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Exploring glottopolitical dynamics in Africa: the Spanish colonial past and beyond. An introduction

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1 Spanish glottopolitics in Africa: A colonial linguistics approach

Despite the vast existing literature on Hispanic linguistics, studies focused on the Afro-Hispanic field are marked by a clear inclination towards the Caribbean and Latin American regions (Lipski 2007, 2009). Within this field, some research dates back to pre-colonial times and questions the possible African contribution in terms of religion, literature, language and architecture of pre-Colombian societies, especially given the difficulty researchers encounter when isolating purely African religious elements or philosophical ideas from those that belonged to the indigenous American cultures. The Spanish colonial era in America after the fifteenth century featured the arrival of over ten million Africans in the Antilles and in Latin America, who “created new and vibrant cultures, magnificently compelling syntheses of various African, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish influences” (Gates 2011: back cover). Clearly the language was one example of cultural hybridization, and has been studied as such, especially in regards to lexical borrowing and linguistic contact in Latin American and the Caribbean.¹ However, it is important to point out that Spanish and Portuguese colonial companies existed within the context of transatlantic relations, where people, goods, languages, and cultural

¹ Our objective here does not include a comprehensive collection of publications on Afro-Hispanic linguistics in the Caribbean and Latin America; it is sufficient to quote some representative works of the *afronegroid* elements in variations of Spanish in Puerto Rico (Álvarez Nazario 1974), Panamá (Lipski 1989), Bolivia (Lipski 2008b), Colombia (Konder et al. 1995), Cuba (Ortiz 1924; Valdés and Leyva Escobar 2009), the Caribbean in general (Alba 1982; Valdés 2013), Ecuador (Sessarego 2013), Dominican Republic (Henríquez Ureña 1940), and Paraguay (Granda 1994).

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traditions circulated. The *habla de negros* or *bozal* Spanish is one example that has been identified primarily in Golden Age literature, although its presence and influence in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain is still unexplored (Granda 1978; Lipski 1986, 2009).

Compared to this development, Afro-Hispanic linguistic studies in Africa are scarce and concentrated among certain authors.² In addition, there are various aspects related to missionary linguistics and colonial linguistics in the former colonial territories in the north and west coast of Africa that have not received the attention they deserve (Morgenthaler 2011, 2014; Castillo-Rodríguez 2013a). The present issue of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* addresses this issue and concerns itself with the analysis and historical reconstruction of the colonial glottopolitics brought about by Spain in the territories of Equatorial Guinea, the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, and the Western Sahara. We would like to outline a few points of our argument. First of all, we locate this issue of *IJSL* within colonial linguistics as a concept outlined by Stolz and Warnke (2015), in contrast with missionary linguistics. In 2004, Zimmermann established the research areas that pertain to the historiography of missionary linguistics and subsequently defined missionary linguistics as phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, and pragmatic “discoveries”; as conceptual linguistic innovations introduced by missionaries in their encounter and confrontation with the unfamiliar indigenous languages (Zimmermann 2006). For their part, Stolz and Warnke distinguish colonial linguistics from missionary linguistics because:

[...] CL [Colonial Linguistics] counts among its tasks (ideally) the entire range of phenomena which interconnect language and colonialism, most of which are irrelevant for the goals of ML [Missionary Linguistics]. Colonialism in CL therefore is no background phenomenon for an interest in languages but a precondition for linguistic constellations, from language contact through to language politics and finally language analysis and documentation.” (Stolz and Warnke 2015: 13)

² For example, in the case of Equatorial Guinea the publications of Germán de Granda (1978, 1988) and John Lipski (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1990, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2008a, 2009) encompass the majority of the linguistic studies, with some more contemporary contributions on grammar of indigenous languages (Zamora 2010; Yakpo 2010; Bibang 2014). In the case of the Maghreb, sociolinguistic studies as well as concrete aspects of language contact between Spanish and Arabic in Ceuta and North Morocco have been analyzed in many publications including Vicente (2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2011) and Sayahi (2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2011, 2014) as well as in reference to Spanish in the Arabic-speaking community: Ramírez Salguero (1997), Pérez Muñoz (2005), Roa Venegas (2006), and Rivera Reyes (2009a, 2009b) in Ceuta. The Amazigh-Spanish contact in Melilla has been analyzed in works by Tilmatine (2009, 2011). There are also some works on linguistic policy in Morocco, although they only discuss Spanish tangentially; see in particular Moustaoui (2006, 2008, 2009, 2013) and Benítez Fernández (2010).

In this sense, and for the purposes of this issue, the ideology of Spanish colonialism in Africa and its presence in linguistic, social, economical, legal, and educational policies was not simply the “context” but rather the necessary conditions of production for understanding the relationship of social agents with Spanish and the native languages. As a result, we wish to analyze the political and linguistic ideologies that sustained colonial discourse about language as well as the resulting interventions and regulations. Similarly we will concern ourselves with the documenting of language contact situations while also bringing to light the strategies used by glottopolitical agents in order to promote colonial language to the detriment of native languages. Equatorial Guinea and the Spanish colonial Maghreb are good examples of the necessary differentiation between missionary and colonial linguistics, since a glottopolitical approach like the one offered here would not be possible when looking only at missionary linguistics. However, although we refer to the second colonial empire (1884–1945), we discuss it in reference to a colonial power – Spain – which Stolz and Warnke (2015: 18) don’t consider as an object of study within colonial linguistics, but rather belonging to the first imperial period (1492–1821), which comprises the field of missionary linguistics. The singular and extensive colonial history of Spain in Africa would be developed further by a revision of this categorization. Hence we would like to highlight the role of Spain, albeit a secondary role, as an object of study in the field of colonial linguistics. We maintain that America’s own imperial past, the eight centuries of Al Ándalus, the geographical proximity of the African continent, the raids of the continent by the first empire and the resulting transatlantic relationship with America all made Spain a colonial power *sui generis* with an ideological and politico-linguistic framework that differed from that of other European powers.

Second, in the framework of colonial linguistics (Stolz and Warnke 2015), the approach that we propose here leads us to define and position ourselves within glottopolitical studies in order to demonstrate the type of analysis as well as the practices that social agents implement (Guespin and Marcellesi 1986).³ Starting with the political condition of the language and with the language as a cultural product, we conceive of glottopolitics as a social practice from which no social agent – neither individual nor institutional – can escape (Narvaja de Arnoux 2000; del Valle 2007; del Valle 2010). In what follows we focus on this aspect in order to compare the two regions that we address in this special issue. In our definition of the field and the object of study it is worth pointing out, lastly, transatlantic studies as the space for trans-hemispheric and multi-centered relations (Ileana Rodríguez et al.

