



UNIA

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# The Kikongo matrix of the grammars of Mayombe-Portuguese and Palenquero Creole and its implications for a theory of 'language restructuring'

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AFRIKALINGUISTISCHES KOLLOQUIUM  
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# Structure of the presentation

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- 1** Some fundamentals of **Creoles** vs. „**Partially restructured varieties**“
- 2** **Northern Angolan Portuguese (NAP), Palenquero Creole (PAL) and „Afro-Ibero-Romance Linguistics“**
- 3** **Transferability.** Number, Natural Gender, Clitics, Possessives, Existentials, Negation
- 4** Coda: **substratal influence**, linguistic creativity, indigenized varieties or European languages. Challenges for further research

1

# Some fundamentals of language restructuring

# "Jargon" vs "Kreolisch"

Intuitive opposition since Schuchardt (1888)



**Kreolisch** – like today's *Upper Guinea Creoles* and *Lower (/Gulf of) Guinea Creoles* ("die beiden Gruppen von wirklichem Kreolisch", Schuchardt 1888: 244)

More substrate languages during creolization:

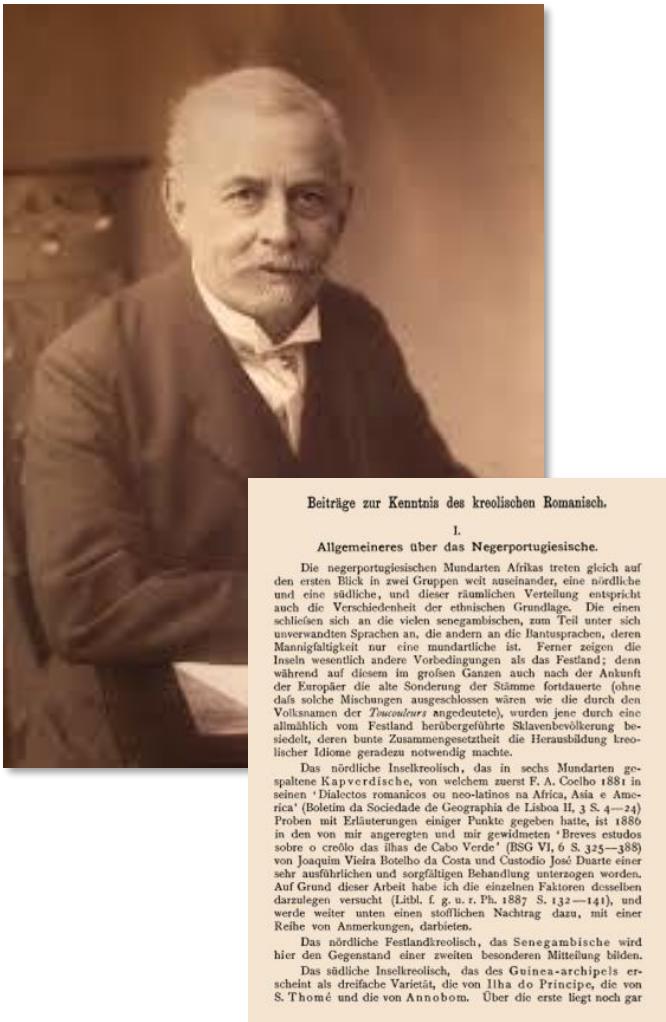
[diese Inseln] wurden [...] durch eine allmählich vom Festland herübergeführte Sklavenbevölkerung besiedelt, deren bunte Zusammengesetztheit die Herausbildung **kreolischer Idiome** gerade zu notwendig machte (1888: 242)

→ it may be true in 90% of the cases, but today we are aware of the existence of "two-languages Creoles" (Thomason 2012)

→ "Idiome": dialects? languages? (for sure "functional languages", spoken as L1)

# "Jargon" vs "Kreolisch"

Intuitive opposition since Schuchardt (1888)



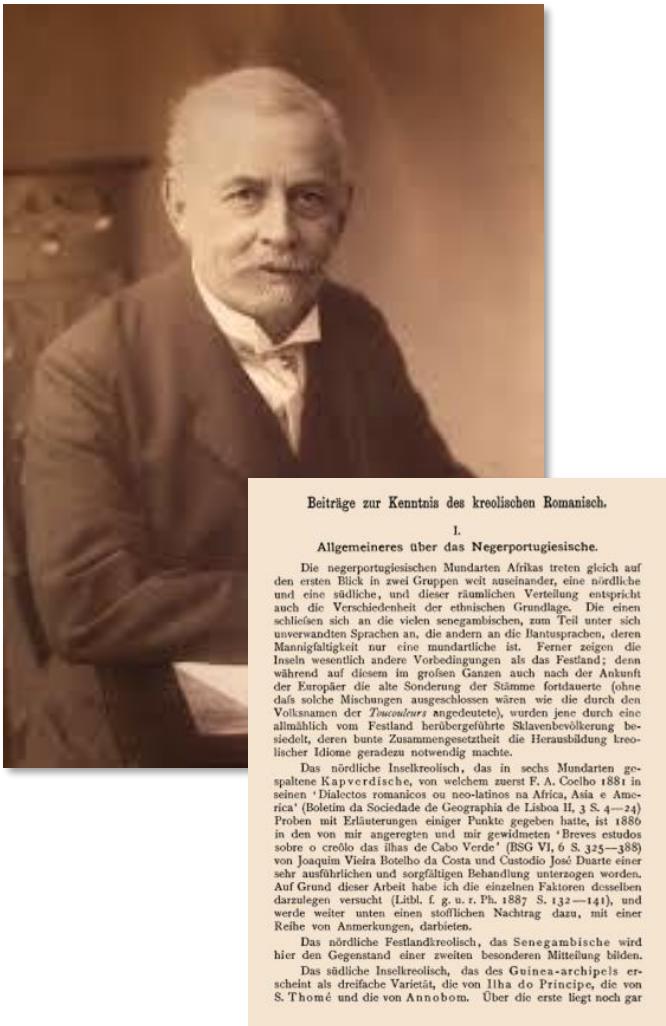
## Jargon

– less than a Creole

Wer auf Fernando Póo ein derartiges Kreolisch erwarten sollte, der bedenke dass die Portugiesen diese bei Weitem größere, von einer Urbevölkerung bewohnte Insel nie kolonisiert haben. Aber auch die beiden europäischen Sprachen welche gegenwärtig hier allein in Betracht kommen, die englische und die spanische laufen jede nur in einen mehr gelegentlichen Jargon bei den Eingeborenen aus (1888: 243)

# "Jargon" vs "Kreolisch"

Intuitive opposition since Schuchardt (1888)



## Jargon

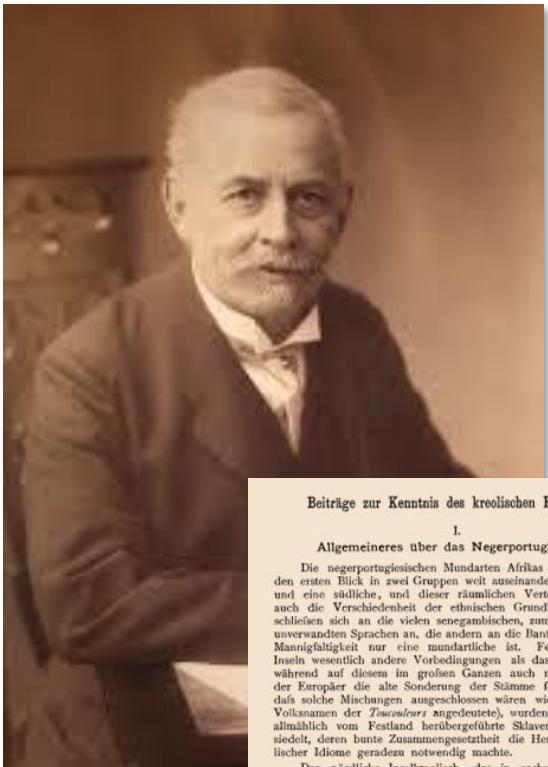
– "das Kreolische im Keim"

(the seed for the Creole)

Im Kreolischem ist meistens der Infinitiv mit der allgemeinen Vertretung des Zeitworts betraut worden, nur bei den allergebräuchlichsten Zeitwörtern die 3. [Person] S[ingular] Ind[iativ] Präs[ens]. Es dürfte sich aber hier überall nicht um ein anfängliches Verhältnis handeln; der Infinitiv wird sich mehr und mehr ausgebreitet haben. **Das Jargon, das Kreolische im Keim, begünstigt die 3. [Person] S[ingular] noch sehr (1888: 251)**

→ Jargon > Kreolisch (with some rests of the "pidgin phase")

# Negerportugiesisch (= continental ‘Black Portuguese’ from Lower Guinea, including Angola)



On the  
success of  
infinitives in  
Creoles →

(p. 251-252)

Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanischen.

I.

Allgemeineres über das Negerportugiesische.

