



UNIA

Universität Augsburg
Philologisch-Historische
Fakultät

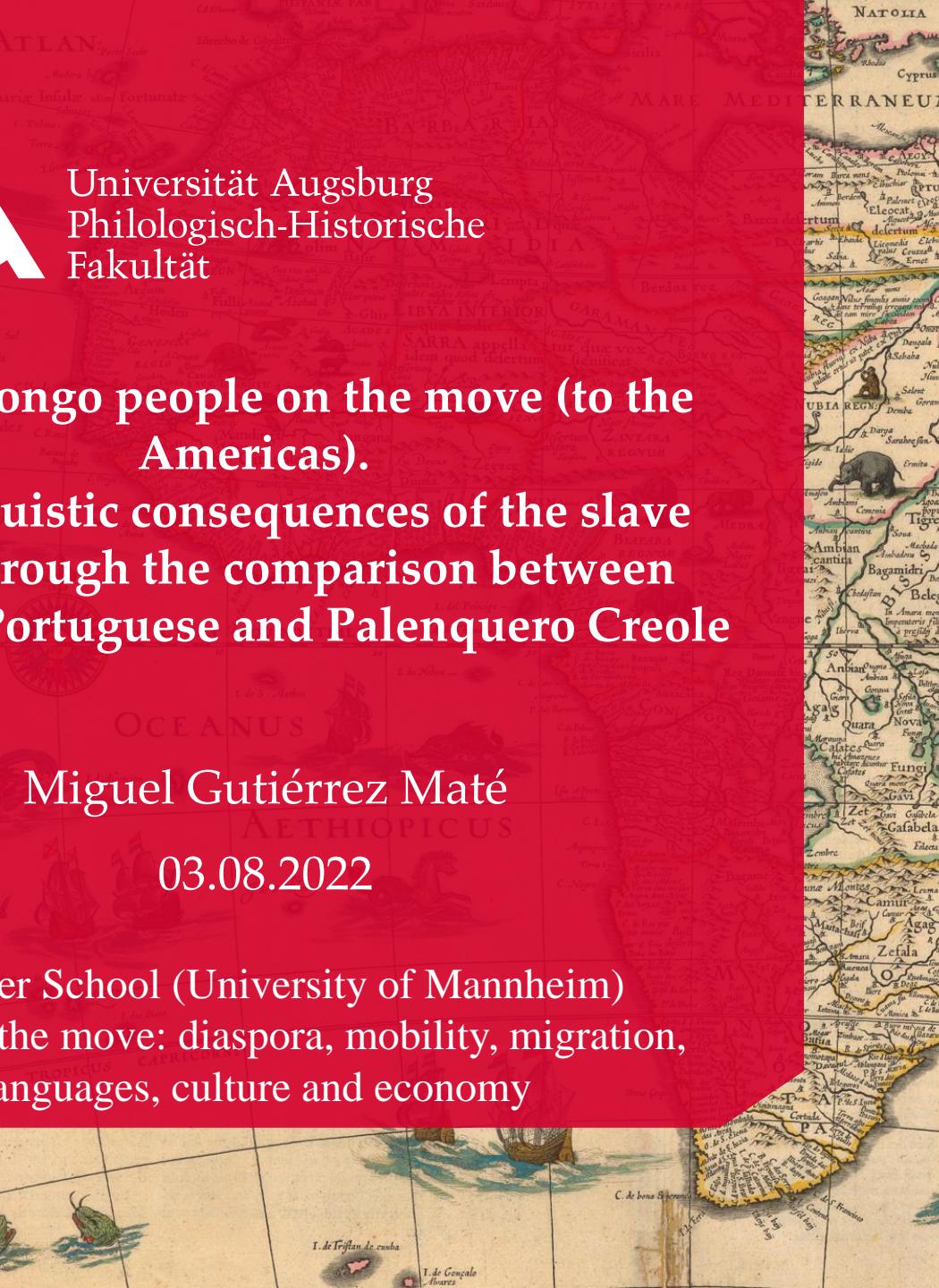
The Bakongo people on the move (to the
Americas).

The linguistic consequences of the slave
trade through the comparison between
Angolan Portuguese and Palenquero Creole

Miguel Gutiérrez Maté

03.08.2022

Summer School (University of Mannheim)
Africa on the move: diaspora, mobility, migration,
languages, culture and economy



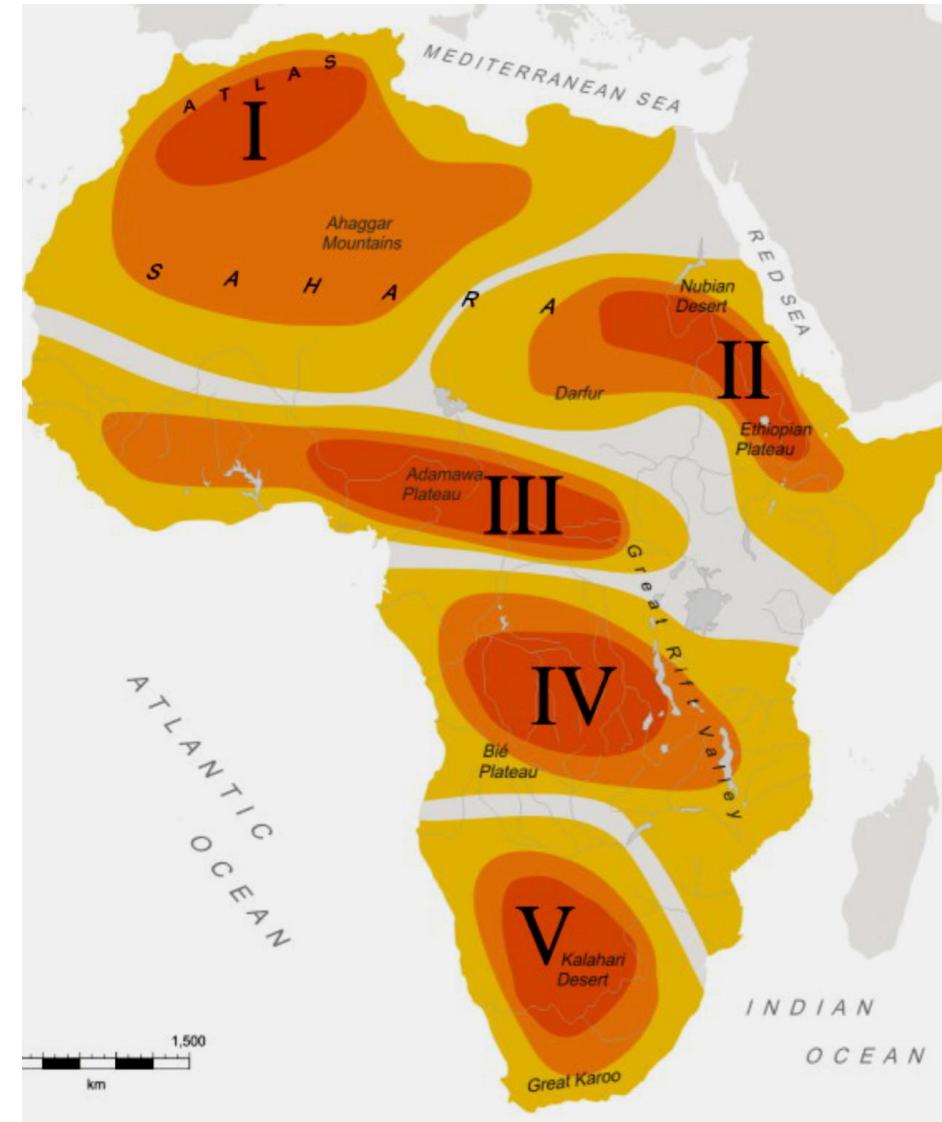
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Kikongo and the (Angolan) *bakongo*

Language families

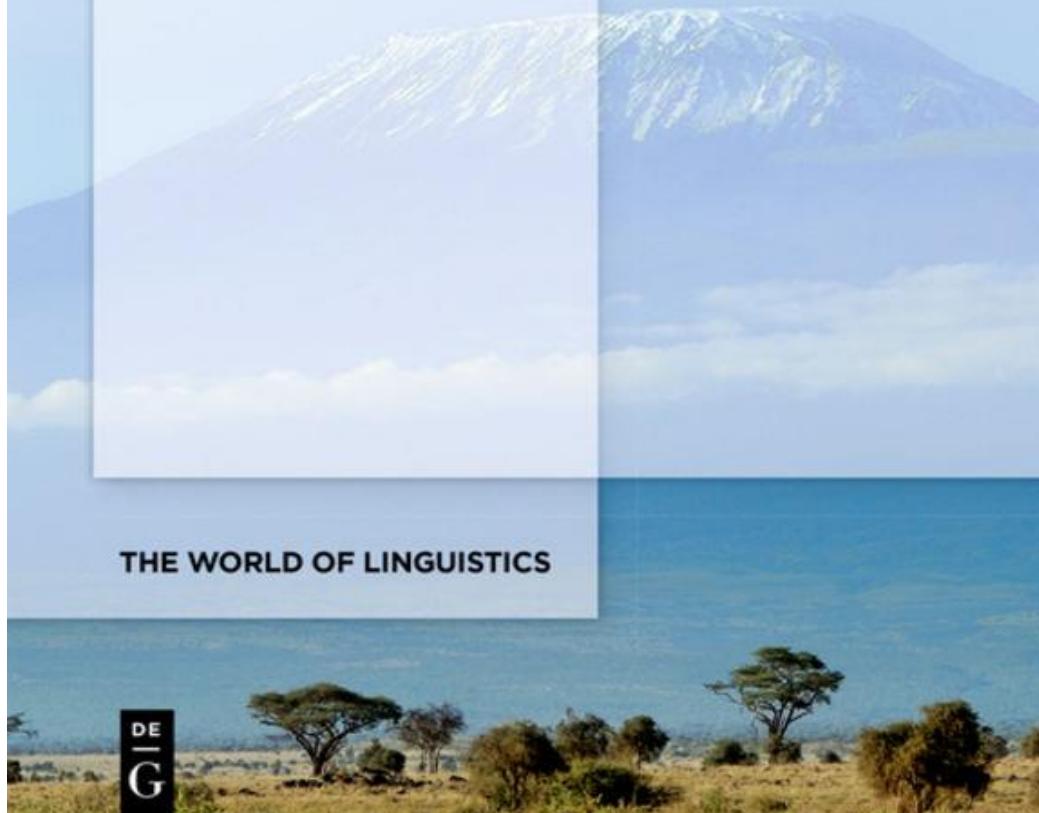


Two criteria: genealogical and areal
(Güldemann 2010, 2018)

