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African diaspora and the circulation of language: Cuban and Afro-Cuban loanwords in Equatorial Guinea

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Abstract: When in 1861 nearly 200 emancipated black Cubans settled in the “Barrio Congo” of Fernando Po to work in public construction, a process of language contact initiated. Four years later, a few hundred political activists were deported from Cuba to Fernando Po because of their potential influence in the Cuban revolution. This historical episode might have triggered Cubans’ and Afro-Cubans’ lexical transfers to the Spanish spoken in Fernando Po as a result of the two-way connection of the transatlantic slave trade. Based on royal decrees, archival material and the memoirs of Cuban exiles (Balmaseda, Francisco Javier. [1869] 1874. *Los confinados a Fernando Po e impresiones de un viage a Guinea*. New York: Imprenta de la revolución; Bravo Senties, Miguel. 1869. *Revolución cubana. Deportación a Fernando Po. Relación que hace uno de los deportados*. New York: Halle y Breen. Collection Development Department, Widener Library, HCL. Harvard University (accessed on 18 March 2012).; Saluвет, Juan B. 1892. *Los deportados a Fernando Póo en 1869: memoria escrita por Juan B. Saluвет*. Matanzas: Imprenta Aurora del Yumuri.; Sifredo y Llopiz, Hipólito. 1893. *Los mártires cubanos en 1869. La más exacta narración de las penalidades y los martirios de los 250 deportados políticos a Fernando Po. Primeras víctimas propiciatorias de la insurrección de Cuba en la Habana*. Habana: imprenta La Prensa de Ricardo M. Dávila.; Valdés Ynfante, Emilio. 1898. *Cubanos en Fernando Pó*. Habana: Imprenta “El Fígaro”, 1898. Collection Development Department, Widener Library, HCL. Harvard University. <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:641407> (accessed 11 July 2012).; Miranda, Manuel M. 1903. *Memorias de un deportado*. Habana: Imprenta la luz.), I reconstruct the historical context of that language contact and discuss the type of intercolonial borrowings that circulated on both sides of the Atlantic during the nineteenth century – a “linguistic boomerang” in Maniacky, Jacky. 2013. Africanisms in American English: Critical Notes on Sources and Methodology’. In: Robin Poynor Susan Cooksey & Hein Vanhee (eds.), *Kongo across the Waters*. Florida: University Press of Florida. words.

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A la isla de Fernando Poo

Soneto

Dos mónstruos del averno se escaparon:

Del africano el torpe barbarismo

I del ibero el rudo despotismo,

I ámbos en tí, ¡O isla! Se juntaron:

De tan horrenda union pronto botaron

Pobreza, malestar i oscurantismo,

Venció a la Cruz el necio feticismo

I en tus bosques tus hijos se ocultaron.

Todo perece donde España impera:

En sus furores a la industria mata,

No tiene aspiración el ciudadano,

La lei es una estúpida quimera,

I vida i propiedad son del hispano,

Avido de opresion, de sangre i plata

Francisco Javier Balmaseda (1887). Londres, Agosto de 1869

1 Introduction

The history of the Spanish colonization in Equatorial Guinea began with the Treaty of El Pardo signed with Portugal in 1778. Spain received the islands of Fernando Po and Annobón but soon after left its colonies to the mercy of oblivion and negligence, establishing a settlement only by the second half of the nineteenth century. The continental zone of Rio Muni was not colonized until the beginning of the twentieth century. The British were the first to establish in the colony; with freed slaves and Africans from closer countries they founded and developed a city, Clarence (the capital of the country, now Malabo) Hutchinson (1858). They had the greatest impact in the colony; churches, schools, business, and lands were controlled by the British, who also spread the English language. In their proselytizing task, they alphabetized native pastors who helped British missionaries to translate Bibles in the dialects of the country (Castillo-Rodríguez 2015: 85). Freed slaves from Freetown and the West Indies accompanied British missionaries and merchants. A Pidgin English became ingrained in the town of Clarence amidst the Anglophones, creoles of Fernando Po, known as Fernandinos (Sundiata 1972, 1976) Lynn (1984).¹

¹ Angel Barrera served intermittently as Spanish Governor from 1906 to 1924. Upon his arrival to Fernando Po he reported to the Spanish authorities: “En Santa Isabel, dígase lo que se diga, el idioma más general es el krumán, que es un inglés especial, ó el correcto inglés [sic], lo que se explica con la inmensa cantidad de braceros importados de la República de Liberia y Sierra

Spain's control over the colony was illusory until the mid-nineteenth century, when Spain started to boost its economy and to exploit the resources. The dearth of laborers was always a problem sometimes alleviated with the arrival of people from Nigeria or Sierra Leone.² To maintain the expenses derived from the colonization, capital surplus from the Antilles' budget was assigned to Fernando Po Muñoz y Gaviria (1871). In this way, as early as 1845,³ the Antilles were foreseen as a temporary solution for the lack of human force and the Spanish government initiated negotiations to ship nearly 200 emancipated mulattos and black Cubans to work in public construction.⁴ Fernando Po's presidium was created in 20 June 1861 to harbor Spanish socialist revolutionaries from Andalusia (Unzueta 1947: 413). Four years later, a few hundred political activists were also deported from Cuba to Fernando Po with two goals: to prevent a revolution in Cuba and to employ them as skilled workers. These economic, political, and sociocultural factors shaped what is known in the history of Equatorial Guinea as "período antillano" (Granda 2003a) or "époque cubaine" (Oyono Sa Abegue 1985). In this article, this transatlantic⁵ project will serve to historically contextualize the case of Cuban and Afro-Cuban borrowings in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea. With the circulation of people, loanwords derived from Cuba were incorporated into the Spanish spoken in Fernando Po Granda (1976), Granda (1985b). Within a glottopolitical context, I argue that the history of the slave trade in Spain, the Caribbean, and West Africa is a transatlantic enterprise and it must be taken into account to define this process of language contact.⁶ Naming these borrowings as *cubanismos* does not reflect the historical and linguistic fact that those words were pulled from Africa, the Antilles, Spanish archaisms, Canary Islands dialectalism, and American indigenous words that circulated back and forth to the Antilles, Peninsula and Africa.

Leona ..." [At Santa Isabel, say what you say, Kruman is the language more widespread, a special English, or the proper English, which is explained by the vast number of laborers imported from the Republic of Liberia and Sierra Leone.] (Barrera 1907: 27).

2 See Liniger-Goumaz (1987), Martino (2012) and Sundiata (1974, 1996).

3 Royal Order 13 September 1845.

4 In this article, Cuban black *emancipados* and *Afro-Cubans* are synonyms.

5 The "transatlantic" is, in this article, a geopolitical space defined by the triangulation in the relation of power amongst Spain, Fernando Po and Cuba during the 19th century. Is in this space where we also accounted for the circulation of the African diaspora.

6 Since Weinreich's (1954, 1966) seminal work on contact language, literature regarding language contact and change has grown extensively. It is not our purpose to make an exhaustive review here; it is sufficient to cite Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Winford (2003) and Clyne (1972, 2003), Sankoff (2002) as general references.

The aims of this article are: first, to document and discuss, according to the literature, the casual relation between the arrival of Cuban black *emancipados* and political deportees (1861–1897) and the borrowing of lexical items called *americanismos* (Granda 1985a; Quilis y Casado-Fresnillo 1995; Bibang 2002; Molina 2006), *cubanismos* (González 1959; Lipski 1990a), *transferencia léxica intercolonial* (Granda 1985a) or *transferencias lingüísticas afrocubanas* (Granda 2003a);⁷ second, to put into play the socio-demographic composition of deportees and the environmental similarities as external factors to explain the process of language contact; third, to shed light on Granda's claim about this "circular case of intercolonial lexical transfer" in Fernando Po (Granda 1985).

Methodologically this article had to surmount some limitations due to the lack of studies about the Spanish spoken in Cuba during the nineteenth century (López Morales 1971: 66; Klee and Lynch 2009: 79), let alone the Spanish in Fernando Po. The corpus for *Cuban* lexical transfers to the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea is based on the memoirs of six Cuban political deportees in Fernando Po (Balmaseda 1869; Bravo Sentíes 1869; Saluvert 1892; Sifredo y Llopiz 1893; Valdés 1898 and Miranda 1903), as primary sources. As secondary sources, I used *Poemas y cartas de los deportados cubanos en la isla de Fernando Poo* (Julio A. León 1976a), *Los condenados de la isla de Fernando Poo* (Julio A. León 1976b),⁸

7 Labels for this lexical borrowing differ in the References as we can see. Zimmermann (2006) criticizes the use of concepts such as *americanismo*, *mexicanismo*, *cubanismo* as they represent the epitome of a differential lexicography, which places the peninsular lexicography at the center of the comparison. For "la concepción diferencial y contrastive" [differential and contrastive approach] these terms have been considered "deviations" from the peninsular variation. He also points out that these linguistic labels "ni partieron de una concepción bien razonada y fundada de americanismo por un lado, o colombianismo, chileno, etc., por el otro, ni han sido cumplidas las pretensiones de indicar la restricción del uso de muchas palabras dentro de un cierto territorio. No eran basadas en investigaciones sistemáticas y en comparaciones múltiples con otros países, sino solo en el conocimiento individual, restringido y no controlado de cada lexicógrafo" [nor did they develop from a well reasoned and well founded conception of Americanism on the one hand, or Colombianism or Chilenism, etc., on the other hand, nor have the pretensions been fulfilled of indicating the restriction on the use of many words within one territory. They were not based on systematic research and multiple comparisons with other countries but on the individual knowledge, restricted and not controlled of every lexicographer] (Zimmermann 2006: 2). Although new methods have been implemented (see "Proyecto de Augsburg", Werner [1994]) and new dictionaries proposed (Zimmermann 2006), it is difficult to avoid the need of denotation without assigning a name to those concepts. Granda's lexical term of "transferencias lingüísticas afrocubanas" seems to fully embrace the history of the borrowing eluding in turn monocentric identifications.