Die negerportugiesischen Mundarten Afrikas treten gleich auf den ersten Blick in zwei Gruppen weit auseinander, eine nördliche und eine südliche, und dieser räumlichen Verteilung entspricht auch die Verschiedenheit der ethnischen Grundlage. Die einen schließen sich an die vielen senegambischen, zum Teil unter sich unverwandten Sprachen an, die andern an die Bantusprachen, deren Mannigfaltigkeit nur eine mundartliche ist. Ferner zeigen die Inseln wesentlich andere Vorbedingungen als das Festland; denn während auf diesem im großen Ganzen auch nach der Ankunft der Europäer die alte Sonderung der Stämme fortbesteht (ohne dass solche Mischungen ausgeschlossen wären wie sie durch den Vulkanausbruch der *Tambora* angedeutet wurden) jene durch eine allmählich vom Festland herübergeführte Sklavenbevölkerung besiedelt, deren bunte Zusammengesetztheit die Herausbildung kreolischer Idiome geradezu notwendig machte.

Das nördliche Inselkreolisches, das sechs Mundarten gespaltenen Kapverdische, von welchem zuerst F. A. Coelho 1881 in seinem *Dialectos românicos ou neo-latinos na África, Ásia e América* (Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa II, 3 S. 4—24) Proben mit Erläuterungen einiger Punkte gegeben hatte, ist 1886 in den von mir angeregten und mir gewidmeten *'Breves estudos sobre o créolo das ilhas do Cabo Verde'* (BSG VI, 6 S. 325—389) von Joaquim Vieira Botelho da Costa und Custodio José Duarte einer sehr ausführlichen und sorgfältigen Behandlung unterzogen worden. Auf Grund dieser Arbeit habe ich die einzelnen Faktoren derselben darzulegen versucht (Lith. f. u. r. Ph. 1887 S. 132—141), und werde weiter unten einen stofflichen Nachtrag dazu, mit einer Reihe von Anmerkungen, darstellen.

Das nördliche Festlandkreolisches, das Senegambische wird hier der Gegenstand einer zweiten besonderen Mitteilung bilden.

Das südliche Inselkreolisches, das des Guineasarchipels erscheint als dreifache Varietät, die von Ilha do Príncipe, die von S. Thomé und die von Annobom. Über die erste liegt noch gar

Mit der Umschreibung der Tempora aber dringt auch die Herrschaft des Infinitivs durch. Für *eu fallou* sagt man zuerst, indem die präteritale Bedeutung des *-ou* zu dunkel bleibt: *eu já fallou*; dafür könnte nun, da das *-ou* ganz überflüssig wurde, gesagt werden *eu já fálla*, dergleichen scheint aber hier wie anderswo durchaus ungewöhnlich, vielmehr trat *eu já fallar* ein. Und das geschieht deshalb weil auch mit dem Infinitiv schon im Portugiesischen zum Teil das durative Präsens umschrieben wird (*eu estou a trabalhar*; zum Teil mit dem Gerundium), im Negerportugiesischen ausschliesslich (*eu está trabalhar*), und hier die Umschreibung mehr und mehr um sich greift, sodass sie z. B. im Kapverdischen für das Präsens schlechtweg gilt (*in tâ fazê*) und sogar für das Futurum, bei welchem aber wohl *eu estou para (por) fazer* zu Grunde liegt. So stellt sich denn auch in unserem Negerportugiesisch einem präsentischen *eu está comer* und einem futurischen *eu hade comer* oder *eu vae comer logo* ein perfektisches *eu já comer* zur Seite; und auch wo *tem* angewandt wird, hat es den Infinitiv statt des Particips: *eu tem muito comer*. Es würde sich nur fragen ob oder vielmehr in welchem Umfang sich der Infinitiv statt des Verbum finitum ohne vorhergehendes Tempuszeichen findet (*eu comer* ‘ich esse’ oder ‘ich aß’). Dass die flexivischen Tempora nicht gänzlich ausgestorben sind, geht aus den obigen Beispielen hervor; doch wird das Perfekt (‘de volmaakt verledene tijd’) fast nie gebraucht, nur das Imperfekt öfters. *Estive* erinnert sich der Schreiber, der neun Jahre am Kongo war, nicht je gehört zu haben; es werde hierfür fast immer *estinha* gebraucht. Das dürfte insofern ein Irrtum sein als *estinha* wie das Beispiel *eu estinha passear* zeigt, die Stelle von *estava* vertritt. *Estinha : esteve = tinha : teve*.

# The limits Jargon-Creole as one of the main interests in modern research on Language Contact

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## "Jargon" (L2)

- Pidgin (several ethnical backgrounds)
- Schuchardt's example (Sp./Eng. auf Fernando Poo) ist rather L2 Spanish with some interference of English/Pichi
- "The new pidgin's grammar does not come from any one language; instead, it is a kind of crosslanguage compromise of the grammars of the languages in contact, with more or less (usually more) influence of **universals of second-language learning**: in particular, ease of learning helps to determine the linguistic structure of a pidgin" (Thomason 2012: 159).
- (?) Close to interlanguages/fossilized learner varieties [cf. Selinker 1972]

## "Kreolisch" (L1)

- Creoles are native languages (though not exclusively)
- "substrates, superstrates and universals interact in creole formation; substrates and superstrates appear to offer structural possibilities from which elements of emerging structures are selected on the basis of universal preferences, typological affiliation or formal similarities (Neumann-Holzschuh / Schneider 2000: 1)
- Research on Creolistics has been either substratistic (Lefebvre, Bruyn), or superstratistic (Chaudenson) or universalistic
- Universals of L1 (Bickerton) or L2 (Winford, McWhorter)?

# First- and/or second-language acquisition universals

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## Bickerton about L1 universals

Bickerton (1975), *Dynamics of a Creole Syntax*:

“The pidgin-speaker is a man who has just begun to build his second house when some disaster destroys the first one. He has to abandon it and use what he can salvage from it to complete the second one. Naturally, the shape of the second house is constrained by the materials he has to use. It resembles neither the house he used to have nor the new one he envisaged. Still, his children grow up in it and to them it is home, a house in its own right like any other» (Bickerton 1975: 175)”

Bickerton (1981), *Roots of Language*:

Children have an innate grammar that, in the absence of proper environmental input, guides the child's language development. The *bioprogramm* is based on semantic dichotomies: specific/non-specific, processive/stative, etc. and some rules (general SVO, OSV for focalization)

Bickerton (1990), *Language and Species*:

*protolanguage* (pidgins, chimps sign language, "Tarzan,-speech, babies under 2 y.o.) > *language* (creoles, etc.)

# First- and/or second-language acquisition universals

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## Winford about L2 universals

All types of SLA [=second language acquisition] involve stages of restructuring –the process by which interlanguage grammars (IL) are successively built up and revised as new relevant data are encountered. The initial stage of the process involves the creation of **a highly simplified IL system, which is followed by elaborative stages** in which learners expand their basic system, drawing on three major sources. These include input (intake) from varieties of the target language, L1 influence, and **internal developments peculiar to the IL system itself**. Differences in the degree to which each type of input figures in later stages of IL restructuring lead to **differences in the outcomes of SLA**. Social factors, including demographics, community settings, codes of interaction, attitudinal factors and so on, help to determine the outcomes.  
(Winford 2012: 430-431)

# Schuchardt about language contacts in Northern Angola

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(Sources: published dictionnaires, travel books; private correspondece)

## **Cabinda: [Jargon?/Kreolisch?]**

Am meisten scheint die Kenntnis des Portugiesischen bei dem Küstenstamm der Kabinda verbreitet zu sein, welcher zu den Portugiesen in einem ähnlichen innigen Verhältnis steht wie im Norden die Krumen zu den Engländern (1888: 248) [wobei die Kroomen Pidgin-Englisch [oder Kreol?] gesprochen haben]

## **Everywhere in N.Angola/north of Ambriz [Standard Port. vs jargonized vehicular]**

Wenn die Neger in den Hauptplätzen der Provinz, wo es ihnen an Schulunterricht nicht fehlt, das Portugiesische am richtigsten sprechen, so weit **mangelhafter** da wo es ihnen beim Verkehr mit andern Europäern dient. Es handelt sich hier vorzugsweise um das Gebiet nördlich von Ambriz (1888: 250)

# Schuchardt about language contacts in Northern Angola

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(Sources: published dictionnaries, travel books; private correspondece)

## **São Salvador (today's Mbanza Congo): [mixed-language]**

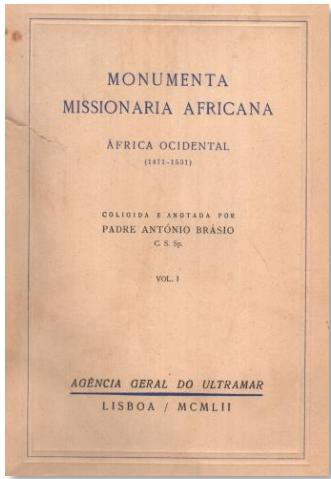
Die Sprache der Eingeborenen welche dem portugiesischen Einfluß ausgesetzt sind, haben zahlreiche portugiesische Wörter aufgenommen, natürlich in sehr verschiedenem Verhältnis: "This Portuguese *intermixture* is much greater at São Salvador and on the coast, and diminishes in proportion as we advance into the interior" (Johnston –apud Schuchardt 1888: 249, who refers elsewhere to *Mischsprachen*)

## **Luanda and São Salvador: [mixed-language]**

*Português mestiço*, Port. Lexemes with Kimbundu phonology and grammar: "palavras portuguezas accomodadas ao genio do bundo"; 1888: 249