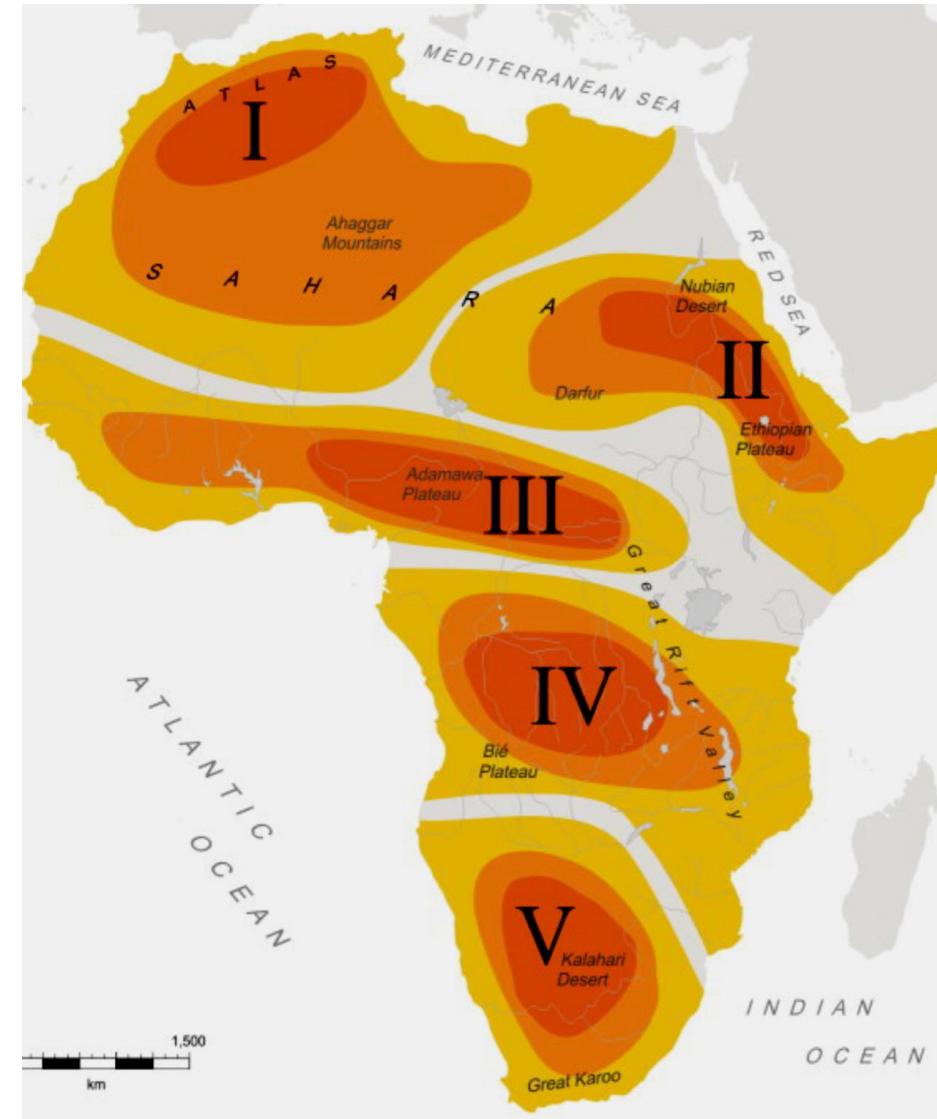


Tom Güldemann (Ed.)

THE LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS OF AFRICA



Two criteria: genealogical and areal
(Güldemann 2010, 2018)



Tom Güldemann (Ed.)

Laboratory of Excellence “Empirical Foundations of Linguistics” (EFL)

EFL

Accueil Présentation Actualités Recherche Valorisation Formation Publications



Tom Güldemann – « Areal linguistics in Africa before a new approach to its genealogical language classification » – Chaire Internationale 2019

14 Mai 2019 | À la Une, Actualités, Conférences vidéo, Vidéo

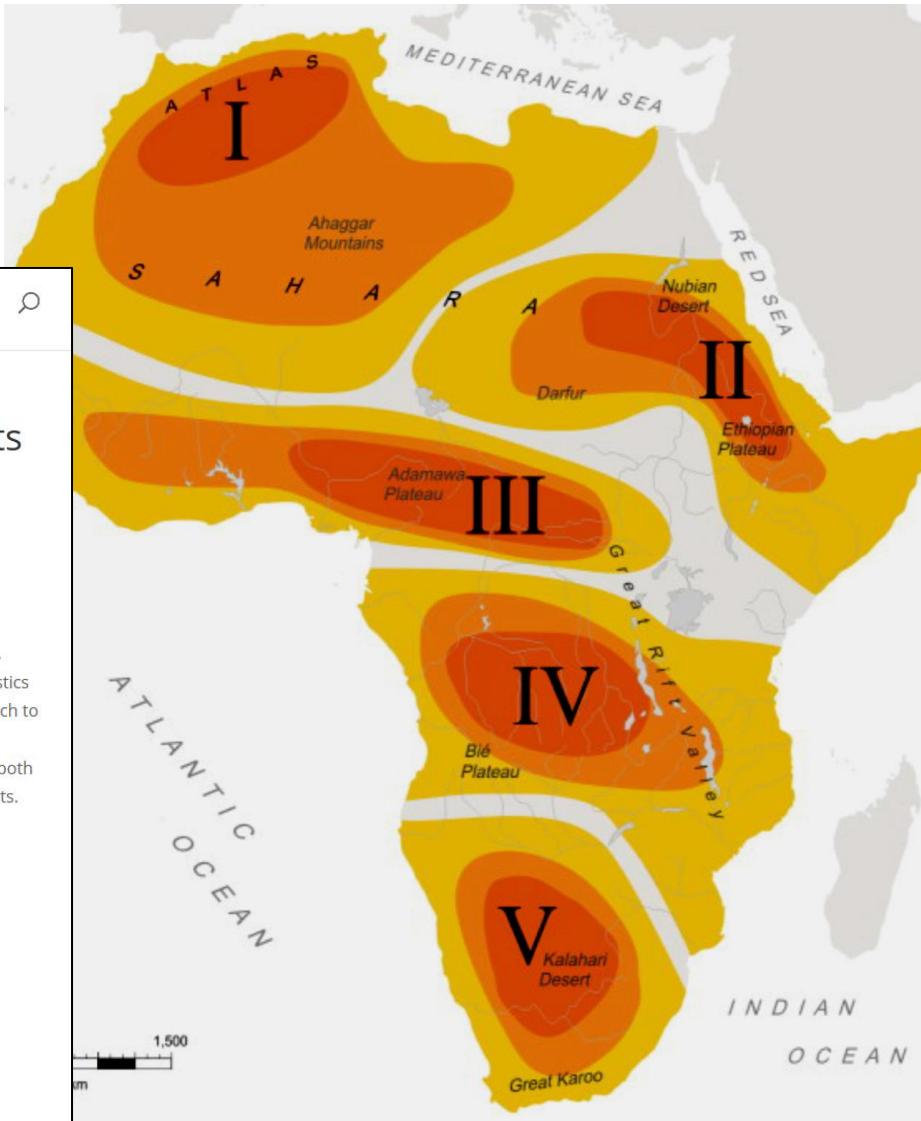
Lecture 1: « African language classification beyond Greenberg »

The widely accepted genealogical classification of African languages to date is Greenberg's (1963) scheme that comprises just four indigenous super-families, namely Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, and Afroasiatic. Despite the long-standing popularity of his proposal, specialists of historical-comparative linguistics have noticed that it is methodologically and empirically questionable (cf., e.g., Campbell and Poser 2008). This lecture provides a new comprehensive approach to genealogical language classification in Africa according to Güldemann (2018b) that is based on unitary criteria oriented toward the standards of the general discipline. According to such criteria, the publicly available evidence is only sufficient for accepting two large language families, Niger-Congo and Afroasiatic, both in a narrower sense. Greenberg's two other supergroups, Khoisan and Nilo-Saharan, should for the time being be broken down into a number of smaller units. According to this approach, Africa is far more diverse than commonly assumed in hosting 40 to 45 linguistic lineages.



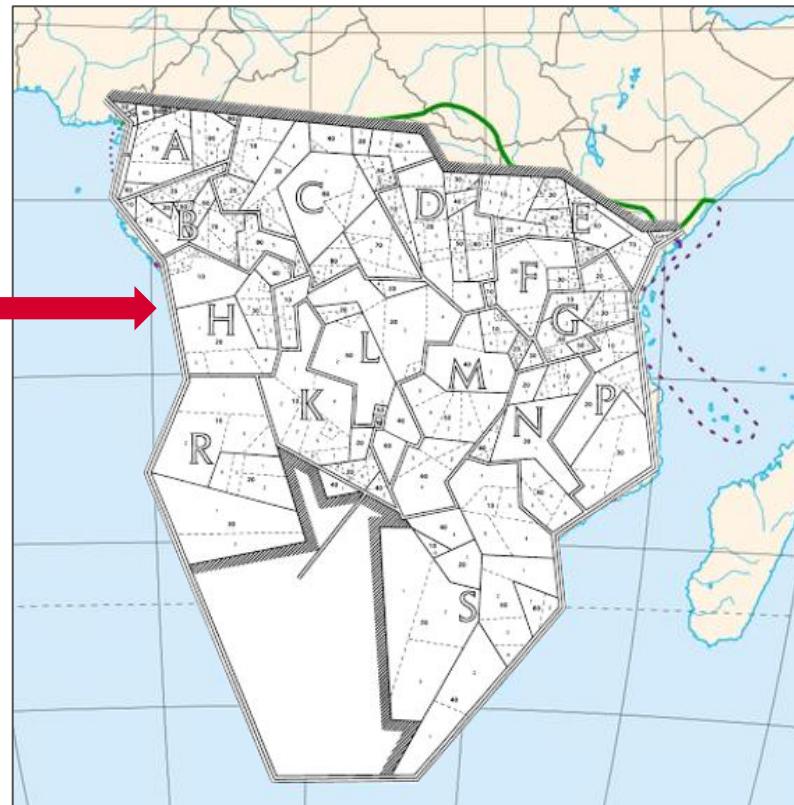
Lien vidéo : https://www.canal-u.tv/video/cnrs_ups2259/lecture_1_african_language_classification_beyond_greenberg.50139

Two criteria: genealogical and areal
(Güldemann 2010, 2018)



Kikongo

- Bantu H10-H16 (Guthrie 1948, 1967-71), Kikongo Language Cluster (U. Gent Research Group).



