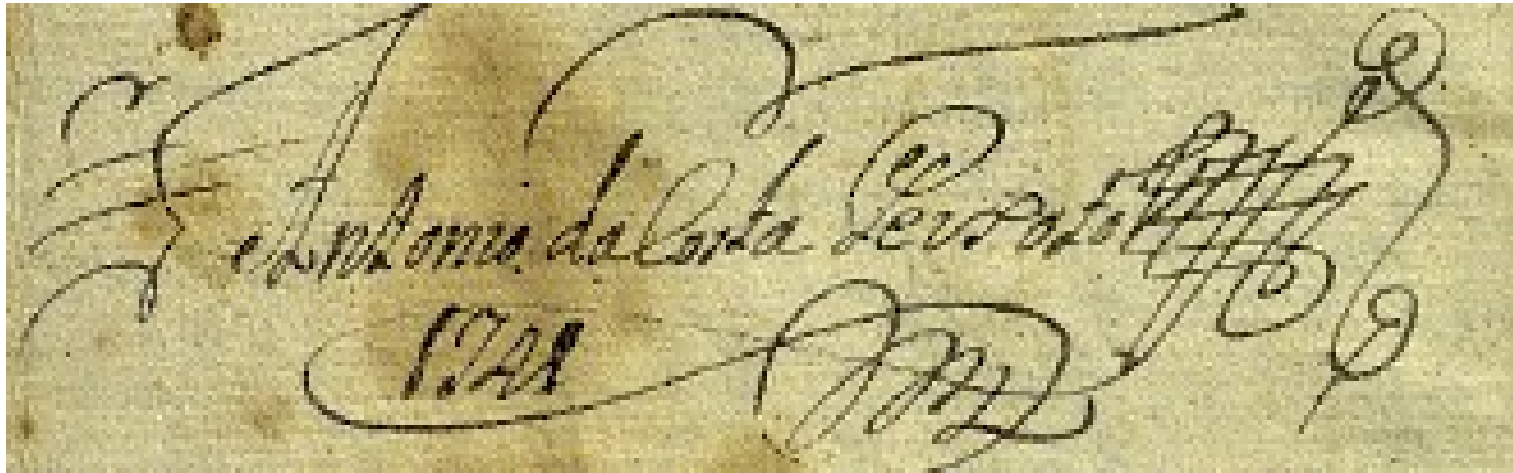


Antonio da Costa Peixoto's glossary
Obra Nova da língua Geral de Mina (1731/ 1741)



PD Dr. Christina Märzhäuser (Universities of Mannheim & Kassel)

maerzhaeuser@phil.uni-mannheim.de

Cmaerzh@uni-kassel.de

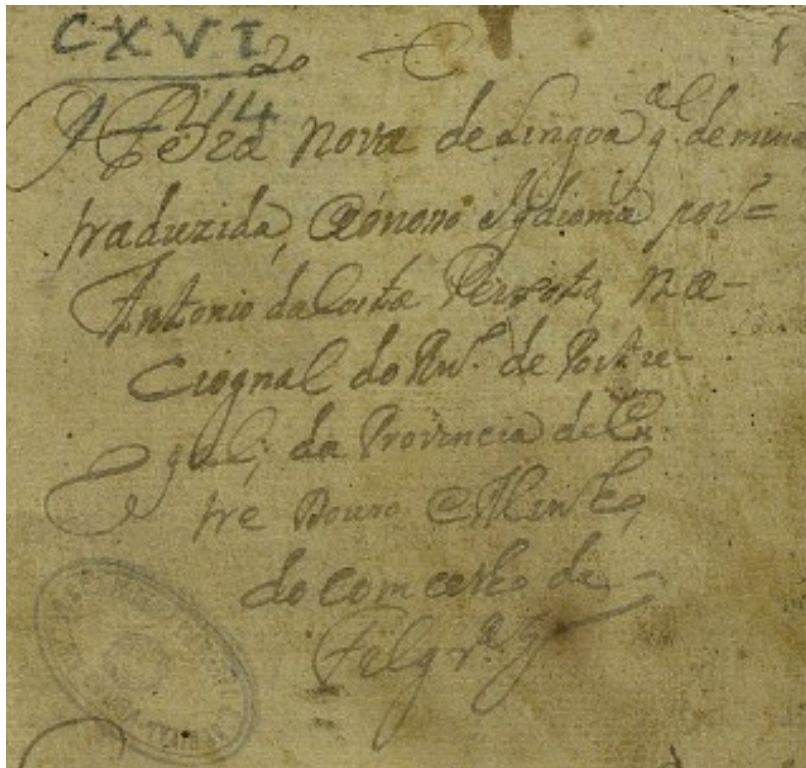
(Project together with Prof. Dr. Enrique Rodrigues-Moura (University of Bamberg))

Content of today's talk

- The glossary: Peixoto's original manuscripts (1731/ 1741), modern editions & re-edition project
- Biographical information on the author
- Linguistic origins of *Língua Geral de Mina* (LGM)
- Socio-historic context in the gold mining region of Minas Gerais in the 18th century
- Functions of the glossary / of *Língua Geral de Mina*
- Discussion and interdisciplinary research agenda

The glossary:

Peixoto's original manuscripts (1731/ 1741),
modern editions &
re-edition project



OBra nova de Lingoa g.^a de mina,
traduzida, ao nosso Igdioma por
Antonio da Costa Peixoto, Na-
ciogual do Rn.^o de Portu-
gal, da Provincia de En-
tre Douro e Minho,
do comcelho de
Filgr.^{as}

Importance of the document

“... um dos raros documentos lingüísticos e o mais importante do tempo da escravidão no Brasil. [...] ... elementos para a história e sociologia em tempos coloniais” (Yeda Pessoa de Castro (2002) *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil, um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII.*, p. 25)

“é o documento mais importante e “precioso” sobre as línguas africanas no Brasil, porque testemunha a existência de uma língua veicular africana.” (Petter, Margarida (2007) “Línguas africanas no Brasil”, p. 74)

Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

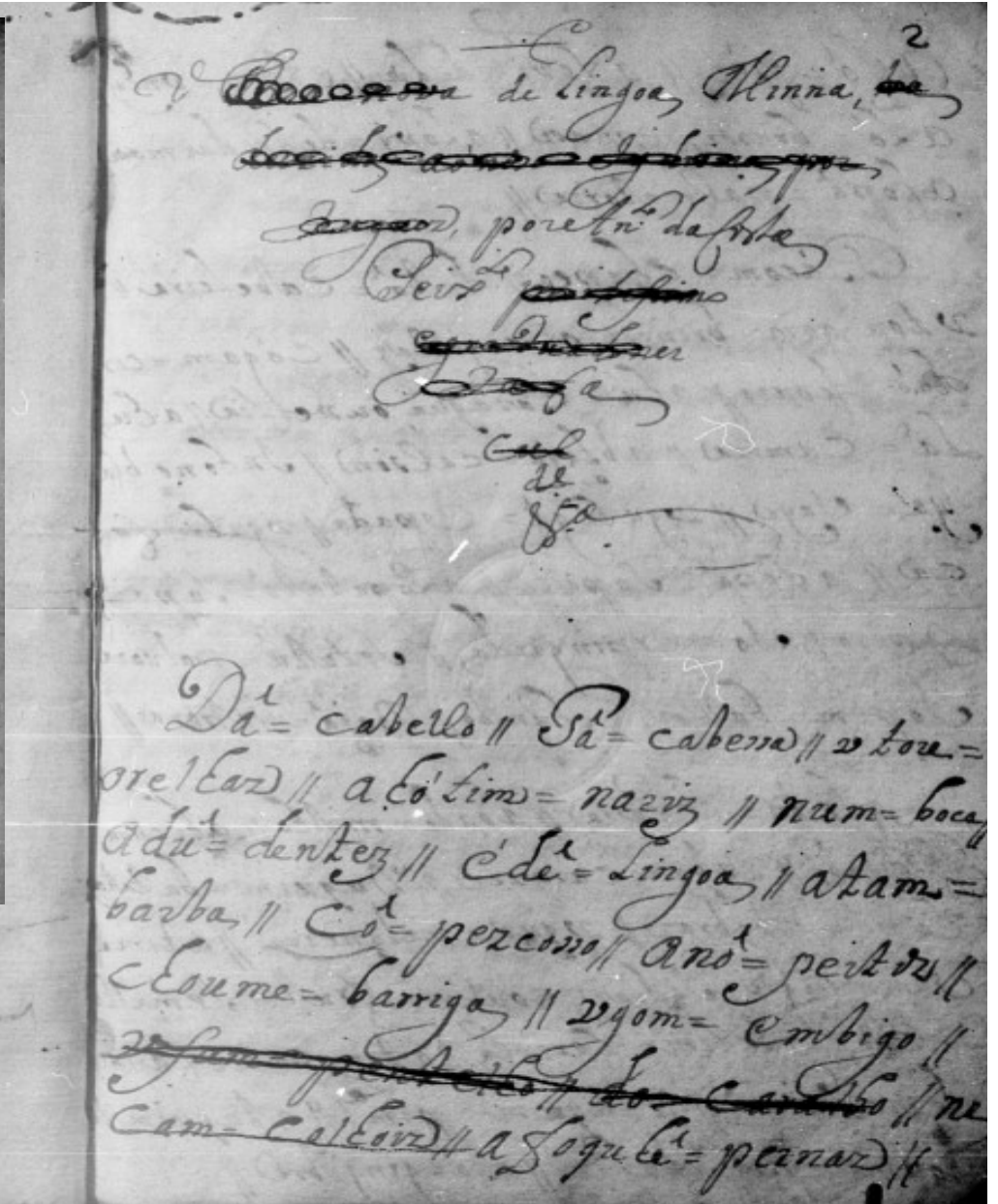
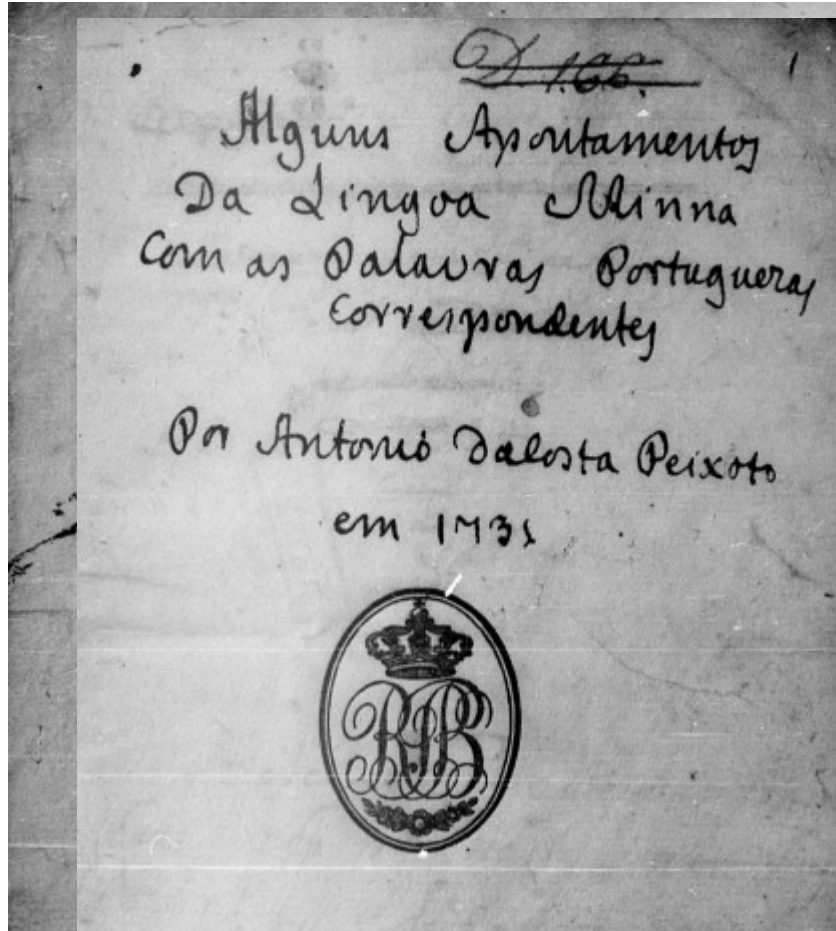
- Original handwritten manuscripts from Minas Gerais, Brazil, preserved in shorter version from 1731 (BNP, Lisbon, 3052, F. 2355) and in extended version from 1741 (BPE, Évora, CXVI/1-14), intended for publication in print
- ... 42-pages, 11,5 x 11 cm booklet containing **899 lexical entries, complex expressions, lists and dialogues** from different semantic domains (gold trade and everyday life (body parts, food & agriculture, human interaction, religion, etc.)), preceded by a **dedication**, a **prologue to the reader**, and an *Advertência* at the end of the glossary
- Documents a transatlantic (coiné?) variety of Gbe from West-African '*Costa da Mina*' in 18th century Minas Gerais
- Unique historical document on inter-ethnic relations in colonial Brazilian slave-holder society during gold rush era



Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

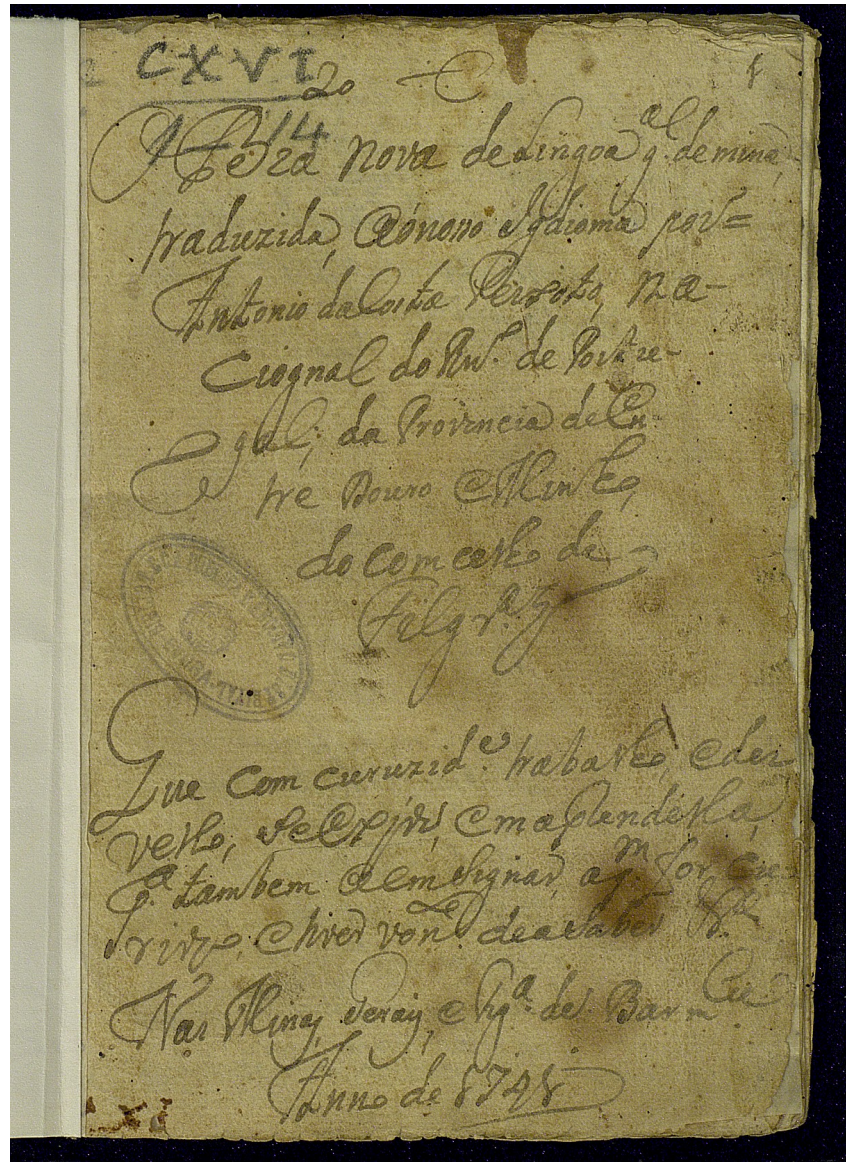
Original handwritten manuscript, shorter version from 1731

(BNP, Lisbon, 3052, F. 2355), p. 1 & 2

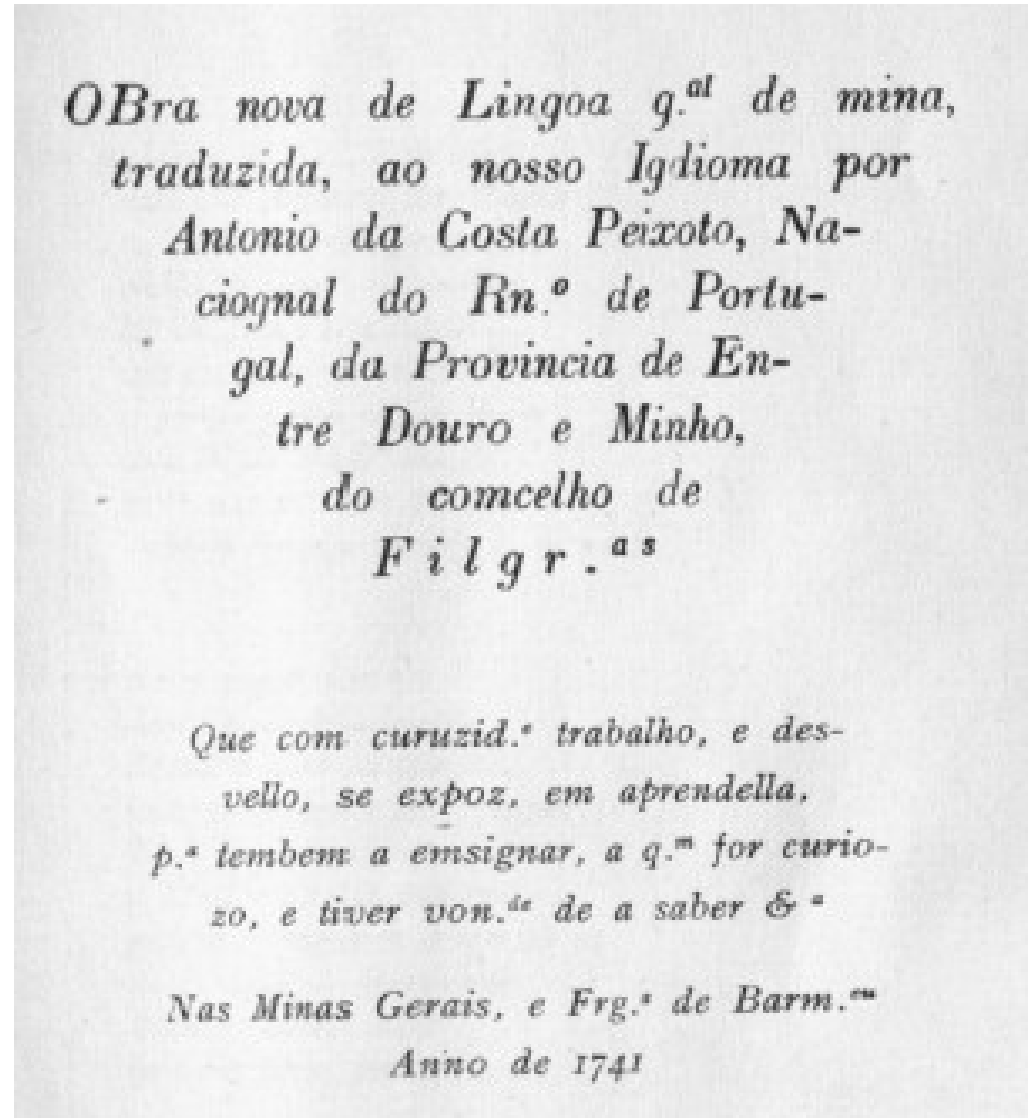


Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

Original handwritten manuscript, extended version from 1741 (BPE, Évora, CXVI/1-14), intended for publication in print

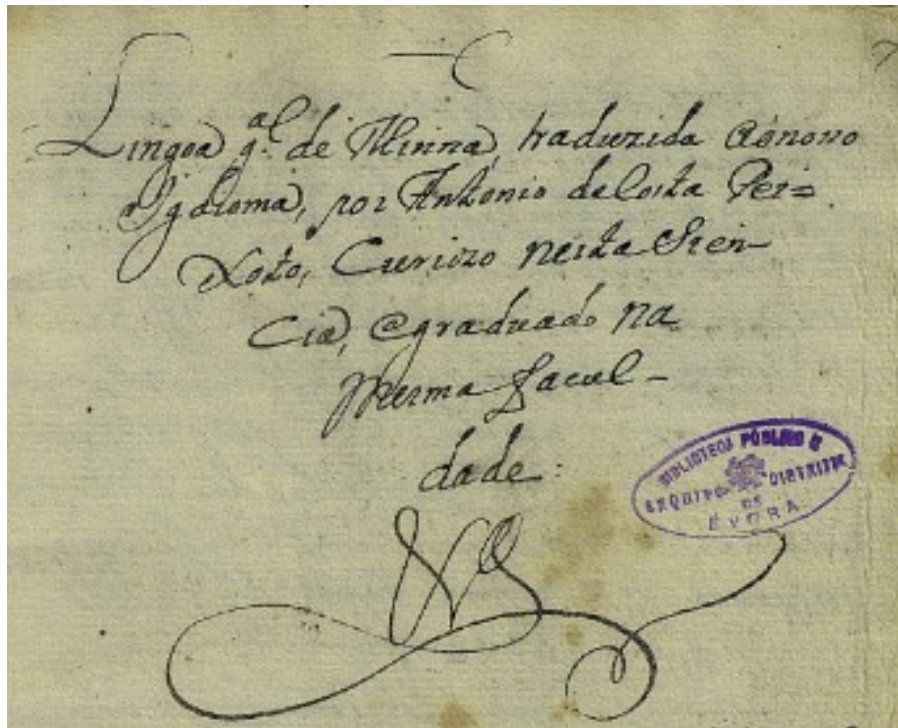


Transcription in edition by Silveira (1945: 10)