# Other sources for the history of Northern Angolan Portuguese

## Monumenta Missionaria Africana (1482-ca.1700)

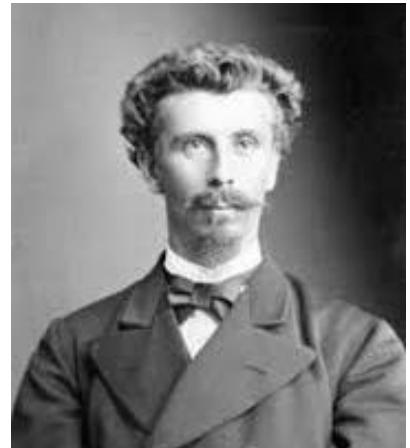


Stripped plurals.:  
*meus irmão, os  
pedreyro...*

Invariable copula  
*sam*

E. Pechuël-Loesche

*Die Loango-Expedition*  
*Ein Palaver in Loango*  
(+ many unpublished  
manuscripts)



## Mattos e Silva 1904



*ontem* ('ontem' e 'amanhã'): *eu vae hontem*  
*doença de vento* ('variola'), *peixe maduro* ('peixe  
podre') *formigueira* ('erva-de-santa-maria')

Postnominal  
possessives, invariable  
determiners, /r~r/ > /l/,  
/l/ > /r/:

*Gentes d'êre non chega pâla  
têle aqui? Ere manda  
vóretale esse gentes no téla  
d'êres*

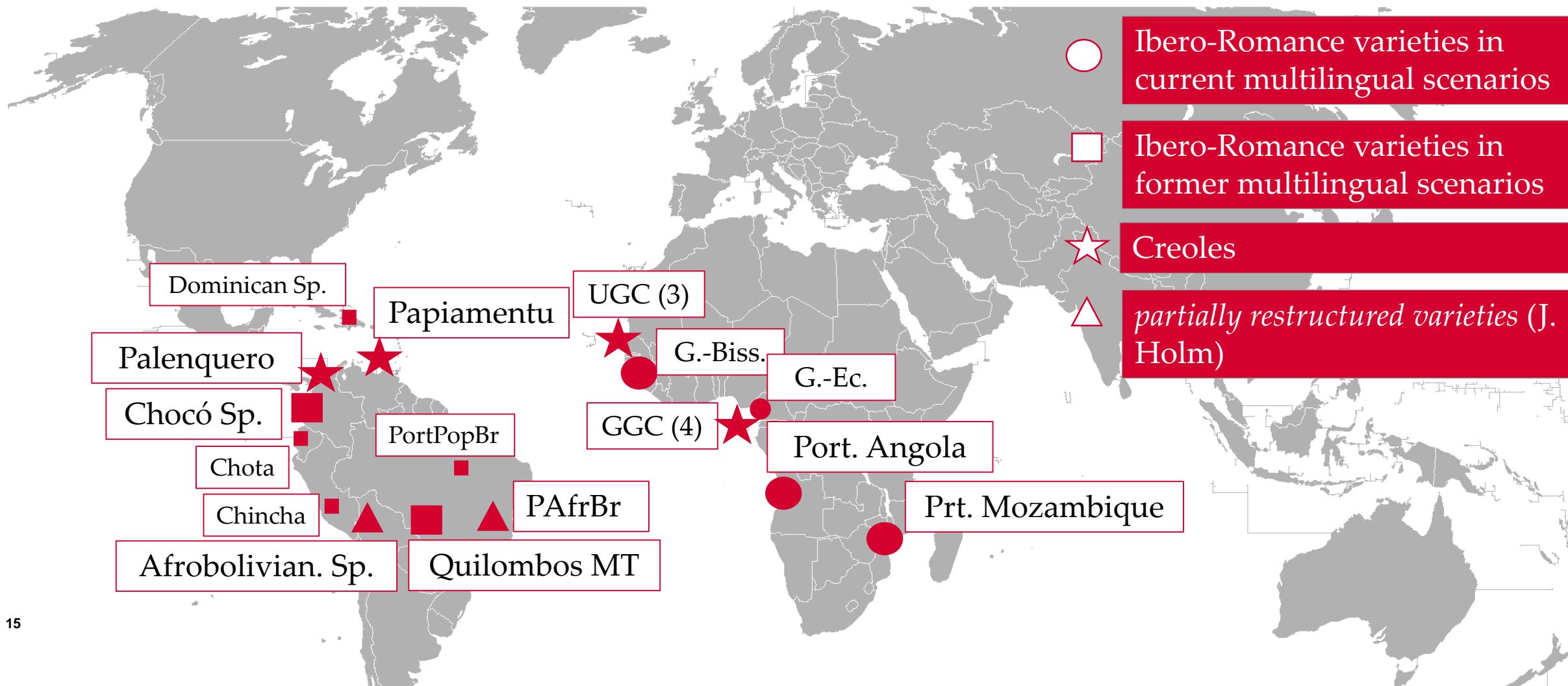
('As suas gentes não chegam  
para ter aqui? Ele manda  
voltar essas gentes na sua  
terra')

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# Northern Angolan Portuguese, Palenquero Creole and the Afro- Ibero-Romance Language Continuum

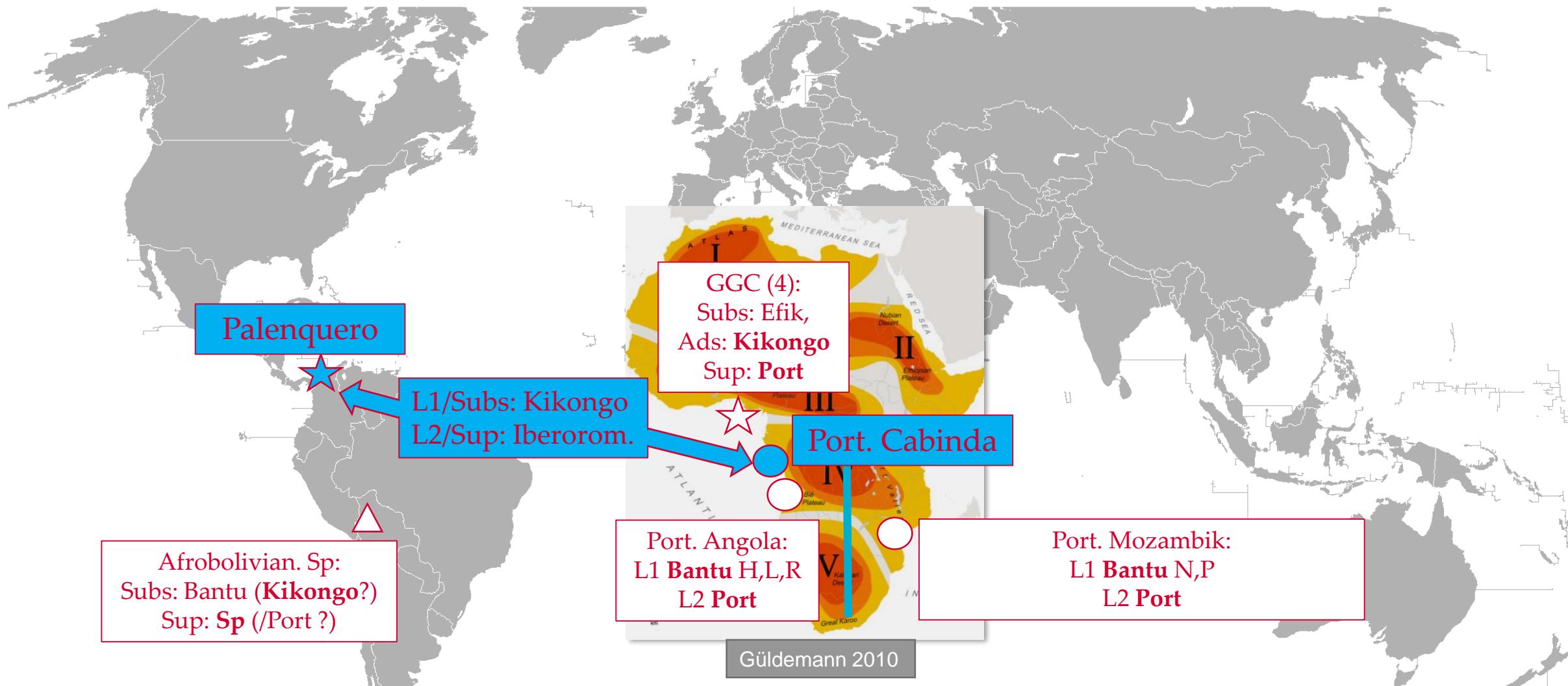
# Afro-Ibero-Romance varieties (and the limits of comparability)

Different *continua*: Creole-partially restructured variety, monoling.-multiling., Africa-Latin America



# Afro-Ibero-Romance varieties (and the limits of comparability)

“Ibero-Romance/Kikongo varieties” (cf. bi-clan model by Michaelis 2017)



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

Creole spoken in San Basilio de Palenque (Bolívar, Colombia)



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)* )

Creole 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 **17<sup>th</sup> 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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)

# Palenquero: Kikongo substrate

Different kinds of proofs:

- **linguistic**

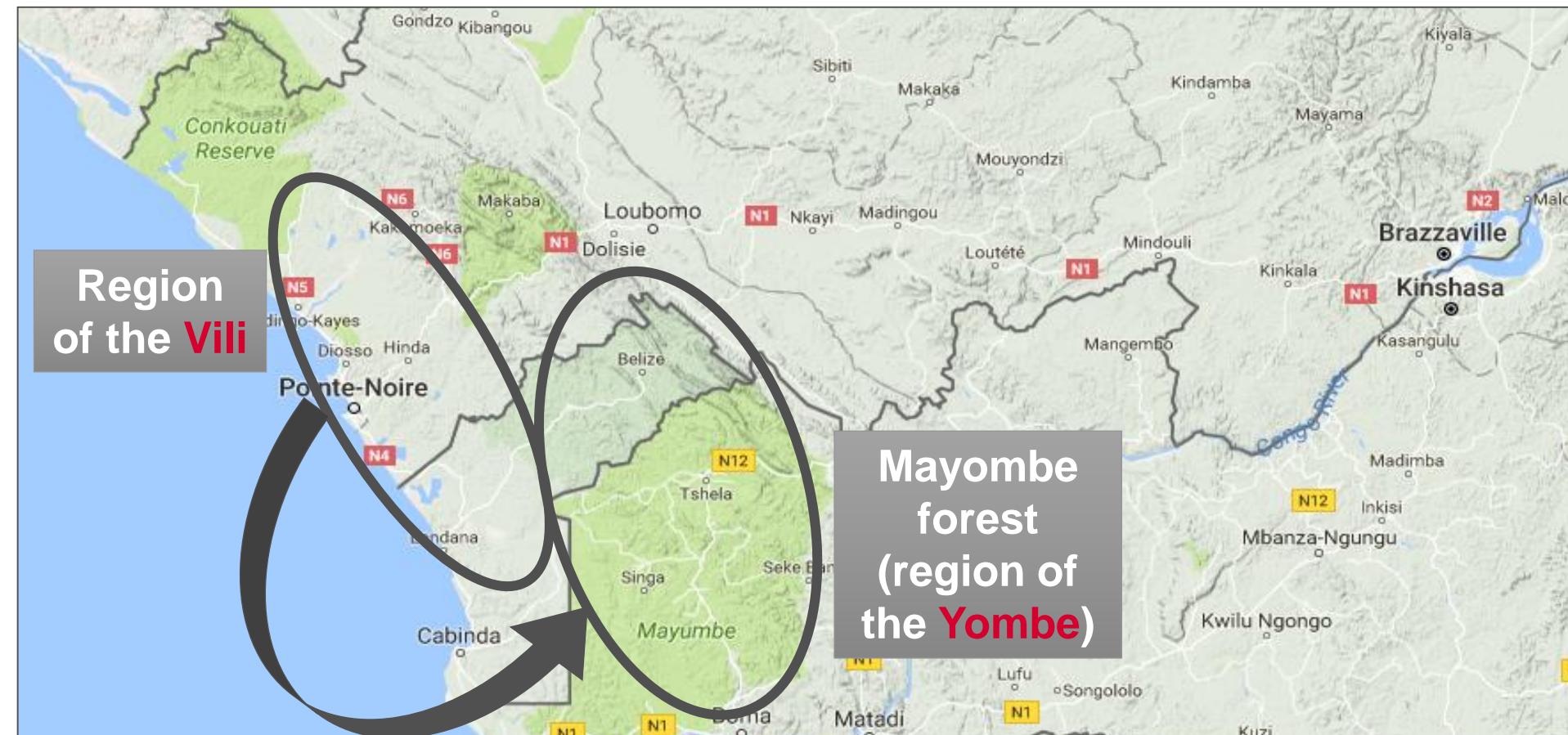
(palabras cuya etimología es claramente kikongo: *majaná*, *ngombe*...)

- **anthropological**

(legends: *Catalina Loango*; funeral chants: *chi ma nkongo*)

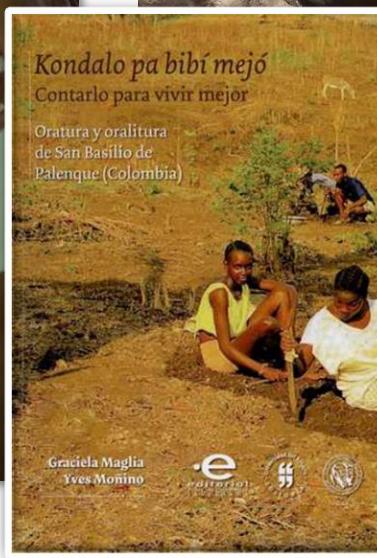
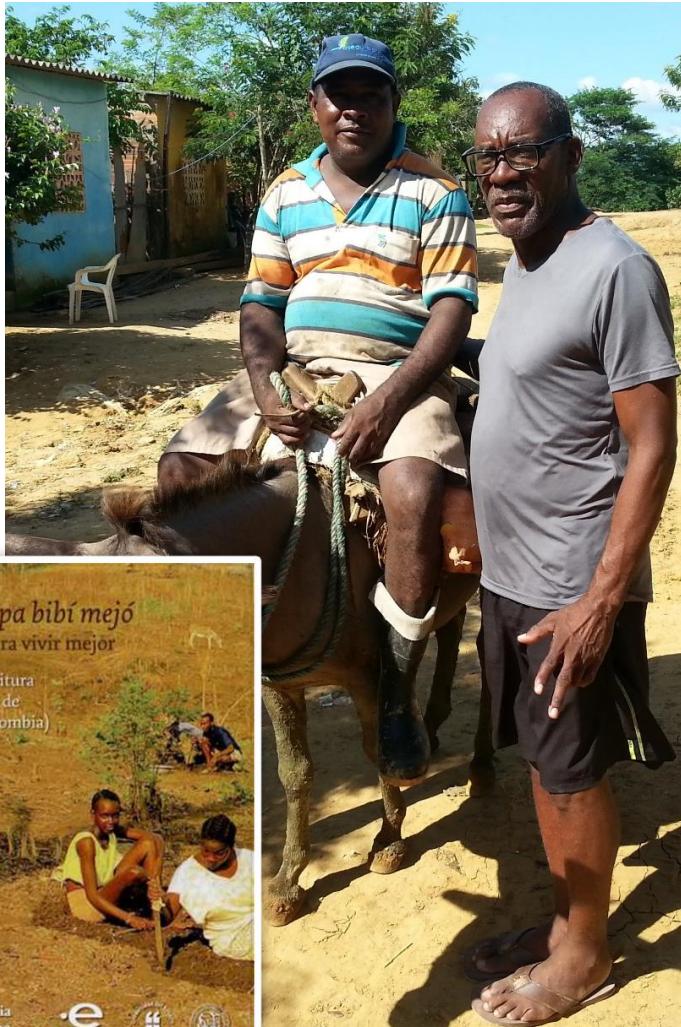
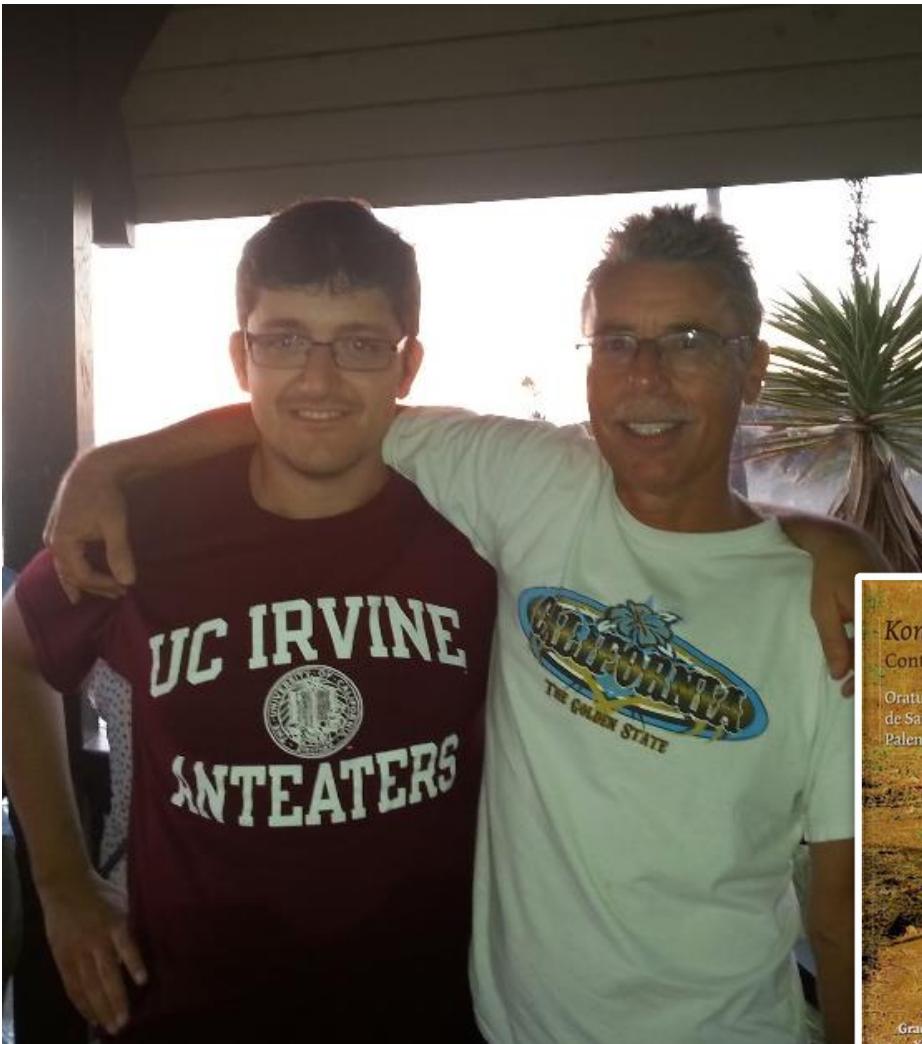
- **genetic**:

Pal. → Mayombe



The vili people captured first the Bakongo and sold them to the Portuguese, who sold them again to the Spaniards (especially during the Iberian Union 1580-1640)

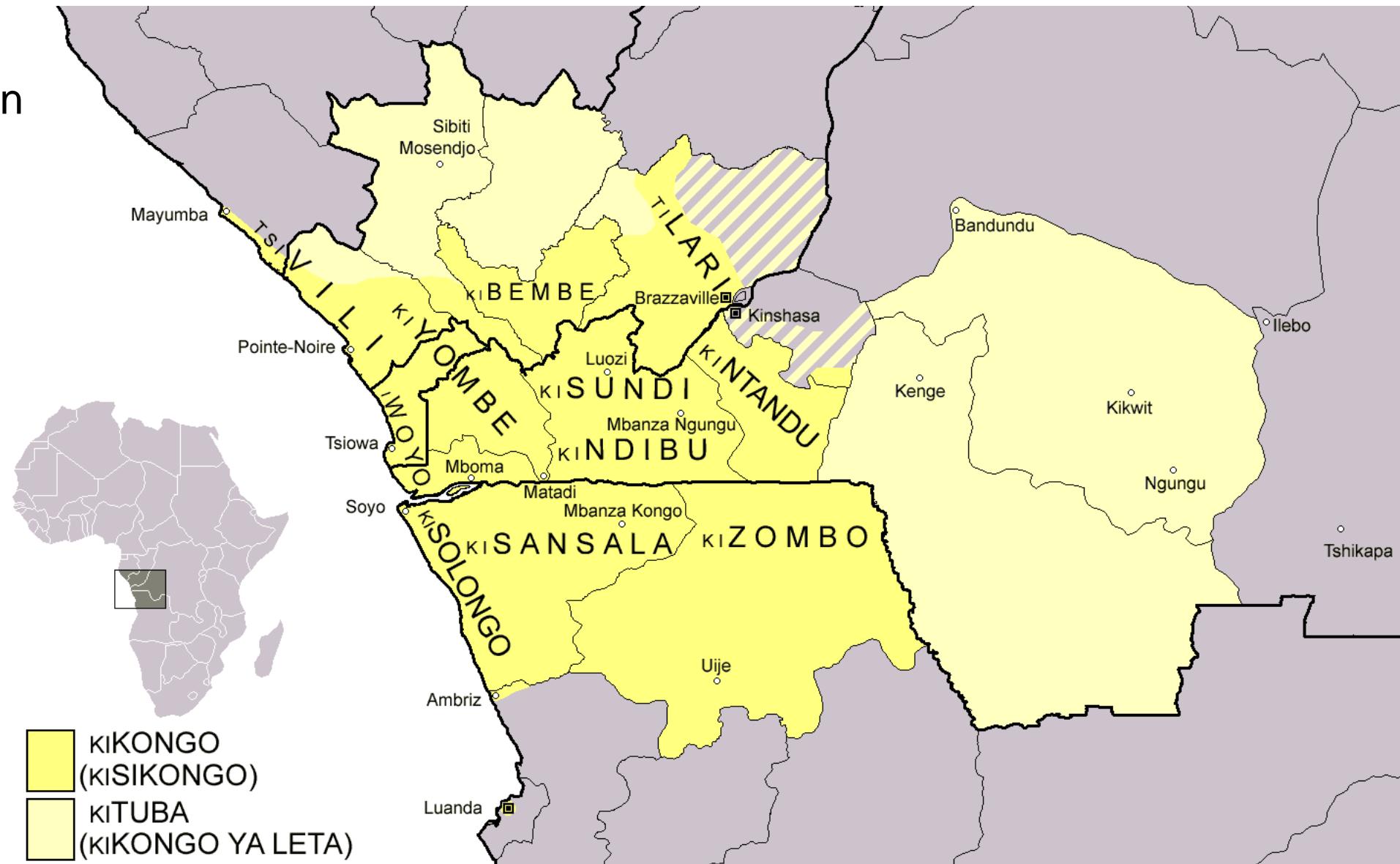
# Palenquero data (always with gratitude to A. Schwegler for his data and for his contacts *in situ*)



# Kikongo vernacular (Bantú H10-Bantú H16 / *Kikongo Language Cluster*) como L1 en regiones con variedades poscoloniales L2 románicas

Kikongo as *dialeto* or *língua nacional* in three provinces:

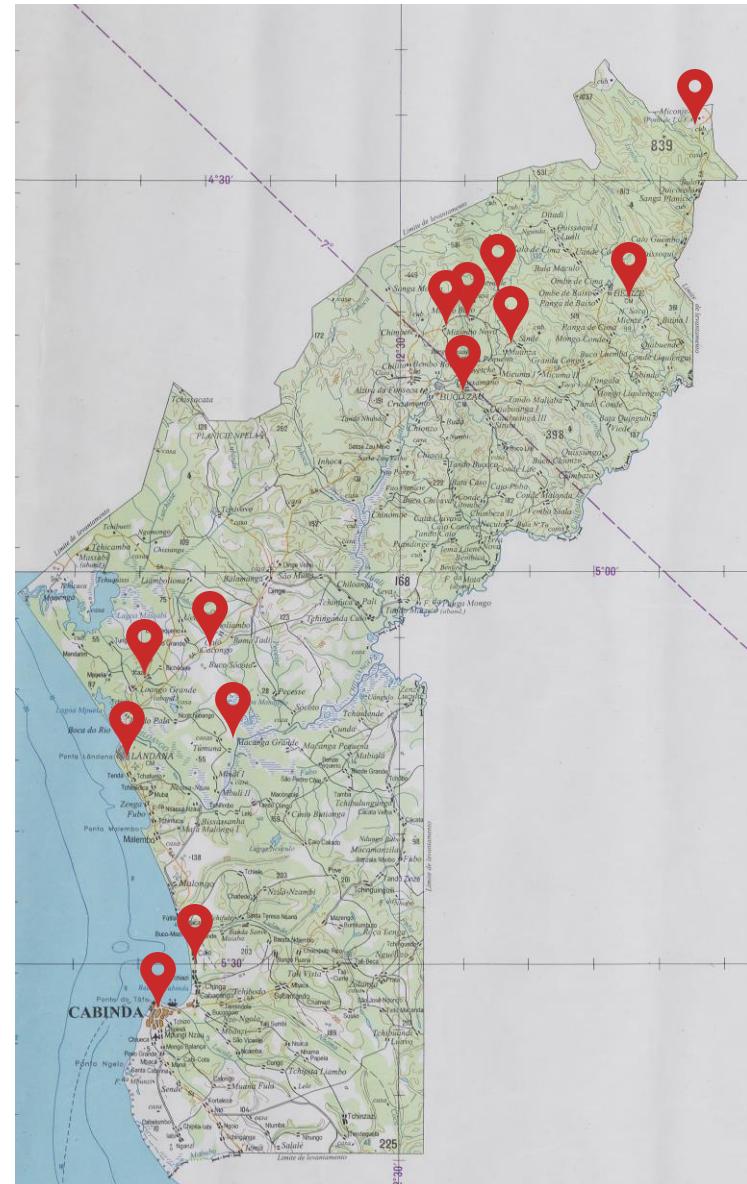
- Cabinda
- Zaïre (Mbanza Kongo)
- Uíge
- + migrant communities of the Baconde in Luanda



# Fieldwork in Cabinda

v.a. *municípios Caongo, Buco Zau, Belize*  
(the latter two in the *floresta do Mayombe*)

- ca. 40 informants
- ca. 100 hours recordings
- with the assistance of a local guide and friend (very sociable, bilingual Port-Kiyombe)
- Objective: fossilized interlanguages (*mais velhos* in the *bualas*, *assalariados* in former colonial *fazendas*), resulting from (non-monitored) L2 learning



# Northern Angolan Portuguese

Just an example: *antigo assalariado* in Lites (*fazenda* in Buco Zau)



# Some general assumptions about post-colonial varieties of African Portuguese

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From Endruschat/Schmidt-Radefeldt (2014: 240-241)

**"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"**

→ In Angola, the "destribalization" is especially significant (much more clearly than in Mozambique)

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# Restructuring and transferability

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

Plural marking in the NP: *plurais nus* in NAP (just one word with –s), plural marker *ma-* in PAL

## a) NAP:

os cubano[s]

the Cubans

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

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## Gender: grammatical gender

### a) NAP

o meu irmã (*a minha irmã*)

ART 1P.POSS sister

'my sister'

meu filha (*a minha filha*)

1P.POSS daughter

'my daughter'

### b) Palenquero

ese kabesita

DEM little.head

'this little head'

aggún tía

IND aunt

'some aunt'

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

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Gender: natural gender

## a) NAP

o meu irmã (*a minha irmã*)

ART 1P.POSS sister

'my sister'

meu filha (*a minha filha*)