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- Several *doculects* (Brusciotto's grammar, bilingual chatecism Port/Kik, trilingual glossary Sp/Lat/Kik, etc.).
- First Sub-Saharan language in being attested as a L1/substrate of Ibero-Romance learner varieties (letters by the King of Kongo in the 16th century: v. Lipski 1996 on the first three volumes of the *Monumenta Missionaria Africana* (1952...) by A. Brásio (altogether 22 volumes; without Spiritana *Monumenta Africana* (1966...))
- Most important Sub-Saharan language for the history of Latin America, especially during the first boom of the slave trade (1580-1640).



Kikongo in ritual songs and prayers (Regla de Palo Monte Mayombe)



Imitation of ethnic KIK (Lima 19th century) / legends Cabinda > Guayabo



Kikongo slightly older than Kimbundu in Brasil (some words: *moleque~muleque*)



KIK als primary (Palenquero) or secondary (Chocó) substrate in Colombia

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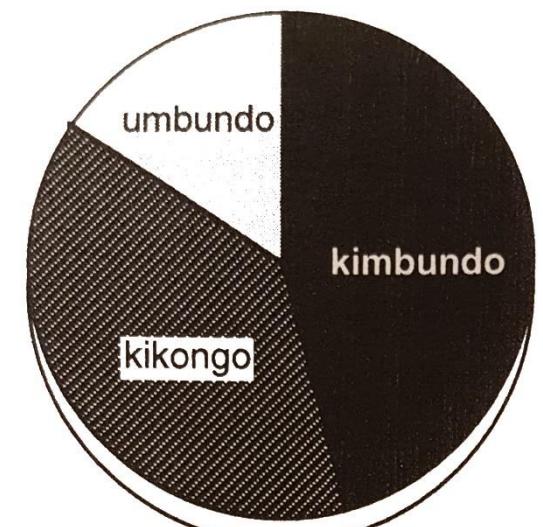
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Overall frequency of Bantuisms in BP (popular, ritual... everything)

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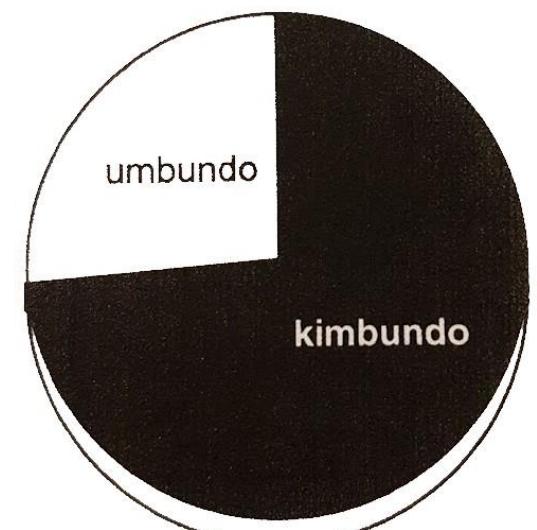
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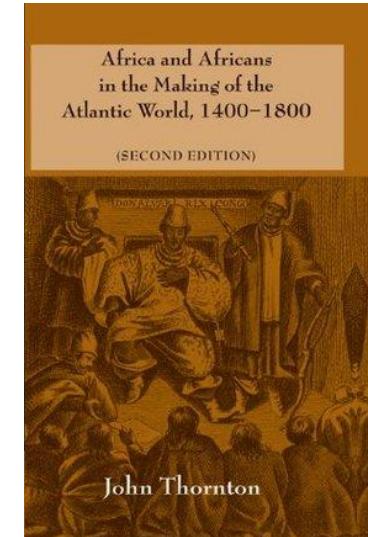
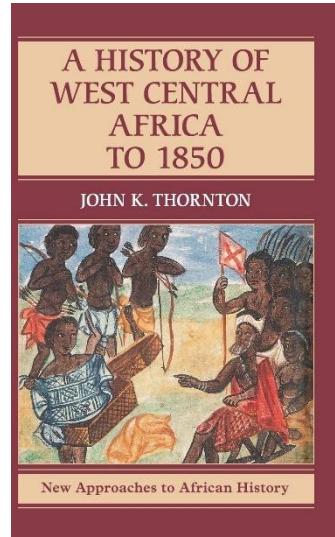
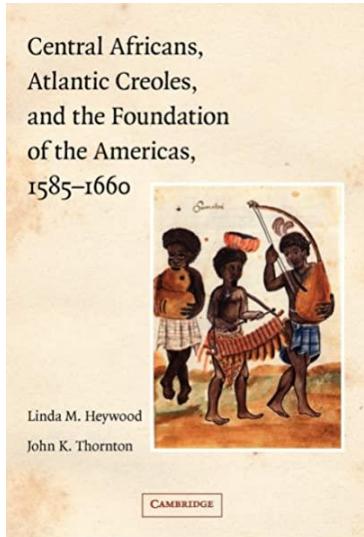


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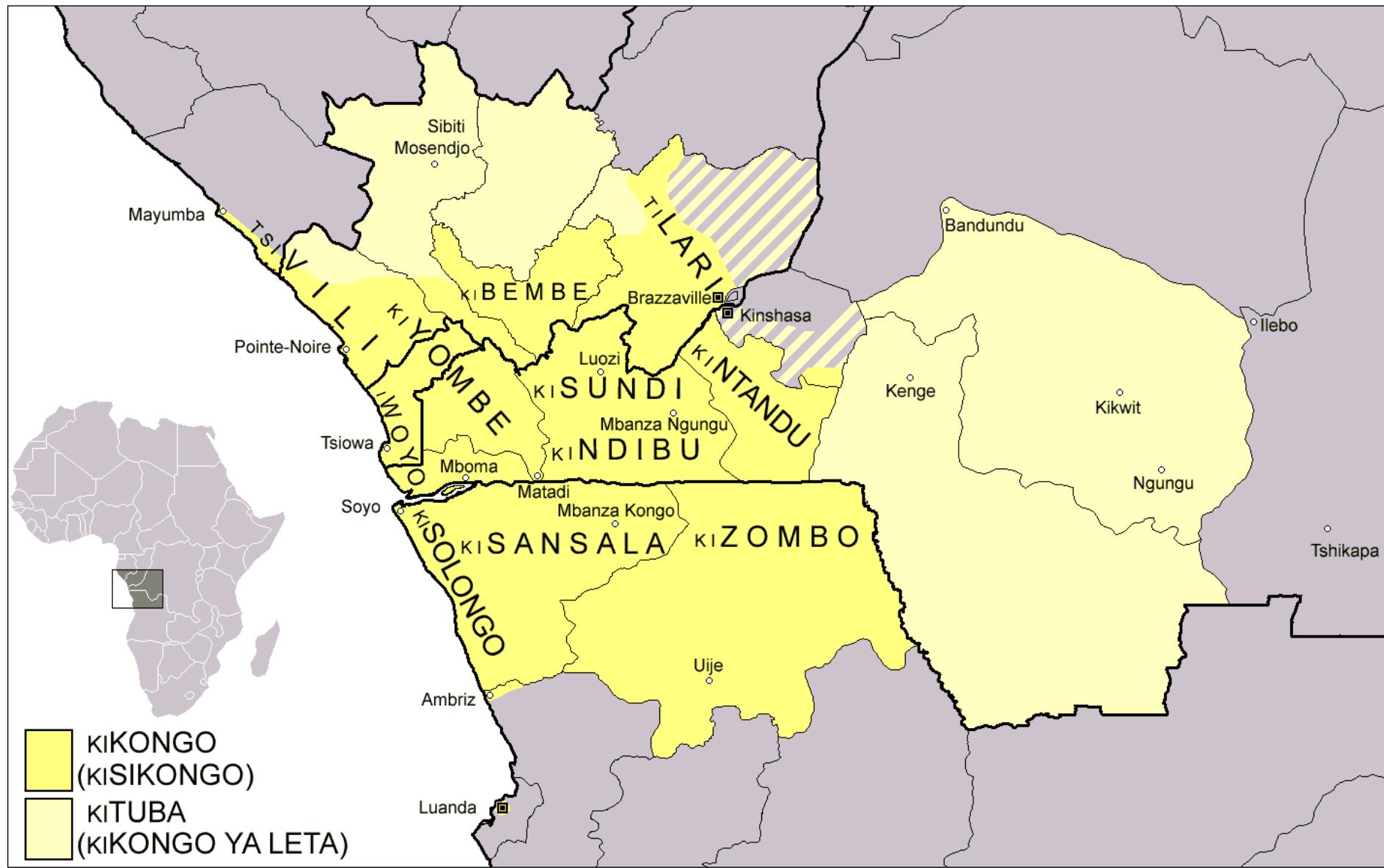