3 Within the colonial linguistics field of study, Stolz and Warnke (2015) consider the following: language contact, linguistic policies, linguistic ideologies and colonial discourse, all of which are addressed in this special issue.

2010, 2011) where *hispanismo* is articulated. This became a dominant political force, a representative and interpretive cultural model, an epistemological paradigm (Moraña 2005: xiii) based on the exaltation of the cultural and spiritual dimensions of Spain, its “race”, and its language, as an export as well as a model of relations with its former colonies in America and Africa. This explains the weight that colonial relations between the Spanish peninsula, Africa, and the Antilles carry in some articles, which expose the imperialist policies of Spain, the exchange of goods, the circulation of people (free and slave), and the linguistic and cultural contact. The case of the Maghreb, especially in regards to the Moroccan Protectorate and the Sahara, is a peculiar one and to a certain extent unique in Spanish colonial history. The importance of Islam as a monotheistic religion, a prestigious language such as Arabic, the weak position against France and, later, the unique relationship of *Francoism* with these colonial regions determined the arbitration of a differentiated Africanist ideology that extolled a common past between Christians, Muslims and Jews, and had important political, cultural, educational and linguistic repercussions, which are not easily located on the transatlantic axis.

2 Foreign relations and linguistic policies of Spain in Africa

This issue deals with glottopolitical aspects of Spanish in the three Spanish colonies of Africa (Equatorial Guinea, the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco and the Western Sahara), discussed together for the first time. Therefore it offers an exclusively African perspective, innovative in glottopolitical studies in the field of *hispanofonía*, as well as a comparative look at colonializing strategies in linguistic terms and some of their present-day consequences. In this sense, we want to underscore that the actions of Spain in the glottopolitical sphere of the Maghreb regions are difficult to compare, for a variety of reasons, with those of sub-Saharan Africa. Among those reasons we emphasize the following: (1) the characteristics of the colonial powers; (2) the pre-colonial linguistic landscape; (3) the agents of glottopolitical action; (4) the discourses and ideologies; and (5) the consequences of the linguistic policies applied. In order to offer this contrasting perspective, we expand on the above contributing factors as follows.

2.1 Colonial powers

The situation of Spain in relation to the other colonial European powers was weak and in crisis after the wars of independence in Cuba and the Philippines in 1898,

as well as for internal reasons. After those independence movements, Spanish foreign policy focused on North Africa partly in order to avoid the undesirable position of being surrounded by France to the north and the south.⁴ In the case of North Africa, Hispanic-Moroccan relations had a long-standing history. The Strait of Gibraltar figured as a symbolic element of separation between two shores, which in different time periods had formed just one territory (in reality as well as in the collective Iberian and North African ideology) (Pedraz Marcos 2000; Morgenthaler and Tilmatine 2011; Parra 2012). Not counting nearly eight centuries of Muslim presence in Al Ándalus, and after its definitive fall in 1492, Spain possessed various “strongholds” (*plazas fuertes*) and presidiums throughout all of North Africa during many disparate time periods such as in Algiers (1510–1529), Bejaia (1510–1555), Orán (the longest – nearly three centuries – 1509–1791), as well as Tripoli (1510–1530), Tunis or La Goleta (1535–1547), and, of course, Ceuta (1580) and Melilla (1497).⁵

Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a result of European colonial aspirations as well as the weakening of the Moroccan sultanate, Spain advanced with its intervention in Tétouan in 1860 as well as the signing of the Treaty of Friendship between Spain and Morocco. After this time, Morocco, as a strategic location for the colonization of Africa, was a point of dispute between the main colonial powers – France and England – a dispute that Germany and Spain also joined in on. In this struggle with France for control of Morocco, Spain had the weaker position from the beginning. In this context arose the so-called first Moroccan crisis, which the colonial powers attempted to solve at the Conference of Algéciras with the partitioning of spheres of influence in Morocco between Spain and France and the right to intervene at the sign of further disturbance. Finally, in the 1912 Hispanic-French Treaty of Fez, France officially recognized the Spanish sphere of influence in North Morocco and established the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco with the capital in Tétouan.

The first Spanish expeditions to the Sahara took place in 1886 at the hands of explorers Francisco de Bens and Emilio Bonelli (Diego Aguirre 1989; Awah

4 In the words of the Society of Africanists and Colonists: “Harto tiene España a la espalda con un Gibraltar, para que vayamos a consentir que surjan, en un momento de debilidad nuestra, una legión de Gibraltares franceses detrás del Rif, y como consecuencia hoy o mañana un segundo Gibraltar inglés en Tánger” [Spain is satiated with Gibraltar, so much so that we might allow them to arise at a time of our weakness, a legion of French Gibraltarians behind the Rif, and as a consequence today or tomorrow a second English Gibraltar in Tangiers]. (Quoted in Pedraz Marcos 2000: 242)

5 The same happened in Equatorial Guinea with the *Fernandian* presidium from 1861 until 1869 (García Cantús 2003).

and Moya 2009), who, by winning the favor of some of the area's most important tribal leaders, could establish the first merchant's association in Río de Oro. This was an advantage over France, who after several confrontations ceded the territory to Spain (Awah and Moya 2009; Mulero Clemente 1945). Colonization proceeded gradually and had significant consequences including the settlement of a large part of the nomad population and the growth of the most important cities like El Aiún, Smara and Dajla. Spain divided the Sahara in two regions that were reunited as of 1958, becoming Spanish province number 53. In 1975 Spain abruptly abandoned its colony, which was immediately annexed by Mauritania and Morocco. After the withdrawal of Mauritania in 1979, the territory remained illegally occupied by Morocco. In 1976, despite the annexation, the Polisario Front claimed it for the Independent Republic of the Western Sahara (RADS) and the territory remained divided between the Moroccan-controlled zones on the coast, rich in phosphates and fishing resources, and the zone controlled by RADS, with nearly uninhabitable desert regions and refugee camps in Tindouf, Algeria. The armed conflict between the Polisario Front and Morocco continued until 1991 and since then there have been numerous unsuccessful attempts of referendum and negotiation intended to solve the conflict.⁶