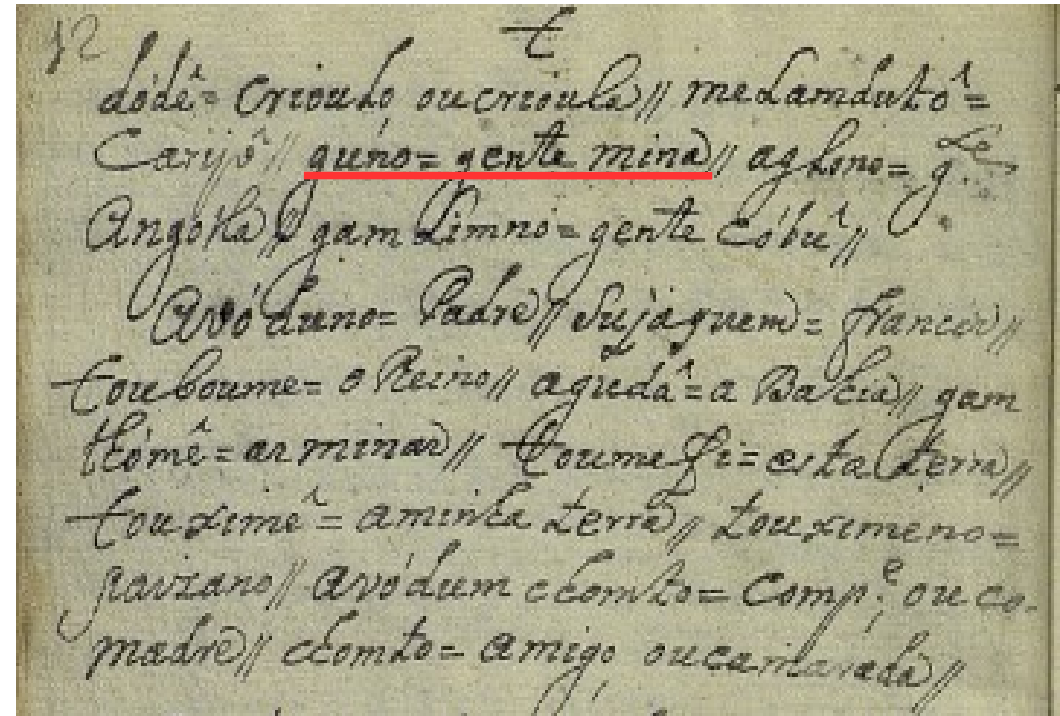


Glossary: original, editions & re-edition project

- From pages 7 & 12 of Peixoto's 1741 manuscript



Lingoa g.^{al} de Minna, traduzida ao nosso
Igdroma, por Antonio da Costa
Peixoto, Curioso nesta Sien-
cia, e graduado na
mesma facul-
dade :



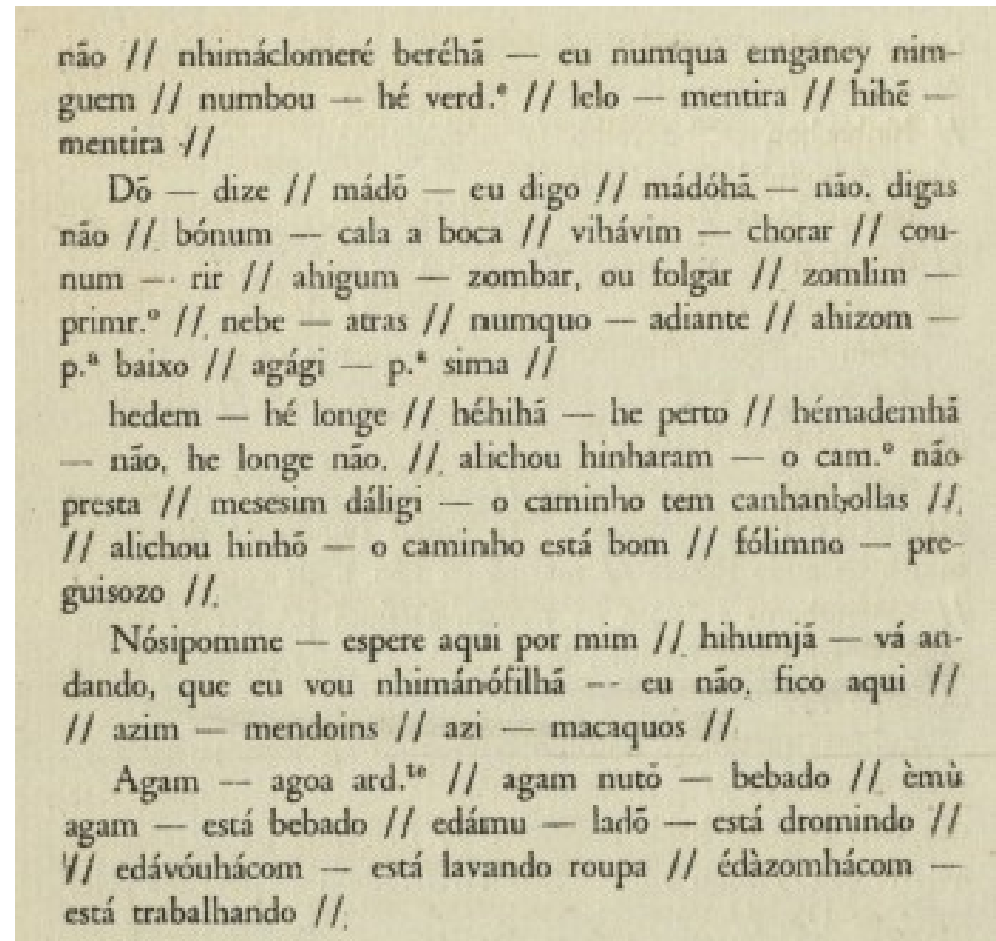
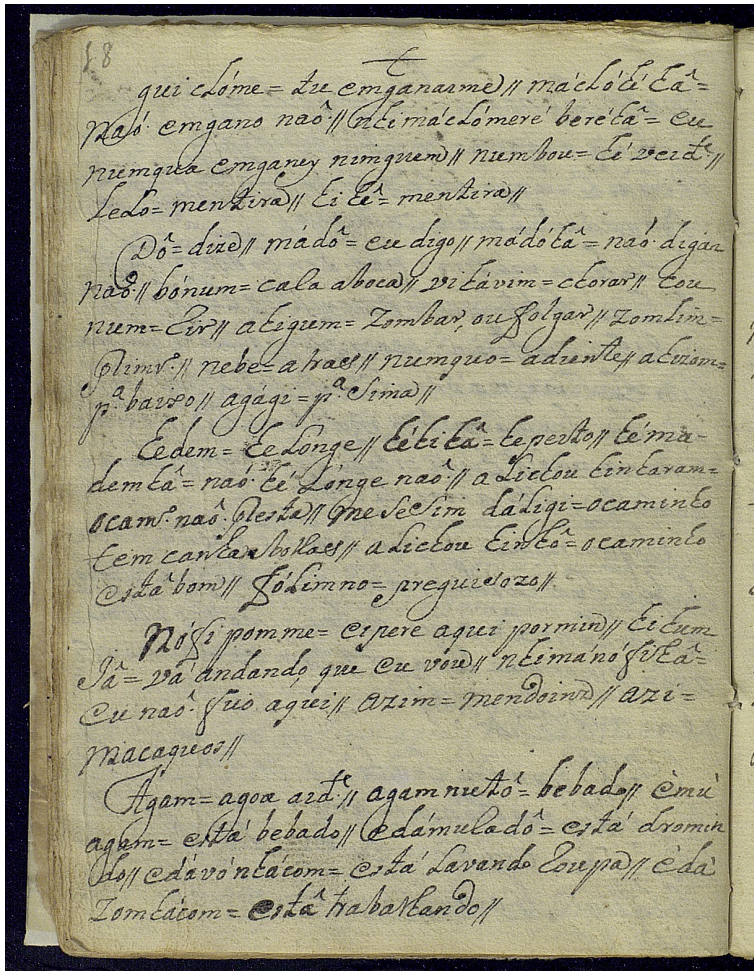
guno = gente mina

Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

Original handwritten manuscript, extended version from 1741 (BPE, Évora, CXVI/1-14),

p. 18

Transcription in edition by Silveira (1944: 22)



- contains passages of taboo content for which Costa Peixoto did not provide a translation because these were “palavras menos desentes a nossa pulicia”

Modern editions of *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

Peixoto, António da Costa (1944). *Obra Nova de Língua Geral de Mina*. Ed. by Luís Silveira. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias. |

~ (1945) ~ commented by Edmundo Correia Lopes.

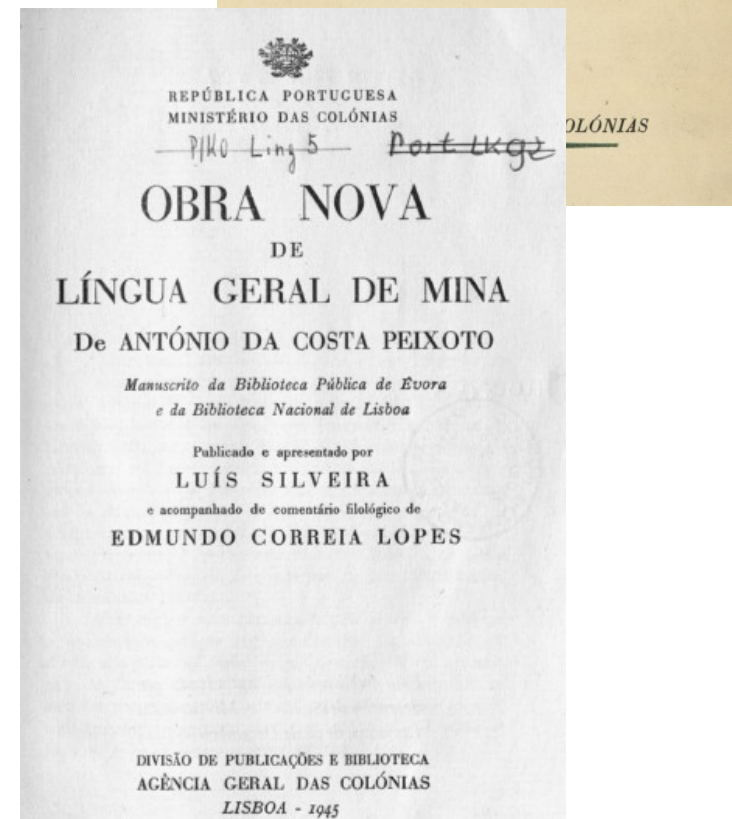
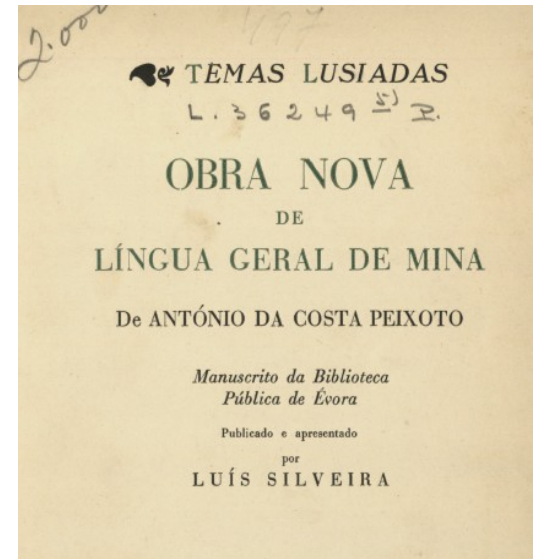
- printed editions with minor errors

- some censored contents

→ Fernandes (2012); Araujo (2013)

Adverta-se que se julgo conveniente não transcrever a tradução de alguns passos, (poucos, de resto) que pela escabrosidade eram desagradáveis e cuja falta não altera, substancialmente, o livro, nem priva o estudioso de elementos importantes.

