonial regime's use of repression, which increased both in the metropole and its colonies. Indeed, on 23 July 1959, José da Graça—now widely known as Luandino Vieira—was detained by agents of the Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE) suspected of harboring connections with the nascent MPLA. His detention was part of a wave of arrests of Angolan nationalists that has come to be known as the Processo dos 50.

Luandino Vieira was arrested once again on 20 November 1961, accused of subversive activities against the colonial regime. After being detained for three years in the Pavilhão

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[28] Russell G. Hamilton, *Literatura Africana, Literatura Necessária: Angola* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1981), p. 130.
[29] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1013.
[30] Marissa J. Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola from 1945 to Recent Times* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), p. 58.
[31] While the founding of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) is often traced back to 1956—to what Christine Messiant refers to as 'un congrès de fondation tenu le 10 décembre 1956', most scholars, including Mário Pinto de Andrade, dispute this, attributing the MPLA's foundation to 1960. For Pinto de Andrade's statement regarding the founding of the MPLA, see Christine Messiant, 'Sur la première génération du mpla (1948–1960): Entretiens avec Mário de Andrade (1982)', *L'Angola postcolonial 2. Sociologie politique d'une oléocratie* (Paris: Karthala, 2009), pp. 105–151.

Prisional da PIDE and the Cadeia do Comando da Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP) in Luanda, Luandino Vieira was sentenced to fourteen years of incarceration in 1963. After a short period of detention in the Cadeia Comarcã, he was sent to the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal in Cape Verde in 1964. It is within the walls of each of these prisons that Luandino Vieira penned the majority of his *oeuvre*, including his most well-known work, the collection of short stories *Luuanda*, published in 1963 by Edições 70.[32] According to Manuel Ferreira, 'é, de feito, após a publicação de *Luuanda* […] e nomeadamente em 1965, quando lhe é atribuído o Grande Prémio de Novelística da Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores, que o seu nome surge, diríamos irrompe nos mais variados jornais de Portugal, Angola e Moçambique, e até doutros países estrangeiros'.[33] The publication of *Luuanda* brought Luandino Vieira international recognition as a writer committed to the Angolan anticolonial struggle. He was released in 1972 and sent into exile in Lisbon.

After Angola gained independence on 11 November 1975, Luandino Vieira became involved in the recently-independent nation's political life, serving as the director of the Departamento de Orientação Revolucionária do MPLA (1975–1979), of the Televisão Popular de Angola (1975–1978), and of the Instituto Angolano de Cinema (1979–1984). During this period, Luandino Vieira cofounded the União dos Escritores Angolanos, of which he was twice Secretary General (1975–1980, 1985–1992). Despite a twenty-year hiatus, Luandino

[32] The collection of short stories *Luuanda* is widely regarded by critics to be Luandino Vieira's most significant work. Written in the first years of his incarceration, *Luuanda* was awarded the Prémio D. Maria José Abrantes Mota Veiga in Luanda in 1964 and the Grande Prémio de Novelística in Lisbon in 1965 by the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores. Following the announcement, Galvão Teles (Ministro da Educação Nacional, 1962–1968) determined that the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores be extinguished. The justification for the Estado Novo's censorship of *Luuanda* and of the Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores was that its author was then in prison, accused of subversive activities against the regime. For a full account of the events surrounding *Luuanda*, see Tânia Macedo, 'Intelectuais e a censura em Portugal: o caso do livro *Luuanda*, de José Luandino Vieira', *Revista Brasileira de História* 43:93 (2023), 179–197.

[33] Manuel Ferreira, '«Luuanda» / Sociedade Portuguesa de Escritores—um caso de agressão ideológica', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, ed. by Michel Laban (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1980), pp. 105–116. (pp. 107–108).

Vieira was awarded the Prémio Camões—the most distinguished literary prize in the Portuguese-speaking world—in 2006, which he refused.

Multilingualism

A 'Linguagem Luandina'

In *Voices from an Empire: A History of Afro-Portuguese Literature* (1975)—the first full-length work of literary criticism to survey the literatures of Portuguese-speaking Africa—Russell G. Hamilton sketches out one of the earliest descriptions of what would come to be known as Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina'. The Angolan writer, he states, 'makes use of a fictional language that combines standard Portuguese with black speech patterns, the latter being known as black Portuguese or *pequeno português*', which features 'a smattering of Kimbundu words'.[34] The literary use of this 'dialectal deformation' was the object of 'negative judgments', with critics claiming that 'the speech patterns in [Luandino Vieira's] stories represent the way whites think blacks talk'.[35] Hamilton, however, is quick to defend what he views as the Angolan writer's 'stylized re-creation of *musseque* speech patterns', as opposed to other white writers' 'demeaning exaggerations', which 'detract from the work' with 'potentially condescending racial and social overtones'.[36] Furthermore, Hamilton maintains that, on the whole, Luandino Vieira's 'use of Kimbundu'—which the critic limits to 'phrases'—'does not present [m]any more difficulties for the reader of standard Portuguese'.[37] It is important to note, however, that Hamilton's *Voices from an Empire* preceded the publication of several of Luandino Vieira's works, in particular those written in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

[34] Russell G. Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire: A History of Afro-Portuguese Literature* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p. 135.
[35] Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire*, p. 135.
[36] Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire*, p. 135.
[37] Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire*, p. 135.

Hamilton's is one of several critical appraisals of Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina'.[38] For Irwin Stern, the 'registo linguístico' in the work of Luandino Vieira—famously described by Stern as a 'terceiro registo' resulting from the contact between Portuguese and Kimbundu—constitutes the author's 'consideração-chave [...] na sua tentativa de realizar uma língua literária verdadeiramente angolana'.[39] In a similar manner, Ana Mafalda Leite understands these 'linguistic innovations' as a means by which Luandino Vieira 'sought to capture in [his] prose the *angolanidade* of the Portuguese spoken in the country', one inflected by Angola's indigenous languages.[40] While the construction of *angolanidade* entailed a process of 're-Africanisation' in opposition to Portugal, Moorman understands *angolanidade*, as it was conceived of in the 1960s and 1970s, in terms of 'a distinctly Angolan culture that was neither purely African nor predominantly European'.[41] It is this approach, reminiscent of Homi Bhabha's conceptualisation of 'hybridity', that characterises most critical

[38] The Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina' has been the subject of a long-standing critical debate. In addition to Hamilton's *Voices from an Empire*, see also Russell G. Hamilton, 'Preto no Branco, Branco no Preto: Contradições Linguísticas na Novelística Angolana', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 147–188; Irwin Stern, 'A Novelística de Luandino Vieira: Descolonização ao Nível do Terceiro Registro', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 189–198; José Augusto Seabra, 'Poética e Logotetismo', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 199–210; Mário Pinto de Andrade, 'Uma Nova Linguagem no Imaginário Angolano', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 219–229; Salvato Trigo, *Luandino Vieira: O Logoteta* (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1981); José Ornelas, 'José Luandino Vieira: A Desconstrução do Discurso Colonial', *Letras de Hoje* 25:2 (1990), 59–82; Tânia Macedo, 'O 'Pretoguês' e a Literatura de José Luandino Vieira', *Alfa* 36 (1992), 171–176; Pires Laranjeira, *Literaturas Africanas de Expressão Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Universidade Aberta, 1995); Phyllis Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997); Rita Chaves, 'José Luandino Vieira: Consciência Nacional e Desassossego', *Revista de Letras* 40 (2000), 77–98; Liliane Batista Barros, 'Os caminhos do sol: Um Estudo Comparativo entre *Sagarana* e *Luuanda*', in *A Kinda e a Misanga: Encontros Brasileiros com a Literatura Angola*, ed. by Rita Chaves, Tânia Macedo, and Rejane Vecchia (Luanda: Nzila, 2007), pp. 217–225; Maurício Silva, 'A Tradição da Transgressão: Língua Portuguesa e Identidade Cultural em Luandino Vieira', *Scripta* 11:20 (2007), 167–176; Inocência Mata, 'No fluxo da resistência: a literatura, (ainda) universo da reinvenção da diferença', *Gragoatá* 14:27 (2009), 11–31.
[39] Irwin Stern, 'A Novelística de Luandino Vieira: Descolonização ao Nível do Terceiro Registo', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 189–198 (p. 194).
[40] Ana Mafalda Leite, 'Angola', in *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*, ed. by Patrick Chabal (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1996), pp. 103–164 (p. 110).
[41] Jon Schubert, *Working the System: A Political Ethnography of the New Angola* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2017), p. 86; Moorman, *Intonations*, p. 24.

discourse on the work of Luandino Vieira and, more specifically, the development of his 'linguagem luandina', with its '*dupla* origem—o português e o kimbundu'.[42]

Critics (as well as Luandino Vieira himself) often ascribe this 'rutura linguística,' to borrow Salvato Trigo's phrase, to the collection of short stories *Luuanda* (1963), which, Trigo argues, 'lança as bases para uma profunda africanização da linguagem literária de raiz portuguesa'.[43] Stern observes, however, that while linguistic innovation is more pronounced in *Luuanda*, the *estórias* featured in *Vidas Novas*, composed in 1962, 'contêm já os germes linguísticos que haveriam de florescer nas obras seguintes'.[44] That is, while 'perfeitamente compreensível', *Vidas Novas* already features several words from Kimbundu, in addition to what Stern vaguely refers to as other 'aspectos linguísticos novos e raros'.[45] Phyllis Peres corroborates this in *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative* (1997), where she notes that critics of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* 'generally ascertain the development of his literary production in terms of [...] ruptures'.[46] Instead, Peres posits that Luandino Vieira's literary project must not be understood 'in terms of discontinuity', with the short stories that comprise *Luuanda* marking Luandino Vieira's 'rupture' with an 'immediacy of representation' that characterises what Trigo terms 'texto como *representação*'.[47] Rather, she argues that the Angolan writer's development constitutes 'a single literary project whose focus is that of remapping the contours of Luanda's hybrid identity'.[48] 'What are perceived as ruptures,' she claims, 'are actually violent negotiations of hybridity to define the liminal space

[42] Stern, 'A Novelística de Luandino Vieira', p. 194. Emphasis mine. For Homi Bhabha on the concept of 'hybridity', see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994).
[43] Salvato Trigo, '*Luuanda*: Nacionalização Literária, Reinvenção e Angolanização da Língua Portuguesa', in *De Luuanda a Luandino: Veredas*, ed. by Francisco Topa and Elsa Pereira (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2016), pp. 11–28 (p. 11); Trigo, *Luandino Vieira: O Logoteta*, cited in Trigo, '*Luuanda*: Nacionalização Literária, Reinvenção e Angolanização da Língua Portuguesa', p. 11.
[44] Stern, 'A Novelística de Luandino Vieira', p. 193.
[45] Stern, 'A Novelística de Luandino Vieira', p. 193.
[46] Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance*, p. 18.
[47] Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance*, p. 18; Trigo, 'Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo', p. 206. Emphasis in original.
[48] Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance*, p. 18.

that can be claimed as Angolan narrative', adding that, for Luandino Vieira, the 'space of liminality [...] is that of the transculturated *estória*'.[49] In this thesis, I follow Peres's privileging of continuity, as opposed to discontinuity, as a means of charting the development of what has been called his 'linguagem luandina'. Where I depart from Peres is in my reluctance to adopt the Bhabhian concept of 'hybridity', pervasive since the 1990s, as a term of critical engagement, wary of the reification of such categories as African and European, Portuguese and Kimbundu, and their dialectical synthesis.

Let us put this to the test with a prominent example from the novella *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (1961), to which I will return throughout this thesis. Written in 1961—the very year in which the Angolan anticolonial struggle broke out—*A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* revolves around the figure of Domingos Xavier, a tractor driver working on the construction site of a dam on the Kwanza River who is arrested, tortured, and killed by agents of the PIDE.[50] Outside the prison walls, the reader follows Maria, Domingos Xavier's wife and mother to their son Bastião, in her unyielding search for information as to her husband's whereabouts; the clandestine organisation of the nascent nationalist movement; and an intergenerational effort, led by *miúdo* Zito and *vavô* Petelo, to assist Maria in her confrontation with a hostile colonial bureaucracy. The description of the preparations of the *farra* at Mussunda's home, in the closing chapter of *Domingos Xavier*, contains a number of what are ostensibly Kimbundu words, which are interspersed throughout the text. The narrator states:

> …esses sabiam da farra na casa do sô Mussunda, e farra lá, não digo nada! Aquilo sim: música angolana, comida angolana, era tudo! Música brasileira e cubana

[49] Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance*, p. 18.
[50] Although *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* was written in 1961, the text would only be published a decade later, in Mário Pinto de Andrade and Chantal Tiberghien's 1971 French translation, *La Vraie Vie de Domingos Xavier*, published by Présence Africaine. The unpublished novella circulated clandestinely in the Angolan capital, in photocopies produced and distributed by the Sociedade Cultural de Angola 'para apoio ao Movimento de Libertação de Angola'. [José Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (Luanda: Sociedade Cultural de Angola, n/d), n.p.]

> também, o povo só, baião e merengue! E nada de música de rádio, isso não. Conjunto, mas conjunto do povo, como o Ngola, nessa noite.
>
> Toda a manhã, toda a tarde, mamãs e filhas fizeram as especialidades para levar na farra, a quitaba amarelou sua cor e folhas de bananeiras esconderam a boa quicuanga. Meninos, logo de manhã, foram no mercado, trouxeram a cola e o gengibre para fazer boca, esse bom maqueso. Outras mulheres preparavam um peixe bom e não faltava sempre o velho muzongue, caldo de aguentar forças de farristas já com a madrugada a entrar.
>
> Sete e meia, meninos corriam já, agarrando as gasosas e as garrafas de vinho, cerveja e quitoto, adiantar pôr nas selhas com gelo. E mamãs gordas ou secas dos anos arrumavam as comidas, sopravam fogareiro ou ensaiavam mesmo, no terreiro, passos de antiga massemba, lamentando esses meninos de agora não saibam essas danças do antigamente: só querem o xaxado, só querem o merengue.[51]

Words from the Kimbundu (that is, 'quitaba', 'quicuanga', 'maqueso', 'muzongue', 'quitoto', 'massemba') are, here, incorporated into the overwhelmingly Portuguese textual fabric of Luandino Vieira's novella—and are incorporated, moreover, without italicisations. The author chooses, instead, to gesture towards a relationship of even coexistence between Kimbundu and Portuguese, in which linguistic difference is not registered typographically, and through which neither Kimbundu nor Portuguese are represented as 'homogeneous or closed systems', but rather on a linguistic continuum.[52] In light of this, Luandino Vieira's decision to spell words such as 'quitaba', 'quicuanga', 'maqueso', and 'quitoto' with the letter 'q', characteristic of Portuguese, rather than as 'kitaba', 'kikuanga', 'makezu', and 'kitoto'—spelt with the homophonous letter 'k', characteristic of Kimbundu—may be understood as an early attempt at the construction of what Stern views as a 'terceiro registo'.[53] Through a process of reverse relexification, whereby words from the Kimbundu are inflected, here, by the orthographic (and elsewhere, grammatical) conventions of the Portuguese language, Luandino Vieira devises a literary language capable of exploring, in the words of Chantal Zabus, 'the hyphen between Mother tongue and Other tongue'.[54]

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[51] José Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (Lisbon: Edições, 1974), pp. 118–119.
[52] José Lambert, 'Translation and Mass Communication in the Age of Globalisation', in *Translation and Global Spaces of Power*, ed. by Stefan Baumgarten and Jordi Cornellà-Detrell (Bristol and Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters, 2018), pp. 127–143 (p. 131).
[53] Chantal Zabus, *The African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel*, 2nd edn (Amsterdam and Atlanta, Georgia: Rodopi, 1991), p. 4.
[54] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 4.

The use of what, in linguistics, is referred to as code-switching has often been conceived of as a means of inscribing difference. In *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), Bill Ashcroft et al. classify code-switching as a 'common method of inscribing alterity' in literature.[55] Ashcroft has more recently associated this inscription or 'installation of difference' with what he has termed the 'metonymic gap'.[56] This, he explains, is

> the cultural gap formed when writers transform [the received language] according to the needs of their source culture: by inserting unglossed words, phrases, or passages from a first language; by using concepts, allusions, or references that may be unknown to the reader; by syntactic fusion; by code-switching; by transforming literary language with vernacular syntax or rhythms; or even by generating a particular cultural music in their prosody. [...] Thus the inserted language 'stands for' the colonized culture in a metonymic way, and its very resistance to interpretation constructs a 'gap' between the writer's culture and the [received language] reader's understanding. The local writer is thus able to represent his or her world to the colonizer (and others) in the metropolitan language and, at the same time, to signal and emphasize a difference from it.[57]

Ashcroft, however, does not account for the manner in which relexification (or, as in the case of Luandino Vieira, reverse relexification) disrupts the received language/receiving language, European/African, coloniser/colonised dichotomies frequently invoked in discussions of code-switching in postcolonial literatures. Indeed, words that have undergone a process of relexification—unlike what Ashcroft refers to as 'untranslated words', whose function is to 'emphasize the (posited) experiential gap which lies at the heart of any cross-cultural text'—do not perform difference in as uncomplicated a fashion, but serve rather to evoke at once familiarity and foreignness.[58] Zabus, with regards to relexification, asserts: 'When relexified, it is not "metropolitan" English or French that appears on the page but an unfamiliar European language that constantly suggests another tongue.'[59] The *unheimlich* quality that relexification

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[55] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd edn (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), p. 72.
[56] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 71; Bill Ashcroft, 'Bridging the Silence: Inner Translation and the Metonymic Gap', in *Language and Translation in Postcolonial Literatures: Multilingual Contexts, Translational Texts*, ed. by Simona Bertacco (Oxford and New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), pp. 17–31 (p. 24).
[57] Ashcroft, 'Bridging the Silence: Inner Translation and the Metonymic Gap', p. 24.
[58] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 65.
[59] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, pp. 115–116.

lends to language may be observed in the above passage from *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, as in the work of Luandino Vieira more generally, where not only does Portuguese emerge as 'an unfamiliar European language', but, through one and the same process, a lusophonised Kimbundu is made familiar to metropolitan readerships.

It has, nevertheless, been the case that critics of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, as well as Luandino Vieira himself, have overwhelmingly privileged, in the words of Vima Lia Martin, the author's 'diferenciação da língua da metrópole'.[60] For example, Rita Chaves argues that '[a] "imperfeição" no uso'—which Hamilton, twenty-five years earlier, might have deemed a 'dialectal deformation'—'se redimensiona e vira selo de apropriação. As "limitações" e as "complementações" no texto literário devem ser interpretadas como uma forma de sancionar esse uso "imperfeito" da língua em lugar de aderir à norma padrão do idioma de fora trazido'.[61] Against '[a] norma padrão do idioma', the Angolan writer imposes what Chaves terms 'rupturas […] à língua imposta pelo colonizador'.[62] Echoing Ashcroft et al. and their description of the process of 'appropriation', whereby '[l]anguage is adopted as a tool […] to express widely differing cultural experiences' and brought 'under the influence of a vernacular tongue', Chaves explains:

> Modificá-la, ampliando o léxico e alterando-lhe a sintaxe, é, sem dúvida, uma maneira de dela apropriar-se. O padrão normativo identificado com o colonizador é rejeitado e em seu lugar emerge uma língua transformada, revigorada pela circulação dos elementos da terra, revitalizada pela aproximação com as línguas nacionais.[63]

Luandino Vieira himself warrants this interpretation. In an interview with *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Idéias*, for example, the Angolan writer states that

> como estávamos numa fase de alta contestação política—e um dos elementos dessa contestação política do colonialismo era afirmar a nossa diferença cultural, mesmo na

[60] Vima Lia Martin, *Literatura e Marginalidade: Um Estudo sobre* Malagueta, Perus e Bacanaço *de João Antônio e* Luuanda *de Luandino Vieira* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2008), p. 64.
[61] Chaves, 'José Luandino Vieira: Consciência Nacional e Desassossego', p. 90.
[62] Chaves, 'José Luandino Vieira: Consciência Nacional e Desassossego', p. 90.
[63] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 38; Chaves, 'José Luandino Vieira: Consciência Nacional e Desassossego', p. 90.

> língua—um bichinho qualquer soprou-me a dizer-me: 'Por que é que tu não escreves em língua portuguesa de tal maneira que nenhum português perceba!'[64]

Moreover, he conceives of this 'installation of difference', of 'a nossa diferença cultural', as containing 'alguma coisa de deliberado, de provocatório'—in other words, as a weapon, constituting a means by which a 'comfortable assimilation' of the text by Portuguese audiences is deliberately obstructed.[65] Indeed, his use of the first-person plural (i.e., 'nossa') mirrors the discursive construction of a collective Angolan identity in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* and its emphasis on the difference between 'nós' and 'eles' (see Chapter 3). However, to overemphasise this difference, be it cultural or linguistic—as does Trigo when he affirms that 'o *logotetismo* luandino se constrói a partir da *diferença*'—is to neglect the extent to which Luandino Vieira's literary project is characterised by a constant negotiation between what Sherry Simon (here discussing translation) calls acts of 'furthering' and 'distancing', which enable a 'mutual becoming' even as they '[deepen] a sense of otherness'.[66] For Simon, translation possesses a 'paradoxical nature', functioning as a 'bridge' that, in a manner similar to Zabus's image of the 'hyphen', 'separates as much as it joins'.[67]

In his seminal essay 'Discourse in the Novel', published in *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981), Mikhail Bakhtin describes this process as 'the interaction and interanimation of languages'.[68] This 'interaction and interanimation' is in part responsible for what Bakhtin terms 'heteroglossia'—a 'polyphony of social and discursive forces' or, in Michael Holquist's

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[64] 'Um escritor confessa-se…', *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Idéias* (9 May 1989), p. 10 cited in Martin, *Literatura e Marginalidade*, p. 64.
[65] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 71; 'Um escritor confessa-se…', *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Idéias* (9 May 1989), p. 10 cited in Martin, *Literatura e Marginalidade*, p. 64; Maria Tymoczko, 'Post-Colonial Writing and Literary Translation', in *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), pp. 19–40 (p. 22).
[66] Salvato Trigo, *Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo: José Luandino Vieira – O Percurso duma Escrita* (Universidade do Porto, 1980), p. 512; Sherry Simon, *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (Oxford and New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), pp. 13, 17.
[67] Simon, *Cities in Translation*, p. 13.
[68] Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 259–422 (pp. 414–415).

words, ‘a way of conceiving the world as made up of a roiling mass of languages’.[69] The term ‘polyphony’ itself indicates, in Bakhtin’s work, a particular conceptualisation of language. As Deborah J. Haynes explains, with respect to Bakhtin’s thought, ‘polyphony’ refers to ‘the interaction of multiple distinct voices that do not merge’.[70] Bakhtin terms the opposite conceptualisation of language ‘monologism’, in which language is viewed as ‘a single authoritative voice’.[71] Monologism is, for Bakhtin, anathema to meaningful cultural production. He argues, for instance, that the value of Roman literature ‘is connected in a fundamental way with [its] trilingual cultural home; this literature was born in the interanimation of three languages—one that was indigenously its own, and two that were other but that were experienced as indigenous’.[72] Indeed, where ‘languages and cultures interanimated each other’ more generally, ‘language became something entirely different, its very nature changed: in place of a single, unitary sealed-off Ptolemaic world of language, there appeared the open Galilean world of many languages, mutually animating each other’.[73] It is, therefore, a Bakhtinian perspective of language that informs Per Linell’s suggestion that ‘language itself, as described by linguists, and, in particular, unitary individual languages are things constructed, “made”, partly even fabricated, rather than something given and existing out there’.[74]

[69] Michael Holquist, *Dialogism* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), p. 69, p. 67.
[70] Deborah J. Haynes, *Bakhtin Reframed* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), p. 144.
[71] Haynes, Bakhtin Reframed, p. 144.
[72] Bakhtin, ‘From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse’, in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 41–83 (p. 63).
[73] Bakhtin, ‘From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse’, p. 65.
[74] Per Linell, ‘Recontextualizing Non-Bakhtinian Theories of Language: A Bakhtinian Analysis’, in *Bakhtinian Perspectives on Language and Culture: Meaning in Language, Art and New Media*, ed. by Finn Bostad, Craig Brandist, Lars Sigfred Evensen, and Hege Charlotte Faber (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 114–132 (p. 119).

The Linguistic Landscape

José Luandino Vieira's writing emerges from a linguistic landscape which, like that of most of sub-Saharan Africa, has been understood as a multilingual one. As Richard Fardon and Graham Furniss posit in *African Languages, Development and the State* (1994): 'To put the matter at its boldest, multilingualism is the African lingua franca.'[75] Angola is home to what Ethnologue outlines as forty-one living indigenous languages—of which six are considered 'national languages'—as well as four living non-indigenous languages, one of which is Portuguese, the country's 'official language'.[76] These languages, however, both indigenous and non-indigenous, have not coexisted equally. Although Angola's linguistic landscape might be described as one of 'dense multilingualism', it has nevertheless been marked by an acute diglossia[77], whereby the 'functions of communication are distributed in a binary fashion, between a culturally prestigious language […] and another language, generally widely spoken but devoid of prestige'.[78]

Throughout the colonial period (1885–1975), Portuguese assumed the role of one of what Joseph Errington terms, in his seminal *Linguistics in a Colonial World* (2008), 'languages of colonial command'.[79] As Boubacar Diarra writes, 'absolute priority was given to Portuguese' as the language utilised in the 'political sphere, in the public service and in

[75] Richard Fardon and Graham Furniss, 'Introduction: Frontiers and Boundaries — African Languages as Political Environment', in *African Languages, Development and the State*, ed. by Richard Fardon and Graham Furniss (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1–29 (p. 4).
[76] 'Angola', *Ethnologue* <https://www.ethnologue.com/country/AO/> [Accessed 28 February 2023].
[77] The term 'diglossia' was first employed by Charles Ferguson to describe situations in which 'two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play' [Charles A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word*, 15 (1959), 325–340 (p. 325)]. Here, the term 'diglossia' is used, following Louis–Jean Calvet's *La Guerre des Langues* and Chantal Zabus's *The African Palimpsest*, to reflect 'not only Ferguson's 'high' and 'low' genetically linked varieties […] but unrelated languages as well' [Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 14].
[78] Efurosibina Adegbija, *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1994), p. 14; Zabus, p. 28, p. 13.
[79] Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), p. 2

cultural affairs, as well as in education, both [formal] and informal'.[80] While '[l]ocal languages were looked down upon'—indeed, what few 'systematic studies [were] carried out to investigate and make use of them', in most circumstances by Christian missionaries, sought to enable what Bernard Cohn terms the necessary 'command of colonial languages'[81]—Portuguese, the 'language of imposition', was 'given far more power and institutional functions'.[82] The linguistic landscape of Angola, like that of much of sub-Saharan Africa, has therefore been characterised by what Efurosibina Adegbija describes as 'a peculiar situation in which a language not indigenous to a country, but imposed from outside, becomes supreme in official transactions, in the educational domain and the general running of government'.[83]

The diglossic character of Portugal's language policy in the African continent was aggravated by the promulgation, in 1926, of what is known as the Estatuto do Indigenato, which instituted Portugal's policy of *assimilação*.[84] The Estatuto do Indigenato determined that the legal category of *indígena* encompassed 'os indivíduos de raça negra ou dela descendentes que, pela sua ilustração e costumes, se não distingam do comum daquela raça'—a category that, by the 1950s, had become more restrictive. With the revised *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique*, published on 20 May 1954, the *indígena* came to encompass not only 'os indivíduos de raça negra ou os seus descendentes', but also those who, 'tendo nascido ou vivendo habitualmente [nas províncias],

[80] Boubacar Diarra, 'Choice and Description of National Languages with Regard to their Utility in Literacy and Education in Angola', in *Towards a Multilingual Culture of Education*, ed. by Adama Ouane (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 2003), pp. 333–348 (p. 334).
[81] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 16, cited in Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, p. 3.
[82] Diarra, 'Choice and Description of National Languages', p. 333; Adegbija, *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa*, p. 20, p. 2.
[83] Adegbija, *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa*, p. 17.
[84] The *Estatuto Político, Social e Criminal dos Indígenas de Angola e Moçambique* (1926), or the Estatuto do Indigenato, sought legally to formalise the metropole's relationship with the indigenous populations of Angola and Mozambique, establishing the legal status of *assimilado*. It was followed by the *Acto Colonial* (1930), the *Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português e Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina* (1933), and the *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique* (1954).

não possuam ainda a ilustração e os hábitos individuais e sociais pressupostos para a integral aplicação do direito público e privado dos cidadãos portugueses'.[85] Among the 'hábitos individuais e sociais' outlined by the Estatuto do Indigenato, '[f]alar correctamente a língua portuguesa'—as opposed to what was pejoratively deemed 'pretoguês'—was an indispensable requirement for those seeking the legal status of *assimilado*.[86] Angolan linguist Amélia A. Mingas, in her foundational study *Interferência do Kimbundu no Português falado em Lwanda* (2000), argues that such policies

> cri[aram] não só condições óptimas para a promoção do português, como também […] a ideia de que as línguas locais eram inferiores ao português e […] um sentimento de vergonha por parte de alguns Angolanos ao admitirem ter uma língua sem prestígio como língua primeira e/ou materna.[87]

Indeed, that 'o bom conhecimento da língua portuguesa' came to be regarded as the 'condição mais importante para aceder a qualquer posição de destaque na sociedade colonial', stresses Mingas, discouraged the use of indigenous languages by *assimilados*.[88]

Nevertheless, Portugal's stance regarding the use of indigenous languages can be gleaned from colonial legislation prior to the promulgation of the Estatuto do Indigenato. On 6 March 1921, Norton de Matos (Governador-Geral de Angola, 1912–1915, 1921–1923) sanctioned Legislação nº 77, which stipulated that 'nas escolas católicas, é proibido ensinar línguas indígenas'; that 'a utilização das línguas indígenas no catecismo não é permitida a não ser como auxiliar durante o período de ensino elementar da língua portuguesa'; and that 'o emprego das línguas indígenas ou qualquer outra língua, à excepção do português, por escrito ou por panfleto, jornal, […] na catequese das missões, nas escolas e em todos os contactos

[85] José Carlos Ney Ferreira and Vasco Soares da Veiga, *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique: Anotado e Legislação Complementar* (Lisbon: n/p, 1957), p. 14.
[86] Ferreira and Veiga, *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses*, p. 112.
[87] Amélia A. Mingas, *Interferência do Kimbundu no Português Falado em Lwanda* (Luanda: Chá de Caxinde, 2000), p. 16.
[88] Mingas, *Interferência do Kimbundu no Português Falado em Lwanda*, p. 32.

com as populações locais' was strictly prohibited.[89] Such were the restrictions on the use of indigenous languages—and, indeed, of 'qualquer outra língua, à excepção do português'—that the colonial administration came to demand that any material printed in an African language must be accompanied by a translation into Portuguese.[90] The language policy adopted by the Portuguese in Angola is contemplated by John Spencer's summary of the main colonial language policies in the African continent:

> The major distinction between the language policies of the different colonial powers in Africa may be said to be illustrated in […] two early instances. Either there was an almost total rejection of vernacular languages in official administration and education; or alternatively there was some attempt to find a place for the vernaculars within the educational system—sometimes in the face of opposition from the Africans—and to give limited encouragement to the use of selected vernaculars in local administration and elsewhere.[91]

Following the former description, Portugal's language policy in Angola was one of 'cultural centralism', characterised by 'an almost total rejection of vernacular languages', pursuing instead a 'policy of using their own language exclusively' in all areas of colonial administration, including education.[92] This policy, Spencer explains, was 'motivated […] by a belief that in the long run the metropolitan community and the African peoples subject to their rule must share a common political and cultural destiny'.[93]

The post-independence period ushered in changes to language policy in Angola. However, as Diarra states, the 'de facto language policy' in post-independence Angola was still characterised by the 'coexistence' of Angola's indigenous languages and Portuguese 'in a context of multilingualism' where the latter 'enjoy[ed] considerable prestige'.[94] In light of the 'dense multilingualism' of Angola's linguistic landscape, Portuguese was elected by the

[89] Norton de Matos, 'Legislação nº 77', *Boletim Oficial de Angola* 5:1 (9 December 1921), cited in Mingas, *Interferência do Kimbundu no Português Falado em Lwanda*, p. 33.
[90] John Spencer, 'Colonial Languages Policies and their Legacies', *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa* 7 (1971), 537–547 (p. 542).
[91] Spencer, 'Colonial Languages Policies and their Legacies', p. 542.
[92] Spencer, 'Colonial Languages Policies and their Legacies', p. 543, p. 537.
[93] Spencer, 'Colonial Languages Policies and their Legacies', p. 542.
[94] Diarra, 'Choice and Description of National Languages', p. 338.

MPLA as the 'official language' of the newly-independent Angola. It was envisioned as the language of national unification in the face of the 'tribalism' represented by the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), 'desempenh[ando um] papel diferente em relação a […] modelos de angolanidade'.[95] It is important to note that, on the whole, the upper echelons of the MPLA, composed predominantly by members of a Portuguese-speaking Creole elite, did not speak Angola's indigenous languages. Botelho Jimbi and Dinis Vandor Sicala have recently noted that the independent nation's first constitution, known as the *Lei Constitucional da República Popular de Angola*, promulgated on 10 November 1975, 'seems to discourage' the use of Angola's indigenous languages. Citing Article 5—'Será promovida e intensificada a solidariedade económica, social e cultural entre todas as regiões da República Popular de Angola, no sentido do desenvolvimento comum de toda a Nação Angolana e da liquidação das sequelas do regionalismo e do tribalismo.'[96]—they highlight the potentially implicit equivalence of Angola's indigenous languages with 'regionalismo e […] tribalismo', as well as these languages' threat to an 'Estado unitário e indivisível' (Article 4).[97]

Indeed, while the post-independence government established the Instituto Nacional de Línguas (INL) in 1979—renamed Instituto de Línguas Nacionais (ILN) in 1983—it was not until 1987, with the sanctioning of Resolução n° 3/87, that the standardised alphabets of six 'national languages', as well as guidelines for their respective transcription, were approved by the Conselho de Ministros. The Resolução states:

[95] Heloísa Tramontim de Oliveira, 'A Relação das Línguas com a Construção do Estado-Nação Angolano', in *Kadila: Culturas e Ambientes — Diálogos Brasil-Angola*, ed. by Ilka Boaventura Leite and Cristine Gorski Severo (São Paulo: Editora Edgard Blücher, 2016), 219–240 (p. 229).
[96] República Popular de Angola, *Lei Constitucional da República Popular de Angola* (s/l: Edição INA, 1975), p. 6, cited in Botelho Jimbi and Dinis Vandor Sicala, 'The Construct of 'National' Languages in Independent Angola: Towards Its Deconstruction', *Journal of the British Academy* 10:6 (2022), 59–76 (p. 68).
[97] Jimbi and Sicala, 'The Construct of 'National' Languages', pp. 68–69; República Popular de Angola, *Lei Constitucional da República Popular de Angola*, p. 5.

> Considerando que as Línguas Nacionais, suporte e veículo das heranças culturais, exigem um tratamento privilegiado, pois que constituem um dos fundamentos importantes da Identidade Cultural do povo Angolano;
>
> Tornando-se necessário dar continuidade ao estudo científico das Línguas Nacionais, base para o seu desenvolvimento e garantia para a sua preservação e promoção;
>
> Considerando a necessidade da uniformização da escrita em Línguas Nacionais […]
>
> Considerando que o projecto experimental da Alfabetização em Línguas Nacionais está em vias de concretização […]
>
> São aprovados a título experimental os Alfabetos das Línguas: «Kikongo», «Kimbundú», «Cokwé», «Umbundu», «Mbunda», e «Oxikwanyama» e as respectivas Regras de Transcrição, em anexo que fazem parte do presente diploma.[98]

The Resolução n° 3/87 was concurrent with the launch of a project entitled 'Development of the National Languages of the People's Republic of Angola', sponsored by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The project sought to select 'certain of the languages spoken within the country, or more precisely the most representative dialects thereof, with a view to preparing a scientific description of them' and to create the 'linguistic tools for enabling these languages to be used in written form'.[99] In spite of these initiatives, Jimbi and Sicala note that the Lei Constitucional da República Popular de Angola, in effect until 1991, 'does not contain any articles that clearly refer to […] Angolan languages as 'national languages' or give them legal standing'.[100] Angola's most recent constitution, effective since 21 January 2010, states under Article 19 that while '[o] Estado valoriza e promove o estudo, o ensino e a utilização das demais línguas de Angola', it is nevertheless the case that '[a] língua oficial da República de Angola é o português'.[101]

The linguistic landscape of Angola can, therefore, be said to be marked by a 'coloniality of language', a term used by Finex Ndhlovu and Leketi Makalela in their recent

[98] 'Resolução n° 3/87 de 23 de Maio', *Embaixada de Angola* <http://www.embaixadadeangola.org/cultura/linguas/set_lnac.html> [Accessed 9 April 2023].
[99] Diarra, 'Choice and Description of National Languages', pp. 334–335.
[100] Jimbi and Sicala, 'The Construct of 'National' Languages', p. 68.
[101] República de Angola, *Constituição da República de Angola* (Luanda: Assembleia Constituinte, 2010) < https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/pt/ao/ao001pt.pdf> [Accessed 20 April 2023].

Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa (2021) to describe the phenomenon by which 'notions of language and multilingualism in postcolonial societies still remain colonial'.[102] They posit that '[a]ll languages that are counted under dominant models of multilingualism (mostly under the banner of official and national languages) are semiotic social inventions that serve the colonial purpose of invisibiling other language practices'.[103] Following Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook's claim that '*languages*, *conceptions of languageness* and the *metalanguages* used to describe them are inventions', Ndhlovu and Makalela, as well as scholars of colonial linguistics more broadly, argue that what are considered 'standard "national languages"'—such as the six 'national languages' established by the Resolução n° 3/87, approved by the MPLA twenty-two years after Angolan independence—'were invented and deployed towards sociocultural and political engineering processes that produced skewed versions of local native/indigenous identities'.[104] If David Gramling has written on 'the "inventions" of monolingualism', it is also possible to speak of the 'inventions' of multilingualism 'under dominant models' of language use 'that serve the colonial purpose of invisibiling other language practices'.[105] Indeed, as Gramling notes, citing Makoni: to focus on '"lingualism" of any particular sort—whether mono, multi, metro, bi or otherwise—' is to obscure the ways in which languages function less as 'quantifiable objects' (implied by the prefix *multi–*) and more as 'relational social practices that are not always amenable to

[102] Finex Ndhlovu and Leketi Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa: Recentering Silenced Voices from the Global South* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2021), p. 17.
[103] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17.
[104] Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook, 'Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages', in *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*, ed. by Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook (Blue Ridge Summit, PA: Multilingual Matters, 2006), pp. 1–41 (p. 1); Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17. Emphasis in original. For more on the colonial invention of languages, particularly in the Southern African context, see Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1985); Leroy Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); Herbert Chimhundu, 'Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the 'Invention of Tribalism' in Zimbabwe', *The Journal of African History* 33:1 (1992), 87–109.
[105] David Gramling, *The Invention of Monolingualism* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 1; Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17. For Gramling's recent contribution to this debate, see David Gramling, *The Invention of Multilingualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

processes and procedures of enumeration'.[106] In addition to an emphasis on difference, which tends to emphasise the consequences of the author's literary language for a Portuguese readership, this thesis also develops perspectives on Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* from which it is possible to identify a 'world of many languages, mutually animating each other'.[107]

Translation

'Languages,' states Matthew Reynolds, 'do not have boundaries.'[108] Understood by Reynolds as a 'continuum of utterance', the 'gatherings of usage we call languages are separated by factors that are, not inherently linguistic, but "geographical and social"'.[109] What do we mean, then, when we say we speak Portuguese, for example? Is it possible to determine a boundary that entirely separates Portuguese from other languages, like Kimbundu? How do we account for the differences between the so-called *norma culta* and Portuguese as it is spoken in Lisbon, between Portuguese as it is spoken in Lisbon and as it is spoken in Luanda, say, by a member of its Creole elite or by an inhabitant of the city's *musseques*? That is, how do we account for Portuguese's own internal divisions? 'Given this landscape of utterance,' observes Reynolds,

> in which languages are at once continuous with one another and internally divided, it looks as though there can be no distinction of kind between translation that happens within what we think of as a single language and translation that bridges two such languages.[110]

'Translation,' he concludes, 'draws attention to difference even as it overcomes it: it formalizes the gap it simultaneously endeavours to cross.'[111] If we take translation to be 'rigidly conceived'—that is, as a process by which 'something called "meaning" [is] transfer[red] out of one thing called "a language" into another thing called "a language"'—

[106] Gramling, *The Invention of Monolingualism*, p. 4; Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 2.
[107] Bakhtin, 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse', p. 65.
[108] Matthew Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Homer & Logue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 12.
[109] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 12.
[110] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 12.
[111] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 15.

then to translate a song from Kimbundu into Portuguese (as we will see in Chapter 1) is to draw a line between the 'source' and the 'target' and state that everything on one side of this boundary is Kimbundu, and everything on the other side is Portuguese. [112] When languages are viewed as 'homogeneous or closed systems', translation risks a situation in which these very 'systems' emerge as 'mirrors that face each other' across a strong divide.[113] Yet, as Reynolds acknowledges, translation also 'endeavours to cross' the gap that it has itself formalised.

