Beer, Blood & the Bible: Economics, Politics & Geolinguistic Praxis in *Kongo-Ngola* (Congo-Angola)

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in African American Studies in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley

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Abstract

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This dissertation argues that educational praxis rooted in local epistemologies can combat the erosion of ethno-histories and provide quotidian securities for quality, tranquil lives free of war and exploitative practices of extraction and overuse of the land for non-subsistence purposes, which deny basic human life to those on the ground. Colonial ethnocide, linguicide, and epistemicide serve as the central focus of this study, which uses mixed anthropological methods to investigate economic production, political history, and cultural transmission, with the goal of advancing language revitalization efforts concerning native epistemologies within the multidisciplinary fields of Africana, African, Black, African American, and African diaspora studies. This dissertation employs a toolbox of techniques unique to the four fields of anthropology (physical/biological, archaeological, but especially socio-cultural and linguistic anthropology) and the four elements of culture [kinship/gender, economics, politics, and religion].

Three metaphors (Beer, Blood, and Bible) examine scientific agriculturalist economies, local jural-legal systems of governance organized by uterine kinship tied to geospatial terrains by consanguinity, and sociolinguistic worlds of pre-colonial indigenous Kongo-Ngola, which occur contemporaneously alongside post-colonial capitalist, neoliberal geopolitical, and cosmological paradigms in present-day Congo-Angola. As such, geolinguistics, ethno-history, and terroir epistemologies become vital to survival and to the continuity of humanity in peace. By decolonizing science, deconstructing imperialist systems of power-knowledge, and reconfiguring ontologies of production and reproduction, this dissertation revitalizes locally grounded epistemologies which face extinction and extermination due to colonial wars of geological extraction, while recognizing significant depths of indigenous governance within opposing post-colonial structures, with respect to technologies of literacy, cosmological consciousness, and numeracy relevant to generational preservation and perpetuation of heritage into the future.

The complexities of global conglomerate beverage (alcoholic and non-alcoholic) production and the consumption of beer music video advertisements in areas of famine, drought, and wars of extraction produce a set of interconnected issues where linguistic transformations have taken place through the transcription and translation of erased indigenous knowledge in favor of
rewritten Euro-American metanarratives. The ethical and judicial rhetorical method used in this dissertation examines bloodline uterine kinship and descent in *Kongo-Ngola* traditional systems of governance in comparison to the present-day Euro-American colonial state apparatus. Finally, using an epideictic logos rhetorical style, the biblical metaphor considers transcribing knowledge across space and time, and simultaneously erasing indigenous epistemologies and cosmologies. A deeper analysis could compare written linguistic religious traditions. Literacies in Euro-American languages ushered in the loss of African cultural practices and systems of knowledge and belief; however, the act of signifying remains present on both sides of the Atlantic. One must note the era of missionary expansion provided both negative setbacks, and some complicated advancements in the way of education and medical aid, but also forced religious conversions. All the same, indigenous religious beliefs remain present in local languages, where limited mixed-language occurs. Through the preservation of indigenous languages and kinship networks, fragments of local epistemologies remain despite colonialism. Considering the metaphor of the elephant and the blind men, one questions whether global religions, economic infrastructures, and systems of power and thought ever produce universal uniformity and total erasure when merging with local practice. Legacies of the past live on in the people, on the ground. Through practices of remembrance, experts resurrect indigenous bodies of knowledge for future generations.

This work becomes significant to African American studies given the historical significance of missionaries educated at Historically Black Colleges and Universities who lived in Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola from the 1880s into the early 1900s, both preserving and changing local culture, following the Conference of Berlin and leading to the independence movements. Their goals of progressive work in the era of Old Jim Crow do not make up the bulk of this dissertation. The chapter entitled *Bible* uses the legacy of these late nineteenth and early twentieth century Black American diasporic transnational global returnees in order to transpose a practical five-language Swadesh list, where lexicography precedes cultural and linguistic revitalization techniques Anthropologists on the ground use to resurrect lost folkloric knowledge linked to local languages. *Kongo-Ngola* since migrations of Proto-Bantu speaking peoples parallels with Congo-Angola since 1880 as one of many contested sites, from whence to develop multiple comparative analyses of geolinguistic divisions of indigenous ethnic communities. Thus, the Lunda of Congo, Angola, and Zambia, or the BaKongo of DR Congo, Republic of Congo, and Angola, share similar struggles of various ethnolinguistic groups in Africa and around the world divided by Euro-American geopolitical colonial boundaries. The Portuguese spent four centuries extracting millions of Africans to the Americas from the *Kongo-Ngola* region during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, such that half of the captive Africans taken to the New World arrived in Brazil. Likewise, the Portuguese remained in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Angola, as well as in Indian Goa and Chinese Macau well into the twentieth century. Thus, within the hegemony of the Anglophone world, one must further problematize narratives of African and world histories of forced migrations with Lusofonia in mind.

Analyses in ethnolinguistics prove vital to this study, taking into account lost indigenous scientific knowledge of agriculture related to present-day post-colonial marketing of beer advertisements, followed by the layered political histories of queens and kings who ruled
empires in the region before the colonial era. As I map myself within and outside of this text, with elements of autoethnography, reifying my humanity in the tradition of the Negro slave narratives of two centuries ago, I reflect on the role of literacy and pedagogy for colonial subordination and for liberation, coupled with the purpose of retaining ethno-mathematics for not only computational scientific purposes in local education, but also for the philosophical grounds of existence and being linked to Eulerian paths. In order to ascertain solutions to the problems of the politics of extraction and exploitation since the Portuguese arrived in Ceuta on the Mediterranean coast of northwest Africa in 1415—with use of Moorish technologies in cartography, algebra, geography, and languages—one must understand human inequalities that consistently revisit us. In this dissertation, I allude to French oenology and theories of terroir—cultural geoscientific agronomic and mineral richness of the land—in the face of warfare in Africa, for the benefit of improved technological advancements in the rest of the world. Sadly, cobalt and coltan in our cell phones, replicate patterns and paradigms of global rubber exploitation of a century ago, just as cocoa and sugar cane crippled the backs and caused the deaths of millions of colonized, oppressed, and enslaved people around the globe. However, from the ground up, these lost histories can be revived, and resurrected, with meaning for the present, and displayed in libraries and museums in the global South, and in spaces for marginalized Black subjects and diasporic citizens hoping to liberate the minds of their future descendants. Thus, the role of the museum in the South and the North ends this dissertation with the meaning of the Mwana Pwo (Muana Puo) Chokwe mask, exploring the local and global, the rural and urban, diasporas and intersecting geographies within and outside of Africa, within and beyond epistemological and linguistic boundaries, remaining true to holism and balance.

This triangular metaphor of Beer, Blood, and the Bible explained above concludes with an analysis of education in multiple spaces such that museums and schools teaching Kongo-Ngola native epistemologies in Congo-Angola, the United States, and Europe in deracinated colonial spaces, as well as in reclaimed territories of indigeneity. Perhaps the solution to colonial erasure and epistemicide rests within local universities in Angola, such as Universidade Lueji a Nkonde (ULAN)—named for the ancestress and founder of the Lunda Empire, in a space contested and shared by the Lunda and Chokwe people, devastated by diamond extraction during the Portuguese colonial era by the multinational Diamang corporation, and ravaged by landmines during the civil war from 1978 to 2002. Thus, there is a crisis of terroir. Congolese nationals cross into the Angolan political state, just as five centuries ago, when the Luba prince Tshibinda Ilunga left the kingdom of his father when he arrived at Musuumb, the capital ruled by Lueji a Nkonde. Thus, political genealogy and matters of blood and kinship-chieftaincies and gender equality become crucially important when deciphering global economics of the present-day, especially when valuing indigenous knowledge imbedded within language structure, proverbs, and traditional science, all linked to local and global geosciences and historical human geographies.

This ethno-history of scientific, economic, linguistic, political, religious, musical performance, and educational epistemologies in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Angola employs a rarely known interdisciplinary method known as geolinguistics, while following a metaphor of beer (production), blood (reproduction and power), and the bible
(knowledge), whereby thoroughly covering the four elements of culture. Still, beer reflects science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) as agricultural economics, while blood represents the history of gender and governance, and bible combines literacy, sciences, and religious cosmologies. Overall, however, if blood and flesh rest upon the layers of soil, linguistically and philosophically linked to mathematical Eulerian paths and the performance of the Mwana Pwo mask, the absence of such knowledge and the extraction of mineral and artistic funds of knowledge leave the terroir in a state of liminality, deracinated and uprooted from the geographic landscape. Thus, indigenous names and local epistemologies not only transform through the processes of slavery/colonialism within Africa/the Diaspora. New generations will never learn the depths of consciousness and possibilities of the ancestral land, whereby obscuring ontologies of oneself and one's future within colonial educational superstructures of power and knowledge and infrastructures of production and reproduction.
Everyday folk inspire me. Secretary General Rev. André Cangovi Eurico of Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA), Luis Samacumbi, Gil Lucamba, and the body of one to two million IECA members link the Angola Partnership Team (APT) with the Illinois Conference of the United Church of Christ. I thank Nancy Tucker Reed, Mike Solberg, and everyone in APT. The rector and staff of Universidade Lueji a Nkonde (ULAN) opened their doors in the town of Dundo, offering invaluable books. The Ministers of Culture and Education in Lunda Norte Province, and Her Excellency Cândida Narciso, Governor of Lunda Sul Province offered warm receptions, due to efforts by Pastor Querido. Mvumina Muyenge sent me cloth from DR Congo recognizing the quincentennial of the Lunda empire, which my Malian tailors in Chicago prepared into a regal shirt in 2013. Wearing the Lunda genealogy inspired lessons at Malcolm X College, where I have directed the Africana studies and anthropology programs since 2010, and have been a tenured faculty member since 2014. Colleagues and students humble me to keep it real, while honoring my role as a servant-leader. Blood has a deep meaning with respect to family archives held by my uncle Dennis, documenting our Virginia Melungeo ancestry. Thus, Malanje Province in Angola, where Pastor David directs IECA congregations, is my African terroir natal. Overall, I thank my faith communities and Rev. Dr. Otis Moss III.

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Through the Gates-Cambridge Trust, Bill and Melinda Gates funded my M.Phil degree in anthropology. At University of Cambridge, Perveez Mody, Barbara Bodenhorn, and Martin Walsh instructed and supervised my growth as an anthropologist. Before choosing to reside at St. John’s College, I reflected upon the legacy of fellow Johnians abolitionist William Wilberforce and anthropologist Professor Sir Jack Goody. On Chicago’s South Side and in the South Suburbs, educators named Daniel, Baffield, Walker, Bell, Dinwiddie, and Wessendorf taught with purpose. At Emmanuel Christian School, my autonomous African American elementary educational environment, black and brown children from Englewood and Auburn Gresham learned umoja/unity in our community, where our lives mattered. To my Lingala teachers, “Ngai
natondi bino mingi” Guy Wembo Lombela, Laurent Muzinga, Hilaire Bonkaw, and Theophile Obenga. Carlos Veloso taught me the language of Camões at NYU. Likewise, Luisa Regalado was the best high school French teacher. I would be remiss if I did not mention Regine Joseph, Keithley Woolward, Dianne Stewart, Tracy Orr, and John Nimis, as well as the other board members of the Haitian American Museum of Chicago and Bridge 2 Freedom, where I volunteer with returning citizens leaving the prison industrial complex. As an African American man, I represent less than two-percent of US teachers, a challenge I accept as my civic responsibility. Thus, I hope this work will inspire others around the world, as I have been led and compelled to follow the example of those who came before me to improve the lives of others.
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Introduction

The main anthropological theoretical approaches of this dissertation refer to the complex and scarcely known method of geolinguistics, a polyglot set of mixed multi-sited ethnographic methods.1 While many anthropologists inspired by George Marcus choose to follow the people, follow the thing, follow the allegory, or follow the conflict, this complex study of multiple languages and sites of inquiry will follow the metaphor.2 Economic anthropology constitutes part, but not the whole of this triangular metaphor. The metaphor of beer, blood, and bible connects the French oenological and geospatial concept of terroir alongside historical linguistic approaches to glottochronology and lexicostatistics, which Jan Vansina describes as words and things, and which Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf refer to as linguistic relativity.3 Thus, soil, roots, and language become parts of this study. Considering Freirean pedagogical studies, this work links indigeneity and coloniality with museum studies in sites where I work in the US, Europe, and Africa. Thus, this study activates what Henry Giroux refers to, or characterizes, as the democratic, anti-racist, non-sexist, multiethnic discourse and praxis of learning characterized by border pedagogy and border crossing.4

The theoretical trajectory of this dissertation could venture into geopolitical boundaries of nation-states, enclosed by walls, monitored by police, and organized by systems of tariffs, documents, and bribes should one cross these man-made imaginary lines, invisible from outer space; however, I choose to remain within the terrain and liminality between geolinguistics and African American studies, (and even within the space between African American/Diaspora studies and African studies) with inspiration from bell hooks.5 Of particular interest, hooks moves into a series of linguistic, feminist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist paradigm shifts when she references Adrienne Rich, Gloria Anzaldua, and June Jordan on questions of the languages of oppression, with particular reference to Standard English versus Spanish or African American Vernacular English (AAVE), while dissecting self-examination in the classroom engaged in pedagogies of liberation and not of oppression.

This dissertation provides basically no mention or analysis of AAVE, focusing instead on colonial languages centering Congolese Lingala, Angolan Umbundu, French, and Portuguese. Endogenous and colonial power embody processes of meaning-making essential to this work. In terms of theory of the post-modern globalized world, Zygmunt Bauman conceptualized liquid modernity versus solid modernity, such that assumed freedoms of market consumerism place societies in empty uncertain existence.\footnote{Zygmunt Bauman (2000). \textit{Liquid Modernity}. Cambridge: Polity Press.} We must decode and decipher deracinated geolinguistic analytical praxis. While no two researchers view the world in exactly the same way, neither can two social or natural scientists study their fieldsite identically, given consideration for reflexivity. Thus, I cannot expect this alliterative title to make sense at first glance.

Before my two-year stay in Congo (2006-08), the title \textit{Beer, Blood, and the Bible} began to materialize; however, multiple events prior and since contribute to the framing and application within this work, such that autoethnography allows this dissertation to use anthropology to produce solid concrete examinations of religion, connecting cosmologies, political organizations, economies of various scales, and the overarching dynamics of gender and kinship, such that African, African American, and African diaspora studies become more clear and distinct within traditions of Black studies and Africana studies. By examining colonialism as a factor in erasing indigenous science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics (STEAM), the economics of beer advertisements mirror the loss of ethno-historical political knowledge of the soil, and the imposition of foreign languages as tools of education in Congo-Angola, which Boaventura de Sousa Santos sees as epistemicide from North upon South.\footnote{Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) \textit{Epistemologies of the South: justice against epistemicide}. New York: Routledge.}

While cultural imperialism erases indigenous epistemologies, one cannot assume that complete replacements of indigenous worldviews eliminated all aspects of local knowledge. Instead, a syncretism and blending of local and global elements occurred, such that praxis—\textit{in situ}—will manifest different forms within new multilayered transformed spaces and ontologies. One can consider Black American missionaries in Congo-Angola constituting a unique space, possibly as united sisters and brothers with Africans or as colonial agents. Linguistic relativity provides an extremely unique set of tools for gathering bodies of knowledge that produce positive possibilities for the future. European and African American missionaries in Congo and Angola may appear problematic to some. Of course, medieval crusades, Iberian conquistadores of the sixteenth century, and anticolonial abolitionist African American and Canadian Congregationalist missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries do not represent the same temporal political or social ideologies and agendas, just as they do not occupy the same space and time.

This dissertation never assumes nor suggests that missionaries brought \textit{God} consciousness to Africa. The Swadesh lists in Chapter Four provides various names of indigenous beer, kinship terms, and the Creator, using lexicography to explain culture. One must note that some Protestant missionaries preserved indigenous languages in Congo-Angola, where government forces...
outlawed mother tongue (MT) languages of instruction (LoI) while recognizing Catholic missions as the only legitimate state educational system, both in Portuguese Angola and French-speaking Belgian Congo. Knowing this, I have used French and Portuguese as tools with which to enter African indigenous cultural space. When this title and concept began to form as early as 2000 and with more certaintly by 2005, I saw Euro-American religious traditions as systems of domination and psychological abuse, leaning heavily on rigorous readings of Fanonian psychoanalytical portrayals of the colonial gaze, coupled with case studies of the Algerian mental institution in Blida crippling native daughters and sons.

As early as the age of three, I questioned how Africans and diasporans benefited or suffered from intersecting ideologies of patriarchy, capitalism, and whiteness linked to religions tied to European Christianities of Latin-based literacies of Roman Catholicism and read through the Medieval English of the King James Bible. In high school and college, I further inquired the central role of Arabic within Islam, Hebrew for Judaism, or even Sanskrit for Buddhism. Living in New York City, Paris, and the Amazon from 2000 to 2004, I found even deeper layers of reality governing human social superstructures. In Paris, France and Parintins, Amazonas, Brazil, I witnessed the interplay of Moorish Muslim and Jewish pasts within Catholic, indigenous, US African American re-Africanized Pentecostalism expatriated amongst Kongo and Tupi Amerindian epistemologies. This requires another book of work beyond this present text; however, these experiences in language and religion inform this dissertation. Thus, I have always seen language and religion as interconnected systems of power and knowledge, governance, and meaning-making with respect to gender, social (dis)order, and economics. Written accounts of one’s experiences now or thousands of years ago become key to understanding societies throughout space and time.

What is Africa to Me?

Thinking back to my earliest memories of Africa and to Congo-Angola, these magical places in Central Africa came to life when I was given a bank around the age of three. Instead of pig, the bank I filled with pennies, nickels, dimes, and quarters appeared in the shape of a globe, complete with capital cities, rivers, and bodies of water. My great-grandmother Helen gave me that world bank. As I deposited coins into the North Pole or withdrew some out of the South Pole, I recall one day looking a bit harder at places in Central Africa beginning with the letter Z: Zanzibar, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, and of course the Zambezi River. The seed was planted early for the border crossing described within this dissertation. Each summer, our annual family reunions in Southern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky began with a night of stories of one branch of my family who lived in Underground Railroad towns as freed people of Color in the antebellum borderlands near the Ohio River. Some relatives had to pay bonds if entering Illinois as formerly enslaved people, while others, especially our Levi family line, could pass freely into Illinois with documents showing their status as being born free people of Color before fleeing racism in Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Florida, and elsewhere. 8 Reading their names and the

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prices they paid to enter the state makes *Pope County, Illinois Forgotten Records* an invaluable family archive, which does not compare to the mountain of documents my uncle Dennis has compile and inherited from various branches of our families over the years.

For our family leaving Florida, I must thank my first-cousin four times removed, Terry Franklin, a Harvard-trained trust and estates attorney, who acquired the original freedom papers, will, and trial documents, which freed our enslaved mixed-raced ancestress Lucinda Sutton, after the death of her husband/master John Sutton, in Duval County, present-day Jacksonville. From what we can tell, Grandma Lucy called the lawyer, wrote or drafted the will that freed her and her 8 children, and had John Sutton sign his X to free what one could now call his common-law mixed-race wife and their eight children. My ancestor Easter, being the oldest, already had six children with a Polish-American man living on their homestead, giving birth to their seventh child, John Newbern, Jr. when they arrived in Illinois in 1846, where the Melungeon Goins and Mendley families, and the Levi-Hill families would join the Crims and Sumners, and so many other clans. It becomes so interesting to me to look at these marriage, birth, and death certificates that my uncle inherited and gathers, where declaring the races and colors of one’s parents in the free state of Illinois, prevented further miscegenation, and created communities bound by blackness. I imagine the family of my great-grandmother Helen in Terre Haute experienced similar prescribed limitations written before her birth as Negro in Indiana.

Holding the Sutton family’s Florida freedom papers in my hand at the California home of my Chicago-born cousin Terry made the necessary task of mapping myself and writing the history of my ancestors an even more real experience beyond ethnolinguistic, geolinguistic praxis and autoethnography as merely exercise. Of course, this shall become the task for a further research project. While my cousin writes about our legacy from the stance of love and law, through the processes of probate and property disputes, it became even more pressing for me to reassemble the archives and the severed appendages of my ancestral bodies of knowledge, such that Euro-American epistemologies would not define the cultural ontologies and actions of meaning making that produce my quotidian experiences with my students, or within the field in urban and rural Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, or Latin America. Instead, such interactions of intersecting geographies and ethno-histories humanize my Blackness, my being, and my –ntu, as they revive the existence of my ancestors as more than property and marginalized credits and balances within the masters account books.

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With time, the Melungeon branch within that segment of our family began to intrigue me, as I
drew connections to their arrival in colonial Virginia in the 1600s from Malanje Province in
Angola, having mixed-race origins as Sephardic Jews expelled from Portugal and those taken
from Kongo-Ngola. Tracing the lineage of the grandmother of the grandmother of my
grandmother, with records my Uncle Dennis had readily available in his archives, I later joined
the Melungeon Heritage Association (MHA), and attended their Union. In 2018, I remain
connected to MHA.\(^\text{10}\) Linda Heywood and John Thornton refer to the seventeenth century as the
“Angolan wave”\(^\text{11}\) where Portuguese slavers exported disproportionately high numbers of people
from the ports of Benguela and Luanda who would have arrived in the Americas via Dutch ships,
in places such as New Amsterdam (New York) and Jamestown, Virginia in the 1600s. Heywood
and Thornton mention the Melungeons of Virginia when describing the freed African Americans
of early colonial Virginia, including one John Johnson, and his 44 acres of land.\(^\text{12}\)

In the case of my traceable Malanje-Angolan Melungeon Virginian lineage through the Goins
(Gowens) surname of ancestors, the significance of the 1662 House of Burgess law of \textit{partus sequitur ventrem} would have an impact on my family to the present-day.\(^\text{13}\) The Virginia
Historical Society provided me documents concerning “John Gowens the Angolan.” The paper
trails between my Goins Melungeon ancestors of Appalachia and the Angolan province of
Malanje give a deeper level of meaning to the Underground Railroad towns in Illinois, Indiana,
and Ohio where we held family reunions each summer since the end World War II. Certainly, I
realize my real connections with the Melungeons Heritage Association of Virginia, Kentucky,
and Tennessee, as well as my time on the ground in Malanje, Angola remain highly rare for
African Americans. Thus, I cannot conceptualize diaspora through certain discourse and outside
of particular ethno-historic, linguistic, and anthropological realities of past and present. My goal
ultimately shifts towards actualizing change, and looking to impact daily life and subsistence,
especially knowing, since childhood, that there was something special about Kongo-Ngola.

\(^{10}\) http://melungeon.org
\(^{11}\) David Wheat (2011). “The first great waves: African provenance zones for the transatlantic slave trade to
\(^{13}\) \textit{Partus sequitur ventrem} literally means “that which comes forth from the stomach, belly, or womb.” This law,
passed by the Virginia House of Burgess in 1662 allowed white men to rape black women, whereby the child born
to women in the English colonies and later the United States, would follow the legal status of enslaved or free,
according to the status of the mother, regardless of the status or race of the father. This law defies English patrilineal
descent and inheritance, and favored ancient Roman law pertaining to enslaved women, establishing matrilineal
descent upon future generations of African Americans. See Katie Geneva Cannon (2004). “Slave ideology and
biblical interpretation” in eds. Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley & Claudine Michel. \textit{The Black Studies Reader}.
University Press, p. 62.
In considering that which comes forth from the womb of the mother—before *partus sequitur ventrem*, but going back to mother Africa—the metaphors of this dissertation come back together. Agronomics, beer, and technology; menstruation, childbirth, and five centuries of governance since Queen Mulunda; and the creation of the three campuses of Universidade Lueji a Nkonde in honor of Queen Mulunda all intersect extractions of the body of Africa, repairs to the land and its people, much like the French neo-soul sisters Les Nubians championed in the 1990s and 2000s, and as noted in the Introduction to this dissertation. This geolinguistic endogenous Africanity takes root in the soil, from the grassroots, in post-war/post-conflict rural and urban development in present-day Angola, and can be applied as a model elsewhere, such as Hampton Roads region of Virginia not far from Jamestown. For the three sites of Universidade Lueji a Nkonde in Malanje City (Malanje Province), Saurimo (Lunda Sul Province), and Dundo (Lunda Norte Province), there is a focus on indigenous and modern medicine in Malanje; electrical engineering, business, and social sciences take root in Saurimo; and teacher training in pedagogy, linguistics, and anthropology serve the community in Dundo. My visits to these three cities after years of investigation led me to conclude that endogenous linguistic and cultural revitalization education remain essential to the work of African anthropology. Thus, I am trying to reassemble the broken pieces of Africa and the African Diaspora, with actors on the ground.

Of particular significance, I should note that Congo became a real place for me as a child with film and chocolate. First, growing up, I was not allowed to eat *Nestle* chocolates or any products made by the multi-national conglomerate due to the controversial advertising of baby formula in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where babies consumed diluted formula with contaminated water. Due to aggressive marketing campaigns, countless (estimated in the millions) babies in developing countries died in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of misinformation and a push to sell unnecessary Western baby formula. Perhaps, this childhood memory of chocolate from the soil of Africa, and the relationship to infanticide and malnutrition during the unrelated but globally linked era of South African apartheid caused me to look towards Africa with a similar pensive nature. Countee pondered if Africa might be “a book one thumbs listlessly, till slumber comes.” One might wonder if Africa simply becomes the perception of a place conceived out of European consciousness, which removes an enormous amount of agency out of the hands of African people who have built civilizations. Thus, the full nature of this project embodies an re-assemblage of the pieces of the body of Africa, under the metaphor of beer, blood, and the Bible, such that the partitioned body of the Lunda Empire into Portuguese Angola, Belgian Congo, and British Northern Rhodesia constitutes micro-level comparison of the greater body of Africa and the diaspora having been dissected and scattered simultaneously within a continent and around the globe. Reassembling bodies of knowledge does not happen in one day or one century, if the dismantling of African began with Portuguese advancements into Africa in the fifteenth century.

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Still, I must note the power of literature and film, particularly *The Color Purple* written by Alice Walker as a 1983 Pulitzer Prize winning novel and directed as a film in 1985 by Steven Spielberg. Like many African Americans, this film/book combines within a limited canon of core films through which one sees oneself. *Roots* and *Coming to America* also come to mind, projecting origin stories, lost myths, and idealized perceptions of the continent of Babar the Elephant and Tintin. *The Color Purple* as a film becomes the ‘original’ version most African Americans recognize instead of the book, which reifies the power of Hollywood. At 13 years old, I decided to read the book, which had vast differences from the film. Both versions portray violence against women that I had never witnessed in my universe of knowledge, coupled with a monolith ‘Africa’ that I knew to be unreal. Looking back, many Black Americans watched *The Color Purple* largely because the film featured Black actors. The misogynist undertones and negative stereotypes of Black women, men, and families complicates the telling of truths to liberate the marginalized, within the boundaries of historical accuracies and fiction. Allusions to scenes, dialogue, and themes from Spielberg’s *The Color Purple* have appeared in movies by Tyler Perry and other forms of media featuring African Americans. Trudier Harris (1984) provided early critique of Alice Walker’s historical novel before Spielberg’s film was released. As a professor of African American literature, Harris notes the reactions her white female students and peers conveyed seeing the text as authentic to black life, while others assumed a white man wrote the novel due to the violent stereotypes of African American men.\(^\text{17}\)

Without going deeply into the film or text, this epistolary novel centers round a young African American woman named Celie, who is sexually abused by her stepfather around the turn of the twentieth century in the US South. Rape produces two children, Adam and Olivia, who find homes with a missionary couple named Corrine and Samuel. After Celie is sold off to marriage by stepfather to her husband Mr.____, her sister Nettie joins Celie in her new marital home before fleeing the forced advances of her brother-in-law to accompany the missionary family on a decades long-trip to Africa, where she becomes the caregiver to her biological niece and nephew, who Corrine and Samuel adopted. In Africa, they live among the fictional Olinka ‘tribe.’\(^\text{18}\) In the homecoming scene at the end of the film, Adam and Olivia have lived in Africa for so long that they speak Congolese Lingala fluently. Watching this film in my youth, children on my South Side Chicago block laughed when they heard the actors speak, where as I wanted to know what they were really saying. Ironically, before years of Lingala studies, I did not connect *The Color Purple* with the language until I found myself living in Kinshasa.

After reading all of the books I brought with me sitting on my bookshelf, I decided to watch one of a handful of DVDs I carried in my luggage to Congo. Surprised, I realized the deeper purpose in my life journey throughout the film, especially at the end. Without the respect for Africa

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\(^{\text{18}}\) Note that I will never use the word tribe again in this dissertation, preferring proper nomenclature, ethnic group.
developed from economic boycotts at home, and reinforced in pride fostered in my self-affirming progressive Black education at Emmanuel Christian School, I could not laugh at the sound of Africans speaking Lingala as a child growing up in Auburn Gresham. Perhaps, the public-school denigration my playmates endured on the block by white teachers produced self-erasure, and rejection of Africa, with Black history void from the curriculum. During my summer leave from Congo in 2007, I stopped in New York City to see _The Color Purple_ on Broadway, with purpose and conviction, coming home from Africa much like the characters at the end of the film. African American women and men wore their Sunday best to the musical, and I wore my most Congolese suit designed by my Senegalese tailor in Kinshasa. Sadly, audience members in New York City produced a slight chuckle during the homecoming scene, where they might have expected to see African mumbo jumbo talk, but witnessed a dance interpretation of “Africa.” From their reactions to Celie and Mister (Albert), having reconciled near the end of the play, and talking about their shared love and sexual relationships with Shug Avery, one could also conclude that the largely African American audience members in New York City had not read the novel. Thinking back to reading the book and watching the film, I recall very general stereotypes of Africa, such that one can never identify if the African scenes occur in a West African tropical forest, or in a dry savannah grassland. Thus, my pre-departure Africa becomes informed by this movie/book, as well as books on William Henry Sheppard, outside of extensive readings on African political history and economics. My return from Congo in the middle of my two-year stay became reconfigured by the musical _The Color Purple_ produced by Oprah Winfrey and Quincy Jones. As a child, I did not connect the misogyny within the film with real Black people, but instead, I felt the violence in the film became a metaphor for racist power in the Jim Crow South and colonial Africa.

In the novel, the use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) made me concerned with learning a real African language at some point in my future in order to be complete as an African American. Curiously, reading and watching _The Color Purple_ made me less interested in ever going to Africa, as it seemed easy to stereotype the continent, which Trudier Harris expressed in her criticisms. French language became an instrument that revealed Africa and the diaspora to me in ways that African American and non-Black English language writers, Hollywood films, and music in English could never convey. I wanted to learn about Africa of my present-day reality. All the same, given my known Middle Passage family links to Kongo-Ngola, and the ease with which French and Haitian Creole came to me, it seemed only natural, as I grew older, to learn languages from the region that could allow me to work towards peace and consensus building in Africa. In my last year of high school and first year of college, I gained more clarity as to my origins among the Mbundu people of present-day Malanje, but the differences between Kimbundu (language of the Ambundu) and Umbundu (language of the Ovimbundu) confused me. Furthermore, I needed to dissect issues related to political science, economics, and history impacting both sides of the Angolan Civil War, the history of the Congo River basin, and the Portuguese position in Africa from 1415 to 1975. Today, I have a clear grasp of Mbundu versus Ovimbundu; however, to arrive at this understanding as a deeply rooted US African American, geolinguistics became my tool towards unlocking global studies within and beyond Central Africa.
Today, I have a keen eye for cultural authenticity. As such, since 2010, I teach my college-level students how to greet me in Lingala. At times, I ask them to refer to the last scene from Spielberg’s film, complete with the uniquely Ghanaian, Tanzanian, and Congolese style clothing worn by the characters in the final reunion scene, which takes place on Celie’s farm circa 1945, or immediate post-World War II era. In this final scene from The Color Purple Nettie returns from Africa with her niece Olivia, her nephew Adam, his wife Tashi, and Nettie’s husband, Rev. Samuel, as Corrine has died. In the film, Celie’s abusive ex-husband Mr. (Albert), secretly makes provisions for the family reunion, as his redemption for past abuses against her person, and for hiding the letters Nettie mailed from Africa. These letters become the novel, and the progression of letters between Celie and Nettie reflect the emancipation Celie feels from the confines of patriarchy. On the level of linguistic analysis in the film; however, the lines are mistranslated. Perhaps, there were not lines written, and the actors simply searched for the words as Spirit directed them. In this light, culture and language intersect such that respect for the linguistic traditions and meaning making systems of a cultural group come hand in hand. When showing this movie to friends in Kinshasa, they cried. One acquaintance borrowed the DVD, and it disappeared somewhere in Congo. Thus, reconnecting to African epistemologies and linguistic legacies and traditions become a critical part of building holistic futures. In the film, the following dialogue takes place:

Nettie: Celie, this is your son, Adam.


Mama, Mama how? How are you? Mama, this is really you? Mama, how are you?

Nettie: He says ‘Welcome.’ He says ‘Greetings.’ He says, ‘This is the day of his dreams.’

Inaccurate translation by Nettie.

Nettie: This is Olivia.


Mama. I am your child, Mama. My mother. I’m your child, mama.

Nettie: Adam has a wife, Tashi.

Tashi: Habari, Mama? (Kiswahili—How are you, Mama?)21

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19 A more literal word to word translation would be Mama. Mama how much? How much, news how much? Boni describes a measureable quantity, while sango (nsango) actually means “news” or latest events. One could ask, “Nsango nini?” or “What is new/s?” Both are acceptable greetings after one has typically started with Mbote, such as in the Werrason 2008 Primus beer advertisement mentioned in Chapter Three, where the group sings “Pesa baninga mbote!” (Give to friends greetings!). Perhaps, Adam is so overcome with joy at seeing his African American mother for the first time, that he wants to quantify and measure the lost time, such that Lingala allows one to calculate missed time in this expression of greetings. Perhaps, actual dialogue was not written for this scene, and the actors simply improvised, especially given the inaccurate translations from the character Nettie.

20 Like the previous lines delivered by Adam, I have witnessed Olivia’s words mocked by African Americans.

21 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRSl4RaEiM
What then can one say about the relationship of African Americans in Africa during the era of Jim Crow segregation, as an extremely limited number of people would have had the opportunity to return home to the land of their ancestors? When I showed the film The Color Purple to Congolese friends at my home in Kinshasa, they always cried, and came to understand our bonds of dispersal and hopes for unity. One may anticipate new twenty-first century ties of Africanity with the recent release of Black Panther, although it may be too early to tell. As explained in Chapter One, the Bantu Nguni language IsiXhosa, as spoken in the Afro-futurism science fiction Marvel Comics film in 2018 presents possibilities for imagining cultural and linguistic relativity for young people who may become language learners, such that the greater philosophies of kinship, responsibility to heritage and preservation of culture for future generations through cooperative struggle, as opposed to divisions and warfare, can produce bright new future for Black folks here and there battling poverty, oppression, and discrimination. Rarely can one ever go to the exact spot, village, town, or even general ethnolinguistic region where pre-colonial ancestors might have been forced to leave generations earlier. All the same, this dissertation will move away from historical fiction into historical fact, with a conscious effort to address scientific and educational advancements and deterrents as a result of the connections between Africans in the Kongo-Ngola region and US African Americans at a moment marked by the end of Reconstruction (paralleling the beginning of European imperialism in Africa) and the rise of the US Civil Rights Movement (shadowing the fight for independence across Africa).

From the Diaspora to Africa

In 2003, Lynne Duke published Mandela, Mobutu, and Me: A Newswoman’s African Journey. Reading this memoir in 2005 prepared me for the journey I was soon to take, similar to William Henry Sheppard leaving Virginia for Congo in the late nineteenth century. Duke describes her time living in South Africa as apartheid came to an end, and in the days of Mandela’s presidency. Furthermore, Duke witnesses Mandela negotiate the peace accords that lead Mobutu to flee Zaire so that Laurent Kabila can come to power in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Duke’s memoir recounts her days in Africa while I contemporaneously went through adolescence in Illinois. In eighth grade, I chose to read The Souls of Black Folk for the first time, inspired by the interplay of music and multisited ethnography conducted by the Berlin-educated sociologist from Massachusetts documenting the realities of human beings who mattered against the Hegelian myth of Africans living and dying without souls, spirit, or contributions to human histories. After multiple readings, the scholarship of W.E.B. DuBois moved me to consider Africana studies and the disciplines of sociology and anthropology linking music with daily trials of Black life. Twenty-first century scholarship in Africana studies must always refer to the past in order to move forward into the future.

In analyzing the repeated themes and paradigms of oppression within Africa and the diaspora, one must imagine new possibilities despite silences hidden within the archives. In Demonic grounds: black women and the cartographies of struggle, Katherine McKittrick (2006) provides new ways of imagining erosions upon the human landscape as Canada hoped to efface the memory of Marie-Josèphe Angélique, the Portuguese-born enslaved woman of Kongo-Ngola
origins who may have set Montreal ablaze in 1734. Elsewhere, McKittrick writes about the
dismemberment of limbs at the center of destroying bodies of knowledge and human corporal
integrity in the destructively violent processes of slavery. Reading the text reminds me of the
Musée du Pantheon National in Port-au-Prince, where the names of revolutionaries include
“Coupée Bras” and “Coupée Jambe” noting the severed limbs that became the honored and
heroic surnames of those choosing freedom over slavery. In Summer 2013, I charted the
Congolese transnational diaspora in Montreal, as I had done in Belgium and France from 2002 to
2006. In Canada, I passed through multilayered, multilingual spatial-temporal realities associated
with Marie-Josèphe Angélique, paying homage at sites commemorating her stories of state
sanctioned torture in Canada as an enslaved African woman. Of course, in the United States, one
imagines our neighbors to the North as always being free of slavery, despite the historical record.

During this short research trip in July 2013, I traveled by bus from Chicago, through Detroit,
before crossing into Canada via Windsor, where trains took me to Toronto before arriving in
Montreal. Returning on this journey, US customs questioned me when reentering Detroit, asking
me how and why I chose to be an anthropologist researching Congolese and Angolan migrants in
Montreal during my summer vacation. This was far from the first and never the last time, as a
Black man, that I have had to explain my movements. Often, customs agents bombard me with
probing interrogations as a black body passing through privileged space. For half of my life, I
have learned to cross into borders where numerous generations of my African American family
have lived in a homeland where threats of violence permeate daily life from state and non-state
entities. All the same, I must always dress correctly, speak _properly_, and affirm my right to move
freely, where I am often silenced and restricted despite my efforts to improve the conditions of
others, often thinking of myself last within this unique path.

The results of that study in Canada became part of a panel of Africanists at the American
Anthropological Association, for which I thank fellow Congo-expert Yolanda Covington-Ward
for convening us in Chicago that year. Before arriving in Montreal with ten days to work, I
contacted networks of Congolese friends around the world, local artists in Canada, restaurants,
Congolese groceries, labor unions, and the global headquarters of a diaspora website, Congo
Mikili. At the time, I had abandoned interest in writing _Beer, Blood, and the Bible_, despite being
asked to join the AAA panel of Africanists researching transnational networks facing present-day
migrant communities. Consistently, however, I found solid links between Congolese and
Angolan diasporans in Montreal, with church life being central to kinship and political
associations, where Haitians could also enter the space of _Kongo-Ngola_. In Brussels and Paris
from 2002 to 2006, and on the ground in Congo from 2006 to 2008, I found a supra-ethnic
regional unity reflecting layers clans superimposed upon landscapes of historiographies in
Congo-Angola.

Returning to Montreal in July and August 2013, my integration within Angolan, Congolese, and
even Haitian diasporic communities as a speaker of Lingala, French, Haitian Kreyol, and
Portuguese eliminates linguistic barriers. Thus, I recall a Congolese-Canadian around my age,
who demanded that I should be proud to be a _mwana-kin_ (child of Kinshasa, or Congolese
citizen) among many other Congolese (bana-kin, or bana-mboka, meaning children of Kinshasa, the village, or the homeland). This stranger in the subway in Montreal grew angered by my affirmation of describing myself as mwana Améliki (child of America), and as US African American for at least three centuries (Afro-Américain depuis trois siècles), who chose to eat mpondu and ntaba.\(^{22}\) I remain honest about my origins when questioned in African and diasporic spaces in order to assert my authenticity as a researcher. However, how could I speak Lingala and French, and carry a fresh meal of cassava leaves with fish (mpondu), but claim to be American, unless I possessed some form of hatred and denial for my Congolese origins? Of course, when walking down the street of Kinshasa and traveling through Africa, I rarely stood out as foreign or other. Francophone and Lusophone communities of African descent rarely deny me entry into their social communities given my deep respect and familiarity with indigenous and complex post-colonial customs. Since I was a teenager, much to my chagrin, friends born in Africa and the Caribbean have told me that African Americans treat them poorly in the United States. I consider my mother, who made sacrifices leaving a corporate career to work for the Cook County Hospitals Health System. My mother bonded with her now deceased friend Chinwé, a proud Igbo woman from Nigeria. Chinwé and my African American mother, Doris Ann, became sister-scientists, as pharmacists, mothers, and Black women of faith.

Spending my middle school and high school years in suburbia, I did not understand jokes African Americans made about Africa, the Caribbean, and African people. I was the kid with friends from Poland, Pakistan, and Park Forest, who were Black, white, and other colors of the rainbow. When African American classmates insulted our peers who were different, I tried to stand up against these remarks. Sadly, internalized institutional racism had taught patterns of self-hatred. For myself, I navigated above it all, working towards greater global unity. Moving between cultural spaces and crossing borders, I assert myself with a global Black identity, but refuse to detach myself from my familial roots in the United States since before the Civil War as the descendant of enslaved and freed African Americans who established autonomous Black towns on both my maternal and paternal sides, confirmed through oral traditions and legal documents. Thus, I often find non-African American communities welcome me with open arms as a son of Angola, Brazil, Congo, Haiti, or in the Black world. This allows me to link worlds beyond concepts of color, class, colonial epistemologies, or colloquial languages.

In middle school and high school, I first read, of what would be numerous times, the series of Maya Angelou’s autobiographies, remaining most captivated by the liberated caged bird who wrote *All God’s Children Need Traveling Shoes*. When Dr. Angelou finds herself in Ghana the night of DuBois’ death, on the eve of the March on Washington in 1963, her protest among a group of African American expatriates in front of the US Embassy in Accra reveals her pride in Africa, but her understanding that the bodies of her grandparents and great-great grandparents rest in the soil of the United States, making her quintessentially Black American. As a result, Angelou knows that she can go back and forth to Africa and travel the world; yet, she never wants the American flag to touch the soil as two marines, one African American and one white American, raised the standard at dawn. One could say that legacies of slavery and shared

\(^{22}\) Mpondu is a dish prepared with cassava or manioc leaves, that are rolled, pressed, and cut, usually cooked like a stew with palm oil and fish. Meanwhile, ntaba consists of goat meat, typically grilled.
ancestry with Native Americans make African Americans truly part of the terroir grounded in the American experience at every moment, with roots around the world. This is a complicated reality for what I call “1865 African Americans” who are tied to the soil by centuries of violence and triumph, as the descendants of the master builders of this nation, upon which foundations of progress, possibility, and potentials of unimaginable loss and setback can never be calculated, as we repair and reimagine for the future. Thus, we battle within ourselves, trying to figure out where we are at home: Africa or the diaspora?