Kikongo

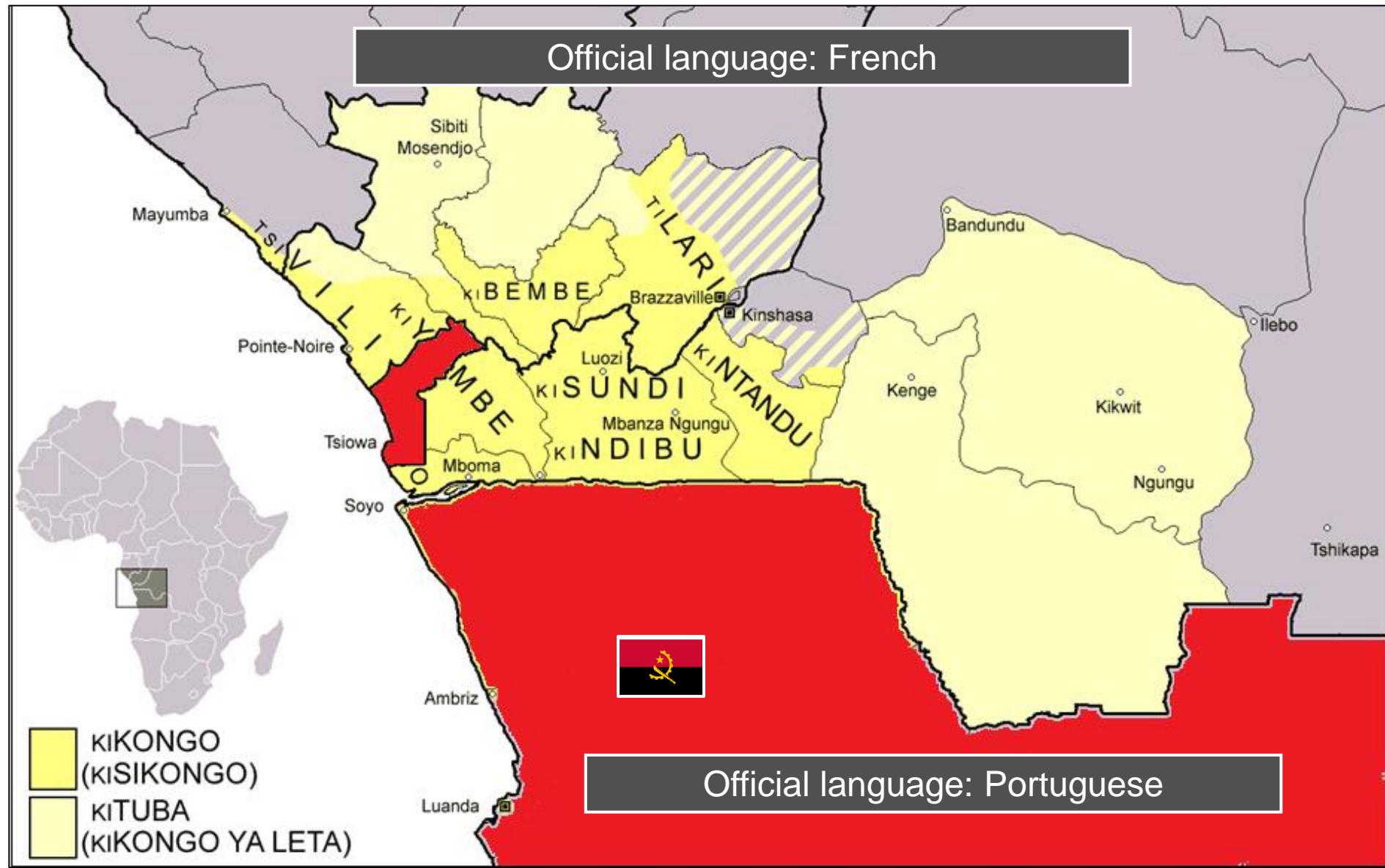
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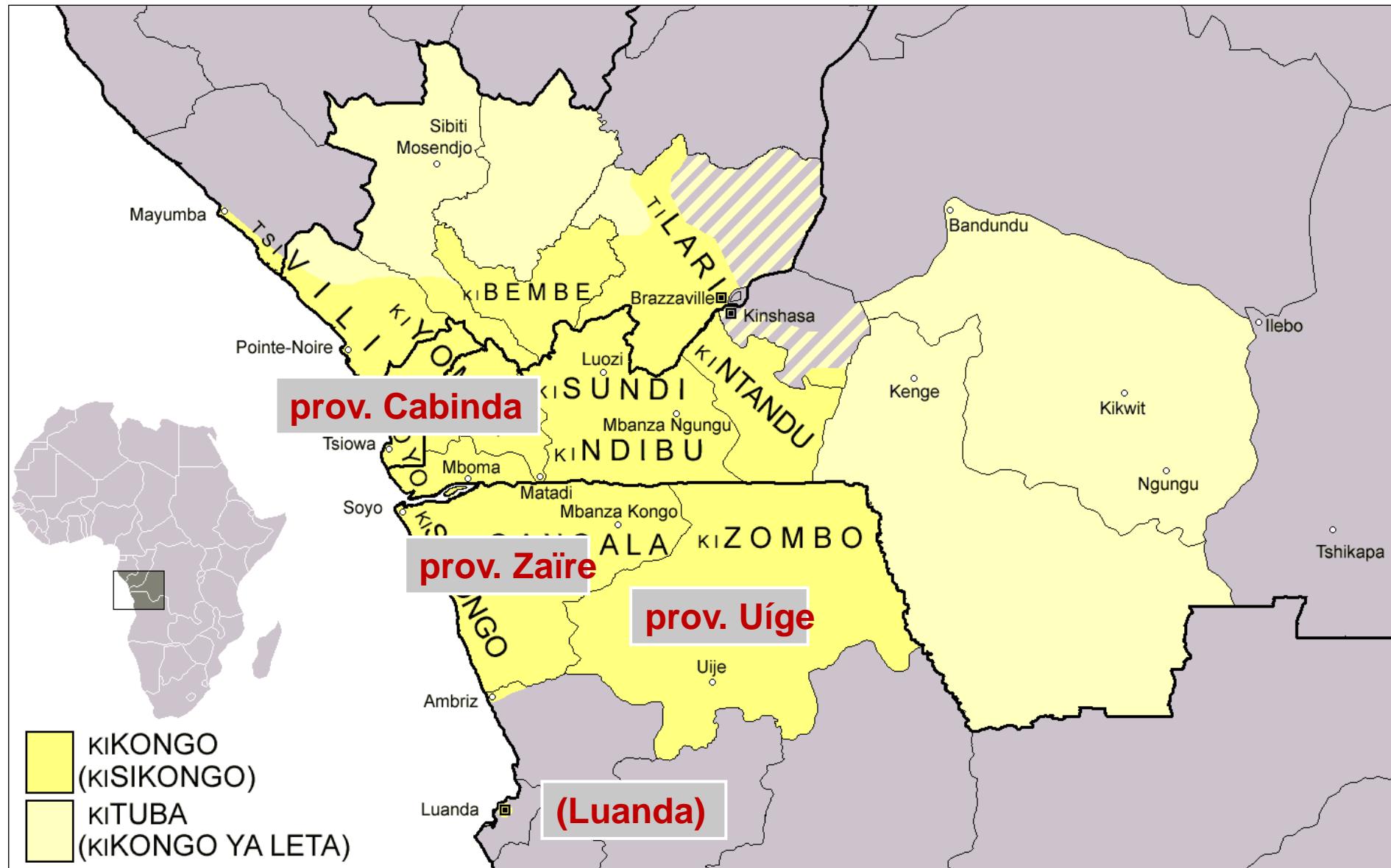
“Kikongo”: vernacular vs. vehicular (Kituba)



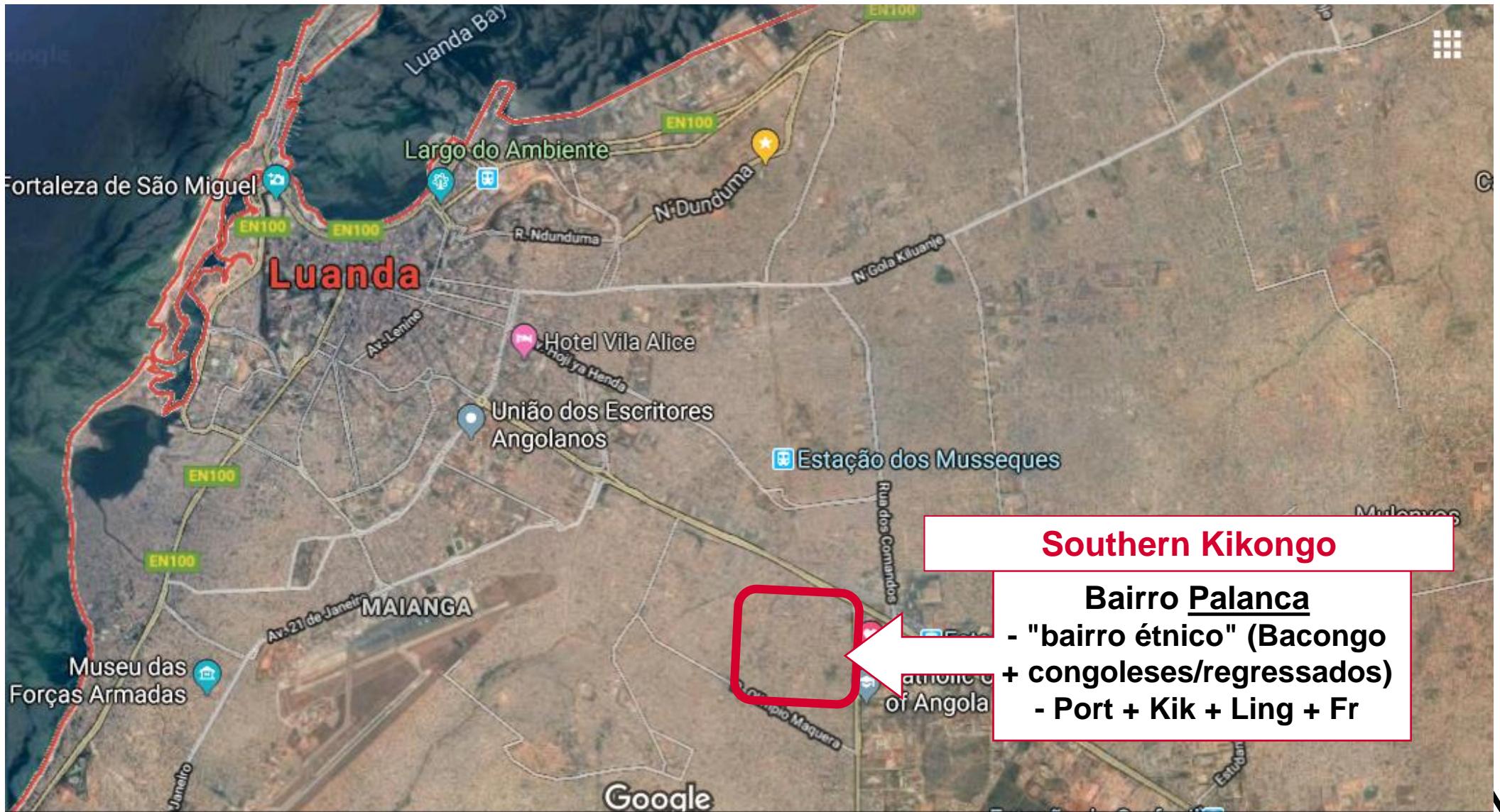
“Kikongo” (vernacular) in Angola in contact with European languages