Equatorial Guinea passed under the control not only of the Spanish but also of other European powers that found a “no man's land” for their commercial and political activities in the abandoned, fertile, and strategically well-located colony (Unzueta and Yuste 1944). With the Treaty of El Pardo in 1778, Portugal traded Spain the islands of Annobón and Fernando Po and agreed on the free and open slave trade of blacks from Cape Formoso to Cape López (Real Cédula, 28 February 1789). At the same time, Spain gave Portugal the territories of Sacramento and the isle of Santa Catalina. However, the Spanish didn't have a strong enough presence in the new territory and England took over Fernando Po (present day Bioko), founding the city of Clarence (now Malabo) and moving the Mixed Court for the Suppression of the Slave Trade there from Sierra Leone in 1827. The British governed the island and operated Baptist missions there until

⁶ The Saharan population itself remained divided between those who fled to the Algerian desert (near Tindouf, where about 170,000 refugees lived) and the liberated zones (some 15,000 inhabitants), and those who remained in the occupied zones (about 270,000 Saharans). In addition there is a large quantity of Saharans who live in exile. The two zones are separated by the so-called “Moroccan wall” or “wall of shame”, a 2,720-kilometer structure that divides the regions, around which the *guerrilla* war took place. The adjacent zones of the wall are controlled by the UN and by MINURSO (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara).

they were expelled in 1858. They introduced freed slaves from Sierra Leone and Liberia (*krumanes* [*kruman*]) to populate the island. This situation paved the road for the introduction of English Creole or Pidgin English, now known as Pichi, (Lipski 1992; Yakpo 2010). The string of governors that passed through during colonization until the independence of Equatorial Guinea in 1968 included English consuls (J. Beecroft), Dutch traders (J. B. Linslager), and Spanish ship captains (Unzueta and Yuste 1947: 336–341).

While the island territories had been supervised by the colonial Spanish government since 1858, it was not so in the continental zone of Río Muni. Río Muni was an object of negotiation in the Treaty of Paris, which settled the borders and holdings of France and Spain. The Presbyterian missionaries from North America were the earliest presence on the island of Corisco (1850), expanding into Río Benito by the 1900s. The Spanish engaged in relations with other African countries in the region in order to maintain a workforce, as Spanish Guinea was a colony of exploitation. As a result, in the early 1900s Spain signed agreements with Liberia and later with Nigeria for the recruitment of laborers to work in Fernando Po (Sundiata 1974; Sanz 1983; Martino 2012). The long-standing Portuguese presence in Annobón has left clear linguistic and cultural influences; *fá d'ambó* is the Portuguese Creole of the island and some religious ceremonies use an archaic form of Portuguese (Hagemeyer and Zamora, this issue).

2.2 Pre-colonial linguistic landscape

Between the pre-colonial era up until the present day, one of the largest differences between the multilingual landscape of the Maghreb and that of sub-Saharan Africa is the number of languages involved as well as their status. In the pre-colonial Maghreb, multilingualism was reduced mainly to two major languages, Arabic and Berber, whereas sub-Saharan Western Africa is the second most dense linguistic area in the world (Moseley 2010).

In the Spanish colonial regions of the Maghreb, the pre-Islamic population in general spoke Berber. Arabization came in two main periods: the first came after the Islamization of North Africa in the seventh century and the second after the 12th century with the arrival of the Banu Hilal tribes (Aguadé 2008; Vicente 2008). Beyond that, in Arabic dialectology, normally pre-Hilal dialects, from before the 12th century, are distinguished from Hilal dialects, which developed after the Hilal conquests. In the Protectorate of Morocco approximately half of the population spoke Berber. The most widespread Amazigh variations in Morocco are Riffian to the north, Tamazight in central Morocco, and Tashelhit to the south. In addition to

these two languages (Berber and Arabic), in the main Moroccan cities with Jewish communities varieties of Jewish Arabic and Sephardic Arabic emerged, as well as Hebrew and Jewish Spanish (see Bürki, this issue).

In the Western Saharan regions the primary language from the pre-colonial era until the present day is the *Hasanía* variety of Arabic, which extended from the south of the Draa Valley to southern Mauritania.⁷ Although other nomadic populations, such as the Tuareg, still speak Berber, the current Saharan and Mauritanian population was Arabized during the second Arab expansion in the thirteenth century by the Hassan tribes (henceforth *Hasanía* or *Hassaniya*) belonging to the confederation of the Maqil (Cohen 1963: 7; Taine-Cheikh 1994: 17) coming mainly from the Yemen Peninsula. Following the previous distinction made by Vicente, it is a Hilal variety of the Bedouin family. In the case of Morocco as well as the case of the pre-colonial Sahara there existed a diglossia between the spoken variations of Arabic and classic Arabic, as well as a disgllossia with bilingualism – according to the classic terminology of Fishman (1967) – between Amazigh and classic Arabic, although not in all Berber-speaking communities (see Tilmatine’s contribution in this issue). As will be developed in what follows, Spain and France had to position themselves in opposition to the native languages in the Maghreb, especially against Arabic, in a very different way from in sub-Saharan Africa, since Arabic – with a clear diglossic status and considerable prestige in the written word as well as Koranic liturgy – was not easily replaced.

It is difficult to trace the pre-colonial linguistics of Equatorial Guinea; the first reports about Fernando Po and Annobón arrived in the hands of Portuguese historians, who compiled the colonial history of those territories since the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1778 the expedition of the Count of Argelejos and of D. Joaquín Primo de Rivera arrived at Fernando Po and Annobón, where they took possession of the islands. As the story goes, and according what Unzueta and Yuste (1947: 113) gathered, the natives of Príncipe that went on the expedition didn’t understand the language of a young man they saw in the Bay of San Carlos (Fernando Po). More records of first-hand observations appear in ethnographical notes of British explorers on the Niger River (Allen and Thomson 1841; Thomson 1847) or in the diaries

7 According to Vicente (2008: 49): “se asemeja, por tanto, más a los dialectos beduinos del centro y del este del Magreb que a los marroquíes [...] debido probablemente a las innovaciones presentes en los últimos debidas al contacto asiduo con la población sedentaria” [Thus it resembles more the Bedouin dialects of the center and eastern Maghreb than the Moroccan dialects (...) probably due to the innovations currently present in the Moroccan dialects as a result of the regular contact with the settled population].