8 Julio A. León (1976a, 1976b) has compiled the unpublished poems and diaries of Cuban deportees who died during the voyage or after arriving to the island. Most of the data come from J. B. Saluvert's book (1892) who wrote his diary and kept letters and poems written by other

and *Los que volvieron a Africa* (Rodolfo Sarracino 1988). Additional data to illustrate the different languages used in Fernando Po and the surrounding islands are found in travel books written by Spanish colonists in Equatorial Guinea. For the etymology of words I rely on Pichardo's *Diccionario Provincial casi razonado de voces y frases cubanas* (1875),⁹ Salvá's *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1846), Ortiz' *Glosario de afronegrismos*¹⁰ (1924), Nascentes' *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguêsa* (1955), López Morales's *Estudios sobre el español de Cuba* (1971), Coromines and Pascual *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano E Hispánico* (1980), Valdés' *Gonçalves Viana'* (1906) *Diccionarios de bantuisimos* (2009, 2013).

Following Pichardo (1875), the Spanish spoken in Cuba borrowed words from indigenous languages and from Castilian. The most common indigenous languages were Yucayo (a dead language) and languages spoken in Mexico, Colombia and *la Nigrícia* "Nigeria". "Castilian" words were usually considered as homonyms or polysemous in Pichardo's Dictionary. Historical data are based on archival materials (royal orders published by the Spanish government between 1845 and 1861), memoirs from the Cuban deportees, and documentation collected by Julio A. León (1976b).

The structure of the article is as follows: in the next section I will provide a brief framework to understand the history of Spanish in Equatorial Guinea in contact with other languages. In Sections 2 and 3 I will reconstruct the

Cubans who also died. The narrations are heartbreaking and described their living conditions as well as their fear for an imminent death.

9 Even though these dictionaries, as I have mentioned above, lacked from a contrastive and differential perspective, Pizarro's lexicography slightly moves in that direction and gives us an etymological explanation in regard with his sources.

10 "El DICCIONARIO PROVINCIAL comprende todas las palabras peculiares de la Isla de Cuba (exceptuando las topográficas) sean las indígenas o de origen indígena, conservadas aun, sean las derivadas de otras fuentes o adoptadas con alguna generalidad, sean las mismas Castellanas estampadas en el DICCIONARIO DE LA ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA (8ª Edición) cuando aquí tengan diferente significado, o bien si alguna circunstancia particular lo exige por referirse a cosas propias de este país, por defecto de la explicación, o por otro motivo poderoso" [EL DICCIONARIO PROVINCIAL includes all peculiar words from the Island of Cuba (except the topographical ones), being either indigenous or with an indigenous origin, yet maintained, being either derived from other sources or adopted with some generalization, being either the same Castilian words from the SPANISH ACADEMY DICTIONARY (8th edn.) when they have a different meaning, or if any other reason requires it as they refer to things of this country or because the explanation or because other powerful reason] (Pichardo [1875: IX], capitalization and punctuation marks as in the original). This book is of most importance for this study since serves as an account for the Cuban words in use during the period when Africans and Cubans were deported to Fernando Po.

transatlantic slave trade and the arrival of Afro-Cuban and Cuban political deportees to Fernando Po, respectively. In the last section, I will analyze the conditions for the linguistic transfer. From a glottopolitical approach, I will conclude with a discussion of Granda's assertion of *cubanismo* in Equatorial Guinea as "a circular case of intercolonial lexical transfer".

2 The Equatoguinean Spanish

Equatorial Guinea is the only Spanish speaking country in Sub-Saharan Africa, which makes "this small but unique multilingual and multiethnic speech community" (Lipski 2004: 128) of linguistic interest in language contact and Hispanic dialectology Lipski (1985a).¹¹ As a second language in Equatorial Guinea, the Equatoguinean Spanish¹² has sometimes been considered as full of errors parallel to a broken learner's speech (Lipski 2004).¹³ Lipski relates this aspect to the intensity of many languages being in contact through a long period Lipski (2000). In 2006, he illustrated this situation as follows: "las primeras compenetraciones son consideradas como "errors" por los que hablan la lengua normalizada; sin embargo, a medida que se estabiliza y se extiende la zona de contacto, las nuevas combinaciones llegan a integrarse en la variedad lingüística emergente" [first language mixtures are seen as "mistakes" by those who speak the standard language; nevertheless, as soon as the contact zone stabilizes and expands, the new combinations become part of the emergent linguistic variety] (Lipski 2006: 11). Subsequently, Lipski concluded a year later that "the emergent Guinean dialect of Spanish is not a collection of errors and malapropisms but the legitimate product of the nativization of Spanish in Central Africa" (Lipski 2007: 4).

Despite the fact that language contact in Equatorial Guinea has been constant since 1430 – when the Portuguese began to take possession of the territories along the Gulf of Benin and Biafra – the influence of English imprints on

11 In *La lengua española en Guinea Ecuatorial*, Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo (1995) provided a comprehensive corpus of the Spanish spoken and written in Equatorial Guinea. They carried out linguistic surveys between 1981 and 1993 and collected written materials. Taking into account that our case of study happened in the second half of the 19th century, I will use some examples only to discuss the maintenance of the Afrocuban borrowings, if any.

12 González (1951, 1959: 58) suggests a difference between the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea by the natives and by the Spaniards. He argues against the existence of a Guinean dialect (*dialecto guineo*) although he speaks about a specific lexicon that characterizes the Spanish in Equatorial Guinea.

13 Nevertheless the growing field of literature published in Spanish by Equatoguineans is turning around this misconception.

the linguistic culture of Equatorial Guinea has been significant Lipski (2008).¹⁴ Spanish was declared the official language by the Royal Order of 1858 imposing it as the language of literacy, administration and media, a situation that continues right up to the present day.¹⁵ Moreover, Pidgin English has been the *lingua franca* in Fernando Po since the second half of the nineteenth century, when the British founded Clarence (today Malabo) and established Baptist missionaries on the island with the aim of controlling the transatlantic slave trade. Today, as a result of that “extreme language mixture” (Thomason 2001: 10), one of the most spoken languages used in daily communication in Bioko is Pichi, the Creole of Fernando Po (Lipski 1992; K. Yakpo 2010a; Yakpo 2010b; Yakpo, this issue; T. Morgades 2004).¹⁶ Besides Spanish and Pichi, the two more important indigenous languages are Bubi (spoken in Bioko) and Fang (spoken in Rio Muni, the continental zone), followed by Annobonose (Fá d’ambó, spoken in the Island of Annobón), and “Playeros languages” such as Benga, Combe (Ndowne), Bujeba, Balengue, and Baseque (Quilis 1992: 210–216).

One striking aspect of language contact in the Hispanoguinean dialectology is its absence of creolization. This called the attention of González, who – early on in the Ecuatoguinean linguistic field – explained that “por su progresiva y rápida hispanización, no se ha llegado a formar un dialecto criollo, ya que tales productos suelen provenir de una larga convivencia y fermentación del idioma colonizador y del nativo” [due to its progressive and quick hispanization, a

14 During the second half of the 19th century and to turn around this situation, Spanish government was urged to populate the island, take control and colonize the languages. The first and most effectively step was to support financially Catholic missions and to regulate the education in Spanish hoping to achieve a rapid linguistic hispanization of the natives (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 420; Álvarez 1948: 27–28). The scarcity of Spaniards was counteracted with the arrival of Catholic missionaries Hijos del Inmaculado Corazón de María in 1885 whom penetrated the forest to open missions and church schools even in the smallest Bubi village. Native languages were spoken at home and it wasn’t until the end of the 19th century, especially with the officialization of Spanish in 1907, when the colonizing language took off in the colony.

15 According to Lipski “The choice of Spanish as a national language is both a reflection of close cultural ties with the metropolis, and of the realistically high level of proficiency in Spanish which characterized Equatorial Guinea when it was poised for independence” (Lipski 2004: 120). The 2012 Constitution of Equatorial Guinea proclaimed Spanish and French as official languages in conjunction with the recognition of “indigenous languages” as a part of the national culture. In 2011, Equatorial Guinea signed an addendum to the Constitution adding Portuguese as official language. Luxo-Hispanic [sic] historical ties were the reasons behind that decision (Presidencia. Ley nº 6/2011 de 3 de noviembre).

16 “Pidgin English is conspicuous by its absence, despite the fact that it probably has more active speakers than Bubi, and surely more than Combe, Bujeba and Annobonese” (Lipski 2004: 119). See Yakpo in this issue about the formal and informal status of Pichi.

creole dialect has not been formed yet; this is because such products are the result of a long coexistence and fermentation between the colonizing language and the native language] (González 1959: 57). Conversely, Fá d'ambó, a Portuguese-based Creole (or a romance language itself according to Zamora [2010]), and Pichi, an English-based Creole, are well established in Equatorial Guinea. To explain this situation, Lipski (1985b: 110–111; 1990a: 33–40) argues that creoles are usually formed when a mutually known language within a heterogeneous population is absent. Equatoguineans have always kept their native languages for intra-ethnic communication. Cultural and linguistic distance between the colony and the metropolis was never wide enough to cause linguistic isolation.