In All God’s Children Need Traveling Shoes, months after the March on Washington and the death of DuBois, Malcolm X comes to Ghana. At this point, Maya strikes up a friendship with the transforming, global, and now Sunni follower of Islam, El Hajj Malik Shabazz who identifies as a Black Muslim. Since 2010, I have been teaching some portion or excerpt of this memoir in my Africana studies classes, at the only college in the world named for Malcolm X. However, as research by Erik McDuffie (2016) reveals on Louise Little, the mixed-race Caribbean born mother of Malcolm, raised by her Yoruba grandfather on the island of Grenada, shows that given her time in Montreal where she and Malcolm’s father, Earl, begin their family, one wonders what would the world be if Malcolm X had been born in Canada and not in Nebraska. Louise Little suffered a great deal, including being locked away in a mental institution. However, anti-black and sexist violence against her personhood hoped to negate and erase Louise, who knew her story, and who understood the power of transnational diasporic citizenship; yet she Louise would be confounded by the boundaries of Negro American womanhood of the era. These routes root Malcolm along a unique path that eventually produce Omowalé, the Yoruba son who has come home, as Rita Kiki Edozie (2015) notes in Malcolm X’s Michigan Worldview: An Exemplar for Contemporary Black Studies.

Alain Mabanckou’s preface to Une colère noire: lettre à mon fils (the French translation to Ta-Nehisi Coates’ Between the world and me) reminds me of numerous conversations I have had with Congolese friends in Africa, Europe, and North America. The Congolese novelist writes a letter to his brother from America, beginning with “Cher Ta-Nehisi Coates” (Dear Ta-Nehisi Coates). Noting that we are similar by the color of our skin, yet distanced from one another by History, Mabanckou notes “vous devriez lutter pour être considéré comme un être humain” (you must battle to be considered a human being). Mabanckou writes to Coates about the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and rebellions that rendered some individuals with “sa jambe coupée, la corde et le regard méprisant des maîtres blancs qui le traitaient comme un animal sauvage” (one’s arm cut, the whip and the mean gaze of the white masters who treated one like a wild animal). All the same, Mabanckou provides a genealogy of Negritude writers; a recognition of the Makoko, Loango, and the heroes and heroines of Africa such as Shaka of the Zulu, Kimpa Vita, and Samory Toure; alongside a list of Harlem Renaissance/New Negro cultural figures in politics, literature, and music.

Writing to his American brother as “un Noir de France” (a Black of France), the Congolese writer reflects upon the 2008 election of Barack Obama, noting how certain African [a]mericans disapproved of a mixed-race person without a “passé d’esclave” which could authenticate his
presence in the “community” as the mark of a “true African-American” rising to power. I found the use of capital and lower-case A within the same sentence quite telling of Mabanckou’s analysis of what it means to be idealistically African in America, or dualistically African American in one single existence and being. Meanwhile, white American conservatives question the “américanité” (Americanness) of a charismatic figure born, or not born, in Honolulu. Returning to the source, Mabanckou references James Baldwin’s original letter to his nephew, describing the writer as “le plus grand théoricien des droits civiques aux Etats-Unis” (the greatest theorist of civil rights in the United States). Mabanckou wrote Lettre à Jimmy in 2007 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Baldwin’s passage into the land of the ancestors from his adopted home in France where he first arrived in 1948 escaping anti-black and anti-queer discrimination.

Interestingly, Black anger: letter to my son, provides the French reader a different point of departure and port of entry when reading the translation of Between the world and me; yet, one understands that unlike within Anglophone US centric African American hegemonic constructed views of the Black world, Black French people know the history of their Black kinfolk in the Americans, whereas the same cannot be true of Americans, especially of African descent. One should note that I do not blame African Americans. For we cannot expect much else in a world where histories of domination become common place in colonial schools in the United States, which have excluded multicultural realities of diverse genders, ethnicities, and economic levels from the metanarrative of Euro-American patriarchal capitalist expansion. Translation ultimately includes the translator and a continuum of bicultural multilingual epistemologies embedded within the etymology of each word, which must connect shared experiences and mutually equivalent words and ontological experiences. Being and existing in separate space and time, within our more globalized world, Mabanckou describes a series of African experiences within the so-called Francophone colonial set of worldviews on both sides of the veil to the monolingual Coates, who describes his own limited experiences in France of liberation but plagued by the (Black) American colonial limitations of mistrust and fear.

For Coates’ wife, France becomes a place of freedom within an African American bourgeois set of possibilities and middle-class achievements. For myself, years of studies in Europe served as a point of acquiring funds of knowledge about the world, focused on Africa and its diasporas, within geographic positions of multilingual and multiethnic Blackness, where I exist within multilayered identity formations immersed within both elite spaces and marginalized terrains of the masses. As an Africanist and an anthropologist by training, this places me in a particular position, as an African American, four centuries removed from the continent. Thus, one must remember, the analyses in this dissertation occupy terrain and space between African American, African Diaspora studies, and African studies, leaning on linguistic and socio-cultural anthropology and ethno-history as the methodological and theoretical approach of geolinguistics.

Alain Mabanckou writes to Ta-Nehisi Coates, asserting “J’ai toujours utilisé les deux armes qui sont en ma possession, et ce sont elles qui nous unissent, pas notre couleur de peau: la création et la liberté de penser” (I always use two weapons within my possession, which unite us, not the
color of our skin: creation and the freedom of thought). Mabanckou notes that the racist can neither create nor freely think, because the racist is too consumed with destroying. Mabanckou notes that *Between the world and me* has become a book that establishes an invitation to dialogue, recognizing what he says Derek Walcott called, (translated from English to French) “la culture de la courtoisie et de l’échange” (the culture of the courtesy of exchange). Hate will get us nowhere when we cannot have dialogue; however, even when speaking the same “language,” so much gets lost in translation due to the epistemological paradigms to which one may be espoused, enslaved, or indentured. One must see the world from above, on the ground, and several layers below the surface, within a scalar model of multiplicities, in order to produce a sense of holism, where analysis considers the parts and the whole. In conversations I have with Congolese friends, even about Mabanckou’s Preface, I understand that such exchanges of equal discourse become most privileged conversations. Thus, when I find myself engaged in dialogue with the Congolese Community of Chicago, or working on development issues in Angola, the weight of conversation moves beyond the surface towards application in the space of mutual respect. Many people born and raised in Chicago, descended from 1865 African Americans, would not be able to name their sixteen great-great-grandparents all born in the United States, neither would most of us be able to declare the region of Malanje in Angola where their Virginia Melungeon ancestor would have been born before slavery in the English colonies. This all places a heavy burden of responsibility upon me, with a unique lens and set of perspectives with which to see multiple worlds, and to speak and translate truths. This can be most dangerous.

In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986) writes about a friend from the colonial school he attended who had high marks in science and math, but not in English. Ngugi (then James) scored among the highest in English, but barely passed other subjects. Due to English, he entered the Alliance High School among the elites of colonial Kenya, but his friend who passed STEM courses with distinction ended up working at a bus station. The British colonial educational system in Kenya ultimately valued local language and knowledge to the least degree, wishing to reproduce English culture in Africa. In my eighth-grade suburban honors algebra class, our teacher told Black students that we would end up selling fast food, and should learn to say, “Would you like fries with that?” Looking back, I became the first African American valedictorian of my suburban middle school out of just under 300 eighth graders, in a school of under 1,000 students. I imagine the teachers did not know what to do with me. Unlike Emmanuel Christian—my autonomous Black private school serving the Auburn-Gresham and Englewood neighbors in Chicago—in suburbia I found myself in a community where only the music and computer teachers were Black, with the exception of the one African American man in the building, who substituted physical education classes. I do not remember a single Black male role model in our school from sixth through eighth grade. Although, I respect the Black principal in suburbia, she likely had little power. By contrast, Dr. Dorothy D. Curry and the community of leaders at Emmanuel let us know we were capable of anything we set our minds to accomplish, within an endogenous self-affirming learning environment. In suburbia, I received a plaque at graduation noting that I was the only student to earn all A’s all three years of middle school. I imagine the principal purchased this herself. To the contrary, my homeroom teacher told me I had been in our local newspaper and cable access channel due to volunteer work in the community, and they felt three white students who were not valedictorians should speak.
In the days leading up to the graduation ceremony, my mother protested that I would not give the speech as would be the custom, such that I would not be recognized as valedictorian. The principal’s administrative assistant told her, “Well, we know Ed will go to college, so being 8th grade valedictorian is not the most important thing he will do.” In three short years in suburbia, I found my suffix (the fourth) had been stripped from me, like losing a title, and my name had been reduced from Edward to Ed. Was I no longer the warden, guardian, keeper, and fair distributor of knowledge and wealth? Was I a past tense affix, meant to witness the detachment of my existence and being? Beyond Hebrew and Norse etymology of my name, I saw the complexities of being young, gifted, and black in an anti-black world. Lifting my head with a smile, I moved forward. In high school, I would be certain to finish third, so as to prevent working hard to have something taken from me. From sixth to twelfth grade, I learned to internalize racism, as I found myself in a colonized school, where black lives did not matter.

On the old block on the South Side of Chicago, from birth to ten years old, my friends told me how their teachers called them nigger daily. I always believed their stories were tall tales about the public-school teachers and Eastern European Catholic nuns in the two schools our block. Six blocks from home, Emmanuel Christian provided me with a progressive education that protested poisonous rhetoric of inferiority with an intense endogenous African American education in STEM, music, Spanish, arts, and history. Every Friday afternoon, a different class produced a highly organized original program, where I even wrote plays, gave speeches, and served as Master of Ceremonies more than once. On occasion, Olympians Jackie Joyner Kersee and Florence Griffith-Joyner came to talk to us, even letting us touch their gold medals. Other Black celebrities often stopped by Emmanuel to inform us about their lives in the US and abroad. My friends on my block, and even those in suburbia, had been undereducated and insulted. My suburban middle and high schools are now predominantly African American, and power dynamics have shifted; however, I question to what degree the curriculum has been decolonized.

As an African American adolescent male, I learned to mask my intelligence to avoid offending others or being offended and insulted. I had to learn to also see the long-term goal, since my moments of glory in the sun would be limited and require intense amounts of dedication. This may appear odd for the son of a first-generation college educated African American mother and father. However, “first-generation” remains key, especially after my parents divorced, when enormous responsibilities fell upon me. My parents and grandparents had similar struggles, and would tell me about them. So, even if I worked harder than three-hundred of my peers, this did not guarantee recognition of achievement. Thus, I had to reduce myself in order to move forward. I had to become silent, and only speak when absolutely necessary, pensively economizing each word and sentence for fear of retaliation.

Colonial education does not only occur in Africa, Asia, or Latin America. The colonized education I received in the United States allowed me myself in many ways. Seeking the brighter side of life, mountains of racial microaggressions and silencing proved oppressive but beneficial, since becoming more reflective improved my multilingual skills. Likewise, I could be the insider/outsider. Imposture syndrome silences many; however, Adam Jones et al (2004) refer to
gendercide, especially Augusta Del Zotto, when noting the erasure African American adolescent males experience in Euro-American society. Oddly, I would have dynamic and inspiring Black teachers from preschool to fifth grade, but rarely again until social studies, English, and French in my later years of high school. From a calculus teacher who explained the bell curve, and why African American students were less intelligent, to other episodes of blatant racism from white students to black, and from black students calling each other nigger, never out of love but clearly as words of aggression during an altercation, I often wondered about leaving Emmanuel (God With Us) for an anti-black world in suburbia. All the same, the ethnic identity of a person does not make them a good teacher. Skills and compassion do. The Department of Education noted African American teachers are more likely to feel empathy for students, while most Black children in America will never see a teacher who looks like them.\(^\text{23}\) As micro-economist Amine Ouazad notes, in the United States, minority teachers appear to have the least bias against all students, while white teachers are more likely to give students of color lower grades, even when scoring higher on tests than white peers.\(^\text{24}\) The social implications are endless.

On February 4, 1968, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous sermon *The Drum Major Instinct*. While I do not compare myself with Dr. King, I will address this speech in my conclusion. At this moment in the text, however, it becomes important to note the message of this sermon reproving Euro-American capitalism, war in Vietnam, and racial inequalities, which relate to the bulk of this dissertation with respect to beer conglomerates in Congo, wars for mineral extraction, Central African kinship and governance, and the power of rhetoric and language with respect to endogenous African political, jural, religious epistemologies. Certainly, we must consider what Malcolm X noted, on June 28 and November 28, 1964, concerning Congo and Lumumba, especially with respect to the independence speech the Congolese prime minister gave on June 30, 1960, in light of the wars for mineral wealth raging in the country following the assassination of Lumumba.\(^\text{25}\) The death of Lumumba and hopes for political democracy in Congo is a topic which I studied and wrote about as an undergraduate. Therefore, I do not wish to revisit former projects; however, we must realize what Malcolm urged, as far as knowing what is happening in Congo in order to better understand difficulties in Mississippi. The global forces of imperialism remain united against marginalized people, and collective forces of peace and progress must stand together to combat these ills.

Just as King noted of himself, I do not wish to be the drum major; yet, I find the work remains difficult, especially with constant battles surrounding oneself. Overall, I have learned to work without recognition, to the point where praise embarrasses me, most likely because when previously earned, recognition has been denied. As I count two-thousand students whom I have impacted around the world, their accomplishments give me reason to move forward. However, I know my students may work hard, earn the highest marks, reach the highest goals or accomplishments in their profession, only to have their intelligence questioned because of their identity outside of the hegemony of white capitalist patriarchy. Dr. King faced enormous difficulties and insults during his lifetime. As mentioned, later in my conclusion, I will reconnect


\(^{24}\) http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/cp282.pdf

the words of Dr. King’s sermon with this dissertation, linking Africa and the diaspora; economic anthropological studies of markets and under/development; discourse analysis and lexicography; and moral practice in action. Considering names and temporal geographies, Martin Luther, and Dr. King lived centuries apart, just as Wyclef Jean and John Wycliffe represent the struggles of the global South today and the North of the so called Old World of Europe. Overall, I contemplate multiple meanings of multi-layered contexts upon texts in order to make sense of various complex realities, both literary, musically based, linguistically cultural, and geopolitically armed.

When we moved to suburbia, genocide raged in Rwanda and an uncertain crisis unfolded in Haiti with the removal of President Aristide. At the same time, a group of Haitian children arrived at my school as refugees. I was told that since I was beginning to master French, the principal paired me up with our new Haitian friends to translate and to integrate them into the school. Thus, French and Kreyol took on meaning beyond the classroom. At the same time, a hip-hop group from New Jersey called the Fugees became popular worldwide. Wyclef Jean, Lauryn Hill, and Pras Michel achieved great success with their album *The Score*. In 1997, the solo album *Wyclef Jean Presents the Carnival, Featuring the Refugee All Stars* included several Haitian Kreyol songs *Jaspora* (Diaspora), *Sang Fézi* (Without A Gun), and *Yélé* (Cry Out). I quickly began to decipher the lyrics, with great intrigue concerning what Wyclef Jean was singing in Kreyol. Wyclef rapped about children at the American school where he arrived as a refugee telling him that because he was Haitian, he was not civilized. They also told Wyclef that since he is Haitian, he did not believe in God. One wonders what implications and stereotypes on the souls of Haitians one might conclude given such gross biases and discriminatory actions against children. Conscious, multilingual global hip-hop struck me personally, and influenced the past twenty years of my life, leading to this dissertation. At that time, I knew nothing of John Wycliffe, the oxonian theologian, biblical translator, and medieval English political figure for whom the Haitian-American rapper was named, in reverse order. Names serve a similar purpose like overlapping geographies of space and time compression, with layers of meaning and depths of significance that need to be unraveled, translated, and defined. These early moments in my childhood created global diasporic consciousness formation from the heartland of the USA.

One by one, our Haitian friends moved to Greater New York City and Florida, away from Chicagoland. In French class, I began using words like *tandé* instead of *écouter* (to listen) or *entendre* (to hear). With clear anger, my white American French teacher yelled at me one day “to stop using Haitian words.” I began to reflect how my friends from Haiti felt as exiles in a

26 In the song *Jaspora*, Wyclef Jean urges Haitians to respect the Diaspora, whether they find themselves in Canada, Miami, or Brooklyn. Referencing the pride Jamaicans show around the world for their culture, the Kreyol song alludes to Israel and figures from the Bible. In *Sang Fézi*, Wyclef questions which Haitian walks down the streets of New York City without a gun, due to the violence. He raps about police brutality, discrimination from American kids at school, and sends a shout-out to Brazilian soccer player Pelé. In *Yélé*, Wyclef, the son of a preacher, begins with Psalm 23: “L’Eternel est mon berger. Je ne manquerai rien” (The Lord is my shepherd. I shall not want). He then urges, if you have ears, listen. If you have a mouth, speak, with reference to *Bondye*, or God (Bon Dieu/God).
colonial French language classroom within an English-speaking school in the United States. To avoid future embarrassment and scolding, I learned to distinguish Kreyol from French. I even noticed how Romance languages affected my English diction, seeking never to end a sentence with a preposition, or finding my quotidian parlance possessing parables and phrases parallel to Parisian French. Certainly, I thought more before I spoke a single word, as every syllable, morpheme, and phoneme seemed to receive scrutiny and unwanted analysis.

In high school, a different French teacher had grown up trilingual, first speaking Spanish and French in Cuba, and then English; therefore, she never discouraged my ease in languages and cultural curiosities, as I clearly frustrated the young new college graduate who taught middle school French. By contrast, in high school we read Guy de Maupassant and Jacques Prévert. We listened to 1980s French rap along with Nina Simone and Jacques Brel singing *Ne me quitte pas*, a song which Wyclef Jean would cover in 2017. In high school, we read several plays by Molière, aloud in French class, and we took regular Friday dictation exams. We went to theaters in Chicago to see French plays (sometimes in English), and we frequently studied French art in local museums in downtown Chicago. French introduced me to Africa and its diaspora in ways English could not, and I rediscovered the love for learning and respect for my person that I knew at Emmanuel. Once again, I felt the God in me, and felt that God was with me and with us.28

With time, I deciphered the Haitian Kreyol, Spanish and French lyrics that Wyclef Jean sang with Lauryn Hill, Célia Cruz, French Antillean zouk musicians Jacob Dessvarieux and Jocelyn Béroard from the group *Kassav*, and Sweet Mickey (who later became Haitian President Michel Martelly). In the process, ethnolinguistic musicology converged hip-hop, zouk, and kompa, as I discovered worlds far from home. For me, Africa and its diaspora become real places, through French, Spanish, and Portuguese, but rarely through English.

On May 19, 1997, Zaire became the Democratic Republic of Congo as Laurent Désiré Kabila marched into Kinshasa. That morning in my high school French class, we had an official changing of the flag on our wall of la Francophonie. I could not imagine as a high school freshman, that I could become the first-grade teacher to Mzee Kabila’s granddaughter several years later. Of course, this would take training, in both pedagogy, and Congolese political and cultural history. In late 1999 or early 2000, I stumbled upon a CD by a French hip-hop group named Bisso Na Bisso.29 The leader, Passi, originated from Sarcelles, a tough suburb outside of Paris. In the early 1990s, Passi (of Congolese origins) and Stomy Bugsy (of Cape Verdean origins) formed the duo Ministère AMER (Action, Musique, et Rap).30 Stomy Bugsy would go on to record a popular song in English and French with Kelly Rowland of Destiny’s Child (*Une femme en prison*— “A Woman in Prison”). *Bisso Na Bisso* received critical acclaim in 2000 with their album entitled *Racines* (Roots), which tackled geolinguistic realities of war, migration, racism in France, corrupt

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27 One poem, we called “Donc, je me leve” (Thus, I get up). Later, our French teacher had us recite it to the tune of the 1982 French rap hit “Chagrin d’amour,” popularly known as “Chacun fait c’qui lui plaît.”

28 Note that in Hebrew, Immanuel or Emmanuel means “with us is God.”

29 In Lingala, *Bisso Na Bisso* means “just between us,” or literally “us with us” or “we and us.”

30 Given intense racial discrimination Black Europeans people experienced in the early 1990s, especially in multiethnic, marginalized, lower income housing estates and communities like Sarcelles, it is possible that AMER refers to ‘merde’(shit). Frustrations within France built diasporic artistic similarities with contemporaneous US rap groups like NWA. Likewise, the name ‘Passi’, spelled *mpâsi*, means pain, suffering, or difficulty.
politicians at home and in Europe, love, religion, literature, Négritude, Caribbean zouk music, Cuban rumba, and of course the complexities of Congolese soukous and ndombolo.

Thematically, Wyclef Jean and Passi complimented each other, while Hélène and Célia Faussart of Les Nubians produced a powerhouse of Afropean Neo-soul in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which I devoured. While I would later enjoy their tribute to Cheikh Anta Diop, in which the sisters reference the Ancient Egyptian Book of Life (Book of the Dead), the French-Cameroonian mixed-race Faussart sisters became known around the world mostly for their song “Makeda.” Growing up on the South Side of Chicago, I knew the story of Makeda, Queen of Saba/Sheba (present-day Yemen and Ethiopia), and her love affair with King Solomon. All the same, the Faussart sisters sang of dignified Black people who rewrite history and rebuild communities with truth pour raviver les mémoires, exhumer les connaissances, que la spirale du temps efface.31 “Makeda” begins:

On veut nous faire croire
À des mythes perdus
Des passages de l'histoire
Falsifiés et revus
De Ramses à Mandela
Que des vérités tuent
En ignorant le départ
On erre sans but.

They want to make us believe
In lost myths
In passages from history
That have been falsified and revised
From Ramses to Mandela
Which truths kill and destroy
Without knowing the beginning
We wander without end.

Somehow, the East Coast-West Coast battles of 1990s US African American hip-hop seemed less important to me alongside Wyclef Jean, Les Nubians, and Bisso Na Bisso, who sang of remedies and resolutions to war, famine, genocide in Africa, the legacies of strong queens and kings in African history, and pondered economic and political reforms, as Bisso Na Bisso note “Le temps est si bref dans la peau d’un chef.”32 Thus, who wishes to be a drum major, when the obstacles are so tough, and the risks of temptation and exploiting oneself and humanity are so real for the frail human spirit. These adolescent musical moments provided my first exposure to geolinguistics, even though I could still understand conversations about Tupac and Biggy. In suburbia, black and white kids born and raised their entire lives away from the inner-city, knew of these places where their parents might have grown up, but may have mimicked the personae displayed in music videos. For me, I literally walked the streets of Chicago’s Auburn Gresham, Englewood, Roseland, and Washington Heights in the first decade of my life, and so I did not see a need to perform an urban Blackness from suburbia. The crisis developing in Congo and the intensity with which Bisso Na Bisso mixed Lingala with French, blended Caribbean/African zouk with Cuban rumba, and mastered Creole and Spanish gave my high school brain a need to urgently know and learn this

31 The Faussart sisters, in the song “Makeda” note “Je chante” (I sing) to revive memories, exhume knowledge which the spiral of time has erased.
32 In a song Dans la peau d’un chef, Bisso Na Bisso rap about government ministers taking bribes, noting time is so brief in the skin of a chief. In this song, the members of the group and band become the Minster of Justice, Minister of Economics, Minister of Fishery, and so forth.
African language from Congo. In high school, I could not yet distinguish the differences between Kikongo, Kilari, Kituba, Chiluba, Lingala, KiSwahili, IsiXhosa, Chichewa, Umbundu, or Kimbundu. Moreover, the messages and themes of Pan-African unity in an album contemporaneously topping the charts in France as I listened to it in the US appeared ever-more pressing and worthy of my attention. Back then, I had not yet studied Haitian Kreyol and languages in Martinique and Guadeloupe as I would in the future. Likewise, I did not know the word Lingala existed when I first heard the non-French portions of the album Racines. All the same, after an opening melancholy song in Lingala, Bisso Na Bisso urges for “L’union, le rassemblement de tout le peuple Congolais.” Today, I know that like the mwana kin in Montreal in 2013 who urged me to be proud to be Congolese, the Intro to the album Racine provides the following warning:

…ata MuNgala, ata MuKongo, ozali kaka mwana Kongo. Ozali kaka mwana Kongo.
...even if you are MuNgala or MuKongo, you are still a child of Kongo/Congo (repeat)

Thus, we consider deciphering lyrics, languages, literature, and life histories within this multifaceted approach. In 2000, before I could decipher a meal with proper cultural knowledge or consider constructing theories on the social identities, spatial complexities, and economic dynamics of drinking cultures within the nomenclature and diction appropriate to anthropology, I traveled abroad on a grant from the American Association of Teachers of French, as one of a handful of high school graduates in the US to win the award. At 17 years old, I used the AATF scholarship, to enroll in a post-graduate program at University of Quebec located in Saguenay, Chicoutimi, where my host family offered me tastes of Molson and Labatt beers with dinner, paired with local foods in the proper terroir style. That summer, I turned eighteen, the legal drinking age in Quebec. Back then, these two Canadian-owned breweries had not yet merged under the global arm of the SABMiller, now owned by Belgian-based ABInBev, the largest beverage company in the world. All the same, I became fascinated by the socio-economics of beer, as a tool of colonial domination upon the physical body especially upon indigenous populations.

Economic Marketing of Beer

Between 2000 and 2016, a series of acquisitions allowed South African Brewing to buy the US-Canadian Miller-Coors. Matthew J. Bellamy documents the decline of the autonomous Canadian beer industry from provincial to national brands, until multinational conglomerates bought out these companies. Bellamy shows how the top ten global beer companies of 1990 represented 35.1% of the global market. Today, six of those ten companies fall under the umbrella of ABInBev (formerly: 1-Anheuser-Busch; 2-Miller; 5-Foster’s; 7-South African Brewing; 8-

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33 Unity and the collective gathering of all Congolese (Kongo) people.
Brahma; 10-Coors).\textsuperscript{36} With time, Brazilian based Interbrew-Companhia de Bebidas das Américas merged with Columbian-based Bavaria (owned by the billionaire Santo Domingo family) and SABMiller. The recent US$100 to US$106 billion merger which brought SABMiller and ABInBev together\textsuperscript{37} shows clear signs of the deterritorialized and deracinated exploitation of Euro-American colonial capitalism, which provides an interconnecting and central theme in this dissertation. However, the flows of capital and resources from the South to the North show Euro-American elites based in the South and North profiting in various global centers of commerce within the increasingly monolithic beer conglomerates consuming shares and assuming power over the pallets and pockets of local populations in the global South, and among the working underclasses of the world.

During my summer in the forests and mountains of French-speaking Canada, my host family taught me how to distinguish Port from very different European regional wines, versus New World wines from South Africa, New Zealand varieties, and South American bottles. I even sampled Canadian local terroir. In the same respect, I found myself originally unable to understand the young children of the house, and the Canadian colloquial French joual. When summer ended, I had mastered local varieties of Quebecois music, food, history, as well as global Francophone culture outside of Europe, often related to Africa and its diaspora. Likewise, I could understand nearly every word the young children spoke in my host family, having culturally and linguistically immersed myself in all things Quebecois. Unfortunately, I found a struggling group of autochone communities of First Nations people living in the Chicoutimi-Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region. Not enrolled in the university, local First Nations people rode on the bus with me, and worked as custodians in the university. I learned of the difficulties of their condition in a country and province where indigenous Canadians experienced unequal access to education in their native languages, while being forced to learn French, and also English. The end result left First Nations Canadians severely economically and politically disenfranchised. Thus, I could not truly separate politics, music, indigenous rights, and gastronomy from the local lived languages of the geography.

Overseas, I would learn firsthand the central role of beer in daily life, like I had known in Quebec. Perhaps, First Nations experiences in Quebec in 2000 would lead me to Amazonia four years later. While working in Brazil during the first half of 2004, friends drank Skol beer, as well as other products now owned by Companhia de Bebidas das Américas/AmBev (ABInBev). In Congo from 2006 to 2008, I would see Skol again, operating under a local company called


“Bracongo,” competing against Bralima’s preferred mark Primus beer. Quickly, I realized both companies had long been subsidiaries of Euro-American conglomerates: Bralima belongs to Amsterdam based Heineken, while Bracongo serves the interests of ABInBev, based in Leuven, Belgium, but with former seats of power in Milwaukee, St. Louis, Johannesburg, London, Sao Paolo, Bogata, Toronto, etc. Moreover, ABInBev, or Bracongo, holds Coca Cola bottling rights in most of Africa. Primus enjoys large distribution as the best-selling national beer in Congo, noted with the map of Africa and the Congolese flag on each label. Of course, the beer is not national in ownership. Likewise, Kenyans drink Tusker and Ethiopians consume St. George beers with a sense of national pride within and outside of colonial borders, despite the fact that these brewing houses exist under the umbrella of Euro-American beverage companies operating in Africa.

As I mention later, my interaction with Ethiopian monks in November 2006 on Lake Tana off the shores of Bahir Dar would greatly change my life and solidified this metaphor, as we drank a few sips of tej and they read aloud and showed me passages in Ge’ez from ancient, invaluable, priceless Bibles. On the other hand, in Kinshasa, the elaborate ten-minute music videos on local Congolese television, sponsored by Bralima (Primus/Heineken) and Bracongo (Skol/ABInBev), demonstrated the depth to which Euro-American business marketing and consumerist principles of psychology and economics operate to manipulate reality in war-torn Congo. Given the reach of the tentacles of Euro-American capitalist neoliberalism, sociological concepts related to the creation of empty non-places of excessive consumerism within Zygmunt Bauman’s concept of liquid modernity become important in this analysis of beer markets. The exploitative technologies of capitalism have given rise to the uncertainties of daily life where global actors in Amsterdam, St. Louis, or in Leuven impact local survival in rural Congolese villages.

Freshman year of college, I discovered E.D. Morel’s Red Rubber and Black Man’s Burden, which led me to read Roger Casement’s reports on rubber exploitation in both Congo and Amazonia. How coincidental it would seem that I would later live, work, and teach in both regions. My students in Itacoatiara in Brazil were descendants of the rubber workers who came to the town rich with indigenous culture, but fell victim to ethnocide and cultural erasure. Meanwhile in Belgian Congo, the local populations would find their hands severed if they did not collect enough rubber, as Morel reported and Hochschild (1998) later forced the world to remember into our current millennium. Thus, for six months after graduating college, I found myself literally an agent of cultural erasure in Amazonas teaching English to Portuguese speaking Brazilians in the rain forest where they could not speak their grandparents’ indigenous languages. Blended into Brazilian Portuguese, indigenous words remained. Also, the syncretic festa de boi bumba in the town of Parintins brought together Native, African, and Iberian folklore, with remnants of each continents’ cosmological practices and aesthetic praxis performed in the bumbódromo, or special stadium built to house 35,000 spectators for these final days in June following the Amazonian equatorial solstice, in line with African harvest traditions, and feast days of several Catholic saints. All the same, no one I met in nearly seven months in Amazonia spoke more than a few words of local indigenous languages. With the erasure of language, I found the loss of knowledge of ethnobotany and curative medicinal agents within the

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38 Bauman, 2000, pp. 98-104.
abundant (though diminishing) surrounding forests between Manaus, Itacoatiara, and Parintins. When arriving at graduate school at UC Berkeley, two weeks after leaving Amazonas, I questioned how to remain true to indigenous language practices and African Diaspora studies. A presentation within the St. Clair Drake symposium allowed me to analyze French hip-hop in a song called *Laissons parler les gens*, where Jocelyne Labylle from Guadeloupe and Chala from Congo have a battle of words. However, the disharmonious relationship between Black Antillian French citizens and French people born in Africa or of African-born parents has started to heal and form a united Black consciousness in France. Choosing to focus on unity instead of division, and hoping to bridge gaps, I saw the transnational space of Congo at home and abroad, as key to continuing research I started at NYU under political scientist Guy Martin, and as early as high school when I first read *Heart of Darkness*. Nearly two years after leaving Amazonia, I would leave UC Berkeley, after receiving my MA for a short trip to Congo. That two-year stay in Africa enriched my life. I did not wish to exclude mother tongues (MTs) from my classroom, as though the two could not mix. I also never wished to silence or embarrass my students because of their language abilities; however, I did determine the space and time for grammatically correct English and when students could freely express themselves in their home languages. This myriad of experiences allows me to enter into this challenging work.

Dissertation Summary & Overview

Within this dissertation, Chapter One provides a more extensive theoretical overview that will follow the metaphor within a multidisciplinary approach that connects political economy, geo-linguistics, and anthropology concerning Africana, African, Black, African American, and African diaspora studies. Therefore, this study opens by providing the intellectual tools needed to connect theoretical perspectives, mixed methodologies, and cross-boundaries concerning scientific systems of knowledge in beverage markets of the overlapping terroir of Kongo-Ngola. One must consider parallel trajectories of political, linguistic, and religious systems of power and knowledge in Congo-Angola. Also, this chapter will provide a genealogy of anthropological and linguistic theoreticians, and will conclude with my own insider/outsider perspective of ethnographic participant observation, as the US African American anthropologist, who can straddle the fence, enter in-between spaces, and witness power from below and above.

*Beer* and *Blood* come together in Chapters Two and Three, while Section the metaphor of *Bible* and applied anthropology takes shape in Chapters Four. Chapter Two defines the chemical, biological, and natural sciences related to the production of commercial and indigenous beer and beverages in the African context, with respect to the social sciences, in so much as cultural practices and economic business marketing concern Congolese history. Chapter Two interrogates the Euro-American concept of *terroir* or the geospatial terrain, blood, and life of the soil in a colonized space of alcoholic production and consumption. Here, the role of multinational beer conglomerates in Africa becomes particularly important. On the one hand, Heineken sponsors Congolese soukous musicians, who produce beer advertisements in the form of dance videos. On the other hand, by operating in war zones in the Eastern regions of the country, Heineken has become a commercial conflict-dependent actor (CCDA), as Miklian and Schouter (2013) expose
the links between Heineken’s Bralima and the payment of excessive tolls and bribes to Rwandan warlords in DR Congo.39

Chapter Three extrapolates the theme of blood, as embedded in the soil and in hierarchies of political power from the late fifteenth century to the present-day, still echoing the French notion of terroir. This chapter focuses primarily on the 500-year Lunda Empire, which overlaps the present-day borders between DR Congo, Angola, and Zambia. With mention of the Kongo Kingdom, which stretched into present-day Gabon, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa), and the Republic of Angola, this chapter establishes the historical background of bloodline kinship and hereditary descent within chieftaincies and leadership. Additionally, this chapter provides insights into modern day politics within this ethno-history, or historical anthropological analysis. Overall, however, knowing the past helps one move forward into a more informed and planned future, especially when reviewing the dynamic women who founded kingdoms and ruled large territories, especially Queen Mulunda, or Lueji a Nkonde, for whom a government operated indigenous people’s university system in Angola has been named and now operates in Dundo, Saurimo, and Malanje. Here, blood also examines the exploits of colonialism and neo-colonial mineral extraction, rape, and violence.

Chapter Four uses the concept of the Bible to analyze literacy and textual preservation with respect to colonial reproductions and reifications of indigenous and European languages used in nineteenth and twentieth century Congo-Angola. Extending linguistic anthropological theory from Chapter One, Chapter Four offers a Swadesh list of Umbundu, Lingala, French, Portuguese, and English, demonstrating lexicography, centered round an ethno-history of US African American Presbyterian and Congregationalist missionaries, as well as Euro-Canadian Protestant missionaries in Congo and Angola. Different from the Catholic missionaries who enjoyed colonial state sponsorship, Protestant missionaries, and especially African American teachers from the Jim Crow US South, found themselves operating as bridge builders and border crossers reconnecting their own lost heritage in the ultimate reversed journey of diasporic return and settlement in Africa, for some in regions where their enslaved grandparents entered into this world. The Presbyterian missionaries in Congo and the Congregationalists in Angola exposed the atrocities in the region committed by the Belgians and the Portuguese. These Black American and white Canadian missionaries worked together, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, despite global antiblackness and racism. African Americans at Galangu worked especially hard to preserve Angolan Umbundu language and cultural practices, despite the overwhelming efforts to convert, enslave, or subjugate people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by the Portuguese colonial state. When completing this Swadesh list, after a historical timeline of African American missionaries in Congo-Angola, I reflect upon transactional hermeneutic theories of readings, speaking, and writing, whereby making meaning within the space between texts, while engaged in an intertextual geolinguistic action of defiant signifyin(g).

Chapter Four also examines sites of praxis for preserving vanishing African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS). Considering Mchombo \(^{40}\) and Babaci-Wilhite & Mchombo, \(^{41}\) I contemplate the implications of mother tongue (MT) usage as language of instruction (LoI) within Kongo-Ngola museum pedagogies, ethno-mathematics, and STEM education. With respect to museums, I turn to the Kuba art collection at Hampton Museum donated by African American Presbyterian missionary William Henry Sheppard, which may have influenced the birth of the Harlem Renaissance, or New Negro Movement. Alongside the museum in Hampton, Virginia, one must consider Dundo Museum in Angola, built by the Portuguese colonial diamond company of Angola (Diamang), and revitalized as an indigenous people’s site of learning in post-war Angola under the leadership of anthropologist Fonseca Sousa, who also directs the anthropology department at Universidade Lueji a Nkonde. Finally, one must not ignore the massive Africa Museum in the suburban Brussels town of Tervuren, which remains a constant reminder to the murderous exploits of colonialism. As a person of color, I know the impact of cultural erasure and the effacing practices of silencing that occur in the process of colonial education. However, in our globalized world, one wonders how endogenous educational institutions can actually remain moving into the future.

Though separate topics, Beer, Blood, and the Bible work together as an intersecting matrix of power, knowledge, production, reproduction, consumption—or otherwise stated and phrased as politics, religion, economics, and kinship (gender and family)—to provide not simply parts of the picture, but rather to reconstruct the whole story, as best as one can. The conclusion reflects upon being an insider/outsider as the rare African American anthropologist and linguist of Africa—geospatially and linguistically between worlds, texts, disciplines, lyrics, and musical genres. This exhaustive effort assembles my own series of reflexive considerations upon literature in the field/s, application, and praxis, producing more holistic views of cultural practice for future projects and for future generations.


Dedications

Heritage of yesteryear guides and directs me. To my mother Doris Ann, to my paternal grandmother Doris Thressa, to my sisters Danielle Arlette and Patrece Carole, to my father Edward III, to my stepmother Christine, and to a host of other relatives, I acknowledge you. I am also reminded of my childhood next-door neighbor, June, who died at age 83 in 2016. She was the Grandmother of the block. For those who passed into the multiverse, I thank my ancestors: Eddie, Jr., Edward I, Jefferson Levi, Chalmers, Charles, Lee Edward, Willie Eddie, and Willie Napoleon, Jr. My paternal great-grandmother Helen, a life-long bibliophile, graduated from high school in Indianapolis 90 years ago. Helen introduced me to Hebrew, Greek, geography, and archaeology each weekend in her Woodlawn apartment on the South Side of Chicago. Today, I value the books I inherited from her, and those she received from her father Henry. My maternal great-grandmother Willie Mae picked cotton in the Mississippi Delta, dying in Memphis a year before Helen passed away in Chicago. In Southern Illinois, my Melungeon great-great grandmother Stróża lived between a series of Underground Railroad towns where she was born, as the descendant of enslaved Africans from Malanje Kongo-Ngola who labored in 17th century Virginia. Her Angolan, Native American, and Sephardic-Ashkenazi foreparents are my ancestors. Her story crossing multiple borders in the Ohio River Valley reflects human struggles of movement, freedom, and equality. Last July, my uncle Jeffrey died. However, in my freshman year of college, on Thanksgiving Day, my maternal grandmother Dorothy Lee passed away. Before her death, Granny predicted the life I now live with great precision. This document recognizes those who came before me. May those who come after find inspiration to move humanity and all of Creation further into a brighter future.
Chapter One
Theory & Method
Following the Metaphor of Geolinguistics in African(a) Anthropology

Geolinguistics and ethnolinguistics remain complex interdisciplinary fields, which cross networks of knowledge production and representation. Clark (in Spillers 1991: 40-61) refers to a concept of diaspora literacies which she used to distinguish expression and the essence of being within Haitian Kreyol rural theater and vodun religious practices from high French literature written in France and read in Haiti amongst the elites before, during, and after the New Negro Movement or Harlem Renaissance, occurring during the overlapping Negritude cultural phenomena in the Francophone world. Clark places these diasporic literary movements in concert with jazz to develop a grounded theory of conceptualizing diaspora consciousness through the written and spoken word, as a study within the humanities for literary analysis.\(^1\)

Geolinguistics and Diaspora Literacy carry similarities, differences, and limitations; however for this study, the interconnecting variable linking the two shall be colonialism, with great focus centering on what I refer to as geolinguistics, usually called ethnolinguistics. Geolinguistics, as an interdisciplinary field, developed in 1965 with the development of the American Society of Geolinguistics.\(^2\) This field requires researchers who are multilingual social and/or natural scientists with access to cosmopolitan and various global sites of learning, such that science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics (STE[A]M) become uniquely multidisciplinary human rights. Combing humanities, human geography, anthropology, gender studies, economics, sociology, rural development, medical and environmental studies, chemistry, religious studies, and legal studies, geolinguistics addresses phenomena such as famine, migration, war, or climate change. Roland Breton (1991) discusses the life and death of languages, which he refers to as linguicide, brought about through policies that officially recognize one language in public spaces, courts of law, and for uses by political powers over a populace, especially in cases of colonial domination.\(^3\) I have yet to see the combined term “geolinguistic praxis” to refer to a mode of multilayered and liberating all-emcompassing pedagogy and andragogy, and after several Google searches, and inquiries over the years through several databases, I am taking the liberty of coining the expression geolinguistic praxis within this dissertation.

In her forthcoming book *Promoting Language as a Human Right in Education through STEAM*, Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite (2018) provides further exploration of this topic, as provided below in this chapter from previous works.\(^4\) Within African, African American, African Diaspora, African, Black, and Africana studies, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o refers to the process of linguicide, or the death of languages, versus linguifam, or the starvation of languages due to the lack of written and


\(^2\) http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/wsas/academics/modern_languages/THEAMERICANSOCIETYOFGEOLINGUISTICS.htm


\(^4\) Note that a full citation cannot be provided, as Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite (2018) *Promoting Language as a Human Right in Education through STEAM* is still pending release at the time of this dissertation.
spoken literature, poetry, academic tomes, scientific volumes, and other documented forms of transmitting linguistic realities across space and time from person to person.\(^5\) Paramount within *Something Torn and New*, one must never forget the renaming processes of geographic bodies and human bodies, which expedite and confirm the erasure of endogenous epistemologies upon the human *terroir* and landscape. Thus, one must ask whether learning about one’s heritage by using a mother tongue (MT) as the language of instruction (LoI) actually constitutes a human right, which all learners should have at their availability, especially within the geolinguistic terrain or *terroir* where such an MT has been spoken for generations, and runs the risk of being effaced from the surface of the Earth, quite literally in geospatial historical realities.

In Africa, the post-colonial practice of pedagogy in the official sense replicates Euro-American models of learning situated in a school building, enforced with colonial power dynamics. Ngugi notes “language, religion, and education are to be deployed to achieve loss of memory,”\(^6\) and notes “[m]emory is the link between the past and the present, between space and time, and it is the base of our dreams” adding “[w]riters and intellectuals… are aware that without a reconnection with African memory, there is no wholeness.”\(^7\) Educating the whole person constitutes a human right for active engagement with local and global realities in the natural world. Mchombo (2014) refutes claims that African languages lack the depth of lexicon and terminology needed to convey various forms of knowledge in educational instruction in the post-colonial era. He challenges the prevailing arguments and policies against using African MTs as LoI, especially within the conceptual and active processes of science, math, and cosmology where foreign colonial languages reproduce domination and power.\(^8\) The dynamics of cultural erasure and the death of endogenous epistemologies have lasting implications. For the purposes of this study, beer represents a number of metaphors pertaining to economics, STEM and the visual arts, while blood mirrors lineage, kinship, gender, descent, and politics. Meanwhile, bible provides a more concrete perspective on literacy, language, and situated learning and indigenous people’s educational rights. Perhaps, extended versions of each chapter, in book form, could further develop the alliterative metaphors, such that Bible would compare multiple religious texts, literacies, and technologies of cognition from various global groups. Likewise, blood could provide comparative applications of kinship obligations and social institutions in the African diaspora as fading epistemologies, whereby the avuncular responsibilities and uterine kinship have essentially been eradicated in the United States with the colonial Virginia House of Burgess law of *partus sequitur ventrem* as explained briefly below. In a more extensive analysis, beer could become an extended metaphor for lost knowledge of agriculture and food nutrition, coupled with economic exploitation of people of African descent on the continent and in the diaspora at the hands of multinational conglomerates. Thus, this dissertation leaves room for the development of several books.