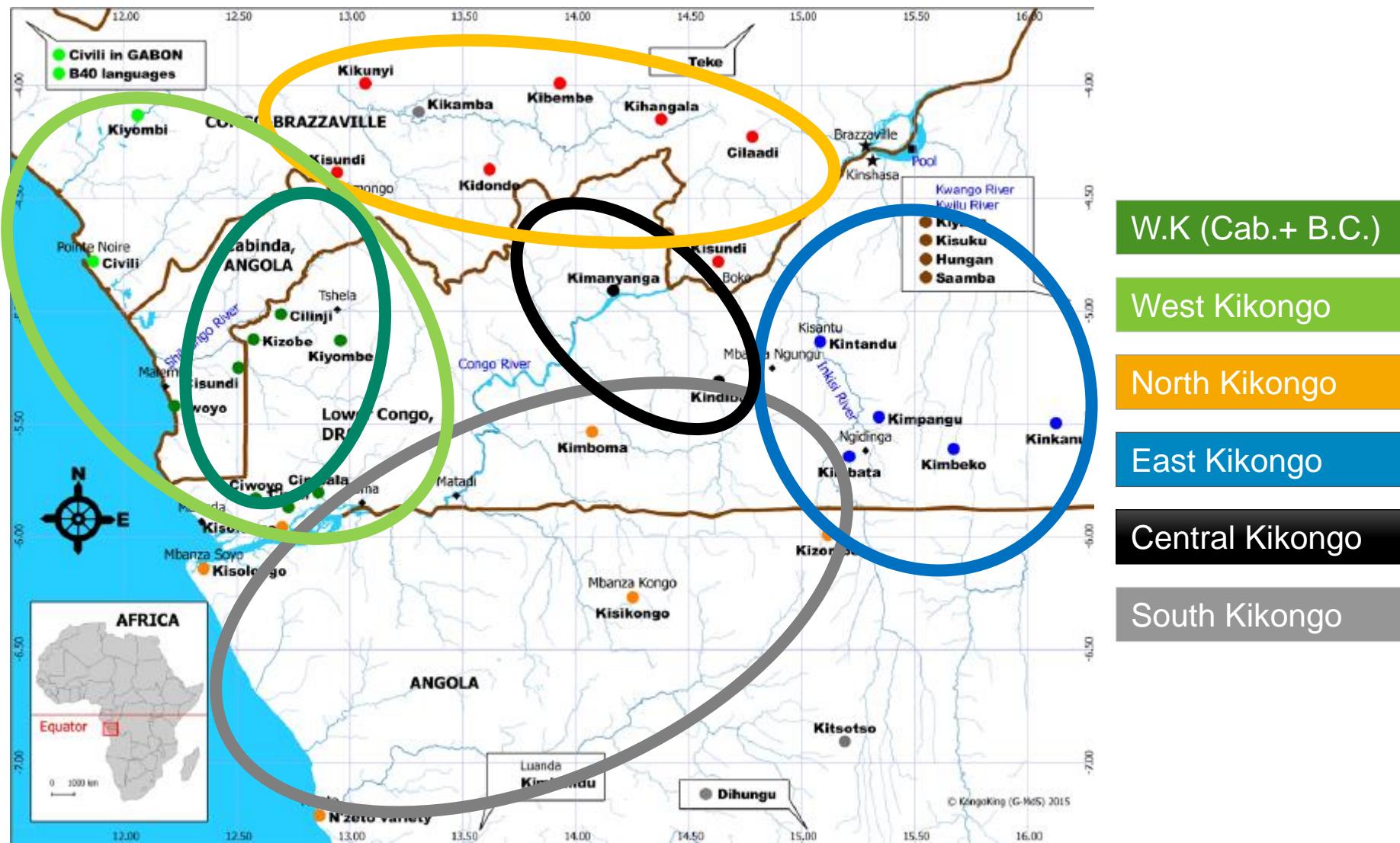
“Kikongo” (vernacular) in Angola: in 3 provinces + Luanda (migration)



Bakongo in *musseques* of Luanda

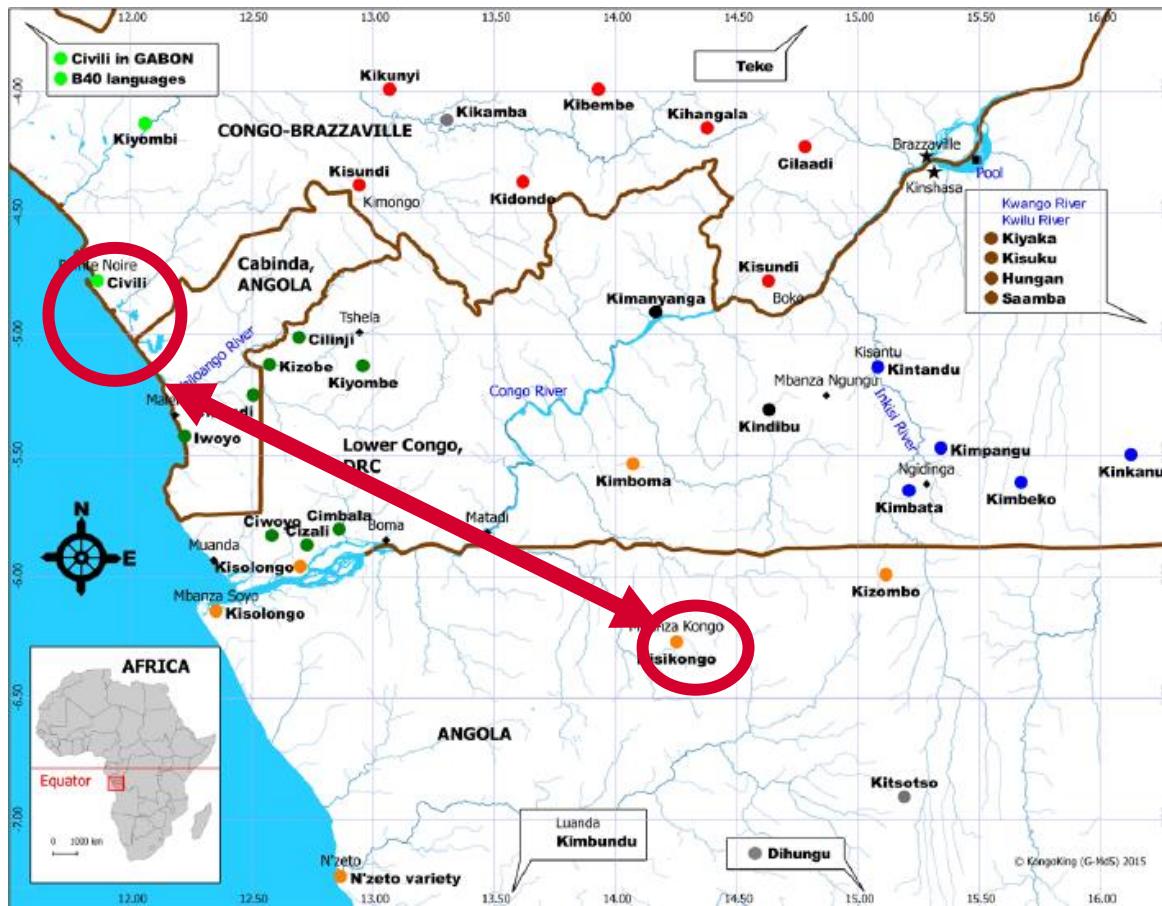


Kikongo Language Cluster (BantUGhent)



Historical sources from the 19th century on intercomprehension

Baumann, Oscar 1888. *Eine afrikanische Tropen-Insel. Fernando Póo und die Bube*, Eduard Hölzel, Wien/Olmütz



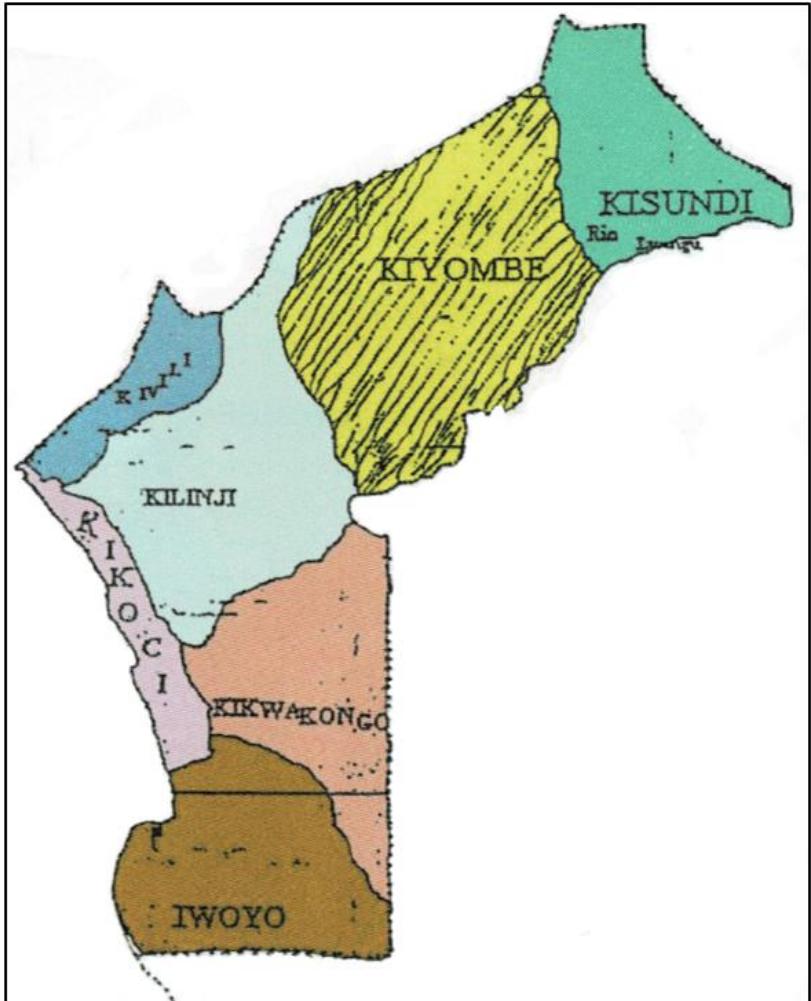
Afro-Cubans and Loango workers in Fernando Poo:

„Von den vier Loangoleuten sprach **keiner ein Wort Englisch**, doch konnte ich mich auf **Kikongo**, der Sprache des unteren Congo, von der ich vieles erlernt, mit ihnen verständigen“