Let us return, then, to Angola's linguistic landscape. As we have seen, Angola's linguistic landscape is marked not only by the 'highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination' that characterise what Mary Louise Pratt has called the colonial 'contact zone', but also by a 'coloniality of language'—whereby 'notions of language and multilingualism […] still remain colonial' nearly fifty years since independence.[114] This further complicates any simple separation between Portuguese and Kimbundu, languages (or so we call them) that have coexisted translationally since the fifteenth century. Indeed, what we understand as Kimbundu is one of such 'semiotic social inventions' that result from 'dominant models of multilingualism', which rely on 'the canonical formulation of "language" […] as a self-contained entity with a name'.[115] It is one of many 'skewed versions', to borrow Ndhlovu and Makalela's phrase, 'of local native/indigenous identities'.[116]

These 'skewed versions' were, more often than not, the work of colonial agents, '[l]inguists in general, and missionaries in particular', who 'sought to describe languages in

[112] Matthew Reynolds, *Translation: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 18.
[113] Lambert, 'Translation and Mass Communication', p. 131; Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, p. 414.
[114] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), p. 7; Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17.
[115] Sinfree Makoni, Cristine Gorski Severo, and Ashraf Abdelhay, 'Colonial Linguistics and the Invention of Language', in *Language Planning and Policy: Ideologies, Ethnicities, and Semiotic Spaces of Power*, ed. by Ashraf Abdelhay, Sinfree Makoni, and Cristine Gorski Severo (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2020), pp. 211– (p. 212); Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17.
[116] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17.

order to create literate colonial subjects'.[117] This meant that 'they transposed practices of literacy from European nations to "native" communities'.[118] According to Leroy Vail:

> The role of missionaries was especially crucial […] and it is evident that their influence upon the development of African history in the twentieth century has been far greater than they have been given credit for over the past two decades. First, missionaries themselves were often instrumental in providing the cultural symbols that could be organized into a cultural identity, especially a written language and a researched written history. […] They had the skills to reduce hitherto unwritten languages to written forms, thereby delivering the pedigrees that the new 'tribes' required for acceptance. […] Where these languages have been African languages, it was the missionaries who chose what the 'proper' form of the language would be, thus serving both to further unity and to produce divisions by establishing firm boundaries.[119]

These 'inventions' were supported by grammars and dictionaries—such as, in the case of Kimbundu, Jesuit missionary Pedro Dias's *Arte da Lingua de Angola* (1697), '[a] primeira obra puramente grammatical sobre o kimbundu', in the words of Héli Chatelain, later followed by Chatelain's own *Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu ou Lingua de Angola* (1889) and Ladislau Batalha's *A Lingua de Angola* (1891).[120] These 'inventions' became instruments by which cultural and tribal identities were made stable in accordance with European conceptions of 'divisões territoriais baseadas em um povo que falava determinada língua', despite the fact that 'tais demarcações fixas de propriedade territorial não obedeciam às relações que os africanos tinham com o seu território'.[121] The name 'Kimbundu' itself seems to be a colonial invention: formed by the prefix *ki–*, 'o que mais se emprega […] para designar linguagem', and the noun *mbundu*, defined by Chatelain as 'um preto ou uma preta', Kimbundu has often

[117] Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, p. 14, p. 16.
[118] Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, p. 16.
[119] Leroy Vail, 'Introduction: Ethnicity in Southern African History', in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, ed. by Leroy Vail (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), p. 11.
[120] Pedro Dias, *Arte da Lingua de Angola, oeferecida a Virgem Senhora N. do Rosario, Mãy, e Senhora dos mesmos Pretos* (Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Deslandes, 1697); Héli Chatelain, *Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu ou Lingua de Angola* (Geneva: Typ. de Charles Schuchardt, 1889), p. xvi; Ladislau Batalha, *A Lingua de Angola* (Lisbon: Companhia Nacional Editora, 1891). For a more detailed discussion of early Kimbundu grammars, see Gonçalo Fernandes, 'A Primeira Gramática do (Kahenda-Mbaka) Kimbundu (Lisboa 1697) de Pedro Dias, S.J. (1621/1622-1700) e a *ars minor* (Lisboa 1573) de Manuel Álvares, S.J. (1526–1583)', *Confluência* Número Especial (2021), 463–488; Maria Carlota Rosa, 'O Quimbundo em Cinco Testemunhos Gramaticais', *Confluência* 56 (2019), 55–114.
[121] Tramontim de Oliveira, 'A Relação das Línguas com a Construção do Estado-Nação Angolano', p. 233.

been described as 'língua dos pretos'.[122] As the case of Kimbundu suggests, even the names attributed to languages are, as Eriko Sato notes, 'sociopolitically determined'.[123]

To translate from Portuguese into Kimbundu or from Kimbundu into Portuguese, therefore, might be to risk reinforcing 'lines of human difference bound up with language difference' which defined the colonial 'contact zone', or naturalising the 'colonial imaginaries of African "tribal" identities and "African languages"' out of which 'the current discourse of African multilingualism emerged'.[124] Indeed, as Zimbabwean linguist Herbert Chimhundu powerfully observes (here discussing Shona):

> What started off as translation for evangelization by the individual churches, and later became a search for a common system of writing […] ended up with the creation of five or six regional dialects associated with what have now come to be generally regarded as separate tribes.[125]

However, if translation, as Reynolds posits, 'endeavours to cross' a gap between languages, then it also suggests ways in which languages might relate to one another beyond the determinations of colonial language policy.[126] If Portuguese colonialism predicated itself on a clear distinction between European and African, Self and Other—metonymically embodied by the perceived difference between Portuguese and Kimbundu—then translation's capacity to sustain a range of attitudes to such distinctions—that is, its capacity to '[draw] attention to difference even as it overcomes it', to '[formalize] the gap it simultaneously endeavours to cross'—could itself suggest forms of expression prefigurative of a postcolonial future.[127] What is clear, however, is that such prefigurative forms of expression would have explicitly to confront the problems involved in situations characterised by a 'coloniality of language'—

[122] Chatelain, *Grammatica Elementar do Kimbundu ou Lingua de Angola*, p. xvi.
[123] Eriko Sato, *Translanguaging in Translation: Invisible Contributions that Shape Our Language and Society* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2022), p. 4.
[124] Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World*, p. 2; Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 7.
[125] Chimhundu, 'Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor', p. 87.
[126] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 15.
[127] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 15.

problems which ensure that 'notions of language and multilingualism in postcolonial societies still remain colonial', as I have discussed above.[128]

Critical writing on multilingualism has recently sought to avoid these problems by stressing the importance of practices of 'translanguaging'. Building on a Bakhtinian conception of language, theoretical articulations of 'translanguaging' attempt, in Jim Cummins's words, 'to describe the dynamic *heteroglossic* integrated linguistic practices of multilingual individuals'.[129] Theoretical articulations of 'translanguaging' have, therefore, developed as critiques of existing conventions for expressing the experiential reality of multilingualism for multilingual individuals. As we have seen, if the Bakhtinian emphasis on 'interanimation' implies that languages are not 'homogeneous or closed systems,' then it also implies that to speak of 'bilingualism' or 'multilingualism' might be to presume that languages are indeed 'homogeneous or closed' enough to be 'enumerable'.[130] Translanguaging attempts to avoid the problem by describing 'multilingualism' in terms of a single 'dynamic *heteroglossic* integrated' repertoire, which is comprised of elements from what are commonly described as 'separate' languages. Rather than having, say, a Portuguese repertoire and a Kimbundu repertoire, each of which is clearly demarcated as a 'homogeneous or closed system' for a bilingual speaker, translanguaging would describe this as a single repertoire—one which draws from a range of 'communicative contexts'.[131] As such, the need to 'name' or 'count' languages is avoided—as are the issues that it raises.

Translanguaging, moreover, offers critical perspectives on many of the existing terms used to describe different language practices. Let us take code-switching, discussed above

[128] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 17.
[129] Jim Cummins, 'Translanguaging: A Critical Analysis of Theoretical Claims', in *Pedagogical Translanguaging: Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Perspectives*, ed. by Päivi Juvonen and Marie Källkvist (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2021), 7-36, p. 7. Emphasis in original.
[130] Lambert, 'Translation and Mass Communication', p. 131.
[131] Lambert, 'Translation and Mass Communication', p. 131.

with reference to Ashcroft et al., for example: as Sato notes, the 'concept of code-switching cannot exist without presupposing at least two separate linguistic repertoires that are switchable, and each of the two repertoires presupposes "languages" as discrete and identifiable static systems'.[132] As this thesis will show, the recent call to resist 'dominant models of multilingualism' that view languages as 'quantifiable objects', as 'discrete and identifiable static systems', provides us with a vocabulary with which to discuss Luandino Vieira's abiding interest in writing's potential to prefigure new kinds of interaction—of interanimation—between words and worlds. At this stage, it is worth highlighting the ways in which translanguaging accords with Ndhlovu and Makalela's opposition to 'mainstream understandings of multilingualism that view languages more as quantifiable objects and less as relational social practices that are not always amenable to processes and procedures of enumeration'.[133]

Despite this opposition to 'mainstream understandings of multilingualism', it is nevertheless important to acknowlege that the claim that Angolans do not (at times) experience Portuguese and Kimbundu, Portuguese and Umbundu, or even Kimbundu and Umbundu as 'discrete and identifiable' systems might seem intuitively false.[134] This experiential reality has elicited and substantiated criticism of the concept of translanguaging. Cummins, for instance, takes issue with some of the 'extraneous conceptual baggage' which has come to surround theoretical articulations of translanguaging and, in particular, its proposition that languages 'are "invented" and do not exist as discrete "countable" entities.'[135]

> There is no dispute about the fact that languages are socially constructed with porous boundaries, but languages are also experientially and socially *real* […]. There is also no conceptual difficulty in reconciling the construct of translanguaging, understood as the integrated process through which multilingual individuals use and learn languages,

[132] Sato, *Translanguaging in Translation*, p. 8.
[133] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 2.
[134] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 2; Sato, *Translanguaging in Translation*, p. 8.
[135] Cummins, 'Translanguaging', p. 9.

> with the experiential and social reality of different languages, understood as historical, cultural and ideological constructs that have material consequences and determine social action […]. Expressed differently, there is no compelling reason to adopt a binary *either-or* dichotomy between the verb form *trans/languaging* and the noun form *language* rather than a *both-and* position that acknowledges both the legitimacy of the construct of *translanguaging* and the experiential and social legitimacy of languages.[136]

As the following chapters will show, Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* evidences his adoption of the '*both-and* position' which Cummins describes. Instead of regarding Ndhlovu and Makalela's distinction between 'language as an enumerable object' and 'language as process' as a strict '*either-or* dichotomy', the Angolan writer moves regularly between various forms of language use, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 4.[137] Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' can, therefore, be seen to be invested in representing Angola's 'multilingual' linguistic landscape—what Trigo terms 'texto como *representação*'—as well as in taking impetus from 'language as process' in Angolan contexts—or 'texto como *produção*'.[138]

As such, it is possible to identify in Luandino Vieira's writing—in his 'linguagem luandina'—an oscillation between '*translanguaging* and the experiential and social legitimacy of languages' as part of a broader experimentation with the prefigurative potential of translation and translationality.[139] Indeed, the distinction between the two terms—translation and translationality—itself suggests a range of attitudes towards language and language difference. Translation, in Joseph Hankinson's words, can gesture 'either towards categorisation and social convention or towards the regions of excess, flux, and indeterminacy which fall outside and between categories and conventions'.[140] The concept of 'translationality', on the other hand, highlights the ways in which this very 'doubleness permeates language use more generally, not only whenever we translate mechanically a word

[136] Cummins, 'Translanguaging', p. 17.
[137] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 6.
[138] Trigo, 'Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo', p. 206. Emphasis in original.
[139] Cummins, 'Translanguaging', p. 17.
[140] Joseph Hankinson, *Kojo Laing, Robert Browning and Affiliative Literature: Relational Worlds* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), p. 44.

from one "language" to another, but also whenever language use foregrounds interactions, tensions, frictions, or interanimations between speech communities, or provokes a questioning of the presumed stability of speech communities'.[141] To trace Luandino Vieira's aesthetic as well as political—or even ethical—use of translation and translationality is, therefore, to trace both a real and potential grammar of nationhood in Angola, both pre- and post-independence.

Prefiguration

To identify an emergent grammar of nationhood in Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* is to posit a vital interanimation between its aesthetics and its ethics. Indeed, one of the principal interests of this thesis is to discuss the utopian ethics underpinning the Angolan writer's aesthetics, in particular the ways in which translation and translationality might contribute to new modalities of social—and linguistic—relations demanded by the circumstances of national independence, nation-building, and decolonisation. To this end, I will foreground throughout the chapters that follow what I term the prefigurative nature of Luandino Vieira's writing.

'Prefiguration,' defines Mona Baker,

> means attempting to construct (aspects of) the ideal society envisioned by activists in the present, rather than at some point in the future when the conditions for building a more equitable society may be more conducive to effecting positive change. It means that political principles are embodied in current behaviour, not put on hold until the time is deemed right for them to be deployed.[142]

Such a construction 'in the present' requires an experimental approach to artistic—and, in this case, literary—production, which might pre-empt, or prefigure, 'aspects of' a future 'ideal society'. As such, notes Baker, '[t]he most distinctive feature of prefiguration is the emphasis on experimentation'; the 'willingness to explore alternatives, to create anew, to depart from and subvert conventions is key to the practice of prefigurative politics by new social

[141] Hankinson, *Kojo Laing, Robert Browning and Affiliative Literature*, p. 44.
[142] Mona Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation in Place-Based Movements of Protest: Subtitling in the Egyptian Revolution', *The Translator* 22:1 (2016), 1–21 (p. 6).

movements'.[143] Building on Baker's 'wish to extend the definition of prefigurative politics to encompass textual, visual and aesthetic practices', this thesis centres the complex interanimation between the aesthetic and political dimensions of Luandino Vieira's writing—that is, what I term its prefigurative aesthetics.[144]

Unlike other actors of the Angolan anticolonial struggle and nationalist movement—*combatentes* who took up arms and joined guerrilla detachments against Portugal's colonial army, as well as those who participated in the collective effort by carrying out 'papéis de apoio (secundarizados)' as 'provedoras da guerrilha'—Luandino Vieira's participation in this effort was less explicitly 'activist', in Baker's sense of the word.[145] Detained in 1961, the year in which the Angolan anticolonial struggle broke out, and imprisoned for ten years before being sent into exile in Lisbon in 1972, the Angolan writer had a less 'active' role in the anticolonial struggle than those who were engaged in 'direct action'. Forcibly removed from the immediate 'scene' of struggle, Luandino Vieira would continue to contribute to the political project of Angolan liberation with 'o que se pode fazer só com as palavras'.[146] 'Quando escrevi *Luuanda*,' he observes in an interview with Margarida Calafate Ribeiro,

> eu estava preso […] Escrever era importante para vencer o tempo, mas também para perceber melhor as razões que me levavam a estar naquela situação, afinal por reivindicar uma consciência nacional, uma identidade nacional que se traduzia nas ditas actividades nacionalistas que reclamavam a independência.[147]

The prefigurative potential of the struggle for independence is itself translated into writing.

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[143] Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation', p. 6.
[144] Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation', p. 6.
[145] Sílvia Roque, 'Mulheres, Nação e Lutas no Cinema Anti/Pós-Colonial da Guiné-Bissau', *Revista de Comunicação e Linguagens / Journal of Communication and Languages: Mulheres nas Descolonizações: Modos de Ver e Saber* 54 (2021), ed. by Maria do Carmo Piçarra, Ana Cristina Pereira, and Inês Beleza Barreiros, 276–295 (p. 282); 'História de Vida em Trânsito: Entrevista com Margarida Paredes', *ContraCorrente: Revista de Estudos Literários* 5 (2017), 145–154 (p. 150). Cf. Margarida Paredes, *Combater Duas Vezes: Mulheres na Luta Armada em Angola* (Vila do Conde: Verso da História, 2015).
[146] Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and Roberto Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 13–31 (p. 24).
[147] Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 22–23.

As such, writing becomes, for Luandino Vieira, the principal site of what Baker describes as the 'willingness to explore alternatives, to create anew, to depart from and subvert conventions'.[148] Unable to participate in other, more 'active' ways in the search for an 'identidade nacional'—in the attempt to claim 'uma consciência nacional'—Luandino Vieira instead looks for aesthetic solutions to political and ethical problems. Doing so places his writing within the purview of utopian fiction. Indeed, if Fredric Jameson distinguishes between two 'distinct lines' of utopian activity—'the one intent on the realization of the Utopian program, the other an obscure yet omnipresent Utopian impulse finding its way to the surface in a variety of covert expressions and practices'—then it is possible to identify elements of both within the Angolan writer's *oeuvre*.[149] The former is visible most clearly in the author's efforts to translate 'actividades nacionalistas' into a new literary langauge—one able to support the writer's ethical investment in national frameworks capable of achieving a new form of relationship between African and European, Portuguese and Kimbundu. This literary language is also where the latter 'line' of utopian practice is discernible. If Portugal's colonial regime depended upon a conception of linguistic and cultural alterity to function—that is, a clear demarcation between African and European—then it is possible to identify within Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' the very impulse to think beyond such horizons.

What I call Luandino Vieira's 'prefigurative aesthetics' therefore accords with Felwine Sarr's view of the African novel as a privileged site of 'prospective thought' about the 'Africa to come'.[150] In the chapters that follow, I explore the ways in which this 'prospective thought' is most frequently embedded at the level of language—or in the movement between

[148] Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation', p. 6.
[149] Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London and New York, NY: Verso, 2007), p. 3.
[150] Felwine Sarr, *Afrotopia*, trans. by Drew Burk and Sarah Jones-Boardman (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), p. 99.

languages—across the Angolan writer's body of work. For now, it is important to note that Luandino Vieira's focus on the ways in which language itself can sustain utopian experimentation puts pressure on existing critical distinctions. Indeed, his works tend to fall somewhere between what Ruth Levitas terms the 'three modes' of 'Utopia as method': the archaeological, ontological, and the architectural—the first of these modes involving a 'piecing together [of] the images of the good society that are [already] embedded in political programmes and social and economic policies'; the second 'address[ing] the question of what kind of people particular societies develop and encourage'; the third embarking upon the 'imagination of potential alternative scenarios for the future'.[151] As we will see, what is prefigurative about Luandino Vieira's work is less its capacity to reflect explicitly upon 'social and economic policies', or to elaborate specific 'scenarios for the future', than it is in its persistent experimentation with language.[152]

The valences discussed above—that is, 'language as an enumerable object' and 'language as process', translation and translationality—provide Luandino Vieira with a broad spectrum on which to experiment with prefigurative practices. As the following chapters will show, the Angolan writer's work increasingly tends towards the second of these approaches, to non-hierarchical aesthetic choices and their political and ethical correlatives—according, therefore, with Wini Breines's acknowledgement that 'prefigurative politics' regularly involves 'the attempt to embody personal and anti-hierarchical values'.[153] These choices form the basis of what Marianne Maeckelbergh might call Luandino Vieira's 'direct theory'. For Maeckelbergh,

> [p]refiguration is not a theory of social change that first analyses the current global political landscape, develops an alternative model in the form of a predetermined goal,

[151] Ruth Levitas, *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 153.
[152] Levitas, *Utopia as Method*, p. 153.
[153] Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left 1962–68: The Great Refusal* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), p. 6.

> and then sets out a five-year plan for changing the existing landscape into that predetermined goal. Prefiguration is a different kind of theory, a "direct theory" that theorizes through action, through *doing*.[154]

By tracing Luandino Vieira's 'doing' both during and after his imprisonment, this thesis demonstrates how his particular vision of an alternative world is 'developed through practice'.[155] As we will see, if this 'doing' means 'removing the temporal distinction between the struggle in the *present* and a goal in the *future*', it also means developing a new language in which to articulate what might constitute a worthwhile goal in the first place.[156]

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This thesis is structured around José Luandino Vieira's work *of* translation and *in* translation. It examines the ways in which translation constitutes a central principle of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*. It introduces into critical debates surrounding the Angolan writer's multilingual work an attention to language and its function as a site of experimentation, which seeks to expand, in light of the anticolonial struggle, Angolan independence, and the promise of decolonisation, the 'horizon of possibility' for a post-independence Angola.[157] However, to focus on what I term translation's prefigurative politics and its prefigurative aesthetics is to argue for a different distribution of critical attention across the Angolan writer's body of work.

Where extant criticism has read Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' predominantly through Homi Bhabha's vocabulary, emphasising the frameworks of 'hybridity' and the 'third space', this thesis turns instead to the concepts of translation and translationality. This shift, I argue, makes possible an interpretation of this 'linguagem luandina' that takes seriously recent developments in African linguistics and its efforts to

[154] Marianne Maeckelbergh, 'Doing is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement', *Social Movement Studies* 10 (2011), 1–20 (p. 3).
[155] Maeckelbergh, 'Doing is Believing', p. 3.
[156] Maeckelbergh, 'Doing is Believing', p. 4. Emphasis in original.
[157] Franco "Bifo" Berardi, *Futurability: The Age of Impotence and the Horizon of Possibility* (London: Verso, 2017), p. 37.

decolonise broadly Eurocentric conceptions of language and language use. At its most basic level, this thesis, by recasting Luandino Vieira's work in terms of translation, multilingualism, and prefiguration, seeks to take the measure of its prefigurative potential, not least for the ways in which criticism approaches language itself.

This thesis is divided into two parts—'José Luandino Vieira and his Work of Translation' and 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work in Translation'—which are each comprised of two chapters.

In Chapter 1, I take Luandino Vieira's *Papéis da Prisão* as the basis for an extended examination of the ways in which his literary language developed over an eleven-year period of incarceration, becoming, I argue, more self-consciously multilingual and, indeed, translational. I provide an overview of the 'language question' with respect to Luandino Vieira's work, situating it in light of debates within African literature more broadly. Through close-readings of the *Papéis da Prisão*, I chart the development of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina' from his time in what are termed 'prisões nacionais' or national prisons—that is, prisons located within Angola—to his detention in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal in Cape Verde, during which the Angolan writer's literary language grew to reflect the distinctive cosmopolitanism of the prison. I argue that the multilingual—and cosmopolitan—character of the numerous prisons the Angolan writer was detained in between 1961 and 1972 comes to be reflected in the increasingly multilingual character of his contemporaneous as well as subsequent writing.

In Chapter 2, I conduct one of the first full-length studies dedicated to Luandino Vieira's translation of Anthony Burgess's novel *A Clockwork Orange* (1962) from English into Portuguese, commissioned by Edições 70 and published in Portugal in 1974 under the title *A Laranja Mecânica*. If, in Chapter 1, I traced the emergence of a translational literary

language during Luandino Vieira's eleven-year incarceration, this chapter traces its implementation in the context of the author's own work as a translator. To this end, this chapter features an account of the circumstances under which the translation was conceived—that is, both in terms of its commission and its completion—as well as an assessment of the translation strategies at work in Luandino Vieira's translation of *A Clockwork Orange*, through a comparison between source and target texts. I aim, moreover, to advance an argument in favour of the inclusion of the hitherto critically neglected translation, *A Laranja Mecânica*, as a constituent part of Luandino Vieira's literary project, due to the multilingual nature of both the source text (written in English and Nadsat, consisting chiefly of relexified Russian words) and the target text (written in Portuguese and a re-relexified Nadsat).

If in Part 1, 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work of Translation', I discuss the role of translation within Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, in Part 2, 'José Luandino Vieira and his Work in Translation', I turn to Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* in translation. As such, in the third chapter, I discuss the translation strategies at work in the English translations of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (1961) and *Luuanda* (1963)—published in 1978 and 1980, respectively, by Heinemann Educational Books as instalments of the *African Writers Series* (AWS). I assess these translation strategies against the stated purpose of the *AWS* itself. I conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts themselves—that is, between translations of the same source text and between translations of different source texts. To these ends, I draw on hitherto unstudied archival material, particularly on documents held in the Archives of British Publishing and Printing housed at the University of Reading's Special Collections.

In a similar manner to Chapter 3, in the fourth chapter, I discuss the translation strategies at work in Michel Laban's French translations of Luandino Vieira, namely

Autrefois, dans la vie (1981), *Nous autres, de Makulusu* (1989), and *João Vêncio: ses amours* (1998). I conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts. Through this assessment I reframe Laban's translations of Luandino Vieira as collaborative translations. As a scholar of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, Laban sets himself apart from other translators (such as Michael Wolfers and Tamara Bender, discussed in Chapter 3, who also collaborated with the Angolan writer, though to a lesser extent) in his increased attention to the interplay between the aesthetic and the political in the composition of the 'linguagem luandina'. Indeed, I argue that his long-standing in this 'linguagem luandina', and his efforts to produce a (similarly collaborative) inventory of *vocábulos* featured in Luandino Vieira's work, has a profound influence on his translations—translations characterised not only by a back-and-forth movement between author and translator, but also by a back-and-forth movement across and between languages, central to the author's literary project.

These four chapters are linked by three key concepts, which, I argue, are central to Luandino Vieira's literary project: multilingualism, translation, and prefiguration. To take such a focus means inevitably to privilege certain works from among the Angolan writer's *oeuvre*. To focus on translation, for instance, immediately lends significance to those of Luandino Vieira's works which have been translated. This does not, however, sufficiently narrow the corpus, as Luandino Vieira's oeuvre has been widely translated. Indeed, he is one of the most widely translated Angolan writers to date. To take a particularly emblematic case, the novella *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, though written in 1961, was first published by the Paris-based Présence Africaine in 1971, in Mário Pinto de Andrade and Chantal Tiberghien's French translation, under the title *La Vraie Vie de Domingos Xavier*. The novella's translation into French was followed by translations into Russian (1973), German (1974), Norwegian and Swedish (1976), English (1978), and Italian (2004), in addition to a

film adaptation directed by Sarah Maldoror and released in 1972 under the title *Sambizanga*.[158] This thesis, therefore, does not set out to survey all extant translations of Luandino Vieira's work. Rather, it seeks to examine what happens to texts that are themselves guided by a principle of translation when in translation. The chapters that follow opt for case-studies that illustrate the issues that translators have faced—and the solutions they have found—when confronted with a literary language that is itself translational. These case-studies are, moreover, informed by archival research which has shed light on individual translators' decisions.

Similarly, by foregrounding translation's relationship with multilingualism and prefiguration, other works from among the Angolan writer's *oeuvre* acquire a perhaps surprising significance. The *Papéis da Prisão*, for instance, is regarded in this thesis less as an archival source than as a primary source of the Angolan writer's distinctive 'linguagem luandina' as it develops between 1962 and 1972. Luandino Vieira's translation of *A Clockwork Orange* also emerges from this thesis as a constitutive part of his literary project. Both are viewed in the chapters that follow in light of their shared investment in the ways in which multilingual texts can be perceived as translational texts. Furthermore, the focus on prefiguration conditions other choices of material. The Angolan writer's interest in community-formation, what we term 'cosmopolitanism from below', and collaboration in the immediate context of nation-building in Angola makes the kind of cosmopolitanism present in the *Papéis da Prisão* more visible, as well as the collaborative nature of Michel Laban's

[158] José Luandino Vieira, *Истинная жизнь Домингоса Шавьера* [*Istinnaja žizn' Domingosa Šav'era*], trans. by L. V. Nekrasova (Moscow: Наука [Nauka], 1973); José Luandino Vieira, *Das wahre Leben des Domingos Xavier. Grossmutter Xixi und ihr Enkel Zeca Santos*, trans. by Kristina Hering (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Welt, 1974); José Luandino Vieira, *Domingos Xaviers Egentlige Liv*, trans. by Leif Sletsjoe (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1976); José Luandino Vieira, *Domingos Xavier: Lucas Matesso: Två Berättelser från Luanda*, trans. by Elisabeth Hedborg (Lund: Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, 1976); José Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, trans. by Michael Wolfers (London: Heinemann, 1978); José Luandino Vieira, *La Vita Vera di Domingos Xavier*, trans. by Vincenzo Barca (Napoli: Tullio Pironti Editore, 2004).

French translations of Luandino Vieira's work more intelligible in relation to the Angolan writer's aesthetic and ethical project.

Chapter 1 —
The Development of a 'Linguagem Luandina': From the National Prisons to the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal

'Hoje de manhã[,] durante o recreio,' writes José Luandino Vieira, while incarcerated in the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE, 'fui perguntando palavras de quimbundo aos moços que andam cá fora […] e notei que o quimbundo que ando a aprender, bem como a maneira que o pronuncio e que é reminiscência da infância, só é bem percebido pelo de Luanda'.[159] In exchanging words, phrases, and proverbs in Kimbundu with inmates from a range of Angolan provinces, inmates whose Kimbundu was spoken 'com várias diferenças fonéticas do de Luanda', Luandino Vieira indulged his interest in the so-called 'language question'.[160] On this particular morning—20 October 1962—the conversation included a Kikongo-speaking inmate from the Northern Angolan province of Zaire. Throughout this back-and-forth exchange of idioms—'uns eles sabiam, outros não'—one of the main sources of entertainment was teasing the *zairense*, 'divertindo-se enganando-o com palavras de quimbundo e gozando, trocando o significado'.[161] They taught him, for the most part, obscenities in Kimbundu, all the while concealing their definitions behind inoffensive 'translations'. As the conversation progressed, however, 'só se ouvia o Gregório dizer, às palavras que ele [the *zairense*] lhe ia dizendo: — É como nós! … É como nós!'[162] What transpired, then, Luandino Vieira summarises, was that 'pouco a pouco foi aparecendo a raiz comum do kikongo e kimbundu e estavam identificando-se'.[163]

One significant moment brings this 'raiz comum' into focus:

> Uma vez que ia a passar[,] fizeram-me parar para me perguntarem se sabia o que era:

[159] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão,* p. 44.
[160] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44.
[161] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44.
[162] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44.
[163] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44.

— Sonia [*sic*] o uta! [164]
E como respondi, o Kikongo disse-me a sorrir:
— No kikongo é o mesmo. Diz-se:
— Koma o uta!
E eu respondi:
— Isso é para fazer em todas as línguas até em português![165]

When placed in parallel, the phrases in Kimbundu and Kikongo ('Sonia [*sic*] o uta!' and 'Koma o uta!', respectively) clearly evidence striking similarities. The syntactical structure of both phrases is the same—that is, (implied) subject–verb–object—as is the word for weapon, *uta*. Other features shared by the two languages are not as easily identifiable. Here, for example, the Kimbundu verb *kusoma* and the Kikongo verb *kukoma*—which, in English, can be translated as 'to charge'—lose the prefix *ku-*, which marks the infinitive in both Kimbundu and Kikongo, in order to form the singular imperative. However, the 'raiz comum' which the inmates identify seems to exceed the linguistic parallels described above, and quickly assumes political significance in the context of the recently-begun armed struggle. The phrase in question, which Luandino Vieira translates into Portuguese as '[C]arrega a espingarda!', is, above all, a call to action.[166] The 'tradução de uma palavra de ordem para todas as línguas angolanas representadas', as well as the very imperative to act (both literally and figuratively), as Luandino Vieira underscores, 'em todas as línguas até em português', speaks to the 'projeto político da independência de Angola' envisioned by the Angolan writer.[167] That project, Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and Roberto Vecchi stress, was 'também literário'.[168]

In what is one of the earliest entries to the *Papéis da Prisão* (2015), Luandino Vieira foregrounds precisely the kinds of linguistic exchanges which were profoundly to influence

[164] It is possible that this is either a misspelling of the Kimbundu verb *kusoma*—recorded by António de Assis Júnior as 'Kusóma, v tr. e intr. Carregar:—*ûta*.'—or a variant spelling reflecting an alternative pronunciation. [Assis Júnior, *Dicionário Kimbundu-Português*, p. 232.]
[165] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44.
[166] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 45.
[167] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 44; Margarida Calafate Ribeiro and Roberto Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 13–31 (p. 29).
[168] Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 29.

the tenor of his *oeuvre*. The multilingual—and cosmopolitan—character of the numerous prisons the Angolan writer was detained in between 1961 and 1972 comes to be reflected in the increasingly multilingual character of his contemporaneous as well as subsequent writing. Luandino Vieira himself appears to have been aware of the significance of exchanges like that of the morning of 20 October 1962: 'Foi isto o mais importante do passeio de hoje,' he concludes.[169] In this chapter, I demonstrate via a close-reading of the *Papéis da Prisão* how Luandino Vieira's literary language developed over an eleven-year period of incarceration, becoming, I argue, more self-consciously multilingual and, indeed, translational.

Luandino Vieira's Arrest

Two years before that morning's exchanges, Luandino Vieira, accompanied by his wife Linda and their son Xexe, left the Angolan capital for Lisbon, and eventually London, where he was to receive training for the construction of a dam on the border between the Republic of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Ghana.[170] Having been granted a passport as well as authorisation to travel by the metropolitan authorities, Luandino Vieira headed north to Porto, from where his flight to London was scheduled to depart.[171] The flight itself landed safely in London, it did so without the Angolan writer, who had been removed from the aircraft moments before take-off—'com o aparelho já a rolar na pista,' in Luandino Vieira's own words—and ordered back to Lisbon, with his right to travel now revoked.[172]

Two months passed before agents of the PIDE—the Estado Novo's political police—visited Luanda-born writer Carlos Ervedosa, with whom Luandino Vieira and his family resided in Lisbon. Ervedosa trusted that this visit pertained to his friend's application status—

[169] '20–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 45.
[170] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1009–1034 (p. 1021).
[171] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1021.
[172] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in José Vicente Lopes, *Tarrafal — Chão Bom: Memórias e Verdades* (Cidade da Praia: Instituto da Investigação e do Património Culturais (IIPC), 2010), p. 135.

after all, '[e]stes PIDEs tiveram um comportamento pouco vulgar: não passaram da soleira da porta, pediram-nos somente que nos identificássemos'—and relayed the message to Luandino Vieira, who was instructed to stop by the PIDE headquarters on Rua António Maria Cardoso, one of the steep thoroughfares in the Chiado neighbourhood.[173] On 20 November 1961, Luandino Vieira made the decision to visit the PIDE headquarters, where he was to discover that although he had at last been granted another authorisation to travel onwards to London, a telegram had since arrived ordering his immediate arrest.[174] That same day, the Angolan writer was sent to the nearby Cadeia do Aljube. A few days later Luandino Vieira arrived at the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE in Luanda. He was, '[e]m termos da terminologia da época,' suspected of 'actividades subversivas contra a segurança exterior do Estado,' along with poets António Cardoso and António Jacinto, both of whom had been detained days earlier.[175] The three writers were accused of establishing a network in support of the MPLA. Indeed, taking advantage of Luandino Vieira's future post in Burkina Faso, he and António Jacinto

> montámos um esquema—saía e ia juntar-me ao MPLA—, ficou combinado um sistema de informação escrita porque era muito difícil a organização do Movimento [Popular de Libertação de Angola] no interior, quase todas as ligações funcionavam apenas uma vez e a PIDE, que estava infiltrada em quase tudo, acabava por ter conhecimento disso.[176]

This never came to fruition. When António Cardoso and António Jacinto were arrested, 'já foram encontrados com o programa, estatutos e outras coisas do MPLA'.[177]

Between 1961 and 1964, Luandino Vieira, alongside António Cardoso and António Jacinto, 'percorre[ram] todas as cadeias que havia [em Luanda], transferiam-nos de uma para

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[173] Carlos Ervedosa, 'Cartas do Tarrafal', in *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira e a Sua Obra (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, pp. 84–103 (p. 85).
[174] This was not Luandino Vieira's first arrest as a result of so-called 'actividades subversivas'. According to the *Papéis da Prisão*: 'Em 27 julho 1959, José Luandino Vieira é detido, pelo inspetor da PIDE Francisco Bartolomeu da Costa Lontrão, sob suspeita de ligação ao MPLA. É interrogado na sede da PIDE, na Calçada da Fortaleza, e encaminhado para o Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE de onde transita para a Casa de Reclusão Militar. O processo avança para o tribunal e ele é despronunciado e libertado.' ['Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1018.]
[175] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Lopes, *Tarrafal*, p. 135.
[176] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Lopes, *Tarrafal*, p. 135.
[177] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Lopes, *Tarrafal*, p. 135.

outra'.[178] The *Papéis da Prisão* attest to this: detained in the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE from 20 November 1961 to 5 May 1962, the three Angolan writers were transferred first to the Cadeia do Comando da Polícia de Segurança Pública (PSP) and later to the Cadeia Comarcã de Luanda. The first two years were spent awaiting trial. According to Ervedosa, 'estávamos quase todos convictos de que, depois daqueles dois anos de prisão, já cumpridos sem julgamento, os nossos companheiros sairiam em liberdade'.[179] However, António Cardoso, António Jacinto, and Luandino Vieira were each sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment—'o processo [que] iria ficar na história como aquele em que foram aplicadas aos réus as penas mais pesadas a presos políticos angolanos'.[180] 'Não havia dúvidas,' states Ervedosa, 'o salazarismo queria os brancos fora de quaisquer movimentos de emancipação, tivessem eles a feição que tivessem. E esta pena, agora aplicada aos três escritores, que lhes servisse de exemplo…'[181] Elisa Scaraggi corroborates this:

> Only a few years before, it would have been highly unlikely that three white men should be punished so severely […]. Nonetheless, with the war raging on several fronts, not only was exemplary punishment considered necessary, but the repression of any dissident cultural activity was also deemed of extreme importance for the maintenance of the empire.[182]

They remained at the Cadeia Comarcã de Luanda until they were sent in 1964 to the Campo de Trabalho de Chão Bom, in Tarrafal, Cape Verde, where Luandino Vieira served eight of the fourteen years of his sentence. It was within the walls of each of these prisons, but within those of Tarrafal in particular, that Luandino Vieira penned the greater part of his *oeuvre*.

The Language Question

[178] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Lopes, *Tarrafal*, p. 135.
[179] Ervedosa, 'Cartas do Tarrafal', p. 82.
[180] Ervedosa, 'Cartas do Tarrafal', p. 82.
[181] Ervedosa, 'Cartas do Tarrafal', p. 88.
[182] Elisa Scaraggi, 'Practices and Experiences of Incarceration an Inquiry into *Papéis da Prisão* by José Luandino Vieira', unpublished PhD thesis (Universidade de Lisboa, 2020), pp. 70–71.

Luandino Vieira's development as a writer—the trajectory Salvato Trigo charts from 'texto como *representação*' to 'texto como *produção*', whereby 'a *escrita* se apodera do texto, submetendo ao seu *movimento* a função narrativa que deixa de ser primordial'—would also take place within these walls.[183] From the earliest years of his imprisonment, Luandino Vieira was acutely aware of the transformative effect of the carceral space on his writing. For instance, in an entry dated 19 January 1963, the Angolan writer turns his attention, then divided between his wife's visits, the arrival of new inmates and the release of old ones, all manner of *makas*, and the 'depressão nervosa' that consumes him, to plans previously abandoned—namely, 'um projeto de novela' entitled *A Maiombola da Mentira*, as yet unpublished—as well as to the ways in which this environment might facilitate composition.[184] Attuned to the dangers posed by the prison, Luandino Vieira nevertheless remained sensitive to the creative possibilities inherent to it.

> Mas esta «experiência» vai dar frutos. Sinto uma capacidade cada vez aumentada de captação da vida, mesmo nas mínimas manifestações, uma predisposição cada vez maior à atenção compreensiva do que se passa à minha volta (eu dantes era muito «distraído», superficial) há um aprofundamento gradual da minha capacidade de perceber a vida e as suas manifestações.[185]

Luandino Vieira appears, here, increasingly aware of the correlation between his experiences in the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE and the 'aprofundamento gradual' of his ability not only to perceive 'a vida e as suas manifestações', but also to invoke them in his writing. Moreover, 'esta «experiência»' was profoundly to influence the development of his literary language—his 'linguagem luandina'. Indeed, the *Papéis da Prisão* attest to Luandino Vieira's interest in the multilingual character of both the Angolan (or national) prisons and the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, bearing witness to his conscious attempt to navigate the prisons' linguistic heterogeneity and to map Angola's complex linguistic landscape. This was

[183] Trigo, 'Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo', p. 206. Emphasis in original.
[184] '16–01–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 97; '19–01–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 101.
[185] '19–01–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 101.

accompanied by an active experimentation with new ways of writing that sought to reflect the extent of this complexity ('texto como *produção*'), making Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre* 'um caso *diferente* no panorama das literaturas africanas modernas […] como renovador de estruturas linguísticas e literárias'.[186] To a certain extent, this involved the renunciation of some of the textual strategies that characterised his earliest works ('texto como *representação*'), which did not always come easily.

On 29 November 1963, the Angolan writer acknowledges an impasse caused by what he identifies, in a moment of frustration, as 'a porcaria da linguagem':

> A novela cada vez me parece pior. É a porcaria da linguagem. Sinto que há muita verborreia e que o estilo tem que ser modificado. Que há que passar já à apreensão do movimento da frase portuguesa c/ o ritmo das línguas bantus, sair do nível do registo das alterações fonéticas e morfológicas, descer ao encontro da sintaxe. Mas qdo. pego no trabalho, tenho medo. Há tantas coisas a discutir, tantas interrogações e não tenho a quem nem c/ quem o fazer![187]

Indeed, Luandino Vieira's earliest works—namely, *A Cidade e a Infância*, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, and *Vidas Novas*—are marked by such textual strategies, already outlined in the Introduction, as the use of *un*translated 'culturally specific terms' as 'device[s] for conveying [a] sense of cultural distinctiveness' and of 'alterações fonéticas e morfológicas', which have been referred to as relexification.[188] We are, here, reminded of Russell G. Hamilton's assessment in *Voices from an Empire*: that Luandino Vieira's 'use of Kimbundu […] does not present [m]any more difficulties for the reader of standard Portuguese'.[189] However, from the composition of *Luuanda* in 1963 onwards, Luandino Vieira registers his eagerness to move beyond the 'nível do registo das alterações fonéticas e morfológicas' in order to 'descer ao encontro da sintaxe'—that is, to further the Bakhtinian

[186] Trigo, 'Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo', p. 206. Emphasis in original.
[187] '29–11–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 308.
[188] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 63.
[189] Hamilton, *Voices from an Empire*, p. 135.

interanimation of Portuguese and Kimbundu by bringing the 'ritmo das línguas bantus' to bear on the 'movimento da frase portuguesa'.[190]

This is no easy feat. Almost five years later, on 19 November 1968, Luandino Vieira would once more return to this very impasse. 'Qto. a mim o problema principal é este,' he notes, 'o que nos falta é o instrumento.'[191] Assessing the suitability of the Portuguese language to the intended aesthetic and political aims of his literary project, he writes:

> A língua portuguesa literária não serve a realidade que enfrenta; o dialecto brasileiro macaquea-a; a linguagem popular é de alcance restrito como veículo de difusão e não está ainda afeiçoada pela prática escrita—creio que esta «prática» é o único valor de qto. tenho escrito. Daí a busca constante consciente e inconsciente dum modo de expressão (eu não tenho «dúvidas» quanto à realidade qto. ao que quero dizer; as m/ dúvidas são no como dizê-la. Aliás a isto se resume o problema do escritor: para além disto o problema é do homem).[192]

The opening assessment—'[a] língua portuguesa literária não serve a realidade que enfrenta'—anticipates the concerns that would come to be expressed by Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the Mind* (1986). Thiong'o proposes that we understand 'language as culture' and culture as the 'product of the history which it in turn reflects'.[193] If 'a specific culture is not transmitted through language in its *universality* but in its *particularity* as the language of a specific community with a specific history', then, he concludes, '[l]anguage is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and

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[190] Bakhtin, 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse', in *The Dialogic Imagination*, pp. 41–83 (p. 51). Bakhtin's phrase '*interanimation of languages*' suggests a more dynamic relationship than that implied by the concept of 'multilingualism'—the former suggesting mutual enrichment, the latter what Ndhlovu describes as the 'enumeration of multiple "language-things" ' (cf. Introduction). It is precisely the dynamism of this relationship that is, for Bakhtin, in part responsible for catalysing the formal development of the novel: 'In the prehistory of novelistic discourse one may observe many extremely heterogeneous factors at work. From our point of view, however, two of these factors prove to be of decisive importance: one of these is *laughter,* the other *polyglossia [mnogojazycie].* The most ancient forms for representing language were organized by laughter—these were originally nothing more than the ridiculing of another's language and another's direct discourse. Polyglossia and the *interanimation of languages* associated with it elevated these forms to a new artistic and ideological level, which made possible the genre of the novel.' [Bakhtin, 'From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse', pp. 50–51. Emphasis in original.]

[191] '19–11–68', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 868.

[192] '19–11–68', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 868.

[193] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: James Currey, 1986), p. 15.

character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world'.[194] This view of language—as 'the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history'—came to underpin Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's renunciation of English in favour of Gĩkũyũ.[195] Comparably, at the centre of Luandino Vieira's search for an appropriate 'instrumento' is its ability to express what Thiong'o describes as 'a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world'—what the Angolan writer terms 'a realidade' that a language is confronted with. While he has no doubts as to what this 'realidade' entails, it is all too clear to him that '[a] língua literária portuguesa' is unable to express an Angolan people's 'specific relationship to the world'.