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6 Ngugi, p. 21.
7 Ngugi, p. 39.
Serving as an ethno-historical geolinguistic examination of Kongo-Ngola, this dissertation provides a longue-durée approach to the anthropological study of linguistic, economic, religious, and applied anthropology, within analyses of the politics of traditional kinship networks in post-colonial political governance with respect to African anthropology within the particular geospatial land, territory, or the gastronomical, cultural, and economic intersections of what one can term terroir. George Marcus (1995: 95-117) encourages multi-sited ethnographers to where we follow the thing in lieu of following a group of people; this study will follow the metaphor (108). In “The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology,” anthropologist Nancy Schepers-Hughes (1995: 409-440) laments her experience of shifting between grounded spaces of struggle in Brazil and privileged public spaces, with hopes of remaining an anthropologist-companheira (411). For myself, I contemplate the role of the scholar-activist who accompanies local actors in the struggles for freedom and equality, armed with the arsenal of tools available within the methodology of autoethnography. Likewise, as I self-map, and include my routes and roots within the text, I connect theory with praxis in a most unique way which privileges Africana (African diaspora) studies traditions, coupled with the discipline of Anthropology, as an anthropologist of African descent, with insider and outsider perspectives, rooted within linguistic, genetic, and cultural attachments.

The late Vêve Clark reminded her students to “be the grass tops”, whereby we could connect the grassroots to the ivory tower. As noted later, the work of Laura Nader on studying-up in elite spaces of industry and government allows grass top ethnography to occur seamlessly. Colonial epistemologies and ontologies have clouded the terrain of social sciences and development studies for a considerable amount of time. As an anthropologist of African descent within African American + African Diaspora studies, I hope to bring people together interlocutors with opposing viewpoints in order to dialogue, imagine, and implement futures built on peaceful prosperity from the bottom up, top-down, and side-ways. In Epistemologies of the South: Justice Against Epistemicide, Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2016) asserts, not only that the global North has little to teach the global South (p. 19), but also that the critique of human rights from the North towards the South, in the name of neoliberal economic

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In July 2017, I completed a one-week program at the Faculty of Earth Sciences and Environment at the Institute of Geography and Sustainability at University of Lausanne at Sion in Switzerland. The summer school was directed by anthropologist and oenologist Professor David Picard, with instruction from biologist Catarina Moreira from University of Lisbon, anthropologist and oenologist Professor Marion Demossier of University of Southampton, and agronomist Professor Manuel Malfeito Ferreira of University of Lisbon, among other speakers. The dozen students ranged from post-BA honours students from South Africa, MA-level students and PhD candidates in Europe, myself, and one Professor Emeritus of Anthropology of Tourism and his wife. Based on extensive instruction in the concept of terroir from wine makers who are social and natural scientists, geologists, and agriculturalists, I would conclude that terroir constitutes a complex set of beliefs related to the life of the land, regional and local gastronomy, endogenous agricultural sciences, as well as an evolution of epistemologies related to agricultural production and oenology. As such, local ontologies become globally marketed and consumed through wine, beer, food, and drinks. Meanwhile, ancient epistemologies remain central to endogenous educational practices for daily life, such that respect for geosciences, biodiversity, and ritual merge with modern scientific knowledge.

advancements of, so-called, Western style democracies, actually brings about the loss of human rights in more ungovernable terrains in the South while violating humanity in the name of so-called process for secular humanism from the North (p. 22).

Santos hopes that his reader understands that religious freedom, or freedom to not practice religion, constitutes a human right that emerged from struggles to engage in religious practice in the Roman era, leading up to the Reformation and beyond. Thus, the freedom of, and from, religion does not find its genesis in the laic or secular state apparatus. However, Santos also urges us to remember to use proper nomenclature in the struggle, which has lost “critical nouns,” replaced by bourgeois theoretical adjectives (p. 33). Moreover, the actions of territorialism and the fight for land rights among indigenous people, and local groups of African descent in the Americas born of the memory of the brutalities of slavery and Columbian expansion and exploitation, carries with it a powerful language (p. 84) connecting land and peoples, which I see as requiring geolinguistic methodological frameworks in order to break through the ethical problems the activistanthropologist experiences when she or he leaves the field to write-up notes in the global North in the comforts of the armchair and desk of the University, while problems and instabilities remain in the global South. Of course, the global “South” can merely be the other side of the train tracks within socio-economically divided urban centers, where spatial temporal compression reveal vast inequalities between the have and have-nots.

Main Focus and Argument

The researcher cannot cure the world, and this dissertation neither aims nor hopes to do so. All the same, I use autoethnography, self-mapping, and geolinguistics to follow the metaphor explained above to keep African, Africana, Black, African American, and African diaspora studies grounded in community action and empowerment of local populations. Constructing a theoretical framework to follow the metaphor of native geolinguistic anthropology, I hypothesize that using multilingual, multiethnic, and anti-colonial epistemologies—coupled with transformative endogenous pedagogies—remains necessary for actualizing real change not only in Africa, but also, in the global South, in the face of increasingly crippling economic instabilities from the North. As such, we all become global compatriots across borders accompanying each other in the common hope for human dignity, access to healthy food and living conditions, and cultural preservation with respect for diversity, heritage, and rights to security for all. At the heart of this study lies the hypothesis that colonialism, being a multipronged and multifaceted destroyer of social groups, exhibits itself within economic and kinship networks, as well as within power-knowledge superstructures. Thus, the metaphors of beer, blood, and bible represent these elements of culture, which have been eroded and altered. This study will attempt to reconnect the broken elements of acculturation, whereby providing a mechanism and language for articulating reassembling the pieces of the broken body of pre-colonial Africa.
In *Liquid Modernity*, Zygmunt Bauman (2000) describes the shift from solid modernity where the boundaries of inequalities appear more concrete, versus the risky cultural pessimism of loose social framework of liquidity where uncertainties abound in all aspects of life. The theoretical framework of liquid modernity sheds light on colonial economic exploitation in a world that is neither post-modern nor post-colonial, while explaining the polarization of elites and masses into voluntary and forced ghettos (Bauman 1998 in Abrahamson 2004:172).

Likewise, Abrahamson goes on to highlight Bauman’s work on territorialization and mobility of the tourist elite and the marginalized vagabonds of the world forced into isolated corners without free movement within the countries where they were born. One the one hand, economic exploitation no longer occurs in real time. Instead, time/space compression and weakened unity produce individualities and inconsistencies, such that solid visible exploitation and inequalities of traditional modernity between exploiter and exploited exist in separate and in the same public spaces in a globalized world simultaneously. Thus, dialogue between these polarized groups becomes difficult. On the other hand, Bauman alludes to the ironies of anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe of the twenty-first century, where immigration must occur from Turkey, Africa, and elsewhere if the decreasing population and lowering birthrates in Europe allow for sustainable societies to reproduce humanity, despite mounting xenophobia. The sociological lenses of *liquid modernity* and *epistemologies from the South* connect numerous themes within this study, and give valor to a study of this nature on *Beer, Blood and the Bible*.

**Key Variables & Significance**

Moving from theory toward active investigation, one must consider the independent variables in this dissertation, or various cultural groups in this study. Colonialism would be the independent variable in this study that uses mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. Vanishing epistemologies serve as the dependent variable, where languages become recorded, documented, quantified, and measured within the Swadesh list produced and explained in Chapter Four. If we hope to explore causation, evaluating language loss through the mechanisms of lexicostatistics becomes essential to this study, which hypothesizes that functions and implementations of white Euro-American patriarchal capitalism produce cultural standards beyond the realm of economics in order to erode and conquer the real essence of diversity in the name of assimilation. As tangible things and elements of material culture, *beer, blood, and bible* become helpful metaphors and dependent variables, as well, through which to qualitatively narrate and quantitatively measure epistemicide and linguicide, which occur equally so within the effacing project of colonial ethnocide and acculturation, which prevents the natural occurring processes of human endogenous enculturation and socialization. Beer bottles, beer advertisements, and museum artwork become important variables in this study, as well. As such, another important key variable becomes the geographies of Africa and the African diaspora, expressed through the theoretical concepts of *terroir*, borderlands, and overlapping ethnic, state, and gendered identities of oppression, power, and articulated agency towards liberation against erasure and silencing, expressed in multiplicities of languages.
When reflecting within the Americas, one may ask why residents of Chicago speak English and not one of the many Algonquin languages, such as Potawatomi. We ponder the meaning of indigenous Mississippian Natchez, Kikongo, French or uniquely Creole names affixed to streets and buildings in Greater New Orleans, given that the depth of knowledge behind the word itself appear to be covered upon layers of linguistic historiographies and cultural wars for domination and power which erode the original significance of the place before great conquests for the minds, souls, and economic production of the space and of so-called races of human beings upon and below the terroir. The same question could be asked of large cities in Canada, where Anglophone dominance over Francophone colonists has subjegated First Nations peoples. New Canadians arrive from Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere, only to lose their own mother tongues in the name of integration, while falling victim to assimilation and ethnocide in exchange for new Euro-American cultural identities. One may wonder what the world loses by conforming to English, or to a handful of select languages.

If entitled: *Bible, Blood, and Beer*, the order of things would not change the conceptual idea of colonial exploitation and destruction of indigenous knowledge systems and institutions. Thus, the theoretical section below causes a mélange of the terrain of geolinguistic analysis in a cyclical and circular dynamic instead of following a narrowly articulated path. Focusing heavily on geo-linguistics (Bible), before studying up with governance and kinship (Blood), and concluding with agronomy, wine and spirits (Beer), this theoretical maneuvering clarifies the title. Of course, the words and rhythm of “*Beer, Blood, and the Bible*” flow off the tongue of the English-speaker with more ease than “*Bible, Blood and Beer.*” Likewise, the historical trajectory from Egyptology (Beer) to the pre-and post-slave trade (Blood) and colonialism (Bible), flows more smoothly intellectually, while always overlapping conceptually, theoretically, and methodologically of these independent variables. In short, this dissertation neither follows a single family in two countries, nor provides the life history of one person. By using geolinguistic analysis within the overlapping terrain or terroir of Anthropology and African studies, this study can improve micro- and macro-level development projects for health care, education, agricultural development, museum studies, and critical analyses of epistemologies from the global South and North, which advocate cultural preservation and linguistic revitalization with respect to Africa and the African Diaspora. Thus, while considering three very different and distinct items as metaphors, one determines significance within correlation, as the shift in language, the erasure of ethno-science, and the loss of epistemologies all demonstrate connections to each other through the processes of economic exploitation within Euro-American patriarchal capitalist appropriations of territory, alimentation, human bodies, and markets.

**Background & Development of the Metaphor**

It is important to note how this title developed. From 2004 to 2006, I conducted ethnographic research on the Congolese community in Belgium, where I became quite well known. On several visits, I appeared on local television and radio shows, and found myself welcomed to eat at the table with leaders within the Congolese community in the neighborhood of Matonge-Ixelles, the hub of the Congolese diaspora. I never paid for a hotel, since my friends in a web of Congolese...
connections always provided me with lodging for five to twenty days, depending on the trip during my spring, summer, and winter breaks. On these visits and within this research, I navigated Flemish Antwerp and Walloon Brussels, where multiple layers of diaspora revealed the troubles of Angolan ethnic BaKongo families seeking sanctuary at the local Catholic church to avoid deportation, as well as Ghanaians suffering from neo-Nazi racism in Dutch-speaking regions of Belgium. In Brussels, Kiswahili speakers from the Eastern Congo appeared to avoid Lingala conversations with Kinois as they passed each other on the streets of Chaussée de Wavre just beyond the subway or metro stop at Porte de Namur. Also, I witnessed young Tutsi and Hutu youth from Rwanda and Burundi (and Eastern Congo) struggle in the crammed space of the ethnic enclave to maintain peace in the dual capital of the European Union and of the former colonial metropole, walking the streets of Brussels as enemies of wars raging back home in Africa. Likewise, I found myself in a mix of shops and grocery stores run by South Asian merchants, who sold Congolese, Rwandan, and Burundian medicinal plants and foods.11

During my junior year abroad in Paris, I studied political science, sociology of globalization, African history, French law, and European Union economics. In my first two years of college, Francophone and Lusophone African and African diaspora political and economic ethno-history and culture guided my concentration. In France, I befriended Congolese expats involved in different activities and social clubs, and I became interested in Brussels as a site of inquiry. In Belgium, I found the concept of Congo to be more complex than I had imagined, linked within webs of Blackness from the Americas, Pan-African desires for unity, hybrid Euro-African identity, and struggles for survival among African women, children, and men from across the continent living in Brussels (the capital of the European Union). Ethnic group, nation-state, and diasporic birthplaces reconfigured points of contact and colonial geographies into Black spaces of power in the face of oppression within a most unique display of solidarity at times in Brussels. I spent hours at the national library in Brussels, coupled with conversations with shopkeepers, dress-makers, barbers, health care workers, and asylum seekers housed in Saint Boniface parish church. Perhaps these investigations in 2004 and 2005 and the resulting research paper began much earlier when I first listened to the conscious multi-lingual hip-hop performed by Bisso Na Bisso, who released their best-selling album Racines (Roots) in 2000. Blending French with Lingala, the Paris-based rappers discussed war, famine, political corruption, Negritude, racism, and the struggles of emigration and resettlement in Europe while longing to rebuild home.

On my first visit to Brussels on Veterans Day 2002, I found the space of the Africa Museum in Tervuren to exclude Congolese and African people, while welcoming colonial memories of joyful domination and white supremacy. The research center next door to the museum may be working towards correcting the wrongs of the past. But, to what extent? On one occasion at the museum, I recall walking through the quiet, hollow, but full exhibits, overhearing a Belgian grandmother speaking in French with a Flemish accent to her grandchildren. She recounted colonial tales of her Congolese servants, and the good old days. Just as the museum space shifted from African human material culture to wildlife, the grandmother became overjoyed as the next hall displayed butterflies and insects from Congo. I felt Tervuren exhibited a cemetery of stolen

bodies of knowledge, with the exploited remains of Congolese humans buried on the site. My friends (informants) in the Mating-Ixelles neighborhood continuously told me to go to Kinshasa, instead of returning to Saint Boniface Catholic parish, in Brussels-Capital, or to other French speaking towns in the south and the Dutch speaking region of Flanders in the north of Belgium.\textsuperscript{12}

At Saint Boniface church, I met families of Angolan nationals of Kongo ethnic origin along with other undocumented \textit{sans papiers} refugees seeking sanctuary. Deportation and order restricted the movement of African human bodies; however, Belgium remains a clear example of the exploits of mineral wealth and extraction of the exploits from African soil controlling the North from the South.

In late May 2006, I visited Kinshasa for three weeks. That visit eventually led to a two-year contract at the American School of Kinshasa (TASOK). Presidential elections had been scheduled for June 30\textsuperscript{th} (Congolese Independence Day), and I planned my departure to avoid any possible turmoil. However, citizens did not cast ballots until July. When I returned to Kinshasa, President Joseph Kabila Kabange and then Vice President Jean-Pierre Bemba would need to face off for a second round of elections, leading to the death of 30 people in the capital city before a new round of elections.\textsuperscript{13}

When the next set of elections occurred, the American, French, and Belgian schools all planned to close their doors for several weeks due to threats of violence. When TASOK closed for several weeks, I went to Ethiopia where I stayed with a family friend teaching at the US State Department Overseas School in Addis Ababa. In total, there were about five US African Americans teaching at all of the US international schools in sub-Saharan Africa. I would become the second US African American to complete a two-year contract at TASOK since its founding in 1961 as the American School of Leopoldville (TASOL). Before I left for Addis Ababa, in Kinshasa I anticipated and hypothesized analytical comparative observations during my upcoming trip to Ethiopia. Given the absence of colonialism in Ethiopia, three thousand years of monarchy, an endogenous orthodox Christianity, and the Amharic/Ge’ez writing system, I imagined that an indigenous power-knowledge superstructure in Ethiopia remained intact due to the strength of an infrastructure where traditional kinship lineages and efforts to preserve autonomous economic systems could endure in the only country in Africa where modern colonialism did take hold. Also, I began to wonder how much fresh water Bralima and Bracongo used to produce \textit{Primus} and \textit{Skol} beers, and local Coca Cola and Pepsi products, respectively, as I quickly had come to see the beer advertisements in Congo as omnipresent.

As I planned to visit Ethiopia in 2006, many people in Congo asked how I would eat in a land of famine, which occurred in 1984. Questioning famine elsewhere while thousands of \textit{bashegè} street youth died of hunger in Kinshasa caused me to understand the gifts of literacy and travel on my part, coupled with the blessing and burden of being a descendant of enslaved Africans in


what had become the United States. The weight of the world would be upon my shoulders to unlock mysteries of myth to build visions of veritable realities for the world to learn. Thus, the assumed famine of Ethiopia made me crave injera bread, just as I had eaten at restaurants in California. All the same, I wondered how wheat and barley used to feed women and children could be brewed into beer for adult men to drink in lieu of traditional wines and beverages, which served communal purposes for ceremonies and celebrations, linked with cultural transmission for centuries, if not millennia. In Amazonia in 2004, I drank local fruit juices regularly, but had yet to find exotic unknown nectars in Congo beyond mangoes. Where would I find the authentic terroir and the natural produce and spirit of the land?

In November 2006, I left Kinshasa for Addis Ababa. After a week in the capital city at a conference on Pan Africanism at the African Union, I trekked to Bahir Dar and took a boat to an island in Lake Tana, before a stop in the ancient city of Lalibela. On that island off the shores of Bahir Dar, I met a group of monks who showed us several round churches covered in ancient art. Arriving by boat with a group of Dutch nationals of European and of Indonesian origin, the monks pulled me away from the small group of tourists, bringing me to a Ge’ez Bible, which they read for me outside of and inside of their special, quite large, mud hut. They also invited me into their hut to drink honey tej, with several bees floating in my cup. In this moment, my vacation ended, and I became a researcher, as both insider and outsider. As an African American man, I belong to a group of less than 2% of educators in the United States. Furthermore, as a Black anthropologist, I find myself among an even smaller minority of educators within my discipline, with the privilege to learn, document, transcribe, speak, and share knowledge gained with students and colleagues. For our numbers, as African American anthropologists, have always been low since the beginning of the discipline up to the present-day. Towards the end of this dissertation, I explain the limitations, exclusive access, and the burden of honestly telling others’ stories with conviction and truth, which befalls upon the African American anthropologist of Africa.

With my scarves covering my neck, the monks repositioned the white cloth in the culturally appropriate manner as I sipped small amounts of tej. They prayed, they sang, and they soon let me rejoin the tour group. In that moment, as I wondered what violence could be taking place in Kinshasa due to the tensions of the final round of presidential elections, I found my immediate space and time confronted with several millennia of traditions and customs with implications for food, beer, beverages, ancient books, well preserved architecture, sacred round churches, and boats carved out of tree trunks which carried us across the ancient shores of Lake Tana to the source of the Nile River as one would have done several thousand years ago. Thus, during Thanksgiving 2006, the title to this dissertation was born, recognizing overlapping metaphors that deconstruct colonialism, and resurrect fading memories of traditional sciences and technologies of language, biochemistry, cosmology, and education.

Deeper Overview

Within *Beer*, archaeological methods and methodology in chemistry, business economics, Egyptology, geosciences, and social psychology will interrogate historical contexts whereby constructing a sound text for decoding the social dynamics of food and drink. *Blood* shall shed light on *Kongo-Ngola* hereditary lineages of power from 1483 to the present-day; however, this study remains isolated within the multiple sites of the Kongo Kingdom and the Lunda Empire in an area that spans present-day colonial geopolitical territories simultaneously known as (French) Republic of Congo, (Belgian) Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire), (Portuguese) Angola, and (British Northern Rhodesia) Zambia. *Blood* will get to the heart of the soil, the land, and its leadership over time. In *Bible*, this dissertation aims to serve several purposes. First, one must note that semantic range, translation, transliteration, and multilingualism require complex conceptualizations of the world and deep reflection into the social order of dueling colonial and endogenous grammatical rules pertaining to syntax, honorifics, and pragmatics. Here, we see the need to juxtapose Umbundu from Angola versus Lingala from DR Congo, along with Portuguese, French, and English in a Swadesh list, which follows methods of analysis in comparative sociolinguistics. A work of this nature facilitates communication for business, education, medical, religious, and political purposes in post-war Congo and post-war Angola.

Getting to the essence of being, or the *–ntu*, of the text and language can prove difficult if unfiltered versions of Bantu languages will survive. Keeping the French connection, separate but alongside the English and Portuguese, the Swadesh list in Chapter Four will enable communication within *Kongo-Ngola* with greater ease from Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Angola, and Zambia, for outsiders and insiders. However, the transnational space of *Kongo-Ngola* has moved well beyond the boundaries of Congo-Angola.16

The benefits of the glossary to humanitarian actors will prove invaluable. One must note the significance Bresnan and Mchombo (1995) made with the Bantu lexical integrity principle concerning sentence structure and Bantu language noun classes, prefixes, affixes, and grammar that demonstrate the enormous complexities of Bantu linguistic intellectual thought processes. Thus, I have provided some translated texts in Chapter Four in Congolese Lingala, versus French or English, alongside some sentences in Angolan Umbundu with English. Likewise, I include some English to Portuguese translations. This work cannot occur without multilingualism, along the colonial borders of Congo-Angola created at the Conference of Berlin, which impact and divide *Kongo-Ngola* peoples of this vast region. Separated by outside forces with internal quotidian implications, this region and find geometrically multiplied demographic quotients at stake. European designed borders divide ancestral clans, in the process, allowing starvation on one side of an imaginary political line, but temporary prosperity across another line of demarcation.

The chapter on Bible will conclude with a social history of the African American and white Canadian and American Congregationalist missionaries who went to Angola in 1879, while noting the “the Black Livingstone” Dr. William Henry Sheppard, who lived in Belgian Congo as a Presbyterian missionary. Within African, Black, Africana, African American, and African diaspora studies, one cannot separate the art-work, truths, and myths these African American missionaries brought back with them in the early twentieth century from the inspiration of African art from Congo in Picasso’s Cubism, Ethiopianism, the New Negro Movement/Harlem Renaissance, and the Francophone Negritude movement. Certainly, one must consider the Pan-African rhetoric of Marcus Garvey and the global reach of his multi-lingual publication Negro World during the period following Sheppard’s return from Africa, as the Black world became more connected with cross-global migrations from the diaspora to Africa and vice-versa in a post-slave trade twentieth century.

Finally, Bible addresses the history of Local Anthropology in Kongo-Ngola, through the indigenous university and museum at Dundo named for Queen Mulunda, Lueji a Nkonde, coupled with the work of rebuilding Dondi University and medical clinic in Angola, which the Congregationalists built. It is important to note that the African American Congregationalists were treated as equals to the Canadian Congregationalists, and both groups worked in cooperation with local Angolan people, particularly among the Ovimbundu, whom Samuel Taylor Miller, another Hampton alumnus, believed his grandparents originated. Miller, an African American, was one of the founders of the Evangelical Congregationalist Church in Angola (Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola-IECA). Along with the author of the English-Umbundu dictionary, William Henry Taylor, not to be confused with Sheppard, IECA began in 1879 among a group of abolitionists, with the goal of ending slavery in Portuguese held Angola, before the Conference of Berlin of 1884-1885. This section will examine medical anthropology and anthropology of education, using the school sites and museum sites as places of praxis. As far as Dundo Museum is concerned, the question of respect will become paramount when analyzing African Indigenous Knowledge Systems and literal African bodies of knowledge, or flesh and blood. For instance, the Kuba art collection that Sheppard gave to Hampton University Museum will serve as a site of praxis of respect and honor for Africa by African Americans in Virginia, versus the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium, which originated under different circumstances. While Sheppard returned to the United States with gifts of artwork from his friends in Congo, the African masks, textiles, canoes, and other artifacts in Tervuren were taken by force. Many Euro-American museums share similar histories of exploitation of indigenous peoples, their bodies, and their property.

Analyses and Terminology Examined

First, one must note nomenclature, discipline, theory, and praxis within this dissertation, as I refer to this region as Kongo-Ngola in the pre-colonial era, both during and before the trans-Atlantic slave trade, distinguished from Congo-Angola in the era of Belgian and Portuguese

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imperialism and present-day post-colonial governance dictated by geopolitical boundaries established by Brussels (European Union) and the economic policies of the Bretton Woods Institutions of the IMF/World Bank. My training in social anthropological analysis, also known as pure anthropology, becomes important in carrying the metaphors of Beer, Blood, the Bible through this examination of larger phenomena in Africa, in the Southern hemisphere, and in the world related to the scientific and social worlds of pre-colonial indigenous and post-colonial capitalist neoliberal ontologies and epistemologies.

This current chapter provides a theoretical overview of understanding Beer, Blood and the Bible through a multilayered analysis of vanishing African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) and indigenous science, technology, engineering, arts, and mathematics (STEAM) related to agricultural economics in Kongo-Ngola and in pre-colonial Africa, in relation to the social order of production and consumption of indigenous alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, largely addressing the sexual division of labor, medicinal purposes and uses of antibiotic beer found in the archaeological record in the Nile River valley nearly 2,000 years ago, whereby questioning the loss of great bodies of knowledge overtime.

Meanwhile, Chapter Two sheds light on Euro-American business and economic historical practices related to Western beer markets in the global South during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, circa 1850 to 1970, and from 1970 to the present day. Thus, Chapter Two will heavily deal with agricultural economics, food security, and global mercantilism. Beer presents agronomy and business practices in Congo-Angola and the post-colonial imaginary of advertisements vis a vis the realities of life on the ground from the fantastic illusion of the Congolese soukous musicians forced to advertise Euro-American owned local beer brands such as Primus, Skol, or Doppel. Thus, considering Bauman’s liquid modernity, there exists no clear territory or separation of space and acculturation, as benefactors finance Congolese soukous music work in boardrooms headquartered in Brussels, St. Louis, Sao Paolo, Milwaukee, Amsterdam, Johannesburg, and so on. Here one sees, for Bauman’s liquid modernity, the North is not necessary exclusively Europe, Canada, or the United States, given the power of the form South African Brewing company (SAB), which acquired American Miller, in the same way in which Brazilian AmBev and Columbian Bavaria joined forces to eventually overtake Anheuser-Busch. Thus, the era of American and European cultural hegemony may not appear as clear as they once did. All the same, the agents of power, and the limited few who run these multinational conglomerates remain limited in number, as the divide between the richest 1% and the rest of the world continues to grow. As such, one must ask to what degree do Congolese artists control the production of Congolese music and dance videos, just as we ask to what degree do Congolese and African farmers and producers impact the consumption of foodstuffs, beer, and wine that make up the body of African diets and social interactions. This chapter also dissects the hidden meanings behind present-day Congolese advertisements for beer and other mass-produced, foreign owned products made in Congo for local consumers.

In Chapter Three, Blood presents linkages between political land economy, kinship, kingship/leadership/governance, and citizenship or birthrights to the nation, rooted in the linguistic connotation of naissance, natio, or Latin etymology of birth and land in Kongo-Ngola
and Congo-Angola concepts of belonging, kinship, and governance. Here, I present the Bantu migrations theory established by Jan Vansina (1990), coupled with historical accounts of the arrival of the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão in 1483. Georges Ayittey (1991) provides a clear explanation of how indigenous African political institutions functioned before colonialism, beyond previous efforts made by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940). Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002) provides an extensive description of nearly six centuries of political history of the region I refer to as Kongo-Ngola. Nzongola-Ntalaja certainly remains within the boundaries of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Guy Martin (2012) provides an overview and deeply detailed analyses of African Political Thought across the continent, such that one cannot separate the internal and external actors and agents concerning society and governance in various regions of Africa. For my own analysis, Chapter Three will reflect upon the past and present of the Kongo Kingdom from the Atlantic coast towards the hinterland of the Lunda-Chokwe peoples, paying closest attention to Queen Mulunda, Lueji a Nkonde.

With Chapter Four, the Bible, highlights metaphors for multilingual literacy, multicultural multinational missionaries, ethno-mathematics, the art of transcribing epistemologies, and the triangulation of multifaceted indigenous pedagogies in colonial and present-day Congo-Angola, with some minor attention paid to transnational diasporic contexts. Chapter Four also employs a multidirectional methodology to produce a Swadesh list in comparative linguistic anthropology juxtaposing Angolan Umbundu, Congolese Lingala, English, French and Portuguese. Genealogies of Bantu Linguistics will compare the works of scholars of African languages such as British-born Baptist missionary and linguistic anthropologist Malcolm Guthrie, versus American born Congregationalist missionary William H. Sanders who wrote the first major language guides to Congolese Lingala and Angolan Umbundu, respectively. This chapter will also dissect applications in Bantu linguistics in depth, while reflecting on the role of African American missionaries bringing Africa back to the United States when they returned home in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Here, I explore the William Henry Sheppard collection at Hampton and other museum exhibits of African artifacts around the world. Angola’s Dundo Museum associated with Universidade Lueji a Nkonde will become a focal point of this chapter, with reflections upon STE(A)M, especially with respect to ethno-mathematics, visual and material culture, and literacy.

Geolinguistic Political Thought of African(a) Anthropology

In the preface to La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba, Jean-Paul Sartre juxtaposes the lives of the psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon with the slain Congolese prime minister. Before a collection of speeches and political essays by Lumumba, Sartre shares one of Fanon’s predictions for the future, informed by the cognitive reality of the Martinican-born psychoanalyst, physician, and theorist towards colonial liberation. “Fanon often spoke to me about Lumumba,” the French philosopher notes. Sartre later adds, Fanon told him:

“Nous, les Noirs, nous sommes bons; la cruauté nous fait horreur. J’ai cru longtemps que les hommes d’Afrique ne se battraien pas entre eux. Hélas, le sang noir coule,
des Noirs le font couler, il coulera longtemps encore; les Blancs s’en vont, mais leurs complices sont parmi nous, armés par eux; la dernière bataille du colonisé contre le colon, ce sera souvent celle des colonisés, entre eux.”

“We Blacks are good; cruelty horrifies us. For a long time, I believed that Africans (literally the men of Africa) would not battle among themselves. Alas, black blood flows, Black people make it flow, and it will flow for a long time still. The whites have gone away, but their accomplices are among us, armed by them. The last battle of the colonized against the colonizer will often be one among the colonized themselves.”

In the passage I translated above, I stress the importance of the last sentence, given its significance in recent African political history, with clear geo-linguistic underpinnings. Considering Fanon’s writings as the theoretician’s linguistic and epistemological reservoir, while asserting Lumumba’s speeches as the articulation of a national, populace, unifying schemata in praxis, it becomes necessary to use grounded theory connecting the near and distant past with near and far future realities. Of course, Lumumba was murdered by the Belgian government in 1961, a fact to which they admitted in 2002, with a payment of reparations to the widow and children of Lumumba; however, what does that mean for Congo today?

In 2016, democratic elections did not occur, allowing President Joseph Kabila Kabange to remain in power past his constitutionally mandated maximum of 15-years (or one appointed term in 2001 and two elected five-year terms) in office. Instead of elections in 2016, violence has erupted on multiple occasions where police and military officers have killed nearly 60 Congolese people on the streets of Kinshasa. On November 2, 2016, regional leaders from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) voted in support of violating the Congolese constitution, whereby delaying mandatory 2016 elections until April 2018 at the earliest, or as this dissertation will be filed. Little to no progress appears to have been made towards democratic elections. The neighboring country of Angola provided support for this political accord, which many citizens of DR Congo appear to disapprove. Meanwhile, the Angolan government continues to expel Angolan born “Congolese” people back into the Democratic Republic of Congo. Across the Atlantic Ocean on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, one sees similar expulsions of Dominicans born of Haitian ancestry, who have been forced to leave their homes for the Haitian side of the island where they ancestors might have left as far back as 90 years ago.

In 2017, however, the United Nations remains active in the border town of Dundo, where upwards of 30,000 women, children, and some men have crossed from DR Congo into Angola. Tents have been set up to protect the migrants and refugees fleeing hunger and political unrest,

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largely from what used to be known as the Kasai and Katanga provinces of Congo, but which have been dissected into smaller, less effective departments or regions, possibly to eliminate regional political opposition in opposition to the national government in Kinshasa. After visiting Dundo briefly in July 2016, the matter of migrants and insecurity troubled me in articles I read. My friend Luis Samacumbi, who works for the Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA), also works for the United Nations Population Fund. Samacumbi assures me that the 35,000 people who have fled from Congo into Angola’s Lunda Norte province are finding assistance, as evidenced in the healthy birth of twin daughters to a young Congolese woman named Yvonne Mboi in February 2018 in a refugee camp in Angola.21 Here, the French concept of terroir becomes helpful as we consider the life of the land and the soil, where wine and blood, especially in the Catholic communion, are one in the same. However, in very un-Christian, global geopolitical actions, we see massive deportations of global citizens in the US, Hispaniola, and Kongo-Ngola whose human blood and human flesh receive little value without the proof of biometric documents, possibly proving their humanity, or belonging to a set, determined, outlined, and fixed geopolitical terrain.

For many reasons, it would be premature and dangerous to involve myself with regional political matters related to Congolese President Joseph Kabila Kabange or the former Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos, who resigned in September 2017 leaving former Minister of Defense João Lourenço in power as head of state. This dissertation does not cover current political matters. Thus, it is interesting to note that one of Mr. Kabila’s political rivals is the former governor of the Katanga governor, Moïse Katumbi. One should note that Katumbi is the son of a Lunda princess and a Greek Sephardic Jewish merchant. Thus, there may always be questions as to how Congolese is Katumbi, with respect to governing the entire country. In 2016, Foreign Policy suggested that Katumbi could win a presidential victory in Congo22. In 2018, however, who knows what the future has planned for the sitting president or the exiled former governor. Through his mother, Katumbi descends from Queen Mulunda Lueji a Nkonde, for whom the university in Dundo, Angola has been named. Thus, he represents part of an old bloodline of uterine kinship in the region.

In September 2017, José Eduardo dos Santos voluntarily stepped down as president of Angola, after 15-years of largely unchallenged rule since 2002. In that year, Jonas Savimbi died, after leading a civil war against dos Santos since 1975. Under Savimbi UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) maintained ties to Zaire under Mobutu Sese Seko and apartheid South Africa, while the MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) received aide from Fidel Castro’s Cuba, as the Cold War played out in Africa. Reflecting on Angola and DR Congo, one questions if true democratic policies protect the votes and voices of the citizenry when selecting their leaders, as witnessed in the US Presidential Elections of 2016. Despite the shared indigenous political and cultural connections predating the arrival of the Portuguese in 1483 to the region, today DR Congo and Angola exist as two separate countries, with secured borders. These Belgian, Portuguese, British, and French colonial constructs negate indigenous geolinguistic political terrains, historic epistemologies and ontologies of space, production and

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22 http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/25/poll-support-for-congos-embattled-president-kabila-slides-to-7-8-percent/
reproduction in present-day Congo (Kinshasa), Angola, Zambia, and Congo (Kinshasa). Sadly, people on the ground suffer from the decisions and interactions of political elites from above.

African studies, as a discipline, offers many paradigms through which one can examine the complexities of the continent. Moving from the macro-level to the micro-level of the single site, yet multi-sited contested space, a long-term or longue durée geo-linguistic, or lexicostatistical, and socio-cultural anthropological approach to Kongo-Ngola positions several ethno-political-linguistic groups in conversation with one another. Languages and dialects spoken between DR Congo and Angola would be too numerous to document in this dissertation. Therefore, this work remains tied to the linguistic groups found within Malcolm Guthrie’s historic Bantu language zones, noted in Nurse and Philipson (2003). However, the Swadesh list shall provide only two languages: Umbundu (R11), spoken by the Ovimbundu people, and Lingala (C36d), spoken by the BaNgala people. These two languages exist alongside nearly six hundred Bantu languages, but they are spoken beyond their ethnolinguistic or geolinguistic boundaries. Umbundu belongs to Zone R, while Lingala belongs to Zone C; yet, both serve as national and even transnational markers of Angolan identity and Congolese/Zairean belonging. These two languages are the most widely spoken in Angola and Congo, well-beyond their pre-colonial ethnic indigenous borders.

By comparison, in Senegal, one finds Wolof speakers who are not ethnically Wolof, such that this local African language has become a vehicular tool of communication beyond geolinguistic territorial boundaries, serving to preserve African linguistic cultural knowledge without resorting to French. The same can be said of the language spoken by the Bambara or Bamana people in Mali, used by neighboring ethnic groups. Likewise, Twi spoken in Ghana by the Akan people, might be used and known by Ga people and people belonging to other ethnic groups, both as a result of colonial intra-African migrations, but also as a means of speaking and using local mother tongues before resorting to foreign European imperial languages. In many ways, this linguistic cross-pollination occurred as colonial administrations simplified languages and instructions for native populations through mandatory schools that provided minimal education in limited local languages so that nineteenth and twentieth century colonial elites would not have to learn a plethora of complex indigenous African languages, amounting to half of the worlds known languages.

G. Ugo Nwokeji (2010) provides another explanation leading us to African American studies and African Diaspora studies, such that the trans-Atlantic slave trade produced an Aro diaspora within the Bight of Biafra where one finds the Igbo people among many neighbors speaking similar languages. As Nwokeji dissects the trans-Atlantic slave trade on one hand, the scholar provides lexicostatistical analyses on the other hand within what would become Nigeria in order to explain the similarities in ethnolinguistics or geolinguistic applications within historical analyses of the political, cultural, and economic past to quantify and chart the expansion of variations of Igbo and closely related languages spoken in the Bight of Biafra, such as Arondizuogu, Arochukwu, and Nri-Awka. He further underscores Aro expansion within Igboland, whereby intensifying the numbers of human captives taken in the trans-Atlantic slave
trade and within intra-African domestic slavery, which rearranges the organizational structures of these same indigenous political jural and economic systems. The result produces intra-African and global Igbo and Arochukwu diasporas beyond the geographic boundaries of Igboland. One should note that as a country, Nigeria has the largest population in Africa at 180 million people speaking over 500 languages or dialects.

Leaving a wealth of comparative knowledge in Igboland in West Africa and returning to *Kongo-Ngola* in Central Africa, ethnic groups and peoples discussed in this dissertation, but whose languages will not be present in the Swadesh list would include: the BaTetela (C70) within zone C of the Bangi-Ntumba group; the BaKongo (H10) and Ambundu (H20); the Chokwe (K11); the BaLuba (L30, L31, L31a, L31b); and BaLunda in zone L (50, 51, 52, 53). The BaNgala people are not the sole speakers of Lingala (C36d), as the language has spread beyond its pre-colonial ethnolinguistic geographic borders, in the process becoming a widely spread *lingua franca* in DR Congo through the Belgian colonial *Force Publique* and subsequent Congolese and Zairean armies, coupled with soukous musicians based in Kinshasa, well beyond *Equateur* Province near the colonial border with Central African Republic. There will also be some mention of IsiXhosa (S41) and other Nguni languages, especially when considering umqombothi beer traditions and cultural practices of the past and present. Of course, these languages represent one fragment of the sixteen lettered zones, marked with letters from A to S. Mapping Guthrie’s groups and subgroups becomes a heavy task, as people migrate from the location they may have lived one hundred years ago, or more. Thus, we see the complexities of geolinguistics involving political economy, history, religion, gender and kinship studies, and STEAM, when we apply the linguistic anthropological tools of lexicostatistics and glottochronology as invaluable components to the multifaceted discipline of African studies.

Anthropological Linguistics

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Historical Genealogies for Studying *Kongo-Ngola*

In *Language: Its Structure & Use*, Edward Finegan estimates that there are roughly 6,000 languages in use in the world today. Among them, more than 2,000 are spoken in Africa alone. In Africa and around the world, socio-political debates question the boundaries between languages, dialects, creoles and pidgins. By recognizing language as “a privileged measure of communication,” one may better understand the role of identity in human expression and interaction. Within the Niger Congo subgroup of African languages, there are over six hundred Bantu languages. The use of a certain language can denote one’s position or identity within a particular socio-cultural group. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a history of European trade, colonialism, and post-colonial political initiatives has propelled Lingala beyond the

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geographic boundaries of any sole ethnic or social group. In a state where the official language is French, Lingala shares a status of national language with Kiswahili, Tshiluba, and Kikongo. As the driving force in the creation of the colonial state, the language in which the colonial army functioned, Lingala, and the language in which the colonial administration operated, French, could be viewed as the medium through which the state has been imagined, similar to the ways in which Anderson shows how the printing press and European linguistic unity led to the emergence of modern-day Germany, Italy, and other nation-states.\textsuperscript{27} In the case of Angola, colonial efforts to eradicate indigenous languages—such as Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Chokwe, and Chilunda—have placed Portuguese in a favorable position while other languages have lost social significance and the ability to describe and explain the scientific and natural worlds.

With early European settlements in the Congo River basin came Western notions of racial hierarchy and cultural inferiority of African civilizations. As early as 1891, Belgian studies on communication in the region revealed “all people of Congo, like all those of Southern Africa, have the same system of language…..but each tribe has a different dialect from another, offering, however, certain similarities between words and phrases.”\textsuperscript{28} Here, Cambier goes on to refer to the area as “Bangala” or “the country of the Bamangalas.” He later decides that six languages exist among the Bangala: Ibôko; Mabâli; Bolôki; Bangômbé; Motêmbo; and Lousêngo. By making such a conclusion early in the colonial era, Cambier creates a standard for biases concerning the structure of Bantu languages, which can allude to or imply certain characteristics and traits of the different ethnic groups and peoples. Reflections on the Belgian role in the construction of ethnic identities among the Tutsi and Hutu echoes the anthropological use of the term \textit{moiety}\textsuperscript{29} such that two clans work together, as halves of a whole, but may operate under separate kinship patterns of descent or economic subsistence. In the case of Rwanda and Burundi, Hutus are agriculturalists, while Tutsis were historically pastoralists; however, the Belgian colonialists established goats and crops as markers of separate races. The result led to multiple genocides since the 1960s, most notably from April to July 1994, which has become the foundation for the current instabilities in the Great Lakes region of Africa today.

It may be more historically accurate to conclude that Lingala emerged from a language spoken by the Bobangi people.\textsuperscript{30} Known for their navigational skills along the waterways and tributaries of the Congo River, the Bobangi traded extensively in the area before the arrival of Europeans. Furthermore, Yanga notes the relationship between the language of the Bobangi and languages spoken along the Nile River, questioning the origins of Bantu speaking groups throughout Central Africa. Yanga cites Guthrie and Cheikh Anta Diop for his inspiration towards arriving at such conclusions. With respect to linguistic variations in the area, Guthrie notes, “In most places where Lingala is spoken there is also the local [tribal] language.”\textsuperscript{31} Guthrie’s research causes one

\textsuperscript{28} E. Cambier. (1891) \textit{Essai sur la langue congolaise}. Bruxelles: Imprimerie Polleunis et Ceuterick.
to question Cambier’s hypothesis on dialectical variations among different groups of people in the region. Additionally, Guthrie asserts that the Bobangi introduced words into the vocabulary of other groups, while other words remained unchanged. This caused some difficulty among missionaries wishing to use a single version of “Bangala” or “Mangala.”