of Baptist reverends (Johnston [1908] on the trip of G. Grenfell in the Congo, Cameroon and Fernando Po; Clark [1848]). They point out not only the innumerable amount of languages but also their amazement in observing the ease with which the natives learned them. These missionaries were wary in their own observations as “skilled linguists”, although most of them confirmed the high dialectic variety in each village as well as their mutual intelligibility. From the first observations of spoken languages of Fernando Po we collect the testimonies of T. R. H. Thomson ([1847] 1850: 106) who described “two or more dialects, if not distinct languages” marking a difference between the languages spoken in Clarence and those from the center and coast of Fernando Po (“We saw several during our sojourn at Clarence Cove, who could not make themselves intelligible to the Edeeyahs”).⁸ The first attempt to “reduce an unwritten language to grammatical form” was by the Baptist missionary J. Clark who in his “Introduction to the Fernandian Tongue” said: “The Fernandian Tongue differs much, in words, from the languages spoken on the adjacent continent: but in structure agrees in many respects with the Isubu, Diwalla, Congo, and even with the Sechuana (Clark 1848: Introduction).⁹ In their memoirs, Moros and Morellón (1844) also recall some linguistic exchange with the settlers of Annobón, where they noted the influence of Portuguese (see Castillo-Rodríguez in this issue). Actions for an effective linguistic colonization dated as early as 1858 when measures for religious, linguistic and economic hispanicization appeared in the Royal Decree.¹⁰ However, it wasn’t until 1 June 1907 when Spanish was legislated as the official language of the Spanish territories of the Gulf of Guinea “in order to disseminate and spread our beautiful Castilian language among the natives of [these] those territories” (Boletín Oficial de los Territorios Españoles del Golfo de Guinea, 1 de junio de 1907 [Official bulletin of the Spanish territories in the Guinea Gulf, 1 June 1907]).

8 The Bubi were the natives of Fernando Po. They have also been called Ediya and Johnston noted that “Ediya [Edeeyah, Adeeyah], used by earlier writers, is nowhere recognized on the island” (Johnston 1908: 882). In 1858 Hutchinson commented that “They do not seem to have an affinity with any of the races of the continent and the name *Boobees*, was given to them by Captain Kelly when he landed at North West or George’s Bay in 1822 at the place now styled in the charts Kelly’s Point. ‘A boobe’ in their language, signifies ‘a man’”. (Hutchinson 1858: 187).
9 His *Adeeyah Vocabulary* (J. Clarke 1843) is the first publication on the Bubi language. In his *Specimens of Dialects: Short Vocabularies about Two Hundred African Languages*, published in 1848, he compiled a number of dialects spoken by the diverse tribes settled in Fernando Po. This publication may have inspired Reverend S.S. Koelle’s *Polyglotta Africana* (Johnston 1908: 19; Bela 1979: 35).

10 Nevertheless, being aware of the unavoidable presence of English and Pidgin, the Royal Order indicated that Spanish should be the language used in schools and that official documents would be in Spanish, but would be accompanied by an English translation (Castillo-Rodríguez 2013a, 2013b).

After a long and no less interesting list of missionary works on grammars,¹¹ hymnals, catechisms, and missals (Castillo-Rodríguez 2013a, 2015), the efforts of standardization would arrive after Equatorial Guinea gained its independence, with the works of native linguists and international experts.¹² The two main languages, Bubi and Fang, could be classified in the Niger-Kordofanian branch, in the Niger-Congo subdivision of the Atlantic-Congo family of the Benue-Congo and Bantoid sub-branch.¹³ Overall we can say that the languages that were spoken in Equatorial Guinea are Bubi on the island of Bioko, Fang (and its variants, Okak and Ntumu) on the continent, Bisio (also known as Kwasio or Bujeba) and Ndowé (or kombe) on the coast (called *playeros*), *fã d'ambó* (Annobonese, a Portuguese Creole spoken in Annobón), and Pichi (English Creole spoken in Malabo).

2.3 Discourses and ideologemes: Spanish Africanism and the question of language

Africanism – represented by various trends and postures that differ between the various European countries as well as within them, depending on certain relevant historical changes – was the ideological-intellectual and discursive concept *per se* of European colonialism in Africa. Thus, above all in the second half of the nineteenth century, different authorities on intellectual, military, and political behavior (such as the geographical societies) were based on this ideology. The rhetoric of Africanism began with *orientalism* characterized by reconstructing the “eastern countries” as remnants of an exotic and splendid world that no longer existed. It follows that the West colonized the East because the West found itself in a period of decadence that it couldn't overcome alone, which is what Rodinson (1989) referred to as a “Western utilitarianism”.¹⁴ In this sense, Spanish Orientalism or Arabism shared this reconstruction of the East, although with important differences from the rest of Europe, as seen in the following. Many authors point out that Spanish Africanism was

11 On the “treatise on the *crumán* [kruman] language” written by the Spanish missionary Usera y Alarcón (1845), see Castillo-Rodríguez (2015: 75–105).

12 See Bolekia (2008, 2009) on Bubi, Zamora on *fã d'ambo* (2010), Yakpo on Pichi (2010), *pámue* grammar of the “Indigenous Presbyterian Priest of Equatorial Guinea” Salvador Ndongo Esono or the Spanish-Fang dictionary of Julián Bibang Oyee (2014).

13 R. G. Latham was a pioneer in providing an Ethnographical Philology of Africa (see, for example Latham 1847). For a modern classification of the languages spoken in Equatorial Guinea, see Chumbow et al. (2007).

14 As Parra Monserrat (2012) points out, the historiography centered on the analysis of Africanism and Orientalism had an enormous impact on Said's well-known work.

exclusively “Moroccanism”. We don’t fully agree with this, because – as is shown in various articles in this issue – this was an essential ideological weapon in the colonization of the Sahara and Equatorial Guinea.

In the Spanish Africanism related with North Africa, especially with Morocco, there are two main periods: nineteenth century Africanism, represented by various intellectuals and politicians (a few worth mentioning are Joaquín Costa [(1884) 1951]), Cordero Torres [1941], and the supporters of a peaceful intervention in Morocco), and a fascist variety of Africanism (existing during the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera as well as Franco), which relied on a warlike colonialism. Thus it was called military Africanism and was of great importance not only in Morocco but also in the Western Sahara (see Mogenthaler in this issue). Although there are some relevant discursive changes in these periods (Parra 2012), many of the main arguments are shared and clearly distinguish Spanish Africanism from that of the Europeans. Two of these arguments have been particularly recurrent: (1) geographical (re)construction that conceived North Africa as a “natural extension” of Spain; and (2) reconstruction of the glorious shared past, even treated by some authors as a common ethnic past.