Unsatisfied, he proceeds, turning his attention to Angola's indigenous languages:

> Qto. às línguas bantas não têm ainda uso literário que as domestique. Aliás estão ligadas ao passado, o seu léxico riquíssimo de nuances expressa porém uma sociedade imobilizada no rural. Para um escritor de cidade creio que não servem ainda. Não sei sou analfabeto em quimbundo mas pressinto que é língua em que se não pode escrever uma história de Luanda—se não se quiser ver só um aspecto do real, se se quiserem expressar valores universais. Será preconceito meu? Oxalá que sim.[196]

Aware of his own limitations, Luandino Vieira is quick to acknowledge that this judgement as to the suitability of Angola's indigenous languages—their supposed indomitability—as literary languages is likely the result of an unfair, if not Eurocentric, bias. It is nevertheless the case that the Angolan writer spent his years of incarceration striving to deepen his understanding of Kimbundu, building on what little knowledge of the language he had picked up during his childhood in Luanda's *musseques*. With this intent in mind, Luandino Vieira brought a copy of António de Assis Júnior's *Dicionário Kimbundu–Português* with him to the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, a volume initially deemed transgressive enough to warrant confiscation by prison officials. The dictionary was only permitted entry into Tarrafal

[194] Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, pp. 15–16.
[195] Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, p. 15.
[196] '19–11–68', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 868.

in 1965, one year into his incarceration.[197] Perhaps encouraged by the overdue admittance of the volume, the writer would soon request, in a letter dated 25 September 1965, that Ervedosa forward him a copy of Héli Chatelain's *Kimbundu Grammar* (1888). He justifies his request: *'*Cá continuo a lutar para aprender esta língua que é mais difícil do que parece. E os progressos não são nenhuns.'[198] Indeed, Luandino Vieira recalls these efforts in an interview with the editors of the *Papéis da Prisão*:

> Fui melhorando o meu quimbundo falado, péssimo, de criança, de infância, com o quimbundo teórico das traduções dos protestantes e com esses meus professores de três regiões do quimbundo, fui aprendendo, corrigiam-me. E com os mais-velhos que me iam dando o vocabulário. Fiz mesmo cadernos e fui estudando pela Bíblia.[199]

However, despite these efforts, Calomboloca-born writer and fellow inmate Uanhenga Xitu, one of the 'mais-velhos' and what Luandino Vieira calls 'os donos da língua', notes that

> [o] Luandino ouve e entende algumas palavras e às vezes recorre a outras fontes para dar o significado. E muito esforço faz ele, mas não sabe falar bem. Quando ele descreve um meio onde se impõe a palavra do quimbundo, para dar certo, para encontrar o melhor significado que se adapte, ele pergunta a uma, duas, três pessoas.[200]

These very difficulties, as well as the commitment with which the Angolan writer sought to overcome them, highlight the significance of Kimbundu to his literary project. While Luandino Vieira (perhaps spuriously) indicates that this literary project could not be carried out exclusively in Kimbundu—whether due to the language's supposed unsuitability as a literary language, or whether due to the Angolan writer's own limitations in face of a language which he recognises is not his—he actively strived to develop an 'instrumento' central to which is the interanimation of Portuguese and Kimbundu.

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[197] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1028.
[198] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Carlos Ervedosa, 25 September 1965, cited in Ervedosa, 'Cartas do Tarrafal', p. 95.
[199] 'Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (p. 1063).
[200] 'Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1063; 'Encontro com Uanhenga Xitu', in Michel Laban, *Angola: Encontro com Escritores* (Porto: Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1991), pp. 109–133 (p. 128).

This stance is comparable with that espoused by Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe, often pitted against Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. In the wake of the first African Writers Conference, held at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda in June 1962, Achebe wrote: 'I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings.'[201] Achebe's proposition is particularly suggestive. There are many ways in which 'a world language'—indeed, an imperial language, like English or Portuguese—might be 'submi[tted] to […] different kinds of use'.[202] However, whereas Achebe—whose first language was Igbo—wished to conceive of 'a new English' capable of expressing '*my*', that is his personal, 'African experience', Luandino Vieira—whose first language is Portuguese—undertook the development of an 'instrumento' functional perhaps less on the individual scale than on the political, capable rather of participating as it did in the construction of a collective national identity, or *angolanidade*. According to Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'esta escrita articula-se e projeta-se dentro de um horizonte de atuação política concreto—a formação de uma nação, a formação da sua literatura—e de resistência em que, por sua vez, se conjuga o pessoal *com* o político'.[203] It is this interanimation of 'Mother tongue' and 'Other tongue', of the personal and the political—indeed, of the formation of a literary project and of a national project—that characterises the development of Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' during the eleven years of his incarceration.[204]

[201] Chinua Achebe, 'English and the African Writer', *Transition* 18 (1965), 27–30 (p. 30), cited in Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind*, p. 8. The first African Writers Conference was officially called 'Conference of African Writers of English Expression'. According to Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ: 'The question for the Makerere writers was not how to write, translate, and market books written in African languages. Rather, it was how best to make English work for the African literary imagination.' [Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ, *The Rise of the African Novel: Politics of Language, Identity, and Ownership* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2018), p. 4.]
[202] Achebe, 'English and the African Writer', p. 29.
[203] Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 24. Emphasis mine.
[204] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 4.

National Prisons

The *Papéis da Prisão* attest to the ways in which these interanimations, outlined above, are defined by the very circumstances of prison life—its limitations as well as its potentialities—and are representative of wider concerns of extant critical approaches to African prison writing. According to Barbara Harlow, the 'experience of prison' of political prisoners, like Luandino Vieira, is 'conditioned by the ideal of that larger collective struggle in which they are involved', and the 'nature of that struggle both sustains their resistance in prison and informs the composition and structure of their prison [writing]'.[205] She notes that prison writing—and particularly autobiographical prison writing—is 'actively engaged in a re-definition of the self and the individual in terms of a collective enterprise and struggle'; prison memoirs, for example, 'are not written for the sake of a "book of one's own", rather they are collective documents, testimonies written by individuals to their common struggle'.[206] From James Olney's claim, in *Tell Me Africa: An Approach to African Literature* (1973), that he 'considers autobiography from Africa less as an individual phenomenon than as a social one', to recent contributions to the study of African life-writing as well as of African prison writing, such as Rachel Knighton's *Writing the Prison in African Literature* (2019), criticism has continually foregrounded the relationship of 'the individual to the collective, the private to the public, and the personal to the political'.[207] It is this 're-definition of the self […] in terms of [the] collective' that we witness in the *Papéis da Prisão.*

For Bart Moore-Gilbert, these relationships are characteristic of postcolonial life-writing more broadly. For instance, Moore-Gilbert associates postcolonial life-writing with the tendency 'to offer'—in a similar manner to women's life-writing—a 'dialogical conception of

[205] Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (New York, NY: Methuen, 1987), p. 119.
[206] Harlow, *Resistance Literature*, p. 120.
[207] James Olney, *Tell Me Africa: An Approach to African Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 201; Paul Gready, *Writing as Resistance: Life Stories of Imprisonment, Exile, and Homecoming from Apartheid South Africa* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 9.

Selfhood as something which is essentially social and relational'.[208] This 'relationality of auto/biographical subjectivity', he observes, 'is particularly obvious in the writing of self-conscious nationalists, where the author may seek to make himself representative of, or spokesman for, the collective to which he belongs'.[209] This 'relationality' is clear in Luandino Vieira's *Papéis da Prisão*—a book Francisco Topa describes as 'sendo parente da autobiografia e de outras formas da escrita do *eu*'.[210] However, while Luandino Vieira may be regarded as a 'self-conscious nationalist', he does not emerge from the *Papéis* as a 'representative of, or spokesman for, the collective'—that is, of the collective carceral community or the collective anticolonial struggle—'to which he belongs'. Across the first period of his incarceration, from 1961 to 1964, in what he refers to as 'prisões nacionais', the Angolan writer seeks rather to *re*-present an irreducibly heterogeneous 'collective' in his writing.

For example, in an entry dated 14 December 1962, Luandino Vieira records:

> Agora andam cá fora o Xico, natural da Kibala que passa o dia a cantar e a gabar a terra dele, comparando-a com a dos outros, mostrando a superioridade duma terra onde há tudo para comer (até farinha de trigo!). Em especial as discussões são com o Pedro, católico de fio e medalha ao pescoço, natural do Ambrizete (kikongo) e que é o bode expiatório dos 3 de língua quimbundu— Xico, Cristóvão e Pescador. O Cristóvão é da Barra do Dande, pouco acessível por isso mesmo talvez muito consciente. […] O Pescador é do Mussulu mas estava morar na Samba, de que gosta mais, diz ele.[211]

This early entry of the *Papéis da Prisão* is representative of Luandino Vieira's efforts cognitively to map not only the carceral space, but Angola at large, foregrounding their constitutive heterogeneity.[212] Though united under a 'shared' language, the three Kimbundu-

[208] Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics and Self-Representation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. xviii.
[209] Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Life-Writing*, p. xx.
[210] Francisco Topa, '*Assi que só para mim: os Papéis da Prisão*, de José Luandino Vieira' (2016), 1–7 (p. 2) <https://www.ces.uc.pt/ficheiros2/sites/papeis/files/FranciscoTopa_Assi_que_so_para_mim_os_Papeis_da_prisao.pdf> [Accessed 20 April 2023].
[211] '14–12–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 52–53.
[212] Here, I draw on the vocabulary of Fredric Jameson, for whom the process—and, indeed, the aesthetic—of 'cognitive mapping' involves the development of 'a situational representation on the part of the individual subject' of 'that vaster and properly unrepresentable totality which is the ensemble of society's structures as a

speaking inmates are themselves heterogeneous, each presented as individuals. The first is Xico, 'natural da Kibala', a town in the interior of the province of Kwanza Sul; the second, Cristóvão, hails from the coastal town Barra do Dande, in the province of Bengo, where the Rio Dande meets the Atlantic Ocean; the third is Pescador, who, born in the Mussulo peninsula, lives in mainland Samba, both of which are located in the province of Luanda. On the other hand, Pedro—a devout Catholic from Ambrizete (now N'zeto), in the province of Zaire—is a Kikongo-speaking inmate, which the Angolan writer notes in a brief parenthetical remark.[213] United geographically but not linguistically, each prisoner comes from a province within Angola, and the ones identified as '[os] 3 de língua quimbundu'—united linguistically but not geographically—reflect the plasticity of what Benedict Anderson has termed 'imagined communities' as well as the complex relationship between language and national identity in the years leading up to Angolan independence and beyond.[214]

When asked, in a recent interview about the *Papéis*, if in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal 'havia presos de vários lugares', Luandino Vieira emphatically responds:

> De vários! Eram do [N]orte, do [S]ul, eram analfabetos, Febel, meu mestre não falava [P]ortuguês, [K]ikongo, [U]mbundu, [K]imbundu, jovens, velhos. O Teodóro Cassinque da Unita tinha 20 anos. E o chefe da Unita já tinha sessenta e tal. E era professor primário. Era o Chingunji. Aquilo era a nação, a nação angolana estava lá.

whole'. In Luandino Vieira's *Papéis da Prisão*, the carceral space—which holds, in the words of Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, not only Angolans, but the 'nação angolana encarcerada'—is portrayed as a space in which prisoners, including Luandino Vieira himself, 'begin to grasp [their] positioning as individual and collective subjects' within broader social structures. [Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 51, 54; Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 19.]

[213] These descriptions abound throughout the *Papéis da Prisão*. Across the *cadernos*, the reader is introduced to such characters as Gregório 5metros, 'acusado de ser um dos componentes (sobrevivente) dos grupos do 4 de Fevereiro', from Mazozo, situated in the Kimbundu-speaking province of Bengo, and José dos Santos Kazakanga, from São Salvador (now M'banza Kongo) in the Kikongo-speaking province of Zaire, 'sempre com seu ar abstracto'. Additionally, we find mentions to such fellow Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE inmates as André «O Bailundo», from the Umbundu-speaking province of Huambo, as his epithet indicates, and Silvestre, described as 'lunda-quioco', from the Cokwe-speaking province of Lunda Norte, among several others. ['15–01–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 96; '21–10–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 46–47; '08–11–62', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 51.]

[214] A stricter correspondence between the concepts of 'language' and 'nation' or 'state' can be found in sixteenth-century accounts of the Kingdom of Ndongo, in which what is now referred to as Kimbundu was previously known as Ndongo.

> De maneira que isto foi uma dádiva, uma dádiva que a vida me deu. Foi poder estar na nação, num concentrado como hoje já ninguém pode ter.[215]

The paratactic syntax of the transcription above is performative of the constitutive heterogeneity of the carceral space. Here, the heterogeneous character of this space—its inmates both 'jovens [e] velhos', literate and illiterate, 'do norte [e] do sul', speakers of different languages, members of different nationalist movements—is performed at the very level of the sentence. What we conclude from Luandino Vieira's descriptions of both the 'prisões nacionais' and the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal is that the carceral space itself makes possible a cognitive map of the 'nação angolana'. For Luandino Vieira, 'a literatura é assumida como o espaço de universalização que permite pensar uma outra ideia de nação, um outro nacionalismo de pendor oximoronicamente universalista, mas que nesta tensão encontra a sua particularidade.'[216] Indeed, in the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE, the other 'prisões nacionais', and—more significantly, as we will see—in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, we observe a phenomenon described by Homi Bhabha as 'vernacular cosmopolitanism'.[217] According to Pnina Werbner, 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' is 'an oxymoron that joins contradictory notions of local specificity and universal enlightenment', much like Luandino Vieira's own 'nacionalismo de pendor oximoronicamente universalista'.[218] This 'cosmopolitan community envisaged in *marginality*' has, in the last twenty years, been variously defined as 'cosmopolitismo do pobre', 'cosmopolitanism from below', and 'subaltern cosmopolitanism'.[219] However, it is the oxymoronic nature of this

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[215] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Scaraggi, 'Practices and Experiences of Incarceration', pp. 223–256 (p. 253).
[216] Calafate Ribeiro and Vecchi, 'Papéis críticos avulsos', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 27.
[217] Homi Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, eds. Laura Garcia-Morena and Peter C. Pfeifer (London: Camden House, 1996), pp. 191–207.
[218] Pnina Werbner, 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', *Theory, Culture & Society* 23:3 (2006), 496–498 (p. 496).
[219] Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', p. 195. Emphasis in original. For 'cosmopolitanism from below', see Fuyuki Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below: Alternative Globalization and the Creation of a Solidarity without Bounds', *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 45:2 (2004), 233–255 and Arjun Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below: Some Ethical Lessons from the Slums of Mumbai', in *The Future as Cultural*

'cosmopolitan community' that, across these various theoretical articulations, has tended to produce such issues of terminological instability. As we will see, this oxymoronic nature has often led theorists to attempt to resolve precisely what is perceived to be contradictory about 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' in the first place.

To cite a prominent example, for Arjun Appadurai, ' "cosmopolitanism from below" has in common with the more privileged form of cosmopolitanism the urge to expand one's current horizons of self and cultural identity and a wish to connect with a wider world in the name of values that, in principle, could belong to anyone and apply in any circumstance.'[220] 'This vernacular cosmopolitanism', continues Appadurai, with a nod to Homi Bhabha,

> also resists the boundaries of class, neighborhood, and mother-tongue, but it does so without an abstract valuation of the idea of humanity or of the world as a generally known or knowable place. This is a variety of cosmopolitanism that begins close to home and builds on the practices of the local, the everyday, and the familiar, but is imbued with a politics of hope that requires the stretching of the boundaries of the everyday in a variety of political directions.[221]

Appadurai seems to resolve, albeit unintentionally, some of the tensions that characterise what Werbner describes as the 'contradictory' coexistence of 'local specificity' and 'universal enlightenment', of the 'vernacular' and the 'cosmopolitan'. That which 'begins close to home' expands outwards from 'one's current horizons of self and cultural identity', and 'the local, the everyday, and the familiar'—seen, here, as a point of origin—is, to some extent, figured as pre-cosmopolitan; as the object of a process which 'requires the stretching of [its] boundaries'. If, as Appadurai suggests, the 'vernacular'—or, in other words, difference (such as cultural or linguistic)—survives this process, it remains unclear how it does so. Hence the slippages in

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Fact: Essays on the Global Condition (London and New York, NY: Verso Books, 2013), pp. 197–214. For 'cosmopolitismo do pobre', see Silviano Santiago, 'O Cosmopolitismo do Pobre', *Margens/Márgenes: Revista de Cultura* 2 (2002), 4–13. For 'subaltern cosmopolitanism', see Minhao Zeng, 'Subaltern Cosmopolitanism: Concept and Approaches', *The Sociological Review* 62:1 (2014), 137–148.

[220] Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 198.

[221] Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 198. In addition to the titular 'cosmopolitanism from below' and Homi Bhabha's 'vernacular cosmopolitanism', Appadurai employs other terms synonymously, namely 'microcosmopolitanism' and 'local cosmopolitanism'. [Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 208.]

Appadurai's use of the idea of 'boundaries': 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' or 'cosmopolitanism from below' at once '[resist] the boundaries of class, neighborhood, and mother-tongue' and demand 'the stretching of the boundaries of the everyday'. The boundaries of 'the local, the everyday, and the familiar' are either expanded so as to incorporate different identities (recalling Appadurai's emphasis on the 'the urge to expand one's current horizons of self and cultural identity') or resisted, as if that which must be overcome in order for cosmopolitanism to begin. Thus, 'the local' either survives in an expanded form or functions as a point of origin whose 'local specificity', whose very vernacularity ('class, neighborhood, and mother-tongue') must be overcome.

Fuyuki Kurasawa, in his earlier articulation of 'cosmopolitanism from below', endorses the first of the two possibilities outlined above. According to Kurasawa, it is the 'recognition *of*' and 'right *to* cultural difference' that underpins practices of 'cosmopolitanism from below'.[222] '[A]gainst the argument that human togetherness requires a difference-blind cultural assimilationism,' Kurasawa posits that 'the recognition of global pluralism is becoming a *sine qua non* for establishing viable solidaristic ties,' seeking 'to counter the belief that there is a necessary trade-off between the respect for the right to difference and political cohesion'.[223] Alternatively, he argues that

> [a] practice of cosmopolitanism from below must strive to reconcile egalitarian universalism with a respect for the right to cultural specificity and difference […] Thus, cosmopolitanism does not signify being from nowhere or everywhere at once, but rather embracing the simultaneous existence of multilayered local, national and global identities.[224]

Kurasawa's stress on simultaneity avoids issues that emerge from Appadurai's articulation of 'cosmopolitanism from below'. Other issues nevertheless arise. Despite an avowed intention to 'put into question the implicitly national frames of reference within which most

[222] Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 240, p. 247. Emphasis in original.
[223] Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 235.
[224] Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 240.

conventional explanations of social solidarity operate', Kurasawa's elaboration of 'multilayered […] identities' positions the 'national' as a key intermediate site between the 'local' and the 'global'.[225] Here, once more, what is deemed oxymoronic about 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' is, to some extent, resolved: if the 'local', the 'national', and the 'global' are experienced separately from one another, as different expressions of 'identity', then the tensions produced by 'join[ing] contradictory notions of local specificity and universal enlightenment', of 'vernacular' and 'cosmopolitan', are dissolved.[226] As a consequence of this elaboration, of this view of 'multilayered' yet self-contained 'local, national and global identities', Kurasawa sidesteps the place of linguistic difference within a 'practice of cosmopolitanism from below'. We might ask ourselves: do the 'local', the 'national', and the 'global' all speak the same language? His emphasis on the Alternative Globalization Movement (AGM) and its need to 'incorporate an ever-widening chorus of voices' betrays assumptions about what social and political cohesion might look (and sound) like, a 'chorus of voices' suggesting either an undertheorised view of translation or, indeed, a monolingual default for social (and global) solidarity.[227]

Crucially for our purposes in this chapter, however, Appadurai attempts to tackle precisely these questions, highlighting the pervasiveness of translation in situations characterised by a 'cosmopolitanism from below'. In these 'multilingual and multicultural space[s]', he says, '[t]ranslation is a continuous background activity […]. Language in these settings is both medium and message, background and foreground, tool and horizon.'[228] As we will see, language's movement between 'background and foreground' is also characteristic of Luandino Vieira's representation of the carceral space in the *Papéis da Prisão*, marked by a

[225] Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 234.
[226] Werbner, 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', p. 496.
[227] Kurasawa, 'A Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 252.
[228] Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 211, p. 206.

similar 'cosmopolitanism from below'. Part of my argument here is that the *Papéis* reveal the development of an aesthetic—and, in many ways, ethical—response to the 'contradictory' emphases of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism'; indeed, a response to 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' that seeks to harness difference (particularly linguistic difference) as aesthetically and politically enabling. Where Luandino Vieira's representation of the 'prisões nacionais' as well as of the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal departs from Appadurai's and Kurasawa's theoretical articulations, however, is in its ability successfully to explore what is oxymoronic about these 'cosmopolitan communit[ies] envisaged in *marginality*'.[229]

The prisons that emerge from the *Papéis da Prisão* are precisely such 'multilingual and multicultural space[s]' as described by Appadurai—spaces in which language, and language difference, oscillate between 'background and foreground'. Importantly, however, these are also spaces in which the constant overlap of linguistic communities—that of Portuguese and of Kimbundu, as well as of Portuguese and of Kimbundu in their own pluralities, as we begin to see in Luandino Vieira's description of '[os] 3 de língua quimbundu'—permits certain kinds of language use to be understood simultaneously as 'vernacular' and 'cosmopolitan'. Let us turn to an example. Throughout the eleven years of his incarceration, Luandino Vieira's 'observações aguçadas, [e] a relação que estabelece com outros reclusos e até com os guardas prisionais, permitem-lhe um conhecimento profundo das diferentes realidades angolanas dentro das prisões. É neste período,' the editors of the *Papéis da Prisão* note, 'que recolhe histórias de vida, contos, poemas, cancioneiros populares, expressões, costumes e crenças que transpõe para a ficção, transformando-as em instrumentos de luta.'[230] Some of these came to constitute what Luandino Vieira refers to as the *Cancioneiro Popular Angolano*—an archive of songs, primarily in Kimbundu, sung by inmates across the many prisons where the Angolan

[229] Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', p. 195.
[230] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1023.

writer was detained. The archival process, Luandino Vieira outlines, often entailed bribing fellow inmates—most of them common (as opposed to political) prisoners—with cigarettes in exchange for songs, which were transcribed either by him or by the other inmates themselves, and later translated into Portuguese.[231] 'Na cadeia Comarcã,' details Luandino Vieira, 'fiz saber ao Amaral e a todos os outros: "[V]ocês escrevam e tragam". "Ah, mas eu não sei escrever." "Escrevam como falam." E assim que eu fiz o cancioneiro.'[232]

We find an example of this archival process in an entry dated 3 February 1964, to which the Angolan writer, then held in the Cadeia Comarcã de Luanda, appended a total of seven songs, '[r]ecolhidas pelo Ambas […] canções estas já modernas, de guerra'.[233] The manuscripts attest to the presence of two hands: that of Amaral, 'preso «delinquente habitual» […] conhecido por Ambas', who, in light blue ink, transcribes the Kimbundu-language songs in large unjoined capital letters; and that of Luandino Vieira, who, in both a dark blue pen and in pencil, adds interlineal translations in a scrawled version of his characteristic handwriting.[234] Let us take the first of these seven songs, titled 'não fala (zuela)', as an example.

I
*[*Ó, preto não dispas*]*
Hó unbundu kazulai *[*(kasolê)*]*
*[*Olha só o que foi feito/fez, preto*]*
Talangó kiabange 'unbundú
*[*Isto não está bom/os impede sr.*]*
Ó kiki kiaubangana
*[*Olha o que fazes preto*]*
Tala kiabange unbundú
*[*O preto quando vos pede*]*
O unbundú ka nu binga
*[*Para quererem matá-lo*]*
Muandala kú mugiba

II
*[*Mas isto é bom/é feio (não é bom)*]*

[231] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Scaraggi, 'Practices and Experiences of Incarceration', p. 231.
[232] Interview with José Luandino Vieira, in Scaraggi, 'Practices and Experiences of Incarceration', p. 232.
[233] '03–02–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 432.
[234] '17–01–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 414.

O kiki kauaba pé
*[*O que fez o preto*]*
Kiabange ó unbundú
*[*O preto quando mata*]*
Munbundu kagiba
*[*Dizem é mau/não é bom*]*
Uxi kuaiba
*[*Aquele que (agarra) (apanha)*]*
Hó kina kia kuata
*[*A catana porrada no preto*]*
O jango uxi munbundú
*[*Não é bom*]*
Uaiba
Fim[235]

In the transcription of 'não fala (zuela)', three distinct acts of writing can be discerned. Each line of the *canção*—transcribed by Ambas in light blue pen—is first translated by Luandino Vieira in pencil, and later corrected in dark blue pen. At times, these distinct acts of writing are layered palimpsestically. For instance, the verb 'kiabange' in the second line is initially translated in pencil as 'o que fazes'—a translation repeated, but left uncorrected, in the fourth line—and then amended, in dark blue ink, to read 'o que fez'. An alternative translation—that is, 'foi feito'—is also added above. At times, Ambas appears to correct himself, inserting the letter 'a' to make the word 'kuata' (at first spelled 'kuta') in the penultimate line, or hesitating over the word 'uxi' in the final line of the *canção*. At other moments, Luandino Vieira corrects his own pencilled-in translations during the process of writing ('lhes', for example, is corrected to 'o' in the translation of the third line). However, more often than not, corrections and revisions take place in the third act of writing. Luandino Vieira, in dark blue pen, corrects not only Ambas's transcription—inserting, for example, the letter 'i' in the prefix 'kia'—but also, as we have just seen, his own translation. The title itself is added to the page in the dark blue ink of the final act of writing. There is no evidence on the page of Ambas correcting either of the later acts of writing.

[235] '03–02–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 435.

Here, a hierarchy between the three scripts amplifies translation's attempt to organise what counts as language—and, indeed, cultural—difference. The transcription evidences a moment of translation 'rigidly conceived', to borrow Reynolds's phrase, where the visual difference between Ambas's and Luandino Vieira's scripts reinforces the difference between Portuguese and Kimbundu—a difference accentuated by the fact that Ambas's far more tentative and simplified handwriting might suggest a discomfort with writing.[236] In spite of momentary overlaps between Ambas's language and that of Luandino Vieira, the perceived distance between the source and target languages is what motivates the author's quasi-ethnographic archival process. Tellingly, on the following page, Luandino Vieira imagines his translation in printed form under the title *Cancioneiro Popular Angolano* and the subtitle 'Canções de presos das cadeias de Luanda', attributing the collection, translation, and notes of these *canções* solely to himself. As a result, what is felt to be 'cosmopolitan' here is a result of translation, and therefore belongs to the European language, while what is 'vernacular' and requires translation belongs to Ambas, who performs the role of a cultural informant.

Elsewhere, however, Luandino Vieira finds in translation's tendency to organise what counts as a meaningful difference between languages an opportunity—one which, as the next section with demonstrate, was developed further during the Angolan writer's incarceration in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal—to reimagine the borders between Portuguese and Kimbundu. Ambas's contributions to the *Papéis da Prisão* themselves begin to suggest this opportunity. His greater proficiency in both languages allows him to insert translations himself. Rather than always coinciding with a distinction between the European and African

[236] While Ambas might be more uncomfortable with the act of writing, his orthographic decisions in 'não fala (zuela)' reveal the extent to which his transcription is attuned to the ways in which Kimbundu is spoken, if not written. While the final transcription of the *canção* in Luandino Vieira's handwriting features the expression 'Tala ngó'—translated as 'Vê só'—Ambas's transcription evidences the writing of the imperative of the verb *kutala* (in English, 'to see') and the adverb 'ngo' (in English, 'just' or 'only') as one word, replicating the rhythm of oral pronunciation. Luandino Vieira, more attuned to the (then still rudimentary) standardisations of written Kimbundu, adds in pencil a vertical line that separates the two words. ['03–02–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 435.]

languages, the difference between scripts suggests ways in which the relationship between languages might be altered. If translation's foreground activity in the above example—to recall Appadurai's phrase—appears to separate languages and agents, the background activity which it implies is much less stable: distinctions between source and target, translator and writer, are destabilised by an active and developing bilingualism in which a collaborative translation is made possible by an interanimation both personal and linguistic. This background activity accompanies a transition—across Luandino Vieira's time in the 'prisões nacionais'—from an interpretive to a translational relationship to language and language difference. While, in the words of Denis Feeney, '[b]luntly, interpreting is oral, and translating is textual', it is precisely during the collaborative scriptural translation process that the Angolan author appears to begin to think through the ways in which text can build upon the interpretive relations of spoken language.[237]

What develops alongside this emphasis on translation is a sense of linguistic horizontality. Later, transcribing another song, Luandino Viera recognises this possibility implied by bilingualism explicitly:

> A canção tem até muito interesse linguístico, porque sem depurações do tempo s[obre] ela, se apresenta muito perto da sua express«ão inicial, que integrada na realidade sócio-cultural dos musseques saiu» bi-lingue i.e. é híbrida apresentando partes em vernáculo, parte em termos do português já «aquimbundado», integrados na língua (ex.: difundu - do port, defunto) e outros ainda na pureza portuguesa: (agora, os numerais).[238]

This linguistic double-vision reflects the multiple roles performed by translation in Luandino Vieira's prison writing. 'To recognize that you need to translate,' in Reynolds's words, 'is to split your language off from the language of the people around you.'[239] What becomes clear in this period of the writer's incarceration is that, as acts of translation 'rigidly conceived' are

[237] Denis Feeney, *Beyond Greek: The Beginnings of Latin Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), p. 33.
[238] '04–02–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 465.
[239] Reynolds, *The Poetry of Translation*, p. 16.

backgrounded and foregrounded, an alternative conception of translation itself also comes intermittently into focus. As Feeney notes,

> "translation" to an English speaker will convey the impression that the activity is a matter of "carrying across" some content from one language to another: one can fall into positing a monolithic culture of monoglots on either side of a divide, which the translator penetrates by carrying across something from one side to the other, compensating for a language deficit.[240]

Yet just as prison as an environment can both isolate inmates and create the conditions for their (otherwise improbable) communication, translation—it becomes clear—can both 'split [one's] language off from the language of others', and make possible exchange in which the difference between one person's 'language' and another's is increasingly difficult to determine. This is a difficulty that is compounded, in this case, by the fact that Ambas's and Luandino Vieira's scripts are—as the *Cancioneiro* continues, and perhaps partly due to the Angolan writer aiding Ambas's own acts of writing—increasingly difficult to tell apart.

Despite their clear logic of internal divisions, then, the various national prisons that Luandino Vieira was held in in the first half of the 1960s generated a counter-intuitive cosmopolitanism—a 'cosmopolitanism from below'. Far from producing a 'monolithic culture of monoglots on either side of a divide', the prison as a space came to constitute a site of a wide range of translational activity, in which a powerful conception of an independent and multilingual national identity could be imagined *through* the interanimation of different 'vernacular' languages.[241] As the following section will show, however, this 'cosmpolitanism from below' would soon be stretched futher in a more explicitly transnational way as Luandino Vieira moved from the 'prisões nacionais' to a new form of imprisonment in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal.

Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal

[240] Feeney, *Beyond Greek*, p. 30.
[241] Feeney, *Beyond Greek*, p. 30.

Among the thirty-two known 'cárceres políticos' that came to form part of the 'vasta rede prisional' established by the Estado Novo throughout its colonies after the outbreak of the anticolonial struggle, the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal was situated in the municipality of Tarrafal, on the island of Santiago, in the Atlantic archipelago of Cape Verde.[242] The history of the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, however, extends back to the 1930s, and can be divided into two distinct periods. The first dates from its opening in 1936 to its (first) closure in 1954, during which it was intended for antifascist dissidents of the Estado Novo, all of them Portuguese nationals. The second dates from its re-opening in 1961 to its (second) closure on 1 May 1974, following the Revolução dos Cravos and the end of Portugal's dictatorial regime. The Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal was re-opened—under the new name of Campo de Trabalho de Chão Bom—on 17 June 1961 as a response by the Ministério do Ultramar to the organisation of nationalist movements in the colonies.[243] Its renewed purpose was to 'acolher os nacionalistas que queriam a independência de Angola, Guiné Bissau, Cabo Verde, nomeadamente os representantes dos principais movimentos de libertação, caso do PAIGC e vários integrantes do MPLA, da FNLA e da UNITA'.[244] However, these were not just any 'nacionalistas'. 'Para o Tarrafal, segundo fontes várias, estavam destinados os cabecilhas ou os elementos tidos como mais perigosos'—that is, in Luandino Vieira's words, the 'reclusos irrecuperáveis'.[245]

Like the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE, the Cadeia do Comando da PSP, and the Cadeia Comarcã de Luanda, the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal lacked ideal conditions for literary production, and, in this respect, it is characterised by the material conditions that have

[242] Fernando Rosas, *História a História — África* (Lisboa: Tinta-da-China, 2018), p. 60, p. 63.
[243] Victor Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde: As Ilhas como Espaços de Deportação e de Prisão no Estado Novo* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), pp. 107–108.
[244] Carlos Jorge Silva Mendes, 'O Museu da Resistência: Museu Transnacional', unpublished MA thesis (Universidade do Porto, 2010), p. 66.
[245] 'José Luandino Vieira' in José Vicente Lopes, *Tarrafal — Chão Bom: Memórias e Verdades* (Cidade da Praia: Instituto da Investigação e do Património Culturais (IIPC), 2010), pp. 134–147 (p. 135).

come to define prison writing more generally. According to Claire Westall, 'writing within and about prisons is never easy. There are always psychological, physical and institutional hurdles at work […]. Writing can be prohibited, require contraband, demand secrecy and present risk'.[246] Malawian poet Jack Mapanje, incarcerated between 1987 and 1991, remarks that it is often the case that such writers 'did not enjoy the craft of their art' due to circumstances in which 'most were not allowed pen and paper; they often used smuggled-in or stolen pens and pencils, toilet paper, discarded soap wrappers and other unimaginable materials in order to correspond with the world outside their prison'.[247] The carceral space, in which acts of writing must frequently be undertaken clandestinely, and in which, Luandino Vieira notes, 'havia vários perigos', inevitably impinges upon literary production.[248] Therefore, my interest here lies in the ways in which the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal performed, to borrow Daniel Roux's phrase, 'an active, productive role in framing and mediating narration'.[249] Indeed, as Roux reminds us, writing about Robben Island in the context of apartheid South Africa,

> one should not lose sight of the way in which the prison, as a material environment explicitly designed to promote a certain kind of subjectivity […] mediated, constrained and engendered specific narrative forms and collective ideals. In other words, if the dominant understandings of the historical struggle against racial injustice and notion of a new post-apartheid society were constructed in opposition to the prison, they were also *formed* by the penal institution: the idea of a new nation was effectively constructed using building blocks provided by the prison itself.[250]

Roux identifies a tension between different and seemingly incompatible kinds of agency—that is, that of the prison in 'framing and mediating narration', but also that of prison writing, which functions 'in opposition to the prison'. It is this tension that, between 1961 and 1972,

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[246] Claire Westall, 'Introduction: A Wide and Worlded Vision of Prison Writing', in *Prison Writing and the Literary World: Imprisonment, Institutionality and Questions of Literary Practice*, eds. Michelle Kelly and Claire Westall (New York, NY: Routledge, 2020), pp. 1–18 (p. 7).
[247] Jack Mapanje, 'Introduction', in *Gathering Seaweed: African Prison Writing*, ed. Jack Mapanje (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Books, 2002), pp. xiii–xxii (pp. xix–xx).
[248] 'Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (p. 1045).
[249] Daniel Roux, 'Writing from Robben Island: National Identity and the Apartheid Prison in South Africa', in *Prison Writing and the Literary World*, pp. 93–109 (p. 96).
[250] Roux, 'Writing from Robben Island', pp. 96–97. Emphasis in original.

has a transformative effect on the 'specific narrative forms and collective ideals' expressed in and through Luandino Vieira's writing.

Victor Barros, writing about the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal in Cape Verde, also emphasises the ways in which its 'material environment was explicitly designed to promote a certain kind of subjectivity'.[251] This 'material environment' was designed to promote isolation and to impose 'o isolamento […] e a desolação […] como forças geradoras de uma suposta consciência de inutilidade dos seus actos perante a força repressiva e a razão moralizante do regime'. [252] Barros notes, however, that, in the case of the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, this sense of isolation was itself double—a doubleness designed specifically to intensify isolation: '[a] deportação ou o desterro, sob forma de degredo, constituíram desde sempre uma das modalidades de castigo e condenação'; however, from 1932 onwards, 'começa-se a definir o princípio de deportação dos condenados políticos com base na ideia de criação de uma prisão numa ilha'.[253] The combination of two 'modalidades de castigo e condenação'—that is, exile and imprisonment—would produce significantly different conditions for inmates.[254] Prisoners were no longer merely exiled to an island, where they constituted a 'presença "livre" nos meios sociais onde se encontrava[m] desterrado[s]'.[255] They were now confined to a prison on an island. This situation produced what Barros terms 'um especial e duplo isolamento': 'ilha prisão e prisão na ilha.'[256] He indicates, moreover, that

> o princípio da escolha de uma ilha das colónias para o estabelecimento de uma prisão para desterrados políticos carregava também, em si, a ideia de ilha enquanto espaço que, aberto para o mar e, ao mesmo tempo, fechado sobre si mesmo, impunha o isolamento como condição de vida.[257]

[251] Roux, 'Writing from Robben Island', p. 96.
[252] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 19
[253] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, pp. 39–40.
[254] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 39.
[255] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 56.
[256] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 43.
[257] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 41.

Describing what has been termed the 'architecture of carcerality', Tom Wilkinson argues that prison walls work by 'produc[ing] a microscopically subdivided space, consisting of the regular repetition of its most basic element: the cell'.[258] In the case of a 'prisão numa ilha', such as the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, this 'most basic element' of carcerality is replicated both macroscopically and microscopically. Indeed, what Wilkinson calls 'cellularity' characterises the prison's geography as much as it does its architecture. Compounding the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal's 'especial e duplo isolamento', the island of Santiago—which Barros calls 'uma prisão natural'—was notorious for its barrenness.[259] Portuguese officials were quick to recognise the suitability of Tarrafal:

> Depois de um reconhecimento cuidadosamente feito por técnicos a diferentes ilhas do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde, chegou-se à conclusão de que o lugar de Tarrafal, da Ilha de Santiago, reunia as condições necessárias à instalação desta colónia, sob o ponto de vista higiniénico, de vigilância e dos recursos naturais de comunicações indispensáveis ao seu bom funcionamento.[260]

According to them, its 'localização numa zona plana de fácil circulação, perto do mar, com boas e belas baías; e por último, [o] clima, um dos raros em Cabo Verde', would afford 'um bom ambiente aos funcionários de Salazar'.[261] However, much has been said about how '[a] escolha do Tarrafal de Santiago não era inocente'.[262] The chosen site 'tinha todas as condições para se tornar o presídio num «inferno». Numa visita feita pelos técnicos do regime às ilhas de Cabo Verde, constataram que o Tarrafal de Santiago oferecia melhores condições para o intento que estavam a planear.'[263] This intent becomes clear in the descriptions that have since been published.

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[258] Tom Wilkinson, 'Typology: Prison', *The Architectural Review* 1452 (June 2018), 92–101 (p. 93).
[259] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 43.
[260] 'Decreto-Lei n.º 26:539', *Diário do Govêrno* 1:94 (23 April 1936), p. 445.
[261] José Manuel Soares Tavares, 'O Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal (1936–1954): A Origem e o Quotidiano', unpublished MA thesis (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 2006), pp. 92–93, cited in Barros, p. 91.
[262] Mendes, 'O Museu da Resistência: Museu Transnacional', p. 61.
[263] Mendes, 'O Museu da Resistência: Museu Transnacional', p. 61.

In a letter dated 21 August 1931, the exiled General Sousa Dias—one of the few high-ranking officers in the Exército Português not to join the military coup of 28 May 1926 and who, from the beginning, sought to oppose what is known as the Ditadura Militar—described to his son, Adalberto, the chosen site of what was to be the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal.

> O local escolhido é simplesmente pavoroso! O Tarrafal — misérrima povoação de pescadores, fica situado, próxima e ao lado d'uma apertada ravina de ásperos e escalvados flancos, — flancos elevados e de abruptos declives, que se alargam um pouco, próximo ao mar, e onde se está estabelecendo o aludido campo de concentração. [Três] raquíticas árvores é a única vegetação que ali se encontra. O sol, batendo todo o dia, neste pedregulhoso e árido terreno, sem que possível seja furtar-se à ardência dos seus raios, converterá, certamente, a existência dos desterrados que para ali forem mandados numa torturante vida de esfacelamento físico e moral! [...]
>
> Acredita que a imperfeita descrição que te faço, fica muito aquém da realidade deste projectado «*inferno*» digno da Divina Comédia dantesca![264]

The accounts of the *desterrados* within the prison tend to corroborate General Sousa Dias's impressions. For instance, the Communist Pedro Soares—one of '150 presos antifascistas' to arrive at the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal on 29 October 1936—notes, in his own account of the four years during which he remained detained in Tarrafal:

> A falta de vegetação, os montes escarpados, o mar e o isolamento a que os presos estão submetidos, dão à vida, aí, uma monotonia que torna mais insuportável o cativeiro. Como únicos vestígios do mundo há o ar carrancudo dos guardas e das sentinelas negras que vigiam, as cartas das famílias que demoram meses a chegar, e dias a ser distribuídos, os castigos e os enxovalhos, os trabalhos forçados, as doenças e a morte de alguns companheiros. […] Eis tudo o que forma este pequeno mundo. [265]

This particular verdict is echoed in one of the most evocative descriptions of the 'especial e duplo isolamento' which was the sole purpose of the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal:

> No Tarrafal está-se verdadeiramente fora do mundo real: a restrição dos contactos entre os próprios presos e o seu total isolamento da população; a drástica censura aplicada à correspondência, e a restrição do número de cartas que o preso pode escrever; a proibição da entrada de jornais e revistas de carácter informativo [...]; a proibição de ouvir rádio — tudo isso faz daquele mundo concentracionário, um ponto

[264] Letter from General Sousa Dias to his son Adalberto de Sousa Dias dated 21 August 1931, in A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *O General Sousa Dias e as Revoltas contra a Ditadura 1926–1931* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1975), pp. 148–149.
[265] Pedro Soares, *Tarrafal – Campo da Morte Lenta* (Lisboa: Edições Avante!, 1975), pp. 19–20.

> perdido em pleno Atlântico, um pequeno mundo em que estão reunidas as condições ideais para levarem à estagnação e ao apodrecimento.[266]

The Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal emerges from the testimonies above as both a place designed to isolate and insular by design. Yet, to place too much emphasis on an isolation both constructed and also compounded by the prison's location is to risk obfuscating the fact that what the prison sought to isolate was a community of political prisoners hailing from a number of different places across Portuguese-speaking Africa. It is significant, for instance, that Pedro Soares's phrase 'pequeno mundo'—a phrase echoed in the volume *Angolanos no Tarrafal*—is, in this context, equivocal. To stress the adjective 'pequeno' is to stress the claustrophobic, insular environment of the prison-on-an-island; to stress 'mundo', on the other hand, is to underline one way in which the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal came to be significant to Luandino Vieira. Indeed, as perhaps an unforeseen consequence of this isolation, the prison made possible a cosmopolitan contact and exchange between representatives of different linguistic and cultural communities. This contact and exchange was itself catalysed by an alteration in the demographics of the prison's incarcerated population from its first to its second period. The prison went from being a space inhabited by people of the same nationality as well as of the same political affiliation—as we have seen, the detainees of the first period of the prison's existence were, on the whole, Portuguese nationals—to a space inhabited by people who hailed from a number of different colonies, were members of different nationalist movements and, therefore, held different political affiliations. The Prime Minister of Cape Verde, José Maria Neves, underlined this in his speech at the Simpósio Internacional sobre o Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal in 2009:

> É que nestas paredes estão guardadas histórias de pessoas e de povos de Angola, de Cabo Verde, da Guiné Bissau, de Portugal, escritas com suor, sangue e lágrimas, que

[266] Levy Baptista, 'Nota Introdutória', in Fernando de Abranches Ferrão, Francisco Salgado Zenha, Levy Baptista, and Manuel João da Palma Carlos *Angolanos no Tarrafal: Alguns Casos de Habeas Corpus* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1974), pp. 5–8 (p. 6).