Regarding the emergence of a Spanish Creole in Equatorial Guinea, Lipski both defended and put a question mark to that statement:

Arguably, the single most important factor in determining the non-creole status of Equatorial Guinean Spanish is that in the African territories there never occurred the massive linguistic and ethnic fragmentation that resulted from the Atlantic slave trade, which placed in daily contact Africans who spoke a myriad of different native languages and who shared no common language. [...] Clearly, the data from Equatorial Guinea are insufficient in themselves to sustain or reject any theory of creolization and second language development, but they are suggestive in that they provide a relevant test case for the diversification and spread of a colonial language across a wide range of mutually unintelligible ethnic languages (Lipski 2004: 125–127)

Despite the absence of creolization, the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea has borrowed morphosyntactic and lexical features from the Spanish spoken in the Americas, the Philippines and Spain and reveals phonological characteristics such as the resistance of final consonants in words/syllables, a feature that differentiates this variety from other Bantu languages (Lipski 1986a). Also, and based on my fieldwork, the sociolinguistic scenario shows a great variation among the speakers of Spanish, the vast majority of them being either bilingual or trilingual. The emergence of new urban varieties and the spread of multi-lingual code switching call for an updated research in this field.¹⁷ In short, we can state that so far the study of the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea has contributed to the field of Afro-Hispanic linguistics as a complex variety developed during years of contact with Bantu, European, and Afro-Caribbean languages in a context of transatlantic relations.

¹⁷ Quilis (1983) and Lipski (1984) reported on the sociolinguistics attitudes and characteristics of the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea for the 20th century.

3 Fernando Po and the Antilles during the slave trade in the Gulf of Biafra – the arrival of emancipated Afro-Cubans and Cuban deportees

Until the end of the fifteenth century, John II, the King of Portugal, styled himself as “Lord of Guinea” and monopolized the commerce of slaves with Spain (de la Torre y Suárez 1958–1960; Ruméu de Armas 1956–1957). “So universally predominant was their influence”, writes Joseph Tracy (1844: 12), “that in the course of the sixteenth century, the [sic] Portuguese became the common language of business, and was everywhere generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with foreigners. A few Portuguese words, such a “palaver”, “fetish” and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day”.

In Spain, the prolific contraband trade for slaves began in 1511 when fifty slaves were introduced to Santo Domingo to work in the mines (Corwin 1967: 4). By 1527, the slave trade was under control of royal licenses *asientos*, allowing Flemings and Portuguese to make profit from that. Later on, the union between the kingdom of Portugal and Castile in 1580 resulted in the arrival of West African black slaves to the Canary Islands and the Iberian Peninsula. So flourishing was this commerce that “it has been estimated that during the entire colonial period more than one million Africans were shipped under legal guise, more or less, and perhaps an equal number as contraband” (Corwin 1967: 8).

At the other side of the Atlantic, sugar cane and tobacco plantations needed these laborers. The first introduction of black slaves to the Pearl of the Antilles was said to occur in 1524 and was invigorated with the establishment of the English Royal African Company factories in Havana and Santiago de Cuba in 1716 (Corwin 1967: 10). Spain needed laborers to develop the economy of its American territories but currents of abolitionist and civil rights movements put the ongoing slave trade in danger. Spanish possessions in Africa were foreseen as a solution for the plantations in America as well as a method to avoid payments to Portugal and France for providing slaves. Great Britain suspected Spanish commerce of not only slaves but also armaments between West Africa and Latin America (Joseph Tracy 1844: 24). Subsequently Great Britain urged Spain to sign an antislavery agreement in 1817 and again in July 1835 changing the text of the articles. The text of the treaty between Spain and Great Britain stipulated that all the slaves captured on board of a *negrero* ship would be declared free. In December 1824, 150 slaves captured in the brigantine *Relámpago* were declared emancipated and liberated near the coast of Cuba (Roldán 1982: 562). Despite the agreement with Great Britain, Spain, far from ending the slave trade, increased it rapidly, which resulted

in the moving of the Mixed Court for the Suppression of the Slave Trade from Sierra Leone to the island of Fernando Po in 1827. Fernando Po was in fact a Spanish colony but after the failure of Count of Argelejos to take control in 1781, the island was a no man's land. Spain returned to Fernando Po to basically populate it with blacks and *mulattos* from Puerto Rico and Cuba where the slave trade was not abolished until 1873 and 1886 (respectively), and to continue with the clandestine trade to the West Indies (Sundiata 1972, 1974, 1996).¹⁸ “La esclavitud es un mónstruo que tiene su cabeza en Cuba, su vientre en Africa i sus patas en España” [Slavery is a monster who has his head in Cuba, his belly in Africa, and his legs in Spain], says Balmaseda (1874: 392).¹⁹

La cuestión de los braceros was a major concern and imprinted many of the political discussions in the Spanish government by mid-nineteenth century (Beltrán y Rózpide 1901: 141–149). Spain's authorities did not rely on Bubi indigenous population as *braceros*²⁰ and the people imported from the peninsula did not resist the climate and disease of Fernando Po,²¹ which urged to seek imported *braceros* from all over the places.²² At the other side of the Atlantic, the

18 Moros y Morellón, in his several visits to the coast of West Africa, counted at least 100 slave ships full of slaves sailing between the Bight of Biafra and Cuba (Moros y Morellón 1844). According to Sundiata (1996: 53) 563 blacks, Cubans and re-captives from slave ships were sent until 1860.

19 In all, almost 10 million Africans were landed in the Caribbean and Latin America during the slave trade from the 16th to the 19th centuries (Gates 2011). The exact figure given by Curtin (1969) is 9.566 million people. Joseph Inikori (1982) revises Curtin's estimates and argues for a higher figure of 15.4 million. Literature on Atlantic slave trade and the geo-social diaspora of Africans since the slave-worked plantations to the contemporary global market is vast. Readers can consult Curtin (1969, 1990), Brooks (1972) Harris (1982), Fogel (1989), Klein (1986, 1999), Law (1991), Harris, et al. (1996), Akyempong (2000), Northrup (2002), Manning (2009, Eltis (2010) and Bryant et al. (2012) as an introduction to the subject.

20 The employment of Bubis as labor force was dismissed since they confronted the Spanish authority and were considered lazy and averse to work. Sanz Casas (1983: 206–207) sheds light on this when he states that “La confirmación del déficit y el elevado precio del trabajo asalariado en las plantaciones agrícolas de Fernando Póo pueden explicar las campañas de difamación contra la población indígena y las propuestas de los coloniales en favor del reclutamiento y del trabajo forzados” [defamation campaigns against indigenous population and colonialist's proposals in favor of recruitment and force labour explain the confirmation of the deficit and the high price of paid labour in agricultural plantations in Fernando Po].

21 Liniger-Goumaz (1989 [1986]) states that the Spanish government announced Fernando Po as a “colonia de asentamiento” [establishment colony] and paid the expenses for the sending of 125 colonizers from Levante. Nevertheless this was a failure as colonizers suffered and died from tropical fever soon upon their arrival.

22 As Martino puts it (2012: 39), “Towards the end of the Atlantic slave trade and the long imperial 19th century, these *braceros* included Cuban political prisoners and freed slaves,

deportation of “excessive presence of people of color” in Cuba – claimed by Cuban authorities since 1825 (Roldán 1982: 567) – could solve two problems simultaneously: it would increase the security in Cuba (Duharte 1993: 37) and it would serve as a means to populate Fernando Po. Moreover, the Royal Order of 1845 predicted some consequences derived from the contact: the Spanish colonies of Fernando Po and Annobón would gain a major boost to secure Spanish language, Catholicism, and customs since Cubans were already “accustomed” to the Spanish culture (Sarracino 1988: 139). Subsequently, on 13 September 1845, Queen Isabel II authorized the emigration of all freed *negros* and *mulattos* from Cuba who spontaneously and voluntarily wanted to go to Fernando Po.²³ According to Sarracino (1988: 140) Spaniards sought to continue with the slave trade. He also questions if the Cuban blacks and *mulattos* were sent at this time.²⁴ However, on 28 May 1861, the colonial administration asked the Minister of War and Overseas about the consignment of another eighty “emancipated negroes” to substitute for a white infantry company sent in 1859.²⁵ Those Cuban black emancipated men had to be well educated, with a useful profession, robustness, and good behavior (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 398);²⁶ this “human remittance” also failed. On 7 August 1862, 200 Afro-Cuban arrived at Fernando Po in the ship *El Ferrol*. They were declared free men and were contracted for five years. The Royal Orders of 5 April 1861 and 20 July 1862 also recommended that some pockets of land should be distributed by the governor in Fernando Po among the reliable Cubans, the *cumplidos* (Miranda Junco 1945: 80). Fifteen of them got married in Fernando Po (Miranda Junco 1945: 87).²⁷ In July 1863, Queen

‘coolie’ workers from China, itinerant Kru sailors from the Windward Coast contracted into bondage, and, most infamously, tens of thousands of indentured laborers from Liberia.”

²³ The Royal Order also mentioned that those negroes and *mulattos* from Cuba should show “dócil reducción y obediencia al dominio español” [docile control and obedience to the Spanish dominium] (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 397). Rodolfo Sarracino, citing a letter sent from the Duque of Sotomayor to the Earl of Aberdeen on 11 October 1845, says that the Spanish government wanted to send freed Afro-Cubans and *mulattoes* to Fernando Po and Annobón as “voluntary emigrants” (Sarracino 1988: 138; Sundiata 1996: 52).