The special construction of the Iberian Peninsula as a geographical territory that was more African than European was already common among the nineteenth century Africanists. Indeed, Costa, one of its primary representatives, affirmed:

España y Marruecos son como las dos mitades de una unidad geográfica, forman a modo de una cuenca hidrográfica, cuyas divisorias extremas son las cordilleras paralelas del Atlas al Sur y del Pirineo al Norte, entrambas coronadas de nieves perpetuas, y cuya corriente central es el Estrecho de Gibraltar, a la cual afluyen, de un lado, en sus pesadas caravanas, los tesoros del interior del continente africano, y del otro, en sus rápidos trenes de vapor, los tesoros del continente europeo.

[Spain and Morocco are like two halves of one geographical unit, forming a sort of watershed whose extreme divisions are the mountain ranges parallel to Atlas to the south and the Pyrenees to the north, both crowned with perpetual snow, and whose central current is the Strait of Gibraltar, to which flows, from one side in their slow-moving groups, the treasures from the heart of the African continent, and from the other, in their rapid streams of vapor, the treasures of the European continent.]

(Costa [1884], published by IDEA [1951: 12])

This idea of a geographic unit is articulated again in fascist geopolitical discourse during the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera and Franco. One of the most prominent Africanists at the time began his well-known *Reivindicaciones sobre el Norte de África* this way: “A Dios gracias, África empieza en los Pirineos, lo dice la geografía física y lo confirman la geografía humana y la historia de las relaciones entre ambos pueblos” [Thanks to God, Africa begins in the Pyrenees, according to

human geography and the history of relations between both populations] (García Figueras 1944: 15).¹⁵ The appeal to a common past is in itself a recurring argument and without a doubt constitutes another distinguishing aspect from the other European Africanisms. Although the construction of a “decadent” Morocco that should be “saved” from the debacle is agreed upon, this is construed as part of the centuries-long shared history.¹⁶

15 Another quote of García Figueras, which coincides perfectly with that of nineteenth century Costa, points out: “El Estrecho de Gibraltar no marca geográficamente el límite de Europa y de África; al contrario, de él ha podido decirse justamente que, más que mar que separa, es río que une. Nadie que pase el Mediterráneo por Gibraltar [...] puede señalar diferencias geográficas entre el Sur de España y Marruecos [...]. En cambio, existe una zona geográfica de transición perfectamente marcada entre Europa y África; por esa causa, esa zona no es puramente Europa ni es puramente África. Empieza en los Pirineos y termina en el Atlas” [The Strait of Gibraltar doesn’t geographically mark the border of Europe with Africa; on the contrary, from that it is possible to say fairly that, rather than a sea that separates, it is a river that unites. No one that passes through the Mediterranean by Gibraltar (...) can spot the geographical differences between southern Spain and Morocco (...). However, there exists a perfectly clear transitional geographical zone between Europe and Africa; for this reason, this zone is neither purely Europe nor purely Africa. It begins with the Pyrenees and ends in Atlas] (Costa 1884 [1951]: 12). Other important Africanists linked to the Franco regime shared the same sentiments: “Hay en lo geográfico, como lo hay en lo histórico, una Iberáfrica [...]: Nuestra tradición africana es, por tanto, tan vieja como el mundo mismo” [There is in geography, as there is in history, an Ibero-Africa (...): Our history in Africa is, therefore, as old as time] (Díaz de Villegas 1950: 16). “Siempre fue Europa, por una u otra causa, la que nos apartó de África. Europa tuvo la culpa. Hoy mismo, ¿quién nos desvía de nuestro camino natural? [...] Es cierto que África empieza en los Pirineos” [It was always Europe, for one reason or another, who pushed us from Africa. It was Europe’s fault. Even today, who diverts us from our natural path? (...) It’s true that Africa begins in the Pyrenees] (Arqués 1949: 54). “Juntos, somos. En espíritu, en geografía, en hechos, en perfección. No nos es posible eludir la unidad de destino. ¡Dios lo quiere!” [Together we stand. In spirit, in geography, in deeds, in perfection. It is not possible for us to avoid the unity of destiny. God wishes it!] (Borrás 1950: 52).

16 For example, Asín Palacios and García Gómez (1933: 1), closely linked to Menéndez Pidal, justify the objective of their study as such: “el arabismo español, a diferencia de lo que ocurre en muchas naciones de Europa ni es para nosotros una pura curiosidad científica, sin contacto con el medio ambiente y desarraigada de todo interés humano, ni enlaza el fervor espiritual con conveniencias mercantiles o imperialistas. Los estudios árabes son, para nosotros, una necesidad íntima y entrañable puesto que se anudan con muchas páginas de nuestra historia, revelan valiosas características de nuestra literatura, nuestro pensamiento y nuestro arte se adentran en nuestro idioma y hasta, tal vez, más o menos en nuestra vida.” [Spanish Arabism, as opposed to what existed in many nations of Europe, is for us neither a purely scientific curiosity, without contact with the environment and uprooted from all human interest, nor does it link spiritual fervor with mercantile or imperialist benefits. Arab studies are, for us, an intimate and deep necessity given that they are tied with many pages of our history, they reveal valuable characteristics of our literature, our thought, and our art, and they penetrate our language, even, maybe, more or less our life.]

Con la misma grandeza que a su máxima esplendor medieval, ejerce España, hoy su protectorado sobre este pueblo marroquí, también creyente, y la tutela con mimo y amor fraterno, sin herir nunca su sentir interno y con el máximo respeto a sus costumbres e instituciones, que vigila, cuida y mejora sin rozar la ortodoxia, pero incorporándolo paulatinamente a la civilización, para asegurarse en sucesivas etapas de cultura el enlace con su antiguo esplendor.

(Baena 1944: 100)

[With the same grandness as that of its peak medieval splendor, today Spain extends a protectorate over this also faithful Moroccan population and guides it with affection and fraternal love, without ever wounding its essence and with the maximum respect to its customs and institutions, watching over it, caring for it, and improving it without approaching orthodoxy, but incorporating it gradually into the civilized world, in order to assure in successive cultural periods the link with its ancient splendor.]