> adubaram o chão da luta e fermentaram os ideais da independência nas ex-colónias portuguesas e da resistência antifascista em Portugal.[267]

Contrary to the purported aims of the Estado Novo for the reopened Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, the prison was to become 'home' to a 'cosmopolitan' community of anticolonial nationalists and, in many ways, a microcosm of the Portuguese Empire itself. In a similar manner to the way Alexandra Reza describes the Casa dos Estudantes do Império—a 'nexus of cultural and geographical difference', where 'key figures from Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau met'; indeed, 'a microcosm of the *ultramarino* world', which ultimately 'subverted […] the center's putative function [of] socializ[ing] students into imperial functionaries'—the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal forcibly thrust together members of nationalist movements from across the Portuguese Empire.[268] In many ways, the Estado Novo had committed the same mistake. The shift from 'national' Casas (with each colony having its own Casa) to a single 'transnational' Casa dos Estudantes do Império can profitably be mapped onto Luandino Vieira's experience of incarceration: as there were national prisons—like the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE, the Cadeia do Comando da PSP, and the Cadeia Comarcã de Luanda, where Luandino Vieira had been detained in before being transferred to Tarrafal—there were also 'transnational' or 'cosmopolitan' prisons, like the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal. Here, repurposing Reza's statement on the Casa dos Estudantes do Império: 'the *Estado Novo*'s vision' of 'unity without difference' was, in Tarrafal, counteracted by the contrary—that is, a 'unity *with* difference'.[269]

In an interview with the editors of the *Papéis da Prisão*, Luandino Vieira reflects on this 'unity *with* difference':

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[267] Mendes, 'O Museu da Resistência: Museu Transnacional', p. 72.
[268] Alexandra Reza, 'African Anti-Colonialism and the *Ultramarinos* of the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*', *Journal of Lusophone Studies* 1:1 (2016), 37–56 (p. 43, p. 39, p. 40).
[269] Reza, 'African Anti-Colonialism', p. 43. Emphasis mine.

> [E]nquanto nas prisões de Luanda o que funcionava era o sentimento nacional, a comunidade, porque o inimigo estava no exterior e, portanto, nós estávamos ali naquela comunidade nacional, no Tarrafal não existia o inimigo exterior. O Tarrafal é no arquipélago de Cabo Verde, na ilha de São Tiago, a aldeia e o Tarrafal, o campo. Há o mar e o inimigo é a natureza contra a nossa condição de seres humanos. Ali estávamos isolados da nação, o que deu origem a que nos virássemos para dentro de nós. O Tarrafal é a prisão em mim.[270]

Later in the interview, he returns to this point:

> ...nós, sem nenhum contacto com a população, a não ser aquela que as próprias autoridades permitiam para lhes facilitar a vida, voltámo-nos para dentro. Enquanto na parte de Luanda registo o que se passava à volta, no Tarrafal registo o que se passava dentro de mim. Como já disse, o Tarrafal é a prisão em mim. Era para nos prender a nós próprios, facilitava o tipo de trabalho que quisessem fazer. Fechados, exilados, cada um com a sua... ascendência, racial, social, política, regional, tudo! Tudo nos separava. E tudo nos juntou.[271]

There is a productive ambiguity in Luandino Vieira's statements above—an ambiguity which the Angolan writer attempts to resolve, but which is nevertheless worth probing further. 'Ali estávamos isolados da nação,' he says, 'o que deu origem a que nos virássemos para dentro de nós', reiterating: 'voltámo-nos para dentro'.[272] The phrase 'dentro de nós' gives rise to two potential interpretations: while it can be interpreted as 'turned towards ourselves', as in 'each individual turned towards themselves' or 'turned towards one's own interiority', it can also be interpreted as 'turned towards ourselves', as in 'each individual turned towards the very interior of the carceral space and the community therein'. I am more interested, here, in the latter interpretation. I am, therefore, inclined to disagree with Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, Mónica V. Silva and Roberto Vecchi when they describe the *Papéis da Prisão* as a 'Babel linguística', the image of the Tower of Babel renders the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal as a site of mutual unintelligibility.[273] In the *Papéis*, however, we witness instead how translation, broadly-conceived, 'juntou' 'tudo [o que os] separava'.

[270] Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (p. 1049).
[271] Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (pp. 1053–1054).
[272] Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (p. 1049, p. 1053)
[273] Entrevista com José Luandino Vieira', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 1038–1075 (p. 1063).

This effect of translation is evidenced by the continuance in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal of the Angolan writer's language learning and quasi-ethnographic projects. Indeed, while the first sense of 'dentro de nós'—that is, 'turning towards one's own interiority'—manifests itself in Luandino Vieira's diary-keeping practice, the second—that is, 'turning towards the interior of the prison'—manifests itself in the very content found in these diaries. An interest in the cultural heterogeneity of the prison is registered not only in his accounts of the quotidian life in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, but also in glossaries and in translations, both rigidly- and broadly-conceived. In his glossary of 'Crioulo de S. Tiago', for instance, compiled on 4 October 1964, during the first months of his incarceration in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, Luandino Vieira lists phrases common to the island's communities and their Kriol. Everyday phrases such as 'Como estás?' and 'Como te chamas?', are accompanied, respectively, by translations in Kriol such as 'Modi esse corpo?' and its variants 'Esse corpo?' and 'Esse corpinho?', and 'Nomi di bô?' and 'Como é que bô chamá[?]', with diacritical marks indicating correct pronunciation.[274] In addition to this glossary, Luandino Vieira continues compiling songs which form part of the *Cancioneiro Popular Angolano*, and like those collected in the 'prisões nacionais', the songs collected in Tarrafal are, predominantly, in Kimbundu; however, we also find songs in Umbundu, such as 'Tchuzé kalande o mbuenge', and 'mornas [...] em crioulo (S. Vicente)', four of which he transcribes on 18 April 1965.[275] Moreover, Luandino Vieira appendixes 'conto[s] tradiciona[is]' in Kimbundu, often written down by João Fialho.[276]

There is, however, a marked shift in the stylistic consequences of the Angolan author's interest in the cultural heterogeneity of the prison. Indeed, Luandino Vieira's experience of incarceration in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal had a clear effect on the development

[274] '04–10–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 465.
[275] '04–10–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 577; '18–04–65', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 641–644.
[276] See, for example, '02–11–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 588–596.

of his 'linguagem luandina'. The trajectory Trigo charts from 'texto como *representação*' to 'texto como *produção*' reflects a transition from the preoccupation with the constitutive heterogeneity of Angolan nationhood during his time in the 'prisões nacionais' to a preoccupation with the more transnational and translational 'pequeno mundo' he encounters in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal.[277] Instead of merely allowing for the representation of heterogeneity textually, the background and foreground activities of translation which surrounded Luandino Vieira on the 'ilha prisão e prisão na ilha' made possible the *production* of a translational literary style.[278] On 13 October 1964, for instance, the Angolan author includes '[d]ois documentos em anexo, duas cartas c/ mto. interesse e piada, de um forasteiro em Luanda e um catequista'.[279] While the authorship of these 'documentos' is questionable, both written in Luandino Vieira's characteristic handwriting, they evidence a moment of rupture with the logic of multilingualism—which rests upon the idea that languages are countable and therefore separate (see Introduction)—and of 'translationality' in which what are thought of as separate languages are increasingly difficult to differentiate. Let us turn to the first of these 'documentos':

> Serendíssimo meu irmão Dioco João
>
> O padecimento não fizeras risquecer no tera de nace (1) condomaja rimão de mãe.
>
> Luanda tem bom pratoraje (2), mingrande vê-se mungalo (3)
>
> Luanda no dia é ngozo, de note no Muceque as casas fica solequeteado como é lato (4), rucares de dormir, não se poderás vigiar (5), cassendo é esperto. Os laparicas, são jinvuama (6).
>
> Mano Dioco João, Luanda, casseja é fessa casseja é lomingo, ó turapaz casumira incima casumira imbaixo, ó sapato antão rumia como é rua (lua). Na Baxa, no chão parece como é cemendo preto, se sapato é novo e na terás cuidado, cai cairé como é mosca (7). Ó munumendo é muindo, condomaje na rua das infarmaça (8), os caro é pouco tomove é maje, parece como é tupiu-piu (9).
>
> Ó cunhado me rucaras ó to movre e me revares ao iria (ilha) para tirares o pata (10). Afinal mano Dioco João, o acua de mar é marcoso como é sal, casseja bebendo, não tiras a dinhota (11).
>
> Bem mano Dioco João, termino com as rembrações de todas infamilas, caté com a nossa tuibaco (12) se ainda na morrerás de cauenha (13).

[277] Trigo, 'Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo', p. 206. Emphasis in original.
[278] Barros, *Campos de Concentração em Cabo Verde*, p. 43.
[279] '13–10–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 581.

Teu irmão de mboco (14) Dioco João Charão.[280]

If translation—to recall Hankinson's phrase discussed in the Introduction—can gesture 'either towards categorisation and social convention or towards the regions of excess, flux, and indeterminacy which fall outside and between categories and conventions', 'translationality' emphasises in turn how this 'doubleness permeates language use more generally, not only whenever we translate mechanically a word from one "language" to another, but also whenever language use foregrounds interactions, tensions, frictions, or interanimations between speech communities, or provokes a questioning of the presumed stability of speech communities'.[281] Here, this tendency to amplify a questioning of the 'categories and conventions' applied to languages characterises the document's style. The choice of 'Dioco' instead of 'Diogo', for instance, reflects the absence of the syllable 'go' in Kimbundu, which is always registered with the pre-nasalised phoneme 'ng'. But in Kimbundu the letter 'c' does not exist, only 'k'—while in Portuguese 'k' is only used for loan-words—and so the spelling 'Dioco' also implies a concession to Portuguese orthography. Similarly, 'acua' reflects the absence of the sound 'gua' in Kimbundu, but its spelling (as 'acua' instead of, say, 'akwa') suggests again the counter-balancing presence of Portuguese linguistic elements in the passage. Elsewhere, 'mingrande'—or 'emigrante'—reflects the obligatory pre-nasalisation of the letter 'g' in Kimbundu, while the 'nh' of 'dinhota'—a quasi-Portuguese spelling of the Kimbundu word 'dinyota', here glossed as 'sede'—assumes, once again, elements of Portuguese orthography. Finally, the absence, mirroring Kimbundu, of numerical agreement in 'das infarmaça' and 'os caro' is not replicated elsewhere in the passage, where the Portuguese grammatical norm is reinstated 'as casas' and '[o]s laparicas'.

[280] 13–10–64', in *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 581–582.
[281] Hankinson, *Kojo Laing, Robert Browning and Affiliative Literature*, p. 44.

The inconsistency across the passage is replicated on different scales, each contributing to translationality's very tendency to provoke a questioning of what Hankinson calls the 'presumed stability of speech communities'.[282] If, on the one hand, the perceived gap between Portuguese and Kimbundu is seen to be difficult to discern, then, on the other, the gap between different varieties of both languages are revealed to be equally unstable.

*

Across the long eleven-year period of Luandino Vieira's incarceration, from his time in the 'prisões nacionais' to his detention in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, the Angolan writer's literary language became increasingly multilingual and translational. As we have seen, the maturation of this 'linguagem luandina' involved the aesthetic integration of a prolonged 'questioning of the presumed stability of speech communities'; over the course of his incarceration, Portuguese and Kimbundu gradually cease to appear separate, closed, and stable linguistic systems, and instead appear in a continuously variable and aesthetically generative interanimation.[283] The prison itself produces conditions in which this interanimation is felt as part of daily life. Indeed, it is in the specifically translational context of the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal that Appadurai's aforementioned suggestion that '[l]anguage in these settings is both medium and message, background and foreground, tool and horizon' is most suggestive.[284] Indeed, in Kimbundu, the prefix 'ki' can mean both instrumentality and imply language's power to communicate. As both a 'tool' engaged in the creation of 'texto como produção', and ultimately the 'horizon' of an outward-facing 'cosmopolitanism from below', language and its capacity to sustain interanimation with other languages represented a persistent preoccupation of the Angolan writer's experience of the carceral space, as documented in the *Papéis da Prisão*.

[282] Hankinson, *Kojo Laing, Robert Browning and Affiliative Literature*, p. 44.
[283] Hankinson, *Kojo Laing, Robert Browning and Affiliative Literature*, p. 44.
[284] Appadurai, 'Cosmopolitanism from Below', p. 206.

This sense of an equivalence between language's function as both 'tool' and 'horizon' helps to accentuate the utopian consequences of this preoccupation. If, as Baker suggests, '[t]he most distinctive feature of prefiguration is the emphasis on experimentation', then it is clear that the prisons' distinctive cosmopolitanism provoked an increasingly significant preoccupation with the prefigurative potential of linguistic interanimation.[285] As an aesthetic correlative of Luandino Vieira's political investment in a version of national identity capable of mediating between African and European, Portuguese and Kimbundu, this experimentation with different valences of interanimation—an experimentation bounded and made possible by the contours of prison sociality—constitutes an important site of the author's broader experimentation with the idea of anti-colonial struggle and national independence. As such, Luandino Vieira's prediction, registered on 19 January 1963, that 'esta «experiência» vai dar frutos' seems to have been particularly prescient.[286] The next chapter traces these 'frutos' in the period immediately following Luandino Vieira's release, focusing on the implementation of this relationship between 'tool' and 'horizon' in his translation of *A Clockwork Orange.*

[285] Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation', p. 6.
[286] '19–01–63', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 101.

Chapter 2 —
The Writer as Translator: José Luandino Vieira's Translation of Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange*

On 15 June 1972, José Luandino Vieira was notified that he would be released on parole from the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, where he had been detained since 1964. After almost twelve years of incarceration, his release was nevertheless conditional, and the terms demanded that he install himself in Portugal for five years.[287] On leaving Cape Verde, the Angolan writer was directed to the Portuguese capital, where he would live with his wife, Ermelinda (or, as she is commonly referred to, Linda) Graça, and their now twelve-year-old son, Xexe, under surveillance in a 'regime de residência vigiada'.[288] In what José-Augusto França terms 'o período fini-salazar'—that is, the final years of the Estado Novo—Lisbon was a complicated place.[289] For forty-six years, since the *coup d'état* which installed the Ditadura Nacional in 1926, Lisbon—and the country more broadly—had been subjected to a corp*o*ratist regime led by António de Oliveira Salazar, whom Tom Gallagher calls 'a confirmed opponent of consumerism, urbanization, secularism, woman's rights, trade unionism and dynamic capitalism'.[290]

As Paul Melo e Castro notes, as a result of 'a hardening of the regime's political rhetoric and an intensification of social repression', '[p]ost-war Portugal emanated an aura of stagnation and immobility, borne out by Lisbon's reputation as one of Western Europe's quietest capitals'.[291] This 'generalized somnolence' was interrupted in the 1960s.[292] As Melo e

[287] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1031.
[288] 'Cronologia', in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 1031, p. 1033.
[289] José-Augusto França, *Lisboetas no Século XX: Anos 20, 50 e 60* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2005), p. 73.
[290] Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. vii.
[291] Paul Melo e Castro, *Shades of Grey: 1960s Lisbon in Novel, Film and Photobook* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 4.
[292] Melo e Castro, *Shades of Grey*, p. 5.

Castro notes, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, political scandals combined with a 'massive upsurge in emigration', 'the outbreak of war in the colonies', and the resulting 'mass exodus' of 'at least a million people' fleeing both 'conscription and the crushing poverty prevailing in a nation that spent an increasing percentage of its national budget on a remote and unwinnable conflict' provoked a crisis.[293] The political climate to which Luandino Vieira returned saw the Estado Novo struggling to contain the anger, resentment, and dissent of those involved in precisely the anti-colonial struggle for which he had been arrested. Indeed, just two years after the Angolan writer's release from the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, on 24 April 1974, the reading of the lyrics of Zeca Afonso's protest anthem *Grândola, Vila Morena* (1971) on the radio program *Limite* would serve as a signal for officers of the Movimento das Forças Armadas—'made up', as Raphael Castro notes, 'of disaffected veterans of Portugal's colonial wars in Africa'—to seize power from the Estado Novo.[294] As such, Castro continues, 'it was the officers, disenchanted by their experience in the Portuguese colonial wars in the 1960s and early 1970s, who would bring the end of the dictatorship in 1974'.[295]

It was, therefore, to a city in crisis that Luandino Vieira returned in 1972—one in which unemployment, strident censorship, and increasingly paranoid repression characterised the quotidian experience of many of its inhabitants. However, despite these challenges—as Luandino Vieira explains in a recent interview—the Angolan writer soon found work in a publishing house: '[t]rabalhava numa editora, que foi o único emprego que arranjei quando me deram liberdade condicional do Campo do Tarrafal'.[296] Joaquim Soares da Costa, the editor of the Lisbon-based Edições 70, which would publish many of Luandino Vieira's works in

[293] Melo e Castro, *Shades of Grey*, p. 5.
[294] Raphael Costa, *From Dictatorship to Democracy in Twentieth-Century Portugal* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 1.
[295] Costa, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, p. 2.
[296] Viviana García Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', in '*A Clockwork Orange* em Portugal: Duas Laranjas Nada Mecânicas', unpublished Master's thesis (Instituto Superior de Contabilidade e Administração do Porto (ISCAP), Instituto Politécnico do Porto), pp. 110–114 (p. 110).

Portugal, was a close friend. Soon after his return to Lisbon, as the Angolan writer recounts, Soares da Costa 'recebeu o exemplar de "A Laranja Mecânica", em inglês, como opção para traduzir e editar em Portugal. Depois mostrou-me aquilo e perguntou-me: "tu não queres aceitar este desafio?"'[297] The result of this exchange was that Luandino Vieira was commissioned by Edições 70 to translate Anthony Burgess's novel, *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), into Portuguese. The reason for accepting the commission evidences the precarity of the author's years in exile. What encouraged him to accept, he explains, 'foi o facto de ele ter concordado em pagar-me aquilo "por fora", portanto, como um "extra"'.[298]

Not much more is known about the details of this commission: it is not clear, for instance, how Edições 70 commissioned Luandino Vieira while he was still subjected to a 'regime de residência vigiada', nor exactly under what conditions the novel was actually translated. What the interview does reveal is that the Angolan writer was initially over-confident. The editor's suggestion that 'isto é um desafio porque o Burgess cria aqui uma linguagem nova' is met with what might be described as hubris: 'Eu pensei que em três meses fazia a tradução… Um ano depois ainda não tinha terminado.'[299] This experience ultimately left Luandino Vieira, with characteristic humour, out of patience with translation: 'Nunca mais fiz traduções.'[300] It is also unclear precisely why the publisher chose Luandino Vieira as the ideal candidate for the translation of Burgess's notoriously challenging work. Their closeness, however, goes some way to explain the choice. The Angolan writer recalls that he and Soares da Costa 'falávamos muito sobre os livros que ele recebia como opção para traduzir e publicar nas Edições 70'.[301] What is clear, however, is that the translational process was, to some extent, undertaken clandestinely. The Angolan writer, for instance, often met Soares da Costa

[297] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 110.
[298] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 110.
[299] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 110.
[300] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 110.
[301] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 110.

in a church in order to hand in translated chapters of what was to become *A Laranja Mecânica*, which would be published 'sem problemas' in 1974 after the Revolução dos Cravos and the end of the Estado Novo.[302]

It is difficult to imagine that the editor's suggestion that the translation of *A Clockwork Orange* would pose a specifically linguistic 'desafio' did not, on some level, appeal to the Angolan writer, whose time in prison—as we have seen in Chapter 1—was marked by the exploration of the limits and possibilities implied by linguistic difference, multilingualism, and translation. The *Papéis da Prisão* indicate that Luandino Vieira had, by this time, a working knowledge of English. As such, there were few obstacles to the work itself beyond the challenge posed by Burgess's 'linguagem nova'.[303] The Angolan writer reveals the thought-process underpinning his early approach:

> Eu convenci-me que talvez fosse possível fazer com o português e o russo que o Burgess fez com o inglês e o russo. Eu era muito novo e muito burro e estava convencido que, conhecendo os mecanismos de formação de novos termos, de gíria, de calão, e mesmo termos da língua portuguesa em Angola, pelo contacto com minha segunda língua, que é o quimbundo, da região cultural onde eu sou, que conhecendo eu esses processos, com os mesmos mecanismos, podia criar, entre aspas, neologismos para a tradução. Fiz aquilo que já costumava fazer no meu trabalho literário como escritor, com a utilização da minha língua materna e uma língua cultural. Na cultura angolana faz-se isso facilmente. E eu convenci-me que podia fazer isso com duas línguas, o russo e o português… Pensei que isso era fácil. Quanto ao resultado, até hoje de vez em quando leio e evergonho-me, mas enfim… Olho para aquilo e penso: 'devia ter pensado noutra coisa', mas eu pensava nos 5 mil escudos.[304]

However successfully or unsuccessfully, Luandino Vieira's encounter with Burgess's novel provided a unique testing-ground for the 'mecanismos de formação de novos termos' and other 'processos' of language use in Angolan contexts which had been developed during his time in prison. By attempting to recreate 'aquilo que já constumava fazer no meu trabalho literário como escritor', he sought to apply an already translational aesthetic in an act of translation.

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[302] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 112.
[303] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 112.
[304] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 112.

Indeed, if the previous chapter sought to show how Luandino Vieira's time in prison enabled the development of a distinctly translational approach to language use, this chapter now turns to the Angolan writer's own work as a translator in the period immediately following his release. Doing so enables an understanding of how working on *A Laranja Mecânica* in the early period of his exile allowed Luandino Vieira to put into practice some of the aesthetic principles generated in the counter-intuitively cosmopolitan environment of the prison. This means making the case for a wider recognition of *A Laranja Mecânica*—which is often considered peripheral within the author's body of work—as not only an extension, but a constituent part of Luandino Vieira's literary project. Though there has been a recent move by critics of the author's *oeuvre* to locate his work in terms of translation, this effort has been focused primarily on his works *in* translation, rather than his works *of* translation. These include, for example, the recently published monograph by Conceição Lima on the *Dupla Tradução do Outro Cultural em Luandino Vieira* (2010), premised on a comparison between his works and their English translations, or the collection *De Luuanda a Luandino: Veredas* edited by Francisco Topa (2016), which includes essays on the Spanish and Polish translations of *Luuanda*.[305] Little to no work has been done on Luandino Vieira's role as a translator himself—whether of short English-language poems, such as those by Richard Rive or Langston Hughes; whether of Kimbundu oral culture, now documented in the *Papéis da Prisão*; or whether of Anthony Burgess's novel itself.

As we will see, the benefits of considering the Angolan writer's literary project in relation to *A Laranja Mecânica* is due in particular to the heterogeneous nature of both the source-text—written in English and Nadsat, itself comprised of English and Russian linguistic elements—and the target-text—written in Portuguese and relexified (or, indeed, re-relexified)

[305] Conceição Lima, *Dupla Tradução do Outro Cultural em Luandino Vieira* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2010).

Nadsat. The linguistic heterogeneity of *A Clockwork Orange* puts pressure on the Angolan writer's own experimentation with a variety of possible relations between Portuguese and Kimbundu, thereby demanding a linguistic creativity which ultimately accords with the emphases of his 'projeto literário'. That both authors, although in different ways, share a relationship to state censorship only compounds the comparability between what are otherwise distinct literary projects.

What follows is divided into three main sections. The first situates Burgess's novel within its glottopolitical contexts, and surveys critical approaches to the text's distinctive language use. The second undertakes a comparative analysis of Luandino Vieira's translational choices alongside other extant translations of *A Clockwork Orange* into Portuguese, most prominently Nelson Dantas's 1972 translation, published in Brazil by Editora Arte Nova. The third section considers Luandino Vieira's translation in light of its relationship with the prefigurative potential of imagined languages.

Anthony Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange*

Published in 1962 when Anthony Burgess was already forty-five years old, *A Clockwork Orange* is neverhtless one of the British writer's earliest works. The first decades of his adulthood were spent in various professions and locations, from a period in Gibraltar as a sergeant in the British Army, and several years in England as a Lecturer in drama and later a secondary school teacher of English Literature, to posts with the British Colonial Service in Malaya and Brunei. Ill health (including what was ultimately a false diagnosis of a brain tumour) led to Burgess being forced to return to England, where he made the decision to become a professional writer, encouraged by the success of his *Malayan Trilogy*, written and published during the mid 1950s while he had been posted in Kelantan.

A Clockwork Orange's notoriety among readers is well-known. 'Above all,' as Blake Morrison notes, 'there is the language of *A Clockwork Orange*, which is every bit as queer as the title might imply—Joyceanly queer in places, more demanding of the reader than most fiction, but exuberant in its inventiveness.'[306] The novel was in part inspired by a growing fear surrounding juvenile delinquency in post-war Britain. During the Second World War, while the author was stationed in Gibraltar, Burgess's first wife, Lynne, had herself been attacked by a gang during a blackout. The attack led to a miscarriage, and Burgess would later attribute Lynne's early death to the effects of trauma. In an attempt to represent the way youth gangs communicate, early drafts of the novel featured a slang inspired by what Morrison calls 'the new teenage vernacular'.[307] The problem, however, was that Burgess began to worry about 'its ephemerality: the danger in using the idiom of Mods and Rockers was that it would be outdated by the time the novel was published, let alone a generation later'.[308] As is well-known, a holiday with his wife to Leningrad in 1961, along with the decision to put substantial effort into learning Russian, provided the solution to this problem:

> It occurred to him that, as he puts it, 'the vocabulary of my space-age hooligans could be a mixture of Russian and demotic English, seasoned with rhyming slang and the gipsy's bolo'. The Russo-Anglo-American patois which Burgess devised had the additional bonus, as far as he was concerned, of suggesting that male adolescent aggression was not merely a local British phenomenon. Indeed once Burgess reached the Soviet Union for his holiday, he saw that the Marxist authorities were having their share of problems with rebellious—though not politically dissident—teenage gangs.[309]

Andrew Biswell notes that this holiday was, in part, a writing assignment. 'He had been sent' to Russia 'by his publisher, William Heinemann, who hoped that he might write a travel book about Soviet Russia'.[310] As preparation, Biswell continues, Burgess 'taught himself the basics of Russian by acquiring copies of *Getting Along in Russian* by Mario Pei,

[306] Anthony Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. viii.
[307] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. xvi.
[308] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. xvi.
[309] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. xvi.
[310] Anthony Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), p. xx.

Teach Yourself Russian by Maximilian Fourman, and *The Penguin Russian Course*'.[311] Like Luandino Vieira's uses of Kimbundu, Burgess's learning process was still ongoing when early drafts of Nadsat were produced. The resulting 'language', Nadsat, is what makes any translation of the novel difficult. Morrison's shift from Burgess's own word, 'vocabulary'—perhaps by way of 'slang' and 'bolo'—to 'patois' is telling. The novel's amalgam of different linguistic elements has tested criticism's capacity for describing what Nadsat, effectively, is. Sofia Malamatidou, for instance, 'positions it somewhere between constructed and natural languages'—while the hybridity of its lexicon involves moving between elements belonging to two natural languages, it 'has been purposefully created by the author to fulfil a specific function', and is therefore in a proper sense constructed.[312] Alternatively, Marija Blonskytė and Saulė Petronienė make sense of the novel's language by drawing 'a clear distinction between Russian borrowings and slang in Nadsat', even as their article moves between various competing ways of describing this distinction: we hear, for instance, of 'Russian Nadsat slang', 'Russian Nadsat', and 'Russian slang'.[313]

That the 'language' puts pressure on critical description is indicative of its difficulty from the author's point of view. However, for Benet Vincent and Jim Clarke, Burgess was an almost ideal candidate for this specific linguistic challenge:

> As a keen linguist, Burgess was in fact well placed to approach the issue of inventing an art language such as Nadsat. A lifelong philologist, he produced linguistics textbooks such as *Language Made Plain* (1964) and *A Mouthful of Air* (1992), as well as other art languages such as 'Ulam', the reconstruction of proto-Indo-European created for Jean-Jacques Annaud's (1981) film *Quest for Fire*.[314]

[311] Anthony Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. xx.
[312] Sofia Malamatidou, 'Creativity in Translation through the Lens of Contact Linguistics: A Multilingual Corpus of *A Clockwork Orange*', *The Translator* 23:3 (2017), 292–309 (p. 292).
[313] Marika Blonskytė and Saulė Petronienė, 'Translation of the Russian Nadsat Slang in Anthony Burgess' Novel *A Clockwork Orange* into Lithuanian', *Studies About Languages* 22 (2013), 62–70 (p. 63, p. 65).
[314] Benet Vincent and Jim Clarke, 'The Language of *A Clockwork Orange*: A Corpus Stylistic Approach to Nadsat', *Language and Literature* 26:3 (2017), 247–264 (p. 248).

Proficient in a range of languages, including Malay, Persian, Russian, Classical Greek, and French, Burgess published a range of translations during his life, including translations of Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* and Edmond Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Some of his novels include characters related in some way to linguistics. *The Doctor is Sick* (1960), for instance, which had been published during the period in which *A Clockwork Orange* was being drafted, features among its characters the academic linguist Dr Edwin Spindrift. Denis Hillier, the aged spy of *Tremor of Intent* (1966), is recruited by the Secret Service because of his proficiency with Slavonic languages. The earlier novel, *Beds in the East* (1959), the third of the *Malayan Trilogy*, also features an academic linguist, Temple Haynes, who arrives in Malaya towards the end of the novel to analyse the phonology of the indigenous language Temiar.[315] Richard Steadman-Jones suggests that the inclusion of Haynes—and some discussion of different approaches to Temiar—serves to hint at 'Burgess' own rather obsessive interest in all things linguistic'.[316]

In *A Clockwork Orange*, Nadsat is described by Dr. Branom as being comprised of '[o]dd bits of old rhyming slang [...] A bit of gypsy talk, too. But most of the roots are Slav'.[317] 'Propaganda,' he concludes, 'Subliminal penetration', mirroring Burgess's well-known intention to force his readers into 'learning minimal Russian'.[318] This is immediately evident in the reader's first encounter with the novel's use of language. The opening of the novel introduces Alex and his accomplices deciding how to spend their evening. One of them asks: 'What's it going to be then, eh?'

> There was me, that is Alex, and my three droogs, that is Pete, Georgie, and Dim, Dim being really dim, and we sat in the Korova Milkbar making up our rassoodocks what to do with the evening, a flip dark chill winter bastard though dry. The Korova Milkbar

[315] Anthony Burgess, *The Long Day Wanes* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p. 506.
[316] Richard Steadman-Jones, 'Linguistic Fieldwork at the End of Empire: British Officials and American Structuralists in Anthony Burgess' Malayan Trilogy', *Language & History* 65:3 (2022), 220–236 (p. 228).
[317] Anthony Burgess, *You've Had Your Time* (London: Heinemann, 1990), p. 38.
[318] Anthony Burgess, *You've Had Your Time*, p. 38.

> was a milk-plus mesto, and you may, O my brothers, have forgotten what these mestos were like, things changing so skorry these days and everybody very quick to forget, newspapers not being read much neither. Well, what they sold there was milk plus something else. They had no licence for selling liquor, but there was no law yet against prodding some of the new veshches which they used to put into the old moloko, so you could peet it with vellocet or synthemesc or drencrom or one or two other veshches which would give you a nice quiet horrorshow fifteen minutes admiring Bog And All His Holy Angels and Saints in your left shoe with lights bursting all over your mozg. Or you could peet milk with knives in it, as we used to say, and this would sharpen you up and make you ready for a bit of dirty twenty-to-one, and that was what we were peeting this evening I'm starting off the story with.[319]

Besides the one example of Cockney rhyming slang (that is, 'twenty-to-one', meaning 'fun'), most other words that could be classified as Nadsat are anglicisations of Russian words. This process of anglicisation can be noted in words such as 'droogs' and 'rassoodocks': the /u/ sound, represented by the Cyrillic letter 'y'—making the pronunciation of what we would read as 'drug', 'droog'—is here replaced by the double vowel 'oo', serving as a phonetic equivalent. However, this process is made even more evident in the word 'horrorshow': based on the Russian word 'khorosha', meaning 'good', Burgess's anglicised 'horrorshow' conceals its debt to Russian by signifying conventionally in English, even if it signifies something very different. The result is 'something plausible and quacking', in the words of the narrator of Burgess's *Tremor of Intent*: 'totally Slavonic'.[320]

As Vincent and Clarke explain, '*-nadsat*, the suffix used for the numbers 11-19 in Russian, is effectively the Russian counterpart of *-teen*'.[321] As such, the anglicisations of Russian words correspond to a particular generation's language use. Because of this, as Vincent and Clarke continue to note, there seems to be a 'general consensus that Nadsat is an anti-language, a term used by Halliday to refer to a language variety used by a group that sees itself as in opposition to the values of a society'.[322] Appeals to a shared experience—such as, in this passage, 'O my brothers', or 'as we used to say'—make the reader question their own

[319] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. 3.
[320] Anthony Burgess, *Tremor of Intent* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2013), p. 5.
[321] Vincent and Clarke, 'The Language of *A Clockwork Orange*', p. 248.
[322] Vincent and Clarke, 'The Language of *A Clockwork Orange*', p. 252.

access to this community and, as such, the reading process becomes to a large extent one of learning: 'learning minimal Russian', as Burgess indicated, but also learning how to feel at home (and how to feel foreign) in the commonality implied by the plural personal pronoun and Alex's other characteristic modes of address, among which 'my brothers' is the most prominent.

There are also, of course, what Malamatidou calls the 'other functions' of Nadsat: the language is, perhaps paradoxically, both 'a technique of radical defamiliarisation, which allows readers to distance themselves from the violence described in the book', and itself 'another manifestation of violence in the book, which is performed not only physically but also linguistically, by breaking up the expected linguistic patterns and juxtaposing English and Russian elements'.[323] At once a violence and a way of minimising the effects of violence, Nadsat works by provoking the reader in different ways. At times, it alienates the English-speaking reader, impeding their access to the plot by thickening description with words borrowed from Russian; at other times, it works to facilitate the English-speaking reader's access to foreign linguistic elements, domesticating its borrowings grammatically, even providing glosses (though never a glossary) within the text itself. At other moments, it itself appears to take on the proportions of a character within the plot.

Luandino Vieira's literary project shares with Burgess's many aesthetico-political concerns. In terms of plot, *A Clockwork Orange*'s stress on censorship and political repression clearly reflects some of the preoccupations explored in the Angolan writer's works, such as the novella *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (see Chapter 3) and *Vidas Novas*. There are, however, other points of similarity. Both authors share, for instance, a hostility to the use of glossaries in their novels. Burgess's desire to force the reader to learn 'minimal Russian'

[323] Malamatidou, 'Creativity in Translation', p. 293.

echoes the Angolan writer's hostility to his Portuguese readership, as we recall his self-questioning, discussed in the Introduction to this thesis: 'Por que é que tu não escreves em língua portuguesa de tal maneira que nenhum português perceba!'[324] Moreover, Nadsat's status as a quasi-protagonist in Burgess's novel reflects the inseparability of language and character in Luandino Vieira's writing (such as in the example which opened this thesis's Introduction). Finally, if Nadsat can be construed as an anti-language—one opposed to dominant social values—then Luandino Vieira's fiction suggests that Kimbundu too can serve such an oppositional function: his novels show how an anti-language can also be an anti-*colonial* language.

The similarities between Luandino Vieira's and Burgess's language use allow for an appreciation of the seemingly anti- and postcolonial investments of *A Clockwork Orange*, which implies the quasi-colonial imposition of Russian in a dystopian Britain. Throughout *A Clockwork Orange* we notice Burgess's employment of what Bill Ashcroft et al., in *The Empire Writes Back*, terms strategies of 'abrogation' and 'appropriation', by means of which writers from colonised territories have traditionally 'written back' to their colonisers and undertaken decolonising efforts. Indeed, strategies of 'appropriation'—such as the use of 'glosses' and 'glossing', the employment of 'untranslated words', the development of an 'interlanguage', or simple 'vernacular transcription'—all feature throughout *A Clockwork Orange*. Take, for example, the reader's first introduction to the peculiar fashion of Alex and his fellow 'droogs':

> The four of us were dressed in the height of fashion, which in those days was a pair of black very tight tights with the old jelly mould, as we called it, fitting on the crotch underneath the tights, this being to protect and also a sort of a design you could viddy clear enough in a certain light, so that I had one in the shape of a spider. Pete had a rooker (a hand, that is), Georgie had a very fancy one of a flower, and poor old Dim had a very hound-and-horny one of a clown's litso (face, that is). […] Then we wore

[324] 'Um escritor confessa-se…', *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Idéias* (9 May 1989), p. 10, cited in Martin, *Literatura e Marginalidade*, p. 64.

> waisty jackets without lapels but with these very big built-up shoulders ('pletchoes' we called them) which were a kind of a mockery of having real shoulders like that.[325]

While Burgess, as we have seen, refused to have glossaries appended to the novel, instead allowing words to go 'untranslated', it is nevertheless the case that he embeds glosses of Nadsat words in the very textual fabric of Alex's first-person narrative. Whereas these strategies of introducing linguistic difference into the textual fabric of a literary work have often been attributed to postcolonial writing—as a means of 'writing back'—in *A Clockwork Orange* these same strategies of 'abrogation' and 'appropriation' (and in particular, the latter) are employed with the aim of representing a process of linguistic colonisation, rather than decolonisation.

According to Zabus, the writer operating within colonial and postcolonial diglossic linguistic landscapes (such as that of Angola) must negotiate between 'Mother tongue' and 'Other tongue', which constitute 'apparently irreconcilable sets of elements—foreign and indigenous, which *in vivo* have remained separate'.[326] A palimpsestic 'third code'—a term, as we have seen, borrowed from Stern—emerges from the encounter between 'Mother' and 'Other' tongues, and functions as an 'indigenised medium conceived *in vitro*'.[327] This 'indigenised medium' permits not only the 'imported language [to] carry the indigenous culture', but also the indigenous language—that is, in the case of *A Clockwork Orange*, English—to carry the imported, or imposed, culture.[328]

If, again according to Zabus, this process of 'indigenisation' is understood as a process of 'decolonisation in the third register'—a process through which the postcolonial author endeavours to make indigenous 'concepts, thought-patterns, and linguistic features' bear upon

[325] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. 4.
[326] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 3.
[327] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 2, pp. 3–4.
[328] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 4.

the coloniser or 'ex-coloniser's language'—then *A Clockwork Orange* operates according to a different and opposite principle.[329] Instead of making indigenous concepts bear upon the coloniser's language, Burgess imagines a situation in which an indigenous language is itself threatened by the incorporation of linguistic elements representative of a colonising force. Hence Oltjona Totoni's suggestion that Nadsat is therefore 'a language emerging from oppression, resistance, and freedom'.[330] However, where Zabus's stress on the ways in which 'Mother tongue' and 'Other tongue' constitute 'apparently irreconcilable sets of elements', which have 'remained separate' in lived experience, both Burgess and Luandino Vieira seek instead to represent a use of language characterised by interanimation. In place of Stern's 'third code', language for both authors constitutes a site in which the macro categories with which languages are named and counted become increasingly untenable: Nadsat, for instance, makes it difficult to say where the border between English and Russian lies. It is with these key similarities and differences in mind that we turn to Luandino Vieira's translation, *A Laranja Mecânica*.

José Luandino Vieira's *A Laranja Mecânica*

If, as Burgess himself has claimed, '*A Clockwork Orange* is intended to be a sort of tract, even a sermon on the importance of the power of choice', it is perhaps apt that any translation of the text would encounter a range of challenges.[331] The novel's reflection on 'the power of choice' focuses on the effectiveness of Dr Branom's tortuous variety of aversion therapy known as the 'Ludovico technique'. A translator's difficulties relate instead to recreating an invented language which, as we have seen, resists the very attempt of critical description. What makes these different perspectives on choice overlap is the fact that Luandino Vieira himself

[329] Zabus, *The African Palimpsest*, p. 8, p. 3.
[330] Oltjona Totoni, 'Alienese Translation: Anthony Burgess's Nadsat in *A Clockwork Orange*', unpublished PhD thesis (Lancaster University), 2021, p. 15.
[331] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 247.

produced his translation under a 'regime de residência vigiada' after a long period of incarceration. In Burgess's novel, as Totoni notes, 'English is Russianized in Nadsat for various functions, one of which is indoctrination. The infiltration of Nadsat words can be seen as ideological and propagandistic'.[332] In Luandino Vieira's Lisbon—on the brink of the Revolução dos Cravos—censorship, propaganda, and competing ideologies jostled with the Angolan writer's memories of over a decade in colonial prisons. This section, therefore, strives to analyse Luandino Vieira's translational choices in light of both this immediate context, and his broader 'projeto literário'. It does so by comparing these choices with other extant translations of *A Clockwork Orange* into Portuguese. What will emerge over the course of this section is that Luandino Vieira's translational decisions tend to evidence an active attunement to the creative possibilities inherent to translational writing.

Totoni's word, 'infiltration', nevertheless serves as a reminder that these creative possibilities exist in tension with an awareness of the ways in which language can operate coercively or covertly. In his note 'Ao Leitor', the Angolan writer makes use of a similar vocabulary in order to provide his own account of Nadsat, which he calls 'nadescente':

> Para esse fim inventou o autor várias dezenas de vocábulos. E fê-lo a partir principalmente de palavras da língua russa, na sua acepção estrita ou por vezes com alargamento semântico, de termos de gírias e calão e mesmo de raízes da própria língua inglesa. O resultado é surpreendente pela simplicidade e simultaneamente pela revelação de «infiltração» linguística a vários níveis. E o emprego, por Anthony Burgess, dessas palavras é tão admiravelmete calculado e doseado que, passado o primeiro choque pode o leitor, sem dificuldades de maior, seguir a narrativa, acompanhar essa linguagem que se cola perfeitamente a factos e personagens.[333]

The 'língua russa' is perceived to be unambiguously a point of departure; however, the precise extent to which it survives in the text's so-called 'English' is difficult to determine. As a result, his description of an '«infiltração» linguística' is more confident in its identification of different kinds of language use—'gírias e calão', for instance—than in its macro-linguistic

[332] Totoni, 'Alienese Translation', p. 33.
[333] Anthony Burgess, *A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by José Luandino Vieira (Barcelona: Bibliotex, 2004), pp. 5-6.

classifications. Because Burgess allows that his Russian vocabulary might be subject to an 'alargamento semântico' through relexification, drawing stable distinctions between English and Russian becomes increasingly difficult.