As Guthrie notes, and as Yanga reiterates, the Bangala or Mangala language as first documented and used by whites in the area was “almost never spoken by black people among themselves.” 32 While it is believed that the original root of Lingala is the language of the Bobangi, the variety European missionaries and colonial agents first used to communicate with people in the region did not reflect the original lingua franca or vehicular language of the region employed by Africans before the colonial era. It may be also possible that the term Lingala was even coined by the European missionaries, and not by Africans themselves. 33 In creating a form of the Bobangi language that could be used and understood by a large group of people, it is also possible that the European missionaries created a pidgimized form of the language, which eventually became a creole by generations of future native speakers. 34

Colonial missionaries played a key role in the spread and standardization of Lingala. While the colonial army used a spoken variety of the language, written forms of the language came into use due to the efforts of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, who translated the Bible. Establishing their own separate versions of the language, Europeans from these two Christian sects played a key role in the dissemination of the Lingala across the Equatorial and Oriental regions, and into the capital of Leopoldville/Kinshasa, a predominately Kikongo speaking area. It is important to note Guthrie’s dictionary received the endorsement of le Conseil Protestant du Congo, which reveals his association with the version of the language recorded and spread by Protestant missionaries in the area. As the main providers of education, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the colony not only provided religious indoctrination; they also provided the education necessary for a rare class of Congolese individuals to seek employment beyond the mines, fields and military.

On could consider Malcolm Guthrie’s Bantu linguistic map as a veritable terrain of ethnic and cultural diversity, but also of homogeneity, which may shed light on the multilayered dimensions of political economy, linguistic worldview, and knowledge production in the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Belgian Congo), and across the adjacent European drafted boundaries of the Republic of Angola (former Portuguese Angola). Guthrie would classify Lingala as Zone C-32. 35 The European naming and mapping of Niger-Congo Bantu languages becomes important to historians and political scientists, as well as to linguistic and socio-cultural anthropologists working on Africa. Guthrie was a British missionary stationed in Leopoldville,

33 Yanga, pp. 110-127.
Belgian Congo, who later went on to earn degrees in anthropology and linguistics at Imperial College, University of London. He served as a professor of Bantu Linguistics, Anthropology, and Theology at the School of Oriental and African Studies at University of London. Additionally, Professor Malcolm Guthrie wrote extensively on Lingala, Teke, a host of Bantu Languages, and theorized “Proto-Bantu” and the Bantu migrations from present-day Nigeria as far as South Africa. If one considers “Latin” as the root of French, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish, Catalan, Galician, Italian, spreading through the Roman Empire two millennia ago, today Latin and Roman epistemologies continue to spread with Euro-American capitalist expansion and imperialism. Because the colonial borders were artificially created at Berlin in 1884-1885, ethnolinguistic groups were broken up and divided by European colonial powers. So, the BaTeke (found in Gabon, the Republic of Congo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo), would share linguistic similarities with the BaNgala (Lingala speakers of DR Congo, Republic of Congo, and parts of Angola), and with Kimbundu and Umbundu speakers in Angola (the separate Ambundu and Ovimbundu people). Indigenous and colonial overlapping epistemologies and ontologies shape geolinguistic terroir of this region.

Certainly, anthropologists of the past play a key role in uncovering these similarities and differences among related socio-cultural groups. Mary Douglas, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Wyatt MacGaffey, Malcolm Guthrie, and A. R. Radcliffe-Browne conducted numerous studies in sub-Saharan Africa; however, Congolese and Angolan scholars, such as Ngoma Ngambu, Valentin Y. Mudimbe, Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, and Fonseca Sousa must come to the forefront. Thus, this dissertation distinguishes itself by not simply constituting an historical accounting and retelling of events by using an anthropological analysis and theoretical approach that merely replicates Euro-American thought. All the same, this dissertation does emerge out of reflections on structural-functionalism, structuralism, symbolic/interpretive anthropology, cognitive anthropology, linguistic relativism, feminist anthropology, and cultural materialism within Marxist anthropology. These will all be explained in greater detail below.

Jan Vansina’s Paths in the Rainforests: towards a political tradition in Equatorial Africa provides a great historical anthropological overview of what he refers to as “cognitive realities” and “physical realities” using “words and things.” The physical and imagined world provide the perfect triangulation of methods to examine complexly deep and rich pre-colonial sets of Western and Eastern Bantu epistemologies that never vanished, even as European colonizers believed that they could place Belgian, French and Portuguese worldviews upon a tabula rasa. Vansina’s triangular approach towards Central African historical anthropology proves to be invaluable to this present study, as he combines Marxist ecological cultural materialism, heavily informed by linguistic anthropology, where gender roles are present, in order to understand linguistic relativity and semiotics, within political organization of Bantu-speaking peoples millennia ago. While the field of African studies is certainly interdisciplinary, so too are the fields of history and anthropology. It is important to note that Vansina is trained as both an historian and ethnographer-anthropologist, doing linguistic glottochronology and lexicostatistics.
Jan Vansina intersects historiography with the fields of linguistic anthropology, physical/biological anthropology, political anthropology, and economic anthropology in *Paths in the Rainforests*. Primary to his study is the dominant theory that Bantu speaking people left the area of present-day Southern Nigeria and Cameroon, heading south into the Western and Eastern areas of Central Africa, and into Southern Africa, as far back as 3,000 BCE. Within African Diaspora studies, one must note this migration, as the second wave or phase homo sapiens movement in relation to human history of Africa. BaTwa peoples, or pygmies, would have inhabited the areas where the Bantu arrived. !Khoisan peoples would have been in Southern Africa near the Kalahari and Namib deserts, where Bantu cultural practices and languages survived by blending with the pre-existing groups.

Language becomes a key marker of worldview and the development of epistemologies. For instance, Vansina notes the etymology of the word *noko*, which in present-day Lingala and Kikongo refers to the maternal uncle and the duties of the avuncular relationship. However, Vansina (1990, pp. 105-110) harkens back to the pre-colonial House system of districts, using Proto-Bantu linguistic analysis, to assert attempts of the appearance of equality of Houses of big men to secure alliances and allegiances across villages as “families,” within the framework of brothers (older and younger), and later within the conceptualization of the avuncular ties and responsibilities between the maternal sister’s son and mother’s brother. Thus, one finds heavy matrilineal kinship ties in agriculturalist Western Bantu societies of the rain forests, while patrilineal descent within pastoralist Eastern Bantu groups dominates in savannah grasslands.

In *Customs and Government in the Lower Congo*, Wyatt MacGaffey (1970) notes the significance of matrilineal kinship in land distribution, such that traditional law among the BaKongo places women central to the distribution of land for agricultural production. In this instance, the clans of the woman’s grandparents are the four corners or four families and networks through which her husband may request land to be used so that he might farm. Land remains in the matrilineal clans of the wife. Thus, bride wealth offered from the groom to the brides four families, Houses, or four corners, or *bankazi*, plays a key role in how husbands can provide food for their families, and use land in a balanced system of reciprocities. The effects go on to impact the value of women and uterine kinship ties in pre-colonial and post-colonial situations. During the colonial era, anthropologists would arrive in the region and refer to these Houses as clans, while the district system of a dozen or so equal Houses, with no chief, would be replaced by colonial geopolitics and terminology (see Vansina 1990, pp. 81-83). Here, Vansina and MacGaffey revisit and revise Central African realities of the past, so that we can all better understand the present. This type of work plays a major role in (re)producing futures based on these dying lexical and lived cognitive and physical realities.

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36 Today, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the term ‘noko’ is used to refer to the maternal uncle, who is responsible for the care of his sister’s children within matrilineal Western Bantu societies, such as the BaKongo; however, his role is less important among patrilineal groups such as the Luba of the Kasai region. In present-day parlance, the term ‘noko’ refers to the (post)colonial relationship between Congo and Belgium, much like the House system that Vansina mentioned in 1990.
Above, I have explained cultural materialist analysis stemming from Marxist anthropology, looking particularly at Marx and Engel’s materialist history of the world in “evolutionary” stages of production from hunter-gatherers to agriculturalists and pastoralists, to intensive agriculture, to industrialization. Marxist analysis and cultural materialism have often been tied to African Anthropology, where colonial inequalities and the changing terrain of the last century can be visible in economic relations. One must consider the cultural ambiguities among Africans disconnected from indigenous ethnolinguistic epistemologies within their geographic homelands, while European imperialist economic production has confounded lexicostatistical models and quotidian life.

Revisiting Marjorie Shostak’s longitudinal anthropological study in Botswana’s Kalahari Desert after World War II shows us that Nisa and her husbands experienced changes in !Kung society, intensified by commodity exchange, consumption of European alcoholic beverages, forced integration within BaTswana cattle herding as low-paid laborers by a neighboring Bantu group, as well as within European labor markets as domestic servants. The “noble” hunter-gatherers, who have few possessions and long enjoyed a great deal of egalitarianism among men and women, witness their lives altered by colonial market exchange and economic exploitation. On the grand scale, we see British imperialism at work, but to a lesser degree we see BaTswana herdsmen using the BaTwa and Ju/’hansi or !Kung as an exploitable labor market within the global capitalist system. Marxist analysis can be quite helpful at examining economic production and economic inequalities, in Africa and around the world. In the case of women and men in !Kung society finding their worlds shifting and their words captured in print, we must combine Marxist and cultural materialist analysis, along with feminist analysis and other theoretical paradigms to tackle a multiplicity of issues and dilemmas for a vast continent. One theory is not sufficient, especially as all theories build upon previous epistemologies, like a web of kinship.

Social and Linguistic Anthropology Connect

With Marxist analysis and cultural materialism explained above, this subsection will provide a genealogy of theoretical schools of thought in anthropology: functionalism; structural-functionalism; structuralism; symbolic and interpretive anthropology; cognitive anthropology; and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity, all in relation to African anthropology and Kongo-Ngola with some global comparative references where needed. One must credit functionalist anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski and cultural relativist Franz Boas for developing the concept of fieldwork, within a scientific approach. While Malinowski was a Polish trained mathematician and physicist, Boas was a German trained physicist and geographer (Herskovits 1953). We consider the functionalist Malinowski to be the father of British Anthropology, and Boas, a cultural relativist, to be the father of American Anthropology.

Both anthropologists conducted extensive fieldwork, and stressed this practice among their students, such that they could apply theory to grounded praxis. For many philosophers from Kant to Engels have suggested that theory alone serves mere intellectual pondering when exercised without practice. Likewise, fieldwork and practice without theory can be equated to the blind leading the blind, or the blind leading the indigenous person away from ethno-science that they can already see and know to be proven, testable, and replicable.30

Emile Durkheim and his nephew Marcel Mauss established the school of structural-functionalism in sociology and anthropology, respectively. The structural-functionalist school of thought, which functionalism conceived, relied heavily on analysis linked with fieldwork. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown can be credited for applying the theories articulated by Durkheim and Mauss to the British school of structural-functionalist anthropology (Das et al 2012, pp. 588-590). Meyer Fortes trained under Malinowski, and he worked with Radcliffe-Brown. In his own right, Fortes (1949) penned the classic The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi, which used structural-functionalist analysis to shed light on how this group in present-day Ghana arranges their community based on kinship, age groups, sexual division of labor, proxy parentage, and the dynamics and relationships of people to land and things. Among the Tallensi, one sees how economic modes of production, collective ownership of land, and shared responsibilities for childrearing create a harmonious web of relationships and titles of honorifics and reverence, where gender and age provide respect for people within hierarchies of age. Together, Fortes and Radcliffe-Brown (1940) made a significant contribution with African Political Systems. E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1937, 1940, 1951) is mostly remembered for his numerous writings on witchcraft among the Azande of present-day South Sudan, but who also live in what is now Northeastern DR Congo, as well as his later works on the pastoralist Nuer of South Sudan. Here, one sees that witchcraft allegations carry significant economic implications of jealousy and inequalities, especially among co-wives; yet, there remains a scientific and rational explanation of witchcraft substance. Later anthropologists would move away from heavy emphasis on kinship into worldview, superstructure, and semiotics.

Genealogy of Symbolic and Linguistic Anthropological Theory

Structuralism, symbolic-interpretive anthropology, cognitive anthropology, and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis are separate but inter-related theories and paradigms, critical to the study at hand on Central African geo-linguistic political integrity. Beginning with Ferdinand de Saussure’s early studies in structuralism in linguistics, Claude Levi-Strauss brings structuralism in linguistic analysis to anthropology. Underhill (2012) notes that Saussure considered the study of language groups to be part of Ethnisme, or what he considered to combine “religion, civilization, and common defense” (p. 25). For Levi-Strauss, the 1949 publication of Elementary Structures of Kinship demonstrated the prominence of alliance theory, linking families through matrilineal descent and marriage. In 1962, Levi-Strauss moves away from kinship analysis into the world of language with The Savage Mind. Frederic Keck (2009) provides a careful comparative analysis

of Mary Douglas’ symbolic/cultural materialist work *Purity and Danger* and Levi-Strauss’ structuralist magnum opus *Savage Mind*. Keck notes “the bricoleur is, like the zoologist, confronted with forms that already have a signification in themselves, but he gives them another signification by relating them to other forms” (p. 142). Levi-Straussian binary oppositions and concepts on language and speech will not be the focus of this dissertation, as studies in Bantu Linguistics (within Linguistic Anthropology) will shed deeper, more direct light on this subject. Here, we may wish to think ahead to a later interpretation of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis connecting language and worldview, while Mary Douglas provides an important contribution to cultural materialist paradigms on consumption, to be discussed below. Symbolic-interpretive anthropology and semiotics; however, connects *bricolage* to the diasporic African creations of Creoles, African American Vernacular English, pidgins in Africa, and blended indigenous African languages mingling across their intended borders and geo-linguistic terroirs.

As we move into symbolic-interpretive anthropology, one begins to see the greater focus given to how humans use language to create the cognitive reality we may know as the social and cultural world, or superstructure, within the natural world, environment and economic production of the infrastructure. Looking at the work of Victor Turner, we see the shift from structuralism to interpretive and symbolic anthropology, where extensive fieldwork plays into how theory is applied to describe the world the anthropologist views/interprets, and to explain the historical and symbolic reasons for human behavior. Turner provides deep descriptive analyses of ritual, signs, and symbols during his fieldwork among the Lunda-Ndembu in British Rhodesia, present-day Zambia. In fact, the BaLunda people live alone and alongside several other ethnolinguistic groups (especially the Chokwe) in former Portuguese Angola and in former Belgian Congo.

Turner (1967, 1968) provides a detailed description of the meaning behind the ritualistic dances, rites of passage, and sacred practices among the Lunda-Ndembu in present-day Zambia, along the DR Congo-Angola borderland. Although this essay can only touch the surface on the Lunda people, here we see the BaLunda ethnic group already living among neighboring Ndembu and Chokwe people, speaking similar, but different Bantu languages. In the colonial era, Portuguese, Belgian Francophone, and English-speaking British colonial powers and agents would partition and divide these neighboring, cohabitating, intermarrying groups.

In *The Drums of Affliction*, Victor Turner (1968) cites the morphology of 500 years of rituals of blood, especially in relation to *nkula*, a performance given to ward off miscarriage, and to aid in menstruation and good health. According to Turner, this practice and performance can be directly related to the birth of the first Mwaant Yaav, or the son of the ancestress Queen Mulunda, Lueji a Nkonde. In Turner’s account “Luweji Ankonde, a woman chief Mwantianyvwa and co-founder of the dynasty, went to her menstruation hut [where] her period

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40 Here, I refer to Universidade Lueji a Nkonde in Malanje Province, Lunda Sul Province, and Lunda Norte Province in Angola. Although Lunda people and the Lunda Empire cover a small portion of present-day Zambia and parts of the Kasai and Katanga Provinces of Democratic Republic of Congo, I will henceforth use the spelling of Lueji a Nkonde (Queen Mulunda), as it is written at the University campuses bearing her name in Angola. This practice adheres to the principle of Indigenous People’s Education movements. English spellings by Victor Turner and James Pritchett and French spellings of her name by Belgian anthropologists, such as Luc de Heusch, will be used with reference to direct citation and quotation of the author. Otherwise, I will use the people’s spelling of their historical figure.
lasted many days” (1968:58). In later sections of this paper, it will be important to revisit the spellings, gender dynamics, and historical accounts in Turner’s Zambian fieldwork, as presented in written and lived realities in Angola, where forty percent of the BaLunda live, and in DR Congo where fifty percent of the BaLunda live. Certainly, when returning to contemporary Congolese politics, and possible future president, exiled Katanga governor Moïse Katumbi, his Lunda matrilineal royal heritage and Greek Sephardic patrilineal heritage will be important in understanding contemporary Central African political economy on the overlapping global and local, past/future spatiotemporal levels. For the moment, let us remain in the semiotics of nkula.

Before entering the hut, Queen Mulunda, or Lueji a Nkonde gives her bracelet to her husband, the foreign Luba Prince Tshibinda Ilunga. When the female chief failed to emerge from her hut, people collected medicines to treat her nkula, or long bleeding. This could be the moment she gave birth to the Mwaant Yaav male heir, or a period of long menstruation, for there is some speculation as to who actually gave birth to Queen Mulunda’s son, Mwaant Yaav. Lueji a Nkonde (Queen Mulunda) had a younger sister who could have given birth to the child as she could not. This will be discussed in detail below in a later section. The performance of nkula ties directly to the creation story of the empire, and primarily within the importance of Lueji a Nkonde, and Mwaant Yaav, who embody a variety of ritualistic purposes. Namely, nkula may be performed if a woman misses her menstrual cycle, does not become pregnant, or if she is barren. At the same time, the performance of nkula may also represent the infant the patient desires, but whom she may not be able to conceive (Turner 1968: 59; 86).

Meanwhile, in The Forest of Symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual, Turner provides the symbolic name for the male counterpart of nkula, which lies in the mukula tree. Known as the tree of blood, Lunda-Ndembu boys sit upon a long log of mukula wood after completing the rites of circumcision (Turner 1967: 141). Of course, the tree sap or blood of nonhuman things plays a role in the discourses of Lunda origin, cosmology, and relation to the outside world of symbols, which connect humans to the inseparable living world of Creation. Within this society occupying the borderland between the Western and Eastern Bantu migratory trajectories, the role of the MuLuba husband of Queen Mulunda, Prince Tshibinda Ilunga, constitutes him as an outsider within the Lunda court. It should be noted here that the BaLuba people are patrilineal, while the BaLunda practice bilateral kinship, due possibly to Luba ecology and technologies of consumption in Kasai region, overlapping the Lunda varied climatic terrains of rain forest and savannah and practices of intermarriage among neighboring groups. The nkula ritual and the mukula tree having functions within female and male space, sheds light on the surface of the binary oppositions assumption within structuralism, which gives birth to the deep descriptive analysis of symbolic and interpretive anthropology. Before moving forward into cognitive anthropology and how this knowledge is learned and transmitted, we must visit Linguistic Anthropology, Bantu Linguistics, and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

The Humanist Linguist Order of Bantu Essence of Being (-ntu)

In his classic text *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, anthropologist Charles F. Hockett (1958) informs us of several key properties and functions of languages. He notes that spoken communication lasts for only a brief moment, except for written texts, which transcend the spatiotemporal moment of the word. We note that individuals can be both senders and receivers of messages, who can control our transmitted messages by changing or correcting our words, within a system of meaning that both references the world, but occasionally may be arbitrary. Composed of separate bits of sounds known as phonemes, discreteness allows us to make words, known as productivity. I will return to discreteness, productivity, and making words, sentences, and complex thoughts within complex lexicons when discussing Bresnan and Mchombo (1995) and the lexical integrity principle in Bantu languages.

Returning to Hockett (1958), we learn that languages describe ideas and knowledge across space and time, through the process of displacement. In the case of this essay, language can be reflexive, as we can use language to communicate about language; however, prevarication allows language to be false and misleading. In further work in later projects, I will focus on the misuse of language to erode and efface histories and epistemologies, whereby changing culture and inventing misleading knowledge, as though it is the status quo. For this reason, Mchombo (2016) argues in favor of instruction in indigenous African languages within the situational context of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics, to teach and retransmit STEM knowledge in Africa for African production, reproduction, and sustainable consumption. Returning to Hockett, we see that through learnability, speakers and users of one language can learn more than one language. Finally, cultural transmission allows the properties and conventions of a language to be the property of a cultural and social group, which can be acquired by being part of that group and by socializing and interacting with that group. These concepts certainly leave much to be studied in the domain of the Anthropology of Indigenous People’s Education in 21st century Africa for preservation and survival in the global age of information technology, against acculturation, deculturation, linguicide and linguifam. Jan Vansina’s, in *Paths in the Rainforests*, informed by Morris Swadesh’s concept of glottochronology, uses morphology and semantics to make sense of what Bresnan and Mchombo (1995, p. 197) refer to as “bare noun stems.” This is the theoretical foundation upon which future projects of practice and praxis can be constructed and effectively articulated in the full light of brighter political and ethnolinguistic integrated days.

Linguistic relativity and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis sheds light on how worldview and language are interconnected. Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, as anthropologists and linguists, believed that language formation and usage interact with the social and natural worlds. Whorf (1956) postulated that grammar and syntax are not accidental; on the contrary, they provide the foundation for how we think about the world and about language. Furthermore, the mind is part of our linguistic system and vice versa. Sapir (1949) further supports their joint hypothesis of linguistic relativity by noting that the world of a social group is built around and within the language of that group. Linguistic concepts, values, and relationships of the speaker to the world
all factor into the creation of the speaker’s worldview and the collective consciousness of that social group. In other words, an individual and the language of a group play a crucial, if not inseparable role, in the cognitive and physical realities of one another. Sapir and Whorf’s conceptualization of linguistic relativity brings us back to Franz Boas’ cultural relativism, where each cultural group must be studied within its own habits and practices and not by outside standards. Thus, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis may be helpful as a primary step in comparative analysis; however, the Eurocentric and Anglo-American approach to language may contradict Boasian cultural relativism with gross overstatements. Still, language and culture remain linked, without a doubt, as elements of cultural expression require a medium of transmission and communication (language). As languages change internally or externally, they impact social and cultural changes, as well. However, one should not conclude that languages do not possess the capacity to translate one conceptual idea or sentence into another language. In reality, all languages possess the capacity to translate philosophical and scientific terminology within emic and etic experiences of the quotient and within guarded expert knowledge. With this in mind, one must revisit Mchombo (2014: 32), who notes the complexity of African languages, given the extensive and numerous translations of the Bible, whereby strengthening arguments for curricula where the LoI would be local African MTs. The scientific and mathematical possibilities for such an argument are necessary. However, one must question how changing times impact changes in language usage and even the meaning of words.

With respect to Eastern and Western Bantu migrations and linguistic lexical data on glottochronology, Vansina shows how technologies and techniques—using agricultural metal tools, hunting technology, and the naming of social space, such as Houses and families—all played a key role in the formation of states. With states, one finds a mwene/mwani or chief-king (in Kikongo) who controls movement and activities over the land. In regions to the immediate east of the BaKongo people, the Teke refer to their chief or the person who controlled Houses, districts, and territory as ngali. Thus, we return to the words and things suggestion of lexicostatistics within Bantu Linguistics in the Kongo-Ngola region, taking note of the terms mwene in Kikongo and ngali (Ngola). In the present-day, the term Ngola can refer to a Portuguese Creole language spoken on the islands of São Tomé and Principe. According to Joseph C. Miller (1976: 62-88) the term ngola served as a hereditary title for queens and kings in the Ndongo region of the Mbundu people found in present-day Malanje Province in the interior of Angola. While Miller suggests that the term ngola also carried some weight in relation to the iron bars of currency used in the region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I choose to refer to this region (Congo-Kinshasa, Congo-Brazzaville, Angola) as Kongo-Ngola given the connection to pre-colonial political systems associated with the land. As Ngugi (2007) suggests, naming African geographic spaces within local languages versus colonial languages of domination carry significant weight in terms of reproducing local epistemologies and avoiding linguicide and linguifam since the memory of the space remains intact with the pre-colonial naming systems for geographic terrain.

Here, it is important to reflect upon V. Y. Mudimbe’s *The Invention of Africa*. Mudimbe places Claude Levi-Strauss and Lucien Levy-Bruhl in highly esoteric conversation with Belgian Franciscan Placide Frans Tempels, as well as African intellectuals such as Congo-Brazzaville’s Theophile Obenga and the Rwandan priest and philosopher Alexis Kagame, who were trained in European schools of thought. For myself, the Congolese French hip-hop group *Bisso Na Bisso* served as my first Lingala language lessons, followed by situated contextual whole language learning with Congolese friends in Paris during my college days abroad. My official Lingala classroom instruction in Lingala came in my first year of graduate school at Berkeley under the tutelage of the Egyptologist Theophile Obenga at San Francisco State University. A Lingala FLAS Summer fellowship in 2005 would make me fluent in this Bantu language, along with further tutoring in 2005-06. Thus, when I arrived in Congo for a three week stay in May/June 2006, I had the necessary foundations to replicate deeper language expression than what I would use in the Congolese diaspora in Paris and Brussels.

Mudimbe notes that Obenga served Congo-Brazzaville as Minister of Foreign Affairs for a period; however, in class, Obenga often spoke of his work with Cheikh Anta Diop. Lessons from Obenga drifted into deeper reflections into Lingala etymology traced back to similar words in ancient KMT (Ancient Egypt), such that the high probability of travel “down” and “up” the Nile River made for a unique mixture of linguistic traditions. One must note the racial discrimination researchers of African descent have received, such that Sorbonne rejected Diop’s doctoral dissertation where he postulated that the people of Ancient Egypt were Black. Today, Basil Davidson and hosts of historians and archaeologists-anthropologists now conclude Diop’s postulation to be fact. While my work may appear contrarian to some, I wish for it to be comprehensible to the masses, despite esoteric knowledge and complex diction.

With *The Invention of Africa*, Mudimbe worked against Eurocentric stereotypes in socio-cultural and linguistic anthropology, philosophy and religion in the colonial and post-colonial era while proving his mastery of the master metanarrative of Africa. In the process, his work becomes readable by only a handful of people, and would not be transmittable to the masses of Bantu-language speakers. For myself, I understand the concepts of *ntu* and the essence of being imbedded in the Bantu Linguistic noun stem, with important affixes surrounding the root, connected with the philosophy of words and things as a speaker of Lingala, with working knowledge of Kiswahili, Lunda, Chokwe, Kimbundu, and Kikongo, not only through language use, but through discreteness, productivity, and reflexivity, especially in my studies of Bantu linguistics under Professor Sam Mchombo in 2005. For instance, when reading Mchombo’s work on syntax and sentence structure in Chichewa, with respect to distinguishing morphology and word formation, one comes to understand verb stems with affix application, in order to change the meaning of one word, as well as the entire sentence.

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43 *Bisso Na Bisso* translates as *Entre Nous* in French, or “Between/Among Us” in English. I am reminded of the 1990s US African American clothing line FUBU (For Us, By Us) when I think of the rappers with origins in Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Cape Verde, and the French Antilles who articulated their frustrations with homelands and host lands in the ghettos of Sarcelles. One should note that the late 1999 release of *Bisso Na Bisso*’s debut album *Racines*—or Roots in English—became a top seller, demonstrated by the repeated airplay of their single “Tata Nzambe” (Father God) where the hip-hop group sing, rap, and pray for peace in both nations known as Congo.
Linguistic Reservoirs of Knowledge

In “Argument Binding and Morphology in Chichewa,” Mchombo (2007: 203-221) explores causative, applicative, reciprocal, and passive (CARP) order within Chichewa morphology and syntax, such that words are formed or glued together, and sentences make sense to other speakers. Referring to Hyman’s theory of CARP and Chomsky’s 1981 theory of Government and Binding, Mchombo writes about the reflexive and the reciprocal affixes, particularly -an (210). This affix appears in Swahili and Lingala, particularly the verbs *kumuna* and *komona*, respectively, in the two separate Bantu languages. To create a new meaning, one needs to add the affix –an within the verb, and include the prefix to construct the proper expression when parting ways, and planning to see each other again. I use this particular verb, *komona*, as it will become key to the context of *Rebelle* or *War Witch*, an Oscar nominated film noted below. All the same, it becomes necessary to introduce Government and Binding within this linguistic analysis.

Moving well beyond the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity, Government and Binding (GB) explains the relationship of various parts of a sentence between one another, such that a case commands and binds various parts of an expression together with pronouns, prepositional phrases, verb tenses, etc. Cheryl A. Black (1999) uses Chomsky’s X-Bar theory to postulate various applications of GB within several languages. Differentiating SOV, VOS, OVS, and VSO languages within X-Bar theory, Black (1999: 12) maps and expounds upon the word order. Thus, Sapir-Whorf becomes insufficient. Recalling rules in Romance languages, such as French and Portuguese, one may consider object pronoun placement (SOV/subject, object, verb), instead of SVO (subject, verb, object) as would be likely in English. The Swadesh list provided in Chapter Four uses lexicography to develop and arrange words and things, with some full-length translations between languages. However, the belief that word order or structure of language dictates cultural competencies or potential for knowledge construction within forms of communication must be questioned and refuted. Locality matters to a great deal in terms of where words would be placed to change the meaning of a particular sentence (Black 1999: 40). Black provides examples of Zapotec, spoken in Mexico, which is a VSO language. Likewise, she shows the principles of GB in Amazonian OSV languages such as Tupi. Black does not mention Congolese Lingala; however, where language meshing occurs, particularly with Tupi Amazonian languages and Portuguese, or with Bantu languages in Africa and French, English, or Portuguese, clearly opposed patterns of GB conflict within blended languages that might be spoken on the ground. One would also find clearly distinct forms of colonial languages spoken with elements of grammatical rules from indigenous languages still present on some level in translation. Thus, I cannot conclude that Lingala or Umbundu exist as pure African languages without European influences. On the contrary, these languages, though indigenous, have been greatly altered and impacted by forced colonial educational paradigms, vocabularies, and linguistic rules of Government and Binding. Even Lingala pure or the most authentic Umbundu contains significant influences from Arabic/Swahili or from various European colonial languages.
From my own experiences living abroad, I can recall being a teenager in 1999 in a summer program in Switzerland, where as a young black body, I found myself corrected on the street for the slightest misuse of articles and prepositions. Young white American peers never received the same scrutiny of the slightest mechanical error. Again, in college on a year abroad in Paris, I recall French people (both white and Antillean) correcting not myself, but feeling the need to serve as grammar police in the most public and relaxed atmosphere. When I arrived in the Amazon in 2004, I found myself in the most bizarre exchange as the new English teacher during my training orientation in Manaus, where over dinner I was complimented on my smile because Black people all have nice teeth. Yet, the same person let me know that I spoke Portuguese so well and did not say *Mim quer comer* (Me want eat). I stood in awe at this insulting expression of congratulations. Oddly, I would say that such conversations placed me in positions where I could hear and exchange in conversations with people of limited world view despite levels of education, in many cases not because of their own faults. Thus, these moments of conversation, as alluded to in the French preface Coates’ *Between the World and Me*, happen in real-time, in diasporic space and in transnational travel and fieldwork. Thus, when I went on a delegation to Angola in Summer 2016, I was able to reflect upon previous linguistic anthropology literature, particularly writings by Mchombo and others, coupled with experiences elsewhere and a collection of Umbundu and Kimbundu texts. With these language texts and linguistic theory, I prepared a Swadesh list for the entire delegation, in addition to forming sentences without proper training or instruction in Umbundu. Thus, theoretical training in Bantu linguistics, and comparative historical linguistics as a whole, allows me to be a conduit through which to communicate essential reservoirs of knowledge across social class and geolinguistic terroirs.

On the ground in Angola and in Chicago when hosting educators, our medical and educational delegation with the Angola Partnership Team has helped me practice comparative linguistic approaches as I serve as a bridge in real-time and textual translations, with the eventual goal of developing post-war agricultural, medical, and linguistic anthropological curriculum. Thus, forming words and sentences within Umbundu became algebraic and scientific in nature, whereby I used almost mathematical principles to construct sentences, as though in a chemistry laboratory calculating moles and the mass of an element, or when solving for x. Without having first acquired these STEM skills in my mother tongue (MT) of American Standard English as my language of instruction (LoI), coupled with practical comparative applications in Romance languages taught to me as foreign languages, I do not believe that I would be able to understand and communicate in Lingala. Likewise, I would not be able to comprehend ways of composing sentences, which provides part of my insider perspective into Kongo-Ngola.

The work of Babaci-Wilhite and Geo-JaJa (2014) demonstrates how using students’ MT as the LoI had positive outcomes in a control group in the 1970s in Nigeria. Where the government of Nigeria hoped to implement more MT usage as primary level LoI, Zanzibar moved away from Kiswahili instruction in upper level high school Math and Science instruction in favor of English. Various government commissions in Nigeria have concluded, based on controlled studies, that MT textbooks are necessary, especially in the first three years of primary school instruction. However, despite data, how does one support the use of Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba in
the primary grades, but not in the secondary levels as LoI? In Nigeria, the hope is for MTs to later become a subject in later years, where English originally served as a subject at the primary level. French replaces English as a foreign language at the secondary level (p.12). Moving from the Atlantic coast to the Indian Ocean, one finds vast differences between Zanzibar and Nigeria; yet, the problem of colonialism remains present. If Tanzanian government officials remove Kiswahili as LoI in the last two years of high school level STEM, the implications could be harmful to students. All the same, English is seen as the language of progress and globalization, whereas along the Swahili coast, on the island of Zanzibar, one would hope to see a continuation of ethno-mathematic problem-solving methods and ethno-science, given the importance of preserving and transmitting indigenous knowledge within the original lexicon. Preserving LoI in MT means that a particular syntax must surround STEM in local languages where epistemologies from the South become part of the instruction. Thus, Bantu philosophical and local scientific knowledge of agriculture, space, and time become reproduced in decolonized pedagogies that eliminate inequalities. On the other hand, forcing instruction in colonial languages only reproduces and maintains global inequalities, so that Euro-American business and government interests preserve “their economic and cultural presence in their former colonies” (Mchombo in Babaci-Wilhite 2014: 40).

With respect to STEM and LoI, one can turn to Mudimbe who reflected upon the work of Belgian Bishop Jean-Felix de Hemptinne who controlled the circulation of knowledge in Tempels’ *Bantu Philosophy*. Tempels postulated five main principles, as expressed by Mudimbe:

1) Bantu speaking peoples have a philosophy implicitly connected to their languages, and are “capable of formulating a philosophical treatise, complete with an adequate vocabulary” (Tempels 1959: 36 in Mudimbe 1988: 138).

2) Bantu philosophy is an ontology, explaining “what is” and “anything that exists” noting: “We can conceive the transcendent notion of “being” by separating it from its attribute, “force” but the Bantu cannot. “Force” in his thought is a necessary element of “being” and the concept of “force” is inseparable from the definition of “being.” There is no idea among Bantu of “being” divorced from the idea of “force”” (Tempels 1959: 50-51 in Mudimbe 1988: 138).

3) Creating force, or to cause to exist from a state of not being, is imbedded in Bantu philosophies, such as the ancestral dead can give force to the living, human force of a rational being can be transferred to nonliving forces, and in some cases, vice versa.

4) Bantu philosophy can only be understood in Western epistemological paradigms such that Tempels postulated: “It is our job to proceed to such systematic development. It is we who will be able to tell them in precise terms, what their inmost concept of being is” (1959: 36 in Mudimbe 1988: 139).

5) Tempels’ study of one small community in Belgian Congo can be applied to all Bantu-speaking peoples and to the African continent as a whole (Mudimbe 1988: 139-140).
Above, we see the contribution Mudimbe makes in deconstructing Eurocentric paradigms towards *ntu* or the essence of being and the concept of life force, essential to Bantu ontological conceptions of internal and global epistemologies. One cannot essentialize all Bantu-speaking people within a monolith. However, if one considers MT usage in STEM instruction, pre-existing conceptual knowledge of *force* can inform scientific dialogue on Einstein’s theory of relativity, especially in cases where African or other indigenous languages possess scientific knowledge that surpasses Euro-American epistemologies. One must become critical of ethnocentric assertions that Western epistemologies provide the solutions to unlocking African bodies of knowledge. Mudimbe provides a breakdown of Alexis Kagame’s *La philosophie Bantu-Rwandaise de l’être* (or *The Philosophy of Being in Rwandan-Bantu*) and Marcel Griaule’s *Conversations with Ogotemmeli*, along with a host of other Africanist linguistic and social anthropological texts. In the past, I have used an English language translation of Griaule’s transcription of Ogotemmeli’s internalized library of knowledge in years of teaching anthropology, whereby my majority African American students find themselves amazed by the magnitude of STEM conceptualized, tested, and applied within the system of native science and math among the Dogon people of present-day Mali. For students of African-descent who have been educated within discourses of Euro-American racism and anti-blackness, one may internalize falsehoods of African technological deficiencies. The impact of learning Dogon complexities within agriculture, numeracy, astronomy, gender dynamics, architecture, and social organization would provide people of African descent with a sense of pride in the preservation of massive bodies of technical knowledge.

Returning to DR Congo, on independence day from Belgium on June 30, 1960, the country possessed only sixteen university graduates. Scholars often cite these low numbers to suggest the absence of an educational system in the country, where Protestant missionaries provided the most widespread education in the country where elementary school was not mandatory. Also, such a claim can bolster beliefs that the people could not govern themselves, as if centuries of pre-colonial political organization had never been assembled and remolded with changing times. Nzongola-Ntalaja further explains the emergence of universities in Congo in the late 1950s and early 1960s, organized by Belgians, in a haste towards independence. Meanwhile, Faris notes during the period after World War I, between three percent and seven percent of children in Belgian Congo were enrolled in schools, first in Protestant schools (largely American and British Lutheran, Baptists, Presbyterian, Methodists, etc.), whereas Catholic missionary schools maintained offices in Belgium proper, and enjoyed a special relationship with the colonial state, but educated fewer students than the Protestants. However, one must question what precisely constitutes education. The levels of inequality within the space of the colonial school employ foreign languages to produce deracinated people disconnected from systems of knowledge.

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rooted in the land. A true education requires a series of interconnected epistemologies that yield possibilities for sustainable development across disciplinary or political boundaries.

The complexities of education in Africa during and immediately after colonialism can be reflected in policies among the French in colonial Togo and Dahomey (present-day Benin), in early work by future Under Secretary General of the United Nations and 1950 Nobel Peace Prize winner Ralph Bunche, who wrote:

“At the very outset it should be kept in mind that the education which the European gives to the African must in the very nature of things be European education. A system of education controlled and directed and often taught by Europeans can do nothing more. All that can be given the native through such a system, therefore, is European, not native culture, for that is all the European has to give. In fact, the very presence in Africa, on an ever-increasing scale, of the implements and customs of Western civilization, would permit no other result. Moreover, it is to be noted that African culture when presented to the African in this manner is something which perhaps the majority of educated Africans not only reject but resent, and on which the great mass of inarticulate Africans have had no expression. It is not surprising that the educated African looks with suspicion upon a so-called policy of ‘education along African lines,’ for he sees in it the germs of the hated segregation practice and a tendency to foist an inferior product upon his race. His ambition is to obtain the best that the world has to offer, and every action of his European master not too subtly suggest to him that which is European is best. The difficulty is just at this point. The British policy fails utterly to take cognizance of the social and political conditions of the people whom it is destined to serve. This neglect may well prove fatal to any educational policy. Where the African and the Englishman are present in the same community, in whatever ratio, the African has an inferior status.”

The pressures to master the master’s linguistic reservoir and epistemological arsenal of tools aimed at cultural erasure presents problems for the African intellectual who wishes to advocate in favor of preserving indigeneity. Likewise, the African American scholars who wrote about the ills of European colonial education policies in the 1930s demonstrate a continuation of efforts by the African American missionaries in Congo and Angola, who will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five, along with native anthropologists. Foreign anthropologists and teachers must respect indigenous learning practices already in place for centuries. In this same fervor, one sees the complexities with which Bunche, the American Negro intellectual and future Nobel laureate, uses terms to describe the masses as “inarticulate” as though indigenous African languages do not possess the capacity to transmit knowledge.

Malcolm Guthrie’s (1948) The Classification of Bantu Languages serves as a foundation in the study of Bantu languages from Southern Nigeria down to South Africa. With his understanding of Proto-Bantu as a root language originating around 3,000 BCE in the region of present-day

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Southern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon, Guthrie laid the groundwork for glottochronology which would guide Vansina’s work, and many others. Guthrie, a British born linguistic anthropology, served as a missionary in the Democratic Republic of Congo before pursuing his studies in London. The linguistic map Guthrie created classifies Bantu languages of Central and Southern African languages within the larger Niger-Congo family, using the letters A through S. This map remains the standard in classification of Bantu Languages. Contemporaneously with Guthrie, British-born South African linguistic anthropologist Clement Doke was a major scholar of Bantu languages in the early twentieth century, having written numerous books on the vocabulary and daily usage of Central and Southern Bantu languages, such as ChiLuba, IsiZulu, ChiShona, ChiLemba, Isi!Xhosa, and numerous others. In “The Basis of Bantu Literature,” Doke (1948) expounds upon the complexity of Bantu languages, rich in vocabulary. He notes “a Nguni language of the south-western zone, such as Zulu or Xhosa, is known to have a vocabulary of over 30,000 words” (p. 285). He goes on to note Kikongo has between 60,000 and 70,000 words in its vocabulary (ibid).

Bresnan and Mchombo (1995) developed the Bantu lexical integrity principle, such that one sees how changing one aspect of a root noun or root verb require the appropriate affixes, prefixes, suffixes, and endings. This yields larger quantities of words within the actual lexicon of Bantu languages in comparison to Euro-American colonial languages. The complexity of Bantu languages demonstrates the complexities of world view embedded in Bantu languages. Thus, one reexamines whether or not Northern epistemologies offer more or take away from Southern systems of knowledge. We can refer to lexicostatistics and the lexical integrity principle with a “words and things” approach to even see the commonality of how prefixes are applied from similar, but differing bound morphemes. Returning to Doke, his essay on Bantu literature was written as South African apartheid was taking root. Doke’s anti-apartheid stance may have been his reason for advocating in favor of the rich depth of Bantu languages, as well as hiring indigenous African linguistics within the South African university system.

Bantu languages are extremely complex with very specific grammatical rules for syntax and proper usage. As Bresnan and Mchombo (1995) note, the Bantu Lexical Integrity Principle (LIP) requires that an entire sentence would change based on the position and meaning of a series of highly complex affixes related to causation, reflective nature of verbs, and non-human and human noun classes. Thus, one must recall Government and Bonding, as noted above, considering X-Bar theory and the required agreement of cases and all following locations of verbs, objects, subjects (considering OSV, VSO, SOV, SVO sentence structure). Elsewhere, I studied Tagalog in the Philippines, a classic example of an VSO language, meshing indigenous Filipino vocabulary with Spanish and English.48 For Congolese Lingala and for other African Bantu languages spoken in Guthrie’s Zones A through S, Bresnan and Mchombo’s LIP demonstrates how the entire sentence changes with noun classes, that impact the proper usage of pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and other parts of speech. In Lingala, there are 12 noun classes (6 singular and 6 plural), while Swahili contains 18 noun classes (9 singular and 9 plural). The following sentences in Lingala may explain LIP.

Tata-mwasi mwa mwana eye mpe mama kulutu mwa ye bango bakosolonana.
The patrilineal aunt of this child and (her/his) older matrilineal aunt will talk together.

Father-Female\ of (singular human preposition)\ child this\ and mother oldest\ of him/her (singular human preposition), they (3rd person plural verb affix) will speak (affix “to one another” inserted into verb)

In everyday spoken Lingala in Kinshasa, the singular human-class prepositions mwa (ba=plural) would most likely be replaced with a more neutral na. The next sentence also refers to humans.

Babali babali ba mboka bango bakoloba na noko ya mwana eye.
The married men of the village will talk to the maternal uncle of this child.