²⁴ Based on documents, memoirs and diaries we can attest that the indiscriminate remittance of black Cubans during the second half of the 19th century occurred (AHN 4391/9 n^o1).

²⁵ According to Liniger-Goumaz, this conscription was called “a return to Africa” (1987: 518).

²⁶ The Royal Order of May 1861 insists in the sending of Cubans for two reasons: the similarities with the environment will protect them from tropical diseases and this remittance will strengthen their connections with Ultramar. Those *braceros* would be indentured for six to eight months and they would become free to work in another field or place upon finishing their contracts (González 2003).

²⁷ Women were likely sent to Fernando Po according to the Royal Order of 27 July 1863: “es voluntad de S. M. Que procure V. E. Que vaya en la expedición el número de mujeres que

Isabel II asked for a remittance of another two hundred Cubans “adopting [the General Director of the Ministry of Overseas] all the convenient *persuasion measures* to convince them to do the trip voluntarily” (Miranda Junco 1945: 86, my emphasis). They had to be “pure black” (“*de condición bozal*”), although the skilled emancipated could be mestizos (“*de la condición de ladinos*”) (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 404; Miranda Junco 1945: 107). This last remittance never happened. A decree signed on 28 October 1865 urged that all blacks captured in El Gato (Cuba) were moved to the island of Fernando Po or another Spanish possession where they would be free although not more information about this fact has been found.

The confluence of the arrival of nineteen Spanish political deportees with 176 Cuban political prisoners in 1866 to the ship *Rosa del Turia*, propitiated the publication of the Royal Order issued on 12 May 1867 in which Queen Isabel II prohibited the sending of repeat offenders to Fernando Po and closed the presidium.²⁸ Nevertheless, a large group of Cubans was deported as a result of legal investigations to confiscate weapons and prevent the incipient riots for independence. Data from the memoirs register three other massive deportations of Cubans that took place between 1869 and 1897. The first one might have happened on 21 or 25 May 1869, on the ship *San Francisco Javier de Borja* (Balmaseda 1869; Bravo Sentíes 1869; Saluvet 1892; Sifredo y Llopis 1893; Unzueta y Yuste 1947; Holt 1948). It was composed of 250 political deportees sent by Cuban General Captain D. Domingo Dulce. Lodged all over the town, those deportees managed to survive with the money they brought from Cuba. Among them, ten were condemned to prison without a trial and the rest were found guilty of laziness, drunkenness or chimerical behavior as being anarchists (Balmaseda 1869: 151; Miranda 1903). However, this concentration lasted only a few months. Saluvet (1892) provided a detailed chronology of the fate and

permitan las existencias de los emancipados, a fin de realizar matrimonios que aquél permita, según se ha efectuado con éxito en la primera expedición” [it is Her Majesty’s will that you will ensure that a number of women, depending on the sending of emancipados, should accompany them to marry them, as it was successfully executed during the first expedition] (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 404). The census of 31 January 31 1869 carried out by governor Antonio Moreno Guerra counted 150 “congos emancipados de la Habana”; 30 of them were women (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 286).

28 Financial difficulties to support emancipados and criminals influenced the move of the presidium from Santa Isabel to Basilé (R.O. 4 September 1862; Miranda Junco 1945: 142). The arrival of criminals, *cuatros* and *ñáñigos* persisted until the end of the century even if authorities in the island didn’t receive governmental orders nor had the means to maintain them (Bravo Sentíes 1869: 75–76). For more information about the presence of *ñáñigos* in Fernando Po, see Serrano (1985) and Aranzadi (2012).

destination of this expedition informing us about the escape of 11 deportees to Liverpool, the sending of 170 Cubans deportees to Spain in the ship *San Antonio*, and the travelling of the other 48 in the boat *Pinta* from Fernando Po to Cuba.²⁹ In addition to the 250 Cubans deported in 1869 we should add to the Cuban population in Fernando Po a group of 150 Afro-Cubans that remained in Fernando Po in 1862 and 40 that survived in 1866. This large number had an enormous impact on the population of Santa Isabel, as we will see.

The second group of eighteen *infidentes* “disloyal people” left Cuba on November 28, 1896, in the boat *Ciudad de Cádiz* (Miranda 1903). Miranda also cited a considerable number of *ñáñigos*,³⁰ 74 *cuatrerros*, and 25 Puerto Ricans who were deported to Chafarinas Island (along the coast of Morocco). The last trip occurred on 28 February 1897, when 68 deportees arrived at Cadiz in the ship *Buenos Aires* (Valdés 1898) where they joined other Cubans and 200 Filipinos on their way to Fernando Po. In the meantime, a small group of Cubans finqueros and workers also accompanied Ossorio and Montes de Oca on their expedition to Fernando Po (1884–1886).³¹ To have a summary of the population from the Antilles settled in Fernando Po between 1867 and 1894,

29 J. Holt (1948: 141–144) reported on the same expedition and said that British traders such as August Svenson and William Croft helped Cubans escape to Cameroon, Calabar and Congo. He also mentioned that governor Maymo, in his return to England, dispatched 180 Cubans on the ship *San Antonio* and another 53 on the ship *Pinta* to Tenerife. Balmaseda (1899: 52) cited that the 40 survivors were repatriated to Cuba in the same boat that brought the 250 Cuban deportees in 1869 (also de Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 284). The traveling of this last group is worthy of mention since they departed from Fernando Po to Puerto Rico on 18 September with the idea of docking in Cuba. Surprisingly they were sent again to “La Madre Patria” (Saluvel 1892: 83) with scales in Tenerife, Cádiz, Mahon, Seville and Cádiz. Due to their health conditions the ship took a detour to Balears Island where the deportees recovered from disease at Lazareto of Mahon. From there they were sent to Barcelona spending a total of ten month at sea until their arrival in Cuba (Saluvel 1892: 38–55).

30 Africans from the secret society of “abakuá” (Yorubas in Calabar, Nigeria and the Bight of Benin), composed only of men.

31 We couldn’t find more information about this group. Unzueta y Yuste (1947: 285) grounds his information in the report presented by Ossorio to the *Sociedades de Geografía Comercial y Geográfica de Madrid* on 20 May 1886. Nevertheless, the expression “Cuba Africana” used by Ossorio in this lecture refers to the climate and not to the composition of the population. Montes de Oca also reported to *La Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* in 1883 explaining that the migration of 200 Cuban deported to Fernando Po when he was Governor was done under “good conditions”. He also extolled black Cubans’ acclimation to the environment and the agricultural work, although he recommended to send all prisoners to the island of Annobon because of its isolation and lack of harbor.

Julio A. León counted a total of 898 emancipated Afro-Cubans and political deportees (Julio A. León 1976b: 3).³² Even if this number is higher than our estimation, it is obvious that these transatlantic relations – aroused by the language ideology of Spanish proselytism and played under the glottopolitical context of linguistic colonialism – explain the presence and maintenance of Afro-Cuban lexical borrowings in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea.

4 Linguistic interference: Cuban loanwords

As Thomason states (2001: 63), anything can be adopted by one language from another in a situation of language contact. Nevertheless, there exists a hierarchy in the borrowed features as a result of linguistic interference: first words then grammar (Thomason 2001: 64). When a word is borrowed (and then introduced as a new concept or an expansion/replacement of an existing meaning) its pronunciation might change and could follow the phonological rules of the borrowing language. Taking into account that most languages are borrowers, we can make a distinction between native and non-native words. A native word is, following Fromkin “one whose history or etymology can be traced back to the earliest known stages of the language”, (Fromkin et al. et al. 2007: 474) while a non-native word is called a “loan word”.³³ Loanwords are one type of language borrowing. This field of language borrowing has been characterized by a great heterogeneity in its classification (Gómez 1997). Hockett made an early distinction between loanword, loan-shift, calque or loan translation, and loan-blend in 1958; a typology which many other linguists have enlarged or reinterpreted (Clyne 1972; Weinreich 1974; Otheguy 1993, 1995; Lipski 1990a; Silva-Corvalán 2001; and Klee and Lynch [2009] for Hispanic linguistics). According to Silva-Corvalán (2001: 273) differences or deviations from the contact language are transfers or interferences, that is to say, “la incorporación de rasgos de un idioma a otro, con una consecuente reestructuración de los subsistemas

32 Data collected at the *Archivo Penal de los Tribunales Militares que estaban en el Castillo de la Fuerza* (Havana).

33 The discussion about the differences between “loan” and “borrow” seems not to be crystal clear and demonstrates the arbitrariness of linguistic terms (Aboh 2014). In this article loanwords and lexical borrowings are interchangeable as they reflect linguistic manifestations of the contact between two languages (Poplack and Meechan 1998). In the situation of language contact in Fernando Po, the two hypotheses about the motivation for loaning in languages (“deficit hypothesis” and “dominance hypothesis”) sustained by Kachru (1994) are applied to the lexical borrowings.

involucrados” [the incorporation of features from one language to another with a subsequent restructuration in the compromised subsystems]. Nevertheless based on his study of the Spanish spoken by hispanos in USA, Otheguy (1993: 35) provides us with an example in which there is no change in the lexicon or grammar of the Spanish linguistic system. The syntactic lexical calque verb + preposition in Spanish (*llamar para atrás* “call back”, *dar para atrás* “to give back”) does not follow the English syntactic and lexical construction as the adverb “back” in English is not placed in a structural parallelism with verb + preposition in Spanish and subsequently it is not directly linked to the influence of English. Here I focus on loanwords to the extent that they embody the transference of a complete lexical unit (meaning and form) from the source language.