Other ambiguities haunt Luandino Vieira's immediate contexts during the translation of *A Clockwork Orange*. The idea of an '«infiltração» linguística' is particularly suggestive in a situation characterised by censorship, either implying coded attempts to evade censors, or the State's own invasion of everyday language use. Indeed, under the regime of the Estado Novo, as Maria do Carmo Piçarra suggests, 'os censores obedecem a orientações para cortar alusões a movimentos de massas, referências não patrióticas à Guerra Colonial [quando esta começa], a ideias pacifistas [após o início da Guerra Colonial], à sexualidade, à questionação religiosa e à família [protegendo a fidelidade conjugal]'.[334]

Censorship characterised the dictatorship from its early years. As outlined in *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, 'Article 8 of the Constitution proclaimed in 1933 granted "freedom of expression by any means whatever", yet Decree 22469, issued on 11 April 1933, maintained that censorship was necessary':

> to prevent the perversion of public opinion as a social force; it shall be carried out in such a way as to defend public opinion from all factors that may misguide it against truth, justice, morals, efficient administration, and the common good, and to prevent any attack on the basic principles of the organization of society.[335]

As such, the state prohibited the publication of any

> attacks on or criticism of the state, the government, personalities or institutions within it, or public services; statements that might cause alarm and public disquiet; writings that might offend religious creeds and practices; details of suicides or murders, as well as infanticide, when not followed up by news of the arrest of the delinquents or their punishment by the courts; articles or local reports or advertisements containing astrologers, witches or clairvoyants; […] [reports on] issues that might prejudice diplomatic relations with foreign countries.[336]

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[334] Maria do Carmo Piçarra, *Azuis Ultramarinos: Propaganda Colonial e Censura no Cinema do Estado Novo* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2015), pp. 78-9.
[335] *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, Volumes 1-4, ed. by Derek Jones (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 1914-1915.
[336] *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, p. 1915.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, '[e]ven a stencilled sheet could be seized and regarded as a "crime against the security of the state".[337] The PIDE's methods were entirely comparable with those of the Inquisition: they encouraged denunciations, inflicted torture, and demanded that other institutions supply them with incriminating evidenc'.[338] Repression, in combination with a strict policing of language, demanded forms of evasion.

The language of Burgess's novel frequently draws attention to this tension between invasion and evasion. Take, for instance, Alex's explanation, early in the novel, as to why it is not at that time necessary for him and his *droogs* to raise money through robbery or assault:

> Our pockets were full of deng, so there was no real need from the point of view of crasting any more pretty polly to tolchock some old veck in an alley and viddy him swim in his blood while we counted the takings and divided by four, nor to do the ultra-violent on some shivering starry grey-haired ptitsa in a shop and go smecking off with the till's guts. But, as they say, money isn't everything.[339]

The verbs here are quick to announce their distance from what might be termed 'standard' English: 'crasting', 'tolchock', 'viddy', 'smecking' all draw upon Russian vocabulary, and are therefore, in this particular case, almost solely responsible (together with three nouns, 'deng', 'veck', and 'ptitsa') for making the language be perceived as Nadsat rather than as English. What is striking however, is that, in a similar manner to Luandino Vieira, Burgess inflects these verbs according to the grammatical demands of English. While, as we have seen, Luandino Vieira employs root form of Kimbundu verbs with the Portuguese suffix designating the gerund, Burgess uses the root form of Russian verbs—in this case 'crasting', from the Russian *красть*, 'to steal'—with the English suffix designating the gerund. One effect of this is to reverse the direction of Luandino Vieira's characteristic relexification. Rather than introducing into a colonial language the linguistic elements from communities habitually

[337] *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, p. 1915.
[338] *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, p. 1915.
[339] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange*, p. 3.

ignored or suppressed by colonial powers, Burgess's relexification can at times suggest a sort of linguistic invasion of English. As such, rather than constituting a decolonising gesture, it appears to imagine a colonising one.

Comparing Luandino Vieira's translation of this passage with Nelson Dantas's 1972 translation makes clear the comparison between the Angolan writer's and Burgess's techniques. Luandino Vieira's translation reads as follows:

> Tínhamos os bolsos cheios de denque. Portanto, quanto a carcanhol, não havia necessidade nenhuma de atolchocar um velho veco qualquer num beco, videá-lo a nadar no próprio sangue e a gente a conferir a féria, dividir por quatro, nem de armar em extraduros com uma petiza trémula e estérrica de cabelos brancos, para sair depois da loja a desmecar com as tripas da caixa. Mas, como diz o outro, o dinheiro não é tudo.[340]

Dantas translates the passage as follows:

> Nossos bolsos estavam cheios de dengue, portanto, não havia realmente necessidade, do ponto de vista de crastar mais tutu, de tolchocar um véque velho qualquer num beco e videar ele nadando no próprio sangue, enquanto a gente contava a féria e dividia por quatro, nem fazer os ultraviolentos com alguma trêmula ptitsa estarre de cabelo branco numa loja e aí sair esmecando com o recheio da caixa. Mas, como diz o outro, o dinheiro não é tudo.[341]

These translations, superficially, appear on the whole to be similar. In both passages, the linguistic dynamic that characterises Burgess's novel—that is, the often ambiguous relationship between words drawn from Russian and the grammatical and orthographic conventions of English—is reimagined as a relationship between Nadsat and Portuguese. The translations of verbs such as 'to tolchock', 'to viddy', and 'to smeck' feature, in both translations, prefixes and suffixes that accord with the grammatical conventions of Portuguese: the translations of 'to viddy', for example, both retain the root form of the verb 'vide' and add the suffix *-ar* to denote the infinitive form of the verb. In the case of 'to smeck', though Dantas opts for a strategy identical to that of his translation of the previous verb—whereby the

[340] Burgess, *A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by Luandino Vieira, p. 10.
[341] Anthony Burgess, *A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by Nelson Dantas (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Artenova, 1972), p. 14.

root form of the verb, itself adapted to the orthographic conventions of Portuguese, is once more followed by the suffix *-ar* denoting the infinitive—Luandino Vieira adds the prefix des-, as in *des*mecar, lending a further negative connotation to the verb. Even when Nadsat is not explicitly present, there are clear similarities. Both, for instance, choose to render the idiomatic conclusion ('as they say') in the same way: 'Mas, como diz o outro, o dinheiro não é tudo'.

However, a closer analysis suggests ways in which these similarities might be misleading. Indeed, an important difference between the translational strategies of Luandino Vieira and Dantas pertains to the extent to which relexification is employed. Consider, for example, Table 1:

Table 1

A Clockwork Orange, by Anthony Burgess (1962)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by Nelson Dantas (1972)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by José Luandino Vieira (1974)
to krast	crastar	crastar
to ookadeet	ucaditar	ucaditar
to viddy	videar	videar

In both Dantas's 1972 translation and Luandino Vieira's 1974 translation of *A Clockwork Orange*, as is clear from these examples, 'foram procuradas, dentro das condições ortográficas do português, as correspondências fonéticas que permitissem uma leitura uniforme'—that is, to a Portuguese-language readership. The letter 'k', for instance, which at the time did not feature in the Portuguese alphabet, is substituted by the letter 'c'; the double vowels 'oo' and 'ee' in the Nadsat 'ookadeet' are replaced by their phonetic equivalents 'u' and 'i'; and the double consonant 'dd' in 'viddy' is reduced to a single consonant 'd' in 'videar'. It is a process similar to that adopted by Luandino Vieira in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* (see

Introduction), whereby Kimbundu words such as ‘kitaba’ and ‘kikuanga’—usually spelt with the letter ‘k’—are relexified instead with the homophonous ‘qu’.

In these examples, both Dantas and Luandino Vieira embark upon the ‘aportuguesamento’ of Anthony Burgess’s Nadsat in an apparently identical fashion—and arrive, moreover, at the same results. However, what distinguishes Luandino Vieira’s translation is the extent to which this technique is employed. In Table 2, for example, translations of a second group of Nadsat verbs are shown. Unlike the previous group, these verbs are here rendered differently in Dantas’s 1972 translation and Luandino Vieira’s 1974 translation. While Dantas maintains certain spellings which, to a Portuguese-language reader, would seem uncharacteristic (for example, the use of ‘tch’ in both ‘platchar’ and ‘toltchocar’, or the syllable ‘vre’ in ‘vredar’), Luandino Vieira pursues a strategy of ‘aportuguesamento’ in his translation to a far greater extent.

Table 2

A Clockwork Orange, by Anthony Burgess (1962)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by Nelson Dantas (1972)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by José Luandino Vieira (1974)
to platch	platchar	plachar
to tolchock	toltchocar	atolchocar
to vred	vredar	veredar

Elsewhere in *A Laranja Mecânica*, Luandino Vieira takes this ‘aportuguesamento’ beyond the limits of relexification. In the examples presented in Table 3, the Angolan writer goes so far as to embed Portuguese words in his translations of Nadsat vocabulary. Take, for example, the Nadsat verb ‘to natchinat’, which is based on the Russian verb *начинание*, meaning ‘to begin’. In his translation, ‘nascinatar’, Luandino Vieira, instead of Dantas’s ‘natchi’, opts for ‘nasci’, associating the Nadsat verb to the idea of ‘birth’, of ‘nascimento’, or

of ‘beginnings’. The same intention is clear in the third of these examples: the Nadsat verb ‘to zasnoot’—based on the Russian *заснуть*, meaning ‘to sleep’—is translated as ‘zasnoitar’, where the word ‘noite’ (building on the accidental phonetic similarity with the Russian verbal suffix -*нуть*) takes a prominent position.

Table 3

A Clockwork Orange, by Anthony Burgess (1962)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by Nelson Dantas (1972)	*A Laranja Mecânica*, trans. by José Luandino Vieira (1974)
to nachinat	natchinatar	nascinatar
to smot	esmotar	esmoitar
to zasnoot	zasnutar	zasnoitar

Here, these differences recall Luandino Vieira’s confidence that, ‘conhecendo os mecanismos de formação de novos termos, de gíria, de calão, e mesmo termos da língua portuguesa em Angola […] que conhecendo eu esses processos, com os mesmos mecanismos, podia criar, entre aspas, neologismos para a tradução’.[342] To create, in this context, means taking the process of ‘aportuguesamento’ much further than Dantas. While Dantas seeks more frequently to retain in his Portuguese text Nadsat’s Russian orthography, Luandino Vieira looks instead to explore different kinds of interanimation between Russian and Portuguese. This experimentation, this creation of ‘neologismos para a tradução’, is where the prefigurative investment in translational aesthetics explored in the previous chapter is most evident in *A Laranja Mecânica*.[343] As Luandino Vieira himself notes: ‘Arroguei-me o direito de criar também. Se ele criou...’[344] Consequently, the next section seeks to probe further this the ways in which this investment characterises Luandino Vieira’s translation.

[342] Rodríguez, ‘Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira’, p. 112.
[343] Rodríguez, ‘Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira’, p. 112.
[344] Rodríguez, ‘Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira’, p. 113.

Invented Languages and Prefiguration

Anthony Burgess's intention regarding Nadsat had little to do with a specific political stance, and more to do with what he terms 'brainwashing'. Nadsat, he informs us, 'is no mere decoration, nor is it a sinister indication of the subliminal power that a Communist super-state may already be exerting on the young'.[345] Instead, it was 'meant to turn *A Clockwork Orange* into, among other things, a brainwashing primer. You read the book or see the film, and at the end you should find yourself in possession of a minimal Russian vocabulary—without effort, with surprise', all because, ultimately, this 'is the way brainwashing works'.[346] The choice of Russian is, therefore, incidental: 'I chose Russian words,' he affirms, 'because they blend better into English than those of French or even German (which is already a kind of English, not exotic enough).'[347]

In a sense, Burgess's novel both accords with and departs from a tendency in literary instances of imaginary or invented languages—a tendency identified by Marina Yaguello—which subordinates creativity to a particular function. This subordination has clear historical roots. The emergence of revolutionary and prefigurative politics in the nineteenth-century saw a waning of interest in imaginary languages. The utopian impulses of imaginative fiction were subordinated to specific political goals. 'It was no longer a matter of simply imagining and describing the ideal society'; '[i]nstead,' Yaguello notes, 'the goal was to make it a reality, as attested by the communities inspired by Saint-Simon and Fourier in France, or Thoreau in the United States'.[348]

[345] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 250.
[346] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 250.
[347] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 250.
[348] Marina Yaguello, *Imaginary Languages: Myths, Utopias, Fantasies, Illusions, and Linguistic Fictions*, trans. by Erik Butler (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2022), p. 73.

As a warning about linguistic 'brainwashing', *A Clockwork Orange* exhibits little explicit interest in the contours of an 'ideal society'. However, as the previous section has indicated, a comparison with Luandino Vieira's translation, as well as his broader literary project, suggests ways in which the language of *A Clockwork Orange* might be seen as prefigurative. As explained in the Introduction to this thesis, Luandino Vieira's language—and in particular his use of relexification and reverse relexification—disrupts the received language/receiving language, European/African, coloniser/colonised dichotomies frequently invoked in discussions of code-switching in postcolonial literatures. In doing so, his *unheimlich* language evokes simultaneously familiarity and foreignness: Portuguese emerges as an unfamiliar European language while a lusophonised Kimbundu is made familiar to metropolitan readerships.

In spite of their many differences, a similar mutual transformation happens in Burgess's novel. Throughout *A Clockwork Orange*, a number of Russian words, as Stanley Edgar Hyman notes, are 'brilliantly anglicised': the Russian *golova*, meaning 'head', for instance, becomes the Nadsat 'gulliver', carrying with it evocative 'Swiftian associations'; there is also the recreation of '*liudi* (people) as "lewdies"; *militsia* (militia or police) as "millicents"; *odinock* (lonesome) as "oddy knocky"'.[349] Examples such as these serve to substantiate Burgess's belief that Russian words 'blend better into English than those of French or even German'.[350] As the novel's readers are 'brainwashed' into learning 'minimal Russian'—into becoming something uncannily 'foreign'—Russian words are often ludically made to seem comfortably at home precisely where they are not: their 'English' identity, more than merely plausible, makes the reader suspect a closeness or equivalence between words otherwise quite distinct. For the reader unaware of the Russian origin of words like 'gulliver',

[349] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 300.
[350] Burgess, *A Clockwork Orange: The Restored Edition*, p. 250.

‘lewdies’, or ‘oddy knocky’, the result is the ‘brainwashing’ Burgess describes. A foreign vocabulary infiltrates the English language covertly, and the reader’s idea of what English is, is seemingly made ‘other’.

Yet, for a reader aware of the ‘trick’ (a reader of the *Restored Edition*, for instance, which features an extensive glossary of Nadsat), the result is quite different. Rather than unwittingly accommodating foreign linguistic elements within what is imagined to be the text’s English, this reader is instead able to entertain the possibility of a creative and expressive interanimation—to recall Bakhtin’s word—between two linguistic communities. Because of this, and in spite of Burgess’s own claims, Nadsat can still be accurately described—to recall Luandino Vieira’s editor’s phrase—as ‘uma linguagem nova’. The creativity required to produce the effect of ‘brainwashing’ indicates the potential presence of the kind of utopian impulses that Yaguello describes.

One consequence of this balancing between ‘brainwashing’ and the utopian ‘interanimation’ of linguistic communities is that Luandino Vieira’s translational decisions sustain often contradictory forces. By embedding Portuguese words within his translations of Nadsat, the Angolan writer reverses the direction of Burgess’s linguistic infiltration: what was initially a Russian word existing covertly in accordance with English grammatical and orthographical conventions is, in examples such as ‘nascinatar’, something quite different. By including within the Nadsat word a sense of its own translation, Luandino Vieira presents his readers with a vocabulary which oscillates—even within a single word—between what is linguistically foreign to a Portuguese-language reader and what is surprisingly familiar. The *unheimlich* quality which results from this oscillation works to evoke, as we have seen, familiarity and foreignness simultaneously.

This possibility is what separates Luandino Vieira's translation from *A Clockwork Orange* itself. Whereas Burgess stresses the efficacy of linguistic 'brainwashing', Luandino Vieira seeks to remind his readers of a linguistic interanimation capable of prefiguring 'uma linguagem nova'.[351] Such a perspective not only helps us to position *A Laranja Mecânica* in relation to other instances of prefigurative imaginary languages, but also, and in turn, allows for a clearer and more comprehensive appreciation of the role of linguistic inventiveness in Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*. Indeed, his translation foregrounds a linguistic inventiveness which recalls Baker's definition of prefiguration, cited in the Introduction: the attempt 'to construct (aspects of) the ideal society envisioned by activists in the present, rather than at some point in the future', so that 'political principles are embodied in current behaviour, not put on hold until the time is deemed right for them to be deployed'.[352]

As such, *A Laranja Mecânica* makes possible a perspective on Burgess's Nadsat which accentuates—in place of its relationship with coercive and authoritarian states—its similarities with prefigurative linguistic projects more broadly. Take, for instance, Esperanto. As Guilherme Fians explains, Esperanto was conceived 'as an antithesis to the top-down, coercive and xenophobic stances associated with national languages. Unlike national languages made global through political and economic power, Esperanto is purposefully powerless, meaning it will likely never become a de facto global language'.[353] Therefore, for some speakers of Esperanto, the invented language's 'political powerlessness vis-à-vis its fight for protagonism in the international scenario is seen as a constitutive feature of the language, rather than a flaw'.[354] Indeed, as Fians continues to argue, it is Esperanto's ability to re-signify what

[351] Rodríguez, 'Transcrição da Entrevista a José Luandino Vieira', p. 112.
[352] Baker, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Translation', p. 6.
[353] Guilherme Fians, Esperanto Revolutionaries and Geeks: Language Politics, Digital Media and the Making of an International Community (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), p. 229.
[354] Fians, Esperanto Revolutionaries and Geeks, pp. 230-1.

constitues linguistic failure that allows it to be prefigurative of a different attitude to language itself:

> This lack of political power, linked to Esperanto's non-instrumental and non-compulsory character, is precisely what makes this language useful, in an affective-effective sense. Standing no concrete chance of replacing English for the purposes of international communication, Esperanto has 'failed'. Yet, in line with the perception that it should not be imposed, Esperanto had always been fairly unlikely to become a de facto global language in the first place. From the perspective of a prefigurative endeavour, Esperanto has neither failed not succeeded: it simply created and creates the frame wherein a set of present-oriented practices takes place. Such practices, as we have seen, do not confront the mainstream options made available by wider society and by other languages. Rather, they produce novel possibilities through a powerless language that generates powerful communication and networking alternatives.[355]

Producing 'novel possibilities' for and in language is at the heart of Luandino Vieira's literary project. If Esperanto achieves its prefigurative function by virtue of its 'weakness' from the point of view of national languages, Luandino Vieira's Nadsat does so by challenging the macro categories with which 'national languages' are habitually described. As Anthony Burgess himself has argued, '[t]erms like "The American Language" or "The Australian Language" or, for that matter (and we may expect this soon), "The Rhodesian Language" have more to do with politics than linguistics'.[356] Luandino Vieira's *A Laranja Mecânica*—together with his work as author, rather than as translator—allows us to add that 'The Portuguese Language', or 'The Russian Language', equally belong on this list. By embedding traces of Portuguese translations within the relexified Russian words of Burgess's constructed language, Luandino Vieira's translation itself forces a reconsideration of the distinctions conventionally drawn between source and target, familiar and foreign.

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By considering the vital interrelationship between Luandino Vieira's often translational literary project and his own work as a literary translator, this chapter has explored the extent to

[355] Fians, Esperanto Revolutionaries and Geeks, pp. 231.
[356] Anthony Burgess, *Urgent Copy: Literary Studies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1968), p. 213.

which the activity of translation—on both macro and micro levels—permeates the Angolan writer's relationship with language, even when the language to which he relates is another author's. Indeed, the tensions we have analysed—between brainwashing and creation, familiarity and foreignness—are themselves characteristic of translation more broadly. The different aspects of the relationship between Russian and English in Burgess's text—covert infiltration on the one hand and creative interanimation on the other—can be described using terminology borrowed from translation studies. *A Clockwork Orange*, for example, pitches its language ambiguously between processes of domestication and foreignisation, allowing a vocabulary based on Russian to feel at home in English, even as English is made to feel uncannily foreign.

As we have seen, Luandino Vieira's translation takes this ambiguity further by finding room within single words for a dynamic interanimation between Nadsat's Russian roots and the target language Portuguese. These words—'nascinatar', 'esmoitar', 'zasnoitar'—dramatise translation's complex interplay of domestication and foreignisation at the level of the phoneme. A vocabulary based on Russian is again allowed to feel at home in a different linguistic community, but this time the vocabulary is itself seen to be a potential home for a meaning that feels Portuguese. Just like in the examples explored in Chapter 1, a certain kind of language emerges here which can be understood simultaneously as 'vernacular' and 'cosmopolitan'—a site, that is, of an exchange in which the difference between one person's 'language' and another's is increasingly difficult to determine.

All this serves to demonstrate the extent to which the manifold activity of translation is built into Luandino Vieira's choices throughout *A Laranja Mecânica*. Rather than conceiving of translation in purely functional terms—something which happens from one countable language to another—Luandino Vieira routinely tests the extent to which translation can

intervene stylistically within a text, even within what appears to be a 'single' language. The process of producing *A Laranja Mecânica*, then, provides the Angolan writer with an opportunity to exercise the translational approach to language developed over the course of his incarceration. The importance of its position within Luandino Vieira's literary project is therefore clear. It not only allows him to continue the conscious experimentation with prefigurative aesthetics, which began in the peculiarly cosmopolitan environment of the colonial prison, but it also puts this experimentation into a specifically translational dialogue with Burgess's own linguistic experimentation.

Seeking on a structural level to mirror these multiple attitudes to translation, the next two chapters of this thesis shift focus away from Luandino Vieira's work *of* translation to his work *in* translation. Having traced the development of his distinctively translational language—along with the concomitant attitude towards language itself—across a variety of different examples of translation in both the *Papéis da Prisão* and *A Laranja Mecânica*, the following chapters seek to examine the ways in which translators have themselves responded to the challenges posed by Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina'—a 'linguagem' that has translationality as a driving force.

Chapter 3 —
The Politics of Domestication and Foreignisation: José Luandino Vieira in the *African Writers Series*

Michael Wolfers, in his 'Translator's Preface' to the English translation of José Luandino Vieira's *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, states: 'The original text, from which this English translation is made, is a rich mixture of literary Portuguese, Brazilian and Angolan slang, and words in *Kimbundu*, one of Angola's principal African languages and spoken widely in Luanda and in a score of other areas of the country.'[357] As such, he continues, '[i]n rendering a version which I hope will be comprehensible to many for whom English is a second language rather than a mother tongue, I have not sought to match the author's linguistic complexity but have used fairly standard spoken English.'[358] Wolfers's concern as to his target readership—a readership, as he notes, 'for whom English is a second language rather than a mother tongue'—reflects the dual purpose at the the core of Heinemann's *African Writers Series* (AWS), in which *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier* (1978) was published as an instalment.

Founded in 1962 by Alan Hill and Van Milne as an imprint of Heinemann Educational Books (HEB), the *African Writers Series* sought to provide African authors with access to an expanding international readership. In his autobiography, *In Pursuit of Publishing* (1988), Alan Hill notes that 'the big British publishers'—particularly Oxford University Press and Longman, who, alongside few others, had hitherto dominated the African market for educational books—'regarded West Africa only as a place where you sold books, not where

[357] Michael Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', in José Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, trans. by Michael Wolfers (London: Heinemann, 1978), pp. i–ii.
[358] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', pp. i–ii.

you published them: and these books were overwhelmingly school books.'[359] 'Moreover,' he adds,

> they were almost all written by British authors, and produced in Britain. The idea that you could publish books by African authors, and especially by creative writers, had not yet occurred to these great houses, whose only concern was to make money out of the expanding school market. They were taking their profits out of West Africa, and putting nothing back in the way of investment in local publishing and encouragement of local authors.[360]

Thus it was that Alan Hill and Van Milne, through the establishment of the *African Writers Series*, sought to address what Hill termed the 'hunger' that existed in the African continent for 'the study of their own authors'.[361] From its inception in 1962, it was understood that the *African Writers Series*, in principle, catered to an African market—as made evident in HEB's internal memos, one of which describes the *AWS* as being 'intended exclusively for the African market'.[362] This market, however, was 'still mainly educational'.[363] Indeed, while the titles published in the *African Writers Series* (such as Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, first published by Heinemann in 1958 and later, in 1962, as an instalment of the *AWS*, or Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Weep Not, Child*, published in 1964) had, according to Peter J. Kalliney, 'all the outward trappings of high literature', 'of autonomous aesthetic objects', they were nevertheless sold in Africa as textbooks.[364] As Hill notes, the bulk of sales of the *African Writers Series* in Africa were 'as prescribed reading in schools and universities', a fact Kalliney corroborates when he states that, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, 'about 80 percent of *AWS* revenues came from sales' in that continent.[365]

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[359] Alan Hill, *The Pursuit of Publishing* (London: John Murray, 1988), pp. 122–123.
[360] Hill, *The Pursuit of Publishing*, pp. 122–123.
[361] Alan Hill, 'The African Writers Series', *Research in African Literatures* 2:1 (Spring 1971), 18–20 (p. 19).
[362] HEB 05/01, The Archive of British Publishing and Printing, Special Collections, University of Reading, fol. 1.
[363] Hill, 'The African Writers Series', p. 19.
[364] Peter J. Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters: British Literary Culture and the Emergence of Postcolonial Aesthetics* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 35.
[365] Hill, 'The African Writers Series', p. 19; Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*, p. 188.

The *African Writers Series* was conceived with a specific focus on sales to educational institutions throughout Africa—and, indeed, it was designed as such, as the initial idea of a paperback series, each instalment being sold, at the onset, for as low as 25p, demonstrates.[366] Nevertheless, Alan Hill saw that, '[a]t the same time, it was clearly desirable from every point of view that writing of such unusual merit should be offered to a world audience' and hardback editions of 'suitable titles for the world market' were, henceforth, published in London.[367] In addition to the publication of selected titles in hardback editions for a metropolitan readership, Heinemann 'served the emerging needs of minority and postcolonial studies initiatives' in both the British and American academies.[368] The inclusion of *African Writers Series* titles into their curricula, Kalliney indicates, was perceived as 'part of a more general attack on the dominance of the great tradition'—in other words, of the canon—'in English departments'.[369] As such, the success of Heinemann's *African Writers Series* depended on its 'ability to cater simultaneously to [...] different educational agendas': one of expanding the Anglo-American literary canon, and another of structuring the curricula of anglophone Africa.[370]

It is to this dual purpose at the core of the *African Writers Series* that Michael Wolfers refers in his 'Translator's Preface' to *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, when he expresses his hope that his translation of Luandino Vieira's novella 'will be comprehensible to many for whom English is a second language rather than a mother tongue', anticipating that the translation would, in the late 1970s, be read primarily by an African readership rather than a British one. However, despite the awareness of both Heinemann Educational Books and Wolfers himself of the *AWS*'s target readership, the English translation of *Domingos Xavier*

[366] Hill, *The Pursuit of Publishing*, p. 123.
[367] Hill, 'The African Writers Series', p. 20.
[368] Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*, p. 35.
[369] Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*, p. 180.
[370] Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*, p. 180.

struggles to prioritise this very audience. In contrast, Tamara Bender and Donna Hill's translation of Luandino Vieira's acclaimed collection of short stories, *Luuanda*, commissioned by Heinemann for publication as an instalment of the *African Writers Series* under the title of *Luuanda: Short Stories of Angola* (1980), strives to fulfil the *AWS*'s 'dual function', 'cater[ing] simultaneously to [...] different educational agendas'.[371]

In this chapter, therefore, I discuss the translational strategies at work in the English translations of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* and *Luuanda* against the *AWS*'s stated purpose. I conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts themselves—that is, between translations of the same source text and between translations of different source texts. To these ends, I draw on hitherto unstudied archival material, particularly documents held in The Archive of British Publishing and Printing housed at the University of Reading's Special Collections. If in Chapters 1 and 2, I have sought to identify and analyse the role of translation and translationality within Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina', this chapter seeks instead to discuss translations of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem'.

Michael Wolfers's Translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*

In his 'Translator's Preface', Michael Wolfers explains that, while he has 'not sought to match the [...] linguistic complexity' of Luandino Vieira's writing—a result of the 'rich mixture of literary Portuguese, Brazilian and Angolan slang, and words in *Kimbundu*'—and has, instead, 'used fairly standard spoken English', he has nevertheless retained '[c]ertain key words of colonial repression and popular resistance [...] as given in the author's text'.[372] These words, from both Portuguese ('cipaio', 'companheiro/companheira', 'mano/mana',

[371] Kalliney, *Commonwealth of Letters*, p. 180.
[372] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', pp. i–ii.

'palmatória') and Kimbundu ('sanzala'), are italicised throughout the translation in an attempt to draw the reader's attention, typographically, to their cultural specificity—and, consequently, their foreignness to English-language readers. So, too, however, is the word 'Kimbundu'. Though Wolfers does not include it in his brief glossary, the word 'Kimbundu' is, in its two occurrences in the text, rendered in italics. One of these occurs in the 'Translator's Preface'. The other occurs in Chapter 2, when we are told, with regards to the conversation between Domingos Xavier and Bernardo de Sousa: 'The tractor driver supported his tale with details, quoted instances, imitated the engineer in his poor *Kimbundu* with its Portuguese accent.'[373] Here, as in the 'Translator's Preface', what are figured as European and non-European languages coexist unevenly at the level of the sentence: in both instances, the italicisation of the word 'Kimbundu', in contrast with the non-italicisation of the word 'Portuguese', establishes a hierarchical relationship between the two languages, in which Otherness is determined by difference from Europe. Whether intentional or not, the result of such a seemingly innocuous decision is that, at a typographical level, Africa is constructed, to borrow Chinua Achebe's phrase, 'as a foil to Europe'.[374] Unlike Luandino Vieira's original, which is marked by a more horizontal interanimation between Portuguese and Kimbundu, the English translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, in its attempt to negotiate a tension between what have been termed processes of domestication and foreignisation, inscribes Kimbundu as a cultural Other, 'although that Otherness', as shown in the examples above, 'can never be manifested in its own terms'.[375]

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[373] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, p. 14. Emphasis in original.
[374] Chinua Achebe, 'An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*', in *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays* (New York, NY: Achor Books, 1990), p. 3.
[375] Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation as Cultural Politics: Regimes of Domestication in English', *Textual Practice* 7:2 (1993), 208–223 (p. 210). In Translation Studies, as Jeremy Munday explains, a 'domesticating' translation 'entails translating in a transparent, fluent, "invisible" style in order to minimize the foreignness of the T[arget] T[ext]'; 'foreignising' translation, in contrast, involves 'a non-fluent or estranging translation style designed to make visible the presence of the translator by highlighting the foreign identity of the S[ource] T[ext] and protecting it from the ideological dominance of the target culture' [Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 146–147]. For more on the translator's

The inscription of Kimbundu as Other is, nevertheless, at odds with the political intention behind Wolfers's decision to retain '[c]ertain key words of colonial repression and popular resistance [...] as given in the author's text'.[376] It is clear that his choice of words is not incidental. Each is intended to fulfill (at least) one of two main functions. First, to ground the text in a particular 'colonial context' through such words as 'cipaio', which Wolfers defines as 'an African recruited to serve in a subordinate role with the Portuguese colonial police', and 'palmatória', which in the 'colonial context', Wolfers explicitly qualifies, 'took on the form of a hard wooden mallet with a circular head'.[377] Second, to advance the construction of a collective identity—as in the case of 'mano/mana', which were used 'as terms of affection amongst the [Angolan] people for relatives, friends and comrades', and of 'companheiro/companheira' (albeit at the recommendation of one of the readers at HEB), which Wolfers takes to mean 'companion [...] particularly an ally in struggle'.[378]

Of the glossed words, 'sanzala' is the most evocative. In his 'Translator's Preface', Wolfers defines it as 'a hut or a cluster of huts forming a household, usually under the direction of a head of family', and adds that, in the context of Luandino Vieira's novella, it 'denotes an African settlement possibly smaller than the word 'village' might suggest to a non-Angolan audience'.[379] Wolfers, however, does not mention that the word 'sanzala' can also mean 'residência de serviçais em propriedade agrícola'.[380] Nor does he mention that the use of the word 's*e*nzala' in Brazilian Portuguese, rooted in the Kimbundu word 's*a*nzala', connotes less Assis Júnior's euphemistic 'serviçais' than it does 'slaves'. Yet, its presence in

invisibility, see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2008).

[376] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', pp. i–ii.

[377] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', p. ii. The word 'cipaio', Wolfers notes, is nevertheless derived from the word 'sepoy', used primarily in the context of British colonialism.

[378] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', p. ii; HEB 12/01, The Archive of British Publishing and Printing, Special Collections, University of Reading, fol. 1.

[379] Wolfers, 'Translator's Preface', p. ii.

[380] Assis Júnior, *Dicionário Kimbundu–Português*, p. 355.

both the source and target texts evokes this constellation of meaning. Luandino Vieira, in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, describes:

> O acampamento ficava longe, fora do estaleiro, metido numa baixa, à esquerda da estrada, onde se alinhavam as cubatas iguais dos operários e trabalhadores negros da barragem. Um regato de água escura e porca corria pela sanzala, carregando consigo os detritos diários dos habitantes, e perdia-se, em baixo, num tufo de capim verde. [...] Lá em cima, no topo dos morros frescos, viviam, em camaratas de alumínio, os operários brancos, e mais longe, em casas com belos jardins à volta, de relva cuidada, os empregados superiores da empresa.[381]

The 'sanzala'—where the 'operários e trabalhadores negros da barragem', such as Domingos Xavier, live—is, here, constructed in opposition to the 'camaratas de alumínio'—where the 'operários brancos' live—as well as to the houses inhabited by the 'empregados superiores da empresa'. Luandino Vieira further exacerbates this opposition by means of the sensorial contrast between the 'regato de água escura e porca' that carries the 'detritos diários dos habitantes' of the 'sanzala' and the 'morros frescos'—situated above an indistinct 'baixa'—on which the accommodation of the white employees is built. This sense of verticality is heightened by the consecutive employment of such words and phrases as 'lá', 'em cima', 'no topo', and 'morros', the cumulative effect of which is the dramatisation of the distance (both spatial and social) between two communities—that of the 'negros' and that of the 'brancos'.

Moreover, the 'sanzala' in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* is, not unlike the prisons discussed in Chapter 1, imagined as a site of collective enunciation, one in which individual voices coalesce into the communal 'murmúrio das falas [...] da sanzala', to borrow Luandino Vieira's phrase. Here, as in the novella's other descriptions of the 'sanzala', the communal or collective 'murmúrio' (employed in its singular form) is constituted of multiple individual 'falas' (employed in its plural form).[382] To cite another example: when Domingos Xavier confides in Bernardo de Sousa about the subversive activities of Silvestre, the white

[381] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, pp. 21–22.
[382] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 51.

engineer, his voice turns into a 'ligeiro sussurro a juntar nos outros ruídos da sanzala'.[383] Here, resistance to the colonial administration, in the form of 'conversas que só em voz baixa o povo tem, mesmo nas sanzalas', is made possible via the subsumption of Domingos Xavier's individual 'sussurro' into the collective 'ruídos da sanzala'. The translator's retention of the word 'sanzala', therefore, fulfills the two functions outlined above: it both grounds the text in a particular 'colonial context' (as Wolfers's definition itself draws the reader's attention to the connotations the word might have to a specifically Angolan audience) and advances the construction of a collective identity that can, through its very collectivity, offer resistance to this same 'colonial context'.

While the use of such words as 'mano/mana', 'companheiro/companheira', and 'sanzala' in the English translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* demonstrates an attempt on Wolfers's part to preserve Luandino Vieira's inscription of the collective character of anti-colonial resistance, his translation, nevertheless, falls short of the extent to which this inscription is carried out. In Luandino Vieira's novella, the omniscient narrator often oscillates between the third-person singular/plural (i.e. 'ele/eles', 'ela/elas') and the first-person plural (i.e. 'nós'), establishing a sense of a collective voice. 'E mesmo que os cipaios tivessem corrido logo-logo com o povo, curioso naquela hora da manhã,' states the narrator, 'os vizinhos e vizinhas juravam depois que o homem vinha amarrado nos pés e nas mãos na mesma corda e que ainda—juramos mesmo!—a corda dava uma volta no pescoço.'[384] Here, the interjection 'juramos mesmo!', abruptly cast into the midst of the detached third-person narration, lends itself to the construction of a choral voice, in which both the characters—'os vizinhos e vizinhas'—as well as the narrator of *Domingos Xavier* participate. Indeed, this 'chorus', registered in the text by the sudden shift from the third-person plural 'eles/elas' to

[383] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 25.
[384] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 10.

the first-person plural 'nós', frames the novella, which opens with an epigraph taken from Agostinho Neto's poem 'Mussunda Amigo'—'Nós somos/ Mussunda amigo/ Nós somos!'.[385] In the words of Phyllis Reisman Butler, this situates the novella 'within an intertextual continuity of Angolan literary practice and cultural resistance while evoking an immediate affirmation of collective Angolan identity'.[386] In addition, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* closes with a chapter which features the culmination of Luandino Vieira's construction of a collective voice.

> A voz macia de mano Liceu, o jeito malandro de Liceu cantar, essa viola de sô Liceu… Aiuê, quando, quando *vamos* ouvir? Um dia com certeza. [...] Verdade, mano Liceu, verdade. Você ainda não está no fim, todos *estamos* contigo em tua prisão. Fontinhas canta tua cantiga, o Ngola toca tuas músicas, o povo não esquece, mano Liceu.[387]

The narrative voice shifts, once more, from the third-person singular/plural to the (more complicitous) first-person plural 'nós', 'assum[ing],' as Reisman Butler notes, 'the unity of the Angolan people and open[ing] the discourse to a voice that represents the collective'.[388]

Wolfers, in his English translation of *Domingos Xavier*, often mirrors the movement from a singular voice to a collective voice (e.g., 'Oh, when, when are *we* going to hear them? [...] True, *mano* Liceu, true. You are not lost, *we* are all with you in your prison.'), which fulfils both an aesthetic as well as a political function in Luandino Vieira's original.[389] He is not consistent, however. In one instance, the narrator of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* describes the sunset over Luanda: 'E assim, pensativo, perdia o poente bonito, *nosso* sol se afogando no sangue do mar azul e de todas as cores. O Mussulo recortava suas sombras de coqueiros, traineiras saíam a barra da Corimba, passavam na rebentação.'[390] In Wolfers's

[385] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 7.
[386] Phyllis Reisman Butler, 'Colonial Resistance and Contemporary Angolan Narrative: *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* and *Vidas Novas*', *Modern Fiction Studies* 35:1 (Spring 1989), 47–54 (p. 50).
[387] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 126. Emphasis mine.
[388] Reisman Butler, p. 50.
[389] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, pp. 82–83. Emphasis mine.
[390] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 49. Emphasis mine.

translation, the pronoun 'nosso' in 'nosso sol' (in English, 'our sun') is omitted, and Wolfers writes, instead, that Xico Kafundanga 'missed the beauty of the setting of *the* sun bathing the blue sea in a mass of colour'.[391] According to Michael Billig, in his influential *Banal Nationalism* (1995), 'nationalism is, above all, an ideology of the first-person plural', one which 'tells 'us' who 'we' are'—the pronoun 'we' (or, in the case of Portuguese, 'nós'), as well as the pronoun 'our' (in Portuguese, 'nosso/nossa'), constituting 'an important feature of the syntax of hegemony'.[392] Indeed, in the more recent *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2009), Ruth Wodak classifies the use of the first-person plural as a linguistic 'means of realisation' of the rhetorical 'strategies' of 'assimilation, inclusion, and continuation' (including an 'emphasis on intra-national sameness') that characterise, as the title states, the 'discursive construction of national identity'.[393] It is not incidental that Luandino Vieira—whose work, as we have seen, has often been read in light of the concept of *angolanidade*, or, in other words, the discursive construction of an *Angolan* national identity—employs, in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, the first-person plural.[394] Whether the result of mere oversight or not, Michael Wolfers's use of the objective 'the' in place of the more sentimental 'our' inscribes a distance between the narrator and its subject (in this case, the Angolan land) not present in the original text.

In another, perhaps more poignant, instance of comparison between *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* and Wolfers's translation, the narrator of Luandino Vieira's original relates that *vavô* Petelo 'sorriu abrindo as gengivas ao sol, recordou suas velhas bebedeiras nas

[391] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, p. 30. Emphasis mine.
[392] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995), pp. 65, 73, 149.
[393] Ruth Wodak, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, and Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, trans. by Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten, and J. W. Unger (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 37.
[394] The use of the first-person plural in the work of José Luandino Vieira is not limited to *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*. See, for example, 'Encontro de acaso' in *A Cidade e a Infância*: 'no fundo era a canção de todos nós, meninos brancos e negros'. [Luandino Vieira, *A Cidade e a Infância*, p. 66].

grandes festas de Novembro. Agora já não tem festa assim, não, brancos não deixam.'[395] In *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, however, Wolfers translates the last sentence as 'Nowadays *they* did not have celebrations like that, no, the whites would not allow *them*,' though Luandino Vieira's original, in employing the third-person singular 'tem' instead of the third-person plural 'têm', does not invite, even at a grammatical level, Wolfers's interpretation.[396] Rather, Wolfers's reading of Luandino Vieira's sentence limits the interpretative possibilities that the latter's ambiguities give rise to. In *Domingos Xavier*, the sentence 'Agora já não tem festa assim, não, brancos não deixam' hinges on the use of what might be termed 'false' free indirect speech, in which what appears to be the granting of narratorial access to *vavô* Petelo's inner life could, instead, be perceived as narratorial interjection. Indeed, such ambiguity is sustained at a grammatical level. The reflexive component of the verb 'deixar'—here in its third-person plural form, 'deixam'—is elided, in accordance with the conventions of colloquial Portuguese speech, thereby establishing an ambiguity between three possible readings: 'brancos não *as* deixam', in reference to 'festa'; 'brancos não *os* deixam', in reference to the inhabitants of Luanda's *musseques*, narrator excluded; or 'brancos não *nos* deixam', in reference to the inhabitants of Luanda's *musseques*, narrator included. As a result of this ambiguity, and in light of the original text's aesthetico-political employment of the narrator as chorus, the idea of a collective voice exists as an underlying possibility within Luandino Vieira's sentence. However, in *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, by imposing limits to these ambiguities, Wolfers erases, to some extent, the original's potential for the construction of a collective voice. In Wolfers's translation, two interpretative possibilities arise: 'the whites would not allow them', in which the pronoun 'them' refers either to 'celebrations' (as in '*as* deixam') or to the inhabitants of Luanda's

[395] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, p. 17.
[396] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, p. 7. Emphasis mine.

musseques, narrator excluded (as in, '*os* deixam'). The use of the pronoun 'them', in conjunction with the use of the pronoun 'they', has the effect of distancing the narrator from the conditions of life in the *musseque*, a strategy that undermines the political project at the core of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*.