1P.POSS daughter

'my daughter'

## b) Palenquero

ese kabesita

DEM little.head

'this little head'

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IND aunt

'some aunt'

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

## Gender: natural gender

NAP	Kikongo	Palenquero
<i>filho de mulhere</i> child GEN/LP woman 'daughter' (= Port. filha)	<i>mw-ana wa-nkento</i> NC1-child LP(NC1)-woman 'daughter' (Kyala 2013: 33)	<i>moná 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

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

## Natural gender in 3P pronouns

### a) NAP:

*e/ele(eli)* = 'ele/ela'

(also stereotypical, perceived as Bakongo-Portuguese by other Angolans)

### b) Palenquero

*e/ele* = 'él/ella'

[as in many other Iberian Creoles and in Afro-Bolivian]

## In some cases no number distinction

### a) NAP:

*eli SG y PL* (only in one informant)

Generalmente: *e/ele (SG) vs. e/les (M.PL)/elas (F.PL)*

*e/ele (SG) vs. e/les (PL)*

? *e/ele (SG) vs. eli (PL)*

### b) Palenquero

*e/ele SG & PL* (Schwegler, corpus 1985-1988)

Generally: *e/ele (SG) vs. ané (PL)*

One informant: *e/ele (SG) vs. e/les (PL)*

[*enú i ka uno ku ri e/les*]

# Object concordance

## Overgeneralization of the proclitic position

### a) NAP

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'

Cf. Endruschat (1990) &  
Inverno (2009)

### b) Palenquero

(just stressed, independent pronouns)

ablá mí ele

say/speak 1P.SG 3P.SG

'say it to me'

### c) Kikongo (agglutinative verb morphology)

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 (COMP LETIV)	v	vaang (hacer)	il (relational)	a (remote-ness)	/VngV/ (kont.)		-dyo (3P SG / 5)

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

But occasionally we have stressed, indep. pronouns substituting unstressed pronouns in the proclitic position... most especially, *tu* instead of *te*

## a) NAP:

vai tu [en]contrar qualquer lugar  
'I'm going to find you in any place'

eu vou tu bater  
'I'm going to hit you'

eu tu falei  
'I told you'

## b) Palenquero

ablá mí ele  
say/speak 1P.SG 3P.SG  
'dímelo'

i tá miná bo  
1P PROG look you  
'te estoy mirando'

kelá-te [te < Sp. usted]  
stay-you  
'stay here'

# Possessives

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

## a) NAP:

*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'

# NAP – Palenquero in comparison

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Word order IO + DO (in case both objects are lexical NP's)

a) NAP:

eu dou cão (um) bolo (p. *eu dou um bolo ao cão*)  
'I give the dog a cake / I give a cake to the dog'

b) Palenquero

Ele a ndá ngaína sako miyo  
3P COMP.ASP give hen bag corn  
,he gave a corn bag to the hen'

# Existential constructions with a verb meaning 'to have'

## A partir de construcciones posesivas (sin pronombre sujeto)

### a) NAP:

Possessive constructions: SubjPron+ TER

*Ele tem esse interesse em viver essa realidade*  
'(she) has two daughters'

**Existential constructions: Ø + TER**

*No Kisundi tem palavras que elas pensam que são muito fortes*  
'in Kisundi there are words that they consider to be very strong'

### b) Palenquero:

Possessive constructions: SubjPron+ TER

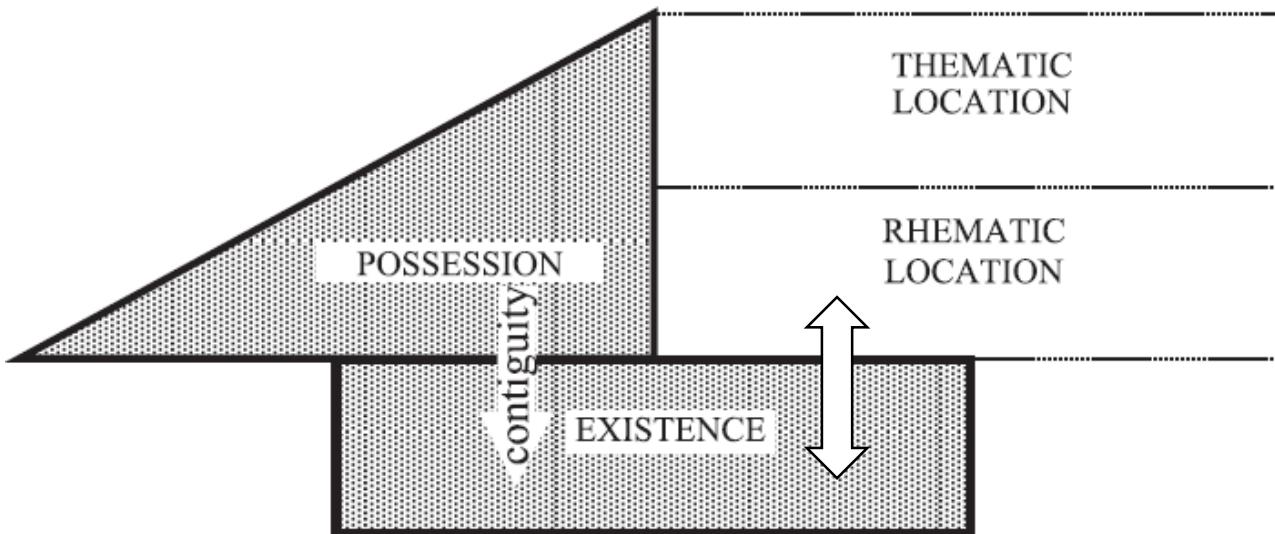
*Ele a ten/tené ndo moná hembra*  
ele a ten/tené ndo moná hembra  
3P.SG CMP have two child female  
'(she) has two daughters'

**Existential constructions: Ø + TE(NE)R**

*entonse a teneba ndo hende nu má akí*  
then CMP have-IMP two people here  
'back then there were only two people [who made it]'

# Existential constructions with a verb meaning 'to have' (internal change?)

## Cognitive continuum POSS-EXIST-LOC (Koch 2012)



[RHEMATIC] POSSESSION	The boy has a book.
THEMATIC LOCATION	The book is on the table.
RHEMATIC LOCATION	There is a book on the table.
BOUNDED EXISTENCE	There are many lions in Africa.
generic EXISTENCE	There are many unhappy people.

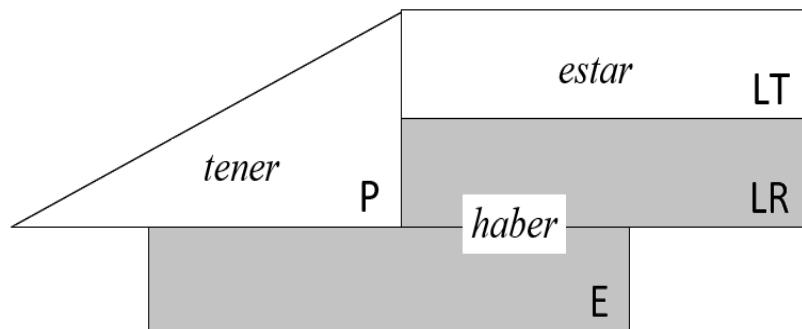
"The relevant relation is rather one of part-whole contiguity. If we take away from a conceptual frame of POSSESSION the person «P», who is the POSSESSOR, i.e., the one to whom an object «O» is available as a POSSESSEE, the remaining element «O» of the frame is now available *tout court*, i.e., it represents simply an EXISTING ENTITY"

"No doubt the (impersonal) existence construction can be understood –even synchronically– as a reduction of the (personal) construction possession via deletion of the possessor-S (Koch 2012: 573)"

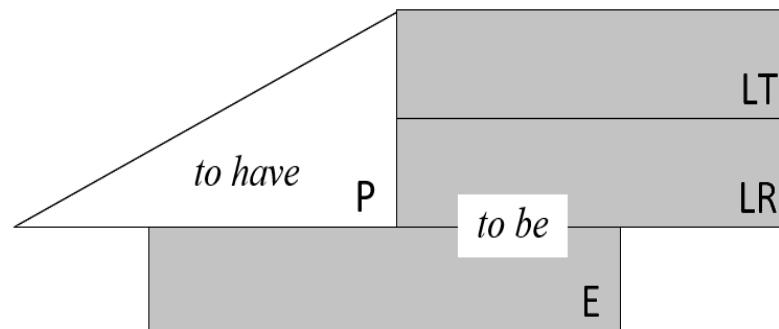
# Existential constructions with a verb meaning 'to have' (internal change?)

How do the world languages divide the continuum POSS-EXIST-LOC?