(Silveira 1945: 9)



Silveira's 1944 /1945 editions

- Publication of 1741-manuscript from Évora via **Agência Geral das Colônias**, Lisbon
- Comparison with 1741 manuscript by Aryon Dall'Igna, 1957

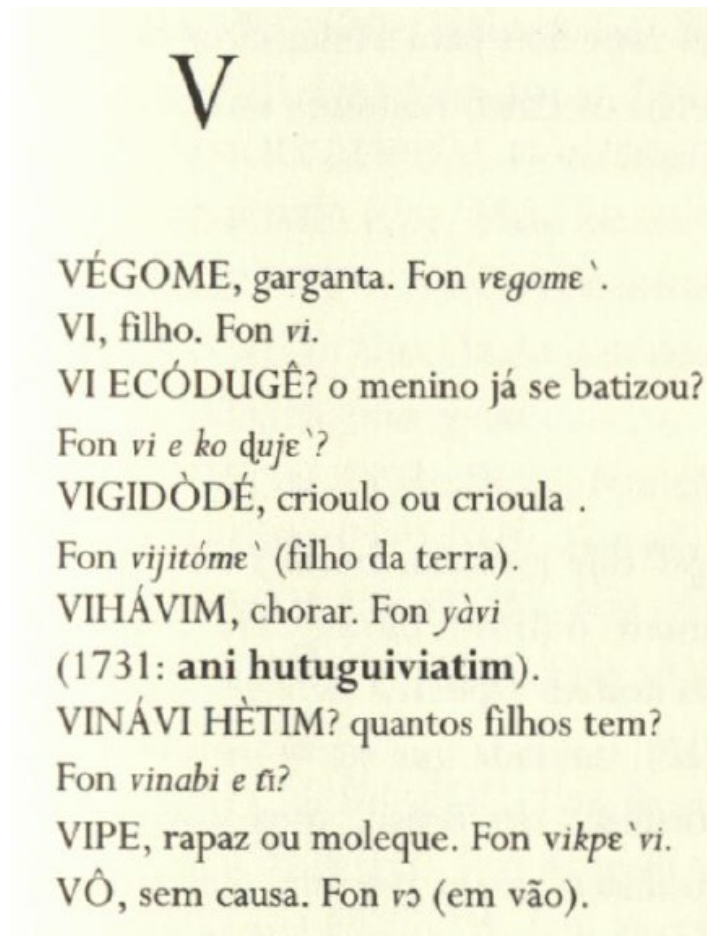
"A grande maioria das diferenças tem a ver com a **leitura dos acentos gráficos sobre as vogais**, mas também houve omissão accidental de algumas poucas frases e omissão proposital - imposta pela **censura** - de muitas traduções." (Dall'Igna Rodrigues 2003: 92)

„Embora Silveira declara na "Apresentação" ter julgado "conveniente não transcrever alguns **passos que pela extrema licenciosidade* eram desagradáveis** e cuja falta não altera substancialmente o livro nem priva o estudioso de elementos importantes", a censura do governo Salazar considerou isso insuficiente e apreendeu edição. Por essa razão, Silveira fez nova **edição, mais expurgada das traduções portuguesas, mas mantendo as expressões na língua de Mina**, a qual foi publicada e distribuída pela mesma agência, embora de maneira restrita, sujeita à autorização do Agente Geral de Ultramar." (Dall'Igna Rodrigues 2003: 92)

- Comparison of censored passages in Fernandes, Gonçalo (2012) „A Língua Geral de Mina (1731/1741) de António da Costa Peixoto“, <https://repositorio.utad.pt> [30/1/2019]

Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *Obra nova de língua geral de Mina*

Castro, Yeda de Pessoa (2002). *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: Um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Fundação João Pinheiro; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura.



Yeda Pessoa de Castro's (2002) edition:
A língua mina-jeje no Brasil,
um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII

- Based on Silveira's 1944 /1945 editions
- Contextualizes linguistic ancestry of LGM
- Provides LGM entries in alphabetical order (p. 199-215) together with portuguese translation & Fon-equivalents, incl. translations of censored passages
- 1972-1974: entries verified by speakers of Fon from Benin by Joseph Dansu based on questionnaire & corpus including Peixoto's data
- Equivalents: „out of the 920 lexical entries of the manuscript, 755 were recognized by the speakers of Fongbe – the majority ethnic language of the country of Benin – followed by 76 words identified as Mahi or Gun and 11 identified as Ewe“ (de Castro, forthcoming)
- Provides semantic analysis (organization of vocabulary along ontological domains) & socio-historic contextualisation of dialogues
- gives some socio-cultural background information on *Mina-Jeje*-heritage in Brazil

Explicit & censored content

Cá melhor praxe de que eu uzo, al
guas vezes, hé esta:

Peixoto (1741: 41)

Nhi matim aquhédimhã = eu não· tenho
agora ouro // mématim aquhé má hóhayò
hã = q.^m não· tem ouro, não· fode // name ayo
dim, beré sũ ná nauhé aquhé = dame ago-
ra o cono, eq.^{al} q.^r dia te darey o ouro // nhimá
ná ayóche achó hã = eu não· dou o meu cono
fiado &

Chingar. //

Peixoto (1741: 35)

ANÓHIHÓFOU.....Fon *anu i hũ fõ* (seu coisa, vá te arreganhar).
ANUNHATÕ ANGALITO PLOU PLOU..... Fon *anuñato'*
agaletó kpló kpló (sua coisa debochada, prostituta, filho/filha da puta).
ANUNHATÕ CRI CRI..... Fon *anuñato'kpli kpli* (sua coisa
ruim, ordinária).
ANUNHATÕ VEO..... Fon *anuñato' ve u* (sua coisa desgraçada,
seu desgraçado).
HUHÁDUMI..... Fon *wa ðu mi* (venha me comer, foder).
HUHÁDUMI CHUCHÛ Fon *wa ðu mi cukú* (venha
me comer, seu cão leproso).

Anunhatõ cri cri // anunható veo //
anóhihófou // anunható angalito plou
plou // huhádumi // huhádumi chuchũ //
Não· declaro em portuguez, por serem
palavras menos desentes a nossa pulicia //

← Translation in de Castro (2002: 185)

Explicit content - censored

Edition by Silveira (1944: 36)

Cá melhor praxe de que eu vzo, algúas vezees,
hé esta :
Nhimatim aquédimhá — eu não, tenho agora ouro // ...

Edition by Silveira (1945: 39)

Cá melhor praxe de que eu vzo, algúaa vezees,
hé esta :
Nhimatim aquédimhá = eu não, tenho agora ouro //
mématicim aquhe ma hóhayo há — [...] // name ayo dim,
beré siē na nanhe aquhé — [...] // nhi ma na ayó he achó-
há — [...] // &

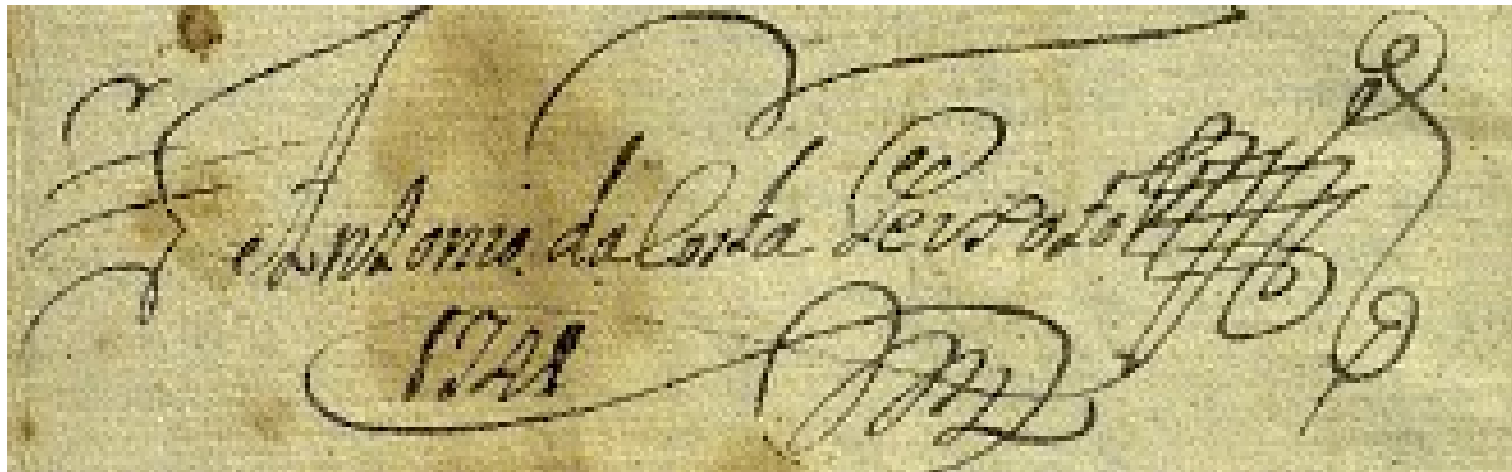
Our re-edition project

- Filological edition of both of Peixoto's 1731 and 1741 original manuscripts, to be published in *Bamberger Editionen*

[...] „O foco da coleção reside no estudo e na divulgação de textos que até agora têm recebido menos atenção da crítica acadêmica, mas cujo valor cultural intrínseco e extrínseco exige uma renovada reflexão, dado o seu papel mediador entre as diferentes tradições culturais e variedades linguísticas da România.“ (Enrique Rodrigues Moura)

- with contributions in English by
 - Yeda Pessoa de Castro (on importance of document),
 - Fernandes Araújo (additional biographical information on Peixoto),
 - Annegret Bollée (relevance for ideas in creolistics, role as medium of interethnic communication),
 - Enrique Rodrigues (on 18th century Brazilian socio-cultural context).
 - Christina Märzhäuser (summary of existing linguistic description and research desiderata)
 - Dzidula Samla & Christina Märzhäuser (LGM origins and external language history on the African continent),
 - Alexander Cobbinah & members of terreiro de *Tambor de Mina* in São Paulo (recognition of entries in liturgic language)
- Next step: Project proposal for multilingual digital edition & research network

Biographical information on the author



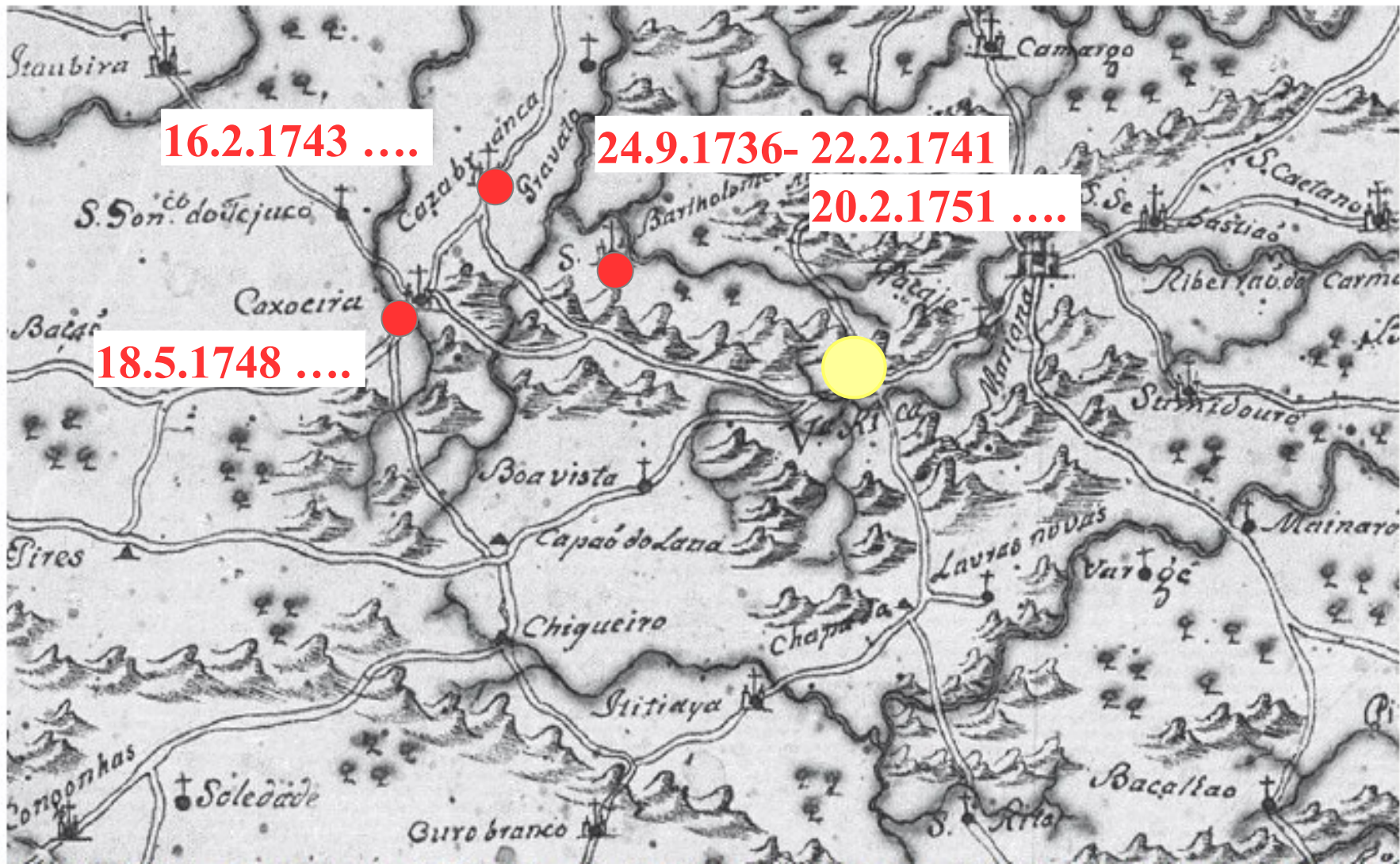
Antonio de la Cruz Peraza
1748

The image shows a handwritten signature in dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The signature is highly stylized and cursive, reading "Antonio de la Cruz Peraza". Below the name, the year "1748" is written in a similar cursive style. The signature is surrounded by decorative flourishes and loops.