Returning to a scene discussed in the Introduction—the description of the preparations of the 'farra' at Mussunda's home in the novella's closing chapter—will help bring into focus the consequences of Wolfers's translational decisions. As the preparations progress, the novella narrator states:

> …esses sabiam da farra na casa do sô Mussunda, e farra lá, não digo nada! Aquilo sim: música angolana, comida angolana, era tudo! Música brasileira e cubana também, o povo só, baião e merengue! E nada de música de rádio, isso não. Conjunto, mas conjunto do povo, como o Ngola, nessa noite.
>
> Toda a manhã, toda a tarde, mamãs e filhas fizeram as especialidades para levar na farra, a quitaba amarelou sua cor e folhas de bananeiras esconderam a boa quicuanga. Meninos, logo de manhã, foram no mercado, trouxeram a cola e o gengibre para fazer boca, esse bom maqueso. Outras mulheres preparavam um peixe bom e não faltava sempre o velho muzongue, caldo de aguentar forças de farristas já com a madrugada a entrar.
>
> Sete e meia, meninos corriam já, agarrando as gasosas e as garrafas de vinho, cerveja e quitoto, adiantar pôr nas selhas com gelo. E mamãs gordas ou secas dos anos arrumavam as comidas, sopravam fogareiro ou ensaiavam mesmo, no terreiro, passos de antiga massemba, lamentando esses meninos de agora não saibam essas danças do antigamente: só querem o xaxado, só querem o merengue.[397]

While in the Introduction I discussed the ways in which the use of language, here, reflects Luandino Vieira's discursive construction of *angolanidade*—as well as the passage's foregrounding of an *unheimlich* interanimation between Portuguese and Kimbundu—in this chapter, I seek instead to focus on how translators have dealt with the challenges of transposing, of recreating, this very interanimation in different linguistic contexts.

It is, perhaps, revealing that the aforementioned passage has elicited no consensus among translators of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*. For example, Mário Pinto de

[397] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, pp. 118–119.

Andrade and Chantal Tiberghien, in their French translation, *La Vrai Vie de Domingos Xavier*, published in 1971 by Présence Africaine, opt for a foreignising mode of translation, which exerts 'an ethnodeviant pressure on [target-language cultural values] to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text'.[398] They write: 'Mères et filles passèrent le matin et l'après-midi à cuisiner les spécialités pour la fête, la *kitaba* dora sa couleur et les feuilles de bananier cachèrent la délicieuse *kikuanga*.'[399] As a means of 'register[ing] the linguistic and cultural difference' of the source text, Pinto de Andrade and Tiberghien not only retain the Kimbundu words 'kitaba' and 'kikuanga', but, unlike Luandino Vieira, also italicise them, foregrounding their difference typographically. Moreover, the translators' decision to deviate from their relexified spellings in Luandino Vieira's original (e.g. 'quitaba', 'quicuanga'), choosing instead to revert to their conventional spellings with the letter 'k' (i.e. 'kitaba', 'kikuanga'), is telling of the manner in which Pinto de Andrade and Tiberghien perceive the role of difference in the work of Luandino Vieira—that is, embodied, almost exclusively, by Kimbundu.[400] Indeed, that the use of the letter 'k' is, to the French-language reader, predominantly associated with loan words further augments Kimbundu's sense of foreignness.

Wolfers, on the other hand, opts for a domesticating mode of translation, described as 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values', when he chooses not to retain words from the Kimbundu, but instead to bring 'o texto luandino' home to the English language reader.[401] In *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, 'quitaba' becomes the lexicographical 'spiced ground-nut paste', 'quicuanga' is reduced to 'cassava', 'muzongue' is

[398] Venuti, 'Translation as Cultural Politics', p. 210.
[399] José Luandino Vieira, *La Vrai Vie de Domingos Xavier*, trans. by Mário de Andrade and Chantal Tiberghien (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1971), p. 128.
[400] It is likely that Mário Pinto de Andrade and Chantal Tiberghien's French translation—which included French renditions of both the novella *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier* and the short story 'O Fato Completo de Lucas Matesso' (written in 1962 and published as part of the 1962 collection *Vidas Novas*)—was also the source text for many of the translations that followed, such as those into German, Spanish, and Swedish.
[401] Venuti, 'Translation as Cultural Politics', p. 210.

replaced by its translational equivalent 'sauce', and the phrase 'trouxeram a cola e o gengibre para fazer boca, esse bom maqueso' is loosely paraphrased as 'to fetch cola-nut and ginger, to make a tasty mixture to go with the drinks', to cite a few examples.[402]

There are, however, other more significant instances of domestication in Wolfers's translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*. '— Farra é farra, mano!' opens the last chapter of Luandino Vieira's novella.[403] 'Quem lhe disse que não havia? Quem? Aia, pôssa! Esse gajo é da polícia. Se lhe encontro, lhe rebento as fuças, juro!'[404] In the English translation, the phrase 'Esse gajo é da polícia' is rendered 'That bloke's a copper's nark'.[405] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term 'nark'—or, as it appears in Wolfers's translation, 'copper's nark'—meaning 'a police informer', is first recorded in *The Vulgar Tongue: A Glossary of Slang, Cant, and Flash Words and Phrases* (1859) as 'nard, *n.* A person who obtains information under a seal of confidence, and afterwards breaks faith', and in *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* (1860) as 'nark, *n.* A person in the pay of the police; a common informer'.[406] A popular Cockney-ism, the expression 'nark' (or 'copper's nark') was in common usage from the 1850s to the 1910s.[407] While a curious decision, translational recourse to a Cockney-ism such as 'copper's nark' is by no means an anomaly in *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*. Throughout his English translation, Wolfers

[402] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, p. 77.
[403] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, pp. 117.
[404] Luandino Vieira, *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, pp. 117.
[405] Luandino Vieira, *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, p. 76.
[406] 'nark, *n.*', in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. X, p. 218; 'nard, *n.*', in Ducange Anglicus, *The Vulgar Tongue: A Glossary of Slang, Cant, and Flash Words and Phrases* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1859), p. 23; 'nark', in *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1860), p. 179.
[407] The expression 'nark' (or 'copper's nark') was often featured in such works as Arthur Morrison's *Tales of Mean Streets* (1894) and *A Child of the Jago* (1897), and George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* (1912), all of which sought to register the Cockney dialect—its phonetic characteristics as well as its distinctive lexicon and syntax—on the printed page. See, for example: 'He resolved to depart from his evil ways and to become a nark—a copper's nark—which is a police spy, or informer.' That 'copper's nark' is itself glossed in Arthur Morrison's *Tales of Mean Streets*—'which is a police spy, or informer'—attests to the fact that, even in the 1880s, British readers would not have regarded the phrase as 'fairly standard spoken English'. [Arthur Morrison, *Tales of Mean Streets* (London: Methuen & Co, 1894), p. 260].

renders Portuguese words such as the commonplace 'moço'/'moça' as the quasi-caricatural 'lad'/'lassie', the latter being used in 'chiefly Scottish' contexts.[408] In another example, the Kimbundu interjection 'ená' is translated as the English 'lawks'—a corruption of the word 'lord', often ascribed to stock Cockney characters, in particular house servants, from the 1830s to the 1910s. Despite claiming, in his 'Translator's Preface', that he hopes his translation 'will be comprehensible to many for whom English is a second language rather a mother tongue'—thus opting in favour of a 'fairly standard spoken English'—Wolfers consistently (and self-consciously) resorts to words rooted in what might be described as a non-standard, localised form of English. This mismatch was not lost on Sierra Leonean academic Kadiatu Sesay, whose review of *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier* for *African Literature Today* observes that 'certain expressions could be perfectly acceptable to users of English in one community', whilst being 'seen as deviations from standard English' by others.[409] Commenting on an excerpt, she notes, citing Wolfers's own words: 'Surely this is not standard spoken English'.[410] This raises an important question: what could have informed Michael Wolfers's translational decisions?

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'The aim of translation,' asserts Lawrence Venuti,

> is to bring back a cultural other as the same, the recognizable, even the familiar; and this aim always risks a wholesale domestication of the foreign text, often in highly self-conscious projects, where translation serves an imperialist appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas, cultural, economic, political.[411]

Yet, this conception of domestication is complicated by Wolfers's close ties to the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA). In a letter dated 2 June 1977, he writes: 'I had a

[408] See, for example, 'The servant maids [...] were listening and lawk-a-mussying and oh-mying over the bargains.' [S. Baring-Gould, *Cheap Jack Zita* (New York, NY: J. S. Tait & Sons, 1894), p. 3].
[409] Kadiatu Sesay, 'Review of Kole Omotoso's *The Combat*, Eddie Iroh's *Forty-Eight Guns for the General*, José Luandino Vieira's *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*', *African Literature Today* 11 (1980), 218–227 (pp. 226–227).
[410] Sesay, p. 227.
[411] Venuti, 'Translation as Cultural Politics', p. 209.

duty to maintain a conscientious level work [...] provided that it is work for the MPLA and to the genuine struggle waged by the comrades who are loyal to the MPLA.'[412] Lara Pawson, in her account of an interview with Wolfers, confirms the extent of this 'duty', noting that '[h]is fidelity to the MPLA [...] is overwhelming; his devotion almost cultish'.[413] Susan Broadhead, in her review of Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol's *Angola in the Frontline* (1983), writes that 'the book is basically a defense of the MPLA'—an 'official history [...] written by persons with access to the centers of power'—and, as such, 'a valuable source for understanding the "official mind" of the MPLA leadership'.[414]

The same could be said about Wolfers's translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*. Motivated by his 'duty' to the 'genuine struggle of the MPLA', Wolfers's translational decisions serve to highlight an important aspect of Luandino Vieira's text. Given that most of anglophone Africa (with the white-minority rule exceptions of Rhodesia and South Africa) had gained independence by the late 1960s—and had, by the late 1970s, become disillusioned with the project of 'building socialism'—it was strategic, on the part of the then Marxist-Leninist MPLA, to adopt a discourse of 'socialist internationalism' that was not merely Pan-Africanist, but sought 'to position the party and the Angolan nation in relation to global politics'.[415] Indeed, as early as 1962, the MPLA was 'eager to expand the scope of their other third-party relationships' and to widen 'the range of MPLA representation abroad', which 'meant concerted efforts to gain support from 'progressive forces' in the West'.[416] The MPLA's Central Committee report on the party's First Congress, which took place in Luanda

[412] Michael Wolfers to Polly Gaster, 2 June 1977 cited in Lara Pawson, *In the Name of the People: Angola's Forgotten Massacre* (London and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 60–61.
[413] Pawson, *In the Name of the People*, p. 60.
[414] Susan Broadhead, 'Review of *Angola in the Frontline*, by Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 19:1 (1986), 108–109 (p. 108).
[415] Justin Pearce, *Political Identity and Conflict in Central Angola, 1975–2002* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 75.
[416] John A. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution Volume II: Exile Politics and Guerrilla Warfare (1962–1976)* (London and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978), p. 14.

in December 1977, notes that its 'guiding principles of foreign relations' include the 'strengthening of bonds of friendship and co-operation with the socialist community and with anti-imperialist communities on every continent' and demonstrations of '[s]olidarity with the struggle of workers of the whole world on the basis of proletarian internationalism'.[417]

Moreover, that the leadership of the MPLA consisted mainly of Luanda's 'urban elites'—that is, members of the capital's traditional Creole elites, as well as 'the parvenu mestiço children of the new [white] settlers and a few *assimilados*'—meant that it was also strategic, on their part, to advance a narrative of 'postracial *angolanidade*', which conceived of 'race relations as class relations'.[418] Ultimately, it might have proven strategic for a partisan journalist and translator such as Michael Wolfers—'an ex-Times man [...] working *for* the MPLA', in the words of HEB editor James Currey—to participate in these discourses and thus to mobilise the very act of translation itself on behalf of the MPLA.[419]

Wolfers's use of domesticating translation strategies, such as the use of Cockney-isms, demonstrates a self-conscious attempt to seek British equivalences for foreign cultural material. Following the MPLA's emphasis on class-based (rather than race-based) solidarity, these strategies seek to map Angolan social inequality with literary tropes familiar to depictions of London's urban poor. This decision, however, risks effacing the cultural, economic, and political particularities explored in the source text. In struggling to reproduce in English the complex linguistic terrain of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, he draws attention to that text's complex interplay between 'distancing' and 'furthering' tendencies, and

[417] Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, *First Congress of MPLA (Luanda, 4–10 December 1977)/State Papers and Party Proceedings* (London: Mozambique, Angola and Guiné Information Centre, 1979), p. 23.
[418] Schubert, *Working the System*, p. 86, p. 89, p. 91.
[419] James Currey to Richard Lister, 22 December 1976, University of Reading Special Collections, HEB 12/01, fol. 1. Emphasis mine.

the ways in which this interplay is itself essential to an understanding of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina'.

Tamara Bender and Donna Hill's Translation of *Luuanda*

'I'm rather worried about Tam[ara] Bender's large amount of footnoting,' writes James Currey in a letter to Richard Lister.[420] Indeed, the extensive correspondence forming the corpus of the archives pertaining to Heinemann Educational Books bears witness to an increasing frustration—on the part of James Currey as well as of José Luandino Vieira himself—with Tamara Bender and her work on the translation of *Luuanda*. This frustration manifests itself, first, in relation to the pace of Bender's translation, having been contracted by HEB in 1973 and published only in 1980. In his letters, Currey often remarks that Bender's progress has been 'very slow' or even 'hideously slow'—that she has been 'moving at a snail's pace'.[421] In a similar manner, Michael Wolfers states that Luandino Vieira himself felt that 'Tamara Bender has wasted so much of his and Heinemann's time that she has put herself out of court'.[422] In fact, Luandino Vieira notes, as early as 1973, in a letter to Mário Pinto de Andrade: 'Sei os problemas que uma tradução dessas pode levantar porque tenho andado em 'luta' com a tradutora inglesa', who he describes as a 'senhora que esteve em Portugal, sabe português, e ainda passou nove meses em Luanda'.[423] This frustration manifests itself, moreover, in relation to the form of Bender's translation, with its extensive paratextual apparatus, comprising an introduction, footnotes, and a glossary. Prompted by Currey's concerns, Lister, in his reader's report, condemns 'the footnotes [as] totally superfluous, as is

[420] James Currey to Richard Lister, 22 December 1976, HEB 12/01, fol. 1.
[421] James Currey to Richard Lister, 22 December 1976, HEB 12/01, fol 1; James Currey to Laban Erapu, 21 April 1977, HEB 12/01, fol. 1; James Currey to Michael Wolfers, 4 March 1977, HEB 12/01, fol. 1.
[422] José Luandino Vieira to Mário Pinto de Andrade, 15 May 1973, 04311.006.005, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, fol. 2.
[423] 04311.006.005, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, fol. 1–2. Emphasis mine.

the introduction which gives shortened versions of the stories in even more naïve English, and more unnecessary footnotes'.[424]

The frustrations regarding Tamara Bender and Donna Hill's translational decisions, however, ignore the extent to which their translation of Luandino Vieira's collection of short stories is characterised by what is seemingly, when in contrast with Wolfers's translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, a foreignising, rather than a domesticating, approach to translation, particularly with reference to the retention of 'selected words and phrases' in both Portuguese and Kimbundu, which 'have not been translated and are italicised in the text'.[425] Nevertheless, observes Bender in her 'Translator's Preface', a 'glossary has been appended to provide definitions or explanations of the italicised words or passages'—a glossary that, unlike the one featured in Wolfers's *Domingos Xavier*, consists of a total of 81 entries, in addition to occasional footnotes within the text.[426] It is unsurprising, therefore, that the editors at Heinemann Educational Books expressed their concerns as to Bender and Hill's extensive paratextual apparatus. Yet, none of these concerns, as communicated in HEB's internal correspondence, seem to have been prompted by the specific nature of this apparatus, in particular that of the glossary.

Out of 81 entries, 19 are categorised as Portuguese terms, while the remaining 62 terms are categorised either as Kimbundu terms or as Portuguese spellings, Portuguese corruptions, or Portuguese derivations of Kimbundu words. Moreover, while the retained Portuguese terms often fulfill the same functions as those words retained by Michael Wolfers—that is, to ground the text in a particular 'colonial context'—the Kimbundu terms do not. Rather, they are retained because they are Kimbundu. For example, it is not that the Kimbundu word

[424] Richard Lister, 'Report by Richard Lister', 4 January 1977, HEB 12/01, fol. 1.
[425] Tamara Bender, 'Translator's Preface', in Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda: Short Stories of Angola*, p. ix.
[426] Bender, 'Translator's Preface', p. ix.

‘monandengue’ or its clipped form ‘mona’, both retained in Bender and Hill’s translation of *Luuanda*, have no translational equivalents in the English language. In fact, Michael Wolfers, throughout *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier*, consistently forgoes the use of ‘monandengue’ and ‘mona’ in their Kimbundu forms for their English equivalent, ‘child’. It is also the case that, in Bender and Hill’s translation of *Luuanda*, the Portuguese word ‘miúdo’—which is synonymous with the Kimbundu word ‘mona’—is not retained in its original form, but revealingly finds its translational equivalent in the English word ‘child’. The translators’ decision to retain the words ‘monandengue’ and ‘mona’ is informed, therefore, by a desire to retain what Ashcroft terms a ‘sense of cultural distinctiveness’, which, in the case of Luandino Vieira’s work, is associated with its perceived Africanness.[427]

The significance attributed to this ‘installation of difference’—to the inscription of ‘[e]ssa diferença’, which, in the words of Trigo, ‘legitima o estilo africano’—may be further attested to by means of a comparison between Bender’s sample and final translations of *Luuanda*.[428] In the first of the three *estórias* published in Luandino Vieira’s collection, entitled ‘Vavó Xíxi e seu Neto Zeca Santos’, the narrator describes ‘as postas de peixe assado, gordo como ele gostava, garopa ou galo tanto faz, no fundo da panela com molho dele, cebola e tomate e jindungo e tudo mais como vavó sabia cozinhar bem’.[429] In her sample translation, Bender chooses to adopt a domesticating strategy, translating the Kimbundu word ‘jindungo’ as the English ‘hot pepper’.[430] However, in her final translation, the phrase ‘hot pepper’ reverts to the Kimbundu ‘jindungo’, now italicised—one of a number of such reversals, as outlined in Table 4, which demonstrate the extent to which Bender and Hill view the ‘installation of difference’ as a foundational aspect of Luandino Vieira’s literary project.

Table 4

[427] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, p. 63.
[428] Trigo, *Do Logotetismo ao Genotetismo*, p. 200.
[429] José Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda* (Belo Horizonte: Eros, 1965), p. 54.
[430] HEB 12/07, The Archive of British Publishing and Printing, Special Collections, University of Reading, fol. 4.

Luuanda (Belo Horizonte, 1965)	Tamara Bender's Sample Translations[431]	*Luuanda* (London, 1980)
'jindungo' (p. 54)	'hot pepper' (fol. 4)	'*jindungo*' (p. 28)
'elá' (p. 106)	'hey' (fol. 9)	'*elá*' (p. 68)
'quitanda' (p. 107)	'store' (fol. 9)	'*quitanda*' (p. 68)
'a calma daquela cara de monandengue' (p. 107)	'the calm of that child's face' (fol. 9)	'the calmness on that *monandengue* face' (p. 69)
'sukuá' (p. 108)	'hell' (fol. 10)	'*sukua*' (p. 69)
'fugindo as berridas dos monas que lhe insultavam' (p. 109)	'running from the shouts of the boys who insulted him' (fol. 10)	'running from the *monas* who chased after him' (p. 69)
'liamba' (p. 109)	'marijuana' (fol. 10)	'*diamba*' (p. 70)
'chuva de cacimbo' (p. 110)	'winter's rain' (fol. 11)	'*cacimbo* rain' (p. 70)
'imbondeiro' (p. 111)	'baobab' (fol. 11)	'*imbondeiro*' (p. 71)

It becomes evident that there is an imbalance in the translators' treatment of the linguistic continuum that constitutes the 'linguagem luandina'. Indeed, their foreignising approach to the translation of *Luuanda* curiously echoes Wolfers's recurrent italicisation of the word 'Kimbundu' in his translation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*. Once more Kimbundu is conceived of as difference, as incommensurability, thus undermining the aesthetico-political project that underpins Luandino Vieira's literary language. Indeed, even as Bender and Hill attempt to reproduce the 'linguistic flavour' of the source text—the word 'flavour' itself bearing unfortunate exoticising connotations—and, thus, remain faithful to its (perceived) aesthetic principles, the use of such foreignising strategies betrays an overinvestment in linguistic difference that sits uneasily next to the original.[432]

[431] HEB 12/07, fol. 4–5, 8–12.
[432] Bender, 'Translator's Preface', p. ix.

The most significant site of this overinvestment is, nevertheless, Bender and Hill's much-debated paratextual apparatus. Indeed, the extensive glossary reveals the translators' attempt to reduce Luandino Vieira's text to a linguistic binary, and the categorisation of all but one term as either Portuguese or Kimbundu indicates a misapprehension of the textual fabric of *Luuanda*. It is also true that this glossary is itself representative of the impossibility of fully separating Portuguese and Kimbundu, as featured in 'o texto luandino', into 'homogeneous or closed systems'.[433] This is the case, for example, of such palimpsestic words as 'imbondeiro'—a Portuguese derivation, though no less a relexification, of the Kimbundu word 'mbondo'—and, more ironically, 'mandioqueira', whose unequivocal classification as 'Portuguese' elides its origin in the Tupi 'manióka'. The term 'uatobaram' is, however, the most revealing of the translators' difficulties. Glossed as the 'third-person plural, present tense, of the verb *uatobar* which is a 'portuguesation' of the Kimbundu verb *ku toba*', it is the only word not labelled either Portuguese or Kimbundu, but rather 'Kimbundu/Portuguese', foregrounding the extent to which relexification disrupts a conception of code-switching as mere 'installation of difference'.[434]

However, if paratext functions as 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text', or, in the words of Gerard Genette, as 'the conveyor of a commentary that is [...] more or less legitimated by the author' (or, in this case, by the translator), then their attempt to marginalise the extent to which linguistic interaction permeates Luandino Vieira's original falls short.[435] Instead, the relationship between text and paratext (here, the glossary) is itself generative of meaning. Indeed, the recent argument put forth by Florian Sedlmeier, that paratexts may constitute 'an integral part of the repertoire of

[433] Lambert, 'Translation and Mass Communication in the Age of Globalisation', p. 131.
[434] Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda: Short Stories of Angola*, p. 117.
[435] Philippe Lejeune, *Le Pacte Autobiographique* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975), p. 45 cited in Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 2; Genette, p. 2.

narrative techniques', can be extended, with regards to translation, to contemplate the manner in which source texts may be recast in light of the relationship between text and (translational) paratext.[436] Even as the glossary is intended to have a merely explanatory function, reading the relationship between text and paratext *against* its supposedly organisational function casts light on the source text's disruption of binarising conceptions of language.

The explanatory intentions of Bender and Hill's glossary do, however, reflect an overarchingly didactic emphasis in their presentation of Luandino Vieira's text. Their correspondence with the editors at HEB reveals their anxieties about the educative function of their translation, and its ability to fulfil the *AWS*'s stated purpose. 'After re-reading it all as a package,' writes Bender,

> I am concerned about a problem of footnotes versus glossary. In a number of instances I think it would be much easier for the reader if there were at least a brief footnote, instead of only the glossary. Ideally, in those instances, the glossary could contain the fuller explanation and the footnote at least the translation.[437]

Besides the use of paratextual apparatus, this didactic impulse, which characterises Bender and Hill's translation, can also be gleaned from their reinscription of the racial politics implied in Luandino Vieira's work. In 'Vavó Xíxi e seu Neto Zeca Santos', the narrator states that, following their lunch, Zeca Santos and his friend Maneco 'atravessaram a rua de pedra, deixaram os pés levarem-lhes no cais de cabotagem, na muralha, nas palmeiras, nos bancos dessa avenida grande junto do mar onde, nos domingos e outros dias à noite, as pessoas da Baixa vêm passear com as famílias delas'.[438] In the English translation, however, the phrase 'as pessoas da Baixa' is rendered instead as 'the white people from Downtown', the use of the adjective 'white'—absent in Luandino Vieira's original—serving to reinscribe the racialised

[436] Florian Sedlmeier, 'The Paratext and Literary Narration: Authorship, Institutions, Historiographies', *Narrative* 26:1 (January 2018), pp. 63–80 (p. 70).
[437] Tamara Bender to James Currey, 26 February 1979, HEB 12/07, fol. 1.
[438] Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda*, p. 35.

character of Luanda's urban landscape, only implied by 'as pessoas da Baixa'.[439] This reinscription fulfils a didactic function: while Luandino Vieira's intended Angolan audience would have known that 'as pessoas da Baixa' are the inhabitants of 'the white city', Bender and Hill find it important to clarify the racial politics behind the spatial disposition of Luanda to the collection's non-Angolan readership.[440]

In another instance, in the third of the three *estórias*, entitled 'Estória da Galinha e do Ovo', the racial dynamics between the women of the *musseque* and *sô* Zé, the white shopkeeper, are represented via the Kimbundu expressions 'güeta da tuji' and 'güeta camuelo', both of which are insults relating to *sô* Zé's whiteness, previously established in the tale.[441] While the word 'ngueta'—the Kimbundu spelling of the lusophonised 'güeta'—is retained in its original form in Bender and Hill's translation of 'Vavó Xíxi e seu Neto Zeca Santos', and is defined in the glossary as a 'pejorative term for a white man', it is, in 'Estória da Galinha e do Ovo', translated into the English phrases 'you white shit' and 'you greedy white bastard', respectively.[442] Whereas the retention of the Kimbundu terms would, for a non-Kimbundu-speaking reader, delay and, possibly dilute, the strong impression caused by racialised slurs, Bender and Hill's preference for an immediacy in comprehension gestures towards their sustained preoccupation in regards to the 'faithful' representation of Luandino Vieira's original.

Less immediately obvious is the way in which Bender and Hill's didactic impulse also permits a reinscription of the translation itself in light of its gender politics. If 'feminist translation', for Emek Ergun and Olga Castro, entails 'an act of cross-border meaning-making

[439] Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda: Short Stories of Angola*, p. 16.
[440] Paul Melo e Castro, 'Shameful Things in the City: Writing and Re-Righting Colonial Urban Space in José Luandino Vieira's *Luuanda*', *Journal of Romance Studies* 14:3 (2014), 37–53 (p. 43).
[441] Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda*, p. 162.
[442] Luandino Vieira, *Luuanda: Short Stories of Angola*, pp. 94, 95.

that aims both to connect women's voices and stories and also to provide alternative theories of liberation and co-existence', then it is not quite possible to call Bender and Hill's *Luuanda* a feminist translation.[443] It is possible, however, to situate their decisions, along with the chauvinistic responses to both the pace of the translation and the 'large amount of footnoting', in light of feminist translation scholarship. This is particularly important in the context of anti-colonial struggle, which depended to some extent on a gendered division of labour—a division reflected in *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, in which Domingos and Maria perform very different roles. The same is true of intellectual work within the anti-colonial struggle. Indeed, Alexandra Reza notes that, if 'translation and multilingualism were a fundamental part of [anti-colonial literary journals like *Présence Africaine*'s and *Mensagem*'s] lateral and associative critical charge', it is nevertheless 'important to emphasize that although the vast majority of the published authors were men, the process of exchange that translation effected was made possible by their translators, of which many were women'.[444]

This division of labour accords with the well-known identification within feminist translation studies of gendered assumptions about translation itself. As Sherry Simon argues, '[w]hether affirmed or denounced, the femininity of translation is a persistent historical trope. "Woman" and "translator" have been relegated to the same position of discursive inferiority.'[445] This relegation tends to draw distinctions between 'productive' and 'reproductive' work: '[t]he hierarchical authority of the original over the reproduction is linked with the imagery of masculine and feminine; the original is considered the strong

[443] Emek Ergun and Olga Castro, 'Pedagogies of Feminist Translation: Rethinking Difference and Commonality across Borders', in *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and Transnational Perspectives*, ed. by Olga Castro and Emek Ergun (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 93–108 (p. 96).
[444] Alexandra Reza, 'Women, Work, and Anti-colonial Writing', in 'African Literary Journals in French and Portuguese, 1947–1968: Politics, Culture and Form', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2018), pp. 3–32 (p. 9).
[445] Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), p. 1.

generative male, the translation the weaker and derivative female.'[446] Sometimes this gendered pursuit of primacy affects the ways in which men and women relate in collaborative translational work: as Reza notes, to take an example relevant to this chapter's discussion, '[a] letter from Mário Pinto de Andrade, in Algiers, specifies that his name should appear in front of Chantal Tiberghien's on the cover of *La Vrai Vie de Domingos Xavier*'.[447]

Bender and Hill's didactic impulse, their decision to develop an extensive paratextual apparatus in which ultimately spurious linguistic differences are organised, appears at first to accord with a view of translation as explicative, reproductive, even secondary. Their 'moving at a snail's pace' similarly suggests an attitude to translation which prioritises, whether correctly or not, 'fidelity' to the source text over 'creativity'. However, by conceiving of translation in these terms—as a process itself paratextual—Bender and Hill overlook the extent to which translationality and a prefigurative interanimation between languages is itself textual, occuring within Luandino Vieira's writing as an active process. As a result, the attempt to provide elucidating information for a particular readership ends up delimiting that readership's access to Luandino Vieira's aesthetic project in advance. Despite this, however, it is still possible to view Bender and Hill's paratextual apparatus in other terms. As Luise von Flotow notes, 'feminist interventions' in translation often involve a translator's use of paratexts such as prefacing and footnoting in order 'to stress their active presence in the text'.[448] If the 'modest, self-effacing translator' works to produce 'a smooth, readable target language version of the original', the 'feminist translator seeks to flaunt her signature in

[446] Simon, *Gender in Translation*, p. 1.
[447] Reza, 'Women, Work, and Anti-colonial Writing', pp. 8–9.
[448] Luise von Flotow, 'Feminist Translation: Contexts, Practices and Theories', *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 4:2 (1991), 69–84 (p. 76).

italics, in footnotes, and in prefaces'.[449] This flaunting, as von Flotow continues to suggest, can evidence 'a strong didactic streak'.[450]

In an interview conducted with James Currey in February 2019, the former HEB editor remarked that 'the problem with Tammy's translation was that it was too educational'.[451] From a feminist perspective it is precisely this quality which provides the translation with a radical edge. As Oana-Helena Andone argues, '[f]eminist translators want to disrupt "acceptable" reading and writing because they want to create difference'.[452] Taking measure of the difference created by Bender and Hill, as we have seen, means acknowledging that it significantly distorts Luandino Vieira's aesthetico-political project. Introducing a clear differentiation between Portuguese and Kimbundu undoes much of the stories' emphasis on the prefigurative potential of mutual interanimation. But, despite this, it is important to note that the difference Bender and Hill create does still imply prefigurative activity, even if this activity exists in tension with an essential aspect of Luandino Vieira's text. Indeed, in its 'disrupt[ion]' of '"acceptable" reading and writing', Bender and Hill's translation also disrupts masculine expectations regarding the role of the translator within a broader division of labour. As such, its 'difference'—both from other translations of Luandino Vieira's work, and from, in this case, Currey's expectations—announces an attitude to translation which, while differing from Luandino Vieira's own, still gestures towards a meaningful political possibility.

*

In a letter to Mário Pinto de Andrade, dated 15 May 1973, José Luandino Vieira writes:

> Recebeu o meu editor português pedido de opção da Gallimard para o *Luuanda* traduzido por si. Foi por isso que eu concordei logo. [...] O meu único problema é

[449] von Flotow, 'Feminist Translation', p. 76.
[450] von Flotow, 'Feminist Translation', p. 76.
[451] Interview with James Currey, Oxford, 2019.
[452] Oana-Helena Andone, 'Gender Issues in Translation', *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 10:2 (2002), 135–150 (p. 145).

> pensar que não é o tipo de livro que os livros, digo, leitores europeus possam apreciar. Pois será que a Gallimard vai distribuir para os países de África onde há populações francófonas?[453]

Luandino Vieira, here, expresses an explicit wish that his texts circulate throughout 'os países de África' in translation. His anxiety over the misapprehension of 'leitores europeus' suggests, with respect to the international dissemination of his writing, a privileging of an African, rather than a European, readership. This privileging appears satisfied by the *African Writers Series*' professed agenda with respect to the African market: to provide textbooks for educational institutions in anglophone Africa as well as for bourgeoning postcolonial departments in Britain and the United States. However, analysis of the English translations of *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier* and *Luuanda* attests to the fact that reception in 'os países de África' was not consistently prioritised. Michael Wolfers, in attempting to reposition the source text's linguistic politics in terms intelligible to a specifically British readership, introduces tensions between purported internationalism and cultural specificity. Tamara Bender and Donna Hill, in a different way, employ extensive explanatory paratexts in order to aid the comprehension of what Bender—in a letter to James Currey, dated 27 May 1976—calls 'the English reader'.[454] The ambiguity of address—'English' here denoting either 'the English-national reader' or 'the English-language reader'—once more suggests a slight inconsistency with respect to the *AWS*'s stated aims. Yet, what these inconsistencies reveal is the difficulties inherent to the translation of multilingual texts. Indeed, the issues faced by translators of José Luandino Viera's work serve to accentuate both the complexity and the importance of interactions between linguistic and social communities in his writing. Consequently, the next chapter will continue the analysis of translators' relationships with these interactions with respect to the French and English editions of *Nós, os do*

[453] 04311.006.005, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, fol. 1–2.
[454] Tamara Bender to James Currey, 27 May 1976, HEB 12/07, fol. 2.

Makulusu (1967), *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* (1968), *No Antigamente, na Vida* (1969–1971).

Chapter 4 —
An Indispensable Collaboration: Michel Laban's Translations of José Luandino Vieira

'Dernier point,' concludes Michel Laban, in a letter to José Luandino Vieira dated 25 May 1987,

> comme je te le disais dans ma dernière lettre, j'ai signé un contrat de traduction avec Gallimard pour Nós[, os do Makulusu]. Je dois finir la traduction avant le 1er juin 1988. J'ai donc le temps. J'ai déjà commencé et t'enverrai le premier chapitre dès qu'il sera prêt. Ta collaboration sera indispensable.[455]

That Laban felt Luandino Vieira's collaboration to be, indeed, 'indispensable' is attested to by the archives held at the Fundação Mário Soares, which contain over thirty years of correspondence between the Angolan writer and a scholar and translator of his work, as well as a trusted friend. The correspondence ranges from drafts of letters to Luandino Vieira—which he never answered—to letters in which the author apologises for his characteristic unresponsiveness; from postcards and a note of congratulations on Laban's newly-born son, to Luandino Vieira's reflections on his inability to write after a twenty-year hiatus; from a photocopy of a handwritten manuscript of *Nós, os do Makulusu*, to drafts of Luandino Vieira's most recently-published works, which Laban offered extensive commentary on. These documents not only attest to the compositional process behind the three French translations of José Luandino Vieira published by Éditions Gallimard in the 1980s and 1990s, but also together constitute a testament to the friendship that developed between a writer and his translator. Luandino Vieira's collaboration was, indeed, 'indispensable' to what came to be *Autrefois, dans la vie* (1981), *Nous autres, de Makulusu* (1989), and *João Vêncio: ses amours* (1998): the three translations were, perhaps more than any other, a product of the collaborative nature of their relationship.

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[455] Letter from Michel Laban to José Luandino Vieira, 25 May 1987, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10319.022, fol. 4.

Born in Algeria in the mid-1940s, Michel Laban was a prolific translator of the literatures of Portuguese-speaking Africa. While primarily known for his translations of José Luandino Vieira, Laban was also responsible for introducing numerous African writers to French readers, such as the Angolans Arnaldo Santos, Manuel Rui, and Pepetela, the Cape Verdean Baltasar Lopes, and the Mozambican Luís Bernardo Honwana. Laban was, moreover, a prolific scholar of Portuguese-speaking Africa and of Luandino Vieira's work in particular.[456] He is widely recognised for his unparalleled contributions to the field, which include the four instalments of *Encontro com Escritores*, comprising interviews with writers from Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe—'possivelmente, as melhores entrevistas até hoje realizadas aos escritores africanos de língua portuguesa'.[457] Indeed, his contributions have continued beyond his death. In the late 1970s, he began compiling an exhaustive compendium of *vocábulos* featured in the works of Luandino Vieira, which would comprise over a thousand entries. Laban spent the next three decades corresponding with Angolan and Mozambican writers to develop inventories of the 'particularidades' of Portuguese as employed in the literatures of these two countries. Part of this work has recently been published, having been completed by his wife Maria José Laban, alongside Maria Helena de Araújo Carreira, as a *Dicionário de Particularidades Lexicais e Morfossintácticas da Expressão Literária em Português: Moçambique* (2018).

The beginning of the thirty-year correspondence between Michel Laban and Luandino Vieira can be traced back to 1976, when Laban was enrolled at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, working towards a 'thèse de troisième cycle' defended in 1979 under the title 'L'oeuvre littéraire de Luandino Vieira'—the first full-length study of the work of the

[456] Due to Michel Laban's position as a Professor at Université de Paris III and his significant contributions to research into the literatures of Portuguese-speaking Africa, we may regard his translations as an extension of his academic work.
[457] Nazir Ahmed Can, *O Campo Literário Moçambicano: Tradução do Espaço e Formas de Insílio* (São Paulo: Kapulana, 2020), n.p.

Angolan writer. In a draft of the first letter that Laban sent to Luandino Vieira—his nervousness made evident by the sheer number of emendations—we see foreshadowed the function the author would come to exercise in the translation of his works into French:

> No mês de Dezembro passado, matriculei-me na universidade de ~~Paris~~ Sorbonne Nouvelle para uma "tese de terceiro ciclo" sobre o tema geral e provisório de: "A literatura africana de expressão portuguesa". Desta maneira queria promover o conhecimento ~~na França~~, modesto até agora na França, ~~da literatura~~ dos problemas das antigas colónias portuguesas.
>
> Foi assim que, interessando-me particularmente na literatura angolana, descobri a sua obra. Há só quinze dias que acabei de ler o último livro. O encontro foi tão interessante que ~~já~~ não hesitei em escolher a sua obra como centro da ~~meu estudo~~ minha tese. ~~Falei com Alfonso Margarido (que é o meu director de estudos, com o Professor Paul Teyssier) do meu projecto~~ O Professor Alfredo Margarido—que é o meu director de estudos, com o Professor Paul Teyssier—aceitou com muito gosto o ~~[?]~~ projecto e aconselhou-me que lhe escrevesse. [...]
>
> Por enquanto ~~vejo duas direcções de~~ penso estudar a sua obra desde dois pontos de vista: ~~analisar, duma parte, analisar a língua e doutra,~~ analisar, duma parte, a língua e, doutra, ~~[?]~~ a relação entre oprimidos e opressores. ~~O primeiro~~ O ~~estudo dos~~ inventário dos regionalismos (vocabulário e construções) vai ocupar-me ~~du~~, imagino, durante muito tempo e me parece indispensável a qualquer outro estudo. A sua ajuda seria extremamente preciosa para este trabalho.[458]

What Laban here refers to as Luandino Vieira's 'ajuda [...] extremamente preciosa' would, by 1977, begin to assume an increasingly collaborative character. From 1977 to 1978, while in Angola, Laban conducted a landmark series of five interviews with Luandino Vieira, which formed an appendix to his doctoral thesis and were later published by Edições 70 in the volume *Luandino: José Luandino Vieira (Estudos, Testemunhos, Entrevistas)*, edited by Laban and published in 1980. From 1978 to 1979, Laban worked alongside Luandino Vieira on what was titled 'Problemas de Língua na Obra de Luandino Vieira'—a project that sought to compile an 'inventário dos regionalismos (vocabulário e construções)' used across the Angolan writer's *oeuvre*, 'indispensável a qualquer outro estudo'. A back-and-forth movement characterised this exchange—Laban sent Luandino Vieira lists of queries, and received, in turn, lists of explications. This gave rise to nearly five hundred pages of words and their definitions, with labels indicating their origin in either 'Português de Portugal', 'Português de

[458] Draft of Letter from Michel Laban to José Luandino Vieira, n/d, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10332.007, fol. 1.

Luanda', or 'Língua Nacional' (that is, one of Angola's indigenous languages), and whether or not they were Luandino Vieira's own 'recriações'.

The same back-and-forth movement came to characterise the process behind the translations of Luandino Vieira's works into French. Begun in 1979, the translation of *No Antigamente, na Vida* set the tone for the collaborative work that followed. From 1979 to 1980, Michel Laban sent Luandino Vieira a total of 269 questions concerning the three short stories that comprise the collection. These questions included requests for clarifications and disambiguations—with regards to both plot and language—as well as for Luandino Vieira's own opinions as to Laban's choice of French equivalents. In a similar manner, the translations of *Nós, os do Makulusu* and *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, begun in 1987 and 1992 respectively, emerged from the correspondence between the author and his translator. Drafts of translated chapters of what was to be *Nous autres, de Makulusu* were sent to Luandino Vieira for his approval and returned with the author's comments, handwritten on the margins. A separate inventory of *vocábulos* taken from *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*—not accounted for in 'Problemas de Língua'—was compiled through letters exchanged over the course of nineteen months. Indeed, in a letter dated 26 October 1993, Luandino Vieira would sarcastically remark: 'E permaneço sempre ao despor [*sic*] para mais 300 perguntas s/ a linguagem do Juvêncio. Mais não!'[459]

The collaborative nature of Luandino Vieira's relationship with his translators has been registered elsewhere. As noted in Chapter 3, Michael Wolfers was in close contact with Luandino Vieira when they both worked at the Rádio Nacional de Angola in Luanda; Tamara Bender was also in contact with Luandino Vieira—attested to by their correspondence—to whom she sent drafts of her translations. The collaborative nature of these relationships also

[459] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 26 October 1993, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10319.022, fol. 1v.

becomes evident in translators' prefaces to a number of other published translations of Luandino Vieira's work, as well as in essays written by his translators. Confirming Luandino Vieira's active participation in the process of translating his own works, Dorota Woicka, the Polish translator of *Luuanda*, recounts that

> no momento em que Luandino concordou que eu traduzisse o livro [...] não sabia quão longo ia ser o caminho à nossa frente. Digo nossa, porque durante todo o processo contei com imensa ajuda do autor, que foi indispensável para o esclarecimento de todas as referências culturais e linguísticas que me eram desconhecidas. Não existe maneira de agradecer as largas horas que Luandino passou a trabalhar comigo na sede da Porta XIII, lugar mágico onde entrava com imensas dúvidas e de onde saia com o caderno cheio de explicações e desenhos, assim como os e-mails e mensagens, através dos quais passámos a comunicar quando me mudei de Cerveira para o Porto. A colaboração desenvolvida com o autor influiu, sem dúvida, no resultado final da tradução.[460]

However, nowhere is this collaborative spirit more manifest than in Luandino Vieira's relationship with Michel Laban. Indeed, their relationship must be understood through what Anthony Cordingley and Céline Frigau Manning term a 'relational paradigm' of translational activity.[461] Through this paradigm, they argue, 'the translator is no longer [considered] a fixed intermediary between traditional binaries of source text/culture and target text/culture'.[462] Instead, 'he or she is now [figured as] an active node in an evolving and dynamic web'.[463] In the case of Luandino Vieira and his relationship with Laban, this 'relational paradigm' is particularly suggestive: not only does this 'paradigm' allow us to view the Angolan writer as 'an active node in an evolving and dynamic web' of his own work, but the word 'relational' itself foregrounds the ways in which the three translations analysed in this chapter are underpinned by a specific relationship between an author and his translator.