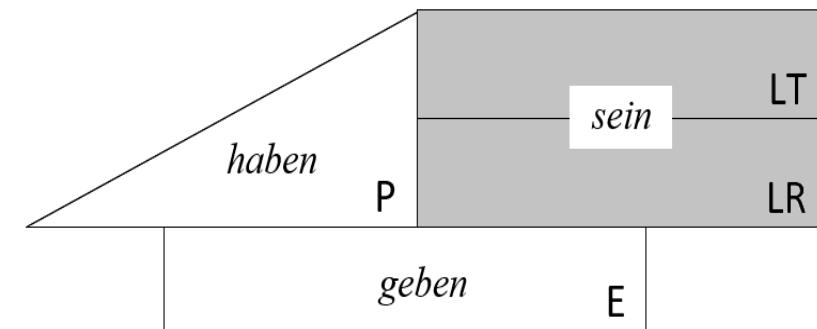
Type 1: Eur. Port / Spanish



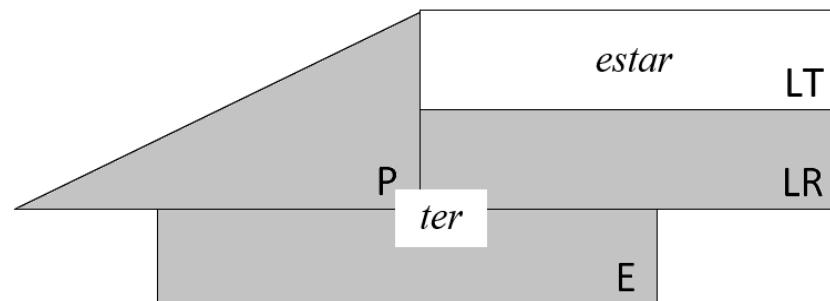
Type 2: English



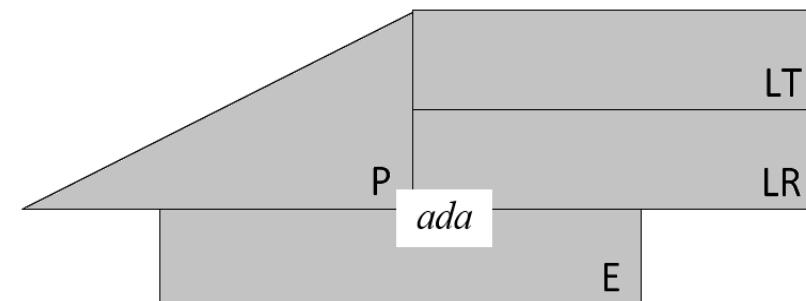
Type 3: German



Type 4: (today's) Brazilian and African Portuguese



Type 5: Indonesian

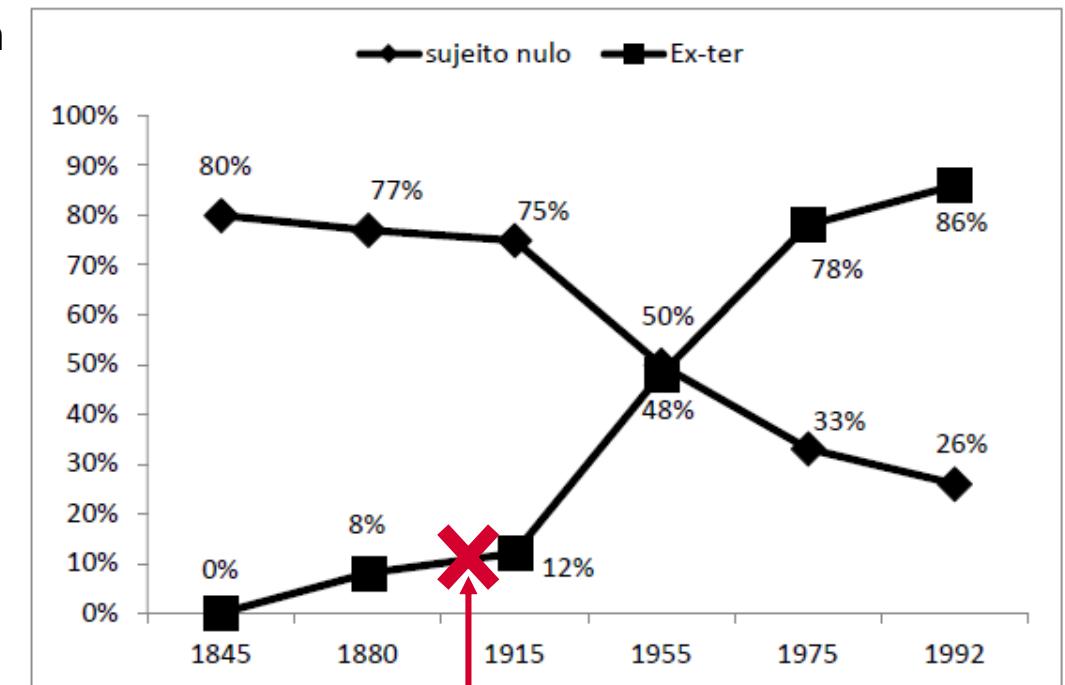


# Existential constructions with a verb meaning 'to have' (internal change?)

Out of possessive constructions (in some languages like Port and PAL avoiding Subj.Prons.)

## Use of existential *tem* in Brazil and Angola:

- (Avelar & Álvarez (2018: 200): 74% Ø *tem* vs. 26% Ø *há* both in Brazil and in Cabinda)
- My experience: In Lixeira-Sambizanga (Luanda): "record" (*tem* → *há*). In Mayombe I only heard *tem*
- In Brazil, the change *há* > *tem* started in the 19th century (Duarte 1995; Marins 2012).
- "Bedeutungserweiterungen, wie von *está* (= é [sua cabello está preto / nossa povo está grande]), *tem* (= ha 'es gibt'; z. B. *lá tem muita agua*) sind allgemein kreolisch" (Schuchardt 1888: 252)
- *Tem* instead of *há* was considered (by Portuguese) as stereotypically African/Cabindan: *guela nan tem 'não há guerra'* (J. Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição para o estudo da região de Cabinda* (1904))



# Existential constructions with a verb meaning ‚to have‘ (internal change?)

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Out of possessive constructions (in some languages like Port and PAL avoiding Subj.Prons.)

As for PAL:

- As regards the diachrony of PAL (and their internal changes), we do not know anything. We tend to assume that existential *ten(é)* in PAL came into being at the time the language arose (17th century)
- Unlike the case of Portuguese, no Spanish variety has ever used existential TENER (‘to have’), with only three exceptions (Cerno, Gutiérrez Maté, Steffen, in press): Chabacano Creole, „misionero“ Spanish (in Misiones, Argentina), and Palenquero Creole. The role of language contact in the other two varieties is indisputable, as seems to be the case of PAL. Again, everything points to a contact-induced change in PAL (during creolization)

# Existential constructions with a verb meaning ,to have‘ (internal change?)

Kiyombe data (through exercises of translation Port > Kiy)

## Possession:

*mino yidi nzo*

mino i-idi N-zo

1P.SG 1P.SG-COP CN9-house

‘I have a house’

## Existence:

*tsinzau tsiphuedi tsidi mu Afrika*

ziN-zau zi-phuedi zi-idi mu Afrika

NC10-elephant NC10-many NC10-COP LOC(NC18) Africa

‘there are many elephants in Africa’

## Rhematic location:

*bwala bwidi va*

bu-ala bu-idi va

NC14-village CN14-COP there

‘there is a village (over) there’

## Thematic location:

*livru yidi va meza*

Ø-livru yi-idi va meza

NC9-libro NC9-COP LOC table

‘the book is on the table’

# Existential constructions with a verb meaning ,to have‘ (internal change?)

Kiyombe data (through exercises of translation Port > Kiy)



*ma[s] <tem muita gente aqui>*

mas

<...>

but

<...>

‘but there are many people here, there are many people [who could help]’

*mboi batu badi vava*

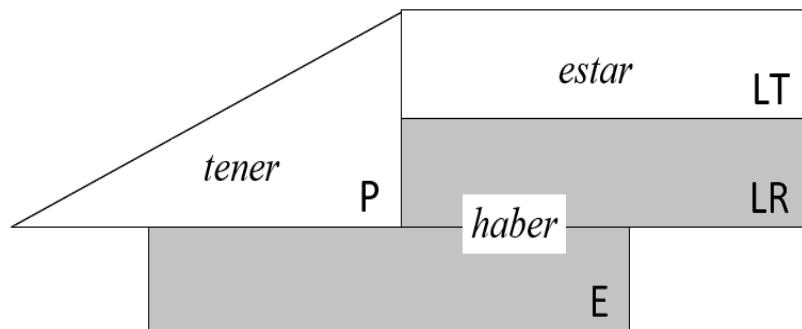
[wo]mbo [d]i ba-tu ba-di vava

many LP NC2-person NC2-COP aquí

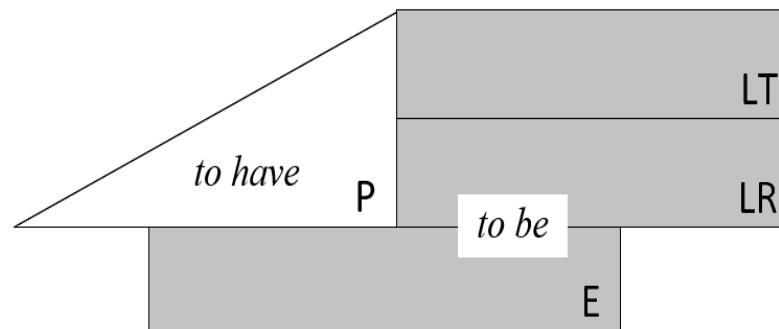
# Existential constructions with a verb meaning 'to have' (internal change?)

How do the world languages divide the continuum POSS-EXIST-LOC?