Peixoto's biography & his role in colonial administration (provided by Araújo (2013; forthcoming), based on archive work in Portugal e Minas Gerais)

- António da Costa Peixoto was born in 1703 in Lamas, Entre-Douro-e-Minho, Portugal (Certificate of baptism 23/03/1703 Church of S. Pedro de Torrados)
- migrated to Brazil presumably in 1716 as a 12-13 year old
- lived in different settlements (*freguesias* S. Bartolomeu, S. António da Casa Branca, N. Sra. de Nazaré da Cachoeira do Campo) around Vila Rica (nowadays Ouro Preto) in Minas Gerais,
- ... where he worked as a writing clerk (*escrivão*) and municipal judge (*juíz de vintena*) (cf. Araujo 2013) from 24/09/1736 a 22/02/1741 (B) // 16/02/1743 (CB) / - 19/09/1763
- Died in 19.9.1763 in Casa Branca, leaving a testament (AEAM, Livro de Óbitos de Casa Branca, Livro 03, fls. 40v-42v.), four children (for two, mothers of African descent are confirmed), but no possessions

Peixoto's biography & his role in colonial administration



Detalhe do Mapa da Comarca de Vila Rica, de José Joaquim da Rocha, 1779. Fonte: Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (Varejão & Diniz, 2013:116).

Peixoto's role as *escrivão* & *juíz de vintena*

Escrivão

“As exigências para servir como *escrivão* de *vintena* eram ter as habilidades intelectuais necessárias para o cargo, ter um bom histórico social, e residir na *freguesia*” (Rezende, 2015: 114).

Juíz de Vintena

- Elected by municipality (*Camara municipal de Vila Rica*)
- Responsible for 20 *vizinhos* (= heads of households together with persons depending on them)
- Worked as judges for questions of small value (100-400 Reis)
- Person of trust for local administration / *Homem bom*

„incarnava imagem da justiça no quotidiano nesses territórios“

(E-dicionário e-DITTIP)

Peixoto's social relations

- He managed to keep good relations with Vila Rica's city council & with important members of local (European (descendant)) community
- .. was member of local *irmandades religiosas*
- .. upheld relations with local African and Afro-descendant population
- was publicly scolded for socializing with the African population
- had 4 children with 4 (African/ Afro-descendant) women without marriage

Letter sent to Vila Rica's city council by inhabitants of S. Bartolomeu in 1741:

“Dizem os moradores desta freguesia de São Bartolomeu, que aqui assinamos, que nesta freguesia se acha servindo como escrivão da vintena Antonio da Costa Peixoto, e, como não seja capaz de servir o tal officio, por ser **homem que toma bebidas e se embebeda de cachaça e anda metido pelas tabernas com as negras e negros** [...] Pedimos a vossas mercês sejam servidos a dar-nos outro escrivão e o dito seja suspenso e não admitido ao dito officio [...] [por] ser incapaz de o servir [...]”
(18/02/1741, quoted in Araujo 2013)

Peixoto's competence in *Língua geral de Mina* (LGM)

What we would like to understand ...

... how it was possible for a Portugal-born clerk to engage with the local African language community to such a degree that he was able to transcribe all this linguistic information - and partly acquire LGM,

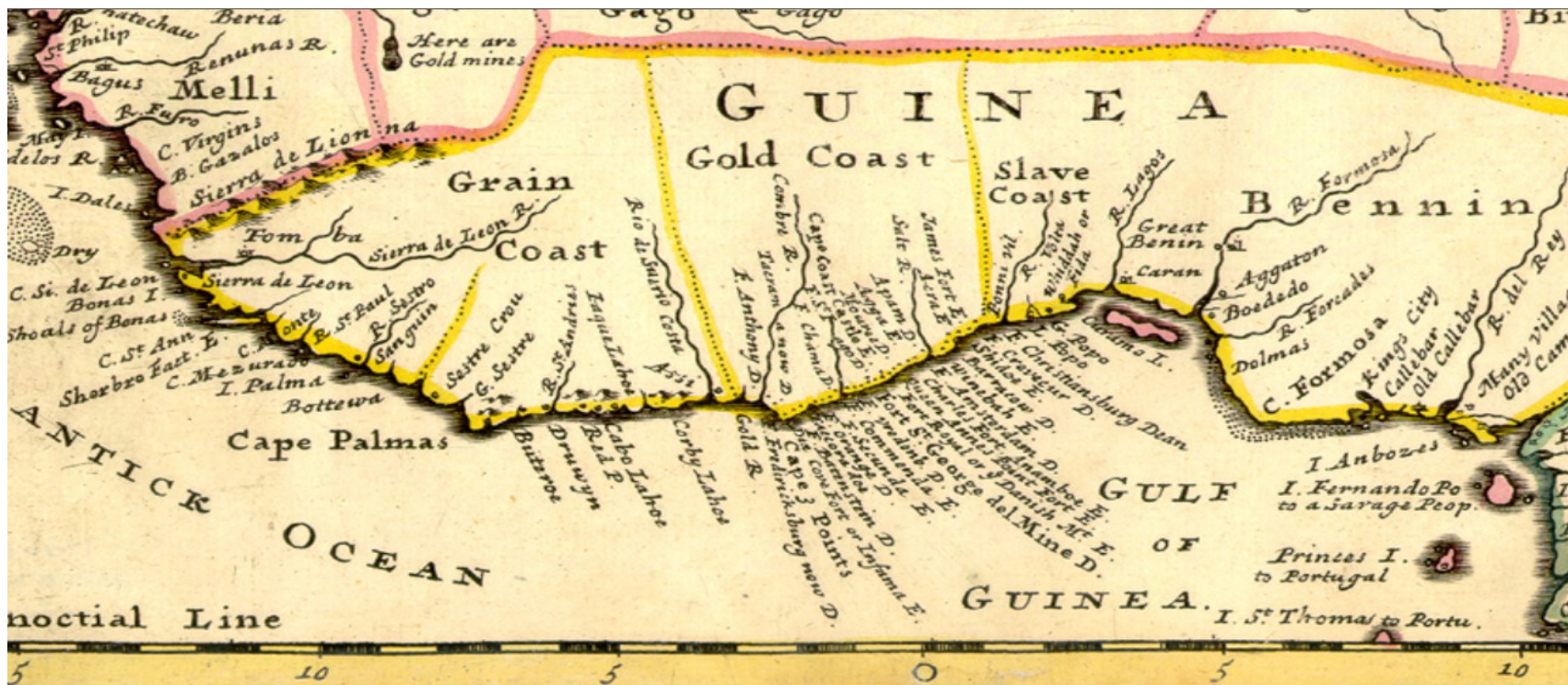
... up to which point Peixoto had acquired the vocabulary and more complex expressions actively, or only wrote them down with the help of competent native speakers,

... how the dialogues on the delicate subjects of murder, robbery and sexual exchanges in LGM had come to his knowledge,

... what he was modelling his glossary on,

... whether he recognized and somehow annotated distinctive tone (diacritics)

Linguistic origins of *Língua Geral de Minas*



Origins of *Língua Geral de Minas*

Edmund Correia Lopes (1945) „Os trabalhos de Costa Peixoto e a língua Ewe no Brasil“, in Silveira (ed.), p. 45

Por *Ogunu*, *Gunu*, *Gu* ou alada, entende-se uma variedade do *Fon* ou daomé, um dos dialectos que constituem a língua *Evœ*, falada por aproximadamente um milhão de almas. O dialecto em questão foi no Brasil setecentista a língua geral da Mina de que se ocupa António da Costa Peixoto. Por *Gunu* — *guno* — a si próprios se designavam os que em tal idioma se entendiam, escravos resgatados na chamada em português Costa da Mina, embarcados, a grande maioria, no porto de Ajudá; *Agu-*

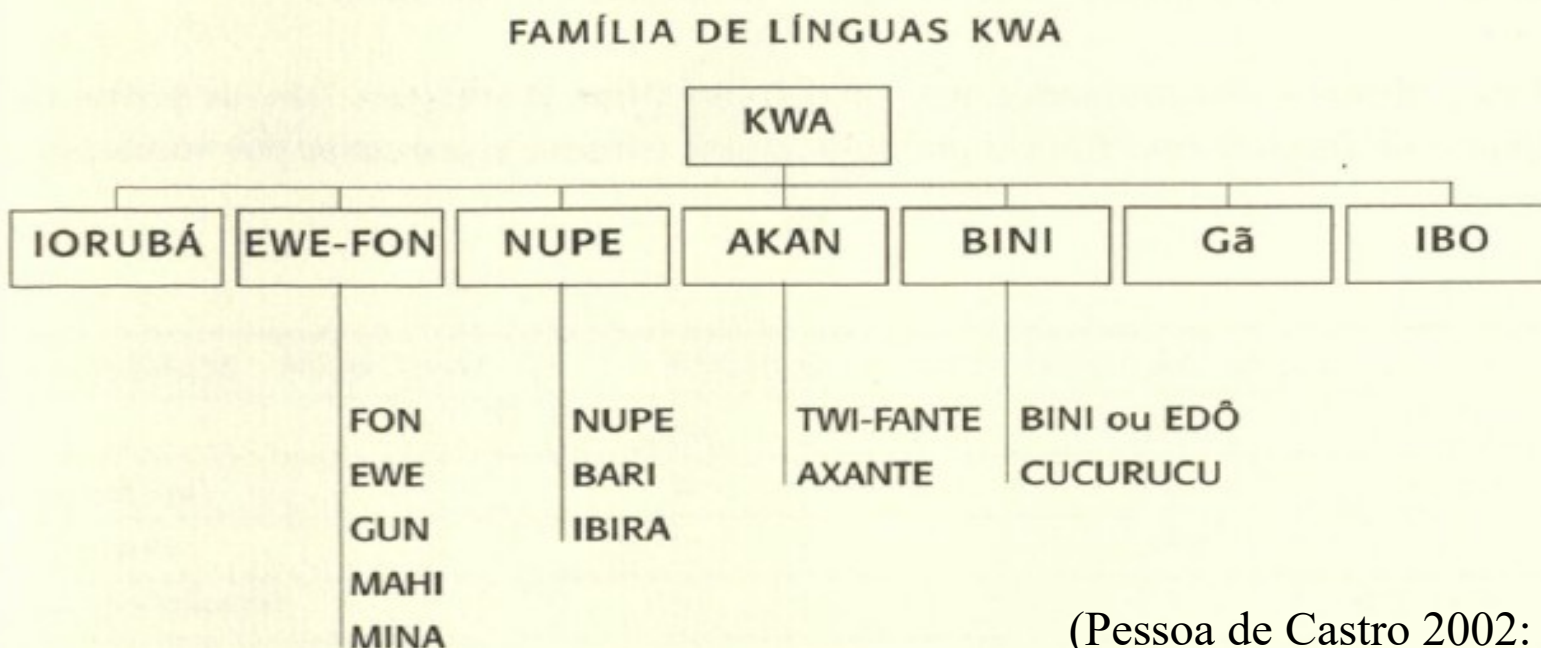
Ajudá = Ouidah, Benin

Origins of *Língua Geral de Minas*

- Yeda Pessoa de Castro (2002; forthcoming)