[460] Dorota Woicka, 'Da Língua Luuandina a uma Língua Eslava: O Desafio de uma Tradução', in *De Luuanda a Luandino: Veredas*, pp. 85–92 (p. 86).
[461] Anthony Cordingley and Céline Frigau Manning, 'What Is Collaborative Translation?', *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age*, eds. Anthony Cordingley and Céline Frigau Manning (London and New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 1–30 (p. 4).
[462] Cordingley and Manning, 'What Is Collaborative Translation?', p. 4.
[463] Cordingley and Manning, 'What Is Collaborative Translation?', p. 4.

In this chapter, therefore, I propose to discuss the translation strategies at work in Michel Laban's French translations of Luandino Vieira, namely *Autrefois, dans la vie* (1981), *Nous autres, de Makulusu* (1989), and *João Vêncio: ses amours* (1998), in light of what Patrick Hersant calls 'text[s] forged by a back-and-forth exchange as amicable as it is demanding'—that is, texts constructed through the practices and processes of collaborative translation.[464] I will conduct this assessment through a comparison between source and target texts, as well as through a comparison between target texts themselves. This assessment will, moreover, reframe Michel Laban's translations of Luandino Vieira as collaborative translations. As a scholar of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*, Laban sets himself apart from other translators (such as Michael Wolfers and Tamara Bender, discussed in Chapter 3, who also collaborated with the Angolan writer, though to a lesser extent) in his increased attention to the interanimation between the aesthetic and the ethical in the composition of the Angolan writer's 'linguagem luandina'. Indeed, I argue that his long-standing interest in this 'linguagem luandina', and his efforts to produce a (similarly collaborative) inventory of *vocábulos* featured in Luandino Vieira's work, has a profound influence on his translations—translations characterised not only by the 'back-and-forth exchange' Hersant describes, but also by the 'back-and-forth' movement across and between languages that is central to the author's literary project.[465]

'bilíngues começávamos a querer ser': Becoming Bilingual in *Nós, os do Makulusu*

In a letter dated 25 May 1981, after several years of correspondence about the French scholar's doctoral research, Luandino Vieira proposed that Michel Laban 'traduzisse *pour le*

[464] Patrick Hersant, 'Author-Translator Collaborations: A Typological Survey', *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age*, eds. Anthony Cordingley and Céline Frigau Manning (London and New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 91–110 (p. 96).
[465] Patrick Hersant, 'Author-Translator Collaborations: A Typological Survey', *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age*, eds. Anthony Cordingley and Céline Frigau Manning (London and New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 91–110 (p. 96).

plaisir o *Makulusu*'.[466] As if anticipating the difficulties that this task would inevitably pose, Luandino Vieira is quick to reassure him: 'Ajudarei. Diz algo.'[467] However, it is only in 1987 that Michel Laban begins translating *Nós, os do Makulusu*, Luandino Vieira's second novella. From the translation's early stages, this proved difficult. In the letter cited at the beginning of this chapter, dated 25 May 1987, Laban enthusiastically reminds Luandino Vieira that, because of the text's difficulty, the author's collaboration will be indispensable to his translation, as if taking the Angolan writer up on his offer, made six years earlier. Luandino Vieira's response mixed encouragement with playful evasion: 'Que te posso dizer? Confio em absoluto na tua tradução.'[468] Despite the author's reticence, however, and in a manner that is characteristic of their partnership, numerous letters concerning Laban's work were exchanged between 1987 and 1989, when *Nous autres de Makulusu* was published by Éditions Gallimard. These letters included a number of Laban's questions—352 in total—concerning details of plot and language. More specifically, the 'back-and-forth' collaborative movement underpinning Laban's French translation of *Nós, os do Makulusu* itself centred upon the challenges posed by the text's own accentuation of a 'back-and-forth' movement—of oscillation, interanimation, and overlap—between Portuguese and Kimbundu.

Set in 1960s Angola during the outbreak of the armed struggle for independence, the novella is told through the perspective of Mais-Velho—a Portuguese-born man, who, like Luandino Vieira, moved to Angola with his family at an early age. The plot revolves around the narrator's memories triggered by the death of his younger brother Maninho, killed fighting for Portugal's colonial army against Angolan nationalists. The narrator's memories often focus

[466] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 25 May 1981, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10332.003, fol. 2.
[467] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 25 May 1981, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10332.003, fol. 2.
[468] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 25 May 1987, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10318.005.007, fol. 3.

on a particular group of boys from the neighbourhood of Makulusu, consisting of the brothers Mais-Velho and Maninho, as well as their half-brother Paizinho—the product of their father's extramarital affair with an Angolan woman—and their friend Kibiaka. In a manner that is characteristic of Luandino Vieira's *estórias*, childhood is represented as separate from an adult world characterised by strong racial divisions. In defiance of the adult world around them, the children—white (Mais-Velho and Maninho), mixed-race (Paizinho), and black (Kibiaka)—are close friends.

Throughout the novella, we follow the back-and-forth movement of the narrator's memories, as he adapts (or struggles to adapt) to Angola, witnessing in particular the changes wrought in his language by years of 'aquimbundamento'.[469] These processes of assimilation and change are consistently and self-consciously among the novella's principal concerns. They foreground a network of tensions between different versions of foreignness and familiarity that is profitably considered in light of what the French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari term 'becoming-other'. Involving, in François Zourabichvili's words, 'the encounter or the relation of two heterogeneous terms that mutually "deterritorialize" each other', becoming-other implies relations in which '[w]e do not abandon what we are to become something else (imitation, identification), but another way of living and sensing haunts or is enveloped within our own'.[470] As this section will show, both Mais-Velho's subjective experience and his narrative voice are characterised by this haunting of 'something else', both linguistic and cultural. More than this, however, Luandino Vieira's text demonstrates what are, for Emmanuel Levinas, the ethical implications (and prefigurative potential) of any

[469] José Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 2008), p. 68.
[470] François Zourabichvili, *Deleuze: A Philosophy of the Event together with The Vocabulary of Deleuze*, ed. by Gregg Lambert and Daniel W. Smith, trans. by Kieran Aarons (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 149.

'movement towards Others'.[471] The processes of deterritorialization represented in the novella nearly always indicate the ways in which Luandino Vieira's aesthetic project overlaps with a clear ethical interest in the potential futures of Angolan sociality. In this sense, Luandino Vieira's work resembles what Richard A. Cohen calls 'the superlative moral priority of the other person' within Levinas's philosophy, with the one caveat that any prioritisation of 'the other person' involves, for the Angolan writer, a simultaneous prioritisation of the other's language.[472]

As if to underline the importance of this process, the word 'bilíngues' itself appears in a number of thematically important phrases—some of which are repeated—throughout the novella. For instance, across the first half of the novella, Mais-Velho remarks: 'bilíngues quase que somos', 'bilíngues quase que a gente eramos', and 'bilíngues começávamos a querer ser'.[473] Most often used to indicate a potential state rather than a static attribute (here the characters are almost bilingual, or only now *beginning* to want to be bilingual), bilingualism tends throughout the novella to draw attention to a gradation or space between Portuguese and Kimbundu. While the concept of bilingualism implies that languages are enumerable, suggesting that a speaker might move between two separate languages conceived as countable entities, Luandino Vieira's novella continually stresses the ways in which, during this process of becoming bilingual, what appear to be separate languages might themselves prove difficult to keep separate.

This thematic interest in the process of becoming bilingual, and the process of becoming-other, is registered stylistically in the novella, and it is this stylistic registration that Michel Laban appears to have been particularly sensitive to in his correspondence with the

[471] Emmanuel Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*, trans. by Nidra Poller (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 29.
[472] Richard A. Cohen, 'Introduction', in Levinas, *Humanism of the Other*, pp. vii–xliv (p. xxvi).
[473] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, pp. 46–47.

Angolan writer. In his first questionnaire on *Nós, os do Makulusu*, Laban poses, among questions concerning vocabulary, grammar, and plot, a general problem:

> Um problema geral: utilizas 2 códigos (pelo menos)—port[uguês] de Port[ugal], kimbundu—e eu nao posso acompanhar-te… A minha 'solução': considero que o leitor de Luanda entende os 2 códigos e, portanto, traduzo em fr[ancês] 'normal'... Só que perco o sabor de cada um dos códigos, quando se juntam. Tentei recuperar um pouco o efeito (existência de uma língua africana) deixando palavras como 'funje', 'muamba' ou 'sânjicas quijilas' – com notas em fim de livro (para nao perturbar a leitura). Também tento, cada vez que possível, reflectir as construções que se afastam da norma de Lisboa: aqui, na l. 29, 'sorri sua coragem' = 'elle sourit son courage' (TRAD 4 (8)) Mas este tipo de trad[ução] não me satisfaz realmente, na medida em que, para um francês, é uma construção incorrecta (tanto na norma culta como na norma mais popular). Nesta medida, este tipo de trad[ução] reproduz o ponto de vista (linguístico) da metrópole… Por conseguinte, em certa medida, e um contra senso…
>
> Ah, as angústias do tradutor…. Lembras-te ainda da *Laranja mecânica*?[474]

Here, Laban notes, in a manner similar to Michael Wolfers and Tamara Bender, the thematic and stylistic centrality of the relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu to Luandino Vieira's writing. However, beyond Wolfers and Bender, Laban remains particularly sensitive to moments in which both languages 'se juntam'. For Laban, 'as angústias do tradutor' are the direct result of the novella's foregrounding of the interrelation, interanimation, and overlap, between linguistic communities which seem to be, in many respects, antagonistic. The letter suggests Laban's translation is forced to negotiate the text's complex and equivocal back-and-forth movement between 'o ponto de vista (linguístico) da metrópole' and the 'existência de uma língua africana'—a movement which is one of the main themes of *Nós, os do Makulusu*.

One of the novella's most emblematic scenes, in which the boys from Makulusu seal a pact of friendship at the cavern of Makokaloji is a prime example of this:

> Vento por cima das cabeças, pemba nas mãos, amassada no sangue, olhos brancos de flores de mupinheira, vermelhos olhos e bagas de cassuneira a olharem e nossos pulsos todos colados uns nos outros e as vozes vem eu oiço olho o espelho dos quatro olhos que me olham e me olharam lá também:
>
> — Juro sangue-cristo, hóstia consagrada, coco de cabrito, não trair nada!
>
> Paizinho, sacerdote mulato:
>
> — Nossa amizade, traição nada!
>
> Kibiaka procurador de maquixes e quinzares, tradutor:

[474] Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10318.005.006, fol. 1.

> — *Ukamba uakamba…*
>
> Bilíngues quase que a gente éramos, o terceiro canto do juramento, a palavra, como era então? [...] Como era então, xíbia?! *Ukamba uakamba… Ukamba*: amizade, qualidade ou estado de amizade, como assim se diz estar em acção de graça, mesmo: estar em acção de amigo; *uakamba*: que falta, não tem—(*uakamb'o sonhi, uakamb'o sonhi, kangundu ka tuji*—me xinga a puta Balabina na hora de espiar-lhe nas pernas vermelhas de coçar sarna); e o resto como e então?[475]

Here, the boys' ritualistic confirmation of their 'amizade' prominently features translation back and forth between Portuguese and Kimbundu. The Portuguese utterance, 'Nossa amizade, traição nada!', is rendered by the 'tradutor' Kibiaka as the half-forgotten '*Ukamba uakamba...*'.[476] This is subsequently retranslated back into Portuguese by Mais-Velho in his attempts to remember the full phrase. The movement between both languages might seem congruent with the novella's presentation of a childhood characterised by racial harmony. According to Júlio César Machado de Paula, 'o pacto firmado pelos do Makulusu no Makokaloji reafirma-se como um momento de eliminação das diferenças, uma vez que foi sagrado tanto em português quanto em quimbundo'.[477] However, as we have seen, it is the adverb 'quase' of '[b]ilíngues quase que a gente éramos' that best defines the children's relationship with both languages.[478] Rather than 'um momento de eliminação das diferenças', the children's pact constitutes a moment in which a translational process of becoming-other blurs, without yet properly eliminating, the line separating 'o ponto de vista (linguístico) da metrópole' and the 'existência de uma língua africana'.[479]

Throughout the novella, the relationship between these linguistic 'points of view' often serves a metonymic function. Parallelisms, processes of translation and becoming-other, and the various interanimations between Portuguese and Kimbundu reflect a thematic interest in

[475] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 46.
[476] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 46.
[477] Júlio César Machado de Paula, 'Luandino Vieira e as Encruzilhadas do *Makulusu*', *Nau Literária: Crítica e Teoria de Literaturas* 7:1 (2011), 1–16 (p. 11).
[478] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 46.
[479] Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10318.005.006, fol. 1.

the uneven and evolving relationship between Portugal and Angola, the Portuguese and the Angolans, as well as between different ethnic and economic communities. On a general level, the novella regularly mobilises moments of ambiguity, with the intention of foregrounding, both thematically and linguistically, ideas of 'becoming-other'. Throughout *Nós, os do Makulusu*, words are often pulled in different directions by an uncertain syntax, and the reader's inability to pin down the resulting semantic possibilities serves to supplement the text's presentation of characters for whom processes of becoming-other are increasingly important. For instance, at one moment the narrator suggests: 'Quarenta e quatro anos cansam a gente passa a suportar o mesmo todos os dias [e] tem pessoas que só merecem uma resposta: um cafife'.[480] The overlapping syntax puts 'a gente' in the position of both subject and object. The process of becoming-other—characterised, according to Zourabichvili, by a 'zone of indiscernibility where points of view exchange places and pass into one another'—finds its stylistic correlative in such moments of ambiguity.[481] In the example above, the words 'a gente' can be regarded as a 'zone of indiscernibility', the lack of punctuation an obstacle to our ability, as readers, to distinguish between the two clauses—indeed, in Deleuze and Guattari's own words, '[o]ne does not know "where something ends, where something else begins"'.[482] Similarly, though with more thematic significance, the narrator—after a description of the children's experience at school—relates that 'aqui andávamos nós, os do Makulusu: Paizinho e eu, Kibiaka'.[483] Just as, in the previous example, 'a gente' reads in two different ways, here the equivocation of 'eu, Kibiaka' momentarily blurs the distinction between Mais-Velho and Kibiaka: 'eu, Kibiaka' at once suggesting 'me, that is, Kibiaka' and Kibiaka as the addressee of Mais-Velho's speech. Here, ambiguity serves to emphasise the

[480] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, pp. 42–43.
[481] Zourabichvili, *Deleuze*, p. 120.
[482] Zourabichvili, *Deleuze*, p. 120.
[483] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 69.

process of becoming-other that characterises Mais-Velho's relationship with Angola; his description is haunted by the latent suggestion of a 'becoming-Kibiaka'.

Suggestions like this one are frequent throughout *Nós, os do Makulusu*. In one particularly poignant scene, the memory of the death of a black Angolan man on the street on which Mais-Velho lives prompts him to establish a parallel between the sadness of the mother of the murdered man and his own mother's mourning of Maninho. While the former screams in Kimbundu, '*mon'ami, mon'ami! A-mu-jibila ne!*', Mais-Velho's mother exclaims, 'Meu filho! Meu filho'.[484] As the images of two mothers—one Angolan, lamenting the murder of her black son at the hands of 'serralheiro Brito', and one Portuguese, lamenting the death of her white son in combat—are shown in parallel, their translations of each other's pained words blur into one: 'este o grito só que oiço ou é grito de milhões de gritos iguais?', asks Mais-Velho.[485]

These hauntings continue to have interesting effects in translation. Throughout the novella, as we have seen, the process of becoming bilingual regularly stresses movement between Portuguese and Kimbundu—a movement which often features interrelation, interanimation, and overlap. In Laban's translation, this movement is often maintained, though the dynamic between Portuguese and Kimbundu is replaced by that between Kimbundu and French. In this fortuitous circumstance, however, a similar blurring of the distinction between and separation of the European and African languages occurs. The sentence in Kimbundu—'*mon'ami, mon'ami! A-mu-jibila ne!*'—is kept in Laban's translation, in accordance with the strategy noted in their correspondence.[486] However, the phrase 'mon'ami', which in Kimbundu is a contraction of the words 'mona wami' (that is, 'my child' or 'my son'),

[484] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 64, p. 67.
[485] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 66.
[486] José Luandino Vieira, *Nous autres de Makulusu*, trans. by Michel Laban (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1989), p. 63, p. 65.

immediately scans for a French readership as 'mon ami', as in 'my friend'. There is a strange suggestion of French in the Kimbundu, a sense of both French and Kimbundu becoming-other that parallels the various becomings-other experienced by the boys from Makulusu.

Both the Portuguese and the Kimbundu versions of the pact uttered by the boys recurs throughout the narrative in significant moments. Remembering his sister Izabel, who lives in Portugal and represents all of what is characteristically Portuguese, Mais-Velho notes, with the usual bitterness:

> Me apetece xingar-lhe de quitata-de-merda mas a mãe esta olhar para mim e calo a boca. E agora já não sei como é e isso dói mais que tudo o que ela me escrevia e eu nunca lhe respondi nem autorizava a mãe a por la: beijos do teu irmão Mais-Velho.
> — *Ukamba uakamba… ukamba uakamba…*[487]

Much like in the previous case, here we see yet another instance of a blurring of distinctions, and interplay, between what is Portuguese and what is Angolan. While the words 'mais' and 'velho' are both clearly from the Portuguese language, the introduction of the hyphen in 'Mais-Velho' roots the noun in Angola, where the concept of 'mais-velhos', or 'elders', is a structurally important aspect of social organization. Consequently, the expression 'irmão Mais-Velho' pulls, simultaneously, in two directions: one, aurally, towards Portugal (as in 'irmão mais velho', a denomination familiar to Portuguese readers); the other, graphically, towards Angola. This type of ambiguity is frequent in the novella. Indeed, whether in the work's own temporal shifts, in the subtle shifts of narrative voice and narrative address, or at the level of syntax and lexicon, ambiguity embodies the dual political, linguistic, and cultural presence of Portuguese and Kimbundu within the novella. Recalling Zourabichvili's phrase, 'another way of living and sensing' is often seen to 'haunt' both Portuguese characters and the Portuguese language, Mais-Velho here shadowed by an evocation of Angolan sociality.[488]

[487] Luandino Vieira, *Nós, os do Makulusu*, p. 47.
[488] Zourabichvili, *Deleuze*, p. 149.

This sense of haunting appears to have made an impression on early readers of Laban's translation. In a review published following the launch of *Nous autres de Makulusu* in *La Quinzaine Littéraire*, on 1 March 1989, our attention is drawn to the ways in which Luandino Vieira's use of language, even in French translation, remains characterised by a particular relationship between what is European and African: 'La langue, enfin, est profondément imprégnée de son environnement africain.'[489] This 'impregnation' is the result, the reviewer maintains, of the novella's presentation of 'métissage culturel', an 'interbreeding' that reflects the text's thematic and linguistic investment in equivocation and mixture: the 'environnement africain' haunts the novella's Portuguese characters to the extent that they become increasingly indiscernible from it.[490]

However, in addition to the text's distinctive linguistic mixture, the ethical implications of Luandino Vieira's language use represent an important part of Laban's translation. In another review, entitled 'Fraternité fratricide', published in the same month in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, the writer notes:

> Voici, dira-t-on, une publication française anachronique: ce roman écrit en 1967, paru en 1974, relate un épisode mineur de l'histoire angolaise datant de 1963. Au lendemain du double accord signé par l'Angola, notamment avec l'agresseur sud-africain, à quoi bon revenir au colonialisme portugais?[491]

However, this question is left unanswered. Despite the second reviewer appearing to remain unconvinced, Laban appears to have striven to maintain, in French, Luandino Vieira's provocative treatment of European language. Even Laban's title, *Nous autres de Makulusu*, places in proximity both the first-person plural pronoun and a suggestion of otherness: 'Us others' haunted by the possibility of 'Us othered'. Throughout this thesis, we have seen how

[489] Jacques Fressard, 'La difficile émergence d'une nation', *La Quinzaine Littéraire* 527 (1 March 1989) in Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo Michel Laban, 10318.003.002, fol. 1.
[490] Jacques Fressard, 'La difficile émergence d'une nation', *La Quinzaine Littéraire* 527 (1 March 1989) in Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo Michel Laban, 10318.003.002, fol. 1.
[491] Jean-Pierre Richard, 'Dans l'Angola colonisé: Fraternité fratricide', *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 1989) in Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo Michel Laban, 10318.003.006, fol. 1.

Luandino Vieira regularly employs relexification for aesthetico-political purposes in his works, and in Laban's translation of *Nós, os do Makulusu*, the French translator also begins employing such strategies—a tendency which would only increase in his 1998 translation of *João Vencio: Os Seus Amores*. Words like 'caxexe'—itself a relexified word whose origin lies in the Kimbundu 'kaxexe', denoting a bird of celestial blue plumage—are relexified in Laban's translation. José Luandino Vieira's 'caxexe' becomes Michel Laban's 'cachèche'.[492] Here, the letter 'x' is replaced by the more common pairing 'ch', and the French grave accent is placed on the first 'e'.

In keeping with the novella's tendency to foreground a 'zone of indiscernibility' between European and African languages and cultures, Laban's translation provokes its French readership to consider whether *Nous autres de Makulusu* is simply a book about Portuguese colonialism, or a book about colonial experience that might speak, directly and indirectly, to the fraught relationship between France and its colonies.[493] Despite the confidence of *Le Monde Diplomatique*'s reviewer that the French translation of *Nós, os do Makulusu* in 1989 is 'anachronique'—asking 'à quoi bon revenir au colonialisme portugais?'—Laban's ability to translate Luandino Vieira's aesthetic, political, and, finally, ethical uses of ambiguity, the 'becoming-French' of the Angolan writer's novella, forces a consideration of the areas of indiscernibility, overlap, and interanimation between French and Portuguese contexts.[494] In seeking to recreate the equivocal and ambiguous exchanges of Luandino Vieira's novella, Laban's translation evidences a sensitivity not only to the aesthetic, but also to the political and ethical responsibility involved in the process of translating multilingualism.

[492] Luandino Vieira, *Nous autres de Makulusu*, p. 147.
[493] Zourabichvili, *Deleuze*, p. 120.
[494] Richard, 'Dans l'Angola colonisé: Fraternité fratricide', in Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo Michel Laban, 10318.003.006, fol. 1.

‘as mil cores de gente, mil vozes’: Heterolingualism in *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*

If *Nós, os do Makulusu* takes bilingualism as its primary linguistic concern, the novella that followed, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* (written between 27 June and 1 July 1968, though first published in 1979), shifts attention away from the ‘dupla origem—o português e o kimbundu’ discussed above towards the broader terrain of multilingualism—or, more precisely, that of heterolingualism.[495] However, this shift remains relatively understudied. Indeed, the 1960s witnessed an increasing interest on Luandino Vieira’s part in representing the more complex linguistic landscape of Luanda’s *musseques*. As early as 1963, he had already expressed an awareness that his work should concern itself more explicitly with the diversity of those spaces. In a diary entry dated 1 February 1963, when he was incarcerated in the Pavilhão Prisional da PIDE in Luanda, he writes:

> Estive quase toda a manhã pensando numa novela que me foi sugerida por um poema de Langston Hughes… Fico a pensar que, em vez de ter tantas ideias, o que devia fazer era mas é escrever as histórias, mesmo que não fizesse mais nada. Assim, guardo para quando estiver de novo na vida calma e verdadeira com a L. Penso que só com ela poderei realmente avançar, ultrapassar o estilo e os assuntos (preciso de começar a mostrar na lit[eratura] que não há só problemas dum grupo étnico nacional, preciso de começar a pôr outros problemas, outros grupos, outras classes em presença e choque como sucede na realidade… Preciso de ampliar em superfície e profundidade os meus temas.[496]

Though expressed in 1963, it is only in 1968, with the writing of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, that this preoccupation begins to be actualised in Luandino Vieira’s work. The novella consists of the monologue of the eponymous character João Vêncio—arrested for ‘[t]entativa premeditada de homícidio frustrado’—who narrates the story of his ‘três amores’ to an unnamed interlocutor. [497] A reflection of the prisons discussed in Chapter 1, the novella features a cast of characters hailing from multiple Angolan provinces, as well as from multiple regions of the Portuguese Empire (including both the metropole and colonies such as Cape

[495] Stern, ‘A Novelística de Luandino Vieira’, p. 194.
[496] ‘01–02–63’, in *Papéis da Prisão*, p. 125.
[497] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 35.

Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe). It also features their voices, woven into the fabric of João Vêncio's narrative. However, the aim to put forward 'outros problemas, outros grupos, outras classes em presença e choque como sucede na realidade' did not require that Luandino Vieira abandon his privileged site of aesthetic and political investment: the *musseque*.

As Patrick Chabal notes, 'the musseques are an urban milieu, an area of great social, cultural and linguistic mix far removed from the African village setting which is such an essential part of much of African literature'.[498] These spaces, he adds, are 'modern and, in [their] own way[s], cosmopolitan environment[s]'.[499] Marissa Moorman, in her study of Angola's musical culture, similarly foregrounds the cosmopolitan character of Luanda's *musseques*—'a place where various generations, classes, ethnic groups, races, and genders met and imagined a new world for themselves in the practices of everyday life'.[500] Yet, while for Moorman this cosmopolitanism is primarily rooted in the 'incorporati[on of] modes of articulation and ideas considered to be European' into artistic practices perceived as African, what Luandino Vieira seems to be interested in is the extent to which the composition of Luanda's *musseques* also gestures towards what I have described as a 'cosmopolitanism from below' (see Chapter 1).[501] Nearly thirty years later, Costa Andrade neatly encapsulates this particular kind of cosmopolitanism in the verses

> Luanda é a cidade
> que não sabe se é cidade
> se é país.
> Tanto país se encontra nela
> tanta cidade compõe este país
> tão país e tão cidade
> Luanda mulher criança velha
> homem que por ela morre e vive
> do Mucusso às alturas do Belize'.[502]

[498] Patrick Chabal, 'Aspects of Angolan Literature: Luandino Vieira and Agostinho Neto', *African Languages and Cultures* 8:1 (1995), 19–42 (p. 24).
[499] Chabal, 'Aspects of Angolan Literature', p. 24.
[500] Moorman, *Intonations*, p. 55.
[501] Moorman, *Intonations*, p. 18.
[502] Fernando Costa Andrade, *Luanda: Poemas em Movimento Marítimo* (Luanda: Executive Center, 1997), n.p.

Here, the ludic, quasi-chiasmic lines 'Tanto país se encontra nela/ tanta cidade compõe este país' function as a reference to the constitutive heterogeneity of the Angolan capital.[503]

The diverse composition of Luanda's *musseques* at last finds a parallel in the unnamed *musseque* of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*. 'Porque no nosso musseque tinha assim esses cangundos e brancos-de-famorosa; tinha mulatos-sem-santo, sungaribengos e 'verdianos até,' tells us João Vêncio, himself not born in Luanda.[504] 'Só um orgulho: eu não sou camundongo calcinhas, de Luanda. [...] Sim, ambaquista, mukua-Ngulungu,' he describes himself deliberately in Kimbundu, further highlighting his origins in Golungo Alto, a municipality of Kwanza Norte.[505] João Vêncio later explains: 'Meu pai me trouxe dos matos golungos nesta

[503] The work of Ilídio do Amaral is helpful in illustrating this heterogeneity. According to do Amaral, the population of the Angolan capital doubled between 1930 and 1970. This increase, he states, 'deveu-se, em particular, ao fluxo de imigrantes, não só do exterior, nomeadamente do que era então a Metrópole, mas sobretudo do mundo rural angolano, atraídos pelo sortilégio da expansão das actividades urbanas'. [Ilídio do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques": Problemas de Geografia Urbana', *Finisterra* 18:36 (1983), 293–325 (p. 296). Cf. Ilídio do Amaral, *Luanda: Estudo de Geografia Urbana* (Lisbon: Memórias da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1968).] Indeed, the white population of Luanda saw a ninefold increase from 6,008 in 1930 to 55,567 in 1960 (ultimately reaching 124,400 in 1970) while the non-white population nearly quadrupled from 44,580 in 1930 to 168,973 in 1960 (reaching 350,982 in 1970). [do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques"', p. 299.] Whereas changes in colonial policy in the 1940s and 1950s were in part responsible for the expansion of what Cláudia Castelo refers to as 'migração ultramarina', the promise of socio-economic advancement led to an influx of Angolans, not born in Luanda, into the capital, most of whom installed themselves in the city's *musseques*. As a result, by 1960, the demographic composition of Luanda's *musseques* reflected these migratory patterns. The extent to which Luanda's *musseques* were beginning to assume an increasingly cosmopolitan character can be gleaned from the fact that, in 1964, as do Amaral notes, 64.8% of its inhabitants were born outside of Luanda, 'quer em regiões do interior, quer do exterior de Angola'. [do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques"', p. 309.] For the purposes of the present discussion, it is worth noting that, of those born in Angola (but excepting those born in Luanda), over half of the heads of households hailed from the nearby provinces of Kwanza Sul, Kwanza Norte, and Malanje, as well as from the province of Huambo, situated in the country's Central Plateau. [do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques"', p. 309.] This is, furthermore, reflected in do Amaral's figures regarding the most expressive African ethnolinguistic groups present in Luanda in the 1960s. Of these, the most prominent were the Mbundu—from the Kimbundu-speaking region comprising the aforementioned provinces of Kwanza Sul, Kwanza Norte, and Malanje, as well as the province of Luanda—with 199,722 inhabitants, and the Ovimbundu—from the Umbundu-speaking region comprising the province of Huambo—with 12,216 inhabitants. [do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques"', p. 309.] It is also worth noting that, of those born outside of Angola, 87% of the heads of households accounted for by Ilídio do Amaral hailed from Cape Verde. [do Amaral, 'Luanda e seus "Muceques"', p. 309.] Ramiro Ladeiro Monteiro's 1973 study, *A Família nos Musseques de Luanda: Subsídios para o Seu Estudo*, corroborates do Amaral's figures.

[504] José Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 45.

[505] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 45. According to Héli Chatelain, the prefix 'mukua' (in present-day Kimbundu, 'mukwa'), when accompanied by 'um nome de terra', or a place-name, means '*natural de, habitante de*'. He cites the example 'mukua-Luanda', meaning a person from Luanda; in the case of *João Vêncio*, 'mukua-Ngulungu' meaning a person from what is known in Portuguese as Golungo Alto. [Chatelain, *Kimbundu Grammar*, p. xii.]

cidade à beira mar azul', echoing the migratory patterns described by Ilídio do Amaral.[506] Similarly, the 'bailundina'—the 'baronesa sulinha' for whose attempted murder João Vêncio has been arrested—is not from Luanda.[507] As her epithets indicate, she hails from the municipality of Bailundo, in the province of Huambo, located to the south of the Angolan capital, whose regional dishes, 'suas lambetas bailundas', 'suas cúrias de famorosa, muambá de molho d'oiro, modas desses benguelenses-catumbelas, sulanos', she brings to João Vêncio in prison. In each of these descriptions, the adjectives 'bailundas', 'benguelenses-catumbelas', 'sulanos' serve to reaffirm her regional identity. Other characters that people the *musseque* of Luandino Vieira's novella are also referred to by their place of origin: 'o «Caboverdiano»', for example, whose daughter, Màristrêla, is one of João Vêncio's 'amores'. The narrator tells us: 'Eles todos eram assim: focinho de puco com fome. Os sete irmãos, escada, filhos de um só pai e de sua mãe, dona Catita, mulher da terra. Que ele era o «Caboverdiano» só. Nome dele a gente não sabíamos.'[508] '[L]ocated both in and far beyond the musseques', to adapt Moorman's phrase, the cast of characters of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* reflects the cosmopolitan nature of Luanda's peripheries.[509]

However, it is not merely at the level of plot that the heterogeneity of Luanda's *musseques* finds expression in Luandino Vieira's novella. It is also, and more significantly, at the level of its linguistic heterogeneity. Critics have tended to privilege the relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu in Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*. Nevertheless, this emphasis has obfuscated the ways in which works like *João Vêncio* gesture past this relationship. The novella, whose characters themselves embody the demographic diversity of the Angolan capital, registers this diversity textually, incorporating the multiple voices of these characters

[506] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 108.
[507] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 118.
[508] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, pp. 50–51.
[509] Moorman, *Intonations*, p. 18.

into João Vêncio's narrative. Though this 'dupla origem—o português e o kimbundu' is central to *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, reflected even in the narrator's own 'dupla origem'—being at once 'de nascimento branco, cruzado' and 'de nascimento negro, cruzado'—the novella also features the bailundina's Umbundu and the Caboverdiano's Kriol.[510] A number of European languages, including French, German, Italian, Spanish, and above all English, also find their way into João Vêncio's vocabulary, 'que com marujos [foi] cicerone de portas, pratos, pegas e prostitutas', thus assimilating the many languages spoken by the seamen docked at the Porto de Luanda.[511] Indeed, the author, in an interview with Michel Laban, dated 8 April 1977, would make explicit the relationship between the model for the character of João Vêncio and the heterolingualism that characterises the novella:

> É uma narrativa que um preso me contou na cadeia durante vários dias, a história dos seus três amores, e que é realmente, quanto a mim, através dessa história, uma panorâmica muito lírica do homem do mundo colonial dividido, fragmentado. Ele tinha sido marinheiro e portanto utilizava uma linguagem fabulosa: sabia um bocado de inglês, sabia um bocado de espanhol, falava mal português, misturava com quimbundo [...].[512]

This 'linguagem fabulosa' reflects what may profitably be described as the novella's heterolingualism. A term frequently associated with Rainier Grutman's work on Québécois, 'heterolingualism' has come to designate 'the use of foreign languages or social, regional, and historical language varieties in literary texts'. [513] As Pascale Sardin summarises, it 'designates the *textual* insertion of speech differences in literature, a form of code-mixing seen as a literary device, rather than as only reflecting a political or social reality'.[514] While echoing Bakhtin's concept of 'heteroglossia' (see Introduction), theoretical articulations of heterolingualism draw attention to the ways in which heteroglossia might serve—and, indeed,

[510] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 34, p. 37, p. 44.
[511] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 64.
[512] Fernando J. B. Martinho, '*João Vêncio* Revisted', in *De Luuanda a Luandino: Veredas*, pp. 161–172 (p. 161).
[513] Reine Meylaerts, 'Heterolingualism in/and Translation', *Target* 18:1 (2006), 1–15 (p. 4).
[514] Pascale Sardin, 'Heterolingualism and Interpretation in *Atonement*: Traduttore, traditore?', *Études Britanniques Contemporaines* 55 (2018), para. 4. Emphasis in original.

further—the aesthetic, political, even prefigurative aims of a literary project. Particularly relevant here is Naoki Sakai's broadening of the analytical range of heterolingualism in his work on what he calls 'heterolingual address'. Recalling the distinction drawn by Ndhlovu and Makalela between 'language as an enumerable object' and 'language as process', Sakai differentiates two representations of the act of translation:

> Strictly speaking, it is not because two different language unities are given that we have to translate (or interpret) one text into another; it is because translation *articulates* languages so that we may postulate the two unities of the translating and the translated languages as if they were autonomous and closed entities through *a certain representation of translation*.[515]

As such, Sakai emphasises the importance of considering 'how translation structures the situation in which it is performed'—in other words, 'what sort of social relation is translation in the first place?'[516] He alerts the reader:

> Unless the terms in which we represent to ourselves what we do in translation are fundamentally reorganized, we will continue to figure it as a somewhat tritely heroic and exceptional act of some arbitrator bridging two separate communities, instead of drawing attention to the aspects of translation in which translation is an essentially hybridizing instance.[517]

Sakai describes two alternative forms of 'translational enunciation'.[518] The first, 'homolingual address', consists of 'a regime of someone relating herself or himself to others in enunciation whereby the addresser adopts the position representative of a putatively homogenous language society and relates to the general addressees, who are also representative of an equally homogenous language community'.[519] Aligning itself with an understanding of 'language as an enumerable object', this form of address both reifies the concept of 'language' and 'reinforces the assumption of immediate and reciprocal apprehension'.[520] Instead, what Sakai calls 'heterolingual address' views the audience as 'a

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[515] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 6; Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 2.
[516] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 3.
[517] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 3.
[518] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 3.
[519] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, pp. 3–4.
[520] Ndhlovu and Makalela, *Decolonising Multilingualism in Africa*, p. 6; Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 5. Despite Lennon's preferred term 'plurilingualism', throughout this thesis I have instead opted for a critical

nonaggregate community' that might respond to a given utterance 'with varying degrees of comprehension, including cases of the zero degree at which they would miss its signification completely'.[521] As such, 'heterolingual address' is able more effectively to represent and activate 'the mingling and cohabitation of plural language heritage in the audience'.[522]

It is precisely this terrain that Michel Laban encountered in 1992 when he began work on the French translation of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, published by Éditions Gallimard under the title *João Vêncio: Ses Amours* in 1998. While Luandino Vieira's early works, such as *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, are characterised by a 'weaker plurilingualism', to adapt Brian Lennon's terminology, the 'stronger plurilingualism' of *João Vêncio* represents an even greater challenge to the demands of a publishing industry that tends to uphold what Brian Lennon calls 'the monolingual letter'.[523] According to Lennon, '[w]hat the nationalized languages of book publishing cannot tolerate [...] is departure from the national standard: moving inward, in one direction, toward idiolectic private or invented language, and outward in the other, toward extranational, public plurilingualism'.[524] Luandino Vieira's novella, as we will see, does both, combining inward and outward movement.

Faced with this double movement, the French and English translators of the novella opted to pursue radically divergent translation strategies. While Michel Laban sought to retain the constitutive heterolingualism of the source text and the *musseque* it describes, Richard Zenith, in his earlier English translation, published by Harcourt in 1991, made the decision to

vocabulary (e.g., 'heterolingualism') more capable of foregrounding a conception of 'language as process', rather than as 'enumerable object[s]'.

[521] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 4.

[522] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 6.

[523] Brian Lennon, *In Babel's Shadow: Multilingual Literatures, Monolingual States* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 17, p. 2.

[524] Lennon, *In Babel's Shadow*, p. 11.

produce what may be described as an almost monolingual target text. In his 'Translator's Note' to *The Loves of João Vêncio*, Zenith alerts the reader that

> [i]t would be inappropriate to apply th[e] epithet ['uma tentativa de ambaquismo literário a partir do calão, gíria e termos chulos'] to my translation, in which the author's linguistic amalgam is not so apparent. [...] I have chosen to make the entire text read in English, believing it would be a greater infidelity to mix English together with Kimbundu, which in the voice of the narrator (and many Angolans) is not spoken as a purely separate language but forms a kind of hybrid with Portuguese.[525]

Zenith identifies, here, the difficulties posed by the 'amalgam' of Portuguese and Kimbundu for translators of Luandino Vieira's work—translators who, presumably, seek to translate this 'linguistic amalgam' into one 'purely separate language'. His justification, however, is unlike that of Tamara Bender, whose English translation of the collection of short stories *Luuanda* retains a substantial number of words in Kimbundu deemed, to some extent, untranslatable (see Chapter 3). Indeed, what Zenith considers untranslatable is the very relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu. It is in light of the perceived untranslatability of a set of particular historical and social processes that have informed the diglossic relationship between Portuguese and Angola's indigenous languages since the fifteenth century, that the English translator of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* decides in favour of a more outwardly domesticating translation strategy. Though attuned to the issues inherent to the translation of postcolonial texts, it remains the case that to privilege the relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu is to risk overlooking the ways in which the novella foregrounds a more complex linguistic dynamic—one, to recall Lennon's phrase, equally invested in 'moving inward' and 'outward', towards João Vêncio's profoundly individual, heterolingual, register on the one hand, and towards Luanda's cosmopolitan multilingualism on the other.

Conversely, Laban, in his French translation of *João Vêncio*, attempts to recreate this double movement, resulting in a more outwardly foreignising translation. Whereas Zenith

[525] Richard Zenith, 'Translator's Note', in José Luandino Vieira, *The Loves of João Vêncio*, trans. Richard Zenith (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), pp. vii–viii (p. vii).

endeavours to 'make the entire text read in English', Laban opts to retain the multiple languages, both African and European, that make up the original.[526] In Laban's translation, proverbs, phrases, and reported speech in Kimbundu are kept as such—as are the bailundina's Umbundu and the Caboverdiano's Kriol—and are accompanied by explanatory footnotes with translations into French. Single words and short sentences in European languages, left untranslated, have also been retained. Each of these translators' decisions with regards to the 'stronger plurilingualism' of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* has significant implications. Take, for instance, the case of the Caboverdiano, who, we are told,

> me agarrava nos braços compridos, sentava-me na perna dele direita e o filhinho mais cassulo na esquerda, começava falar aqueles putos deles, sossegados que eu gosto: «A nhôs ê cab'verde… Terra di nhôs ê terra sabi—agüom no levada, milho na pilom, lá na Rebêra Principal a nhôs tem vaquinha, grogue tchêu, caninha corre no levada di trapiche… Minininho codê…»—o meu pai falava que ele era de terra de fome e ele só pintava o paradiso: mel e fruta e leite e revoar de pássaros. Ou era a língua dele, as mansas palavras viravam tudo bonito que ele falava?[527]

Here, the sentence's pointing—quite literally its punctuation—itself points to a marked shift from João Vêncio's narrative voice to the reported speech of the Caboverdiano. The colon which follows the phrase 'aqueles putos deles, sossegados que eu gosto' punctuates this shift and marks the transition between the two characters' voices as well as between the two linguistic communities. Indeed, the presence of the colon serves not only to manage the relationship between two independent clauses—producing a sense of anticipation for an illustration of the preceding clause—but also, in this case, between two distinct forms of speech. The colon's announcing of linguistic difference is rendered explicit on the printed page. As the narrator heralds a punctuated transition, the shift to an orthography more attuned to the phonetics of Kriol renders this difference visually.

[526] Zenith, 'Translator's Note', in Luandino Vieira, *The Loves of João Vêncio*, p. vii.
[527] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, pp. 52–53.

In Zenith's English translation, however, the expectation of linguistic difference is frustrated.

> But his long arms would grab onto me and sit me on his right knee and the youngest kid on his left, and he'd start talking that lingo of theirs, real mellow, that I like: 'Our place is Cap' Verde... Our land's a fair land—sluices full up with water, corn in the presses, and in Rebera, where we're from, we had a cow and cane liquor, lots of cane liquor, flowing to overflowing in the conduits of the sugar mill... Yes, my little ones…'[528]

While the relationship between Luandino Vieira's use of Kriol and the narrative's still non-standard but otherwise normative Portuguese is clear to a reader of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, the same is not true for Zenith's translation. While Kriol and the dominant language of narration relate to one another on a 'linguistic continuum', and while Zenith's use of the abbreviated 'Cap' Verde' attempts to reproduce a sense of the Caboverdiano's linguistic difference, his rendering of the character's speech struggles to reflect the ways in which the novella foregrounds language and place.[529] As such, Zenith's colon, despite purporting to announce a transition to that 'lingo of theirs, real mellow', serves instead to accentuate that what was configured as difference in *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* is here configured as similarity.