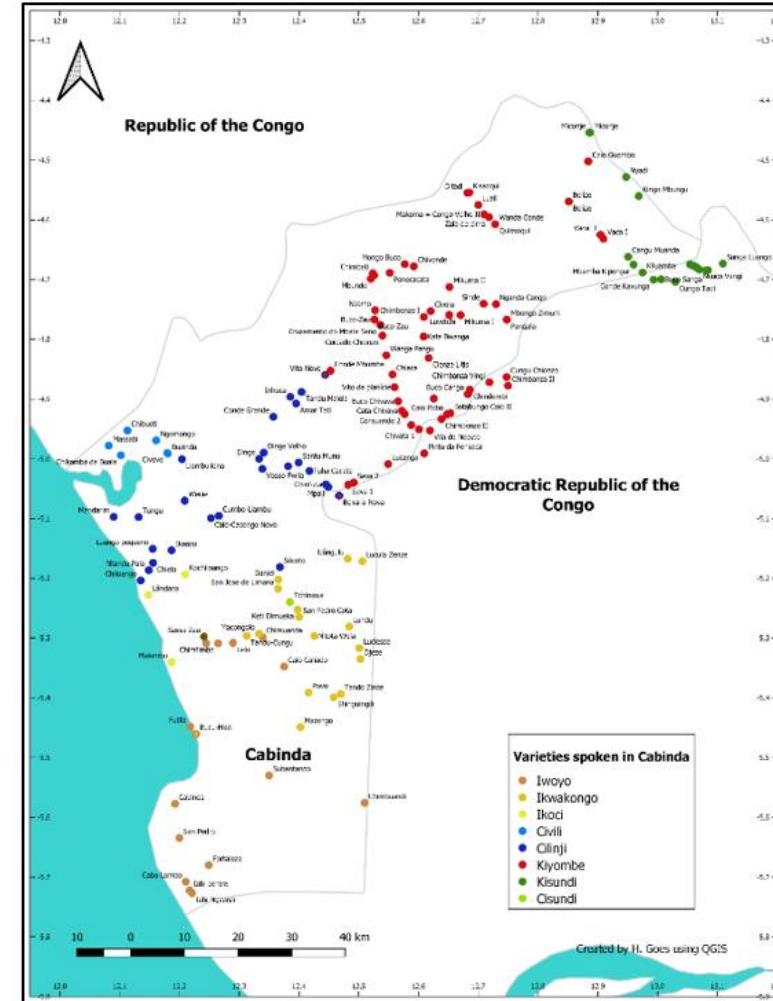


Kikongo languages in Cabinda

Simplified version (Chicuna 2018)



Elaborated version (Goes 2022)



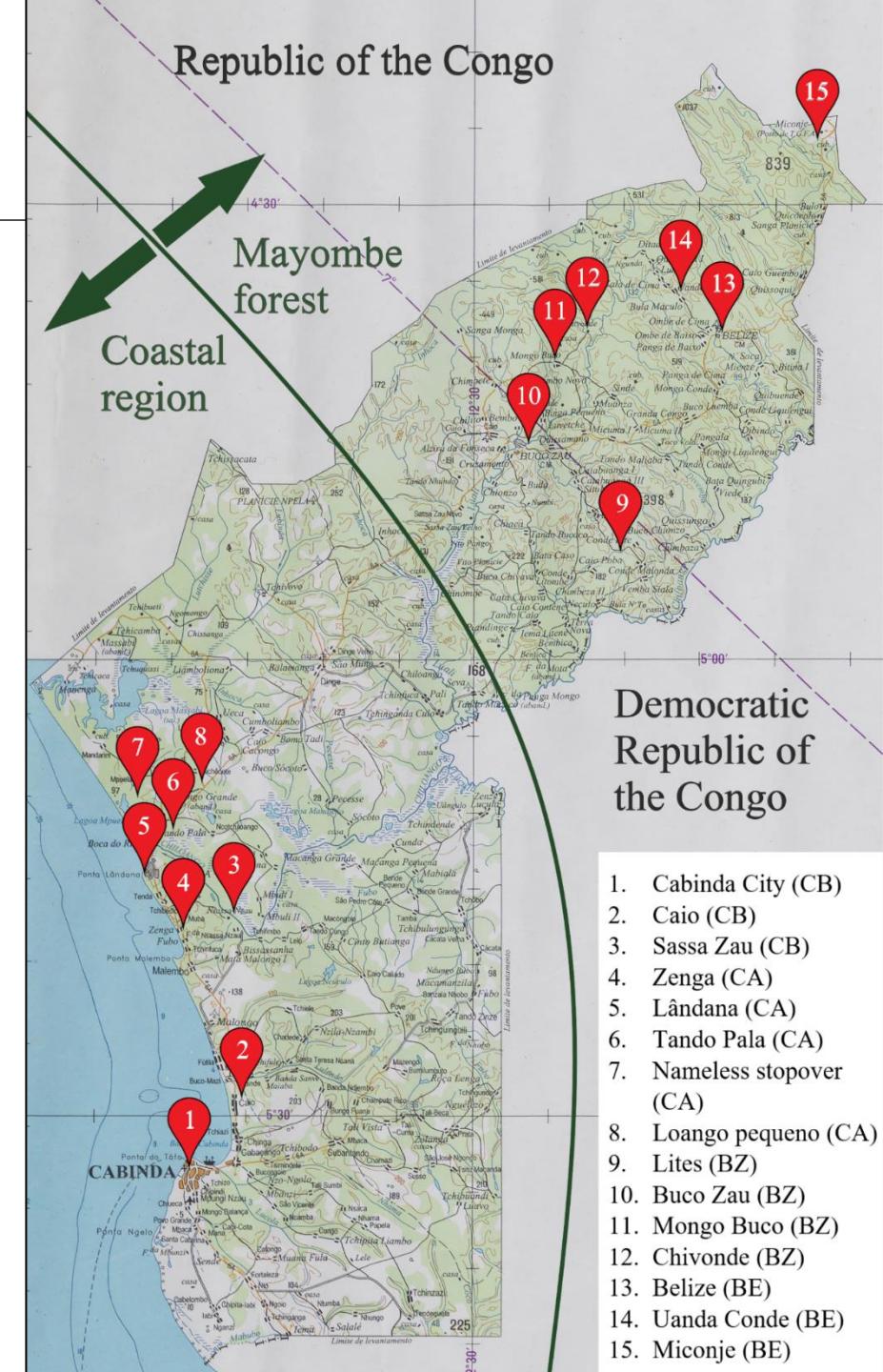
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Corpus (synchrony)

Data collection

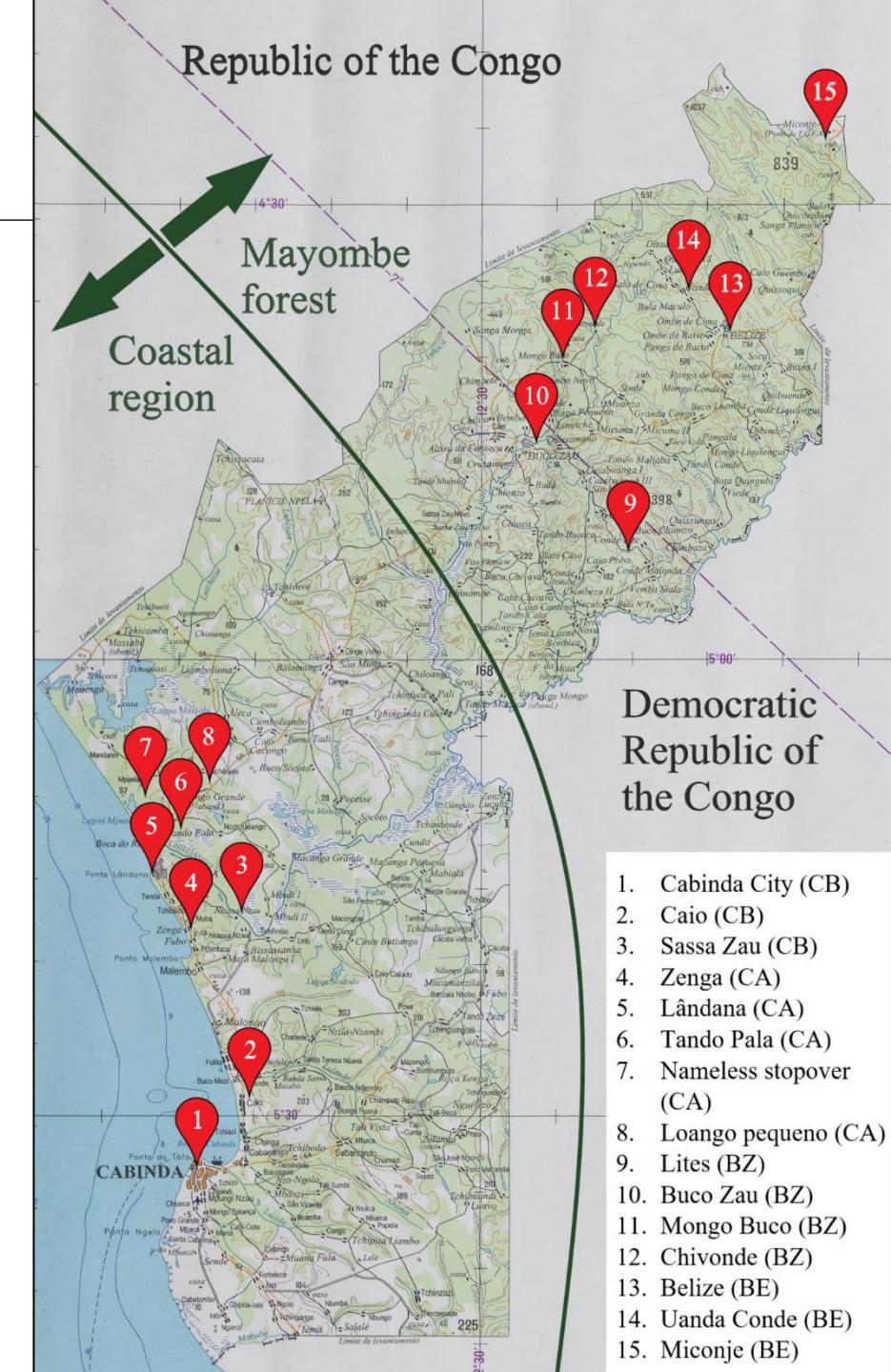
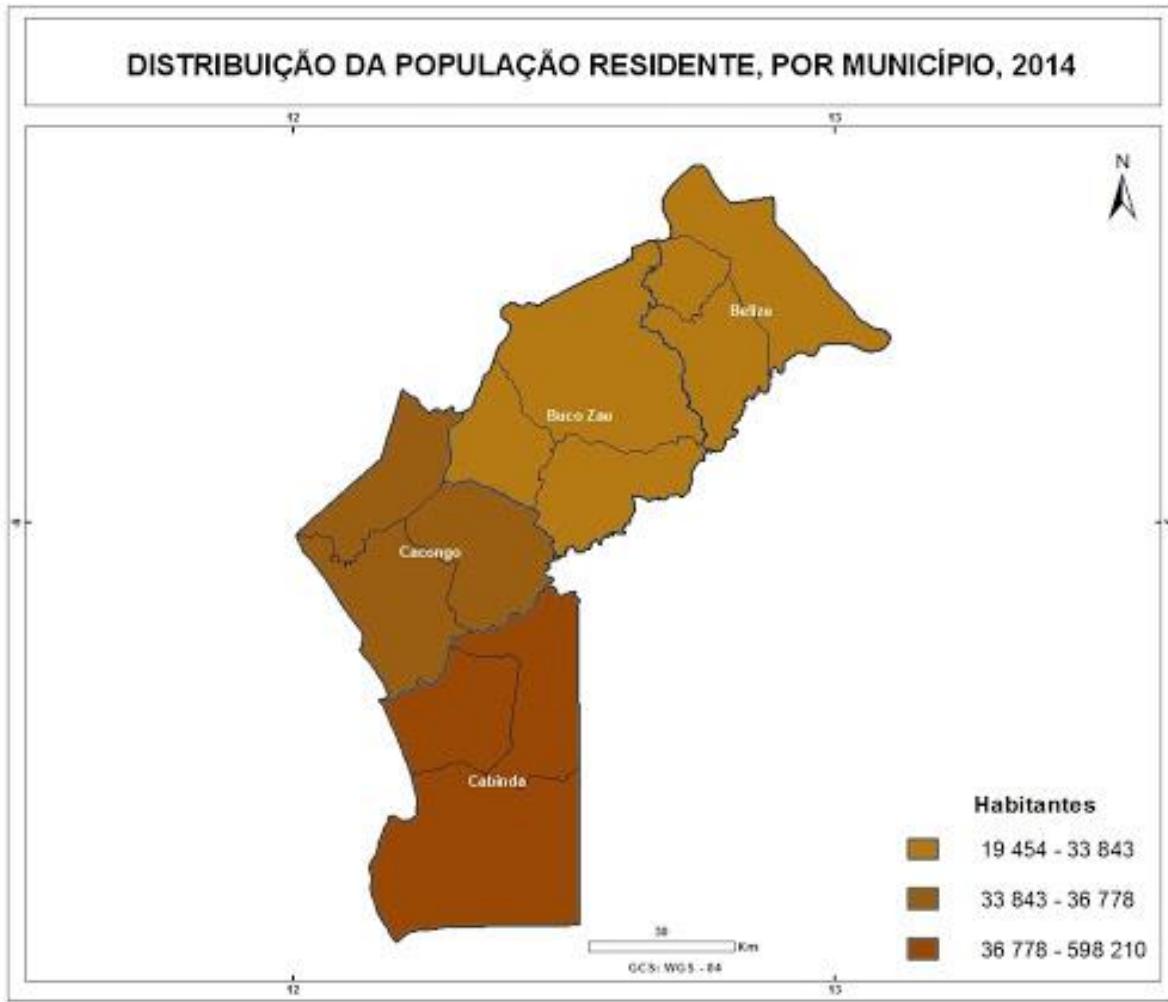
*municípios of Cabinda, Caongo, Buco Zau,
Belize (the latter two in the Maiombe forest)*