(Baena 1944: 100)

The role of the Spanish expansion in the Africanist ideology in Morocco is controversial because although discursively it is construed as an “element of force” used to support Spain’s domination of Morocco,¹⁷ it has always been understood as concurrent with French and not necessarily Arabic, which, due to Arabic’s status as a privileged language with a rich written tradition linked with Islamic liturgy, was not easily displaced and occupied a privileged place in school curricula. This rivalry with French was accentuated in the case of the Moroccan Sephardi and in the framework of another particularly Spanish ideology, which did not appear in any of the other colonial powers: Philosephardism (*filosefardismo*).

The Philosephardic movement appeared after the “rediscovery” of the Sephardi in the Battle of Tétouan in 1830 as a counter-current to anti-Semitism and fashioned itself as an exclusively Spanish ideology.¹⁸ It was the senator Ángel Pulido who began a campaign to draw the Sephardi near to Spain (1903–1904) and open schools for the teaching of Spanish, an initiative for which he found

¹⁷ Speech by Díaz Moreau (1908), quoted in López Ortega (1923: 11)

¹⁸ “[P]orque desde entonces se distinguirá en España entre los sefardíes y los demás judíos, llegándose a dar incluso la figura del filosefardí antisemita” [(B)ecause from then on in the Sephardi will be distinguished from the other Jews in Spain, even including the figure of the anti-Semitic Philosephard] (Álvarez Chillida 2002: 261). “Resulta que el filosefardismo de la derecha española en el primer tercio del S XX, casi nada tuvo que ver con los sefardíes de carne y hueso. Era una autoafirmación de la superioridad cultural de España en la que los sefardíes eran puros objetos” [It happens that Spanish right-wing Philosephardism in the first third of the twentieth century, had practically nothing to do with the real-life Sephardi. It was an assertion of the cultural superiority of Spain in which the Sephardi were simply objects] (Rother 2000: 163).

considerable support among the intellectual community at the time (Rother 2000; Pérez 2005). Pulido's differentiation between the Ashkenazi Jews and the Sephardi, thanks to the ethno-cultural mix of the Sephardi with the Spanish, was that the Sephardi were superior to the Ashkenazi Jews. This differentiation marked the trend in every period in which it appeared, especially the so-called right-wing Philosephardism of the Primo de Rivera and Franco dictatorships. The right-wing or fascist Philosephardism was understood in the context of military Africanism and "contrasta con la visión negativa que los militares africanistas tenían de los moros [...] los sefardíes se les antojaban mucho más educados y casi españoles" [contrasts with the negative view that the Africanist soldiers had of the Moors (...) the Sephardi seemed much more well-mannered and Spanish] (Pérez 2005: 307). In regards to the Moroccan Sephardi, the paternalistic attitude held by Africanists and politicians intensified by:

[...] la circunstancia de que esos elementos son en general conocedores de nuestro idioma y han de resultar propicios mediante la naturalización a difundirlo en beneficio de nuestras relaciones culturales en países lejanos en los cuales forman colonias que pueden ser de verdadera utilidad para España.

[...] the circumstance that these elements are in general aware of our language and must result favorably through naturalization spreading it to the benefit of our cultural relations in far-away countries in which colonies form that could be of real use to Spain.]

(Real decreto de [1924], quoted by Pérez [2005: 307])

The language is therefore a fundamental factor in the configuration of the Philosephardic discourse and plays a crucial role in the Spanish claims against France in Morocco (see the articles of Bürki and Morgenthaler García in this issue).

In Guinea, on the other hand, Spanish Africanism divided itself in the early years of the colony between two fronts initiated by the same glottopolitical agents; first, the *mission civilisatrice* of the colonial government aimed to take physical and legal possession of the territories, which were continually threatened by the annexation attempts of European powers. Second, the *mission civilisatrice* of the missionaries transformed into the Catholicization of the natives, concentrated in villages in order to maximize influence over them during their education in Spanish, while progressively relegating their native languages to the sphere of family communication. Missionaries and colonial administration worked together in order to achieve the same objectives through the consolidation of the occupation and through *españolización* (Castillo-Rodríguez 2013b, 2014). The exploitation of the black African colonies was a controversial topic in the Spanish court and government, where the profitability of the exploitation was questioned in correspondence and reports. It was not until the

beginning of the twentieth century when Spanish Guinea was considered a possible potential investment with the extraction of timber and cacao for export (Díaz Matarranz 2005).

With the advent of Francoism, and orchestrated by the Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias [the Directorate General of Morocco and the Colonies], official colonial studies were prioritized more than ever before, first with the Falangist Instituto de Estudios Políticos [Institute of Political Studies], and after 1946 through Instituto de Estudios Africanos (IDEA) [Institute of African Studies] under the umbrella of Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) [Superior Council of Scientific Research].¹⁹ There was an ideological shift in colonial policy in Spanish Guinea, where colonial subjects were given access, through the reformed *Patronato de Indígenas*, to certain rights that were comparable to those of peninsular Spanish citizens (with limitations). Going beyond *españolización*, Spanish Africanism at this time turned towards *hispanización*, where the rhetoric of *Hispanidad* is reactivated and the black Catholic and defender of the homeland are presented as an image that would build bridges with the transatlantic Hispanic world (Castillo-Rodríguez 2013b).

2.4 Agents of hispanización

Regarding the glottopolitical instruments used by those who tried to extend the Spanish language, there are some marked differences between both regions related with the previous point, meaning not only related to the number of implicated languages but also to their status.

In the case of the Maghreb, school was the primary instrument for the expansion of Spanish within the native population as well as among the European

¹⁹ IDEA was created by the Decree of 28 June 1945, “como expresión de la secular misión que España ha tenido siempre en el Continente africano” [as an expression of the secular mission that Spain has always had on the African continent] (CSIC Memo 1946–1947). The Institute published the magazine *África* and there were organized scientific expeditions to Africa. These expeditions aimed to “aclarar tanta incógnita como envuelve a la existencia del mundo negro del África Ecuatorial” [clear up the mystery that surrounds the existence of the black world of Equatorial Africa.] In short, they intended to provide for “[...] proporcionar materiales etnográficos y ofrecer observaciones y consejos relativos a la receptividad indígena [léase capacidades mentales y actitudes] de un Plan de Desarrollo Económico en aquella región” [the supply of ethnographical materials, observations, and related advice on the indigenous reception (read: mental capacity and attitudes) of a Plan of Economic Development in that region] (Esteva Fabregat 1982: 12). For a compilation of these materials published by IDEA and its relation with Spanish anthropology, see Calvo (1997).