The importance of language borrowings and specifically lexical borrowing has called the attention of many linguists since the end of the nineteenth century (Whitney 1881; Saussure 1997; Sapir 1921) and is a growing field not only in the area of language contact, but also for historical cultural linguistics (Hope 1971):³⁴ borrowed words reveal data of ethno-historic interest and bring about a deeper understanding of the internal structure of language contact. The results of language contact might differ according to two main categories: internal (linguistics) and external (social and psychological) factors. Among the linguistic factors, the degree of typological similarity between the two languages in contact is of major relevance. The most commonly isolated social and psychological factors are the sizes of the linguistic communities in contact, the length and intensity of contact, the prestige of the speakers and the speakers’ motivation and attitudes to embrace other languages. Within Hispanic linguistics Boyd-Bowman (1963, 1968) highlighted the interest of knowing the origin of the Spanish colonizers in America during the sixteenth century to shed light on the process of language contact. Inspired by his contributions I will focus on two external factors to contextualize the language contact and subsequent lexical borrowings:³⁵ the sociocultural composition of Fernando Po and of the Afrocuban emancipates and Cuban deportees, and the environmental characteristics of both islands.

³⁴ The vast list of studies in this field of lexical borrowing prevents from citing a detailed list of authors, as it will be considered, per force, incomplete.

³⁵ In addition to loanwords, other linguistic transfers from Cuba also occurred in areas of language structure as phonetics and morphosyntax, resulting in “seseo”, “yeísmo” and “weakening or elision of ‘s’” (Granda 2003–2004: 45).

4.1 Sociocultural and environmental factors for loanwords

On 31 March 1856, Hutchinson compiled a chart of inhabitants settled in Clarence, the capital of Fernando Po. He counted a total of 982 people fragmented as follows: 105 British residents (from England, Sierra Leone, British Accra, Cape Coast), 238 liberated by British men-of-war from slaves captured in the Brights and Cape Coast, 43 Orphans of old settlers from Captain Owens' arrival in 1827, 180 offspring of living parents, and 416 non-British and non-liberated residents – working as artisans and servants (158 of them were Krumans). When in 1845, Queen Isabel II issued a royal order declaring the expulsion of the British Baptist Church from Fernando Po, Africans from the Brights and Cape Coast also left Clarence but the number of Krumans increased according to the census of 1869 made by the Spanish governor José de la Gándara. He reported a total of approximately 1,223 inhabitants in Santa Isabel: 90 white people (81 Spaniards and 9 *ingleses*) and 848 blacks divided in 467 Krumans and 120 male and 30 female “Congos emancipated from Havana” (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 286).³⁶ Upon their arrival, Cubans mingled in the social and economic life of the Anglo-creoles Fernandinos (Liniger-Goumaz and Molina 1987). Cuban black emancipated men settled in a neighborhood in Clarence named “barrio Congo”³⁷ (Balmaseda 1869; Sifredo y Llopiz 1893), whereas Cuban political deportees lived downtown.³⁸ This group was diverse, but most of the individuals belonged to the Cuban intelligentsia and bourgeoisie, with professions ranging from physicians, surgeons (Bravo Senties was one of them), dentists, pharmacists, priests, and bankers, to political representatives in foreign countries. Francisco J. Balmaseda was himself a Cuban nationalist, propagandist, and writer. A few of them were phlebotomists, bakers, electricians, peasants, *calafates* “caulk men”, bricklayers, mechanics, clockmakers, or accountants (Balmaseda 1869: 19; Bravo Senties 1869: 97–110; Sepa 2011: 216).³⁹ The Afro-Cuban community was composed of the offspring of the African slaves settled in Cuba since the sixteenth century and until Cuban abolition of slave trade in 1886 and their descendants. The language they spoke in Cuba might have converged into the Spanish spoken at that

³⁶ *Congos* is a synecdoche used for black Cubans. “Congo language”, “Congo neighborhood” or “Congo religion” are examples used in the literature for the ethnic mix of Africans in Cuba.

³⁷ Liniger-Goumaz and Molina (1987: 525) makes a connection between this neighborhood and the son of the King of Congos who was sent to Cuba to study and returned to Santa Isabel on December 1859, according to *la Crónica Naval de España*.

³⁸ Besides Cuban black emancipated, a group of black *jamaíquinos* was living there (Sifredo y Llopiz 1893: 20).

³⁹ Bravo Senties (1869: 97–109) and Saluvet (1892: 9–17) composed a chart with each entry analyzed by name, incarceration date, vicinity, citizenship, status, age, and profession of the deportees.

time, merged with indigenous words imported from Mexico, African words derived from Bantu languages, and Spanish archaisms no longer used in the Peninsula – given the interactions of African slaves with Spaniards and Cuban *hacendados* (farmers). However, they retained pockets of their mother tongues for religious ceremonies and private interactions.⁴⁰

Based on this sociodemographic composition we can try to draw Fernando Po's linguistic scenario. On the one hand we have Bube and Pidgin English spoken by natives and Fernandinos. On the other hand we have Spanish, spoken by the people that arrived with the Jesuit Martínez Sanz in 1856, the 40 Afro Cubans and Cuban deported in 1862, 40 Spanish families that arrived in 1869 and a handful of natives working as "boys" for the Spaniards. According to Bravo Senties' (1869: 79), besides Cubans, the linguistic community was composed of:

[...] blancos y negros. El primero lo forman unos pocos ingleses allí establecidos y [...] una docena de españoles, mujeres dos, únicas blancas que hay en la Isla. Son los negros procedentes de distintos puntos; el mayor número de crumanes (Cabo Palma), los que casi todos hablan el idioma ingles adulterado con palabras del peculiar de su nacion; los que no lo hablan lo entienden perfectamente; no sucede así con el español, que esceptuando un pequeñísimo numero ni lo hablan ni lo entienden; Negros de Sierra Leona, arrojados por las autoridades inglesas por su mala conducta; gente de color nacida en Santa Isabel pero educada toda en los colejos ingleses de Sierra Leona y Victoria: en jeneralidad protestantes, hay algunos católicos, pocos en número a pesar de los esfuerzos empleados por la misión jesuita establecida desde hace muchos años en Santa Isabel, que casi nada ha conseguido; existen a mas algunos negros y mulatos procedentes de Cuba, de la clase de emancipados los unos, deportados criminales mandados por Lersundi, los otros.

[...] whites and blacks. The first one is composed by a few British settled in the colony and (...) a dozen of Spaniards; two of them are the only white women in the island. Blacks are from different regions; the higher number of Krumans (Cape Palm), whom, in their majority, speak English language adulterated with words from their national languages; those who do not speak English understand it; it is not the case with Spanish, which beside a small number of people, nobody speaks or understands it; Sierra Leone blacks expelled by English authorities due to their bad behavior; people of color born in Santa Isabel but educated in English schools of Sierra Leone and Victoria; in general they are protestant, there are a few Catholics, lower in number despite the efforts made by the

⁴⁰ For a compelling take on the Congo language see the work of Lydia Cabrera (1992), Fernando Ortiz (1924), Humberto López Morales (1971), Luis Ortiz (1996) and Germán de Granda (1973, 1974, 1978, 1984, 1985b, 1988, 1991, 1994, 2003b). Aranzadi supplies documentary evidence of the presence of "ñáñigos" in Fernando Po from 1865 until 1950. She argues that the dance-ritual of Bonkó o Ñánkue and the drum-dance of Cumbé in now Bioko are a legacy of the Abakuás in Cuba whom brought with them the language, instruments, costumes and way to performance the secret ritual. Interestingly, she contends that Ñankué was easily assimilated by the creoles Fernandinos in parallel to the Cuban Abakuá, which was also a product of creolisation (I. de Aranzadi 2012: 32).

mission of the Jesuits who were settled in Santa Isabel a long time ago, efforts which have hardly given any results; there are some blacks and mulattos from Cuba, some emancipated and some criminal deportees sent by Lersundi, respectively.]

This linguistic scenario changed upon the Cubans' arrival. As we have seen from our data, the length of contact between Spaniards, Fernandinos, Bubis and Cubans varied since half of this group returned to Cuba or died in Fernando Po. However, the intensity of the encounter in a small geographical space, the prestige of the Cuban speakers over the speakers of Pidgin English and Krio, and – basically – the language policy reinforcement deployed by the Spanish administration, propitiated the dominance of the colonial language (Spanish) and laid the groundwork for lexical borrowings.

The analysis of the socio-demographical factor points to two preliminary conclusions: first, the Spanish spoken in Fernando Po since 1862 and until the end of the nineteenth century had to be mostly Cuban. Second, the power and prestige of the Cuban deportees was the trigger for the loanwords. Regarding the first conclusion, Granda acknowledges that the demographic weight of Cubans “[constitutes] a relevant factor in the determination of the linguistic physiognomy of the African region” (1985: 136). Some Cuban deportees that remained in Fernando Po worked as *finqueros* for tobacco plantations and as representatives of the Spanish administration (Unzueta y Yuste 1947: 285, 323). *Ñañigos* increased this group as their remittance continued until 1897 (Serrano 1985; I. de Aranzadi 2012). Regarding the second conclusion, we may hypothesize that the high diastatic level of the Cuban group in Fernando Po correlates with a formal style of speaking (*un estilo cuidado*). The profile of the political deportee fits with the image of a highly educated man: wealthy, politically active, and white. Memoirs written by six of these deportees also reflect the use of a rich vocabulary widely oscillating from *cultismos* to a more popular language. While the prose of these memories can be seen as a more elevated and formal language, the literary genre (memories) and its subject (the deportation and “urban incarceration” in Fernando Po) account for a colloquial language riddled of vulgar expressions, as we will see.