- Fieldwork in March/April 2019 + February/March 2020
- 15 villages
- ca. 60 informants
- over 100h of recordings
- mostly transcribed by ELAN
- with help of a local collaborator (Kiyombe/Port bilingual)
- target: fossilized L2 varieties by the *mais velhos das bualas*, assalariados of former *fazendas* who mainly acquired Portuguese in a non-monitored fashion



Data collection

*municípios of Cabinda, Caongo, Buco Zau,
Belize (the latter two in the Maiombe forest)*



Three types of informants during fieldwork

Former assalariados in Lites (*fazenda em Buco Zau*)

- Informant 1:
Almost
exclusively KIK

- Informant 2:
Kikongo and
(close-to-
Stand.Eur.) Port

- Informant 3:
Kikongo &
(restructured)
Portuguese



3

Bakongo-Portuguese: a note on variability

Extraordinary variance (a common place?)

Endruschat/Schmidt-Radefeldt (2014: 240-241) about Portuguese in Africa

"Es ist zunächst festzuhalten, dass das Portugiesische in Afrika eine außerordentliche Varianzbreite aufweist. In den großen Städten, wo das Bildungsniveau generell höher ist und mehrere Ethnien aufeinandertreffen bzw. sich die ethnische Herkunft von Generation zu Generation verliert, sind die Portugiesisch-Kenntnisse besser. Je weiter man sich andererseits von den Städten entfernt, desto mehr nehmen die informellen Gesprächssituationen zu und desto mehr tendiert die Sprache zum Nähebereich. Die Kenntnis der portugiesischen Distanzsprache nimmt ab und die Rolle der afrikanischen Sprachen nimmt zu, so dass es auch starker zu Sprachvermischungen kommt. Daraus ergibt sich das Nebeneinander mehrerer deutlich unterschiedlicher Portugiesisch-Varietäten"

Português dos documentos

Idiolectal variation / liberdade de fala

Sheila (25, Palanca, Luanda)

eu acho que o **português dos documento** (.) eles seguem bem [=em Cidade Nova] não é? (.) **e nós aqui fala(mo[s]) assim como como quiser**

00:13:15.092 - 00:13:25.884

mais important[e] é informação chegar (.) tás a ver?

00:13:26.583 - 00:13:30.074

não (.) eles seguem mais o: o acordo (.) o correto não é? (.) **o português convencional** (.) (***)

00:13:34.433 - 00:13:42.735





4

Some *transfer*-driven phenomena

Natural gender

CP

filho de mulhere

son LP woman

‘daughter’

Kikongo

mw-ana w(a)-a nkento

NC1-son NC1-LP-mulher

‘daughter’

Natural gender

FEMININE

mw-ana w-a-nkento

NC1-son NC1-LP-woman

'daughter'

MASCULINE:

mw-ana w-a-bakala

NC1-son NC1-LP-man

'son'

PLURAL FEM:

b(a)-na ba-(b)a-nkento

NC2-son NC2-LP-woman

'daughters'



eh: então (-) eh: (.) pouco essas coisa ele
conhece (fora) (.) não tem amigos (.) amigos
so eu (.) filho (.) único **filho [d]e home[m]**
[en]tão (.) único **filho de home[m]** [G] sou eu

00:18:03.080 - 00:18:16.100



Natural gender

FEMININE

mw-ana w-a-nkento

NC1-son NC1-LP-woman

'daughter'

MASCULINE:

mw-ana w-a-bakala

NC1-son NC1-LP-man

'son'

PLURAL FEM:

b(a)-na ba-(b)a-nkento

NC2-son NC2-LP-woman

'daughters'



Abel	<KIK>bana buadi yidi bakhietu</KIK>
mulher	00:31:43.512 - 00:31:46.384 tem dois filho de (.) de menina
outro2	00:31:45.371 - 00:31:48.602 não (.) tem duas filhas
pai	00:31:47.076 - 00:31:49.486 tem (.) dois filhos (.) menina
outro2	00:31:47.756 - 00:31:51.115 tenho duas filhas
MGM	00:31:50.499 - 00:31:52.243 então (.) va:mos deixar o pai (.) podes podes ai repetir?
mulher	00:31:52.076 - 00:31:57.102 o pai não vai entender nada
MGM	00:31:55.500 - 00:31:57.320 sim (.) ele entende
Abel	00:31:57.346 - 00:31:58.115 <KIK>bana buadi idi babakieto</KIK>
pai	00:31:58.256 - 00:32:01.410 <KIK>badi bakieto</KIK> (****)
Abel	00:32:00.744 - 00:32:05.103 não pra traduzir diz em português
filho	00:32:05.384 - 00:32:08.102 so tem duas filhas de menina
filho	00:32:07.448 - 00:32:09.551 (el é kiyombe não? ele mais *** é fiôte)
Abel	00:32:10.230 - 00:32:13.897 e como diriam vocês (.) como traduzi[ri]am essa frase
mulher	<KIK>bana buadi ba bakala yidi</KIK>
Abel	00:32:18.179 - 00:32:24.589 e: vossa frase (.) em kissorongo?
mulher	00:32:23.936 - 00:32:26.936 não (.) em português (.) essa frase em português
outra	00:32:25.680 - 00:32:29.526 tem duas filh?s (.) tem dois filhos
	00:32:28.719 - 00:32:32.173 nada (.) tem dois filhos de homem <KIK>(*** yidi)</KIK> é anssim
	(.) agora em portuguese dois filha é portuguese (.) dois filha é portuguese
	00:32:30.767 - 00:32:42.075

Clitic pronouns

eu sou mais velho; me respetam muito

o comissário nos falou: "meu povo..."

eu vou me vestir

a mulher não te gosta (=de ti)

ta te pensar muito (=em ti)

Cf. Endruschat (1990) und
Inverno (2009)

Kikongo (agglutinative verb morphology)

wanumona

u-a-nú-mona

3SG(S)-PRF-2PL(O)-ver

'he/she saw you(PL)'

yávvaangilaangadyo [i-a-g-vaang-il-a-ng-dyo]

'I used to do it **for you**'

subject prefix (Subj-Agr)	TAM	personal Object-Agr	verb root	root extension (causative, relational)	verb vowel (+/- finiteness, TAM 2)	continuity extension	passive extension	Object-Agr
i (1P SG)	a (accomp <i>li</i>)	v (2P SG)	vaang (mache n)	il (relatio- nal)	a (remote- ness)	/VngV/ (kont.)		-dyo (3P SG / 5)

5

Restructuring is not
only about *transfer*

Loss of Gender/Number marking



- população para el[a] viver é café (.)
congonote (.) **os coisa** que ele pranta
- tem um branco também tinha conta do
governo (.) fizeram **os lavra** de café: (.)
cacao, não tem\ não tinha pessoa faltar do
trabalhar
- estrada igual mesmos (.) nós esta sofrer (.)
(***) alunos o: **os mulher** esta sofrer

- eu so[u] **pequeno** e não me fendo na:da
- as loja tá **aberto**
- você ta doente [...] tem que: meter um bocadin[ho] de tabaco **no narriz**
- **esse co[i]sa** esse é micró
- tem **muintos crianças** que tão na escola
- como é que vo:u ter mais eh: **criança pequeno**