„There has never been any doubt about identifying this language as an Afro-Brazilian variety based on Ewe-Fon or Gbe, as this sub-group of Kwa-languages of the Niger-Kongo branch has come to be called“ (translation of de Castro, forthcoming)

- > 95% Fon equivalents
- Kwa → Gbe / Ewe-Fon



(Pessoa de Castro 2002: 43)

Origins of *Língua Geral de Minas*

- Yeda Pessoa de Castro: ethnic denominations in Brasil & geographic origins

DENOMINAÇÕES BRASILEIRAS E REGIÕES DE ORIGEM

"NAÇÃO"	MINA-JEJE	NAGÔ-QUETO	CONGO-ANGOLA
Grupo lingüístico	kwa ▼		banto ▼
Área lingüística	gbe (ewe-fon) - iorubá		quicongo (H16) quimbundo (H21) umbundo (R11)
Região geográfica	Golfo de Benim - África Ocidental		sul da linha do Equador
Países	Benim Togo Gana	Nigéria Benim	Congo-Brazzaville Congo-Kinshasa Angola
Línguas de origem	gbe (fon, gun, mina, mahi,ewe)	iorubá (nagô-queto)	quimbundo, quicongo, umbundo

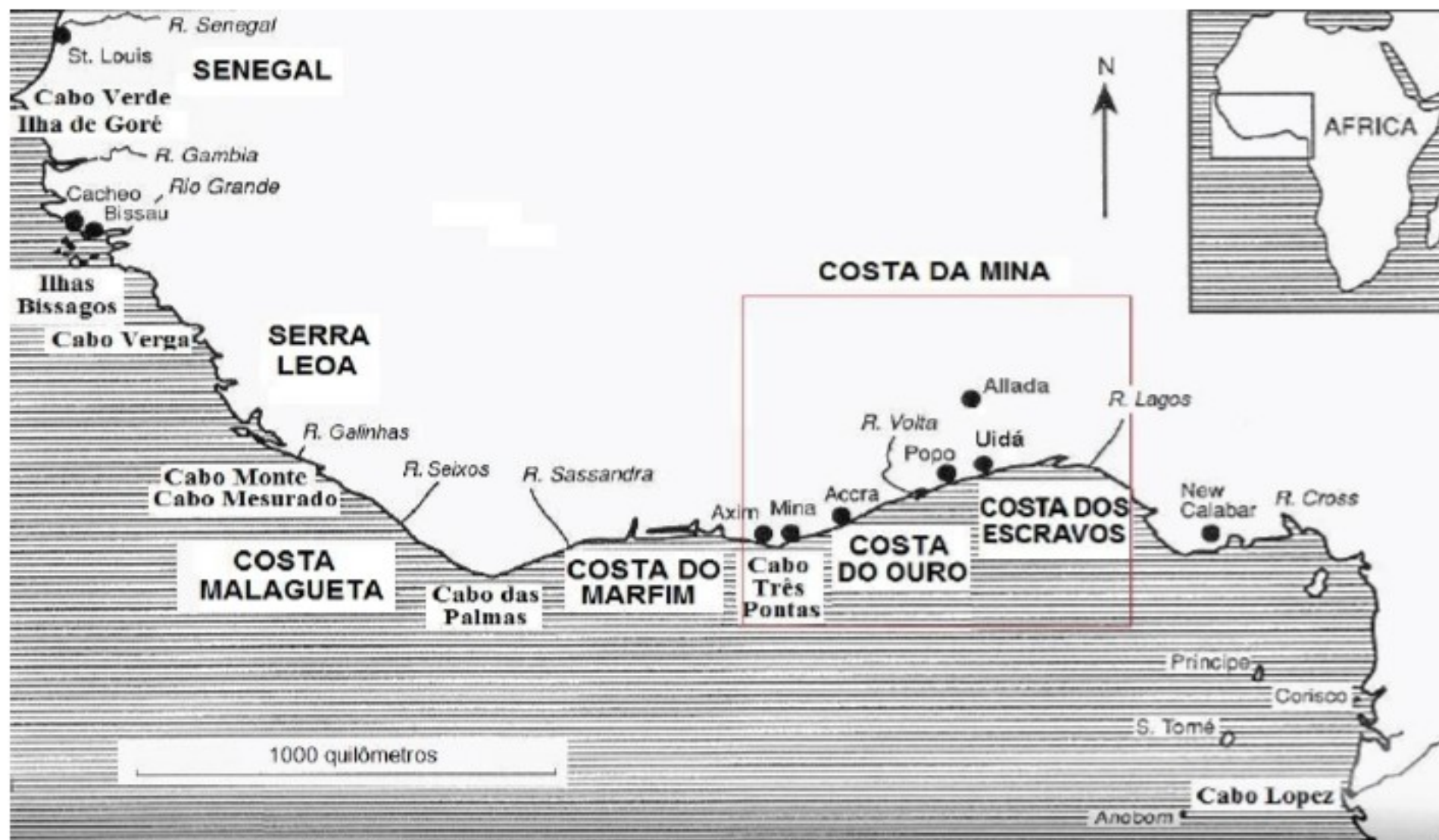
(Pessoa de Castro 2002: 198)

*Simpósio Internacional A diáspora dos povos Mina:
dinâmicas identitárias, lingüísticas e culturais*

- Discussion on the identification of 'Mina' people

10, 11 e 12 de junho de 2019
Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa

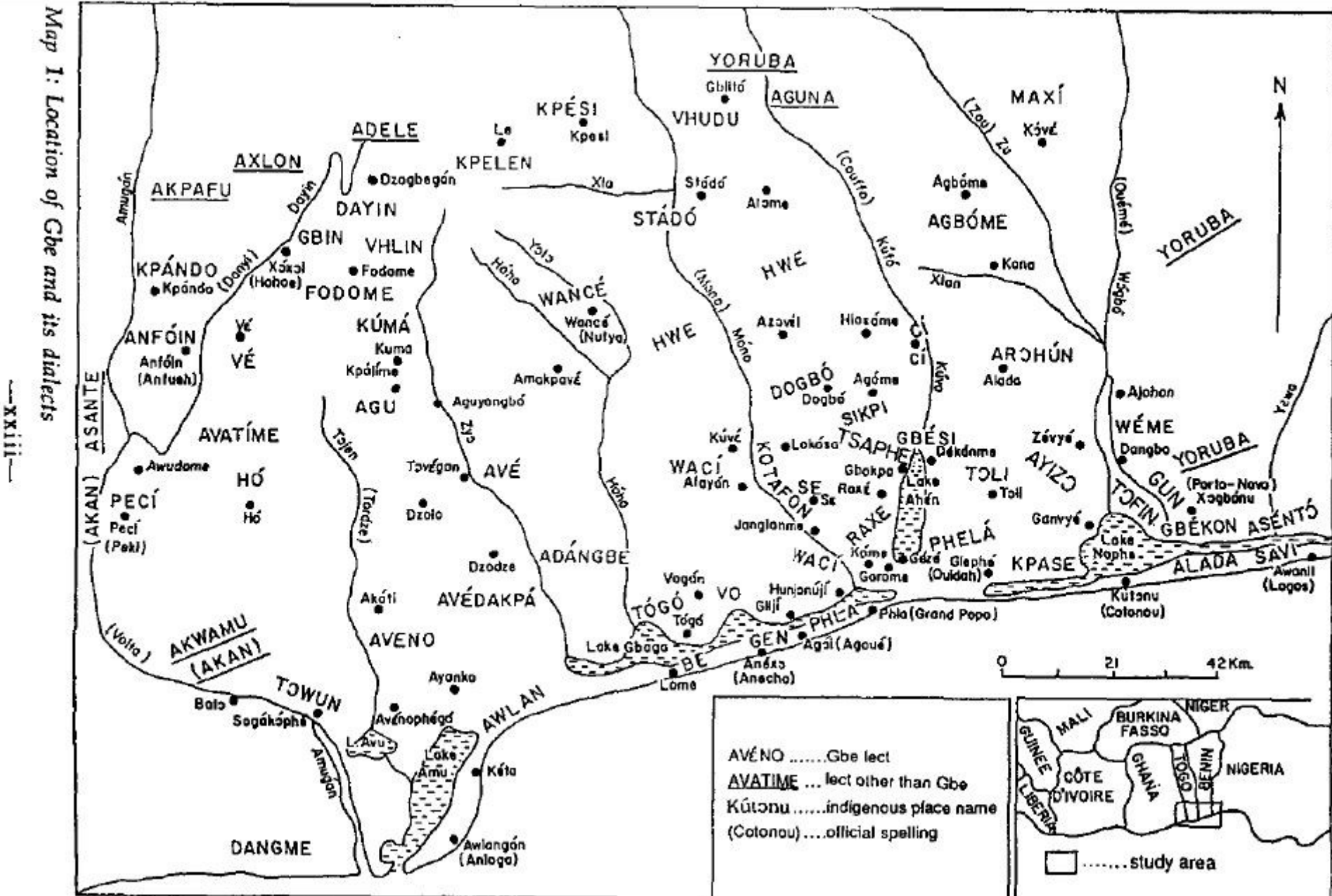
Origins of LGM speakers: 'Mina' people



Fonte: adaptado de *Jean Barbot on Guinea*. Disponível em www.costadamina.ufba.br