Mobali (man singular) becomes Babali (men plural; however, the verb kobala (to marry) becomes the adjective babali, for married plural humans, which also means plural men, philosophically and ontologically suggesting that a male becomes a man with marriage and the production of children). Of (plural human preposition) village\ they \ 3rd person plural verb pre-fix\ will talk \ with \ avuncular uncle \ of (ya) \ child this.

Here, I chose to note the multiple meaning of babali as both a conjugated verb/adjective, a plural noun, which we would refer to as homonyms in English. The next example demonstrates Class 4 and 5 associated with things (e/bi).

Ata bikuki biye bifungi, elima ya koko etombalaki na engumba.
Even though these doors were closed, the ghost of the ancestor traveled around the town.

Even though/ door (plural), these (Class 5 demonstrative pronoun), opened (the verb kofunga conjugated as plural things), ghost as elima becomes singular, but as plural would be bilima. (Of course, because doors are plural, this does not mean that ghost of the ancestor would also be plural). Ya simply means “of” where this preposition would be used with “e” as opposed to mwa/ba for Class 1 and 2 for humans. The verb kotombala means to walk or traverse, here conjugated as a singular thing in the past tense. The preposition “na” is used as a more general preposition, where ya could also be appropriate. Engumba would be the singular of town, as opposed to Bingumba as plural.
Language is governed and ordered such that affixes added to noun stems will determine verb stems, that must agree and relate to multiple tenses (time), and adjectives, with respect to proper prepositions (space) that agree with the noun classes, to make grammatically correct sense. Here we see the work of Doke in conversation with Bresnan and Mchombo, as well as Chomsky and Black. However, with notions of space-time, one should consider philosophies of time embedded within language. Bokamba and Bokamba (2004: 164) note that speakers of Lingala in Kinshasa (and I add the same to be true of Paris and Brussels) simply replace Lingala numbers and expressions with French words. However, the Bokambas postulate the definitions of evening and night do not translate word to word between the two languages. Evening in Lingala consciousness refers to a short period of time, and night begins at twilight until dawn. Here, we must consider geography and language, such that on the Equator, one typically enjoys twelve hours of sunlight and darkness every day of the year. From living in Kinshasa, I can assert that the French greeting Bon soir (Good evening) begins around 4 pm. Meanwhile, the following morning, especially before noon, one can refer to ce soir (this evening) in Lingala concepts of time where Euro-American digital 12 a.m./p.m. and 6 a.m./p.m. do not correspond with millennia of Bantu concepts of being, time, existence, scale, and measurement. Thus, in Congolese French, one could say:

**Je me suis réveillé ce soir à 4h30 pour arriver au travail à 8h du matin.**

I woke up this evening at 4:30 a.m. in order to arrive at work at 8 a.m. this morning.

After two years on the ground, and numerous conversations with Congolese friends who studied multiple languages themselves, I realized the concept of lobi (meaning both yesterday and tomorrow in Lingala), coupled with Equatorial geospatial matters of equal hours of sunlight and moonlight impact linguistic and cultural practices. Thus, from 2006 to 2008, I began to reflect upon the six months I lived in the Amazon in 2004, where Portuguese language expressions of time could have been influenced by lost and erased Tupi linguistic concepts still alive within local Portuguese, but with the original indigenous languages neither spoken nor taught in Brazilian towns. Thus, the ghosts of such ancestral languages may walk among us, even though the doors of colonial erasure appear to have shut out the possibilities for linguistic revitalization, resulting in what one might assume to be perpetual epistemological amnesia in the era of linguicide and linguifam.

Returning to Mudimbe, we see Tempels’ assertion that Europeans must teach Africans their ethnophilosophical linguistic traditions, refuted not only by Alexis Kagame, but by Doke, as well. Doke strongly opposed apartheid, proving so in his writings and by hiring African linguists in the South African academy, as colleagues, to preserve African languages. For the purposes of this dissertation, one must assume the economic and political intentions of apartheid; yet, the aim and goal of linguistic and cultural erasure through ethnocide must never be overshadowed. For the death of language leaves a people without memory of its own past. Thus, we need more homegrown anthropologists, with insider perspectives, who balance various epistemologies to preserve linguistic and cultural ontologies from the eradication.
While Guthrie and Doke provided a great foundation in the study of Bantu languages, Jouni Maho (2001) suggests that an updated map of Bantu language zones must be produced and used. In “Bantu areas: (towards cleaning up) a mess,” Maho shows that the Tervuren and SIL classifications must be considered as revised and revisited versions of Guthrie’s work. The Tervuren classification refers to a 1999 project conducted at Belgium’s Africa Museum in a town of the same name, literally a few steps outside of Brussels-Capital city limits. The Summer Institutes of Linguistics produced a similar new classification in 1996 (Maho, 2001, p. 41). If we consider re-mapping the terrain established by Guthrie, this can change the geolinguistic and ethno-political space being studied in this dissertation; however, the new map may be more aligned with present cognitive and physical realities, such that some living languages were omitted and never documented in Guthrie’s map (p. 45). Geolinguistics provides a theoretical framework from which to address such questions in this dissertation.

Geolinguistics and Pedagogies of Literacy and Reading

With respect to the overlapping domains of “cognitive psychology, philosophy, neurophysiology, artificial intelligence, linguistics, and anthropology” French cognitive anthropologist Maurice Bloch (1998, p. 3) notes “it is striking how often anthropologists’ theories of learning, memory, and retrieval have not been compatible with those of other cognitive sciences,” adding that a “small group of cognitive anthropologists, largely confined to the United States have paid serious attention to recent developments in cognitive sciences” (p. 18). These cognitive anthropologists could include Ward Goodenough or Louise Rosenblatt. Goodenough is known for several works, including “Navigation in the Western Carolines: A Traditional Science” (in Nader 1996, pp. 29-42). Here, Goodenough describes the ways in which young boys and men have learned for centuries to navigate the South Pacific seas in an area of water nearly 1,000 miles wide, in the absence of Euro-American techno-science. Goodenough explains that through an established schema of repetition and a series of learned rituals, the navigators have come to predict the weather, and steer their vessels towards “moving” islands. Ethno-science in the Western Carolines has allowed people to travel across hundreds of miles of ocean with keen precision using the star structure of the cosmos to guide them. Keeping this practice alive in the world of Euro-American techno-science both in navigation and educational schooling deracines this situated cognitive praxis in the space of the colonial school.

Louise Rosenblatt was trained as an anthropologist alongside Margaret Mead at Barnard College; however, she earned her PhD in comparative literature in France before becoming the mother of the transactional theory of reading and writing, and the field of Education. For Rosenblatt, the schemata of the reader interact with texts to make meaning beyond the practice of transmitting

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knowledge through reading and writing. The *a priori* “psycholinguistic reservoir” of the reader will inform the cognitive processes involved in the actions of reading, writing, speaking, and learning new words to build new imagined and physical worlds. Here we see a deep application of structuralist linguistics in praxis, within cognitive anthropology and cognitive learning theory. This transactional learning theory can apply to LoI within the African (post)-colonial process of using or erasing MT as the foundation upon which the “psycholinguistic reservoir” and wealth of knowledge of the reader/speaker/learner emerges. For as an anthropologist, scholar of Francophone studies, and literacy educator, Rosenblatt developed a repeated and well-respected approach based on the belief that the student or learner has value, and comes to the table with pre-existing schemata, and not as a *tabula rasa* or empty bank.

Thus, if applied to the terrain of colonial education, Rosenblatt’s transactional theory of literacy could have implications beyond education using written texts, or solely reliant on colonial languages of domination to reproduce uneven flows of knowledge. In my time teaching Africana studies and Anthropology at Malcolm X College in Chicago, I studied and applied Rosenblatt’s work in order to engage my students in texts that connected to life on the West Side and South Sides of Chicago, as well as to a global world, which could negate previously learned myths of Black inferiority, produce multicultural mutual respect, and promote global understanding. However, one must respect and recognize the *a priori* schemata students bring to texts and the interactions, or series of transactions, which occur to make meaning, especially given dynamics of language access, multilingual learners, and previous inequalities in traditional school settings.

As such, we cannot forget Zora Neal Hurston, a contemporary of Mead, Benedict, and Rosenblatt, also trained by Boas. Hurston’s novels and essays in the African American vernacular, and work on African cultural retentions in the African diaspora must not be overlooked within the contributions of anthropology. St. Clair Drake noted that as a Guggenheim and Rosenwald fellow, Hurston “was unconventional ‘original’ from whom anthropology provided one, but only one tool in helping her to discipline her efforts and to conceptualize her data gathered in the field.” In the same article, Drake notes that in the year 1980, “there are less than one hundred Afro-Americans who hold a master’s or PhD degree in anthropology. Up to 1945 when World War II ended, only ten Afro-Americans had secured professional training in anthropology, and as recently as 1965, 20 years later, there were no more than six employed as full-time anthropologists” (p. 5). When studying the intersections of race, class and gender, Hurston truly does stand out as an original in a world of class division. For more on my own style of literacy in praxis within culturally and globally sound local curriculum development and instruction in Africana studies, Anthropology, and Social Sciences in the community colleges of Chicago, one can consult my 168-page tenure research paper completed in June 2013.

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51 [https://www.academia.edu/6171605/Expanding_Curriculum_in_Africana_Studies_and_Anthropology](https://www.academia.edu/6171605/Expanding_Curriculum_in_Africana_Studies_and_Anthropology)
Beyond Beer, Blood, and the Bible

With respect to *Blood*, this section will begin with a brief examination of very recent political situations in DR Congo and Angola, but with respect to the role of women in leadership in the past, versus the erasure or repositioning of women in leadership positions, based on hereditary links. Historical crises facing the Mwani-Kongo Nzinga a Mpanzu (Dom Afonso I), Kimpa Vita (Dona Beatriz), Queen Njinga Ana da Souza, and Lueji a Nkonde Queen Mulunda can shed light on how leaders and political actors in the present-day region may or may not be reflecting upon a *long-durée* shared similar cultural history in addressing political uncertainties from above, but with little understanding of the situation; however, one must consider outside forces in the construction of intra-African political economic instabilities that yield present impasses and confusion on the ground. Here, we see the greatest need to *study up*, which will be the focus of Chapter Three. Additionally, this text will reconnect vanishing epistemologies within museums of the North that have taken from the South. More specifically, I will analyze the Mwana Pwo (Muana Puo) mask of the Chokwe of Lunda North and Lunda South Provinces in Angola and in Kasai and Katanga Provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

During the course of my research, a redistricting of the larger provinces has deeply partitioned regional identities and politics in DR Congo, where efforts to faction and limit political unity outside of the capital city of Kinshasa may further erode indigenous epistemologies. For this reason, and with respect to the present political instabilities in Congo, greater possibilities for fieldwork and for humanitarian projects appear more likely in post-conflict Angola (15 years since the civil war ended). The *Kongo-Ngola* region shares similar pre-colonial endogenous ethno-histories of shared peoples across the European imperial lines of demarcation, as well as post-colonial legacies of so-called internal wars fueled by external powers seeking mineral wealth in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, where the wealth in human cargo allowed the Portuguese to lead the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Portuguese alone are responsible for extracting five million Africans from their homeland for Brazil alone, among the estimated ten to fifteen million people forced from Africa in the four centuries of the slave trade.

This dissertation overall, will provide a comprehensive overview of the terrain. The goal of this work may appear large in scope; however, the benefits may prove helpful to numerous communities and future research across disciplines related to anthropology of Africa and the African diaspora within the four fields: linguistic anthropology; archaeology; physical/biological anthropology; and socio-cultural anthropology. Certainly, applications of the results and conclusions of this work will benefit contrarian studies that go against the grain of convention, while studying up within existing hierarchies in order to create new worlds through the power of words and knowledge.
Chapter Two:  
Beer  
The Natural and Social Sciences of Drinking in Africa

The anthropology of food intersects the physical, biological and natural sciences of agricultural subsistence with the cultural, linguistic, economic, and cosmological worlds of social order and geography. Advertising and business practices coupled with the political underpinnings of Western beer markets play into cognitive processes of cultural literacies and greater epistemological and ontological questions of existence and subsistence in the global South. Powerful multinational conglomerates produce beer for mass consumption using a far reaching global arm of brand recognition that gives birth to national identities embodied in locally produced brews in Congo, Angola, and elsewhere. In traditional African societies, beer served as medicinal food made from maize, cassava/manioc, bananas, honey, millet, and other sources, most often with low alcohol content. This chapter concentrates on the anthropology of food, specifically drinking, not simply as ritual performance, but as economic practices, using beer within the theoretical and methodological practice of following the metaphor, with this geolinguistic approach to analyzing the terroir and space of colonialism in Africa.

Background

Growing up on the South Side of Chicago, I watched Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor on PBS, as she cooked downhome Southern dishes of yams—(actually sweet potatoes) alongside a variety of collard, mustard, and turnip greens; black-eyed peas; red beans and rice; rice pudding, okra; gumbo; corned bread; shrimp; oysters; and much more soul food. Vertamae Cooks reminded me of food our family ate for Thanksgiving and on special gatherings, especially when we went down South for summer or spring vacation. These were foods we never ate on a daily basis. A culinary anthropologist in her own right, Ms. Smart-Grosvenor was born in South Carolina and grew up speaking Gullah as her mother tongue (MT), later living in Philadelphia as a child, and in Paris in her late teens and early twenties. She was of course, multilingual, multicultural, and multitatalented as an actress, filmmaker, dancer, and artist. At the end of each episode of her show, Vertamae repeated the same Gullah expression while centered round a colorful arrangement of local victuals from the sea and land of her South Carolinian heritage. Vertamae would say “Oona come nyam. Now yam means to eat.” Welcoming the viewer to her table throughout eat program, one could hear a collection of linguistic code-switching moments where Smart-Grosvenor added a dash of salt with a sentence in French and a bit of pepper with Gullah terms, or noting the Kikongo words nguba for peanut and ngombo for okra. This trans-national African American style of gastronomy exposed me to links between Sierra Leonean Krio and the language, food,

and African descended people on the islands off the coasts of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.
When my larger family came to eat, I learned to listen to my maternal grandparents’ Mississippi Delta accents and to my paternal grandparents’ Southern Illinoisan expressions, noting the similarities between the few episodes of *Vertamae Cooks* that stuck in my mind. Absent from our tables, beer and alcohol play a key role in food consumption; however, my maternal grandmother, the all-knowing ethnobotanist, knew the ways of her grandparents’ who brewed herbal teas and remedies. She even made wine a few times from her own grapes. Culinary anthropology lies in our bellies and spirits, and can become all consuming.

The example of Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor, her Middle Passage roots in South Carolina, her migration to the US North and her diasporic experience of Africa in Paris and New York City makes the language and heart of her food a clear example of the geolinguistic specificities of *terroir* across space and time. This chapter seeks to examine and explain the impacts of colonial epistemicide in Africa using potent potables, specifically beer, as a source of analysis. Beginning first with a quick overview of spirits, this chapter moves into beer as a scientific technology throughout history in various African and non-African societies. Overall, this chapter addresses gender dynamics through labor, land economy and *terroir*, marketing and advertisements through sponsorships and endorsements, the relationship between mineral exploits and war in DR Congo, and the impacts of beer on Congolese language practices with the production and consumption of music videos. *Terroir* becomes an essential concept when considering what is grown, eaten, and consumed from the land, due to the fact that the minerals possess particular nutrients and even life substance from previously decayed bodies that have produced the type of soil in a particular locale that might yield a specific food variety. This chapter will focus on beer, and first, spirits.

**Overview of Spirits and Beer in/from Africa**

What exactly distinguishes beer from wine, mead, and spirits? On the one hand, one finds beers made from cereal and grains, while mead tends to be made of honey. On the other hand, spirits such as rum or cachaca have a base in sugar cane. Traditional palm wines have been brewed in Africa for millennia, as well as beers. In Malawi, sorghum beers and malts called *thobwa* remain part of the traditional diet (Matumba, Monjerezi, Khonga, and Lakudzala 2011: 266–268). For over 50 years, however, Danish brewer Carlsberg has been a strong-hold in Malawian markets. Unlike Euro-American mass-produced beers, traditional beers may have high fungus contamination, especially given difficulties refrigerating these beverages. Below, traditional forms of production and consumption will clarify this issue, along with other medicinal uses for traditional beers in Africa, especially Congo and Angola. In the Congolese Southeastern province of Katanga, and in the neighboring country of Zambia, where the Lunda ethnic group are largely represented, children sometimes eat or drink a fermented indigenous beverage called *munkoyo*, which not only contains corn flour, but also begins with beaten and threaded *Rhynchosia insignis insignis* roots (Foma, Destain, Mobinzo, Kayisu, and Thonart 2012: 334–

Throughout Africa, other forms of fermented porridge cereals and strained beers exist. However, one should note the differences between indigenous sorghum and millet versus corn-maize indigenous to the Americas.

José C. Curto (2011) writes about the impact of alcohol in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, bringing attention to the importation of wine (vinho) from Portugal, as well as the tastes of Brazilian-born and Brazilianized Portuguese traders living in the Angolan port towns of Luanda and Benguela in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, who favored aguardente de cana or spirits from sugar cane. Noting separate tastes among Ovimbundu people of the hinterland, Curto cites several alcoholic drinks indigenous people of the southern region of what I call Kongo-Ngola would have preferred including: mingundi/mingundo: ekundi; and ingundi, which consisted of a fermented honey water. People also drank kimbombô or ocimbombô beer made from millet and sorghum. Kimbombô, or a sorghum beer called helâ could also be found in Angola in this period, along with ochasa or quiana, which consisted of a mixture of mingundi and kimbombô. Typically, one drank kimbombô during funeral rights. Also, during the kikalanka celebration in dry season around April and May, warriors returned from battle and drank kimbombô. Following the harvest in March, the Ovimbundu would drink kimbombô during a period of celebration known as kânyê. Parties could also drink kimbombô during the negotiations of marriage contracts.56

Remembering the Middle Passage, one must not forget the spirits lost making the spirits that Europe imbibed. African bodies would perish making rum in Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, or cachaça in Brazil. These drinks are derived from sugar cane, which came to be a major driving force in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, as Sidney Mintz notes in甜 and Power. Curto (2011) suggests that as many as one out of three Africans traded at the ports of present-day Angola in the 1700s and 1800s were sold for alcohol, which was consumed in Africa. How peculiar that enslaved Africans in the Americas would chop sugar cane grounded into molasses or distilled into liquor to be traded for more enslaved Africans.

Euro-American capitalist modes of production greatly alter the social order of cultural practices with respect to the anthropology of food. Sir Jack Goody (1982) describes the complexities of the culture of food in Ghana where unequal post-colonial economic exchanges force the West African nation to export cocoa to Europe and North America, while importing “French cube sugar, Portuguese sardines, Italian tomato paste, American corn” as staples within the Ghanaian diet.57 Goody goes on to note how Ghana became dependent on Eastern bloc goods, such as Yugoslav tractor trailers, wines from Bulgaria, and bicycles from China. Thus, one sees a clear South-North inequality with respect to import-export policies. Global market exchange greatly alters gastronomy, both socio-economically and with respect to human health, for better or for

worse. To use the French term *terroir* would not be inappropriate to describe the relationship to the foodstuffs produced from the land with the life of the soil to its local inhabitants both human and nonhuman in the greater ecosystem. The land has life, and possesses certain minerals, which in turn allow for the quality of grain, grape, vines, and vegetation to grow in such a way unique to a particular geography.

The factors distinguishing rum from whisky, sherry, or gin have to do with where they are made in the New World versus in Europe. Ambler and Crush (1992) note that Puritan preachers, such as Increase Mather, even spoke positively of alcoholic drinks. Gin was once thought to be a medicine. In *The King of Drinks: Schnapps Gin from Modernity to Tradition*, Dmitri van den Bersselaar reveals that gin from the Netherlands flooded Gold Coast (Ghana), with various roles and status in different times in colonial history. The effects were so widespread that gold weights were made in the shape of Schnapps gin bottles. Crush and Ambler note:

> Those in power saw alcohol as a source of revenue and profit and as an effective tool of social engineering and control, but they often viewed drink also as a dangerous source of disorder, indiscipline, social deterioration, and human degradation.

Crush and Ambler go on to note that drinking beer in the townships and the mines of Southern Africa became a way of maintaining ritualistic customs with the rural villages that workers left behind. However, the agricultural and chemical labor involved in making millet beer or *Chibuku shake* in mass quantities with Western machinery did not require the same ritualistic tasks as in the rural village. The authors suggest, however, that urban employers and directors of the mines saw the consumption of native palm wine, millet sorghum beer, and Western beer as dangerous to the social fabric of so-called civilized colonial life; yet, “native alcohol” was necessary to the African diet in the minds of the European elites (p. 18). Ambler notes that in the Copperbelt region of Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), rural villages continued to drink limited amounts of local beer, at increasing costs to international grain prices. Meanwhile, beerhalls near the mines sold Western brewed beer at very low prices. Thus, as global capitalist markets left colonial African farmers without an annual surplus for making traditional beer once each year, Euro-American beer companies established large breweries in Africa where their product could be produced year-round for daily consumption beyond ritualistic ceremonies. Ambler notes, “The result was considerable drunkenness” (p. 349).

In his 1993 doctoral dissertation Emmanuel Akyeampong asserts “liquor legislation thus became a factor in the extension of colonial hegemony, reinforcing the association of alcohol control and

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59 Ibid, p. 2
power.” In this way, colonizer and colonized could be fined for selling liquor to one another throughout the British Dominions in Australia, Africa, etc. By gaining the right to sell imported liquor, a new class of local urban African elites in colonial Gold Coast, of whom Akyeampong writes, began to usurp traditional chiefs and colonial administrators who advocated in favor of loosening colonial liquor laws in 1919. Liquor laws also governed social space between Africans and Europeans in the overlapping terrains of coloniality, whether the invented space of the European colonizers or the reimagined and reconfigured former indigenous places and rephrased and restated titles and identities of local African populations. This may be true of the situation in Ghana where the British allowed more indirect rule between the Northern and Southern regions, and permitted chiefs some power. Of course, direct rule in settler colonies, such as Kenya, shows where British law imposed different degrees of forced change. Colonial state control of alcohol, however, does come to dominate multiple spheres of the social web of interconnectedness. Akyeampong (1996) notes:

The ritual use of alcohol necessitated that its social use be regulated to avoid profanation. But alcohol held multiple meanings because it was simultaneously a cultural artifact, a ritual fluid, a social good, and an economic commodity.

In the case of Ghana, the Convention People’s Party won the battle for the creation of the popular masses, popular culture by fighting for independence and a repeal of prohibition at the same time. All the same, Ghana, like most of Africa, with the exception of Ethiopia, exists in a social world where the local breweries are operated by Africans, but profits and physical structures are held in the hands of European and American investors. If Heineken operates as Primus in DR Congo, and uses the Congolese national colors on their bottles, is a Dutch beer company truly “the beer of beers” or “the beer of true Congolese” as the advertisements tell us. The same slogans are used in Rwandan Primus advertisements. What we essentially see is globalization in the guise of neocolonialism on a large scale, such that social laws and scientific laws of beer erode local control of local consumables in place of Euro-American imported businesses that operate locally for local populations only. The question then becomes, if mine owners once thought indigenous beer was essential to an African diet in whatever quantities, what detriment could there be to African health to consume foreign beer that the body has not had 5,000 years to adapt to and process. Likewise, the social laws have taken away the power of elders to restrict large consumption of local and foreign beer in Africa, leading to mass consumption in multiple sectors of life.

Ethnobotany, ethno-science, and indigenous methods of producing beer appear to be vanishing day by day. When I lived in the town of Itacoatiara in Amazonia, I asked around for herbal teas; yet, no one seemed to be able to re-member and re-assemble the complex knowledge involved in

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making life-saving remedies. In 2004, I began to wonder if the cure for cancer might rest in the sap of a nearby Amazonian tree that would soon be burned to clear the terrain for cattle farming and soya plantations. Regularly, I smelled fires burning and saw them along the roadside in Brazil, and I feared for the preservation of the natural environment. At the same time, I wondered if the average person could possess the advanced technical knowledge to identify medicinal plants, or if sacred abilities to heal had been erased with Portuguese colonialism and Euro-Brazilian domination of the indigenous people.

Later, while living in Congo, I asked a friend and gardener at the American school if local flora on the compound could be boiled to eliminate a sniffle I had from going into and out of air-conditioned and naturally tropical spaces. Someone told me of the curative properties of Fanta orange soda, and even how the prophet Simon Kimbangu drank Fanta and walked on water. Kimbanguism and Garveyism will be explained in Chapter Four; however, for the purposes of ethnobotany, I began to witness the clear erasure of ancient epistemologies, leading to a massive technical linguistic liminality or state of cultural amnesia. Knowing history takes us back to the purposes of food used to live well, and not simply to fill one’s belly with empty calories that profit multinational conglomerates at the expense of the healthy well-being of the masses.

In Congo, I took an antimalarial drug, but I also brought two kilograms of *artemisia annua* herb from Chicago’s China Town. When I ran out of my expensive antimalarial drug, I drank regular morning cups of sweet wormwood tea with local honey. In 2015, Tu Youyou, a Chinese pharmaceutical chemist, would win the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine for creating malarial drugs drawn from this plant, based on 2,000 year-old sweet wormwood recipes written down in *hànzi*.63 I wondered to what degree had Luso-Iberian and Belgo-French psycholinguistic colonialism effaced indigenous scientific epistemologies with respect to medicine and food, such that Lipton tea in Amazonia and Fanta soda in Congo would represent my limited options for herbal teas and natural beverages. As far as malaria was concerned, my Chinese herbal tea worked, with Nobel Prize-level approval. Before Tu Youyou won the Nobel Prize, I offered to share my morning beverage with friends who frequently became ill with malaria, a disease I never contracted in three years living in tropical climates. Western-trained medical doctors assured me that my herbal tea was a sure remedy, but laypersons from the global North or the global South believed nothing could come of *artemesia annua* to treat malaria. Critical to note, the knowledge of sweet wormwood as an antimalarial did not appear suddenly to Tu Youyou, but had been written down two millennia ago, such that the trained pharmacist and scientist needed to review ancient literature and refer to previously recorded knowledge. The process of assimilation within states of amnesia occur through colonial cultural imperialism, leading to a multiplicity of erasures of antiquities of archival psycholinguistic reservoirs of schemata, whereby alienating future generations from the languages, systems of communication, and processes of meaning-making articulated by their ancestors, without the ability to decipher a meal and decode the context of a text or of combinations of complexities of STEM.

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Moving away from curative teas and medicines, I did notice the omnipresent, readily available *Primus* beer. Competing Bralima and Bracongo breweries never shut down, neither during power outages nor coup attempts in DR Congo. These beers embraced the colors of football clubs and even the national flags, appearing to be the most developed industries in a developing economy. Was the purpose of bringing European distilleries and breweries to Africa simply to bewilder the populations, take their land, and force them to work for an addictive beverage? Was there a need for social, political, and economic control involved in destroying local drinking traditions, gastronomy, and scientific knowledge? How deep did the legal apparatus of colonial governments go in restricting or providing firewater to the masses in controlling the labor, the minds, the economy, and the ways in which the agrobiology and chemistry of brewing went from known local knowledge to privileged European knowledge?

Archaeology and History of Beer in Africa

Katharina Zinn explores food, rituals, life, and death in ancient Nubia and Egyptian, where bread and beer served as inseparable parts of quotidian realities for the living and for those who transition into the afterlife. In 1980, the research of Everett J. Bassett, Margaret S. Keith, George J. Armelagos, Debra L. Martin and Antonio R. Villanueva revealed the presence of tetracycline laced fermented beer in Ancient Nubia 1,500 years ago. Evidence of antibiotic beer can be found in the archaeological record, as evidenced in the calcium deposits of the bones of people who would have brewed and consumed indigenous African beer three millennia ago. Ryan Metcalfe (2016) suggests similar medicinal uses for beer in ancient Egypt and Nubia, where the technologies for brewing beer and baking bread require near identical methods and processes. Papyri records provide documented evidence of herbal remedies used as magic or science within Egyptian medicinal remedies and surgical procedures. As noted by Metcalfe—who cites Basset et al 1980; in addition to Hummert and Van Gerven 1982; as well as Nelson et al 2010—the discovery of traces of tetracycline antibiotics in the skeletal remains in ancient Nubian archaeological sites suggests that the people of Nubia began producing antibiotic beer for medicinal purposes by large segments of the population “as a prophylactic against ill health more generally.”

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68 Metcalf, pp. 164-165.
Furthermore, Metcalfe notes that ancient pyramid texts dating back to 2375 BC note the significance of Nubian beer in ancient Egypt; however, proof of the tetracycline laced skeletal remains date between 350 AD and 550 AD. It appears as though Nubian beer was produced with sorghum and millet, while beer brewed in Lower Egypt to the north would have been brewed with wheat and barley, and was not contaminated with tetracycline. Metcalfe appears to suggest that the antibacterial element of Nubian beer occurred accidentally through various storage and malting methods within multiple complicated steps, similar to the present-day production of a Sudanese (Nubian) beverage called merissa. One should note that tetracycline can be used as a malarial prophylaxis (especially doxycycline), in addition to other uses for treating microbiological bacterial infections from stomach issues after drinking contaminated water to skin rashes.

In Pennsylvania, Roger Barth teaches a course called The Chemistry of Beer, which comes complete with his own textbook on how to brew on large and small scales. It appears that as the Northern Hemisphere and Euro-American populations become more trained and experienced in independent brewing, people from the Southern Hemisphere and poor people in the Northern Hemisphere are forced to consume what the market gives them—according to the legibility of the law; that which is written as law is not always morally legal. The same must be noted for organic vegetables, grass-fed beef, free-range chicken, and non-sweatshop clothing. Thus, we see the “haves” producing and selling more beer and foods to others, while the have-nots must purchase beer and foodstuffs from producers. An Angolan proverb notes, “He who grows his own food has money and food to eat; but he who grows no food must give his money to the farmer.” The same can be noted in the case of owning the land and means of producing sorghum, millet, or wheat-based beers and other potent potables in Africa. Barth (2013) provides a brief history of the origins of beer back to Sumerian city states in Southern Mesopotamia, in present-day Iraq. Poems and hymns in cuneiform note that as far back as 5,000 years ago, farmers used surplus barley, malt, wheat, and uneaten bread to ferment into beer, with the addition of honey to sweeten and flavor the brew. As the area became engulfed by Babylon 3,700 years ago, barley beer and ancient emmer became the cereal and grain of choice for the region. Around this same period, Egyptians enjoyed beer, from the peasantry to the highest-ranking Pharaohs. One can credit the Neolithic Revolution with responsibility for this surplus of foodstuffs that allowed hunter gatherers to become more sedentary agriculturalists and pastoralists. Surplus grains allowed artisans to take up crafts, such that the endless search for food and safety could be found in secure walls of city-states. Diamond offers an interesting contradiction to this theory, explained below. All the same, while pottery and art became essential parts of life after the Neolithic Revolution, so too did beer.

In “The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race,” anthropologist and historian Jared Diamond suggests that the Neolithic Revolution did not actually provide humans with a healthier life. For Diamond notes that the fossil records reveal that broken bones, lesions, anemia, and

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69 Metcalfe, p. 165.
70 Metcalfe, pp. 164-165.
72 Barth, 2013, pp. 1-4.
shorter height among Neolithic humans suggests that agriculture made our species less healthy. The sedentary lifestyle and a dependence on a limited diet reduced the need for hunter-gathers to run and walk in search of their varied food options and choices from nature’s pharmacy. Meanwhile, the dependence on just a few meals meant that limited vitamins, nutrients, and amino acids would come from diet. Therefore, modern humans in agriculturalist settlements and emerging city-states became less healthy than Paleolithic humans based on diversity of diet in the earlier homo sapiens and homo habillis. This argument will become useful when discussing diet in modern Africa, heavily reliant of imported foods when reevaluating drought and famine in Euro-American beer-rich regions of Africa.

Returning to the history of the chemistry of beer, European monks during the Dark Ages became the key brewers of their day. In their monasteries, where Don Perion champagne and other fine wines could be found, European monks added gruit to their beer, an herbal mixture to flavor the beverage. Monks held a monopoly on beer in Medieval Europe, as monasteries served as guest houses or hostels for travelers. Barth notes that an average monastery could serve 560 gallons of beer in one month (p. 5). These medieval monks added hops to the brew, doing away with gruit. Here, we see the science of beer in Europe controlled by the church. Indigenous African beer could be made from sorghum, millet, bananas, and maize. Chibuku is a commercial beer, which will be mentioned later. Barth notes that beer serves social functions in Africa, with prestige and rules concerning who can drink and who can offer beer. Overall, beer is not meant to only be sold but to be shared socially with specific implications.

With respect to present-day Cameroon, Ute Roschenthaler notes that traditional palm wines and mass-produced and commercially marketed beers serve different social purposes, and thus “had (and have) many different meanings and connotations during their social life in villages and towns. They were, and could be, perceived as home-produced or foreign, traditional or modern, local or transnational and global.” Meanwhile, Sigrun Helmfrid notes that in the Bobo village of Bala in Burkina Faso, women brew beer, but mostly men consume it. Helmfrid further notes that beer was previously “only consumed on ritual occasions” but that “women have been selling beer since the beginning of the 20th century,” adding the significance of the massive expansion of post-World War II commercial brewing, that made three historical conditions possible for women to brew at home in their villages and sell to men:

1- The expansion of grain markets allowed women to access sorghum outside of domestic context.

2- Migrant labor introduced cash earnings such than men could purchase beer.

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The introduction of markets in mass-produced fabrics, soap, and cookery motivated women in Africa to earn wages.\textsuperscript{75}

Helmsfrid notes that the “household contract” makes married Bobo women traditionally responsible for pounding cereal grains to make a porridge. The colonial introduction of money (francs CFA) gives women the option to outsource their labor, while also saving money for unforeseen misfortunes, such as illness. All the same, what she buys becomes her personal property, which she can pass down to her children, or which she takes with her in a divorce.\textsuperscript{76} The labor-intensive process of brewing sorghum beer in Burkina Faso takes three days, which involves abstaining from sex with her husband, as this is seen as contaminating fermentation process. All the same, the collection of water in the dry season requires massive amounts of work from women and children. Helmsfrid goes on to note the wanes in which women manage their clients and workers, offering ‘gifts’ of beer, which obliged the ethnographer to purchase later, in an obligatory exchange called \textit{lenga}. The inevitable systems of credit emerge where drinkers must pay back the brewer at a later date, especially given the specific time frame in which \textquote{traditional} brewing can occur.\textsuperscript{77}

In “Culture, Practice, and the Semantics of Xhosa Beer Drinking,” McAllister (2003) provides a detailed analysis of the complexities of beer production, consumption, and distribution within one rural area where we find this Southern African ethnic group. We learn of certain gender roles that must be followed when beer is produced from the moment of cultivation of the corn by women to the addition of the malt, to the moment men share the beer, with elder women and younger women receiving less.\textsuperscript{78} At first glance, this practice appears heavily sexist; however, if tradition allows elderly post-menopausal women to drink as much as they wish alongside elderly men, one may also conclude that pre-colonial beer drink practices allowing elder women to invite younger women to drink required the doyenne to be certain her younger guest was not pregnant. Thus, elders could enjoy the medicinal benefits of beer, at only a particular time of the season, while preventing fetal alcohol syndrome. How the beer is shared depends on power dynamics within the group for the survival and the health of the whole.

Not all beer can be sold, while not all women or men can drink the beer. Certain beer is brewed for longer periods of time to be enjoyed by the elders. Meanwhile, elder women may suspend gender roles and assert power by welcoming as many women into the hut to drink with them as they may choose, while younger women are allowed only so much beer and only one female companion when entering the beer hut. Here we see that beer has certain characteristics based on space and place, personhood, gender, political status of chiefs and elders, and economics. Not all beer is meant to be sold, but when it is sold, it takes on a very different character from beer that is shared for weddings, funerals, rituals, harvest feasts, etc. Beer production is no easy task. For

\textsuperscript{75} See Helmsfrid, 2010, pp. 200-201.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, 202.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 208.
agriculturalists, they must spend countless amounts of time growing the grain that will become surplus. The surplus grain will not be used for making foufou, porridge, and other cereal foodstuffs, but for beer. The process requires a great number of workers, as well. Above, I noted the role of men in Ama!Xhosa brewing in Southern Africa; however, as the cash economy infiltrated every aspect of life for indigenous African people, women began to brew beer in larger quantities to buy goods, such as shoes, clothing, and even food, in addition to paying imposed hut taxes placed upon families by the colonial governments, and collected by chiefs appointed by European colonial administrators. At the same time, colonial economies forced African men to earn wages in the labor camps and mines run by European landowners (p. 33). Considering the collective trauma that shape cultural production of dispersed people in colonial taverns in Southern Africa near the mines, the cultural space of the mines and roadside taverns becomes fragmented, unlike the controlled drinking culture of Medieval European monasteries where monks dictated the production and consumption of beer.

The chemistry of brewing should never be underestimated, as though indigenous societies do not have science. However, one must consider the value of beer or the waste of large scale beer production with respect to drought and famine on the small scale indigenous level of production, which will never parallel the massive abuse of resources in large-scale beer production. Barth notes “it takes between 3.5 and 6 gallons of water to make one gallon of beer” (p. 69). Transferring the hydrogen ion from one molecule to another, coupled with breaking bonds and reproducing new molecular structures requires a great deal of scientific knowledge. This was not knowledge simply restricted to Babylon. Indigenous people in Africa had clear knowledge of brewing, far south, east, and west of the Lower Nile River Valley in present-day Egypt. This knowledge is still held by craftsmen and craftswomen, whose skill is brewing beer, producing palm wine, fermenting mead, and making spirits.

**Visual Images of Beer in Africa**

Known as the Princess of Africa, South African singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka recorded popular singles such as “Mamaland” during the last years of apartheid; however, her song and music video “Umquombothi” requires particular attention for the purposes of this study. Detlev Krige writes about “the intertwined processes of labour migration, urbanization, capitalist development and racist segregationist polices” in his study of Soweto and breweries. While South African Brewing (now-SABMiller) produced the most popular commercial beer during apartheid, home-made sorghum umgombothi remained popular. In her 1988 music video, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and her caste clearly display the intricate dynamics of urban-rural flows of workers. Before we see the Princess of Africa, several men speak IsiXhosa, expressing their joy that the work week has ended on Friday. As the music begins to play, men and women stand in line to return to their homesteads, while others go to pick up their disappointedly low wages in envelopes handed out

by faceless white arms. Here, we see the Black maids and domestic workers, construction workers, and manual laborers of South Africa paid little by the white landowning upper class. The workers leave the city (possibly Johannesburg or Capetown) to go home to their traditional villages, which have been created and carved out by the white elites. The purpose of going home centers round enjoying umqombothi.

Throughout the song, Yvonne Chaka Chaka sings:

I work hard, every day to make my beer
Wake up early, every morning to please my people with African beer (Umqombothi, 3x)
I make sure the fire burns to make my beer (Umqombothi)
My special beer (Umqombothi, 2x) is African beer

A baritone choir repeat an Isi!Xhosa expression while Yvonne sings

Everybody, come and drink my magic beer
Everyday, come and drink my African beer

I work hard to make them happy every weekend (Umqombothi)
Makes them party to the rhythm, makes them dance, this magic beer
I wanna make you happy, I make you smile, I wanna you dance
I make sure there’s a party, when they drink my special beer
Umqombothi is magic beer
Umqombothi is African beer

Everybody, come and drink my magic beer
Everybody, come and drink my African beer.

As Yvonne brews her beer, she provides a taste to elderly men sitting around her hut, while a group of urban migrant workers pull up in a minivan. They run out of the vehicle for the comfort of the homestead. Soon, the sun sets, and Yvonne and her entourage have changed into traditional African attire. As the Princess of Africa, Yvonne wears a crown and Xhosa beads with leopard print dress. Men wear leopard print loin cloth and perform in a style similar to gumboot mine dancers, but with long wooden sticks in their hands. At the end of the song, Yvonne sings “Wozani” or “Come on.” The music, dance, and beer echo diasporic dishes from the PBS series Vertamae Cooks, as a hardworking Black woman brews beer or Gullah gastronomy. Perhaps, this is the first African beer music video; however, it does not endorse a particular product like Congolese beer advertisements. In contrast to apartheid era music, Primus and Skol sponsored music videos have a commercial aspect rooted in Euro-American capitalism from above, with the purpose of product placement and recognition associated with heavy endorsement deals.

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As Yvonne Chaka Chaka music video “Umqombothi.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z07zZeeRZ-o
(Post) Colonial Beer Markets and Economic Matrixes of Power

In keeping with Laura Nader’s “Up the Anthropologist” a focus on beer and drinking requires studying upwards, downwards, sideways, etc. One must dissect the interconnected Euro-American beer oligarchy that controls the production and consumption of global beverages. Below, I examine the influence beer manufacturers have on advertisement, particularly in DR Congo, not simply as a means of promoting beer consumption, but as changing, manipulating, or seriously impacting cultural aesthetics and literacies of language, self-reflection, and national consciousness in the war-torn post-colonial failed state. In Congo, due to colorful branding, complete with a map of Africa, the Congolese flag, and gold star, Primus bottles may cause one to believe that the beer is locally owned. Furthermore, long soukous dance advertisements featuring well-known Congolese stars bring national notoriety to this brand of beer. Skol sponsors younger Congolese musician Fally Ipupa, who produced a 9-minute music video drinking the beer. In recent years, Fally Ipupa recorded a French version of Hymne Coca Cola (The Coca Cola Anthem). One could argue that foreign beer and beverage corporations operate repackaged, local, national brands that have halted production and consumption of indigenous palm wine and beer. However, today, there appears to be only two major beer and beverage distributors in the world: the Amsterdam-based Heineken and the Leuven, Belgium based AB InBev. Thus, it becomes difficult to quantifying the breadth of these two beverage corporations in human lives.

Today, Heineken owns and operates Bralima (formerly Brasserie de Leopoldville, and now Brasseries, Limonaderies, et Malteries Africaines). Through the Primus label and bottle, Bralima enjoys top distribution in Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi. Reminiscent of the Belgian colonial presence, and post-colonial treaties and Great Lakes hydro-electric cooperative agreements in all three countries, today beer conglomerates may be what little solidarity the three countries have since the Rwandan Genocide and the Congo Wars of the 1990s and 2000s. With Euro-American capitalism and the massive arm of neoliberalism, sociological concepts related to Zygmunt Bauman’s liquid modernity versus solid modernity become important in this analysis of beer markets. The fixed place and an assured knowledge of the location of exploitative technologies of capitalism within solid modernity have given rise to the uncertainties of the multidirectional quicksand of liquid modernity. Like Heineken, the case of the combined SAB Miller-ABInBev will become important within this study.

In DR Congo, I did drink palm wine in the homes of close trusted friends. I drank indigenous honey tej with Ethiopian monks on an island in the middle of Lake Tana, as noted in the previous chapter. A few sips would suffice, mostly because I came to learn the purpose in alcoholic drinking. One was not meant to consume beer and wine every day. On the contrary, traditional African beers and wines should be consumed at weddings, funerals, special events, and during sacred rituals and moments marking birth and death. On another excursion outside of Kinshasa, into Lower Congo (Bas-Congo) province, members of a village church asked me to take a dip in the Congo River, drink river water, and drink palm wine to follow up, as this would give me long
life better than any Western medicine. I declined the offers due to a fear of becoming ill from microbiotic organisms. As noted earlier, ancient Nubians used tetracycline laced antibiotic beer to cure ailments, possibly even to treat parasites from the Nile River. Thus, the medical and agricultural technologies of the past which helped build thriving civilizations have been lost and erased overtime as evidenced in the fading practices associated with producing and consuming indigenous beverages, foods, and medicinal herbal curatives.