Independent subject pronouns in an object clitic position

vai... vai tu [e]ncontrar qualquer lugar

eu vou tu bater

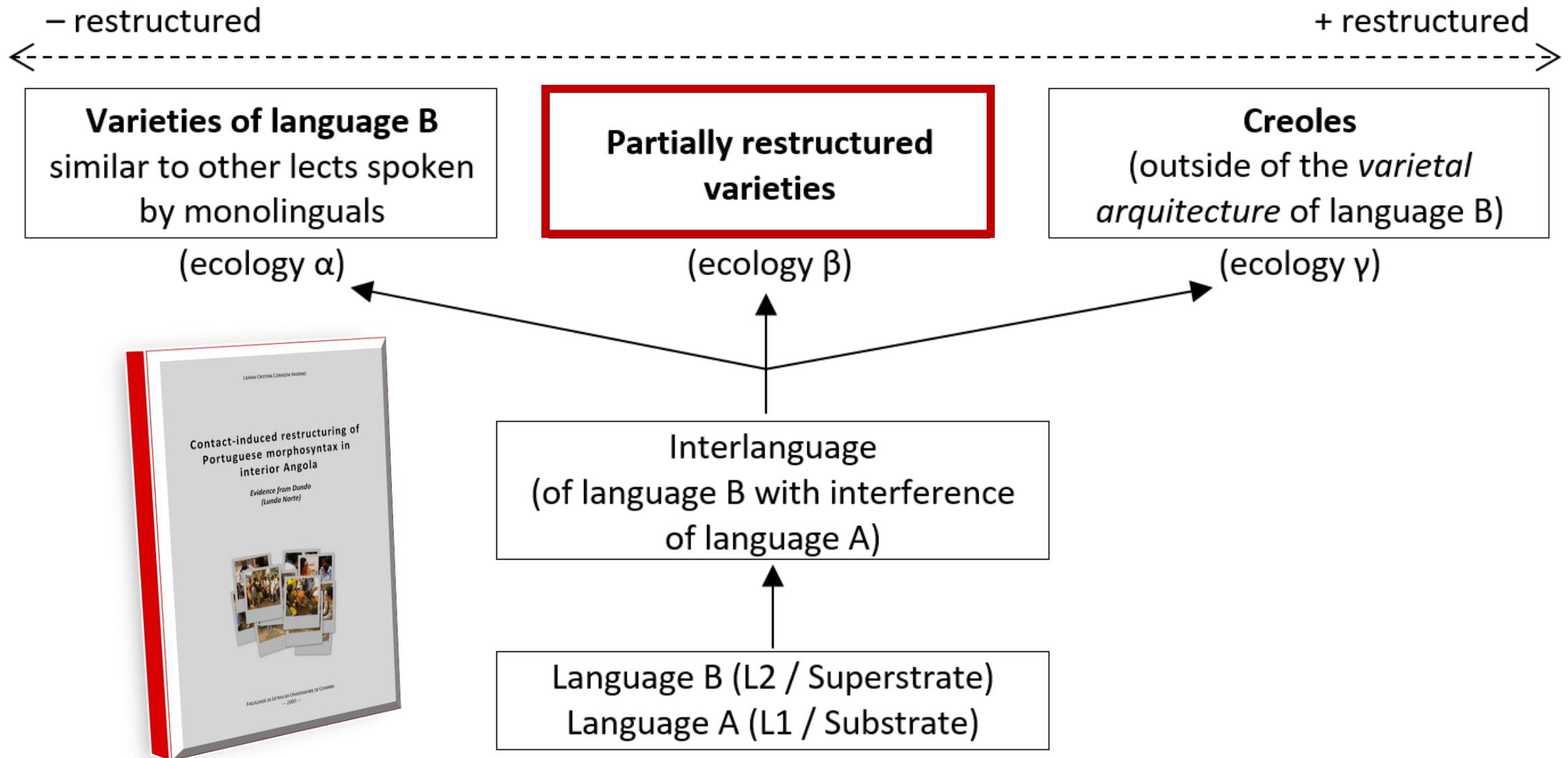
eu tu falei!



6

A note on Palenquero (and its comparison with Cabindan Portuguese)

The restructuring continuum



Palenquero (local glossonym: *lengua (ri Palenge)*)

Spoken in San Basilio de **Palenque** (Bolívar, Colombia)



- **Spanish/Bantu Creole** (*bi-clan* model: Michaelis 2016). Lexifier/superst=Spanish; substrate=Bantu
- **Superstrate: Spanish, with a few elements probably derived from Portuguese.** Different explanations for the latter: (1) monogenesis/relexification approach (Schwegler 1996 → McWhorter 2000 → Sessarego 2015); (2) **Port. loanwords:** (a) maybe from some Portuguese pidgin (or just well-known Portuguese words throughout different languages within the context of the Atlantic slave trade: Bickerton 2002); (b) from the many Portuguese settlers in the Hispanic Caribbean at the time of the *Unión Ibérica* (1580-1640) (Gutiérrez Maté 2012); (c) Portuguese loanwords already found in West Kikongo a century or two before the formation of the most Atlantic Creoles (Moñino 2012).
- **Substrate: quite homogeneously Kikongo** (Bantu H10-16, especially Tsivili and Kiyombe), but maybe also some Bantu H20 (Kimbundu) and some Bantu C (from the middle Congo river region)

Palenquero (local glossonym: *lengua (ri Palenge)*)

Spoken in San Basilio de Palenque (Bolívar, Colombia)



- In recent years: two papers resulting from two different collaborations between **linguists and geneticists** pointed to the link between **Palenque and the Mayombe forest** (about 90 miles from the Loango coast) (Noguera, Schwegler *et al* 2014; Ansari-Pour / Moñino 2016)
- It arose at some point during the **17th century**, probably **not in San Basilio de Palenque itself, but in another or in several palenques existing in the same region** some decades before the foundation of Palenque (around 1680) (Navarrete 2008)
- First attestation of some degree of **bilingualism PAL-Spanish** dates back to the late 18th century
- No significant decreolization/debasilectalization (Mufwene) of PAL, but **language shift in progress** from the 60's onwards
- Revitalization from the 2000's onwards (Palenqueros are increasingly proud of their Creole as an identity marker; *ethnoeducation* programmes), but young language activists are not traditional speakers (rather semi-speakers). Language ideology promotes hyperafricanization (or at least de-hispanization) → **New Palenquero** (Lipski 2012, 2014)

Cabindan Portuguese – Palenquero in comparison

Grammatical gender

a) CP

o meu irmã (*a minha irmã*)

ART 1P.POSS sister

'my sister'

b) Palenquero

ese kabesita

DEM little.head

'this little head'

meu filha (*a minha filha*)

1P.POSS daughter

'my daughter'

aggún tía

IND aunt

'some aunt'

Cabindan Portuguese – Palenquero in comparison

Plural marking in the NP: *plurais nus* in CP, plural marker *ma-* in PAL

a) CP:

esses/os lavra

those/the fields

isso depende das convivência[s]

that depends on the (kinds of) convivences

língua do[s] teus pai[s]

language of your parents

línguas materno[-as]

mother tongue

b) Palenquero

ese ma muhé

DEM PL mujer

'these women'

[cf. ese *lu mujé* in Afro-Bolivian Sp.]

NAP – Palenquero in comparison

Gender: natural gender

CP	Kikongo	Palenquero
<i>filho de mulhere</i> child GEN/LP woman 'daughter' (= Port. filha)	<i>mw-ana w-a-nkento</i> NC1-child LP(NC1)-woman 'daughter' (Kyala 2013: 33)	<i>moná Ø hembra</i> child female 'daughter' (= Sp. hija)
- analyticity (vs. syntheticity in the lexifier) - relexification of the Kik. linking particle → Port. genitive preposition <i>de</i>		- analyticity (vs. syntheticity in the lexifier) - loss of the linking particle

Possessives (same construction used for (natural) gender marking)

(Eur. Port./Sp. make generally use of prenominal possessives, unless in emphatic contexts)

a) CP:

ere manda vorelate esses gentes no tela d'eres
(Mattos e Silva 1904)

'he ordered those people to come back to their lands'

eu vi com filho dele

'I saw his son'

b) Palenquero:

ané tan miní tiela suto

3P.PL FUT venir tierra 1P.PL

,they are going to come to your land/country'

ma web'[o] ele (inalienable) / ma webo ri ele (alienable)

PL egg 3PSG

,her eggs' (of the hen)

PL egg LP 3PSG

,her eggs' (bought by someone)

c) Kikongo:

di-aki di-a-ndi (Moñino 2003: 245)

NC5-egg NC5-LP-3PSG.POSS

'his son' (± alienable)

mw-ana w(a)-a-ame wa-mbote (Barroso Kyala 2013: 98)

NC1-son NC1-LP-POSS.1PSG NC1-good

'my good son'

Object pronouns

Overgeneralization of the proclitic position vs loss of clitics

a) CP

eu te vi ontem

'I have seen you yesterday'

o comissário nos falou: "meu povo..."

'the commissary told us: "my people,..."'

ta te pensar muito

'I am thinking a lot of you'

eu you me vestir

'I am going to get dressed'

b) Palenquero

ablá mí ele

say/speak 1P.SG 3P.SG

'dímelo'

i tá miná bo

1P PROG look you

'te estoy mirando'

kelá té

[*te < Sp. usted*]

stay you

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Conclusions

Cabindan Portuguese and its role for contact linguistics

- CP makes part of the ecological characteristics of some other postcolonial settings (Africa): idiolectal variability, language shift going on, (if anything) partial teaching of the national languages, endogenous norm of the (post)colonial language taking shape (pluricentrism), etc.
- Some idiolects of CP copy ‘morpheme-by-morpheme’ the structure of KIK
- The comparison CP – Palenquero interesting for Creole studies:
 - some syntheticity: determiners – radical analyticity in Pal: DEM + *ma* + N
 - preservation of unstressed gram. words: clitic objects – loss of clitics in Pal
 - non-regularity in restructuring: G/N agreement in the NP – regularity in Pal.
(no substantial differences in semantic and syntactic transfer;
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Cabindan Portuguese and its role for contact linguistics

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Thank you!!

To obtain this presentation, as well as a complete list of bibliographical references, please send an e-mail to
miguel.gutierrez.mate@uni-a.de

and...see you in Augsburg in September!

The right side of the slide features a promotional poster for the ACBLPE+ conference. The top half shows a collage of images related to creole languages and cultures. The title "ACBLPE+" is prominently displayed in red. Below it, the text reads: "20th Annual Conference of the Association of Portuguese and Spanish-lexified Creoles (ACBLPE)", "2nd Meeting of the International Network BayMis", and "Workshop *Creole studies in motion*". The date "7-10 September 2022" is also mentioned. The bottom half of the poster shows a photograph of a street in a rural or semi-rural area with simple buildings and people walking. Logos for "acblpe", "BAYMIS RED ACADEMICA", and the University of Augsburg (UNIA) are at the bottom.