In regard to the environmental characteristics, Cuba and Fernando Po have the same climate, flora and fauna which might have facilitated the process of lexical transfer because of the homology of the *realia* in both geographical zones. *Plátano* derives from Greek *πλάτανος* – *platānus* in Latin – and it was an established borrowing in Castilian Spanish. *Banana*, by contrast, is a “Congo word” (“Voz del Congo”) according to DRAE (2004)⁴¹ and it was a nonce

⁴¹ It is worth to mention that despite the intensity of the slave trade and the presence of Bantuisms in the Americas (Valdés and Leyva 2009; Valdés 2013), the Spanish Royal Academy's *Dictionary of Spanish* registers only 13 words as having an African origin (Moreno in Valdés 2013: 13).

borrowing, a word that was not wholly incorporated into the language – because being a variety of *plátano*, was taken as a homonym – causing confusion among native speakers (Ducar 2009). *Piña* comes into Spanish from the Latin word *pinēa* (DRAE 2004) and Pichardo's definition (1875: 295) gives us an insight regarding the importation of this product into the Americas:⁴² “Oviedo, Gobernador de Santo-Domingo, fue quien dió á conocer la *Piña* en Europa en el año 1535; pero Acosta pretende que se trajo de Santa Cruz a las Indias Occidentales y Orientales y a la China, donde se conoció en 1518. Otros opinan que de la India vino a America” [Oviedo, Governor of Santo-Domingo introduced pineapple in Europe in 1535; Acosta argues that it was brought from Santa Cruz to the West and East Indies and to China, where it was introduced in 1518. Others think that it came to the Americas from India]. Nevertheless, a semantic extension seems to have occurred with *piña* in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, meaning also “the fruit of cacao” (González 1959: 68). The etymology of *mango* can be derived from the Tamil word *mānkāy* through the Portuguese word *manga* and the English word *mango* (DRAE 2004).⁴³ Analyzing the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea in 1950, González (1959) points out that although all these words were fully incorporated into the Spanish Dictionary (Royal Spanish Academy), it was more common to use and hear them in Equatorial Guinea than in the Peninsula.

4.2 Some evidence of linguistic transfer

Memories of the Cuban political deportees in Fernando Po as well as Julio A León and R. Sarracino texts have not been studied before as sources for lexical borrowings. In fact they have been briefly and scarcely used to support historical data but a deserved critical analysis is needed. The use of literary works to illustrate the speaking of communities that have not left any written materials has been a common practice in historical linguistics.⁴⁴ Although they have methodological limitations, as they are written by people from upper class –

⁴² Pichardo prefers the indigenous word *anana*. The etymology of *ananás* goes back to Portuguese *ananás* and from Guaraní *naná* (DRAE 2001).

⁴³ Dates for the registration of these entries in historical dictionaries greatly vary. Although it surpasses the breath of this article, it is interesting to highlight that some lemas were not included in *Diccionario de Autoridades* but appeared in text written at that time (see *bananas* and *ñame* in *Corpus del Nuevo Diccionario Histórico del Español* <http://web.frl.es/CNDHE/org/publico/pages/consulta/entradaCompleja.view>).

⁴⁴ For studies about the Afro-Spanish in Latin America, see Granda (1968, 1970) and Lipski (1987a, 1987b, 1998, nd.a, nd.b).

usually whites when it comes to Afro Hispanic language contact – with a pejorative and stereotyped tone, and constrained to the past, sometimes it’s the only data source we can find. As an example, since the Spanish Golden Age, there is literary evidence of African slaves born in Africa who spoke *el habla de negro* or *guineo*, an Africanized Spanish (Granda 1978: 217–233). Those *negros* spoke *bozal*, that’s to say they “spoke Spanish deficiently and with peculiar deformations, not only confusing grammatical categories such as gender, number and verb conjugations, but also with certain phonetic modifications” (Lipski 1987a: 34). Linguistic traces of this “*habla de negro*” are embedded in the speech of the black slaves in the Caribbean, and illustrate a strong resemblance to those found in Spanish *guineo* (Lipski 1986b). For the case of Cuba, Pichardo writes in 1875:

... otro lenguaje relajado y confuso se oye diariamente en toda la Isla, por done quiera, entre los Negros BOZALES, o naturales de África, como sucedia con el Frances CRIOLLO de Santo Domingo: este lenguaje es comun e idéntico en los Negros, sean de la Nacion que fuesen, y que se conservan eternamente, a ménos que hayan venido mui niños: es un Castellano desfigurado, chapurrado, sin concordancia, número, declinacion ni conjuncion, sin R fuerte, S ni D en fin, una jerga más confusa miéntras más reciente la inmigración; pero que se deja entender de cualquier Español fuera de algunas palabras comunes a todos, que necesitan de traduccion. Para formarse una ligera idea de esto, vertirémos una respuesta de las ménos difíciles: “yo mi ñama Frasico Mandinga, nenglito reburujaoro, crab musuamo ño Mingué, de la Cribanerí, branco como carbon, suña como nan gato, poco poco mirá oté, cribi papele toro ri toro ri, Frasico dale dinele, non gurbia dinele, e laya cabeza, e bebe guardiente, e coje la cielo, guanta qui guanta...

[... another relaxed and confusing language spoken by the *bozales* blacks, those originally from Africa, is heard all across the island on a daily basis, like what happened with creole French in Santo Domingo. This language is common and identical in blacks, no matter what nation they come from, and it is eternally kept by them, unless they had come here as children. It is a deformed and sloppy Castilian, without any agreement in number, with neither declensions nor conjunctions, without the strong R, and without the final S and D – an increasingly confusing lingo with each recent immigration. However, it can be understood like any other Spanish, apart from some words that commonly need translating. Just so you have a slight idea, we will provide you with a simple example: “yo mi ñama Frasico Mandinga, nenglito reburujaoro, crab musuamo ño Mingué, de la Cribanerí, branco como carbon, suña como nan gato, poco poco mirá oté, cribi papele toro ri toro ri, Frasico dale dinele, non gurbia dinele, e laya cabeza, e bebe guardiente, e coje la cielo, guanta qui guanta...]

(Pichardo 1875: x).

I contend that the words that Afrocubans brought to Fernando Po derived from a mixed lexicon composed of the African borrowings into Spanish American (*africanismos*), Cuban indigenous words, linguistic traces of *bozal* and Spanish *dialectalismos*, such as *andalucismos* and *castellanismos*. In the case of

Equatorial Guinea one of the first examples of the speaking of black people comes from de Morós y Morellón. He traveled to Annobón in 1836 and collected information about its people and language:

¿Cómo se chama vosa mercé? -Era el único grito que salía de las canoas que nos cercaban, cuando fondeamos en esta rada -Antonio, Juan, Pedro... respondían tumultuosamente nuestros marineros- Pois eu tambien me chamo Antonio... y eu Pedro... y eu Joao... contestaban los inocentes isleños.

[... how art thou called? – that was the only shout coming from canoes surrounding us when we anchored in this roads – Antonio, Juan, Pedro... our sailors answered noisily – My name is also Antonio... and Pedro... and Joao... responded the innocent islanders.]

(Moros Morellón 1844: 24)

The Portuguese slaving empire sprang out from Western and Southern Africa and, as Lipski pointed out, “many of the slaves had apparently acquired a rudimentary pidgin or maritime Portuguese” (Lipski 1987b: 35). This contact with Portuguese led to the formation of the Portuguese-based creole Fá d’ambó in Annobón. Another example is found in M. Iradier’s travel book – two black people speak Spanish. The episode took place in a vapor at the bight of Grande Bassa, Liberia, as Iradier asked the sailors about the cost of disembarking.

- Y cuánto me costaría volver al vapor?
- Lo que pida botero, señor. En tiempo que el vapor marcha tu tiene que dar á botero lo mismo uno que veinte libras, lo que pida. Si no dá, tu queda á tierra y el vapor marcha señor.
- and how much it will cost me to get back to the ship?
- Whatever the sailor asks, sir. When the boat leaves you have to give to the captain one or twenty pounds, as per request. If you do not give it, you will remain in land and the ship will depart, sir.] (Iradier, 1887: 72)

This might be one of the first examples of the Spanish spoken by black people in the Gulf of Biafra.⁴⁵ Whether this person is originally from the African coast and had previous contact with Portuguese and Spaniards or moved with the diasporic community across the Atlantic – back and forth from Spain to the Spanish America – remains uncertain.

In Martínez-Fernández’ article (1995) there is a third case to illustrate the speaking of African *emancipados* in Cuba. He accounts for the case of John Baptiste Dasalu, a Yoruba converted to Christianity whose slave ship to Cuba

⁴⁵ See Lipski (2006) “El español de Guinea Ecuatorial en el contexto del español mundial” (<http://www.personal.psu.edu/jml34/esp-guin.pdf>) for more examples.

was intercepted by a British man-of-war. According to Martínez-Fernández, in 1855 Dasalu dictated a letter to Martín Garro in Havana. The letter was addressed to his relatives and it was written in “seemingly broken Spanish” as follows: “ge no mi es mueto toabia Gracia al dios”. Dasalu was liberated and returned to Africa a year later.