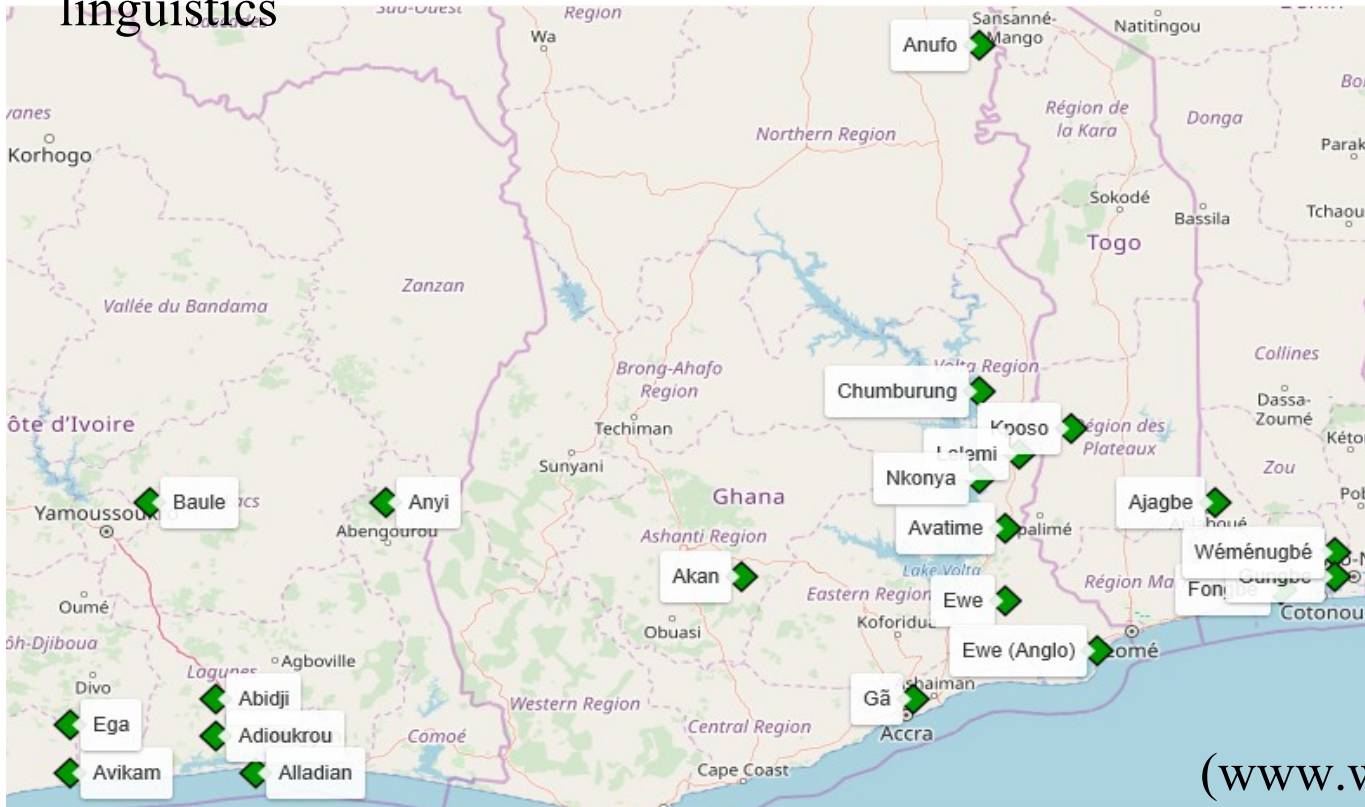
Map of Gbe languages & varieties

Cano (1997: xxiii)



Origins of *Língua Geral de Minas*

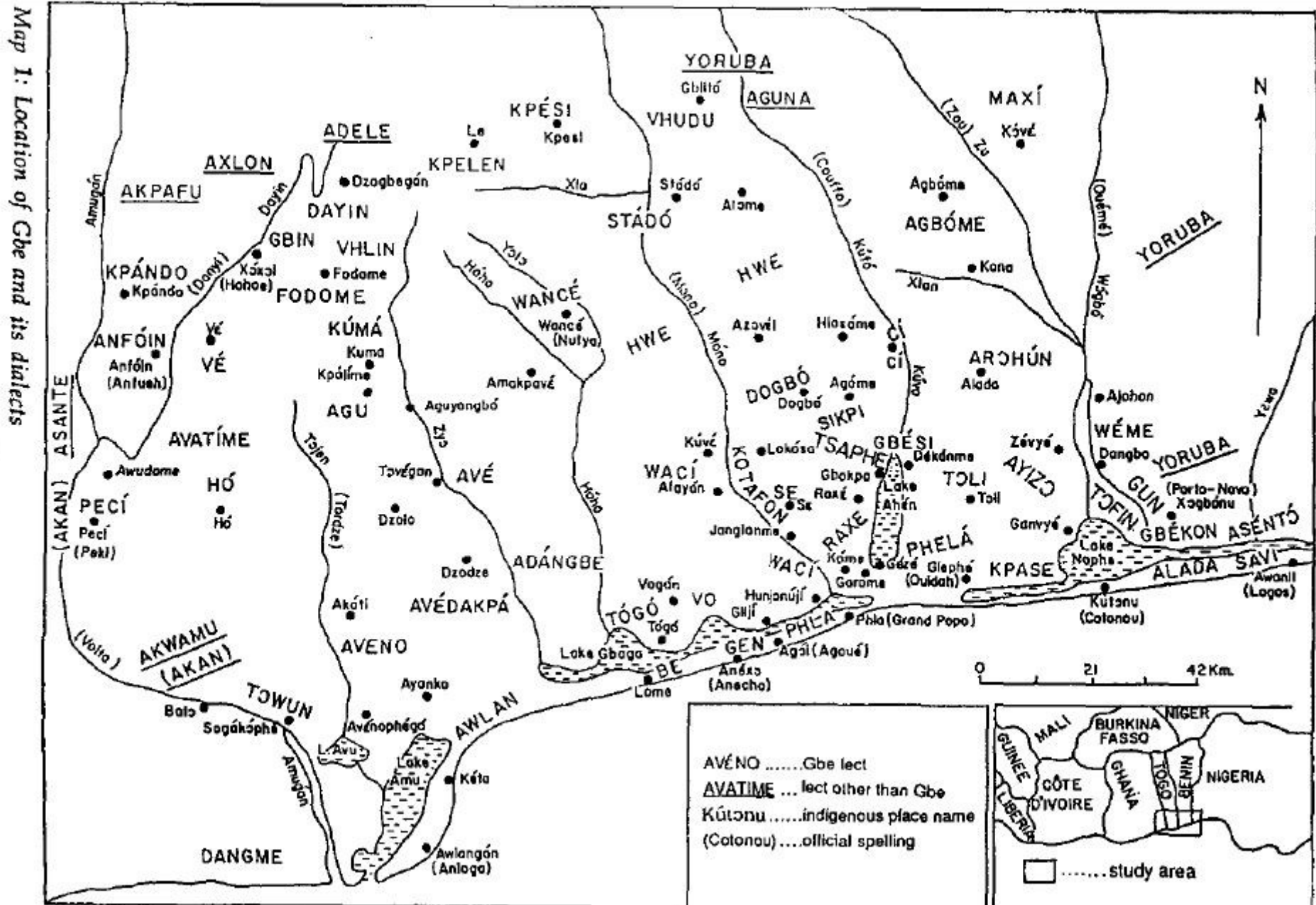
- LGM = oversea coiné of Gbe-languages / varieties
- Ewe-Fon language continuum (Capo (1997) & external language history of 18th century Gold Coast region / Kingdom of Dahomey → Samla & Märzhäuser (forthcoming)
- Peixoto's glossary as source for historical research for African linguistics



- ◆ Kwa (21)
- Abidji
- Adiokrou
- Ajagbe
- Akan
- Alladian
- Anufo
- Anyi
- Avatime
- Avikam
- Baule
- Chumburung
- Ega
- Ewe
- Ewe (Anglo)
- Fongbe
- Gã
- Gungbe
- Kposo
- Lelemi
- Nkonya
- Wéménugbé

Map of Gbe languages & varieties

Cano (1997: xxiii)



Socio-historic context in 18th century Minas Gerais



Socio-historic context in 18th century Minas Gerais

- Gold rush led to massive growth of Vila Rica in the first half of 18th century
- In the first 60 years of the 18th century, approx. 8-10.000 individuals per year migrated from Portugal to Brasil (→ problem of *vadios*)
- In the first two decades of the 18th century, there were about 30,000 slaves in Minas Gerais, but numbers exploded in subsequent decades, most slaves being born on African soil
- In 1786 out of ~350.000 inhabitants, nearly 300.000 were black → Minas Gerais had over 70% African and Mestizo populations by middle of the 18th century (Castro 2002: 49-50)
- A majority of slaves shipped to Brazil at the peak of the gold rush came from Costa da Mina → slave holders' preferences for slaves from this region

Slave population in Minas Gerais

Maia, Moacir Rodrigo de Castro (2013) *De reino traficante a povo traficado - A diáspora dos courás do Golfo do Benim para as minas de ouro da América Portuguesa (1715-1760)*, PhD thesis, Rio de Janeiro. p. 113.

População escrava em Minas Gerais de 1716 a 1728

Vilas de Minas	Escravos					
	1716-1717	1717-1718	1718-1719	1719-1720	1723	1728
Vila do Carmo	6.834	10.974	10.937	9.812	15.828	17.376
Vila Rica	6.271	7.110	7.708	7.653	13.672	11.521
Vila Real de Sabará	4.905	5.712	5.771	4.902	7.649	7.014
Vila de São João Del Rey	3.051	2.282	2.216	1.868	-	3.448
Vila de São José	-	1.393	1.324	1.184	-	5.419
Vila Nova da Rainha	3.848	4.347	4.478	4.051	-	4.791
Vila do Príncipe	3.000	2.096	2.090	1.671	-	1.934
Vila de Pitangui	-	283	415	359	-	845
Escravos de religiosos	-	897	incluídos acima	incluídos acima	-	incluídos acima
Total	27.909	35.094	34.939	31.500	37.149	52.348

Fontes: APM, SC, códice 11, fl.275v, 280 e 285v, *Registro de cartas do governador a diversas autoridades, ordens, instruções e bandos*; AHCMM, códice 166, fl.157, *Reais quintos e lista dos escravos da Vila do Carmo de 1723*; MAIA, Moacir Rodrigo de Castro. *Op. cit.*, 2006, p.36; CARRARA, Ângelo Alves. *Agricultura e pecuária na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1674-1807)*. Tese (Doutorado em História) - Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1997. p.63; RUSSELL-WOOD, A. J. R. *Op. cit.*, 2005, p.399

Slave population in Minas Gerais

Maia, Moacir Rodrigo de Castro (2013) *De reino traficantes a povo traficado - A diáspora dos courás do Golfo do Benim para as minas de ouro da América Portuguesa (1715-1760)*, PhD thesis, Rio de Janeiro. p. 114.

- Slave origins – exemplary figures for one year in the early period → founder population?

Origem dos escravos de Vila Rica e Vila do Carmo

Regiões africanas	Quantidade/percentual	
	Vila Rica (1718)	Vila do Carmo (1723)
África Ocidental	1.125 (61,8%)	815 (50,9%)
África Centro-Occidental	513 (28,1%)	450 (28,1%)
África Oriental	23 (1,2%)	32 (2%)
Nascidos no Imp. Português	67 (3,6%)	91 (5,6%)
Identidade desconhecida/Não consta	92 (5%)	212 (13,2%)
Total	1.820 (100%)	1.600 (100%)

Socio-historic context in 18th century Minas Gerais

- Unbalanced ethnic / gender distribution
- Numerous african women worked as prostitutes (free(d) or in slavery)
- Many free African- and Afro-descendant women hold *vendas* and managed to accumulate some wealth

„Thereza Ferreira Souto, [...] uma **negra forra, de nação mina**, que, ao longo dos anos, conseguiu ascensão social [...]. Dona de uma venda em Santo Antônio da Casa Branca, mãe de 7 filhos, as posses de Thereza eram bem superiores às de Antonio, incluindo escravos, joias e casas.“ (Araujo, forthcoming)

→ female agency in LGM language spread & maintenance?



(Source: de Castro 2002)

Female informants as source for Peixoto?