Laban's translation of this same passage, in contrast, seeks to retain the tangibility of the source text's inscription of linguistic difference:

> [I]l m'attrapait dans ses longs bras, m'asseyait sur sa jambe droite, son cadet sur la gauche, se mettait a dire ses mots a lui, doucement, que j'aime: «A nhôs ê cab'verde… Terra di nhôs ê terra sabi—aguom no levada, milho na pilom, lá na Rebêra Principal a nhôs tem vaquinha, grogue tchêu, caninha corre no levada di trapiche… Minininho codê...»[530]

Laban compensates for this retention of Kriol—for its incomprehensibility for a non-Portuguese-speaking readership—by including a translation into standard French in a footnote:

[528] Luandino Vieira, *The Loves of João Vêncio*, pp. 15–16.
[529] It is worth noting that the use of the first-person plural possessive pronoun 'nhôs' in the phrases 'A nhôs ê cab'verde' and 'Terra di nhôs ê terra sabi' advances a sense of national community.
[530] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, trans. Michel Laban (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1998), pp. 31–32.

> «On est du Cap-Vert... Notre pays est un beau pays—eau dans la rigole, maïs dans le mortier, a Ribeira Principal on a une vache, du rhum à volonté, la canne coule dans le conduit du moulin… Mon beau petit..» (En capverdien.)[531]

Zenith further mediates the English-language reader's access to the Caboverdiano's speech, not only by translating the text into English, but also by adding moments of elucidation to the text (i.e. 'and in Rebera, where we're from'). Laban, on the other hand, retains the original's unmediated access to the Caboverdiano's speech, while also allowing for comprehensibility through the inclusion of a footnote. The colon, in Laban, therefore, performs a similar function to that of Luandino Vieira's original.

This use of punctuation to anticipate linguistic—and, in particular, vocal—difference is characteristic of the novella as a whole. The plurivocality of João Vêncio's narrative voice—a voice built, as Phyllis Peres notes, out of 'the various discourses that he has absorbed along the way'—emphasises the incorporative nature of his 'monologue', a word etymologically tied to the notion of a single speaker.[532] It also fragments this 'monologue' into 'as mil cores de gente, mil vozes' that, as the blurb to Laban's translation notes, 'interfere' with the novella's logic of single address.[533]

João Vêncio regularly signals these contradictory movements—incorporative and intensive on the one hand, and fragmentary and extensive on the other—by means of a colon, anticipating a kind of difference, while leaving ambiguous the particular relationship (whether connection and continuity, or separation and discontinuity) between the two independent clauses, and consequently between his own, and the other's voice. This is, for instance, the case of the character Diodato, 'bolchevique, mas manso e bom-homem', known, among the children of the *musseque*, for a particular *corruptela*:

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[531] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, p. 32.
[532] Phyllis Peres, 'Countermapping Luanda', *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1997), pp. 16–46 (p. 43).
[533] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 64.

> E os monandengues todos corriam e ele metia as mãos nos bolsos, espalhava macutas e rebuçados, gritava: «Fraternidade operaira!». Não esqueço mais esta palavra dele: operaira. Levei dez palmatoadas, num ditado escrevi como ele falava, a sô pessora era uma cangunda maniosa, xingou-me e bateu-me.[534]

Michel Laban, in his French translation of *João Vêncio*, strives to recreate the text's accentuation of Diodato's linguistic idiosyncrasy:

> Et tous les gosses couraient, et il mettait les mains dans les poches, distribuait des macutas et des bonbons, il criait : «Fraternité ourviere !» J'oublierai jamais ce mot à lui: ourviere. J'ai pris dix coups de règle sur les doigts, dans une dictée j'ai écrit comme il disait, la maitresse était une blanchouillarde bornée, elle m'a insulté et frappé.[535]

Here, Laban opts to reproduce Diodato's characteristic mispronunciation 'operairo'—a corruption of the Portuguese 'operário'. Laban, following Luandino Vieira, decides in favour of his own *corruptela* of the French equivalent to 'operário', 'ouvrier'—'ourviere'. This sensitivity on Laban's part to the idiosyncrasies of the Portuguese text spills over into his translation of 'cangunda'. The word, derived from the Kimbundu 'ngundu' and defined by Luandino Vieira as a 'branco de baixa condição, ordinário', is translated by Laban as 'blanchouillarde'—Laban's own neologism, which adapts the pejorative 'franchouillard(e)', meaning 'typically French (in an annoying way)', to foreground the sense of the *sô pessora*'s 'typically' white behaviour, enforcing the linguistic norms of the metropole.[536]

Richard Zenith, in contrast, having committed to a homolingual reduction of the original text's constitutive heterolingualism, conflates this linguistic reduction to a single language with a reduction of the original's creative errors, its neologisms, to common English idioms, slang, and colloquialisms. As such, Zenith is forced to reorganise Luandino Vieira's balancing of linguistic idiosyncrasy and racial identity, foregrounded in Laban's translation:

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[534] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 47, p. 48.
[535] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, p. 28.
[536] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 123; Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, p. 26;'franchouillard, *adj.*', *Cambridge Dictionary*, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/french-english/franchouillard> [Accessed on 20 October 2020].

> And the kids they came running, his hands would pull candies and coins from his pockets, and he'd yell, "Proletarian brotherhood!" I'll never forget that word of his: proletarian. I got ten raps on my knuckles for writing what he said in a composition. My teacher was a white-trash bitch and let me have it.[537]

Unlike Laban, who takes impetus from João Vêncio's creative instrumentalisation of error, Zenith opts to use the English word 'proletarian' without attempting to reproduce the specific character of Diodato's speech. Whereas in both *João Vêncio* and Laban's translation the colon serves to anticipate a change in voice, here, the colon serves no such function: anticipation is frustrated by a continuation of a standard register, one which fails to evoke the sense of particularity and character implied by 'that word of his'. It then follows that Zenith finds it necessary to modify the context surrounding the use of the phrase 'Proletarian brotherhood'. Whereas in the source text, as in Laban's French translation, the reason for the narrator's punishment by *sô pessora* is his use of non-standard Portuguese in a 'ditado', in Zenith's English translation, the reason for the narrator's punishment takes on a more overtly political tone: she punishes him for advocating 'Proletarian brotherhood' in a composition, rather than a dictation.

Zenith's difficulty in recreating the discursive idiosyncrasies of *João Vêncio*'s characters is linked to his decision to 'make the entire text read in English', and as such evidences the importance of the complex relationship between language, personhood, and place to Luandino Vieira's novella. Despite claiming to mirror 'the narrator's personal penchant for deforming and re-forming language', Zenith overlooks the novella's representation of the relationship between 'personal' idiolect and the heterolingual and plurivocal social terrain of the *musseque*—a relationship that is managed, at the level of the sentence, by punctuation.[538]

[537] Luandino Vieira, *The Loves of João Vêncio*, p. 12.
[538] Zenith, 'Translator's Note', p. viii.

It is, however, not merely the character of Diodato whose speech can be characterised, as brief as it might be, as idiolectic. João Vêncio's monologue is marked, to recall Brian Lennon, by a 'moving inward, in one direction, toward idiolectic private or invented language, and outward in the other, toward extranational, public plurilingualism'.[539] If we have already discussed the outward movement of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* toward 'extranational, public plurilingualism', with its incorporation of a number of languages—both African, from inside and outside Angola, as well as European—we will turn now to the ways in which this 'moving inward […] toward idiolectic private or invented language' also figures in the novella.

In a diary entry dated 2 November 1968, four months after the completion of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, Luandino Vieira returns to the novella, outlining the rationale behind his linguistic strategies:

> Daí o meu fascínio perante o falar de J.V. Ele só falava assim comigo. Fazia mesmo de propósito para «bundar os putos»—claro que não falava como escrevi. Eu aproveitei mais os seus processos e alguns dos seus vocábulos [...] por me parecerem susceptíveis de criar um certo lirismo adentro de uma narrativa tão crua como era a sua vida de libertino. [...] Sei que J.V. não é paradigma, que é individualíssimo na sua vida e destino mas pressenti que havia nele alguma coisa de geral e por isso me decidi pelo «ambaquismo»—o rococó da linguagem.[540]

Luandino Vieira concludes by addressing himself in a significant parenthesis: (Luandino: hás-de pensar muito a sério nisto tudo e ver se a consonância com os processos de J.V. não é consonância com a tua própria situação na sociedade angolana, percebeste rapaz?).[541] As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the attempt to 'bundar os putos'—in other words, to aquim*bundar* the Portuguese language—represents a significant aspect of Luandino Vieira's early texts. Here, what is deemed the 'individualíssimo' character of João Vêncio is also manifested in the neologistic nature of the character's language. It is unsurprising, therefore,

[539] Lennon, *In Babel's Shadow*, p. 11.
[540] '02–11–68', in Luandino Vieira, *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 864–865.
[541] '02–11–68', in Luandino Vieira, *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 864–865.

that, echoing the classifications previously used in 'Problemas de Língua', we find, in the correspondence between Luandino Vieira and his French translator, the classification 'JV' for precisely what we might term the *juvencismos* that permeate the text. As we have seen, Michel Laban appears to have remained sensitive to the importance of neologisms to the text, and to have allowed this to influence the tenor of his translation. For instance, Luandino Vieira has Diodato described both as a 'bolchevique, mas manso e bom-homem', and, in a characteristic inversion itself evoking Diodato's propensity to resort to *corruptelas*, as 'manso, bolvexique, amigável.'[542] Whereas Zenith opts to use the word 'Bolshevik' in both instances, Laban seeks to mirror the source text's refusal of the usual orthography: Diodato is, first, 'bolchevique mais doux et bon', and is, later, 'doux, bolvechique, ami'.[543]

As such, deviations from standard Portuguese—both in the sense of errors, and the kinds of linguistic difference represented by both the incorporation of Kimbundu as well as the Cape Verdian's Kriol—represent one of the text's main strategies for negotiating both individual and cultural idiosyncrasy. Fernando J. B. Martinho, in his Preface to the 1979 first edition of the novel, stresses how the novella's distinctive 'plasticidade' is a direct result of the ways in which 'Luandino violenta a língua, as línguas, trata de corrompê-las, de uni-las em esponsais criativos'.[544] Martinho's sensitivity to the at once single and multiple nature of the novella's language—'a língua, as línguas'—and to the contradictory movements—fragmenting on the one hand, and uniting on the other—that characterise the text's treatment of both character and voice, is particularly useful to this discussion. [545] Indeed, revisiting *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* in 2015, over thirty-five years after the publication of his original

[542] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 47, p. 49.
[543] Luandino Vieira, *The Loves of João Vêncio*, p. 11, p. 13; Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, p. 26, p. 28.
[544] Martinho, 'Prefácio', in Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, pp. 25–26.
[545] Martinho, 'Prefácio', in Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, pp. 25–26.

preface, Martinho returns to the generative potential of the creative errors that permeate João Vêncio's text:

> Diz Luandino [...] que o marinheiro inspirador da figura de João Vêncio «falava mal português, misturava com quimbundo». Quer ele com isto acentuar que praticava notórios desvios relativamente à variante do português do seu espaço de origem. Aceitemos a observação. Mas o essencial não é isso. É o que ele, enquanto escritor, faz com os *erros* de João Vêncio, não só no sentido de conferir verosimilhança ao relato e à personagem que nele se destaca, mas também e sobretudo enquanto tratamento artístico da sua fala, e investimento criativo que nela faz dos modos de dizer, das saborosas corruptelas de João Vêncio, das suas inúmeras referências, do manancial inesgotável da sua peculiar *cultura*, da máquina retórica que permanentemente põe a funcionar. [546]

Once again, errors, linguistic idiosyncrasies, and idiolects are seen as a site for negotiation between the individual character and the wider '*cultura*', the 'lirismo' that underpins this individuality—that is, to recall Luandino Vieira himself, negotiation between what is 'individualíssimo' and 'geral'.[547]

This negotiation can be seen throughout the novella. For instance, the correspondence between Laban and Luandino Vieira attests to the latter's attempts to balance these kinds of relationships by means of errors:

> esclavidão — escravidão/esclavagem. (JV)
> esclavagidão — escravatura; JV erra por proximidade de esclavagidão
> escravagismo —esclavagismo. Erro do JV
> As 3 formas são devidas à mania do JV de não dizer como toda a gente, desviarse [*sic*] da norma (normas) mas não tanto que contrarie o génio da língua.[548]

In this circumstance, as in many others, Luandino Vieira ascribes the errors and deformations to João Vêncio's own approach to language: the 'mania […] de não dizer como toda a gente, desviarse da norma'. In his correspondence with Laban, the 'despronúncias', 'jogo[s] de palavras', and other 'truque[s] linguístico[s]' are identified as borrowings from João

[546] Fernando J. B. Martinho, 'João Vêncio *Revisited*', in *De Luuanda a Luandino*, pp. 85–92 (p. 169).
[547] '02–11–68', in Luandino Vieira, *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 864–865.
[548] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 9 January 1993, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10310.002, fol. 1v.

Vêncio.[549] However, it is these same general 'processos', of word formation and *de*formation, that Luandino Vieira adopts and applies to the rest of the narrative. Indeed, throughout the novella, neologisms are constructed in a number of different ways: by adding or altering prefixes (*desinvangélico*, *deslegal*) and suffixes (*entristada*, *jesusa*); portmanteaus (*amorizade*, *maròciano, prostibruta*); clippings (*'celerado*, *'sistido*, '*suflar*); what Luandino Vieira terms 'despronúncias' (*auricla*, *bolvexique*, *dêndem*); lexical deformations (*póscalipse, zinimigos*); echolalia (*cangunda-gunda*, *cassetete, tete, tete*); and relexification (*blonde*, *ofessaide*, *rimembro*, *ròquefélo, selfemeide*).

The correspondence between Luandino Vieira and Michel Laban, during 1992 and 1993, consists—in a way that is characteristic of their collaborative process—not only of lists of questions, followed by lists of answers, regarding issues of comprehension and requests for elucidations, but also lists of words whose definitions and origins were crucial to Laban's decision-making process with respect to what to retain, what to translate, and what to create. As was previously the case with *Nós, os do Makulusu*, Laban privileges those *juvencismos* and *luandinismos* that permeate the text; consequently, neologisms make up a significant part of the words that are retained in Laban's French translation.

What is important to note here, however, is that these neologisms fit into a broader counterpoint between the inwards and outwards movements Lennon describes. The novella traces the relationship between language and place on the one hand, and language and identity on the other. As such, the relationship between singularity and plurality is essential to Luandino Vieira's text: linguistic and cultural heterogeneity is refracted by the single lens of the novella's protagonist, who incorporates this diversity into a single discourse, even as that

[549] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 9 January 1993, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10310.002, fol. 1v.

protagonist's singularity is itself scattered prismatically, always gesturing to other ways of speaking, other national and cultural practices. Laban's decision to retain the *juvencismos* and *luandinismos* of the novella in translation reflects this counterpoint. At once indexing the particularity of João Vêncio's character, and recreating an important aspect of the novella's characteristically heterolingual textual surface, these neologisms constitute a crossroads at which the novella's different movements meet. As we will see in the next section, these questions are at the heart of both Luandino Vieira's collection of stories *No Antigamente, na Vida* and Michel Laban's translation, *Autrefois dans la vie*.

'e as palavras nasciam as coisas exactas': Neologisms in *No Antigamente, na Vida*

Writing in the Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal in November 1968, Luandino Vieira addresses what he considers to be the failure of the aesthetic 'via' pursued in the novella *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*:

> Isto ainda a propósito do J.V. que é o limite dessa via que experimentei e que, reconheço hoje é outro falhanço, outro engano. Para a tornar legível iria desembocar por um lado no português europeu e por outro, no quimbundo. Nenhum deles me é acessível como língua literária—este [*sic*] o problema Luandino. Mantendo-me nesta via irei acabar num código pessoal, num solipsismo verbal, no que já chamei de linguagem de um idiota (full of sound and fury, signifying nothing) mas lúcido... Então qual via? [...] (Só continuando a escrever o descobres. Não te masturbes, palerma! Os passos é que fazem o caminho...)[550]

Although Luandino Vieira recognises the risks involved in the pursuit of a 'via' that appears to privilege a 'código pessoal', a 'solipsismo verbal', and that avoids the pitfalls inherent to the artificial separation between '[o] português europeu' and '[o] quimbundo', many of the processes identified in *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* are also to be found in the collection of short stories *No Antigamente, na Vida*. Indeed, the 'moving inward […] toward idiolectic private or invented language' that we have observed in *João Vêncio*—a movement attested to

[550] Lennon, *In Babel's Shadow*, p. 11.

by Luandino Vieira and Laban's correspondence, where what might be termed *juvencismos* are often labelled as such—is developed further in *No Antigamente*.[551] In spite of Luandino Vieira's own disavowal of said 'via', this sense of continuity is unsurprising, not least because of the Angolan writer's long-held identification with the character of João Vêncio. This identification is acknowledged in a letter to Laban. Written after a year of working alongside Laban on *João Vêncio: Ses Amours*, Luandino Vieira concludes the letter with a confession:

> Consegui chegar ao fim, a duras penas. Já não suporto mais o J.V. porque um outro J.V. mas [*sic*] trágico, está no meu subconsciente e não me larga: Sapatinho, o bailarino de rumba a quem amputam uma pena.
>
> Luanda, 9 de Janeiro de 1993
>
> *João Vêncio*[552]

The letter, of course, was not penned by the fictional João Vêncio, nor was it penned in the Angolan capital; rather, Luandino Vieira was, at the time, writing from the Convento de San Payo in Vila Nova de Cerveira, in northern Portugal, where for over a decade 'viv[eu] isolado e silencioso, recluso'.[553] The playful substitutions of Luanda for Vila Nova de Cerveira and (especially) of João Vêncio for Luandino Vieira reveal the extent to which the Angolan writer shares a sense of identification with the narrator of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*. It is, perhaps, unsurprising that the processes of verbal formation and deformation that have been identified as defining features of João Vêncio's use of language would continue to characterise Luandino Vieira's next collection of short stories, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, written between 1969 and 1971.

If, as we have seen, one of the main ways in which *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* negotiates the relationship between character and place (in particular the *musseque*) involves a combination of linguistic idiosyncrasy, heterolingualism, idiolect, and even error, then, in *No*

[551] Lennon, *In Babel's Shadow*, p. 11.
[552] Letter from José Luandino Vieira to Michel Laban, 9 January 1993, Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10310.002, fol. 3v.
[553] Joana Passos and Elena Brugioni, 'Introdução', *Diacrítica: Dossier 50 Anos de Luuanda* 28:3 (2014), 9–11 (p. 11).

Antigamente, na Vida, the specifically proliferative and generative energies of these linguistic strategies are more explicitly harnessed. Indeed, in the second story of the volume, 'Estória D'Água Gorda', creativity, imagination, and play are associated (in a way that is characteristic of the volume as a whole) with non-standard Portuguese, as opposed to the linguistic rigidity of the colonial centre. Within a story of imagined love and jealousy, it is the relationship between the children and their teacher that best encapsulates the kinds of linguistic difference that permeate Angolan society. Much like the case of Diodato, and the punishment the young João Vêncio receives from *sô pessora* for his 'misspelling' of the word 'operário', *No Antigamente, na Vida*, and in particular 'Estória D'Água Gorda', returns to the kinds of imposed standardisations associated with metropolitan Portuguese.

Throughout the story, the narrator is reproached by *menina* Glória, the schoolteacher, for his mispronunciation of Portuguese. Indeed, the relationship between Dinito and Glória illustrates the ways in which language, place, and race intersect in the Angolan capital. In one particular exchange, *menina* Glória admonishes the protagonist for a perceived mispronunciation of the Portuguese adjective 'gorda':

> — Água górda—sussurri-me mais tarde, queria a menina Glória sô pessora nova vez. E ela alimpou as lágrimas com os dedos, acordava.
>
> — Lembras-te? —foi buscar o caderno. — Vais ler, sim?
>
> Minha redacção da primeira-adiantada, que ela me surrou naquele dia, guardava. Aceito; já sei a chuva toda não vai sair mais de toda a tarde; o tempo é só nosso, quente, junto com ela; sentados no estrado da sala fechada, luz só fitas do dia, persianas. Esqueci Xana, não tem mais suas pernas de jingondo claro—só eu e minha voz, musseco ainda as vogais, quero ouvir eu mesmo, ser tudo como no antigamente:
>
> — Não tens vergonha? Gôr-da, gôr-da… Não é górda!
>
> Calo-me. Ela aperta minhas mãos onde que o sangue secou. Limpa-me o nariz, seu lenço guarda no frio do peito.
>
> — Lês outra vez, sim, Dinito? Lê? Lês?
>
> — «…a água da chuva é água magra na lagoa a água está gôrda como o sangue dos meninos. Quem lhes mata é a quituta que matou no filho da velha Pitra ele não foi no céu…»
>
> — Assim é que é, não deves dizer como os pretos…
>
> Mas não posso ler mais, tenho vergonha.[554]

[554] José Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1974), pp. 88–89.

Here, the creative energy of the child's use of language—made manifest through the neologistic 'sussurrir-se' and 'mussecar'—comes up against the teacher's corrective impulse to whiten and 'purify' the narrator's Portuguese (the same impulse behind assimilative policies), and to enforce what could be called a 'desangolanisação' of the language. What escapes the teacher's efforts to 'alimpar' Dinito's language—verbal formations, portmanteaus-—attests to a desire to create a language, a 'voz', capable of representing the particularities of the children's experience. The verb 'mussecar', for instance, transforms the *musseque* into an active principle, one capable of exerting a change within the language that has been imposed upon it. The relexification of the word 'musseque', here transformed into the verb 'mussecar', attests, as seen in Chapter 1, to both the narrator's and the author's view of 'language as process', to recall Ndhlovu and Makalela's phrase, rather than as comprised of 'homogenous, closed systems'. Similarly, the neologistic verb 'sussurrir'—a portmanteau of 'sussurrar' and 'rir'—privileges the ways language is modulated by lived experience, rather than its subjection to standard rules.

The narrator of 'Estória D'Água Gorda' goes so far as to remark: 'Quem errava levava surra de vara da menina Glória—ela não gostava o mundo torto, queria tudo bem feito, nem que é à porrada mesmo é preciso civilizar estes gentios.'[555] For the narrator, the Portuguese language in its most standardised, institutionalised form, and here 'defended' by *menina* Glória—a schoolteacher who, like most schoolteachers featured in the works of Luandino Vieira, stands for the imposition of Portuguese cultural and linguistic hegemony—represents an often violent curtailment of the creative energies inherent to language use. In fact, throughout 'Estória D'Água Gorda', as well as the other two stories that make up *No Antigamente, na Vida*—and also *João Vêncio*—language (its uses and most importantly its

[555] Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, pp. 73–74.

perceived misuses) is understood as a site of plasticity, of creativity; where error can be generative, rather than degenerative. Indeed, this collection of short stories contains a wide range of neologisms, formed via processes already observed in *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*. If not a paradigm, as Luandino Vieira himself states, it seems to have been the case that João Vêncio 'havia […] alguma coisa de geral', which informed the way Luandino Vieira's own language evolved in the years after 1968.[556] These linguistic processes come to figure broadly in *No Antigamente, na Vida.* Departing from the 'luandense' character of earlier texts ('texto como *representação*'), the works produced between 1968 and 1972 increasingly assume a 'luandino' character.

In his French translation, Michel Laban seems to privilege precisely this 'luandino', rather than 'luandense', character of the text. Following the principles that he outlined in a seminar delivered in Maputo in the late 1990s, all that might have been comprehensible to an Angolan, Luanda-born, audience, is translated into French, and is not retained for 'aesthetic effect'.[557] All that is 'luandino' about the text, rather than 'luandense'—that is, all that can be classified as Luandino Vieira's own 'recriações', to use the denomination figured in 'Problemas de Língua'—is what Laban refuses to domesticate in translation. For Laban, it is style that connects Luandino Vieira's 'recriações' to his broader political interests. Indeed, that the translator viewed Luandino Vieira's stylistic decisions as inseparable from his overall project can be gleaned from the former's notes on the 'problems' of translating *No Antigamente, na Vida*: 'Parfois des IIisme de sons en portugais, impossible à render en fr[ançais]. Que reste-t-il alors du projet de l'auteur? D'autrant + que la forme a une gde importance.'[558] Dualisms, errors, neologisms, ambiguities, simultaneous processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation produce what Laban calls a 'linguagem a dois níveis',

[556] '2–11–68', in Luandino Vieira, *Papéis da Prisão*, pp. 864–865.
[557] 'Maputo: Séminaire sur la traduction', Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10327.012, fol. 8.
[558] 'Pbs de Traduction', Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10922.003, fol. 1f.

a stylistic surface reminiscent of the 'gravuras de Escher', threatening constantly to translate itself into another surface, other meanings.[559]

One of the main thematic correlatives of this interest in the dualities and generative potential of language is childhood. Indeed, the collection picks up on a theme explored by Luandino Vieira in *A Cidade e a Infância*. If it is his early work that has been regarded as portraying an 'infância mítica e sua utopia libertadora', this is even more so the case in his later work.[560] However, rather than a realist exposition of childhood in Luanda, *No Antigamente, na Vida* enacts the ludic potential of childhood through language. Ana Mafalda Leite draws attention to this thematic investment:

> *No Antigamente, na Vida*, which returns to the themes of his first book, *A Cidade e a Infância*, reveals the creation of a new literary language. Here the author is trying to recreate the playful world of childhood, people by mythical beings, legends and popular traditions. It is a world of invention and dream in which the *musseque* children of different races and from different social backgrounds come together to play.[561]

While Leite is correct to note that this is 'a world of invention'—embodied by the plot and language of 'Lá, em Tetembuatubia'—it is not the case that it is in *No Antigamente, na Vida* that 'a new literary language' is 'reveal[ed]'. What are often treated as radical breaks in Luandino Vieira's work are often instead the result of the constant development of Luandino Vieira as a writer, trying to find the most appropriate—both aesthetically and politically—mode of literary expression. To a large extent, as we have seen, this 'world of invention' has a precedent in the linguistic processes borrowed from and developed in *João Vêncio*.

It is in 'Lá, em Tetembuatubia' that what Leite terms a 'world of invention' finds its most explicit expression. A group of boys led by Turito—the alter-ego of Zeca, a boy keen to

[559] Questionnaire on 'Lá, em Tetembuatubia', Arquivo Michel Laban, Fundação Mário Soares, 10332.016, fol. 1.
[560] Benjamin Abdala Junior, Review of José Luandino Vieira, *A Cidade e a Infância* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006), *Folha de São Paulo*, 22 December 2007, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/ilustrad/fq2212200716.htm> [Accessed on 27 January 2020].
[561] Leite, 'Angola', p. 131.

escape the confines of his immediate reality—travel, via their imagination, to a place called Tetembuatubia—'planeta do Turito [...] onde que a gente demos encontro os milagres do impossível, num antigamente longe'.[562] These 'milagres do impossível' are frequently made possible by the power of Turito's words:

> Ou tudo só o vento redemoinante de mortas areias, secas palhas de capim logo-logo seco no vórtice de toda a falsa tarde, e ela lá, maravilhante brilho: a Estrela da Tarde, mãe da luz nascia na silenciosa alegria do Turito, nosso piloto celestino. Alegria divina que era, entusiasmo fundo da alma dele—na hora falava de boca sorrida e as palavras nasciam as coisas exactas.
>
> — A Estrela-de-Fogo-de-Estrelas!
>
> E a gente vimos o que nunca demos encontro nos olhos nossos, nessa longa vida cassula: a estrela que sempre não está lá, na hora que olhamos sozinhos.[563]

In Portuguese, the phrase 'as palavras nasciam as coisas exactas' would normally read '*das* palavras nasciam as coisas exactas'—the verb 'nascer' taking as its subject 'as coisas exactas'. Here, we see that it is 'as palavras' that 'nascem as coisas exactas'. The absent preposition 'de' foregrounds the 'palavras' as the agents of this 'nascimento'. Neologisms, therefore, act as a crucial metonym for the major concerns of the story. The ability to invent new words, for words to suggest new worlds, allows the characters to project new futures—a prefigurative energy shared by those who fought for Angolan independence and for the creation of a new nation.

Michel Laban himself has written extensively on *No Antigamente, na Vida*. In a paper presented in 1983—two years after the publication of the French translation of *No Antigamente, na Vida*—Laban notes: 'Mais on ne peut s'empêcher de retenir l'immense espérance que, depuis son camp de Tarrafal, l'auteur a dû investir dans l'harmonie de Tetembuatubia.'[564] In the process of translating *No Antigamente, na Vida*, Laban seems to have noticed the ways in which neologisms function as metonyms of the prefigurative, future-

[562] Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, p. 14.
[563] Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, p. 34.
[564] Michel Laban, 'La Recherche de L'Identité dans *No Antigamente, na Vida* de Luandino Vieira', in *Les Littératures Africaines de Langue Portugaise: à la recherche de l'identité individuelle et nationale* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), pp. 79–83 (p. 83).

orientated impetus of 'Lá, em Tetembuatubia'. Remaining sensitive to this function, Laban strives to recreate Luandino Vieira's 'recriações'. This is particularly evident in his translation of a section of the story. In response to Broa's hesitation with regards to his proposed game, Turito asks that he not be afraid, or 'medrúsico', at which point Neca intervenes, questioning his use of the neologism:

> —Não sejas medrúsico…—murmurou-se ou riu, a gente nunca que sabia mais, tudo só sendo estranhos novos ecos em nossas velhas orelhas.
>
> — Medrúsico? —o Neca cuspinhou—Medrúsico? 'tá xalado mesmo.
>
> […]
>
> —Medrúsico, sim senhor! E tu que és o piorento parvúnico farinzéu.
>
> E o Turito sorria, fraterno leio do outro: na volta de lá onde que tinha saído cassumbulara um fogo novo, falava as alheias coisas ele mesmo não lhes sabia, tudo só eco xalado de palavras sérias de sua mãe dele, em cabeceiras rezando latins, orações? Na doença viajara—era a toda mais verdade que explicava, amigo imaculado. Vira, virara: tinha desaprendido a falagem sabida, tudo ele queria fazer novo só.[565]

Here, the 'newness' of language—'tudo ele queria fazer novo só'—is explicitly associated with language's plasticity and with Turito's capacity to create new words, to incorporate and reform them according to his own desires. Opposed to the linguistic rigidity of *menina* Glória, Turito's commitment to newness manifests itself in such words as 'medrúsico', 'piorento', 'parvúnico', and 'farinzéu'. This creative drive spills over into the narrator's voice, whose own neologisms, such as 'falagem', combine with relexifications of Kimbundu words, such as 'xalado', to foreground this plasticity. Indeed, while in earlier texts Luandino Vieira can be said to have pursued social realist tone, in *No Antigamente, na Vida* there is a movement away from realism and toward the surrealism of the imagination. While, in *Luuanda*, effort was expended to situate characters in their immediate environment, Turito, as Zeca's imaginary alter-ego, provides the latter with an opportunity to escape the confines of the *musseque*.

Michel Laban's translation of this passage privileges this investment in a neologistic imagination:

[565] Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, p. 28.

> — Ne sois peurydre…—murmura-t-il, ou bien rit-il, impossible à savoir tout n'étant qu'étranges nouveaux échos dans nos vieilles oreilles.
> — Peurydre ? —Neca crachota. — Peurydre ? Complètement fada. […]
> — Peurydre, oui Monsieur ! Et toi tu es le piresque imbécilunique pharispique.
> Et Turito souriait, fraternel de l'autre : durant son séjour, là-bas, il s'était emparé d'un feu nouveau, il disait les étrangères choses que lui-même ne connaissait pas, tout n'étant qu'écho fou de paroles sérieuses de sa mère implorant en latin à ses chevets, des prières ? Dans la maladie il avait voyagé—c'était la toute plus vérité qu'il expliquait, ami immaculé. Il avait vu, change : il avait désappris le parler connu, il voulait tout rendre nouveau.[566]

In Tamara Bender's translation of *Luuanda*, the glottopolitical relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu was deemed as what was essential about the text—and, therefore, what should be retained or recreated in translation. Laban, conversely, opts to foreground the aesthetic quality of Luandino Vieira's collection of short stories: the relationship between Portuguese and Kimbundu is perceived to be subordinate to the text's investment in non-normative language use. Rather than focus his reader's attention on relexified Kimbundu words such as 'xalado'—which is here translated into French as the colloquial 'fada'—Laban accentuates Luandino Vieira's various linguistic deformations and reformations: 'medrúsico' becomes the neologism 'peurydre', 'piorento' and 'farinzéu' become the neologisms 'piresque' and 'pharispique', and 'parvúnico' becomes the portmanteau 'imbécilunique'.

The differences between other translations of Luandino Vieira's texts and Laban's helps to bring to the foreground aspects of the author's project that might otherwise remain overlooked. In each translation, a distribution of priorities with regard to what is perceived to be Luandino Vieira's project results in varying and often competing claims as to what is most important in his writing. For Tamara Bender, this is the specific relationship between Kimbundu and Portuguese, which, her translation suggests, reflects a broad opposition between what is European and African about Luandino Vieira's texts. If, furthermore, Michael Wolfers's translation attests to his sense of sharing a political project with Luandino Vieira, Laban's evidences the ways in which a political project can be rehearsed aesthetically at the

[566] José Luandino Vieira, *Autrefois, dans la vie*, trans. Michel Laban (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1981), p. 22.

level of the word. Indeed, the investment in linguistic creation—opposed to the kind of normativity represented by *menina* Glória—can be understood as intimately linked to the desire to project a future for the Angolan nation; to partake in a process of, to borrow a phrase from Phyllis Peres, 'neologizing the nation'.[567]

Laban's sensitivity to the ways in which the political can be active within the aesthetic reframes Luandino Vieira's texts in terms of a dynamic relationship, even identity, between the medium and the message. One way to conceptualise this relationship is Fredric Jameson's association between narrative (as opposed to style) and what Deleuze and Guattari call the 'molar' (as opposed to the 'molecular'). For Jameson, the 'molar' 'designates all those large, abstract, mediate, and perhaps even empty and imaginary forms by which we seek to recontain the molecular'—that is, the 'microscopic, fragmentary life of the psyche in the immediate'—among which are 'the mirage of the continuity of personal identity, the organizing unity of the psyche or personality, the concept of society itself, and, not least, the notion of the organic unity of the work of art'.[568] For Luandino Vieira, style is frequently the site of a molecular resistance to the containment-function of any conception of language, personal identity, or nationhood as enumerable objects. In this sense, the proliferative and heterolingual style of *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores* corresponds to the narrator's desire to reconfigure personal identity in terms of multiplicity and mixture, rather than purity and consistency. Similarly, the foregrounding of the processes of becoming bilingual in *Nós, os do Makulusu* serves to draw attention to the different ways in which Mais-Velho and Maninho negotiate their identity as Portuguese men in pre-independence Angola. In *No Antigamente, na Vida*, it is the child's imagination that permits language to escape the containment-function of standardisation and

[567] Peres, *Transculturation and Resistance*, p. 37.
[568] Fredric Jameson, *Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist* (London and New York: Verso, 2008), p. 8.

domestication. As the final words of 'Estória d'Água Gorda' stress: 'nunca nos deixaremos domesticar, juro!'[569]

Michel Laban's sensitivity to the ways in which language underpins these various tensions and counterpoints distinguishes his translations. This, in part, is the result of his relationship to Luandino Vieira's work as not only a translator, but also a scholar. More than any other, his translations constitute a kind of interpretation: his acknowledgement of the difficulties inherent to the negotiation between the 'dois códigos' used in *Nós, os do Makulusu*, as well as his privileging of heterolingualism in *João Vêncio*, and Luandino Vieira's 'recriações' in *No Antigamente, na Vida*, attest to Laban's intimate knowledge of the 'linguagem luandina'—a product of his long-standing commitment to a scholarly approach to Luandino Vieira, often aided by the author's direct collaboration. The various tendencies, forces, and movements that Laban's translations accentuate—inwards and outwards movements, processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, molecular evasions and molar containment—reflect the ways in which translation functions within Luandino Vieira's texts. Indeed, the principles of translation that Laban develops over the course of two decades draw attention to aspects of Luandino Vieira's aesthetico-political project that, as the first two chapters of this thesis demonstrated, share a logic with processes of translation itself: 'domestication' and 'foreignisation', and what Sherry Simon terms translation's 'distancing' and 'furthering' tendencies, for instance, reflect the dual movements that characterise Luandino Vieira's texts written from 1967 onwards.[570] Viewing Laban, to recall Cordingley and Manning's phrase, as 'an active node in [the] evolving and dynamic web' of Luandino Vieira's project enables a critical perspective from which the work of translation within the

[569] Luandino Vieira, *No Antigamente, na Vida*, p. 140.
[570] Simon, *Cities in Translation*, p. 12.

'evolving and dynamic web' of Luandino Vieira's own compositional processes can be better appreciated.[571]

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have argued that what has been termed José Luandino Vieira's 'linguagem luandina' can profitably be analysed in light of its relationship with translation and translationality. In Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, which constitute the first part of this thesis, I have discussed the Angolan writer's work of translation—that is, how the concept of translation, broadly conceived as translationality, has underpinned the aesthetic and ethical development of his literary project and of his literary language. In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, which comprise the second part of this thesis, I have turned my attention to the ways in which translators have responded to the challenges posed by a literary language that is itself guided by a principle of translationality.

In doing so, I have sought to introduce a new critical vocabulary with which scholars of Luandino Vieira's *oeuvre*—widely discussed in terms of its 'linguagem luandina' since the 1980s—may approach his language in a way that remains attuned to its own prefigurative potential. This involves situating this 'linguagem luandina' within recent critical debates (such as those introduced by Ndhlovu and Makalela) which have sought to think beyond European

[571] Cordingley and Manning, 'What Is Collaborative Translation?', p. 4.

conceptualisations in which languages—usually considered coterminous with nation-states—are seen, in Matthew Reynolds's words, 'as separate […] rather than seen to be shifting and overlapping zones on the continuum of language variation'.[572] To do so is to acknowledge that it is not through Stern's 'terceiro registro' that 'Luandino Vieira revelará uma nova língua literária angolana «descolonizada»', conceived as a definitive achievement precluding further innovation. Instead, as this thesis has argued, it is by virtue of a prefigurative (rather than prescriptive) understanding of 'language as process'—rather than as something enumerable—that it reveals the prefigurative possibilities of what could be called 'decolonisation as process'.

One of the broader theoretical consequences of this thesis is also related to critical vocabulary. As we have seen, critical writing on literature's relationship to language in what are traditionally understood to be multilingual contexts often produces a certain terminological inflation. To take a representative example, the essays that make up Rachael Gilmour and Tamar Steinitz's *Multilingual Currents in Literature, Translation, and Culture* (2018) use a variety of terms to describe linguistic dynamics—including, for instance, 'bilingual'/'bilingualism', 'post-bilingualism', 'radical bilingualism', 'multilingual'/'multilingualism', 'polylingual'/'polylingualism', 'interlingual'/'interlingualism', 'translingual'/'translingualism', 'panlingual'/'panlingualism', and 'anarchic plurilingualism'. As a result of this terminological inflation, it is often difficult to determine the extent to which approaches overlap. In the course of this thesis, I have explored some of the issues with terms like these, particularly by integrating the insights of recent work in both colonial linguistics and across other specifically decolonial approaches to language.

[572] Matthew Reynolds, 'Introduction', in *Prismatic Translation*, ed. by Matthew Reynolds (Cambridge: Legenda, 2019), pp. 1–18 (p. 8).

One way of conceptualising the difficulties posed by this inflationary tendency within studies of language and its relationship to literature involves recalling Naoki Sakai's joint notions of 'homolingual' and 'heterolingual address' from Chapter 4. The former, as we have seen, consists of 'a regime of someone relating herself or himself to others in enunciation whereby the addresser adopts the position representative of a putatively homogenous language society and relates to the general addressees, who are also representative of an equally homogenous language community'.[573] The latter, instead, involves viewing the audience as 'a nonaggregate community' that might respond to a given utterance 'with varying degrees of comprehension'.[574] The proliferation of conceptual vocabulary surrounding language dynamics produces an impression of heterogeneity which may at times mask dangerously a tendency to assume 'a putatively homogenous' idea of languages as 'enumerable' closed systems. Hence the preference given across this thesis to 'heterolingual' as a descriptor over, say, 'multilingual' or 'plurilingual'. While the former respects the ways in which language can foreground 'a nonaggregate community' characterised by the possibility of internal differences, the latter pair imply that there are clear and stable borders around, say, Portuguese and Kimbundu which allow for them to be counted.

The argument I offer here is that the vocabulary associated with translation and translationality can provide a means of resisting this proliferation of conceptual descriptors. This is not to say that translation studies avoids producing its own terminological inflation. The precise relationship between some of the many popular descriptive vocabularies for understanding the dynamics of translation ('distancing'/'furthering' versus 'domestication'/'foreignisation', for example) is also often unclear. Recent interventions in the

[573] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, pp. 3-4.
[574] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity*, p. 4.

field, such as Reynolds's own *Prismatic Translation* (2019), also feature multiple competing descriptors (in this case, among others, 'extreme translation' and 'algorithmic translation').[575] Despite this, however, it is also worth emphasising the ways in which translation and translationality can help us navigate this proliferation of descriptive options while avoiding some of the pitfalls of methods which replicate the colonial attitude to language explored in the Introduction to this thesis. Indeed, translation and translationality, I argue, have a clear use-value in circumstances in which critical writing does not want inadvertantly to 'invent'—to recall David Gramling's vocabulary—its own ultimately ideological version of language and linguistic dynamics, whether one which too quickly assumes that languages are simply 'enumerable objects', or one which too readily subscribes to a perspective on language use in postcolonial contexts which fails to recognise the extent to which 'languages' as such are the product of what we have seen Herbert Chimhundu call imperial 'evangelization' and the 'search for a common system of writing'.[576]

To return then, to the question which opened this thesis's exploration of multilingualism, translation, and prefiguration across Luandino Vieira's work: 'Banza-o o léxico, o patuá?' [577] João Vêncio's language is a language that astonishes precisely insofar as it opens up the possibility of a way of thinking about language politics in postcolonial societies—societies in which the problematics raised by 'o léxico, o patuá' are unavoidably present in both the private and public spheres. If Angola has had to grapple with the 'language question', as I term it in Chapter 1, since Independence, then it is hardly surprising that not only its writers, but also its critics have had to confront it. However, what João Vêncio's

[575] See, for instance, Adriana X. Jacobs, 'Extreme Translation', in *Prismatic Translation*, ed. by Matthew Reynolds (Cambridge: Legenda, 2019), pp. 156-172; and Eran Hadas, 'Algorithmic Translation: New Challenges for Translation in the Age of Algorithms', in *Prismatic Translation*, ed. by Matthew Reynolds (Cambridge: Legenda, 2019), pp. 262-285.
[576] Chimhundu, 'Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor', p. 87.
[577] Luandino Vieira, *João Vêncio: Os Seus Amores*, p. 64.

question also makes clear is that, in thinking through possible answers, even if this means acknowledging what Sakai would call ‘varying degrees of comprehension’, readers—whether critics or not—are encouraged to grapple themselves with language prefiguratively. With a characteristic doubleness—not just a ‘léxico’, but a ‘patuá’ at the same time—João Vêncio gestures to two competing descriptions of language simultaneously: one word suggesting a perhaps official vocabulary, the other a dialect or regional non-standard use of language, including mixed registers such as pidgins and creoles. As such, ‘varying degrees of comprehension’—to widen the implications of Sakai’s phrase—are built into the ways in which perhaps Luandino Vieira’s most idiosyncratic character describes language use. It is among this thesis’s conjectures that criticism can profitably follow João Vêncio’s lead.

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