population that wasn't French (González González 2010; Benítez Fernández 2010; Morgenthaler García in this issue). Facing a complicated education system that predated the establishment of the Protectorate, Spain tried to tackle the rampant spread of French by establishing as many schools as possible in the main Moroccan cities. The Spanish position in Morocco was weakened after the treaties of Fez (1912), and expansion attempts were set back, including linguistic efforts. Together with the different types of schools and the hand of military Spanish Africanism, some military commands, mostly in areas of the Sahara but also in some zones of Kabylie in North Morocco, saw the expansion of Spanish to the native population as an essential task, in opposition with many military ordinances that provided for the soldiers and command to learn Arabic. In the Protectorate as well as Western Sahara, and linked with this particular Africanist ideology as well as the weight of Arabic and of Islam, the impact of the missions was not as relevant for the expansion of Spanish among the native population as in the case of Equatorial Guinea. Although in Morocco the conduct of the Franciscans was very important for Hispanic-Moroccan relations, their educational activities were centered more on the European population and on Moroccan research than on the *hispanización* of the Arabic and Berber-speaking population. In the case of the Western Sahara there were no missions at all.

In Equatorial Guinea the missionaries – first Jesuits, then Claretians – were without a doubt the agents of *hispanización* throughout the entire colonial period. They made language policies not only through their grammar studies and translations of religious works, but also with direct intervention as members of the colonial government, with the power to expel the British Baptist missionaries and promote Spanish as the official language. At the same time, the missionaries expanded their spheres of power through the diffusion of Spanish. In addition to controlling the evangelizing and educational labor, where they imposed education in Spanish and prohibited the Protestant missions from opening schools with their reverends as teachers, in 1903 the Claretian missionaries founded the magazine “*La Guinea Española*,” a propagandistic platform for the necessary *españolización*/acculturation of the natives. After the Second Republic, when there was some liberalization in regards to secularism, Francoism resumed the efforts of *españolización* in all the social spheres, and pursued the *hispanización* of the colony as an example of the greatness of Spain, emulating the long-established history in the Americas. The missionaries still continued as primary glottopolitical agents, overseeing primarily education, whose most prominent reformers would be the Inspector of Education and director of the Instituto Colonial Indígena [Colonial Indigenous Institute], Heriberto Ramón Álvarez. In 1945 he drafted the Regulations of the Escuela Superior Indígena [Superior Indigenous School], advancing the educational levels of the natives, which despite not explicitly

including any of the tenants of the *Falange*, led to his resignation. Claretian and Conceptionist missionaries provided continuity to the imperialist policy of the Spanish language in Equatorial Guinea via education, even trying to break the monopoly of the separatist dictatorship of Macias.

2.5 Linguistic and glottopolitical consequences

A comprehensive explanation of the consequences of European colonization in Africa on a linguistic level would require a much wider take than this introduction aims to provide. In the case of the Spanish colonies, however, we want to emphasize some similarities and differences in regards to the other regions of the continent. We contend that in the case of the Protectorate, the Sahara, and Equatorial Guinea, the success of colonial linguistic policies had more impact after each region won independence than during the colonial period. We agree with Achimbe (2007), Makoni (1998), Vigoroux and Mufwene (2008), and Banda (2009) when they affirm that the colonial linguistic policies and ideologies mark all types of linguistic planning in the present day, even those with an ecological focus. As Banda (2009) and Achimbe (2007) warn, the most direct consequence is not only that linguistic policy and planning are governed exclusively according to the postcolonial legacy of monolingual ideology, but also that – among other issues that will be dealt with briefly in the following – it “directly associates African languages to (ethnic) tradition and culture, rather than socioeconomic development and mobility” (Banda 2009: 4).

In the case of the Maghreb, authors agree that the expansion of French in the Arabic- and Berber-speaking populations has been more successful after independence than during the colonial period (Aguadé 2008; Bezankour 2009; Moustauoui 2013). For North Africa this is a fairly controversial issue because this tendency is increasing despite the rigid policies of re-Arabization.²⁰ As Sayahi (2014) points out, the Spanish case has a peculiar evolution in Morocco because – despite the fact that after independence any official or administrative status disappears and loses effect even in terms of education, which French maintained despite the re-Arabization policies – Spanish enjoyed high prestige among speakers in Morocco. The case of the Sahara could be classified as unique in the Maghreb, because it is the only Maghrebi country that maintains the colonial language as co-official. In the peculiar historical evolution of the Sahara and the process of decolonization interrupted by

²⁰ For a treatment of the post-colonial re-Arabization policies in the Maghreb see Bezankour (2009) and Moustauoui (2013).

the Moroccan annexation, Spanish is constructed as a “language of identity and resistance” (Awah and Moya 2009: 9) in the only Arabic and Spanish-speaking state in the overall Arabic and French-speaking Maghreb.

In Equatorial Guinea, the fast and early imposition of the colonial language and an effective Spanish educational policy allowed Spanish to become the *lingua franca* of the diverse ethnic groups. In the present day, the native languages coexist with the three official languages – Spanish, French and Portuguese – in a diglossic situation defined by Ferguson (1959).²¹ Spanish being the only language of education, the other two official languages have nominal status and their “label” relates more to geopolitical strategies motivated by economic interests and governmental policies. Thus, current postcolonial linguistics presents the following scenario: Spanish is primarily a *lingua franca* (Samarin 1968: 661), marginally – if not nonexistent – a vernacular in Equatorial Guinea because of the lack of interaction with native languages (Lipski 2000). According to Mufwene (2008: 14) vernaculars compete with other vernaculars within the socioeconomic ecologies of their speakers, and *lingua francas* with other *lingua francas*. In the case of Equatorial Guinea, Pichi competes with the most spoken two vernaculars, Fang and Bubi. Pichi reflects the shift of a *lingua franca* in an urban setting (Nettle and Romaine 2000) and its high functionality in daily communication.

3 Final remarks

In the above sections we wished to offer, by way of introduction to this issue, an overview of Spanish conduct in terms of political linguistics and its distinctive features and differences from other colonial powers in the implicated regions, as well as among the colonies themselves. With this double perspective, and basing ourselves in analysis of concrete cases, this issue offers the first global approach to this topic of Spanish colonial glottopolitics in the African region.

²¹ “DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation” (Ferguson 1959: 435). It is important to point out that in this diglossic situation, the majority language (Spanish in colonial Equatorial Guinea) is not spoken as a mother tongue.