These experiences in DR Congo in small churches and hybrid religious sects left me more intrigued by Beer, Blood, and the Bible as a metaphor and expression I named in 2006. Originally, I hoped to include skin bleaching as part of this metaphor of the colonial African body as a site of consumption and domination; however, this project will come at a later time. I will briefly mention Marsavco below, as it connects with the greater metaphor. All the same, my brown color may have caused the Ethiopian monks to welcome me to read the Ge’ez Bible and drink tej, but in Congo, I was considered mixed-race or a skin bleacher. Liquor and the dualistic religions of indigeneity and European Christianity only appeared to complicate my connection to the present experience. So many exterior ideologies appeared to saturate moments of diasporic linkages into (dis)connect as an insider/outsider, able to converse fully in Congolese Lingala and French.

With my short time in Ethiopia, I estimate that three millennia of linguistic, cultural, and religious endogenous wholeness allow me to blend into a welcomed Habasha existence, while clearly defining myself as an English-speaking African American in Africa. Rita Kiki Edozie notes that in the last months of his life, Malcolm X would use the Yoruba name Omowale (the child has returned home), which was given to him by Nigerian students at the University of Ibadan during his 1964 visit. Thus, naming selves and naming technologies with indigenous local knowledge serves a key role in constructing identity, but also in maintaining a continuity of cultural and scientific preservations of epistemologies over time. The destruction of this intergenerational passage of ideas and knowledge through memory and language rests at the heart of the colonial project. Beer constitutes but a simple metaphor for the collective actions of destroying ethno-science, ethno-mathematics, and ethnolinguistics in various geographic places and spaces. The names of beer and the collective attachment to branding from Euro-American conglomerates places African markets and consumers at the receiving end of the power + knowledge superstructure instead of as producers, guardians, and inventors of sacred epistemologies and locally rooted new technologies for daily existence.

National Brews as a Source of Identity

In “Our Beer’: Ethnographic Brands in Postsocialist Georgia”, Manning and Uplisashvili (2007) reveal the significance of imagery in branding beer, cigarettes, and other commodities in the

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post-Soviet republic. The “authentic” post-Soviet Georgian beer or cigarette is not the Marlboro cowboy, but a similar man riding his Asian equine covered in long fur. He is the real Georgian. Wine in Georgia is produced in abundance, but for export. In Soviet Russia, there was no need for brands of beer because there was no competition; however, the authors offer an interesting point. The real Georgian—a true Georgian—drinks Georgian beer from their side of the Caucus Mountains, and not beer from Chechnya or Russia. Cultureness roots itself in advertisements featuring local folk heroes dressed traditionally to show their authentic rootedness in Georgian culture. How does this apply to Africa? Below, one will see how the culture of beer creates Congolese cultural aesthetics in musical and visual consumption, through Euro-American controlled and owned beverage corporations.

Kenyans have Tusker, represented by a picture of an elephant on the bottle to make sure it is distinct from all others. In Malawi, the Danish brewer Carlsberg controls the overwhelming majority of the beer market, and one could credit the European company with sponsoring football or soccer matches, as well as contributing to daily mass consumption of beer, versus traditional ritualistic consumption coinciding with the aftermath of an abundant harvest. Carlsberg arrived in Malawi in 1968, one year after independence from Great Britain, and has become a stronghold in the local economy. However, Carlsberg Malawi operates using its European name. There are no African pseudonyms. In Eastern DR Congo Tembo beer rules the market, while Primus and Skol operate throughout the country. When I first saw Skol beer in Congo, I was shocked to see the same brand and label that I knew in Brazil. Although I was not a fan of Skol beer, friends in Amazonia did drink this often. Personally, I found myself interested in exotic fruit juices in the Amazon such as cupuaçu, açaí, taperebá, maracujá, and guaraná to name a few. These fruits came from the soil, and they represented the terroir of Amazonia. For Africa, and particularly for Kongo-Ngola, that which comes forth and grows from the land for consumption by the local people may be more difficult to ascertain in terms of indigenous beverages in a moment where Swiss-Brazilian billionaire Jorge Paulo Lemann controls a great deal of the global food market. Alexander Cuadros of Bloomberg News calls Lemann “the world’s most interesting billionaire” who owns your Burger King Whoppers, major shares in Kraft Foods, Heinz ketchup, and major beers Anheuser-Busch/Stella Artois/SABMiller. Through ABInBev, Lemann held controlling interests in Coca Cola Bottling Africa (CCBA). Cuadros alludes to Heineken-owned Dos Equis advertisements of “the most interesting man in the world” by referring to the owner of the competing global beer conglomerate by a similar title. All the same, the James Bond, Ernest Hemingway, Indiana Jones type of white adventurous and capitalist Euro-American machismo, with a slight Latin accent, has a particular brand power, which compares to African beer and beverage markets.

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In the case of DR Congo, the beer market remains heavily saturated by two multinational conglomerates: Heineken and ABInBev. Beginning with the first and smaller company, Amsterdam based Heineken remains a more well-known and recognizable brand throughout the world. On trips to Amsterdam, I have driven by the massive Heineken international headquarters, at the time, not fully knowing the massive impact in Africa. Heineken operates in Africa under different brand names, particularly under the name Bralima in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Bralima only constitutes one subsidiary of Heineken which operates in DR Congo. Across the river in Congo-Brazzaville, Heineken operates as Brasco (Brasseries du Congo); however, Primus and other Bralima (Heineken) brands operate in Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi. Bralima also bottles a light beer called Mutzig, which competes with Castel, a Bracongo mark, which I will describe below. One should not confuse Brasco based in Brazzaville with Bracongo based in Kinshasa. Primus enjoys a status as La biere ya ba biere (The beer of beers, in a mélange Frangala, or hybrid French-Lingala). Prior to the Rwandan Genocide, the three former Belgian colonies in Africa pursued a great deal of economic and international cooperative projects, especially concerning water security and hydroelectric power; yet, today peace between Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo remains an issue in the Great Lakes.

Between 1999 and 2008, multiple breweries became one global conglomerate. Interbrew from Belgium (InBrew), Companhia de Bebidas das Américas—or Americas’ Beverage Company (AmBev), and Anheuser-Busch became AB InBev, such that the Skol and Brahma beer—which competed in my village in the Amazon—became part of the competitive Belgo-Congolese beers I knew while living in Kinshasa. In my years abroad, Anheuser-Busch no longer held the title of America’s homemade producer of Budweiser, as St. Louis became home to an international foreign brewery, while stock holders made over $50 billion dollars in the AB sale. All of these names from Brazil, Belgium, and DR Congo were now part of AB InBev.

The greatest drive for this topic came upon returning from Kinshasa and visiting the Africa Museum in suburban Brussels. There, I saw an advertisement for Belgian beers in Congo, which now operate under Congolese names. The advertisements showed how nutritious Belgian beer could be compared to eating several loaves of bread, and could be fed to children. The concern is that colonial branding, coupled with colonial control over the marketplace, eliminated traditional African agriculturalists and brewers from practices their ancestors had carried out for possibly millennia. Likewise, communities received protection because of the group-imposed prohibitions on beer consumption based on age, gender, child-bearing years, and so forth. Today, a much more laissez-faire neoliberal economy allows the Euro-American beer conglomerates more control of the markets than during the colonial era, especially as post-colonial states, especially DR Congo, have little control of the political economy of the terrain.

Selling Euro-American Beer with African (Star) Power

Like the most interesting man in the world, Africa has its own James Bond, Ernest Hemingway, and Indiana Jones, reproducing Euro-American capitalist machismo with the appropriate non-specific accent, pedigree, and ivy-league education. He is…Michael Power, and he represents
Guinness. Like ABInBev and Heineken, Guinness no longer stands alone as a single company. Instead, the greater Guinness umbrella has acquired Smirnoff, Johnnie Walker, Captain Morgan, and Bailey’s, and forms a large part of the Diageo Group. In 1999, London-based global marketing firm Saatchi and Saatchi launched the Guinness beer advertisement campaign featuring Michael Power, portrayed by British-born Jamaican-raised South African based actor Cleveland Mitchell, an ivy-league educated international journalist who only drinks Guinness on his James Bond-esque adventures saving the world. Guinness has long advertised itself as a symbol of male sexual power and an energy food. The character Michael Power, supports the advertising slogan “Guinness brings out the Power in you!” as he saves the daughter of a politician while riding horseback, or while rescuing flood victims in Mozambique in separate five-minute ad campaigns in 2000. However, the greatest move for Guinness most likely came with the success of the feature film Critical Assignment released in 2003, and filmed in six countries in Africa, including Ghana, Cameroon, Nigeria, and South Africa.

Moments of strangely placed Guinness advertisements remind the viewer that Critical Assignment is still a corporately sponsored film. All the same, the plot centers round the identity of Michael Powers developed in a series of advertisements over several years. Faced with the decisions of providing fresh water for their people versus securing international arms deals, African politicians find themselves in a difficult situation. Roberts notes that Critical Assignment aimed to show white Euro-American society as a monolithic of decay with violence in Yugoslavia to the dissolving marriage of colleague Ed Johnson, which Power manages to mend. From the African perspective, family and kinship represent the most essential aspects of life, while Euro-American white patriarchal neoliberal capitalist consumption focuses less on kinship and more on individual success. Meanwhile, Africa becomes a single space marked by a soundtrack of Congolese musician Papa Wemba, mixed with Benin’s Angélique Kidjo. The background jumps from the slave castle of Elmina in Ghana to Lagos, Nigeria and later to Douala, Cameroon with various locations in South Africa.

Jo Foster from BBC News noted that in the movie theaters, Cameroonian viewers cheered when they saw their city represented despite any stereotypes the movie may have presented by omitting the difficulties of life. Simply being represented on film gave Cameroonians a sense of pride. Roberts further notes the type of black masculinity represented by Michael Power in the performances by Cleveland Mitchell differs greatly from Euro-American fetishized, violent, or erotic distortions of Black men. Power becomes a hero not solely based on appearance, but due to his ability to hold his drink, his wisdom and knowledge of global affairs, and his critical reflection and action concerning the suffering of his people due to the crisis of clean drinking water. However, Roberts briefly analyzes the heteronormative power dynamic of manhood among leaders in Africa where queer leaders are removed from center-stage, given the expectation in twentieth century Africa to be married with children in order to be a leader with

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an inherited legacy and one to pass on to others. Polygyny may be frowned upon, but still an
African leader must be married with children. Moving away from “big man” leadership models
which Vansina (1990) notes, or what Jean-Francois Bayart (1989) calls the politics of the belly,
in so much as hording things and amassing people within clientele relationships establishes a
leader, Power is quite possibly the Diasporic African in spaces and places many daughters and
sons of the native land and soil have been excluded from reaching within far stretching arm of
colonialism. By contrast, the Guinness character Michael Power has no ethnic group, no nation-
state, no parents, no children, and no wives. Perhaps, Michael Power represents an imagined
diasporic self-made success story and dream, while the Princess of Africa, Yvonne Chaka Chaka
represents an imagined return and preservation of tradition in the present for people of African
descent seeking a Motherland within the languages and imagined geographies of colonialism.

Beer Advertisements in DR Congo

During my time in Kinshasa, I quickly learned the power of television, radio, and billboard
advertisements. Overall, television ads provided the easiest way to create a hypnotizing jingle.
Unilever subsidiary Marsavco aired commercials featuring Congolese musician Marshall Dixon
(Jean-Paul Nsungu) where the performer sings about soap (Munganga, Le Coq, Sumamouse,
Omo, Brilliant, Nguvu), cooking oil (Simba, Livio), Blue Band margarine, and a skin bleaching
cream called Fair and Lovely. In the five-minute music video in a blend of Lingala and French,
Marshall Dixon asserts that Marsavco touches every aspect of Congolese life, and is a great
friend to the people. The commercial illustrates a series of socio-economic power dynamics in
Congolese domestic life, particularly gender inequalities in household chores performed by
women and mothers, hierarchies by age between elders and children, and the male domestic
worker in the colonial household, sometimes referred as un boy. When I saw Marshall Dixon at
an event in Kinshasa, a small group walked by the singer and yelled out singing “Sumamouse,
Sumamouse.” As I considered the indigenous use of palm oil and leaves to prepare and eat food,
I thought of the global soap market, while speculating how fresh water, millet, sorghum, and
wheat can be grown in Africa for local production of Euro-American beer in lieu of eating.

In 2006, Werrason reached a height in a successful career as a Congolese soukous musician
performing with Jamaican-American reggae star Shaggy. Heineken-owned Bralima sponsored
the artist, which required composing and performing a song about Primus beer. In “Fluid
markets: the business of beer meets the ugliness of war,” Jason Miklian and Peer Schouten write
about another Congolese musician, JB Mpiana, who receives a salary from Bralima of over
$300,000 per year to serve as one of the official Primus sponsors. Miklian and Schouten also
write about the bribes Heineken-owned Bralima brasseries and truck drivers pay to warlords in
order to drive through and operate in Eastern Congo as commercial conflict-dependent actors
(CCDA). Unfortunately, Congolese artists only see true financial success with corporate
sponsorship from beer conglomerates, and to a lesser degree from products such as Marsavco
soap.

89 Official Marsavco Marshall Dixon video. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OKvYt1MOe_A
In 2008, Werrason completed a nearly 15-minute *Primus* advertisement music video, which takes place on the roof of a building in Kinshasa overlooking the Congo river, with Brazzaville in the distance. In Kinshasa, the song played in bars, on radio, and on television nearly non-stop. In the advertisement, six women in yellow shirts and blue skirts dance on stage in a line opposite six men in white shirts and blue jeans, providing a concert for a special group of fans who raced to the rooftop. The song begins by describing *Primus* as the true beer of Congolese people. Within the video, Werrason and his entourage of singers and dancers remind the audience to drink *Primus*, the top beer among all beers. As if conjugating the verb *komela* (to drink), Werrason and his entourage remind his audience of shoppers/spectators of everyone who imbibes in *Primus*. The dance moves and the hybrid lyrics in Lingala and French became the communal text and script of the nation. I referred to this song as “Pesa Mbote!”

As Werrason advertised *Primus* on air in Kinshasa and around the country, Papy Mbavu created a dance and popular song called *Kotazo*. Originally banned and censored by the Congolese government for the movement of the hips involved in the dance, the song became overwhelmingly successful in Congolese bars, nightclubs, radio, and CDs sold on the streets. From the Ngbandi language of Northern Congo and Central African Republic spoken by Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko as a mother tongue, the word “kotazo” refers to a strong man. Known for his expertise in physical fitness, Papy Mbavu includes particular moves from martial arts in the dance as well as in the music video. One should note that the radio version and music video to *Kotazo* begin with a scene of Congolese soldiers firing gunshots in the air as a crowd of people run away in the streets. Repeatedly throughout the song from the beginning, Mbavu states “Bisso tokufi” (We are dying). Dancing *kotazo* becomes the solution to the dismal state of living conditions in the troubled political situation in DR Congo. In Congo, one source of earnings for musicians can be to include certain friends and well-connected people within a *libanda* (shout-out). Thus, songs often allude to diamond dealers or successful artists. Once the Congolese censorship board lifted the ban on “Kotazo”, Papy Mbavu released a remix of the song sponsored by *Doppel* beer (a Bracongo brand, which is owned by SABMiller, now Anheuser-Busch InBev). Noticeably, the gunshots and fleeing Congolese citizens have been eliminated in the remix. Instead, the new version opens with bottles of *Doppel* beer surrounding Papy Mbavu and his dance crew, and he now notes “Bisso tomeli Doppel” (We drink Doppel) even *na kati na mboka* (in the heart of the country). The entire remixed 8-minute commercial presses the importance of soldiers, police officers, young, and old drinking *Doppel*.

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90 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZkVip5gKZw
91 Literally, “Say/Give Hello/Greeting” in Lingala, the verb *kopesa* means to give. Conjugated in the imperative second-person mood, within the *Primus* ad, Werrason and his entourage continuously remind their listeners “*Pesa baninga mbote…..pesa mbote*” (Give friends greetings….say hello). Here, I should note uniquely Congolese expressions and pronunciations of Lingala and French words make the song/advertisement unique to the audience in and around Kinshasa. In Congolese French, the aspirated *u* sounds like the Latin *i*. Thus, Primus sounds like Primis (Pree-meec). These interesting shifts in vowel pronunciation will become important in Chapter Four.
92 http://www.afrik.com/article14065.html
93 Papy Mbavu Kotazo. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6Gby2x1BcM
94 Papy Mbavu Kotazo remix (Doppel). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=irD8fJ58Ido
In Congo, ABInBev own the rights to Coca Cola bottling, and popular musician Fally Ipupa advertised the American soda, as well as Skol beer. As a result, Ipupa has become the Francophone African voice of the Coca Cola hymn, known in English as “Taste the Moment.” One should note that Ipupa originally performed and recorded exclusively in Lingala with the success of his debut album Droit Chemin. Despite the Lingala language being largely located within both DR Congo and the Republic of Congo, and intelligible in Central African Republic, Ipupa enjoyed success in Ivory Coast and within the greater Francophone African world. He has won numerous pan-African music awards, and has taken part in the greater Coca Cola Africa phenomenon. In an act of neoliberal economic imperialism through product placement, Coca Cola has established its popular show Coke Studios in Africa after success in Pakistan. Thus, popular artists like Fally Ipupa can gain global transnational success beyond the local geolinguistic terrain; however, the moral question of the extraction of fresh water, sugar, cereal grains, and even mineral wealth causes one to ponder how populations close to the land can benefit from the soil, be it in the form of gastronomy and the benefits of eating nutritious food, consuming healthy plant-based foods with an historic ethno-botanical origin in the case of the loss of STEM knowledge to produce antibiotic beer, or if manifested in the expansive and eroding borders of multinational conglomerates in owning and controlling what we consume locally and globally.

What, then, can one conclude about that which comes forth from the soil of Mother Earth, or the terroir of Mama Africa, Congo-Angola, and Kongo-Ngola? In the case of wheat, barley, sorghum, millet, grain, and cereals in general, coupled with precious water, we see the use of these resources by multinational conglomerates owned by a handful of a few white men based in South Africa, Brazil, Columbia, Belgium, the Netherlands, or shareholders in Canada and the United States. The greater part of wealth remains in the developed North, and in the pockets of supranational billionaires who control the global food and beverage industry. Likewise, when investigating mineral extraction concerning diamonds, coltan, copper, cocoa, and other rare and valuable materials, the benefits leave Africa and the Southern hemisphere, with great profits ending up in the banks and warehouses in the global North. In her autobiography Unbowed, the late Nobel Prize winning Kenyan scientist Wangari Maathai stressed the importance of political action against the erosion of the land, which empowered women and the most marginalized members of society. Dr. Maathai stressed the need to know how indigenous laws work coupled with traditional power structures, but also the need to know how the fig tree grew roots and contained ground water that produced an entire ecosystem of tadpoles and living creatures, only to be destroyed when Englishmen cleared trees for coffee and tea plantations. Whether we look at Amazonia where soya and cattle farming destroy the forest, or if we examine Africa where grains and valuable water produce beer, one has to recognize the combined abuse of economic psychology in convincing populations to consume, eat, and drink goods that destroy the natural environment, merely for the sake of capitalist expansion. Perhaps, reflecting upon the past in the next chapter will provide praxis and solutions for the future which will end Chapter Four, especially, when considering the value of that which comes forth from the land, and from the belly and wound of Mother Africa, in the form of human life, coltan, copper, cobalt, cocoa, palm oil, diamonds, oil, and gold.
Chapter Three

Blood
Uterine Kinship & Political History in *Kongo-Ngola*

This chapter ultimately first came together during my time living in Kinshasa, DR Congo. In my two years teaching at the American School of Kinshasa, I remained fascinated with the Lunda people, as well as with other rules governing indigeneity and overlapping post-coloniality. A family across the street from the school belonged to the Lunda ethnic group, while most of the guards who protected our school were of the Luba ethnic group. The domestic workers, gardeners, and maintenance personnel were mostly from the Kongo ethnic group. Eventually, I asked a Luba friend if she knew Lunda leaders with whom I could speak to learn more about the Lunda-Chokwe. With time, I was introduced to a Lunda woman married to a Luba man, whom I shall call Marie-Antoinette and Joseph.

Marie-Antoinette was the sister of a Congolese diplomat I had met while in another Southern African country, while I was the guest of the Congolese ambassador. Marie-Antoinette explained that her brother had told her about me, the young African American from Chicago. Meanwhile, her husband Joseph had worked at the American school years earlier in the area of information technology, but had since started his own company. As I note in *The Places We’ve Been*, everyone in elite Congolese circles seemed to know that there was an African American in the country teaching at the US State Department school. They also knew that I was teaching first grade, where the daughter of President Kabila was among my small group of students. Like the teachers at Emmanuel from PreK to Grade 5, I taught with a purpose, knowing that each of my students would go on to do great things, if I treated them with respect and honored their home life and culture in the classroom while teaching them math, reading, language arts, science, and social studies with a holistic cultural approach.

All the same, my personal interests directed me towards learning more about the BaKongo, the BaLuba, and the BaLunda. The security guards, who became my friends, at TASOK spoke with such authority, as if anthropologists, about the matrilineal descent of the Kongo, the patrilineal practices of the Luba, and the bilateral kinship networks of the Lunda. However, at 24 years old, I found that friends my age who were not enrolled in law school or earning master’s degrees at the Protestant University of Congo in Kinshasa (UPCK), most likely had little clue about their grandparents’ ethnic groups and the laws governing kinship obligations. Everyday *Kinois* called UPCK the Beverly Hills 90210 of Kinshasa, where I spent Saturdays at the US embassy sponsored English corner. The Belgian government did little to provide education in Congo, and did not establish universities there. Founded in 1959, with links to the United Church of Christ Global Ministries, UPCK is the premier university in the Democratic Republic of Congo. When I asked friends my age about their grandparents’ customs, if the person was everyday folk, and far from well-off, I received mixed responses about their ethnic languages and native villages outside of a world imagined in the semi-artificial Lingala language, spoken outside of the Bangala people’s *terroir* of Equateur Province. Street Lingala spoken in Kinshasa contains mixtures of French words. Of course, my friends earning graduate degrees from UPCK nearly all
knew their great-grandparents’ ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Among the masses, I found a sense of colonial amnesia taking root.

Marie-Antoinette benefitted from an excellent education, as did her brother as *chef du cabinet* at the Congolese embassy in Harare. She arranged a meeting with a very high-ranking Lunda princess whose father had once been prime minister of Congo. The hours I spent with the princess in March 2008 clarified the research on the Lunda people that would follow. Reading the French (Belgian), Portuguese, and English ethnographies of the Lunda people in Congo, Angola, and Zambia would prove complicated in 2005 prior to leaving for Congo. Rereading and expanding upon firsthand knowledge years after my two-years in Africa made the multiple languages describing one people merge together into a comprehensible metanarrative of Lundaland that I would have to write. Globally, I am certain that without a strong fluency in French, Lingala, and Portuguese, and if I were not an African American, I would most likely not have been able to enter these elite spaces where I revered and respected local authority, and likewise found myself welcomed and received like a long-lost brother returning home.

**Framing Blood: Studying Up**

In her classic essay “Up the Anthropologist: Perspectives Gained from Studying Up” Laura Nader (1972) encourages ethnographers to study not only ordinary events or the troubles of the poor, but to enter elite spaces and privileged places to understand why and how decisions get made that affect us all. This chapter lays out the historical significance of governance, focusing on *Kongo-Ngola* before colonialism and since. A major portion of this chapter will address the Kongo Kingdom and the Lunda Empire over the past five centuries, noting the significance of this knowledge, perhaps even in the election of future leaders. Key to this chapter, one will note the multiple spellings of the same historical figure in Portuguese Angola, French speaking Belgian Congo, and British Rhodesia (Angola, DR Congo, and Zambia), while gender and power remain central to issues of blood, war, and the boundaries of geolinguistics. Thus, with place, regions within Guthrie’s map, and colonial linguistic legacies, one sees an alteration of even indigenous historical epistemologies and cultural ontologies. Meanwhile, Agamben (1995: 128-134) brings to light the question of biopolitical power, linked to *nascere* or birth/nation within Roman law, coupled with the constitution of blood and soil citizenship from French to German legal beginnings of the empires that produced colonialism and the Holocaust. Fundamental debates of the sovereignty and free will of the oppressed and muted subaltern or the colonial subject marginalized to the silences of non-citizen and non-human place the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988), Homi Bhabha (1994), and Mahmood Mamdani (1996) in conversation. As oppressed subalterns (women, indigenous colonized peoples) maintain power within in between spaces of hybridity, subjectivity and human rights as citizens of the *terroir* belonging to the land give rise to greater questions concerning universal humanity beyond ethnic divides and sociolinguistic, kinship, descent-based forms of political and economic organization, which exclude many in order to include a small few.
Prior to living in Congo, I wrote a great deal on the life and death of Patrice Lumumba, the Rwandan Genocide, British commonwealth studies, French colonial economics, Portuguese rule in Africa, Afro-Brazilian culture, slavery, Native American and indigenous people’s rights, African diaspora music, Caribbean and African literature, the practice of literacy and math education, and comparative literature. In all of this work, I considered feminist epistemologies and Marxist analysis; however, I never contemplated any major role of kinship, other than considering and contesting patriarchy. On the ground in Kinshasa, kinship obligations became something people over a certain age spoke about daily, while the youth appeared disconnected from heritage as places of origin and languages possessing rich historical knowledge. Becoming an anthropologist in England, the kinship discussions I had in Kinshasa became tangibly real in the readings and fresh writings I constructed and explored.

For more than a century, fundamental debates in social anthropology have interrogated the intersecting principles underlining systems of kinship and economic production as they relate to socially constructed notions of power and knowledge formation, within the master narrative of coloniality. Bodies of anthropological analysis and investigation form overlapping progressions of intellectual debates, which give birth to an expansion of discourse and language used in redefining ethnographic perceptions of reality and social order. Today, reflective revisions upon technologies of power and consciousness offer a fresh lens with which to observe, dissect and reassemble bodies of knowledge within societies once studied by anthropologists of the past. As such, one must overlook neither the recognizable effects of continuity and change within so-called traditional societies, nor the ways in which dynamics of power, identity and domination may be reproduced or altered in the everyday practices of ritual.

In many African societies, ritual reproduction and cultural continuity within fluctuating postcolonial political economies continuously reshape, reinvent and solidify relations of legality and authority between indigenous leadership, the polities of the colonial state and the dually governed masses. As Fortes and Evans-Pritchard note, the king, chief or ruler in many African societies represents the jural rights of power among his/her people, while simultaneously embodying “the axis of their political relations, the symbol of their unity and exclusiveness,” as well as an amalgamated accumulation of essential values, customs and beliefs (1940:16). However, in “Making Children, Making Chiefs: Gender, Power and Ritual Legitimacy,” Todd Sanders (1998: 238) urges against patterns of repeated paradigms of comparative classification within structural-functionalism, which has allowed Africanist anthropologists to reproduce generalized ethnographies, which failed to fully reveal endogenous concepts governing parallel ontological and cosmological perceptions of invested power. Sanders cites Thomas Beidelman’s work in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a turning point in Africanist anthropology, given a reevaluation of classic texts on the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard and Gluckman’s investigation of the Swazi newala ceremony within more indigenously informed relations of legitimacy and power. Ethnographies compiled in this manner may ultimately become more mutually beneficial references of knowledge to be shared amongst future generations of anthropologists and members of indigenous societies alike.
In her essay “Cutting the Network,” Marilyn Strathern (1996) addresses the flows of knowledge, representation and value exchanged through hybrid bodies, which can themselves be defined as individual networks at play. Issues of race, gender, and technology become informed or ignored within bodies of discourse concerning binaries of us/them, male/female, or modern/pre-modern. Beyond boundaries, yet within the margins of multiple discourses, rearticulated ideologies emerge within the language of networks, where the presence of hybrid bodies questions the utility of Euro-American categorization (Strathern 1996: 520-21). Likewise, bilateral kinship networks recognize that we can “trace far enough back and everyone shares substance with everyone else” (p. 529).

This chapter will reconstruct, remember, and reassemble sacred bodies of Lunda sovereignty, within indigenous epistemologies, using native and Euro-American anthropologists. Additionally, the Kongo Kingdom and the lesser chieftains of ngoli of Kimbundu speaking Ndongo region of Malanje will become evident in this section. Thus, this chapter recognizes the complexities of centuries of gender, power and authority have been refashioned among the central Lunda/uRuund from the ancestress and founder Queen Lueji a Nkonde, also known as Suaana or Nswaa n Muruund.95 A study of this magnitude moves away from generalized critiques of indigenous power relations to more informed reinterpretations of ethno-historical political dynamics on global and local scales.

Background

In human societies, repetitive rituals instill a moral and metaphysical conscience collective within constructed memories that produce shared practices and metanarratives (Durkheim 1995). Ultimately, the canonization of praxis into ritual represents a political process through which power over the moral/religious and jural/legal spheres come to embody an authority of domination. As such, three types of legitimate authority may emerge in history: traditional authority; charismatic authority; and legal-rational authority (Weber 1979). In The Invention of Tradition, Hobsbawm et al suggest that rituals and customs defined as traditions merely reflect recent practices in power. Furthermore, Ranger asserts, “the invented traditions of nineteenth-century Europe had been introduced into Africa to allow Europeans and certain Africans to combine for ‘modernizing’ ends” (Ranger in Hobsbawm et al 1983: 247). In this regard, the ornate regalia of Belgian, British or Portuguese imperial pageantry, viewed within a binary of center/periphery, rest upon an interconnected network of actions occurring within a single colonial space. Both Europeans and Africans witnessed reinvented traditions at the moment of cultural interaction. For functionalist anthropologists, the introduction of European laws and a European “chief” replaces or transforms the status of an African chief, whereby transforming an

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95 Note that I settle on the spelling “Lueji a Nkonde” for Queen Mulunda, as used by the university in Lunda North, Lunda South, and Malanje Provinces in Angola, which opened in 2008-09. I refer to the original son of the first Queen Mulunda as Mwaant Yaav, as I was given this spelling by a prominent Lunda princess in Kinshasa in 2008. One must note that in Zambia, Angola, and DR Congo, Chilunda names and spellings differ due to different Euro-American colonial languages of conquest, which different colonial missionaries of various Christian denominations used in translating the Bible, whereby altering and creating the indigenous languages of the regions.
entire way of life (Malinowski 1945: 55). Thus, for Ranger, separate, but interrelated neo-traditional networks of values and customs had to be invented in the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century for both indigenes and colonists. In this respect, colonial administrators and missionaries investigated the cosmologies and epistemologies of African societies in an effort to understand emic practices of individual groups. Applying etic interpretations of material collected, generalizations could be applied across the board in order to neutralize African societies. Here, Ranger suggests “this kind of thought and practice – with emphasis upon rituals of continuity and stability” gave way to “a concept immemorial ‘African Traditional Religion’ which did less than justice to the variety and vitality of pre-colonial African religious forms” and ritual customs (Ranger 1983: 252).

Emerging within a multiplicity of indigenous locales, colonial governance framed geopolitical boundaries conceived and articulated within dissecting cartographies of European technologies of domination, which established ambiguous borders and divisions among individuals and groups. Policing the borders or margins of colonial power within the black, brown and white bodies of colonial subjects in imperial Africa forcefully installed hegemonic authorities in spaces of conflict, tension and contestation. Thus, poles and points of interaction, still in our time, act as borders of cultural exchange and sites of hybridity within empire, where networks of neo-traditions interact within the double-edged sword of indirect rule and colonial civilizing missions. Overall, however, a political agenda underlies the performance of tradition, as well as the authority through which collective memories become documented, corrupted and (re)articulated in efforts to control the speed of change within communities. Questioning networks of ritual performance and quotidian practices of power sheds new light on interpretations of authority within postcolonial African states.

Along the borders of the present-day states of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Zambia, the Lunda Empire has seen its perimeters reshaped and partitioned. The ability of the central royal family to adapt with time, and to easily incorporate itself within colonial and postcolonial hierarchies of political economy and technologies of domination has secured the longevity of the family within dually constructed actors and networks of traditional authority, as well as within Euro-American legal-rational networks rooted in Western Christianity and democracy. Strangely, while simultaneously occurring ideological hybrid meta-narratives between central Lunda and European epistemologies appear to be at work, the Lunda political elite successfully embrace and transgress Western constructions of gender and power in accordance with their own historical practices and rituals. Reconstructing and connecting several of these narratives becomes helpful, for as Malinowski noted, “[t]he study of such stories is extremely interesting, both because it gives us a deep insight into the native psychology of tradition, and because it tempts us to reconstruct the past history [of the tribe], though we must yield to the temptation with due caution and skepticism” (1948: 117).

Western anthropologists have transcribed multiple versions of Lunda genealogy in efforts to document “a far-flung network of tributary relationships.” The Lunda Empire consists of and incorporates even autonomous entities, “such as Kasanje, the Yaka kingdom, or the Kazembe
states which successfully broke off from the parent state without entirely forgetting their origins” (Bustin 1975: ix). We know that Kazembe represents the brother who Lueji sent away for beating their father, but he later asked for her forgiveness, and later would have to pay tribute to the Central Lunda. Belgian anthropologist Luc de Heusch (1982) reveals a structuralist analysis in his investigations of central Lunda cosmology and epistemology, aptly titled *The Drunken King, or The Origin of the State*. As such, de Heusch explores the cognitive aspects of ritual in Southern Congo. Here, de Heusch would find striking similarities among Luba and Lunda origin myths along with minor contestations within orally composed accounts of the origin of the Lunda state. In similar fashion, German explorer Paul Pogge and Portuguese explorer Dias de Carvalho focused their attentions on the Lunda of Angola (Bustin 1975).

Meanwhile, Victor Turner’s (1967; 1968) accounts of the Ndembu rest in Northern Rhodesia, present-day Zambia, amongst the Southern Lunda. Perhaps, as one distinguishes the city of Rome from the Roman Empire, one must separate the original village of Aruund (also written as Aruwund or Aluunda) from the subsequent network of hybridity used to classify the Lunda Empire of the Mwaant Yaav. Furthermore, given its existence as a network of political economy, actions of linguistic and cultural uniformity did not exist among the Lunda people. In fact, McCulloch (1951) notes the existence of distinct languages between the Northern, Southern and Eastern Lunda. Instead, controlling the flow and distribution of wealth within a geographical area became the overarching arm of political power (Earle 1997: 204) within the Lunda Empire. If this proved unsuccessful, marriages could be arranged between subordinate chiefs and members of the central Lunda royal court. However, conflicting interpretations of political power among the Lunda may be due, not only to an amalgamation of European linguistic traditions, but also in part to confusions manufactured within Euro-American gender relations and power dynamics at work within the colonial superstructure governing multiple layers of historical translation at the time of transcription.

Noting the authority invested in the repetitive “quotation” of the originators (Bloch 2005) encapsulates rituals of power within intended actions (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994 in Bloch 2005;125). The constant quotation and retelling of the story of Lunda beginnings allow individuals within the federation the individual agency to recall lived histories of the past as practiced ritual. In this regard, all stories recounting the origin of the Lunda Empire focus upon the birth of the first Mwaant Yaav, or male leader. Accounts situate the village of Aruwund around the year 1590 (McCulloch 1951: 11-12) as the location where the three sons of chief Nkond/Konde violently beat their father. However, in 2013, the Lunda people celebrated their 500th anniversary with elaborate multilingual orange and yellow fabric written in Chilunda, French, Portuguese, and English. Thus, the exact year of the origin of the state may depend on the birth of Nkonde, the rise of Lueji a Nkonde to the throne after her father, or the birth of the Mwaat Yaav. Central to the origins of the Lunda polity lies the essential story of murder at the hands of disobedient sons, but devotion of a strong woman and daughter. As the Portuguese anthropologist Manuela Palmeirim notes:
“Returning to the village after a hunting trip, the sons of Nkond found their father weaving a mat. As they passed him, tired and thirsty, they saw a basin with the milky-coloured water used for dipping the fibres, which they mistook for palm wine (*maruvu*). They asked Nkond for the wine but the chief replied: ‘It is water, not *maruvu*.’ Thinking they were being deceived, the sons angrily beat their father. It was his daughter Ruwej who came to his aid. When the chief recovered, he proclaimed a curse against his sons, declaring that on his death the *rukan*, the chiefly bracelet, should not be entrusted to them but to his youngest daughter, Ruwej” (2006: 22).

 Entrusting her with the symbol of his legitimate power, Nkond/Konde renames his daughter Lweshi/Luweji/Ruwej (Bustin 1975; de Heusch 1982; Palmeirim 2006 & 2008). In her official capacity as chief, she becomes Nswaan Muruund/Suana Mulunda. Various spellings and pronunciations of names denote the time and place in which the story became transcribed. For instance, in Portuguese Angola, the letter r replaces l. Among the central Lunda living near the later capital city of Musuumb in the Congolese region of Kasai, influences of French linguistic instruction and the vehicular usage of Tshiluba generate spellings and pronunciations with respect to these linguistic traditions, in addition to a fading, uniquely ChiLunda (Tshilunda) body of language and expression. Perhaps, minor variations within the story of the birth of the Lunda body of polities may rest in the multiple networks of hybridity at play within Lundaland. All the same, accounts conclude that Luweji’s brothers were not pleased with Konde’s decision, which went against patrilineal lines of descent (de Heusch 1982: 150). Later, with the consent of her father’s ministers, Suana Mulunda would rule an expanding empire until she would marry and produce an heir. The arrival of a neighboring Luba hunter-prince named Cibinda Yirung/Tshibinda Ilunga would have a lasting effect on Suana Mulunda’s territory. Eventually they married, and a son was born, who became known as “Mwaant Yaav [or] Mwata Yamvo, Mwata Yamfu, Mwant Yavu, Muatianvo, Mwata Yambo, etc.” (Bustin 1975: xi).

Rituals of Blood

Todd Sanders (1998) reminds us “[w]hen it comes to sexual reproduction, all…seem to agree on one thing: men and women contribute equally to the formation of a child” (243). He further notes the existence of “fertilising fluids” within men and women, which create life. The Ihanzu of Tanzania certainly recognize the continuous actor-network of male and female fluids involved in the life-giving processes of making children and rain (pp. 247-51). Elsewhere, Strathern (1996:

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96 For instance, the word for beach in Spanish can be translated as playa, while the Portuguese equivalent is pronounced as spelled as praia.

97 Additionally, I have employed spelling taken from Edouard Bustin (1975), which have been confirmed by a prominent members of the Lunda royal family in 2008 in Kinshasa. It is also important to note that while the Lunda capital city of Musuumb lies within the Democratic Republic of Congo, the country where a majority of Lunda people currently live, the second most populous Lunda territories lie within the Angolan provinces of Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul. Meanwhile, barely ten percent of the Lunda population resides in present day Zambia. See Palmeirim (2006 & 2008) and Pritchett (2007).
530) suggests, however, while blood ties and bonds of kinship may appear to flow along homogenous networks, these flows can be stopped, broken or “cut by failure to accord social recognition (someone is forgotten), just as social relationships can be cut by appeal to biological principles (dividing ‘real’ kin from others). Likewise, issues of blood and birth surround the origin of the Lunda Empire embodied in the first Mwaant Yaav. Moreover, questions of menorrhagia, endometriosis, and rituals of nkula produce conflicting controversies of the legitimacy of Suaana Mulunda’s claims to the child.

In *The Drums of Affliction*, Victor Turner (1968) cites the morphology of rituals of affliction, especially in relation to nkula. According to Turner, this particular practice can be directly related to the birth of the first Mwaant Yaav. In Turner’s account “Luweji Ankonde, a woman chief Mwantiyanvwa and co-founder of the dynasty, went to her menstruation hut [where] her period lasted many days” (1968: 58). Before entering the hut, Luweji gives her bracelet to Tshibinda Ilunga. When the female chief failed to emerge from her hut, people collected medicines to treat her nkula or long menstruation. Turner’s account concludes that she quickly recovered and gave birth without complications. Of course, all would agree that a menstruating woman and a pregnant woman cannot simultaneously occupy the same body. The performance of nkula among the Ndembu, while tied to the myth of Luweji and Mwaant Yaav, embodies a variety of ritualistic purposes. Namely, nkula may be performed if a woman misses her period and does not become pregnant, or if she is barren. At the same time, the flow of nkula may also represent the infant the patient desires, but may not be able to bear (Turner 1968: 59; 86). Meanwhile, the male counterpart of nkula lies in the mukula tree. Known as the tree of blood, Lunda-Ndembu boys sit upon a long log of mukula wood after completing the rites of circumcision (Turner 1967: 141). Of course, the blood of nonhuman networks plays a role in the discourses of Lunda origin, given the role of Tshibinda Ilunga as a hunter. According to de Heusch (1982: 169), “Chibinda describes himself with the words ‘I prefer hunting beasts to hunting men.’” As such, the masculine—yet nonhuman—blood of the hunted animal along with the blood of Lueji’s nkula give birth to Mwaant Yaav.

Within the Lunda origin myth, the Luba hunter-prince comes to occupy a unique space of the nonhuman. Interestingly, “in Western culture women may be conceived of as being rather less than persons, because of their association with nature, with children, and with the ‘domestic’ sphere, rather than with culture and the ‘social world of public affairs’ which are usually seen as the domain of men” (Strathern 1984 in Moore 1988: 40). Traditional Euro-American gender relations erupt along hegemonic forces of patriarchy strengthened by the interdependent bonds of kinship and economics. Tasks become socially codified as male or female, and survive as such due to the economic and familial ties of marriage. Elsewhere, however, one may argue that an analysis of the household economy reveals the common presence of patriarchy within Western political economy in the most basic levels. As such, the patriarch becomes master over his wife, children and servants (Weber in B. Turner 1996: 148). For Tshibinda Ilunga (articulated as nonhuman), Suaana Mulunda and Mwaant Yaav, traditional actor-network relations of patriarchy do not apply given Luweji’s power over her husband and child. Thus, one must conclude an elevated status of women within Lunda societies vis à vis Euro-American dynamics of gender relations.
In Lunda court, members embody the title and name of originators of the dynastic tradition. In this sense, members of the royal house of Mulunda come to embody the epic of the empire. Present today, one finds the king or Mwaant Yaav, sometimes surrounded by two women. To his right, one finds the mother of the right side, Luweji or Suaana Mulunda (de Heusch 1982: 153). The right side is also a side reserved for men. Lukonkesha, the mother of the left, represents a woman named Kamonga. Writing from a post-structuralist and feminist vantage point, Portuguese anthropologist Manuela Palmeirim (2008: 75) retraces the steps of previous male researchers to reveal that Kamong [without an a] may be the biological mother of Mwaant Yaav, in addition to the sister/cousin or close affine of Lueji. This question must be raised since certain accounts reveal Luweji to be sterile, while separate oral histories suggest Suaana Mulunda bore more than one child (Palmeirim 2006: 34). In many Bantu languages, there may be little distinction between mother/aunt and child/nephew/daughter. For instance, in Lingala, the postfixes “kolutu” (older) and “leki” (younger) distinguish one’s “mama” in relation to age and authority among her sisters. Similarly, male siblings of a father receive the same address of “tata/papa,” while female siblings might be called “tata mwasi” or female father. Likewise, first cousins may recognize each other as brother and sister, given shared uterine bonds of kinship. In this sense, Lueji would surely be the “mother” of the Mwaant Yaav, if her younger, subordinate sister/cousin bore the child. De Heusch, on the other hand, gathered a summary of previously accumulated accounts from informants within the court, who each provide conflicting and contrasting interpretations as to the identity of Kamong[a]. Some give her identity as Luweji’s sterile paternal aunt (tata mwasi). All the same, the rituals and performances associated with the originators of the state bear great importance on Lunda identity even today.