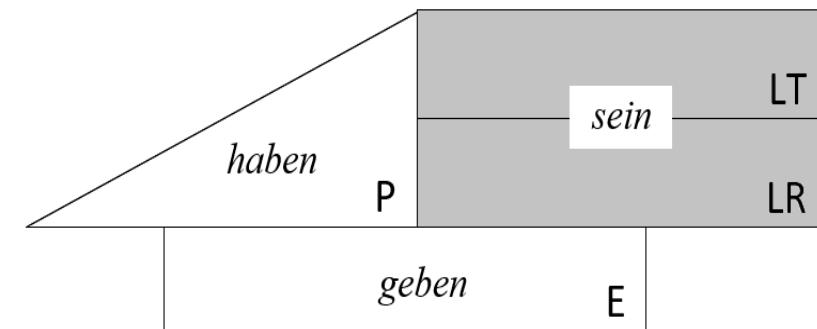
Type 1: Eur. Port / Spanish



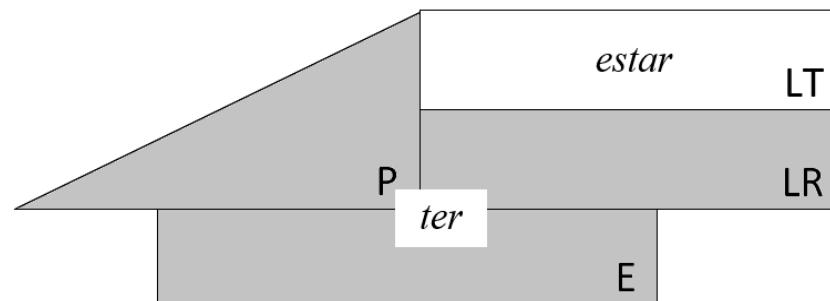
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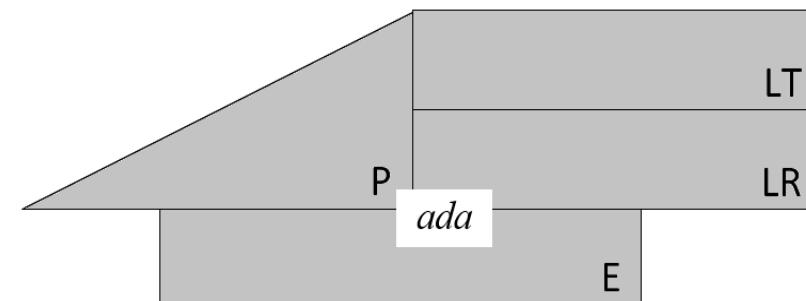
Type 3: German



Type 4: (today's) Brazilian and African Portuguese



Type 5: Indonesian



# Existential constructions with a verb meaning ,to have‘ (internal change?)

How do the world languages divide the continuum POSS-EXIST-LOC?

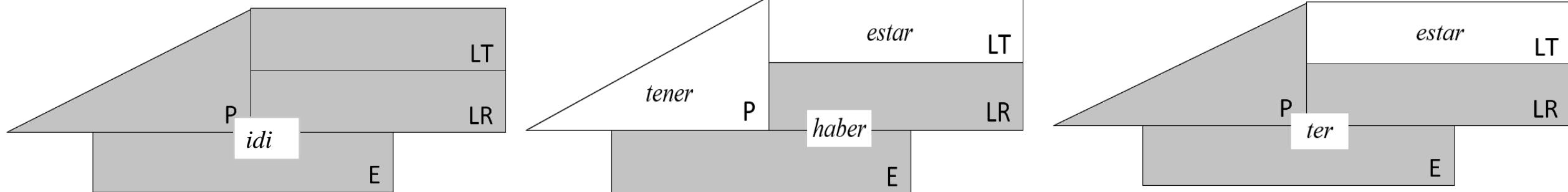
Type 5: Kiyombe



Type 1: Eur. Port / Spanish



Type 4: NAP & PAL



# Double negation

“NEG 2” (preverbal negation element + final negation element), also NEG 3 in PAL

## a) NAP

eu não sabe esse língua não  
1P NEG know DEM language NEG  
'I don't know that language [=Kilaari]'  
[quite unusual]

## b) PAL

nu dejá mí té nu  
NEG leave 1P.SG.OBJ 2P.SG.SUB NEG  
'don't leave me (here)!'

## c) Kikongo

kisendila mpfumu ko  
k[a]-i-send-il-a n-fumu ko  
NEG-1P.SG-weed-APL-EV NC9-chief NEG  
'I am not weeding fot the chief'

i nu sabé kiéne ju' numano i tia Tatiko nu  
1P NEG know who FP/COP brother LP aunt Tatiko NEG  
,I don't know who the brother of tia Tatico is'

# Double negation and emphatic imperatives

The diachrony of the particle *ko* in Kikongo (and some other Bantu langs.): FOCUS > NEG

→ Laman (1912): “§318. *Ko* is used partly in the same manner as *kwandi* (see 168, Note), in order to emphasize or bring out a matter more strongly, partly to express a difference of opinion politely:

→ Güldemann & Hagemeijer (2018):

a.	<i>Iza</i>	<i>ko</i>	Koki-Cabinda (H16)
	come	EMPH	
	‘Viens donc [Come]!’		

b.	<i>minu</i>	<i>ko.</i>	
	1S.PRO	EMPH	
	‘moi même [I myself]’ (Troesch 1953: 135)		

→ “The post-verbal negative marker *ko* also occurs in combination with affirmative imperatives but with the effect of making them more forceful and less polite” (Devos/van der Auwera 2014: “Jespersen cycles in Bantu: Double and triple negation”. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34/2. 205-274)

# Double negation and emphatic imperatives

The diachrony of the particle *ko* in Kikongo (and some other Bantu langs.): FOCUS > NEG

## a) NAP

Vamos ko! ~ Vamos kõ!  
1P.SG.IMP.go EMPH  
Let's go!

## b) PAL

[not transferred; occasionally in lumbalúes]  
Kuchá ya!  
listen already  
,listen!'

## c) Kikongo:

*tu-enda ko!*  
1P.PL-ir EMPH  
¡Vamos!

5

# Coda

# Summary and conclusions

		NAP	PAL
1	PL marking	<b>1st word marking</b> (generally, determiners) b.m.o. a <b>suffix</b> <i>os cubano</i> '(the) Cubans'	<b>plural word</b> (immediately preverbal) b.m.o. a <b>prefix</b> <i>ese ma muhé</i> 'those women'
2	Gram. Gender within the NP	occasionally, <b>neutralization</b> towards MASC <i>o meu irmã</i> ,my sister' <i>os tropa</i> 'the troupes'	<b>no gram. gender</b> (forms adopted from MASC) <i>ese posá</i> 'that house' (posada FEM in Sp.) <i>muhé bieho</i> ('old woman')
3	Natural Gender in 3P.SG pronouns	occasionally, <b>only one pronoun</b> (adopted from the MASC form) <i>e/e</i> 'he/she'	<b>only one pronoun</b> (adopted from MASC) <i>ele</i> 'he/she'
4	Marking of natural Gender in nouns	occasionally, <b>lexical element</b> preceded by a <b>linking particle</b> <i>filho de mulhere</i> 'daughter'	<b>lexical element</b> without any preceding linking particle <i>moná hembra</i> 'daughter'
5	Possessives	<b>postnominal</b> possessives preceded by a <b>linking particle/preposition</b> : <i>ovo dele</i> 'his/her egg'	<b>postnominal</b> possessives <i>webo ele</i> 'his/her (f.i. the hen's) egg' preceded by linking particle in case of alienability: <i>webo ri ele</i> 'his/her egg (bought by him/her)'

# Summary and conclusions

	NAP	PAL
6	Object marking [+personal]   eu <i>vou te dizer uma coisa</i> 'I'm gonna tell you sth'	<b>preverbal dependent/clitic pronoun (before the main verb)</b>  <b>postverbal independent/clitic pronoun</b>  <i>i tan ablá bo un kusa</i> 'I'm gonna tell you something'
	occasionally, preverbal ind. pronouns: <i>eu tu falei</i> 'I (already) told you'	
7	relative order of objects in case of ditransitive verb  <i>eu dei cão um bolo</i> , I gave a cake to the dog'	<b>IO + DO</b>  <b>IO + DO</b>  <i>i tan yebá ma burro kumina</i> 'I will bring food to the donkeys'
8	existential constructions  <i>naquela altura tinha muitos elefantes em Cabinda</i> 'at that time there were many elephants in Cabinda'	<b>use of the possessive verb</b>  <b>use of the possessive verb</b>  <i>a ten mucho hende aqui Palenge</i> 'there are many people here in Palenque'
9	negation  <i>eu não sabe esse língua (não)</i> , I don't know that language'	either <b>double or sentence-final negation</b>  <i>i (nu) sabé fransé nu</i> 'I don't know French'

# Summary and conclusions

	NAP	PAL
10 affirmative imperatives	<p><b>emphatic particle</b> generally used/relexified, occasionally material copy</p> <p><i>Afastam lá ko (/kõ)</i> move.away there EMP 'move away from here'</p>	no emphatic particle

Matondo!  
Obrigado!  
Gracias!

Contact [miguel.gutierrez.mate@philhist.uni-augsburg.de](mailto:miguel.gutierrez.mate@philhist.uni-augsburg.de) for a  
complete list of bibliographical references