From the Cuban deportees’ memories⁴⁶ we have very few samples of speech among the people traveling to Fernando Po. Narrations are mostly flooded with sour denunciations of the moral and physical abuses experienced under Spanish custody.⁴⁷ Idioms and Cuban expressions are, on the contrary, all over the texts. Some of them describe the cultural influences brought by the *ñáñigos*, as González pointed out later on: “Cubans and AfroCubans brought to Fernando Po their traditional Spanish last names (Valcárcel, Balboa, Castillo), their customs (*ñangües* and *maringa*), and a whole way of being and thus of speaking” (González 1959: 59). Others are related to food and activities in the aim to describe the ways of surviving the deportation. To contrast the maintenance of the idioms and lexical items borrowed by the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea from the Cubans, I rely on a comprehensive list of 55 loanwords from America and the Philippines brought by Afro-Cubans and Cubans collected by Quilis (1992: 272–273) and Granda’s (2003) list of *realia* that are similar in both regions. We find these linguistic transfers in the memoirs of the Cuban political deportees, principally those who belong to the lexical family of fruits (*aguacate*, *malanga*, *mango*), work activities (*chapear*, *empastar*, *hacienda*, *finca*, *manglar* “mangrove swamp”), and music rituals (*mamarracho* [a person disguised in costume for carnival], *ñáñigos*). Here are some examples:

46 The background of these five writers is rooted in political activism, upper social classes and white-collar professions. Some of them were amateur writers, others earned recognition as fiction writers (especially Balmaseda, with an edited anthology of poems, comedies, fables and short stories published in 1874). Balmaseda escaped from Fernando Po and emigrated to the United States and Cuba a year after their arrival in Africa.

47 Unzueta y Yuste refers to Balmaseda’s book in the following terms: “nos ha dejado un libro que relata su vida en Santa Isabel, triste y calamitosa, lejos del pensamiento que pudiera embargarnos pensando en los sonos lánguidos y cadenciosos de las guajiras y habaneras en las noches estrelladas del trópico” [He left us a book that narrates his life in Santa Isabel, sad and calamitous, far from the thought that could overwhelm us as we think about downhearted and rhythmical sounds of guajiras and habaneras in the starry nights of the tropics] (1947: 285). Balmaseda (1869) sees Fernando Po as a “tomb”; Sifredo y Llopiz describes the “painful and terrible real ordeal” (1893); Miranda characterized his book as a “stark narrative” (1903). See the attached bibliography for a vivid picture of the deportees’ living conditions: the confinement of Fernando Po, their work as *braceros*, their salary of three *pesos* per month, all kinds of sickness, death and misery that happened in a short time. To quote Valdés, “to be Cubans was our crime” (1898).

[A]bundan *los plátanos, el anon* [custard apple], *la piña, el mango*
[abound bananas, anon, pineapple, mango]

(Balmaseda 1869: 13).

Suben a las palmeras para cortar el *bangá* (fruto parecido al corajo de Cuba) [...]. También se dedican a sembrar ñame. El plátano, la malanga y el árbol del pan se producen sin cultivo. Se construyen en las maníguas sus bohíos⁴⁸ con bambú y “calabó” [...]
[they climb palms to cut *bangá* (a fruit similar to vegetable ivory in Cuba) (...). They also plant yams, bananas, taro root, and breadfruit grow spontaneously]

(Miranda 1903: 50)

Entre la infinidad de visitas que recibimos recordaremos siempre con placer la que nos hicieron un moreno viejo y tres hijas del mismo, los cuales se nos presentaron con una cazuela nueva llena de *fafá*, otra de *tasajo* frito con plátanos, boniatos idem y salcochados...
[among the ceaseless visitors we received we will always remember with pleasure that of a dark-skinned old man and his three daughters, whom brought us a new pot with *fafa*, another with fried *tasajo* (dried meat) with plantains, sweet potato and *salcochados* (boiled in salt water)]

(Saluvel 1892: 95)⁴⁹

[M]uera aquí contento siempre que este tirano me acompañe en la Palma. La Palma es como se llama al cementerio en Fernando Póo; es un lugar entre malezas, chapeado y con una Palma Corajo⁵⁰ por señal

[I shall die content here, if this tyrant accompanies me in La Palma. La Palma is Fernando Po's cemetery; it is a place surrounded by weeds but manicured with a vegetable ivory palm tree as a sign]

(Sifredo y Llopiz [1893: 30] about his own death on the island)

Miranda (1903: 50) also gives us some examples from Bubi's traditions:

Son las mujeres las que llevan las más pesadas cargas, y los hombres van detrás de ellas con sus *giiros* llenos de *topé* colgados de unos palos, con caprichosos dibujos de relieve hechos por ellos que llevan en los hombros

[Women carry the heavier weight and men walk behind them with their *giiros* full of *tope* hanging from a stick with whimsical carved designs made and carried by them.]⁵¹

48 “Bojío: voz. ind. Entre los aborígenes, casa de figura cuadrada” [Indigenous word. Among the indigenous, a square shape house] (Pichardo 1875: 45).

49 Valdés Acosta (2013: 92) includes the meaning of *fufú* in her *Dictionary of Bantuisms in Cuba* as “puré de viandas, especialmente de plátanos, generalmente machacados con ajos, manteca y chicharrones de puerco” [puree, specialty of bananas usually mashed with garlic, butter and pork rind].

50 “Corajo [palm]: voz ind. Una de las especies de Palmas, silvestre, abundantísima, especialmente en el interior de la isla” [indigenous word. A kind of palm, wild, especially abundant in the interior of the Island] (Pichardo 1875). In Valdés, “diluted eau-de-vie” (1989: 78).

51 Precision and certainty of data in Cuban's memories should be put in parenthesis equally to all genres of this sort. For example, as evidence in the Cuban deportees' memories, J. B. Saluvel

According to Pichardo (1875), words found in Cuban deportees' memories such as *papaya*, *cacao*, *nigua* "flea", *yuca*, *petate* "to leave, to die", *tabaco*, *cayuco*, and *ceiba* are American indigenous words while the etymology of *ñame* and *malanga* is rooted in African languages. Pichardo denominates them words "from the Nigricia". Coromines and Pascual (1980: 15) derive the etymology of *ceiba* from the taíno in Santo Domingo. Other Cuban loanwords found in the memoirs of Sifredo y Llopiz (1893), Valdés (1898) and Miranda (1903) are *cuabear* (a fishing technique), *ballajá* (fabric to cover your body), and *balele* (undetermined origin according to González [1959: 60]).

To put a question mark about the origin of some loanwords classified by Granda [Granda (1987) as Americanisms], Antillanism and Afro-Cubanisms, we can argue that a few of these called *afrocubanismos* or *cubanismos* incorporated in the Spanish of Fernando Po upon the arrival of Afro-Cubans and Cuban political deportees were also very much alive in diaries and memoirs of Spanish travelers and administrators (see for example Navarro 1859: 99; Muñoz Gaviria 1875: 236). Those lexical items were part of the Spanish language used by explorers, administrators, and finqueros which arrived to Fernando Po in the nineteenth century. Ariza (1996: 277) raises doubts about some of Granda's examples of *cubanismos* in Equatorial Guinea because they either were "indigenismos del español" or were incorporated already in Nebrija's and Covarrubias' dictionaries. This is the case of: *bracero* "peón agrícola" [worker], *bravo* "bravío irritado, colérico" [brave], *palometa* "tipo de pez" [butterfish] and *finca* "explotación agrícola" [farm] according to Ariza (1996). Although he recognizes the little linguistic influence of *andaluz* and canary dialects in the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea, he asserts that some of the *cubanismos* cited by Granda were also in use in the Canary Islands (*peso* "coin", *caña* "liquor", *relajo* "diversion", *guagua* "autobus"). This case opens up the question about the circulation of dialectalisms from the Canary Islands to the Antillas and to Equatorial Guinea, or vice versa. Undoubtedly not only geopolitical transatlantic relations but also commercial ones were in place during the eighteenth century on. Ariza's reflection about the origin of those loanwords as "¿Canarismos de Guinea o americanismos de Canarias? [Canarisms of Guinea or americanisms of Canary Islands?]" (Ariza 1996: 277) goes hand in hand

reported in 1869 that two Bantu and Yoruba Cuban mulattos spoke with the Bubis in an African dialect called "Lari" (Julio A. León 1976b: 8). As one of the blind-peer reviewers explained, "if such a fact really occurred, it had nothing to do with the two very different, not mutually intelligible entities (Bantu and Yoruba) and the reported name of the 'common dialect' of the conversation does not even help. The only 'Lari' reported in Central Africa is in Congo". Lari is spoken in Congo-Brazzaville.

with researchers' obstacles to attribute one specific region of origin to a loanword that has been identified as a "linguistic boomerang" (Maniacky 2013).