In the Congolese province of Western Kasai, the town of Musumba [or Musuumb] serves as the capital city of the Lunda Empire. Here, the traditional rituals of recounting the origin of the state continue to be a part of custom and ceremony. In neighboring villages and regions which pay tribute to the Mwaant Yaav, one finds similar rituals retelling the story with masks and dancers. All the same, Tshibinda Ilunga, remains absent. Lueji’s husband and the certain father of the Mwaant Yaav cannot be found. De Heusch (1982) notes similar occurrences in Luba origin myths, where the king or male heir departs and heads to a foreign land after a conflict with his brothers. Among the Central Lunda, Lueji embodies that original male king, whose brothers leave after she marries Tshibinda Ilunga. Thus, while the Luba hunter-prince shares his own progressive and innovative technologies and techniques of agricultural cultivation and hunting precision with the Lunda, Tshibinda Ilunga must leave Lueji’s kingdom once Mwaant Yaav comes of age, as there can only be one king. The king must also be of Lunda blood. Here, patrilineal descent becomes repackaged as matrilineal ties to power, given the foreign status of the Luba prince, whose presence could jeopardize the integrity of the Lunda federation, which has grown since the death of Nkonde and the appointment of his daughter as queen. Likewise, the legitimacy of the Mwaant Yaav and the preservation of the state rest in the hands of Lueji (Suaana Mulunda), the mother of the Lunda state. In this fashion, Mwaant Yaav ignores any ties he may have to the neighboring Luba kingdom by eliminating his father from his court. Meanwhile, Suaana Mulunda takes on the role of father to the young Mwaant Yaav, especially in the absence of Tshibinda Ilunga and Lueji’s own brothers. Finally, regardless of her role in the conception of Mwaant Yaav, Kamong[a] (Lukonkesha) embodies an important place in court as either a redressed younger female father or younger sister/cousin of Lueji.
Reassembling the debate of actor-network relations, one finds three bodies of networks in action. The nonhuman realm of nature acts with or against the human realm of culture, while both bodies are in constant contact with networks of hybridity along the margins of a second dichotomy (Latour 1993: 11). These networks act as their own bodies of knowledge; however, for Bryan Turner (1996), the human body exists in separate capacities within these individual networks of relations. Thus, he asserts “[f]or the individual and the group, the body is simultaneously an environment (part of nature) and a medium of self (part of culture). The body is, crucially, at the conjuncture of human labour on nature through the medium of writing, language and religion and thus critically at the conjuncture of the human species between the natural order of the world and the cultural ordering of the world” (B. Turner 1996: 66). Located within the betwixt and between a physiological, natural sphere and a psychological, religious, cultural sphere, the human body can become the hybrid network of contested political struggles in which one finds repeated binaries of opposition (B. Turner 1996: 67; V. Turner 1967). In (post)-colonial Africa, jural/legal networks of liminality exist between bodies of traditional authority and the political body of the postcolony.

Within colonial bodies of governance in Africa, ideologies of domination require groups and individuals to follow a certain pattern or possess a set of functions in relationship to others to be labeled and treated as a tribe or larger ethnic group. Ranger notes, “Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework” to gain access and recognition within the polities of the colonial state (Ranger 1983: 252). As such, groups of peoples, which had never constituted a uniform entity found themselves lumped together to form “traditional” consolidated ethnic groups. In the case of the Lunda, African traders from various ethnic groups began to enter into heterogeneous communities under the control of the Mwaant Yaav in the nineteenth century. The most contested, yet integrated subgroup within the Lunda confederation consisted of traders and artists known as the Tshokwe, Chokwe or Cokwe (Bustin 1975). Having fought several heated battles just prior to the arrival of colonial forces along the various borders and margins of the Lunda Empire, the Mwaant Yaav of the late nineteenth century secured his authority and victory over the Tshokwe by working in direct association with Belgian, Portuguese and British colonial authorities in Congo, Angola and Rhodesia (Pritchett 2007: 149-155). All the same, the central Lunda retained a system of tributary into the era of direct colonial contact, while the Tshokwe awaited “a turn of events which might make another more favorable status possible” (Gérard-Libois 1966: 13).

Moving Towards Independence

In the years prior to independence, a Lunda prince--both by marriage and by blood--and successful Congolese merchant named Moïse Tshombe would use the tense Lunda-Tshokwe relationship to his advantage. First united in solidarify with Tshokwe living in Katanga, and later expelling them to Angola, Tshombe would simultaneously invoke powers within the body of traditional Lunda politics, as well as powers within the not so legal-rational body of Congolese state authority centered in Brussels and Leopoldville/Kinshasa. All the same, Lundaland has never been uniform, nor made up of a static set of cultural norms. From the Luba co-founder,
Tshibinda Ilunga, to the multitude of heterogeneous polyglots found beyond the centers of Aruwund and Musuumb, as a shared ideological body, the Lunda Empire appears to have provided an excellent central authority and administration “necessary to accommodate culturally diverse groups within a single political system” (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940 in Cohen & Middleton 1970: 39).

Structuralist analyses in social anthropology would suggest that changes in one aspect of social life would generate changes in the overall structure of a group, given the interconnected relation of a part to the whole of parts. For Levi-Strauss (1966), change in culture and adaptation might create a bricolage of new expressions pieced together from what is at hand. As a reassembled hybrid bricolage of ideologies, the Lunda Empire embodies an evolving entity of reinvention and constantly rearticulated flows of allegiance and rebellion since the origin of the polity. Conflicts with the Tshokwe immediately prior to European colonial rule only mark one moment of reevaluation within the body of Lunda history. By 1956, the establishment of the Association Sociale et Culturelle des Tshokwe du Congo, de l’Angola et de la Rhodésie (Atcar) in the Congolese city of Elisabethville/Lubumbashi marked the beginning of Tshokwe national identity, due in large part to dual sites of oppression experienced under Lunda and Belgian rule (Gérard-Libois 1966: 28; Pritchett 2007:151). When the Mwaant Yaav failed to organize an opposition to Atcar and its founder Ambroïse Muhunga, the son-in-law of the Lunda king, Moïse Tshombe, rose among the cadres of young Lunda royals and urban elites in the Congolese province of Katanga who hoped to subdue Atcar.

The possibilities of inheriting the object of Mwaant Yaav’s royal bracelet, in addition to fatalities of the quasi-objects of power within the double contradictory denunciations (Latour 1993: 51-55) of the colonial state left Moïse Tshombe within a dualism of duty and desire. Thus, as the existence of Atcar questioned the authority of the Mwaant Yaav, Tshombe founded the Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (Conakat) in 1958 as an authentically Katangese organization aimed at protecting the interests of the mining province against foreigners (Pritchett 2007: 152). While this xenophobic body aspired to usher in a postcolonial federation, which originally contained a hybrid network of Luba, Tshokwe, Yeke and even Bemba members and associations, Moïse Tshombe would eventually expunge Tshiluba speaking migrants with origins in the province of Kasai. These BaLuba residents of Katanga province and Tshombe would have shared a common ancestry through the Luba hunter-prince Tshibinda Ilunga, the expelled father of the first Mwaant Yaav. Likewise, Tshokwe associates who did not swear allegiance to Tshombe’s father-in-law, Mwaant Yaav, saw their membership revoked. This left a small group of Balubakat (Kiluba speakers from Katanga), who eventually broke away from Conakat to establish a Luba-Tshokwe cartel with Atcar. As tensions escalated during the Congo Crisis of the 1960s, the small group of Lunda-Ndembu of Rhodesia/Zambia remained outside of the body of Congolese state politics choosing to remain mostly around the district of Mwinilunga, (Pritchett 2007) while Tshombe, acting within the bodies of traditional governance and (il)legal-(ir)rational authority would silicate the support of armed Lunda soldiers from Angola in his efforts to dismember the body of Congolese national polity. In keeping with the tradition of autoethnography, the self-descriptive work of African American anthropologist James Pritchett uses this methodology when writing about his friends for life in Lundaland.
Beyond these contesting regional bodies of power in Katanga, one finds the overlapping politics of the origin of a postcolonial state taking shape throughout the geopolitical embodiment of the Belgian Congo in 1960. Much has been written on the stillborn state of Congo, perhaps clouded in nkula of anticipation, expectation and infertile impotencies of ambition and animosity. While Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 43-47) notes the existing political economies and systems of tribute among separate Tetela and Lunda polities, my conversations with Isabel Tshombe revealed a true animosity between these two groups. Describing the tragedy of her paternal grandfather’s captivity at the hands of Tetela tradersmen, and eventual enslavement within the Swahili trade routes of Tippu Tip between Angola and Zanzibar, the prince would be eventually released before finding his way back to Musuumb. Given his father’s unfortunate history with BaTetela, I wonder if his deep distrust of Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba bore any relation to his Tetela ethnic origins. All the same, independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960 followed the elections of Lumumba as prime minister of the country and Tshombe as the governor of the copper-rich province of Katanga. Meanwhile, Tshombe’s declaration of an independent Katanga on 11 July 1960 expedited the processes of war, as the territorial dismemberment of the Congolese integral body of sovereignty came into question (DeWitte 2001). Eventually serving as national prime minister in Leopoldville/Kinshasa in 1964, the state of exception constituted within the embodiment of the role of sovereign (Agamben 1998: 9-29) may have propelled Tshombe from the contested, violent, yet livable margins of national politics—with the aid of his largely Angolan Lunda soldiers (Gérard-Libois 1966: 156-159)—into the dangerous depths of martyrdom.

Joined now within national, multiethnic states, Africans must determine under which title or banner they will establish their allegiances. For ethnic groups divided along these political boundaries, the confusion of a multiplicity of invented traditions may seem to merge into a cacophonic pyramid of contesting bodies of traditional vs. (il)legal-(ir)rational authority. Ranger asserts that historians must “free themselves from the illusion that the African custom recorded by officials or by many anthropologists is any sort of guide to the African past. But they also need to appreciate how much invented traditions of all kinds have to do with the history of Africa in the twentieth century and strive to produce better founded accounts of them” (1983: 262). In similar fashion, the same may be true for indigenous populations who may choose to question the authenticity of traditional and legal-rational authority, or invent their own leaders.

Manuela Palmeirim’s interpretations of Lunda chiefship come quite close to addressing the conflicts and changes affecting the idea of tradition in Lunda historiography. Her cross-boundary, feminist, post-structuralist analyses offer a new way of exploring the ways in which to interrogate the history and ritual of Lunda tradition. Given the interrelated associations of Lunda traditional authority, which give birth to actor-network relations inherently opposed to Euro-American patriarchal assumptions of gender and politics of an integrated singular body, interpretations of the Lunda origin myth reveal internal reinventions of tradition, well before and well after the legal-rational trisection of the confederation through Portuguese-Belgian-British
combined technologies of domination. Operating within the margins of networks of hybridity for the past five centuries, Lunda traditional authority, and the ritual practices related to the origin of the empire clearly give reverence to the ancestress and founder Suanna Mulunda, while uniquely reevaluating Euro-American gender binaries within the integral body of Lunda history.

Beyond the Lunda-Chokwe: Greater Kongo-Ngola (Congo-Angola)

Political economist George Ayittey used his classic work *Indigenous African Institutions* to address the position of African traditional political and economic federations and kingdoms in the collective consciousness of African citizens, despite the ahistorical contradictions of the modern-day African state apparatus, inherited from colonialism. If one is to embark on a long-durée approach to the study of African realities, both present and future, it becomes necessary to use hindsight to move and think forward. Beginning at 1960, as the moment of official independence from colonialism, does not suffice. Neither can one assert that the Conference of Berlin of 1884-1885 serves as an ideal starting point for understanding Central African pasts, present realities, and futures. The specific location and time of this portion of this study covers the Kingdom of Kongo, the Ndongo kingdom, and the Lunda Empire. One must note that in the field, on the ground, images and names of centuries’ old leaders appear on the post-colonial provincial maps, street signs, and buildings, such that the history has not been forgotten. Furthermore, one must note that such pre-colonial polities never existed as monolithic societies where all people would adhere to the same kinship systems of obligation, identical economic practices of subsistence and trade (or else there would be nothing to exchange). As indigenous religious beliefs changed internally and due to external factors, chains of communication in governance from the top up, from the top down, and from side to side altered expression and existence. What remained central to the Lunda Empire and Kongo Kingdom rested within the system of tribute of lesser chiefs to the queen or king. Certainly, in the case of Kasembe, the brother banished by his father Nkonde, Lueji reintegrates her brother and his subjugated people as a lesser chief under her rule and authority.

Connecting the distant past with more recent events becomes an important task in ethno-historical studies or anthropological histories. News stories of DR Congo almost always include a footnote or paragraph about the January 17, 1961 assassination of Prime Minister Lumumba and a hint to the Belgian colonial past. On February 5, 2002, the Belgian government admitted guilt in Lumumba’s murder, and agreed to pay 3.75 million Euros to the Lumumba family, through an annual payment of 500,000 Euros. The Belgian government conducted a long-term study after journalist Ludo de Witte released details of the date, time, names, and location of Lumumba’s murder documented by Belgian government archival records. Ludo de Witte’s (1999) *De Moord op Lumumba*, also published as *La mort de Lumumba*, was translated from Dutch and French into English in 2001 as *The Assassination of Lumumba*. Also, Adam Hochschild (1999) released *King Leopold’s Ghost*, which revisited and summarized volumes

99 http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/026/article_12945.asp
published by E.D. Morel a century earlier concerning the murder of millions of Congolese colonial subjects by King Leopold’s officers. The mutilation of children, women and men during the rubber boom has been well documented in Morel’s (1905, 1906) *King Leopold’s Rule in Africa* and *Red Rubber*. One can only imagine the tension and anxiety in Brussels within and outside of the gilded palaces and parliamentary halls in January 2002. The tension was so great that Belgium’s now forgotten official admission of guilt of murder had to be delayed into the first few days of February. So many Januaries in Congo are filled with grief and sorrow. When the Belgians murdered Lumumba in Katanga Province, they delivered him in the territory where his enemy and political rival Moïse Tshombe served as governor (and son-in-law to the Mwaant Yaav). Thus, Prime Minister Lumumba was murdered on the evening of January 17, 1961, along with Joseph Okito (Vice President of the Senate), and Maurice Mpolo (Minister of Youth) also became martyrs for the cause of independence and national sovereignty. However, one must ask whether this antagonism between Tshombe and Lumumba stemmed from socio-economic class-based disputes of the Lunda prince and the Tetela self-educated pauper turned *petit-bourgeois*, or were elements of Tippu Tip and the East African slave trade at play, where the BaTetela and the BaLunda became enemies in the 19th century. As I visited Tippu Tip’s house on Zanzibar the week of Easter in 2008, I asked myself this question. The presence of Luba, Kuba, and Lunda-Chokwe art for sale so far away from Congo in the Indian Ocean island caused me to realize that the economic exploitation of Congo towards the East and towards the West still remained evident where material culture of the people, as well as the mineral wealth of Congo continue to be sold by non-Congolese for profit outside of *Kongo-Ngola*, where the indigenous people see little benefit, and lose the connection to indigenous arts and valuable minerals extracted from the *terroir*.

As noted in Chapter One, Fanon warning that the last battle of colonialism would be among the colonized, has become true. However, if we consider beer, weapons, and the exploitation of raw materials that lead to the dehumanization of African people in an era of hyper neoliberal capitalist markets, can one argue that such battles are civil and internal without outside actors and agents. On January 16, 2001, President Laurent-Desire Kabila was assassinated.100 On January 2015, the Congolese national police and the Presidential Republican Guard murdered no fewer than thirty-six Kinois (residents of Kinshasa) and four people in Goma in the Eastern region of the country.101 In 2015, the Congolese government shut down the internet and all cell phone services when university students protested the parliamentary decision to delay the November 2016 elections. These constitutionally mandated elections effectively terminate President Joseph Kabila Kabange’s now-15-year rule, which began when his father was murdered.102 The government chose Martyrs Days in January 2015 to announce their

100 http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/2011/10/20111027131838717148.html
102 http://www.wsj.com/articles/congo-blocks-internet-access-amid-protests-against-president-kabila-1421938042
unconstitutional decision, causing students to take to streets. The previous chapter showed the role Heineken plays, along with Tesla and other global multinational corporations which require cobalt and coltane to operate highly technical electronic devices. The same could be true of chocolate. Thus, these isolated parts of the world do not exist in true isolation; however, they exist in an interconnected web of significant economic linkages subordinating the global south for the benefit of the global north. Again, we are reminded of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, who asserts that the North has nothing to teach the South. Certainly, even Euro-American models of governance cannot be copied and transposed onto millennia of African political realities of cultural significance. The knowledge of recent and past disputes seems to remain unknown to Western observers.

Political Economy and Leadership in the Kongo Kingdom - Zone H

Between 1380 and 1420 CE, a highly centralized political federation began to develop in parts of what are now called Gabon, the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola. Kongo dyala Ntshila became the first Mwene Kongo, or king of the Kongo federation. As described above, citing Vansina, a matrilineal system of descent formed among Western Bantu peoples from the House and district systems (later to be called clans and tribes by colonial missionaries and early anthropologists). When the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão arrived in 1483, he believed he had found a new ocean due to the vast width of the Congo River. Upon the side of a mountain, Cão carved his name, and paid homage to King João II of Portugal who financed his trip in the year 1483 AD and in the year 5,244 of the Jewish calendar. One may visit this stone wall in Matadi, present-day DR Congo, to find the carving still intact. When Cão arrived, Nzinga Nkuwu was Mwene Kongo, or king of the federation. Ann Hilton (1985: 40) and Adam Hochschild (1999: 8) attest to this meeting of South and North, while Basil Davidson suggests that medieval Europe and medieval Africa were at the same stages of political and economic development at this moment of contact. The geographic and religious technologies of Moorish Portugal and Spain allowed Europe to travel a globe around like an egg, as the Qu’ran suggests, as opposed to the flat world European Christians believed they could fall off if they traveled too far from home. On May 3, 1491, Nzinga Nkuwu was baptized as a Catholic (Hilton 50). Thus, European Crusades entered the geo-linguistic and political terrain of Kongo-Ngola. This federation of a dozen provinces, governed by more than one ngola, had an estimated population of 3 million people at the time when the Portuguese arrived. The newly baptized Nzinga Nkuwu became João I of Kongo, but soon converted back to his Kongo religious traditions.

Like his father, Nzinga a Nkuwu, Mvemba a Nzinga was baptized as Dom Afonso by the Portuguese. His brother Mpanzu a Kitima, or Mpanzu a Nzinga, chose to remain philosophically and religiously MuKongo. At the time of the Mwani Kongo’s death in 1506, the Portuguese were actively involved in the slave trade, such that the governors (ngola) of the Kongo Kingdom found their allegiances to their father, avuncular uncle, or patron chief compromised. As such, the Portuguese chose to intervene in the endogenous election process where the council of elders would have selected Mpanzu a Nzinga to follow his father Nzinga a Nkuwu. In Basil Davidson’s (1961: 121-122) *Black Mother* and in Adam Hochshild’s (1999: 11) *King Leopold’s Ghost*, both authors document the accounts of 1506 where Portuguese soldiers defeated the legally appointed Mpanzu a Nzinga. One may suggest that this battle for the capital city of Mbanza Kongo (later renamed São Salvador in colonial Portuguese Angola) effectively stole the seat of power and full governance away from the people of Kongo-Ngola, leaving the Ngola sub-chief free to trade directly with the Portuguese in violation with customary law. The system of rules and customs, which Vansina suggests had been developing organically and internally since 3,000 BCE, caused a great deal of destruction to the interlinked societies. One is reminded of the battle for the Ashanti Golden Stool in present-day Ghana, where Queen Mother Asantehene Yaa-Asantewaa led the men in battle against the British in the year 1900 to protect the iconic symbol of the throne/kingdom/people.104 Returning to historical Kongo, we see that the corruption and seizure of the elected line of succession by the Portuguese in 1506 caused disharmony among the dozen provinces of Kongo-Ngola, such that Mvemba a Nzinga (Dom Afonso) began writing the kings of Portugal and the pope, as a Catholic brother. In a letter dated July 6, 1526, Afonso wrote:

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Below I have translated this text from medieval Portuguese into modern English:

And we do not have the means to estimate the size of this damage that said merchants each day take away the children of this land, and the natural children of our nobles and vassals and our relatives because the thieves and men of bad conscience steal them with the desire to have things and goods of this Kingdom, that they steal and bring them to sell; and such is the manner of this corruption and devastation, Sir (lord), that our land is being totally depopulated that Your Highness cannot perform his service. And for this we will avoid not having any necessities in these kingdoms, save priests and a few teachers in our schools, not even any merchandise other than wine and flour for the Holy Sacrament, because we beg of your Highness to help us in favor of this cause to not send factories who will not send merchants or merchandise here, because our will is that in these Kingdoms that there shall not be trade in slaves, or the departure of them; in respect of the aforementioned, again we plead this once more to Your Highness, because there is otherwise no other way to remedy or cure such a manifestation given by Our Lord for His mercy always has Your Highness in his keep to always allow you to do so many things in his holy service with kissed hands.

From our city of Congo (Mbanza Kongo), written on the sixth day of July in 1526 to Dom Joao III from the King Dom Afonso.

(On the back of the letter the following is written: “To the very excellent powerful prince Joao III, our Brother)

In the original text above, and in my translation, I highlighted the section where Dom Afonso notes that he does not wish for the slave trade to exist, as early as 1526, due to the nature of depopulating his kingdoms. It is important to note the early intentions of Mvemba a Nzinga (Afonso) to end the slave trade, twenty years after the Portuguese killed his brother and appointed him head of the kingdoms of Kongo. I note the plural, such that the subsidiary territories governed by the ngola were an integral part of a body of provinces making up one federation of kingdoms. However, the Portuguese cut these alliances that had taken millennia to build, as Vansina’s glottochronology suggests. Through technologies of gunpowder, armory, swords, horses, and the psycholinguistic worldview of religion, the Kongo Kingdoms would fall not only economically in the production of lost bodies and inability to reproduce agricultural surpluses for the state. Elsewhere, we see power + knowledge transformations in the acculturation of Kongo epistemologies through early colonial contact beginning with 1483, well

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before the Berlin Conference of 1884, well before the Crisis of Lumumba in 1960, and even before the current issues facing DR Congo.

When Mvemba a Nzinga died around 1542, Dom Afonso’s syncretic Kongo Christian kingdom became weakened as the plural ngola provincial chiefs began to do business directly with the Portuguese, exchanging humans and merchandise with Portuguese merchants. The wine, flour, priests and teachers did come, but with factories and business behind them. In my own visits to Loango in 2006, 2007, and 2008, I would cross the Congo River from Kinshasa to Brazzaville and fly to Pointe-Noire where European businessmen and oil workers vacation on the beach a dozen or so kilometers from the slave port. Each visit, I honored an ancestor, as I approached the cement slab at the bottom of a cliff in view of the Catholic monastery. On land owned by the Catholic Church for several centuries, a cliff has been reshaped where millions of feet pathed the way down the edge of the hill to a man-made cement block where the cliff meets the ocean. President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo marked the spot in a thick of bushes with a fading plaque noting in French that from that spot, in the kingdom of Loango, an ngali or chiefdom of the Mwani Kongo, two to three million people departed the land during the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the sixteenth, seventeenth, early eighteenth centuries at the beginning of the trade. Vansina (1990) eludes to the visible past in the present (p. 158-162), as the past is never dead and always living among us. One should note that Loango was a far northern province of the Kongo Kingdoms in present-day Republic of Congo and Gabon, while Mbanza Kongo (the city of Congo, renamed Saint Sebastian by the Portuguese), sits within the present-day boundaries of the Republic of Angola.

Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion for Queen Njinga- Zone K

The Kongo people are matrilineal, respecting uterine kinship, such that queens could rule territories, contrary to European patriarchy and power relations of the same time-period. A noted female ruler, the Catholic Queen Njinga (Nzinga), known as Ana da Souza, ruled Ndongo and Matamba, subsidiaries of the Kongo Kingdom, found in the present-day Angolan province of Malanje, among the Mbundu people. Again, we must look at words and things to understand the internal and external political and economic power struggles at play during the reign of Queen Njinga from the 1620s to the 1660s. Let us note that Vansina suggests that the word Ndongo refers to capital city. The Matamba and the Ambundu were ethnic groups within what would become Guthrie’s Zone K, just as Mbanza Kongo and the central capital of the Kongo federation would be part of Zone H. In my time on the ground in Angola in the province of Malanje, my Angolan guides corrected me when I noticed pictures of Queen Njinga, and used the Congolese and American pronunciation and spelling Nzinga.

106 Note that in Kikongo and Lingala, one can change the human class MU or MO in the singular to BA in the plural. For instance, muntu becomes bantu in Kikongo (person/people), while moto becomes bato in Lingala. On the other hand, in the Kimbundu language of the Ambundu people (not to be confused with Umbundu spoken by the Ovimbundu), the equivalent plural human prefix related to BA becomes A, such that ngola could be Angola.
What we know about this region is that linguistic similarities and differences arise in the spelling and pronunciation in the name of Ana da Souza, or Queen Njinga (Nzinga). For KiKongo speakers, she is Nzinga, like Mvemba a Nzinga, such that Nzinga refers to a royal lineage, House, or later referred to by Europeans as clans. If you are a Kimbundu speaker from Malanje, you would refer to her in situ as Njinga. When I went to Malanje province in 2016, I was reminded more than once to drop the z and use a j. Today, statues and paintings of the regent commemorate her rule in the area 400 years ago, with her memory on the land, or terroir, of Malanje (often misspelled Malange) province. Returning to Afonso I, we see the internal affairs of the Kongo Kingdom and its provinces affected by Portuguese interventions, especially in 1575 when Paulo Dias de Novais arrived at the coast of Kongo-Ngola and established the fort at Luanda. This fort would go on to be called Sao Miguel, where millions of Africans were housed in a death camp before being taken to the New World, if they did not die there first. This fortress is now a museum, but was last used in 1975 as the headquarters of the Portuguese governor during the 15-year war for independence.

Queen Njinga comes after the death of Afonso, after the arrival of Dias de Novais, and during years of usurped power of the Mwani Kongo, with the ngola of Ndongo and Matamba each sending emissaries to Portugal without the approval of the king at Mbanza Kongo. Thus, Njinga inherits a Catholic faith, most likely syncretic with local African knowledge and European hybridity interconnecting worldviews. From present-day Malanje City in the province of Malanje, the Ambundu people (Mbundu) would have been under her rule as the ngoli or provinces of Matamba and Ndongo united with her rule, separate from the previously unified Kongo Kingdoms. However, there could have been disputes among Houses within uterine kinship linking the provinces (ngoli) together.

The period of the 1620s plays a key role in global external history, as Portuguese Jews and Muslims who did not convert to Christianity in the years 1497 to 1680 could have their goods confiscated, be brutally mistreated and deported from Europe. We know that Portuguese religious internal conflicts against the Moors expelled those whose ancestors brought Eastern cartography, geometry, shipbuilding technology, and geographic knowledge necessary for the Portuguese and the Spanish to reach the Americas, Africa, and India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The irony of the so-called Christian Portuguese merchants did not go unnoticed by Beatriz Kimpa Vita. Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002) notes that the spirit to reconnect the Kongo Kingdoms came to a height under Dona Beatrix Kimpa Vita. Again, we see French and Portuguese, as well as Kimbundu and Kikongo pronunciations changing the x and z in Kimpa Vita’s European name. All the same, in 1700, Kimpa Vita became a Congolese Joan of Arc when she felt possessed by a spirit to lead the people on a religious and political battle against Portuguese rule. Here, we cannot ignore the dual roles of the chief, queen, or king in many African societies, such that the cosmology of cognitive realities and the political practice of power on the physical lived terrain become inseparable. As a princess of royal lineage, Kimpa Vita was also a follower of a syncretic sect of Congolese Christianity. She reoccupied the ruins of Mbanza Kongo, with hopes of rebuilding the capital of the Kongo Kingdom. Many people followed her, and she is remembered to this day for her efforts, especially considering the

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syncretic Kongo Christian sects formed during the early 1900s by Simon Kimbangu (a religion known as Kimbanguism) during Belgian colonial rule. A similar religion developed from Simeão TaCosta in Portuguese Angola both during the 1920s and 1930s, with Garveyite leanings within the Universal Negro Improvement Association. In the case of Kimpa Vita, Kimbangu, and Ta Costa, all three, in different geo-linguistic temporal moments—within Guthrie’s Zones H and K, migrating into L—wanted to liberate the people of Kongo-Ngola from the acculturation and humiliations of political, economic, and societal domination by foreign European powers.

Queen Mulunda, Lueji a Nkonde, and the Mwaant Yaav Revisited- Zone L

Along the borders of the present-day states of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Zambia, in the geo-linguistic terrain of Guthrie’s zone L, the Lunda Empire has seen its perimeters reshaped and partitioned; yet, the central royal family has adapted with time, as noted above. Their geo-ecological location along the tropical rainforests and savannah make Lunda bilateral kinship favorable due to intermarrying with neighboring Luba patrilineal and Chokwe matrilineal ethnic groups, while adapting to technologies offered by patrilineal and matrilineal neighbors to cultivate the land, hunt, and sustain daily life. Perhaps, the BaLunda may shed light on feminist anthropology, cultural materialism, and symbolic-interpretative anthropology in action amidst explanations of pre-colonial and post-colonial multilingual and multiethnic cohabitation.

Among the Lunda, we see an interesting triangulation of Western Judeo-Christianity, indigenous beliefs, colonialism, and governance. Strangely, while simultaneously occurring ideological hybrid meta-narratives between central Lunda and European epistemologies appear to be at work, the Lunda political integrity successfully embrace and transgress Western constructions of gender and power in accordance with their own historical practices and rituals. If we wish to properly reconstruct history, we must rely on native anthropologists, such as Fonseca Sousa. Born in Lunda Sul, Angola and educated in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Fonseca Sousa is the chief anthropologist at Universidade Lueji a Nkonde in the town of Dundo in Lunda Norte province, and he runs Dundo Museum. In his book *Etnografia de Angola: entre a pesquisa e o desenvolvimento de políticas culturais*, Fonseca Sousa (2012) suggests the following concerning indigenous languages in post-colonial literacy and national awakening, like Fanon’s call for a return to national culture in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Here we see Fonseca Sousa make the following postulation, which I translate below from modern Angolan Portuguese into American English:

Assim que Angola obteve a independência, a preocupação atinente às línguas nacionais foi um facto. Na rádio primeiro e mais tarde na televisão, foram criados espaços nacionais e regionais de noticiários nessas línguas para um grande público que não fala a língua adoptiva (o português), uma herança que viabiliza a comunicação de norte a sul e do mar para o leste. Actualmente, depois de um longo período de estudo
As soon as Angola obtained independence, the rising preoccupation concerning national languages became a fact. First on the radio, and later television, national and regional spaces were created where news information for a large public who did not speak the adopted colonial language (Portuguese), a heritage that made feasible communication from the North to the South, from the sea to the East. Presently, after a long period of study and research, it has been officially determined that teaching national languages in schools is a basic and fundamental part of education, an important recognition of these languages that will help Angola. Such experiences become the first steps towards adult basic literacy.108

In other sections, Fonseca Sousa notes the work of Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands having the financial support of A Faculdade de Ciencias Economicas de Londres (The London School of Economics). One wonders if indigenous people’s educational projects can continue without external support, or if such projects require outside assistance, especially from countries that benefit from the legacy of colonialism and the neoliberal economic policies of the current century, which perpetuate colonial inequalities. This endogenous study of preserving words, things, and epistemologies in Angola may not be completed, or maybe there is no need for outside intervention for the program to continue to grow. Professor Sousa lays out the national universities and their possible roles in social science research by location in History (Mbanza Kongo), Anthropology and Museum Studies (Lunda South), and other fields. One must note, however, that Dundo’s controversial colonial museum was built and funded by Diamang, the Portuguese colonial Angolan diamond mining company. Although one must note the purpose of this first anthropological museum center in Dundo, Lunda North province and far eastern Angolan was established to mark the social space of indigenous Africans and Europeans in the diamond mining city.

In Mali and Guinea, we know of griots or djeli coming together to solve present-day election disputes and problems, as they are trained from birth, within their social and kinship network, to know the linguistic and historical knowledge of their people to assist leaders in tough decision-making situations.109 Perhaps, if there were more guardians of traditional knowledge among the ngola and leaders of present-day DR Congo and Angola, the political problems of today may be easier to navigate. The erasure of traditional languages, with the corruption of indigenous power

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structures has yielded a multilayered system of chaos and conflict in Kongo-Ngola, specifically in the Democratic Republic of Congo. We can only see what will happen in the future. In *Something Torn and New*, Kenyan author Ngugi wa Thiong’o (2007) describes the realities of linguicide (death of indigenous languages) and linguisfac (starving indigenous languages). Thus, revitalizing indigenous languages, with equal or superior standing to foreign languages, will bring about a renaissance of African civilizations that will take root in political governance and stability today.

In 2015, the *découpage* of Congolese provinces split eleven provinces (formerly six) into twenty-six provinces. The ethnolinguistic makeup on the ground will become altered, such that a surname and ethnic group might identify an ancestor’s previous affiliations, or might carry little cultural currency related due to internal migrations during and since colonialism. Pierre Englebert and Emmanuel Kasongo Mungongo conclude that the creation of new provinces did not serve the needs of the people on the ground, but may have created more instability. By contrast, one may consider West African Mande griots or djeli serving as astute political historians conversing with people on the ground and elite leaders from antiquity into the present. However, in Congo, geopolitical spaces have been rearranged, first by colonial forces over a century ago, and now by the influence of top-down by international organizations and the central government. Thus, ethnolinguistic diversity on the ground becomes a key factor to consider with respect to educational advancements in MTs as Lol. Large provinces have been segmented and split apart, whereby isolating or reifying difference. All the same, one must consider these political borders as mere human fabrications that do not separate the human race, just as one cannot divide the air we breathe.

Returning to the geolinguistic connections in the terrain I refer to as *Kongo-Ngola*, one must consider the trans-national and supra-ethnic connections of people on the ground, which lead everyday folk to open their homes to their cousins across European colonial borders. For instance, in 2017, an estimated 27,300 Congolese refugees sought asylum in Zambia, while sixty percent of those refugees are children. In Lunda North Province, over 33,000 refugees had already left Congo for Angola by September 2017 according to one source. Of course, Lundaland has existed for five centuries upon the European constructed borders that create lines of demarcation for Congo/Angola/Zambia divided by Franco-Belgian/Portuguese/English linguistic divisions. Thus, layers of indigenous realities, even those preceding Lueji a Nkonde by centuries and millennia, play a deep role in daily life, beyond the colonial state apparatus.

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Issues of Blood, War, and Politics in Congo-Angola Today

Considering the issue of post-colonial transnational border crossings and migrations within closely related or homogenous ethnolinguistic or geolinguistic regions, one returns to the question of quantifying or qualifying that which comes forth from the soil, which will be an important concept in Chapter Four when mentioning the US slavery doctrine and the 1662 law of *partus sequitur ventrem* (that which comes forth from the womb). This current chapter has discussed and dissected birth and menstruation of the Lunda ancestress and founding queen, Lueji a Nkonde, upon whose name universities have been established in Angola, also to be discussed in the next chapter. Her issue, the Mwaat Yaav, would begin a lineage of Lunda leaders. Returning to the concept of *terroir*, and that which comes forth from the land, not simply as gastronomy and agriculture, one can begin to consider people and things as belonging to the land.

In Congolese Lingala, one uses the term *biloko* to refer to both ‘things’ and ‘food.’ One essentially would ask/command: *Pesa ngai biloko mpo nakolia* (Give me things to eat/Give me things for I will eat). Additionally, people may say: *Bisso tozali na biloko mpo na kolia* (We have things/food to eat).\(^{114}\) Note below the distinctions between *mpo na kolia* (in order to eat) versus *mpo nakolia* (so I will eat), which have completely different meanings, which one would learn organically within language usage *in situ*, in lived experiences, immersed in culture. Often times, in Congo, people called me *pasteur* because I spoke grammatically correct Lingala, as if reading aloud from the Bible, the one book most people owned or could access. There are particular ways in which one would end one word and begin another when writing Lingala. I learned formal affixes, prefixes, conjugation, and grammar in graduate school in the United States. The irony, I often felt, came in the fact that European missionaries transcribed entire languages using linguistic standards appropriate to their own mother tongues, whereby transforming syntax and possibly even word order, along with creating terms in the process. Thus, ascertaining to what degree indigenous African languages have been altered due to colonial missionary transcription would require an enormous undertaking.

This dissertation does not attempt to address how or if missionaries altered linguistic structure to SVO, moving away from OSV, VSO, SOV structure, and so forth. With respect to spelling, in

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\(^{114}\) Notice here, *mpo nakolia* has dual meanings, such that in the first instance *mpo* = so, while *nakolia* is the conjugated future tense of the longer *ngai nakolia* such that *ngai* = 1 (sometimes shortened to *nga*) and *na* affixed to the infinitive *kolia* places the verb tense (to eat) in the future indicative. On the other hand, in the second sentence listed above, *mpo na kolia*, the combined meaning of *mpo* + *na* forms a prepositional phrase (in order to, such that, *pour* or *afin de* in French), while *kolia* stands alone as an unconjugated infinitive verb (to eat). The same words or morphemes can have different meanings. Guthrie (1951) provides a dictionary of Lingala grammar, written in French. Thus, French becomes the conduit through which Lingala enters the Euro-American imagination. Likewise, French grammar comes to dictate Lingala grammatical structure. In this sense, one wonders to what degree local African languages remain independent cultural expressions. On the other hand, one must ask if African languages have lost indigenous meaning making to become akin to word by word translations of colonial European languages. In this sense, one can reflect on the status of Quebec French constructed expressions assembled by linguistic boards hoping to avoid the expansion of English. Thus, one clearly sees how language can be policed, invented from hierarchical power, and also reestablished and revised from communities below at the grassroots level.
France *Bisso* (we/us) would be spelled with a double *s*, while a Belgo-Congolese orthography of *Biso* gives the assumption of the sound of the letter *z* if following French grammatical rules for spelling and pronunciation; however, one has to take into account the Flemish-Dutch influences on Lingala orthography in Congo-Kinshasa. These layers of language informed how I learned to use Lingala, especially as when noticing translations of poetic proverbs and colloquial *Frangala* expressions that would not be understood in another Francophone country due to the literal translation of extracting an idea or concept of local life that was then put into French, without the full cultural meaning, but with word to word replacement.

For myself, I hoped to respect both the organic nature of language, as well as the hierarchies of rules dictating grammar, especially in science and mathematics. However, I continued to remember the fact that these linguistic laws governing African languages did not arise from African writers originally, but from Euro-American missionaries who came to convert the natives to a foreign religious ideology. Often I found few Congolese *Kinois* residents used numbers in Lingala beyond one and two (*moko*, *mibale*) choosing French code-meshing.\(^{115}\) Even the common word for fifty (*nkama*) literally means one-hundred, where *ntuku mitano* actually means fifty. Friends in Kinshasa taught me how to ask for 50 Congolese Francs in change (*Pesa nga’ kama = Give me 100*), as it was common for taxi drivers or street vendors to pretend to not have change for the French-speaking *métis*, or for the *pasteur* who spoke *Lingala ya buku* (book Lingala). I was seen as insider enough, but spoke like an educated outsider, possibly from a village in Equateur Province, and not raised in Kinshasa. Whatever identities were placed upon me, I spoke languages to assert my authenticity and establish inclusion within a war-zone.

In 2012, the Canadian produced Congolese film *Rebelle (War Witch)* appeared in cinemas around the world to critical acclaim. Nominated for best foreign film, in the days leading up to the Academy Awards, I screened *Rebelle* in Chicago to an educational group. The film became difficult to watch more than once. The emotional work of fiction depicts a young 12-year old girl named Komona (which means *to see* in Lingala) who becomes a child soldier in Eastern DR Congo. She becomes a good-luck charm to the army that has taken her hostage, for they believe her to be a witch (*sorcière*) with magical powers to defeat other armies, each forcing children to collect cobalt and coltan that fuels electric cars, smart phones, and laptops throughout the Northern hemisphere. After Komona finds herself raped by the leader of the rebel army she has been forced to join, she murders him. On her trek back to her destroyed village, she joins a group of young albino, who likewise are believed to be witches. In some parts of Africa, albinos are hunted and murdered, so that their bodies and bones can be used to make magic potions, or as good luck charms.\(^{116}\) As Komona walks through Congo returning to the devastated village where

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\(^{115}\) Vershawn Ashanti Young, Rusty Barrett, Y’Shanda Young-Rivera, and Kim Brian Lovejoy (2014). *Other people’s English: code-meshing, code-switching, and African American literacy*. New York: Teachers College Press. Although, this text refers to African American Vernacular English as spoken code-switching and when written as code-meshing in the K-12 classroom as well as in the freshman college writing post-secondary educational context, the term ‘code-meshing’ is taking root in multilingual literacy and writing studies in the United States. I use this term “code-meshing” in the context of Congo to apply US academic nomenclature to an African linguistic phenomenon.

she lived with her parents, she speaks to the child she carries in her belly, who she must give birth to, as evidence of the life-long pains of rape and war.

Thinking of the ease with which I crossed borders in Africa in 2006 to 2008, or reflecting on the unknown difficulties of the Congolese women in Angola and Zambia today, I think of what I can do to impact change in the region, not simply from working with organizations in the diaspora, but on the ground. Women and other marginalized groups encounter daily battles around the world, especially with respect to place and time. One might wonder what difficulties women would have faced living during the rule of Njinga Ana da Sousa among the Mbundu or in the Lunda Empire of Lueja a Nkonde, especially with respect to community and family linkages across geographic landscapes, where borders and boundaries did not exist in such extreme dynamics. On January 15, 2018, the United Nations Population Fund reported on the conditions of Congolese women living in Lunda Norte Province in Angola. Today, 35,000 refugees from the Kasai Province in DR Congo are living in Lunda North where gender-based violence has led to serious problems. Florbela Fernandes from UNFPA in Angola notes that much work needs to be done to prevent sexual violence among refugees, as well as to help survivors heal physically and psychologically. To address this challenging issue, women friendly spaces have been created as safe-havens for survivors within the refugee camps, and have become areas where such violence will not take place within the large tents serving and protecting hundreds of women at one time.117

Kambale Musavuli has become one of the leading figures in the global campaign towards awareness of the current crisis of challenges facing DR Congo. As the spokesman for the Washington, DC based group Friends of the Congo, Kambale remains active in #Telema (which means Stand-Up in Lingala), while also being a key figure behind Congo Week, an annual awareness initiative in October that combines a curriculum that can be implemented around the world to address the need to elevate consciousness and spread knowledge about the atrocities in the region.118 Congo Week has a variety of focal points, ranging from the rights of women, colonial exploitation into the present era, and particularly, the issue of cobalt extraction for the production of cell phones. On January 9, 2018, Jerome McDonnell of Chicago’s National Public Radio station WBEZ aired an interview with Kambale Musavuli on the broadcast Worldview. Kambale addressed the recent December 31, 2017 protests in Kinshasa led by Catholic priests and altar boys who led people in the streets singing and praying for peaceful elections.119 As noted, elections should have taken place in 2016, forcing President Joseph Kabila Kabange to leave office, but as of the publication of this dissertation, elections have not taken place. Back to


119 https://www.wbez.org/shows/worldview/church-leading-civil-society-against-dr-congos-president/8d8b60cf-39c8-47cb-9ba6-e0855126c5af
New Year’s Eve as 2017 came to an end, as Kambale Musavuli reported one week later, Congolese police threw tear gas into churches and shut down internet and phone services in the country so that people could not broadcast the violence to family and friends abroad. Discussing conditions outside of Kinshasa, McDonnell and Musavuli report that the diamond-rich Kasai region now faces massive starvation. Such issues of famine and political instabilities produced conditions such that the woman in Lunda Norte Province in Angola would walk from Congo, to where eventually my mother saw and hugged in the crowd, as her face resembled that of Cousin Clara in Mississippi. All the same, the humanity of us all, and the essence of life within us, makes us all worthy of respect and free to cross man-made boundaries in search of food, safety, and shelter.