This issue includes a total of seven articles concerning the Maghreb and Equatorial Guinea, as well as a broad review of the volume edited by José de la Valle, *A political history of Spanish. The making of a language*, (2013).

The article that opens this special issue of *IJSL*, “When places change their names and when they do not. Selected aspects of colonial and postcolonial toponymy in former French and Spanish colonies in West Africa – the cases of Saint Louis (Senegal) and the Western Sahara”, touches on toponymic changes, a fundamental aspect of colonization that Calvet (2006 [1974]) called a “rebaptism”, “debaptism” in his classic *Linguistique et colonialisme; petit traité de glottophagie*. Stolz and Warnke’s article accomplishes an excellent revision and theoretical contribution to this branch of colonial linguistics. The authors start off with one contribution *a priori*: “the naming of places directly reflects power relations within a community, and the maps and other documents which record place names are without doubt social constructions”. According to this perspective they refer to two cases in Western Africa: the Western Sahara and Senegal, and they analyze the differences in the strategies of debaptism of both colonial powers as well as a detailed and heuristic analysis of some of these processes of toponymic changes.

Yvette Bürki’s article offers a diachronic tour through the disappeared variation of *haketia* in an innovative and novel way: Bürki presents the reasons that led to the erosion of *haketia* since the Protectorate of Morocco and the Spanish linguistic policies and education emphasizing how “Spanish began to serve as a *Dachsprache*, or roofing language, and *Haketia* assumed two different positions according to the level at which we are looking: on the diastratic level, it began to be associated with the uneducated working classes, and therefore occupied the lowest position on the *Dachsprache* scale.”

Mohand Tilmatine focuses his attention on Spanish and French colonial linguistic policies regarding the Berber population in both the Moroccan Protectorates and Algeria. Tilmatine expresses his doubt that on the part of France or Spain there was different favorable treatment with respect to this fraction of the population. He analyzes, from a critical perspective, the French conduct in Algeria and the so-called *cabilio* myth (from Kabylie) and compares the French policy with Berber policy in the Moroccan Protectorates, particularly in regards to what is called Berber Dahir. At the same time, Tilmatine keeps in mind the consequences that these linguistic-cultural policies have had on the present.

Laura Morgenthaler García is concerned in her article with the differences between the Spanish and French colonial linguistic policies, in particular the unique case of the Western Sahara. Morgenthaler analyzes the role of the school as a glottopolitical agent and compares and the case of both Moroccan Protectorates – where she reconstructs a complex colonial education system that at heart has a rivalry between Spanish, French, and Arabic to gain the most

prestigious position – with the case of the Western Sahara. Morgenthaler addresses the way Spain proceeded to Hispanicize the nomad populations of the desert regions and what role the Africanist ideology played in this process. She bases her argument on historical-archival material as well as interviews with historical witnesses and so offers a first look at the Spanish glottopolitical conduct in this colony.

In the section dedicated to Equatorial Guinea, Tjerk Hagemeyer and Armando Zamora's article on *fá d'ambo* examines the origins of this Portuguese Creole and identifies it as a branch of proto-Creole from the Gulf of Guinea on São Tomé, due to the population shifts maintained in the western zone of the African coast during Portuguese colonization. As a consequence, and according to the authors, features of languages spoken in Nigeria, such as Edo, still persist in this Creole. Hagemeyer and Zamora also demonstrate some lexical and syntactic similarities between the four versions of Creole spoken in the Gulf of Guinea (Santome, Angolar, Principense, and *fá d'ambo*), although they agree that they are mutually unintelligible. An interesting aspect that the article points out is the memory of a liturgical-ceremonial language that the natives call "Portuguese", and that, according to studies, includes elements of *fá d'ambô* Portuguese and Latin expressions (even though the authors doubt that last point). The analysis of *fá d'ambô* continues on through the present day, highlighting the status of the language and its vitality. The isolation of the island, social cohesion, interracial marriage, and intergenerational transmission are the factors identified to explain why the language has been maintained up until now. However, the growing immigration to Malabo and the contact with other native languages of Equatorial Guinea (mainly Pichi) can lead to situations of linguistic change.

Kofi Yakpo focuses on Pichi, the Creole English that is spoken in Equatorial Guinea, particularly in Malabo, as the *lingua franca*. Based on field research and rich data to compare with other Creoles of the African coast (Krio, Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English), the author looks to demonstrate the conditions of inferior status and the disadvantages that Pichi has in the society of Equatorial Guinea. Government linguistic policies on "recognition of native languages" excluding Pichi, and a linguistic ideology (rooted in academia and with a capillary effect on the society) that considers Pichi as a standard inferior to English or Spanish – excessively hybrid, anarchic, almost formless, comparable to a "slang" – are detrimental to the recognition of Pichi as a language. There are dissonant attitudes with respect to Pichi among its own speakers but in the end, Yakpo considers how the role of Spanish as the official language and the language of education, plus its weight as a colonial language, contribute to the isolation of Equatorial Guinea and its native languages, especially Pichi, which never seems to see the growth of the neighboring Creole languages in the article.

“African Diaspora and the circulation of language: Cuban and Afro-Cuban loanwords in Equatorial Guinea” is based on the exhaustive documentation of a little-known and little-studied episode in Spanish colonial history: the shipment of freed black Cubans emancipated to work in Fernando Po and the arrival of supposed political activists deported from Cuba as a measure of containment of the Cuban revolution. Keeping in mind this glottopolitical context in which transatlantic migrations – forced or not – were objectified as a political measure to reinforce linguistic *españolización* of the natives in Equatorial Guinea, the article explores this case from the sociolinguistic perspective of language contact. It begins its study with social and ecological conditions that gave way to the incorporation of the Afro-Cuban and Cuban lexicon in the Spanish of Fernando Po that still endures today. The article is based on the analysis of six memoirs written by Cubans deported to Fernando Po and archival materials in order to contrast the etymology of the loanwords gathered by Granda (1985) according to etymological dictionaries of the past (Pichardo 1875) and of the present (Valdes 2013). Castillo-Rodríguez examines the challenge of agreeing on the precise movement of loanwords in a circular transatlantic contact situation and offers examples. According to the results, it is concluded that this episode in Spanish colonial glottopolitics gave way to intercolonial lexical transfers of “transported” words from Africa to the Antilles (and back), Spanish archaisms and dialectalisms from the Canary Islands (and back and forth to the Antilles, the Peninsula and Africa), and words belonging to American indigenous languages.

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