Cuban words such as *guagua* "bus", *maringa* "dance originated in Cuba (González 1959)", *ñangües* or *ñankués* "folklore group", *comején* "termite", *jején* "fly", *macaco* "ugly" were not used in the Peninsula but in Equatorial Guinea.⁵² Quilis and Casado-Fresnillo (1995: 334) classified *macaco* and *mango* in the subfield "other countries" within the hispanoamericanism group. The etymology of *macaco* is Bantú and it is still in use in the Spanish spoken in Cuba, according to Valdés and Leyva (2009). G. de Granda (2003: 44) contends that some of these words belong to the Spanish patrimonial language and should be considered as archaisms in Cuba. From there, they travelled to Equatorial Guinea:

Son también muy reveladoras las coincidencias existentes entre el español de Guinea Ecuatorial y el de Cuba en el campo del léxico patrimonial español que, habiendo sido eliminado en la metrópoli europea (Buesa–Enguita 1992), permaneció como retención (del Rosario 1970), arcaísmo (Lerner 1974) o arcaísmo relativo (Moreno de Alba 1992) en la América hispánica y concretamente en Cuba.

[The coincidences in the lexical and patrimonial fields of the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea and Cuba are revealing as well. Having the lexical and patrimonial fields of Spanish been eliminated in the European metropolis (Buesa–Enguita 1992), they remained as retention (del Rosario 1970), archaism (Lerner 1974), or relative archaism (Moreno de Alba 1992) in Hispanic America, particularly in Cuba.] (G. de Granda 2003: 44)

A special mention is needed for words such as *macaco* and *palito*. They are also patrimonial lexical items in Portuguese, which evidences on the one hand the two-way connections of the transatlantic slave trade and, on the other hand the lexical stock inherited from the Portuguese during Portugal colonization in the Equatoguinean territory (1469–1774). The case of *palito* exemplifies this since it is considered a Spanish word even if "a indústria do fabrico de palitos seja bem portuguesa" [the Portuguese's industry of tobacco's midrib is a well establish one] (Nascentes 1955: 375). Spaniards imported these *palitos* from Portugal and then they called them *palillos* (diminutive form). For this Portuguese linguist (Nascentes 1955: 307), the etymology of *macaco* is also in dispute. Historical linguists have placed its origin in Congo, Madagascar or Brazil although he seems to agree with Ortiz's Glosario on its Bantu etymology. Granda (1985) also makes a distinction between words that come exclusively from Cuba (*guagua*, *mamarracho*, *trozar* "to cut", *cocada* "coconut pastry", *tumba*) from those of "el área circumantillana" [circum-Antilles area] – such as *carey*, *cayuco*, *malanga*,

⁵² Nevertheless, González argues that having all those words reunited in the Real Academia Española dictionary prevented him from classifying them amongst the "common vocabulary of the Spaniards in the colony" (González 1959: 70).

ñame, *tabaco*, *tumbar* – or from words spread by some American territories but different from the circum-Antilles area. Valdés and Leyva (2009) discuss this by affirming that *malanga* and *ñame* are Bantú words in the Spanish spoken in Cuba.

Texts also account for some African and Cuban words that apparently have not remained in the Spanish spoken in Equatorial Guinea such as *paila* “pot”, *zambullo* “potty”, and *mambí* “villain”.⁵³ Cuban deportees Balmaseda (1869) and Miranda (1903) vividly use Cuban idioms when they respectively say “eran de los pardos cheches de la Habana” [They were from the mulattos braggart from Havana], “había que sacarles los reaños a los negros mambises” [we have to encourage those black *mambises*]. Valdés’s description of a regular Sunday in Santa Isabel with regard to Three King’s Day in Havana is also embedded with Cuban idioms not found in the Equatoguinean dialect when he wrote about *diablitos* were playing *marugas de hojas de lata y de güiras secas* [rattles made from tin and dry gourd leaves], and dancing. Tobacco plantations flourished with the arrival of Cubans who cultivated it as soon as they were declared free from the contract labor with the Spanish authorities. Words belonging to this lexical family still remain in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea, as for example, *despabilar* “to remove small sticks from tobacco”, *tabaco* “cigar” or, as we have mentioned, *palito* “central part of the tobacco leaf”. With the last deportation of Cubans at the end of the nineteenth century, the Spanish government formally closed the tobacco market to Cuban investors in the name of protectionist commercial measures (Liniger-Goumaz and Molina 1987: 527). Nevertheless, during the dictatorship of Macías Nguema after the independence of Equatorial Guinea in 1968, Cuban educators, doctors and forest workers were settled in Santa Isabel and Bata as part of an international cooperation agreement. The presence of this linguistic community fueled and reinforced the use of Cuban loanwords in the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea until present day. Economic and academic relationship still continues between the two countries, mainly in the medical and academic sector.

In sum, the analysis shows the following: first, the historical reconstruction of the transatlantic deportation and Cuban African diaspora as well as socio-demographical description of this group demonstrated that they outnumbered the non-indigenous population in the capital of Santa Isabel during the second half of the nineteenth century. Belonging to a higher social class, Cuban political deportees’ prestige was of a major importance for the linguistic transfer. Even

⁵³ Classified as Cuban Congo word (Granda 1973) and *bantuismo* (Valdés and Leyva 2009). Its meaning (Cuban insurgent according to DRAE [2001]) has become popularized as “bad person”. For a detailed explanation of its etymology, see Valdés and Leyva [2009: 101].

the Afro-Cuban population – freed and turned into *finqueros* – experienced upward mobility. Second, regarding the type of lexical borrowing, the similar environmental characteristics (climate, flora, fauna) in Cuba and Fernando Po played a role as an external factor for the language contact. Third, although we could have the impression that those lexical borrowings adopt the unidirectional way from Cuba to Fernando Po, the historical context and the analysis of the data reveals a different approach: lexical transfers derived from the intercolonial language contact developed during multiple and complex relations among the Iberian Peninsula, the Antilles, the Spanish America, and Fernando Po. Santa Isabel was the epicenter for the Spanish linguistic colonization. Some of the imported *americanismos* and *cubanismos* came from Cuba directly or through Spain and the Canary Islands to Fernando Po. Finally, the etymology of those loanwords is anchored to a vague category such “*voces cubanizadas e inmigradas de la Nigrícia*” [Cubanized words immigrated from the black territories] according to Pichardo (1875) or Bantuism following Valdés y Leyva (2009) and Valdés (2013). They derived from a language contact process between slaves captured in Sierra Leone, Congo, Liberia, Nigeria, and Cuba Valdés Bernal (1987) Valdés Acosta (2002). Granda acknowledges that the “Congo language” that emerged in Cuba derives from Kikongo, belonging to Bantu, one of Africa’s largest language families spoken in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Granda 1969; Granda 1973). Taking into account this linguistic data, it would be appropriate to state that the Afro-Hispanic slave trade resulted in a circular import-export process of linguistic features across the Atlantic.

5 Conclusion

The Cuban group that arrived in Fernando Po at the end of the nineteenth century was composed of African slaves brought to Cuba and their offspring, Spaniards settled in the Antilles, and Cuban political deportees. Economic and political factors stemming from the need for labor and the control of the revolution for independence in Cuba paved the field for language contact. The Spanish language in Cuba was supposed to have merged with indigenous words imported from Mexico and the Antilles, African words derived from Bantu and Yoruba languages, Spanish archaisms no longer used in the Peninsula, *andalucismos*, and idioms from the Canary Islands. When the Cuban group arrived to Fernando Po, another case of language contact and lexical transfer occurred. The environmental similarities between Cuba and Equatorial Guinea have been demonstrated to play a role in the borrowing process: most of the loanwords

came from the lexical family of agriculture and entomology in Cuba. In addition to that, the size of the group and the intensity of interactions were social factors to trigger borrowings.

Data show that Cuban political deportees were the majority. Although most of them escaped or died soon after their arrival, some remained in Fernando Po and became plantation owners or workers for the Spanish government. Emancipated Afro-Cubans, on the other hand, stayed longer and contributed an important labor force, working with natives and West African slave descendants (Fernandinos) at the plantations. They rarely returned to Cuba as their arrival in Fernando Po was seen as a reencounter with their origins (Sarracino 1988). In addition to that, the constant relations between the Antilles and the Spanish territories in the Gulf of Biafra during the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in the settlement of *finqueros* that moved from Cuba. Many of those *finqueros* were Spaniards – especially from Andalusia and the Canary Islands – who had previously immigrated to the Antilles to make money (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain. Ultramar 4391/9 nº 8 and 12). As a matter of fact, the ties between the two colonies strengthened during the nineteenth century: the expenses for the West African colonies in Spain were charged to Cuba's budget until 1884, the firm Juan Fales and Company from Matanzas, Cuba, established in Corisco in 1840, and the *Ley Moret* (Cuba, 1870) declared that all slaves belonging to the state were liberated, which provided the freed men the opportunity to remain in Cuba or to return to the Spanish territories in Africa (Corwin 1967: 275). After the independence of Equatorial Guinea, President Macías strengthened collaborations with the Cuban regime, exchanging human, economic, and military resources. International relations with Cuba are still strong especially in fields like health and education; Cuban doctors and professors continue to play a role in language variation and contact.

All these factors, including but not limited to the arrival of Afro-Cuban and Cuban political deportees, were the linguistic scenario for lexical transfers – and it continues to be so today. As we have demonstrated, *cubanismo* in Equatoguinean Spanish is a broad linguistic category that includes words that “circulated” from Africa to the Antilles, Spanish archaisms and dialectalisms from the Canary Islands, and American indigenous words. Equatoguinean last names such as Castillo or Barril are the living manifestation (and the plaque commemorating the arrival of the Cubans, which is located in the port of Malabo, is the patrimonial measure) of this cultural and linguistic contact. Those borrowings account for the episode of Spanish glottopolitics in the context of transatlantic African diaspora and deportation called “*periodo antillano*”.

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