Advertencia:

Em alguns nomes aonde ouverem
estar letras juntas / ch / hé necess.^o
tomar parecer com algũ negro, ou ne
gra mina, porq.^{to} tem diferente per-
numcia:

(Peixoto 1741: 42)

Socio-historic context in 18th century Minas Gerais

Complex social patterns in Minas Gerais slaveholder society:

- Slaves working in gold mining could often build their own families incl. Official marriage in church
- Could have their own houses separately from the senzala, access to agricultural plots (*roças*) to cultivate for subsistence and sale
- Managed to accumulate wealth (working extra hours /days for their own income)
- Could buy their freedom

(Law in 1734 (after discovery of diamond mines in 1729): slaves could buy their freedom (+ earn money) when finding a diamond of 20 quilantes or denounced their master for diamond smuggling) → percentage of female *forras* higher than with men

- Free Africans and *mestiços* could exercise professions (crafts, gold mining, trade) and ascend to prestigious positions, incl. priests
- Formed religious brotherhoods (*irmandades negras*)

→ African agency & communicative domains of LGM

Negotiation of power and subalternity - Example

- Enslavement of Africans in Brazil, and especially in Minas Gerais, was a socially coercive system, but susceptible to negotiations, inter-ethnic social pacts and resistance
- Example: Negotiation of a white victim for survival (Peixoto 1741: 33-35)

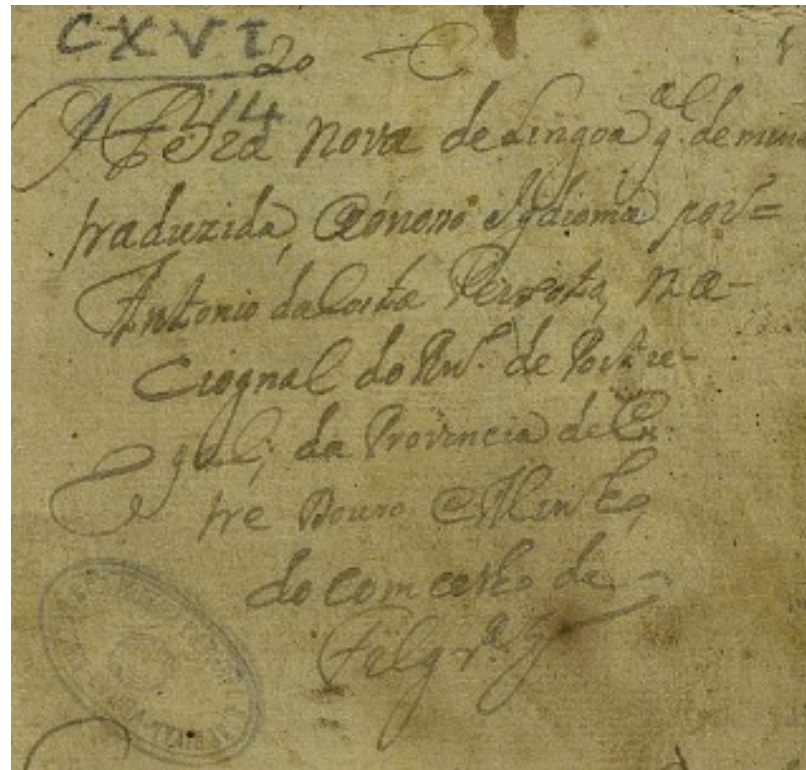
Maguhi hi habouno = matemos este
Branco // mábátánim = quebremos lhe
a cabeça // Preg.^{to}, anihutũ nágume = e por-
que rezão· me quereis matar // miná hinum
poupouthêhẽ = queremos lhe tomar tudo //
hinum poupou <tháhê> mágumehã = tomay
tudo e não· me mateis // héguhéthóhéhi-
nhõ = tem m.^{ta} rezão· //

[...]

Jálé jálé = mágume hã = peso vos que
me não· mateiz // humbihóhéhihãvou vó-
dum = peso vos pelo amor de DS // humé
náguhehã = não· matamos não· // mipou
pou màhichomto = nos não· somos todos
am.^{os}, ou camaradas //

Responde, mesesim matim hi hà
bouno hã = os canhanbollas não· tem am.^{os}
Branços // nhimáhinháram nácruhã =
eu não· sou ruim p.^a os escravos // nhime-
rabou háme = eu sou bom // guidómóru
fidim = você diz histo aqui agora //
humdómó tou pou pou me = eu digo
o mesmo em q.^{al} q.^r p.^{te} //

Functions of LGM / functions of Peixoto's glossary



Function of *Língua geral de Mina* (LGM)

What we can know from the combination of socio-demographics & socio-historic description + content of the glossary?

- historic proof of violent practices and severe oppression being part of ruling colonial politics and socio-economic practice in slavery → resistance vernacular „a territory of resistance and of black African ethno-cultural identity“ (Yeda de

Castro, forthcoming)

but

- LGM obviously served as trade vernacular for free Africans, both in the urban gold trade context, in local day-to-day practice such as local subsistence economy (agriculture and trade) and prostitution
- LGM served as medium of inter-ethnic communication between European males & African-born women (in the case of Peixoto himself) → wider bilingualism
- Language of gold smuggling?

Functions of the glossary

Excerpt from the Author's prologue (p. 5-6)

me resolvi fazer esta nova traducão por
entender ser de m.^{ta} otellid.^e e saberem
esta tão importante sabedoria:

Pois é certo e áfirmo que se todos os
senhores de escravos, e ainda os que se não
tem, souberem esta lingua não succede
riaõ tantos insultos, e danos, e tragas,
roubos, mortes, e finalm.te cazos atrozes;

Como m. miseraveis tem expremen-
tado: de que me parece de alguma sorte
se poderião evitar alguns destes descomsertos
sexta,

me resolvi fazer esta nova tradução por
entender ser de m.^{ta} otellid.^e e saberem
toda esta tão importante sabedoria: Pois
é certo e afirmo, que se todos os senhores
de escravos, e ainda os que os não tem,
souberem esta linguagem não sucederão
tantos insultos, ruínas, estragos, roubos,
mortes, e finalmente casos atrozes, como
muitos miseráveis têm experimentado : de
que me parece de alguma sorte se poderiam
evitar alguns destes descomsertos

[...] I decided to make this new translation because it is very important that everyone gets familiarized with this important knowledge: For it is definitely certain that if all slaveholders, and also those who don't own slaves, knew this language, there wouldn't be so many insults, damages, destroyed possessions, robberies and murders and all these horrifying incidents which so many miserable ones have suffered. It appears to me that, with some luck, some of these discomforting incidents could be avoided [...]

Functions of the glossary

- control of (African and Afro-descendant) population in gold mining towns & settlements
- ... of those who tried or managed to flee into one of the many marooning communities (*Quilombos*) of Minas Gerais
 - Using *Lingua geral de Mina* for social disciplining / extending state control can be considered a typical idea for the early modern period
 - Peixoto recommends the appropriation of this African vernacular language by the slave owner, with the purpose of securing the settlers' safety → of increasing the influence of the colonial administration regarding taxes from gold trade
 - Peixoto was a writing clerk and community judge, so his interest in a good relation with the colonial administration is obvious (restoring his position in 1742/3)

Pragmatic functions of the glossary

- Given the colonial socio-ideological context, Peixoto's approach can be understood within a (mercantilistic?), pragmatic orientation both as concern about economic necessities of a) colonial rule / b) local community & c) his personal socio-economic situation
 - a) interest of the Portuguese crown: use LGM for social control to cut down non-taxed parts of the gold trade; or:
 - b) interest of local ruling class: reduce betrayal by slaves (social control) and/ or cut down the amount of gold undergoing taxation below the eyes of colonial military presence
 - c) clear from the author's request in the *Dedicatória* to print his manuscript and from his *advertência* (containing remarks on copyright) that he intended to sell copies as an additional source of income / to gain social recognition as author

but: the glossary wasn't printed in Peixoto's lifetime

Failure of Peixoto's publication & End of 'multilingual' colonial politics

- Monoglossic ideology as political program: ideas about unity of language and empire by Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla → brought to Spain by Nebrija and spelled out in the prologue of his grammar: “siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio; y de tal manera lo siguió, que junta mente comenzaron, crecieron y florecieron” (1492, sic)
 - intellectual tradition adopted by Marquês de Pombal to improve state control over Brazilian territories
 - linguistic politics cause end of Tupi-based *Língua geral*
 - linguistic control coincides with the end of gold rush in Minas Gerais in second half of 18th century
 - End of LGM?

Discussion on relevance of Peixoto's glossary & research agenda

- Peixoto's *Obra Nova* provides written documentation on an oversea Gbe 'language' from 18th century
 - comparative linguistic research on related African languages, both on the African continent and on remnants in the Black Atlantic
- *Obra Nova* is remarkable proof of the vitality of an African language in an oversea slaveholder colony
 - basic assumptions about the vitality of African languages in transatlantic slavery
- *Obra Nova* (also for its content) is an unique document regarding socio-historic reconstruction of African agency
 - specific socio-historic, -economic, -cultural and religious conditions of this mining society
 - interdisciplinary research with Brazilian historians
- *Obra Nova* points to LGMs functions as resistance vernacular, medium of inter-ethnic / inter-gender communication
 - further research in historical socio-linguistics

Further references ...

- Araujo, Fernando (2013). “Fome do ouro e fama da obra. Antonio da Costa Peixoto e a ‘Obra Nova de Lingoa Geral de Mina’ – alianças, proximidades e distâncias de um escritor português no Brasil colonial do século XVIII”, www.antropologia.com.br/arti/colab/a53-faraujo.pdf.
- Castro, Yeda de Pessoa (2002). *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: Um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Fundação João Pinheiro; Secretaria de Estado da Cultura.
- Fernandes, Gonçales (2012). “A Língua geral de Mina (1731/1741) de António da Costa Peixoto”, <https://repositorio.utad.pt>.
- Paiva, José Pedro (2000). “A Igreja e o Poder”. In Marques, João Francisco / Gouveia, João Camões, *História Religiosa de Portugal*. Volume 2. *Humanismos e Reformas*, Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, p. 135-185;
- Paiva, José Pedro (2007). “El Estado en la Iglesia y la Iglesia en el Estado. Contaminaciones, dependencias y disidencia entre la monarquía y la Iglesia del reino de Portugal (1495-1640)”. In *Manuscripts*, n. 25, p. 45-57.
- Peixoto, António da Costa (1944). *Obra Nova de Língua Geral de Mina*. Ed. by Luís Silveira. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias. |
Peixoto, António da Costa (1945). *Obra Nova de Língua Geral de Mina*. Ed. by Luís Silveira and commented by Edmundo Correia Lopes. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias. |
- Petter, Margarida & Fiorin, José Luiz (Eds.) (2008). *África no Brasil: a formação da língua portuguesa*. São Paulo: Editora Contexto. |
- Reinhard, Wolfgang (1994). “Disciplinamento sociale, confessionalizzazione, modernizzazione. Un discorso storiografico”. In Prodi, Paolo / Penuti, Carla (editores), *Disciplina dell’anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, p. 101-123
- Rodrigues, Aryon Dall’Igna. (2003). “*Obra Nova da Língua Geral de Mina: A língua Ewe nas Minas Gerais*”. *Papia* 13, 2003. 92-96.
- |Souza, Silvia Margarete Cunha (2001). *A predicação na “língua geral de mina” : uma proposta de descrição*, Dissertação de Mestrado. Sao Paulo: Universidade de Sao Paulo, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Departamento de Linguística.
- Souza, Silvia Margarete Cunha (2003a). “A Obra Nova de Lingua Geral de Mina no Contexto da Produção Linguística Brasileira dos primeiros séculos”. *Estudos Linguísticos* 32.
- Souza, Silvia Margarete Cunha (2003b). “A predicação na Lingua Geral de Mina”, *Papia: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Crioulos e Similares* 13, 97-106.
- Souza, Silvia Margarete Cunha (2004). “Os esquemas predicativos da lingua geral de mina”, *Linguas e Instrumentos Linguísticos* n°13/14.

Thank you very much for your attention!
All questions, comments & criticism welcome!

Cmaerzh@uni-kassel.de