Unfortunately, that which comes forth from the soil of Congo, and the richness of the terroir leaves blood stained on the hands of billions around the world. The cobalt rich soil of DR Congo now serves as the battle ground for a global war of greed and exploitation. Where rubber destroyed the lives of many 120 years ago for the benefit of Euro-American bicycle riders and automobile drivers, today the lithium batteries in the laptop I use to write this dissertation has contributed to the death and the forced child labor of a Congolese person, like Komona from the fictional film Rebelle. As the Washington Post noted, corporations such as Apple, are fully aware of the use of conflict minerals in their products. Cobalt fuels Tesla electric cars and most of our computerized gadgets in the Northern hemisphere. Thus, epistemicide of the terroir and soil goes hand-in-hand with ethnocide and genocidal forced labor. Efforts are being made to reduce the use of conflict minerals, though not enough. From slavery, to colonialism, to post-colonial neoliberal markets, a genealogy of exploitation plagues efforts at unity and peace in Kongo-Ngola, such that the chaos of Congo-Angola may continue to perpetuate itself for the benefit of Euro-American and Chinese markets at the expense of the loss of millions of African lives.

120 https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/business/batteries/congo-cobalt-mining-for-lithium-ion-battery/
Chapter Four

Bible:

African Americans in Congo-Angola & Geolinguistic Erasure and Revitalization

This chapter brings together the three-pronged metaphor of Beer, Blood and the Bible with an analysis of African American imagination of Kongo-Ngola, realized experiences in Congo-Angola, and the continuation of linguistic revitalization and cultural preservation through positive educational sites, universities, hospitals, and museums. Beginning with an overview of the genesis of Bible within this title, one may wish to return to the Preface and Chapter One, where I suggest the order of things within this title could be rearranged; however, the movement through space and time still brings one back to the same triangular metaphor of production + reproduction and power + knowledge (economics, gender/kinship, politics, science/religion). Considering the United Nations World Heritage site of Byblos in Lebanon, the intersection of the elements of culture in social anthropology, coupled with the connection of the four fields of anthropology brings archaeology, human evolution and linguistics in conversation with the constructed world of meaning-making. Time permitting, this chapter could develop into a book on various world religions connecting consumption and production (of food and culture) with power and knowledge (of written words, actions, and systems of belief within the superstructure). Within the scope of this dissertation and discipline(s), the African American contribution to Congo-Angola in the nineteenth and twentieth century will become paramount, along with hopes for twenty-first century collaborations.

In *Jesus and Ubuntu: exploring the social impact of Christianity in Africa*, editor Mwenda Ntarangwi (2011) notes the multidirectional flow of relationships and exchanges, such that contributor Caitlin McGill (in Ntarangwi 2011: 59) notes how the communal spirit of Uganda deepened her faith and connection to humanity, where she learned a great deal from the local people, who she falsely believed she could teach as the Westerner. In fact, the US missionary returned with a deeper sense of human social structures and realities leaving the realm of capitalist overconsumption in the North for the collectivism of the global South. Within the Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA), the Black American and white Canadian missionaries left the Church in the control of the Angolans in the 1950s, arriving at the end of US slavery with a mission of abolishing Portuguese slavery. Thus, generations of the Chipenda family and other IECA leaders and Secretaries General have maintained communities during colonial wars and civil wars (fueled by East/West Cold War geopolitics). Politics aside, IECA and Angolans as a whole have worked to preserve linguistic realities, while IECA labors to provide modern agricultural and medical sciences within strong communities in opposition to Portuguese intentions of corvée, chibalo, or forced labor and perpetual slavery.

While *beer* touched upon science and economics, *blood* tied in gender, kinship, and political historiography of the Kongo-Ngola geolinguistic region. This chapter will connect *blood* with
language and culture. One person of note will be the African American Presbyterian missionary William Henry Sheppard who moved to Belgian Congo from Virginia. One should not confuse Sheppard with the white American Congregationalist missionary and Umbundu linguist William Henry Sanders in Portuguese Angola. After returning from Congo, Sheppard gave priceless Kuba artwork to Hampton Museum at the historically black college-university (HBCU) in Virginia. African American Congregationalists missionaries in Angola included Samuel Taylor Miller, who left Hampton, Virginia in 1879, before Sheppard. Also, Henry McDowell, and Samuel Coles were educated at Talladega College in Alabama, and went on to establish Galangu mission in Angola. At the HBCU where Coles and McDowell graduated nearly a century ago, the library contains a Galangu room, with Angolan art in the heart of Alabama. The majority of this focuses on lexicography and anthropological linguistics. Considering the Angolan war for independence (1960-74) and civil war (1977-2002), one must establish tangible platforms for post-conflict development. Reflecting upon the African American missionaries leaving the Reconstruction and Jim Crow era US South, one must evaluate the setbacks and progress of the past, in order to reproduce viable and vibrant futures.

In “Slave Ideology and Biblical Interpretation” Black Womanist theologian and scholar Katie Geneva Cannon writes:

Apostles of slavery kept their eyes on the economic benefits and power relations at all times. Beneath their rhetoric and logic, the question of using the Bible to justify the subordination of Black people was fraught with their desire to maintain their dominance, to guarantee their continued social control. If the powerbrokers of the antebellum society were to continue benefitting from the privileges and opportunities the political economy provided, then the slaveholding aristocrats must, as a basic precondition, maintain their domination over the ideological sectors of society: religion, culture, education, and media. The control of the material, physical production required the control of the means of mental symbolic production as well.  

Thus, one sees the importance of dissecting the intersecting matrixes of inequality and oppression imbedded within the origins of the global capitalist system built upon the unpaid labor of enslaved Africans. Religious conversion, manipulation of texts, and the dominating psychological forces of hegemony combine elements of culture, from the perspective of anthropology, in order to dominate the masses of enslaved Africans in the Americas, as well as a means of convincing people who were not enslaved that slavery somehow served a natural order. Early pseudo-anthropologists certainly supported slavery, with undertones of flawed theology assuming to find origins in the Judeo-Christian Bible as reasons for the justified mistreatment of Black people, tied to the Hegelian myth of the absence of Africa from human history and

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civilization. Education and media become the tools used to transmit epistemologies of inequality from Europe upon Africa for the purposes of economic and political profit.

With respect to non-Abrahamic traditions, from Buddhism to Jainism, Hinduism to Zoroastrianism, I discussed these matters in 2015 with Max Gesner Beauvoir at his lakou in Haiti. The Center for Latin American studies at the University of Chicago provided me with travel grants to Haiti and Associate member status. My intended research in Haiti before departure involved interviewing diasporans in Chicago, New York, Montreal, and Florida who could tell me about separate economic investments in these competing ethnopoles. March 2015 became a Black heritage pilgrimage of sorts in a country where the family and ancestors of Cordelia, one of my four great-grandmothers, would have left before settling in New Orleans in the early 1800s, possibly as freed Haitian Jews. During the dual celebrations of Rara and Holy Week prior to Easter, Beauvoir, then supreme chief or Grand Ati of vodun, and hougan priest, spoke with me for several hours about the interconnected philosophies of the multiverse of African and non-African global religious cosmologies intertwined with Einstein’s theory of relativity from the comfort of his lakou near the town of Carrefour. Beauvoir, a Sorbonne trained physicist, also shared my opinion of the Hollywood misinterpretations of the pre-colonial KiKongo/Lingala/Kimbundu words Njambi or Nzambi (God), which Western media and film have repackaged as zombie within a corrupted inaccurately portrayed brain-eating undead person. I presented my findings at the Caribbean Studies Association (CSA) conference at New Orleans in June 2015.122

Several months later, Max died. In 2016, at CSA in Port-au-Prince, Oxford-trained anthropologist and manbo priestess Rachel Beauvoir Dominique urged me to publish her father’s last recorded interview “because he belonged to the world.” Sadly, Rachel died on January 5, 2018.123 This topic, and even the three metaphorical titles of these chapters may become separate books at a later time. Routing my journey within this intersection of Haitian-ness from which I am two centuries removed only inspire me to fight for the Caribbean and Latin America, as a human, but as a son of the land. Likewise, thinking of my grandmothers Doris Theresa and Dorothy Lee, their separate documented tri-racial Melungeon Virginia roots to Malanje Angola and to unnamed African but known Mississippian Indigenous and Chinese tri-racial ancestry makes me a citizen of all continents, which is the story of America, with African Americans at the bedrock of the intersecting canals and channels that give birth to this nation.

123 http://lenouvelliste.com/article/181563/emouvant-hommage-a-rachel-beauvoir-dominique
Postbellum African Americans in Congo-Angola

William Henry Sheppard has become, perhaps, one of the most well-known African American missionaries in Kongo-Ngola (Congo-Angola) due to his extensive contact with the Kuba people in the Kasai region of Central Congo during the era of Belgian colonialism, as the first Westerner to reach the Kuba capital. The Hampton Museum provides a collection of the artwork Sheppard received from the Kuba court and people, which he donated to Hampton University. A tour of the museum in Virginia reveals how this artwork was once used in teaching and instruction in the early 1900s; however, the Presbyterian missionary would not have had an easy time in Congo, especially given the ways in which the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (ABFMS) treated African Americans, whereby determining Black missionaries could not partake in the “God-given mission of the Anglo-Saxon race” which Charles Harvey expressed. White American and Black American Baptists found themselves locked in Jim Crow segregation in colonial Belgian Congo.\(^\text{124}\) The Reconstruction-era Virginia where Sheppard was born in 1865 would have afforded the missionary with a more integrated childhood unlike the Jim Crow-era South he found when he returned from Congo in 1910.\(^\text{125}\) Born of a free Black woman at the end of the Civil War, William Henry Sheppard enrolled at Hampton Institute in 1880, graduating from Tuscaloosa Theological Institute in 1886. Five years later, Sheppard co-founded the American Presbyterian Congo Mission in Luebo with Samuel Norvell Lapsley, making Sheppard the first African American missionary sent to Africa through the Southern Presbyterian Mission Board.\(^\text{126}\) The following year, he met the Kuba King in the capital of Mushenge.

On my visit to Hampton Museum, located in the center of the picturesque grounds of Hampton University, I found the William H. Sheppard collection of Kuba art. This body of art from the Kasai region constitutes the largest single donation of Congolese art to an African American-owned institution. Furthermore, the art was donated and not confiscated and stolen as one would find in European museums, and even within institutions in the Americas. The colonial dynamic of the artwork appears absent, as African American students at the Historically Black College-University (HBCU) can connect with the artifacts through a bloodline, kinship, and genealogical attachment. Additionally, more art has been added to the Sheppard collection, with donations coming from the Kuba kingdom, as the brother of the reigning Kot-a-Mbwee III is an alumnus of Hampton University, having attended in the 1980s. Hampton Roads then becomes an interesting intersection of African and American legacies and heritages of histories, especially given the proximity of the campus to Jamestown and the early English colonies. Before leaving for Congo in 2006, I read as much as I could about Sheppard, learning of the children he left behind among the Kuba and the African American wife and family who returned with him to

Louisville, Kentucky. Thus, I remained fascinated by the movement of human bodies and epistemologies across space and time, which govern my own ontological realities, between particular global points and geolinguistic spaces from Kongo-Ngola towards and reversing back within African Americana of Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, the Ohio River Valley, all connected to the origin story of the birth of the nation in Virginia in a town named for James Stewart VI of Scotland (James I of England), who commissioned the most widely read English language book, the King James Bible. Thus, I conceptualize multiple matrixes converging in Jamestown, as the birthplace of what would become a global, jural/legal polity of praxis for the overseas British empire, as the archaeological site of economic oppression of the Virginia Company of London based on tobacco and slavery, and as the epicenter from whence the cultural diffusion of Mason-Dixon and the Bible belt would confront language and laws on race in America from partus sequitur ventrem towards more recent times with Loving v. Virginia.

Going back to the time of King James, one must consider the Ndongo Ambundu people from present-day Angola in the region and town now known as Malanje (then Kabasa). One comes to see the links between the wars among the Imbangala people and the Ndongo kingdom of the Mbundu (Ambundu) people of the late sixteenth century. According to Painter (2007: 26), the Imbangala and Portuguese attacked Kabasa between 1618 and 1619, making it possible to begin capturing ethnic Ambundu in the province now known as Malanje (then the kingdom of Ndongo). Captives from this region would have been aboard the Portuguese ship São João Bautista in 1619 when Dutch sailors attacked the boat between voyages via Vera Cruz, Mexico and Luanda, Angola. These Ndongo (Malanje) people from Kongo-Ngola would have been the first African Americans when they arrived near Jamestown, Virginia.

Hampton Roads and the University also nurtured and trained Professor Samuel Taylor Miller, who left Virginia in 1879 headed to Portugal for permission to enter Angola. Along with William W. Bagster and William Henry Sanders, the three American reverends left Portugal, arriving in Angola in 1880, four years before Leopold II of Belgium and Otto von Bismark of Prussia convened the Conference of Berlin. The African American Professor Miller and his two white American colleagues set out to establish a church in Angola that would combat the slave trade, in a region where Miller had strong reason to believe his grandparents originated. Traveling through Angola with Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA), I heard and read the story of the foundation of the Church, as the Secretary General announced our presence, as we were directed from Luanda, to Malanje, on to Saurimo, and finally arriving in Dundo by land, having trekked from the coast to the interior border with DR Congo. Returning to the establishment of IECA, editor in chief Luis Samacumbi writes:

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On November 11, 1880, three young American missionaries (Bagster, Sanders and Miller) disembarked in Benguela bringing in their luggage the Gospel of love, of reconciliation and of perfection based on the teaching of the Word ("... so that everyone who belongs to God may be proficient, equipped for every good work" New Revised Standard Version (2 Timothy 3: 16-17). Headed towards the region of Bié, but the King of Bailundo, at that time Ekuikui II, invited them to carry out the work in his territory. Thus, the first Congregationalist Mission was born, the Evangelical Mission of Chilume, at Bailundo in 1881.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the United Church of Canada worked together to forge the partnership between US African Americans, British-Canadians, white Americans, and Angolans (originally mostly Ovimbundu). In 1885, William H. Sanders would publish Vocabulary of the Umbundu language: comprising Umbundu-English and English-Umbundu. This text remains the standard in Umbundu to English language translations. Noted earlier in Chapter One, Istvan Fodor (1983) studied the diaries of László Magyar from his time as a geographer, map maker, and explorer while living in Angola and Southern Africa. Of particular importance within the Congregationalist Church missions, William Sanders’ dictionary and Wesley Maier Stover come to mind. John T. Tucker describes the ways in which Stover, a polyglot and scholar of Hebrew, learned Umbundu. Tucker notes that Stover believed the key to learning Umbundu was "to go to the supreme court of the tribe, like that of Ekuikui at Catapo, and listen to the old men converse and argue, day after day." Tucker notes of himself, being born in Victorian Great Britain, but in a region of West England that voted overwhelming numbers of Liberals to Parliament. After migrating to Canada, and then settling in Angola, Tucker worked at the Chissamba mission.

In September 1913, Governor General Jose Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos visited Chissamba with his entourage of Portuguese colonial administrators. Tucker showed Norton de Matos a textbook he had written entitled Lições de portugues (Lessons in Portuguese), which doubled as Ovipama via portugues (1984: 71). Thus, Tucker and the Congregationalists were providing

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language instruction and literacy in Umbundu, Portuguese, and English, not only as Bible verses, but as scientific knowledge, literature, medicine, etc. The Swiss-American Methodist missionary Heli Chatelain learned Kimbundu to the north of the Ovimbundu people and Congregationalists, and began translating the Bible into the local language of the Ambundu people. Chatelain believed that Angolan Kimbundu speakers would begin to write prose and poetry in their native language, as he notes in the case of J. Cordeiro da Matta, whereby abandoning Portuguese in favor of “their own tongue” which Chatelain believed to have “superiority for purpose of private correspondance.”

Portuguese colonial officials did not approve of such measures, and outlawed the use of African indigenous vernacular languages in educational instruction. In 1921, Governor Norton de Matos issued Decree 77, which outlawed instruction in African languages and forced Angolans to learn Portuguese as the language of instruction (LoI). Henderson notes “Articles 2 and 3 dealt with the use of native languages, prohibiting the publication of vernaculars except as parallel texts to the Portuguese.” Heywood suggests that the purpose was to create a Portuguese nationalism, whereby deterring Christian (literate/educated) Ovimbundu people—likely multilingual in Umbundu, English, and Portuguese—from forming a united front against Portuguese domination. In fact, years later, when the combined Protestant missions formed and handed over Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA) to Angolan leadership, the seeds for independence and preservation of local culture had been brewing for years at Congregationalist missionaries. Evidenced in the leadership of Jesse Chiula Chipenda from 1956 to 1967 as the first Secretary General of IECA, one sees his son Rev. Jose Belo Chipenda also serving as Secretary General of the church of between 1 and 2 million Angolans from 1997 to 2004. Father and son led at critical moments in Angolan history, as independence from Portugal ignited a struggle for freedom, and as the civil war between the MPLA and UNITA forces came to an end in April 2003.

In her doctoral dissertation, entitled “In the image of God”: a global history of the North American Congregational Mission movement in Angola, 1879-1975, Kate Burlingham (2011) details the British-Canadian and the US African American and white American Protestant missionaries who arrived in Portuguese colonial Angola in efforts to end the trans-Atlantic slave trade, safeguard the local populations against unpaid forced labor, and who brought medical supplies and care as trained physicians. Along with humanitarian aid, these women and men also brought Christian beliefs, literacy in Umbundu (as well as English and Portuguese), and religious conversion. The collection of Protestant churches, schools, clinics, and mission stations would eventually become the autonomous locally controlled Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em

Angola (IECA), or sometimes referred to as the Evangelical Congregationalist Church in Angola (ECCA) in English.\textsuperscript{133}

For a considerable period, I wrestled with the concept of altering and changing the cosmological worldview and spiritual system of a people through the practices of colonialism. As mentioned above, in 2015, I sat with the Grand Ati of Haitian vodun in his lakou, and I have studied various religions such as Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Baha’i, and Islam, as an anthropologist, and as an inquisitive spiritual being seeking a greater connection with the universe, God, Creation, and my heritage. Of the religions mentioned above, I have found people around the world practicing them as humans with great diligence and care, or with great impunity and little regard for other living souls. All the same, I had to consider the elephant in the room. Consider the parable of the elephant and the blind men in Jainism, Hinduism, and Buddhism, such that several blind men touch separate parts of the body of the elephant, and each blind man describes the elephant differently. In this same light, faith traditions within singular global religions differ based on where they are practiced, as there is no singular customary practice of Christianity, where Ethiopian monks drink honey wine tej, but Latin American liberation theology or Brazilian Pentecostalism take on vastly differently manifestations of the same elephant in the room. The same can be said of Buddhism, as noted by Cook, Laidlaw, and Mair, who conceptualized an un-sited field.\textsuperscript{134}

In this case, the field or site of investigation cannot be fixed, as the phenomenon being studied occurs in a multiplicity of places as ideologies, especially in the case of world religions, or Buddhism, where various practices occur with central tenants. Myself and other could argue the same with respect to the omnipresent Spirit of God. Returning to Cook, Laidlaw, and Mair, the authors note that George Marcus excluded religion in his 1995 essay on multi-sited ethnography, from which I extrapolate the theoretical paradigm to follow the metaphor. Practitioners of world religions across imagined borders will practice differently based on \textit{a priori} experiences and interpretations specific to location and conditions, with respect to global tenants of that ideology. Here, again, we see geolinguistics and ethnolinguistic diversity involved within an interplay between locale in the global terrain and standpoint epistemologies related to cosmology, nature, and the metaphysical.

On the ground in Angola, I came to learn that the Umbundu-speaking Ovimbundu people of IECA have long had a great reverence for Suku (God), and the concept of Ubuntu or muntu found in Zulu or KiKongo exists in other Bantu-speaking societies, such that collective existence

\textsuperscript{133} Henceforth, I will always refer to the collective body of the church and its 2 million members as IECA, and I will not use the English acronym.

matters. As noted earlier, the Lingala and KiKongo words for God (Nzambe, Njambi, Nzambi) have been corrupted by Hollywood to provide enormous misinformation of zombies in highly inaccurate references to vodun. In Haiti on March 31, 2015, vodun Ati Max Beauvoir mentioned his thoughts on atheism, Beauvoir noted that everyone deserves human rights; however, for those who choose not to believe in God, they choose not to believe in the possibility of perfection. The physicists and supreme vodun chief hougan discussed string theory, and later expressed God as the creator of perfection in our universe, controlling gravitational poles of planets, moons, and stars, whereby even allowing the possibilities of multiverses. Thus, we would not have STEM without God.

Europeans did not bring the consciousness of Creation and a Creator to Africa. On the contrary, the reverse appears more likely. Perhaps, the spirit of African indigenous communities rooted in kinship obligations, cooperative economics, and political leadership linked to lineage makes various varieties of global Christianity present in different parts of Africa, just as Islam and indigenous religions on the continent take on unique characteristics based on ethnolinguistic and geolinguistic realities in situ. Noting the work of Dorothy L. Hodgson among the Maasai, the anthropologist highlights the female gendered essence of Eng’ai, the Creator. For the pastoralist Maasai, pre-Christian concepts of the Creator showed a dualism of benevolence and vengeance, such that the Black God, Eng’ai Narok, was good and kind, while the Red God, Eng’ai Nayokie, could be harmful.\textsuperscript{135} Thus, one must ask, whether or not we as a human species and human family simply hold on to or touch one piece of the elephant. For the elephant is far too large for women and men to fully comprehend such enormous force, power, and magnitude. Within our human family, as sisters and brothers, we must recognize our blindnesses and our strengths when working together for harmony and perfection on all sides of the elephant which is this world, and mathematical perfection of the power of Nature, which we can universally conceive of as Spirit, the universe, or God.

All the same, in Angola, I would witness the connection people had both as brothers and sisters, in Christ, and as sisters and brothers of Christ. This appeared reflected in the concepts of the oluina (avuncular relationship between a woman’s brother and her children, with obligations placed upon the maternal uncle), and the Huvange.\textsuperscript{136} The dual concepts of age and gender play

\textsuperscript{135} Dorothy L. Hodgson (2005). \textit{The church of women: gendered encounters between Maasai and missionaries.} Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, see page 23.


\textit{Huvange} thus means: 1- my elder brother/sister; 2- mother’s sister’s elder child; 3- father’s brother’s elder child; 4- mother’s mother’s sister’s elder grandchild; 5- father’s father’s brother’s elder grandchild; 6- father’s mother’s sister’s elder grandchild. These all embody the elder brother, who ethnolinguistically could apply to Jesus Christ. In Congolese Lingala, the avuncular relationship falls under the duties of the noko. The comparative global approach to socio-cultural anthropology teaches us that uterine kinship duties and responsibilities of brothers and sisters towards
dynamic roles in how one respects elders and the youth (manjange), based on responsibilities in society, within blood lines. In the sense of religion; however, one belongs to one larger family of ancestors, elders, and living youth, and those who are yet to be born. Thus, I came to see the way in which Ovimbundu people conceptualize kinship, and elder siblings, reflected in their embrace and interpretation of the Holy Trinity.

Congregationalist Missions in Angola

One must consider the origins of the Congregationalists in England (and what would become the United Church of Christ of the USA and the United Church of Canada). Beginning with the Protestant Reformation, the original Congregationalists would be known as Separatists and Independents, during the English Civil War, led by Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland in the 1650s during the regicide of Charles I. Congregationalists have had roots in social justice and egalitarian beliefs from their earliest days. The Separatists among the Congregationalists came to New England as Puritans no longer part of the Church of England, while Non-Separatists Puritans made their way to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Furthermore, Virginia remained Anglican and loyal to the Church of England in the early 1600s. Independents (Congregationalists) who led the English Civil War remain controversial today, given Cromwell’s invasion of Ireland, and the indentured servitude of many Irish in Barbados during the period of the Commonwealth. Today, the United Church of Christ in the US and Canada—which grew out of the Congregationalists joining with other denominations—remain committed to advocating for the rights of the marginalized, asserting disdain for economic stratification and xenophobia.

The African American and British-Canadian Congregationalist method of incorporating indigenous language and ontology within the missions in Angola fought Portuguese efforts to efface local culture, whereby fostering educated anti-colonial Angolan leadership into the future, establishing voice within the marginality of space ascribed to subaltern subjects. Thus, one can look at the story of the Congregationalists in England, North America, and Angola, as a greater connecting force between the rise and falls of interconnected empires and systems of subjugation and domination, tied to a desire to rectify the wrongs of the past through a strong abolitionist movement with Canadian and New England Congregationalists traditions into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With this in mind, I have come to understand religious conversion within the African diaspora as not entirely whole, with many elements of Africanisms and cultural retentions remaining intact, or transforming into new ontologies having features conceptualizing thoughts in indigenous languages which may not be totally lost from ancient memory and epistemologies. As African indigenous religions merged and blended with the multiplicity of newly arising Protestant, Separatist, Independent, Congregationalist, Quaker, Methodist, Catholic, and Orthodox sects of Christianity taking root in the seventeenth and eighteenth

nieces and nephews unites familial networks endogenous to China (Mosuo), the Navajo in the Southwest United States, or the Trobriand Islanders off the coast of Papua New Guinea.

centuries, new traditions gave birth to even newer expressions of practice and faith. Thus, the intersecting histories of the Reformation, the triangular trade, the Middle Passage, and the development of a forced African diaspora all exist of overlapping geographies and narratives occupying the same space, place and time.

Briefly, we can return to the hanzi transcriptions of sweet wormwood, which won Tu Youyou a Nobel Prize in Physiology (Medicine) for the 2,000-year-old indigenous knowledge embodied in natural malaria remedies, written in texts. This point connects well to religion, science, power, knowledge, and written words over time. Thus, science is a methodological religion and religion is a methodological science, such that ancient script and text may inform practice, whether this refers to antimalarial ethnobotany analyzed and resurrected by a Nobel Prize winning Chinese pharmacologist or constructed and tested systems of knowledge related to Spirit, God, Universe, ancestors, and the sacred realm of existence within multiverses. What then can one conclude about Diasporic Africans in the Americas returning to their ancestral homeland to reclaim and reestablish connections to the terroir of their grandparents’ grandparents’ due to violent ruptures associated with the trans-Atlantic slave trade? We cannot always retrieve 2,000-year-old calligraphy to unlock the keys of lost scientific knowledge. In the case of Samuel Taylor Miller, we know that he had strong belief that his grandparents were born in Angola, and may have possibly been Ovimbundu people before arriving in the United States where they faced enslavement. Considering written texts, which one should not assume to be the only origin or source of belief and of knowing, eliminates the processes of lived experience of everyday folks. Hierarchies of knowledge stratify the masses. Instead, one should consider diversities of knowledge and multiplicities of epistemologies when understanding human interactions and experiences.

Galangue

While the Congregationalist missions in Huambo served as the hub and epicenter for the African American and Canadian Congregationalists living among the Ovimbundu people, Dondi mission provided educational opportunities for Angolan women, especially known for the Means Institute for girls and the Currie Institute for boys.138 All the same, Galangue becomes particularly interesting as a mission founded and operated by African Americans. In 1919, Rev. Henry Curtis McDowell and Bessie Farnsville McDowell received a request to establish a mission in Angola, which was to be funded and operated solely by African American Congregationalists. The mission would be a testament to the successes (or failures) of the Negro race. Both graduates of Talladega College in Alabama—a school funded by the Congregationalist New England-based American Missionary Association (AMA), Rev. and Mrs. McDowell certainly had good intentions; however, when reading their words one century removed, one could draw conclusions about a slight sense of colonial hierarchies embedded within their benevolent Christian charity towards the African natives. The AMA funded Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) after the Civil War, with the purpose of

educating African Americans, continuing efforts forged by Northern abolitionists well into the post-bellum era. Again, one must note the continuously evolving progressivist legacy of the Congregationalists. Samuel and Bertha Coles joined the McDowells in August 1923. Aaron and Willena McMillan joined them in Galangue. The Coles ran the agricultural matters of the station, while Dr. Aaron McMillan ran the hospital. Willena McMillan worked as the nurse. Certainly, the Tucker family and other non-African American Congregationalists from Canada, Britain, and the United States worked closely with one another in a system of equality as Christian family, in contrast to the Jim Crow Era United States, as well as the system of forced labor and slavery Angolans endured by the Portuguese well into the twentieth century.

In *Preacher with a Plow*, Samuel B. Coles (1957) provides an autobiographical memoir concerning his time in Angola, beginning with his fond memories of Ida F. Hubbard, a white woman from Maine who came to Talladega to be a teacher. Her encouragement led to his career as a missionary in Angola, which he refers to as Point IV work, due to the fourth point of Harry Truman’s 1949 inauguration address concerning projections of post-World War II agendas within US international development and aid, primarily geared towards agriculture. The fourth point of Truman’s speech would lead to the creation of USAID. Coles confronts issues such as slavery among the Ovimbundu people in Galangue, only to realize the institution constitutes more of a fostering system for parents who cannot pay their debts. In turn, he teaches fathers how to farm and secure excess crops, whereby they can pay taxes to the Portuguese and keep their daughters and sons in their homes. Coles also makes the men feel ashamed not to work in the fields growing crops by speaking to their wives to convince them to force their husbands out of the village during the day time to work in the fields. At times, reading this autobiography resembles elements of slavery and sharecropping in the United States, which Coles discusses in the first chapter “From Blacksmith to Missionary.” Here, Coles highlights his tough upbringing in Alabama, where his mother died when he was young, and his father lost everything to the white man who owned the farm on which they were sharecroppers.

Working his way through elementary, high school, and college, Coles became a water boy on the railroads, eventually laying ties. When he did make it to Talladega College, he worked during the summer as a Blacksmith, taught Blacksmithing at the College, and returned from summer break with food and goods to sell to other students to secure his own fees. Years later in Angola, this Booker T. Washington-style of boot-strap economics for the shoeless would make Coles famous among the Ovimbundu people. On one occasion in his memoir, Coles notes meeting a young man riding a bicycle. When Coles asks where he purchased the bike, the Ovimbundu man replies “Oh, Mr. Coles gave it to me” (p. 56), as this person did not realize he was talking to “Nala Ko” (p.58), or the name given to Rev. Samuel B. Coles, (Senhor Coles) among the local population. Essentially, the young man on the bike explained that he had heard how Coles instructed people in Galangue and in neighboring villages to grow corn, peas, sweet potatoes, and other crops, 139 Modupe Labode (2000). “A native knows a native: African American missionaries’ writings about Angola, 1919-1940. *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History*. 4(1): pp. 1-14.
whereby having surplus for the market. In doing so, he earned the money to purchase a bicycle, thus crediting Coles with “giving” him means of transportation.

In 1936, the Coles returned to Angola from an 18-month furlough in Liberia. When they arrived at Galangue, locusts of Biblical proportions had destroyed the local orchards, corn, bee hives, and wheat. The preacher with the plow chose to introduce buckwheat, English peas, sweet potatoes (pp. 59-62) and other crops to the local terroir. When eating among the people of IECA in Saurimo, Lunda Sul Province, I asked how the diet of collard greens, orange sweet potatoes (instead of the Congolese style white yams that I knew), white potatoes, carrots, peas, and other healthy Southern African American cuisine came to be the staple diet. Unlike Congolese, Ghanaian, Zambian, Zimbabwean, Kenyan, Nigerian, Ethiopian, or Senegalese food, which I know to a certain degree, in Angola dishes seemed extremely close to home. In other African cuisine, there may be greens and yams, beans and rice, but they are cooked in a different way from in the US South. During one meal, when I raised the question of food, I was simply told, “the Black American missionaries brought us these crops, and it saved our lives.” Later, I would read in Coles own words of the locusts that had devastated so much of the crops, to where the agricultural engineering knowledge that he applied in 1936 caused village elders and neighboring chiefs to declare “Mr. Coles, you have cured our country” (p. 62). Over several decades in Angola, from the 1920s until the 1950s, Coles would often say:

“Upon these hoes, spades, shovels, seeds and plows, I shall build my church and all the gates of hunger, fear from the lack of tax money, superstition, poverty and nakedness shall not prevail against it.”

Of course, this alludes to Mark 16:18

“And I tell you that you are Peter (which means rock or stone), and upon this rock I will build my church, and all of the powers of hell will not conquer it.”

Throughout the memoir, Coles uses Umbundu expressions, such as the following:

Good Morning: Tulipasula (Let us greet each other this morning)
Tulimbuka (response)

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141 One should note that in Portuguese, pedra means Stone, such that Pedro, means Peter. In French la pierre and the given name Pierre, have the same meaning as in Portuguese (stone/Peter).
The food is ready: Okulia quapia

If it does not hurt, it has no value: Ka chivala ka chikuete ondando

To work like that, it hurts indeed: Oku linga upange ndoto, chivala inene

Comparative Linguistics:
An Original Swadesh List and Lexicography

The Protestant missions that became IECA served as examples of racial harmony in a somewhat violent uncertainty; however, Catholic missions supported Decree 77 and the hardline Portuguese government measures towards acculturation and epistemicide. Catholic missions received significant financial support from the Portuguese government, as the official state religion. Meanwhile, Protestant missions received funding from foreign churches, which the Portuguese government saw as a threat to the goals of assimilating Angolans for the purpose of forced labor needed to support the economy of Portugal.\textsuperscript{142} The Portuguese Catholic missionaries considered the Protestant missionaries kind and foolish in their rapport towards Angolans, as well as too smart in their zeal towards medical science and literacy in indigenous languages. Thus, Catholic missionaries who spoke English introduced the word \textit{afulu} (derived from the English word “fool”) into the Umbundu language to mean “pacific, meek, suave in manner, American, Protestant (ostentatiously kind).”\textsuperscript{143}

Here, we begin to understand the different lexicons that develops under various Protestant linguists versus Catholics working in conjunction with the Vatican and the Portuguese government. Considering traditions of political and religious protests from John Wycliffe to Martin Luther,\textsuperscript{144} one sees how Congregationalist missionaries operating in Angola used the local vernacular in opposition to the official languages dictated by the Roman Catholic Church or the Romance languages of Portuguese in Angola or French in Congo —especially concerning Black Americans working with white Canadians and New Englanders as medical doctors and agriculturalists in the missions. It becomes important to consider how the preservation of languages makes an impact in respecting cultural practices. Certainly, the work of William H. Sanders, as a linguist, and the presence of Hampton Professor Samuel Taylor Miller helped

\textsuperscript{142} See Henderson (1979), p. 145.
\textsuperscript{143} Here, Henderson refers to a \textit{Bundo-Português} dictionary written by Padre Albino Alves in 1951.
\textsuperscript{144} With reference to John Wycliffe and Martin Luther of medieval Europe, one may sense the connection between the multilingual music of Haitian-American hip-hop/kompa artist Wyclef Jean and of course the dynamic rhetoric and anti-racist life work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Thus, significantly linked to the power + knowledge superstructure, the use of language may liberate and imprison a people.
solidify the early foundations of IECA as a partnership, opposed to colonialism and slavery, and not another form of oppression. Here, it becomes helpful to outline a Swadesh list of terms in order to return to the geolinguistic focus of this work, with consideration for reassembling lost epistemologies linked to language.

Below, I employ the technique of lexicography within a Swadesh list of terms in the following languages: English, Angolan Umbundu (spoken by the Ovimbundu people); Congolese Lingala (the lingua franca of the Democratic Republic of Congo and in parts of the Republic of Congo); Portuguese; and French. This dictionary might improve communication for people working on the ground in humanitarian causes in the region. This geolinguistic analytical process appears below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Angolan Umbundu</th>
<th>Congolese Lingala</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Able</td>
<td>Okupondola</td>
<td>Kokoka</td>
<td>Poder/Capaz</td>
<td>Pouvoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add</td>
<td>OkuVokiya</td>
<td>Kobetinya</td>
<td>Acrescentar</td>
<td>Ajouter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestor</td>
<td>Kukulu</td>
<td>Koko (ba)</td>
<td>Antepassado</td>
<td>Ancetre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And</td>
<td>La</td>
<td>Mpe</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>Okuokuo</td>
<td>Loboko (mo)</td>
<td>Braço</td>
<td>Bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask</td>
<td>Okupula</td>
<td>Kotuna</td>
<td>Perguntar</td>
<td>Demander/Poser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baby</td>
<td>Oñaña</td>
<td>Mwana moke</td>
<td>Nene/bebé</td>
<td>Bebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Unvi</td>
<td>Mabe</td>
<td>Mau/Ruim</td>
<td>Mauvais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>Ocipoke</td>
<td>Lidesu (ma)</td>
<td>Feijão</td>
<td>Haricots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear (fruit)</td>
<td>Okulima</td>
<td>Kolisa</td>
<td>cultivar</td>
<td>Pousser des fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear (a child)</td>
<td>Okucita</td>
<td>Kobota</td>
<td>Parto</td>
<td>Faire naître un enfant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>Masanga</td>
<td>Cerveja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bière</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer (made of manioc meal)</td>
<td>Ocimbombo/Ocissangua</td>
<td>Masanga</td>
<td>Bebida fermentada (tradicional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer (large gourd of)</td>
<td>Ocimbombo/Ocissangua</td>
<td>Sanduku ya embembe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>Ntoto</td>
<td>Barriga</td>
<td>Ventre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Osonde</td>
<td>Makila</td>
<td>Sangue</td>
<td>Sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow of the hand</td>
<td>Yula</td>
<td>Lobete (mo)</td>
<td>Roubo</td>
<td>Coup de main (sudden attack)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Etimba</td>
<td>Nzoto</td>
<td>Corpo</td>
<td>Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>Ongau</td>
<td>Bolei</td>
<td>Café da manha;</td>
<td>Petit-déjeuner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Matabishu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Manji</td>
<td>Ndeko Mobali</td>
<td>irmão</td>
<td>Frère</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (older)</td>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>Ndeko Mobali Kulutu</td>
<td>irmão mais velho</td>
<td>Frère plus âgée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (younger)</td>
<td>Manji</td>
<td>Ndeko Mobali Leki</td>
<td>irmão mais novo</td>
<td>Frère Cadet;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Angolan Umbundu</td>
<td>Congolese Lingala</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>French</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build</td>
<td>Okutungâ</td>
<td>Kotonga</td>
<td>Construir</td>
<td>Construire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call</td>
<td>Okukovenga</td>
<td>Kobenga</td>
<td>Ligar/Chamar</td>
<td>Appeler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Ocalo</td>
<td>Kiti</td>
<td>Banco para sentar</td>
<td>Chaise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omangu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Omolâ</td>
<td>Mwana</td>
<td>Criança</td>
<td>Enfant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Ofeka</td>
<td>Mboka</td>
<td>País</td>
<td>Pays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darkness</td>
<td>Owelema</td>
<td>Butu</td>
<td>Trevas</td>
<td>Noir/Sombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Eteke</td>
<td>Mokolo</td>
<td>Dia</td>
<td>Jour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depart</td>
<td>Okotunda</td>
<td>Kokende</td>
<td>Partir</td>
<td>Partir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Desire</td>
<td>Okuyongola</td>
<td>Kolinga</td>
<td>Querer</td>
<td>Avoir envie de</td>
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<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>Okufa</td>
<td>Kosala</td>
<td>Morrer</td>
<td>Mourir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>Catilâ</td>
<td>Pasi/Makasi</td>
<td>Difícil</td>
<td>Difficile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Okulinga</td>
<td>Kosala</td>
<td>Fazer</td>
<td>Faire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink (verb)</td>
<td>Okunyua</td>
<td>Komela</td>
<td>Beber</td>
<td>Boire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink (noun)</td>
<td>Ovinyuanyua</td>
<td>Limeli/Masanga</td>
<td>Bebida</td>
<td>Boisson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Earth/Ground</td>
<td>Osi</td>
<td>Mabele/Nse</td>
<td>Chão/Terra</td>
<td>Sol/Terre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>Okulia</td>
<td>Kolia</td>
<td>Comer</td>
<td>Manger</td>
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<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Onjamba</td>
<td>Nzoku</td>
<td>Elefante</td>
<td>Éléphant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ended</td>
<td>Okulembuka</td>
<td>Esilisi</td>
<td>Terminado/a</td>
<td>Terminé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Kaputu</td>
<td>Mpoto</td>
<td>Europa</td>
<td>Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(literally comes from the world Portugal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Ocindele</td>
<td>Mundele (Muzungu-Swahili)</td>
<td>Branco</td>
<td>Européen Blanc</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Epata</td>
<td>Libota</td>
<td>Família</td>
<td>Famille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Tate</td>
<td>Tata</td>
<td>Pai</td>
<td>Pere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Ukâi</td>
<td>Mwasi</td>
<td>Mulher</td>
<td>Femme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field</td>
<td>Omundi</td>
<td>Elanga/Zamba</td>
<td>Campo</td>
<td>Champs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I'm) Fine</td>
<td>(Nasi) Ciwa</td>
<td>(Nazali) malamu</td>
<td>(Estou) Bem</td>
<td>(je vais/suis) bien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>Ekamba</td>
<td>Moninga</td>
<td>Amigo</td>
<td>Ami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>Epáko</td>
<td>Mbuma</td>
<td>Fruta</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giraffe</td>
<td>Uya</td>
<td>Dikala</td>
<td>Girafa</td>
<td>Girafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>Ufeko</td>
<td>Mwana Mwasi</td>
<td>Menina</td>
<td>Jeune Fille</td>
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<tr>
<td>Give</td>
<td>Okuava</td>
<td>Kopesa</td>
<td>Dar</td>
<td>Donner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go (in peace)</td>
<td>Kuende (Lombembua)</td>
<td>Kokende (kende malamu)</td>
<td>Ir (Vai em paz)</td>
<td>A Dieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Suku</td>
<td>Nzambi/Nzambe</td>
<td>Deus</td>
<td>Dieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Uwa</td>
<td>Malamu</td>
<td>Bom</td>
<td>Bon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-Grandparent</td>
<td>Kuku</td>
<td>Koko</td>
<td>Bisavô/Bisavô</td>
<td>Arrière-grandmère/ Arrière grand-père</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Pakulu</td>
<td>Koko Mobali</td>
<td>Avó (homem)</td>
<td>Grand-père</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Makulu</td>
<td>Koko Mwasi</td>
<td>Avô (mulher)</td>
<td>Grand-mère</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>Walale po?</td>
<td>Mbote</td>
<td>Bom dia</td>
<td>Bon jour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard</td>
<td>Cakôla</td>
<td>Makasi</td>
<td>Duro</td>
<td>Dur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>Ye</td>
<td>Ele</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>Utima</td>
<td>Motema</td>
<td>Coração</td>
<td>Coeur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here</td>
<td>Palo</td>
<td>Awa</td>
<td>Aqui</td>
<td>Ici</td>
</tr>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Angolan Umbundu</td>
<td>Congolese Lingala</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>French</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here/Now (space and time)</td>
<td>Cilo</td>
<td>Sikawa / Sikoyo</td>
<td>Agora</td>
<td>Voici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>Onjo</td>
<td>Ndako</td>
<td>Casa</td>
<td>Maison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How much</td>
<td>Çiñami</td>
<td>Boni</td>
<td>Quanto</td>
<td>Combien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ame</td>
<td>Ngái</td>
<td>Eu</td>
<td>Je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joke</td>
<td>Okupapala</td>
<td>Koseke</td>
<td>Brincar</td>
<td>Blague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>Osoma</td>
<td>Èloa/Monkonzi</td>
<td>Rei</td>
<td>Roi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Úkulinhisó</td>
<td>Koyeby</td>
<td>Saber</td>
<td>Savoir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Ólóño</td>
<td>Boyeby</td>
<td>Conhecimento</td>
<td>Connaissance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>Ovihandeleko</td>
<td>Mobeko</td>
<td>Lei/Direito</td>
<td>Loi/Droits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look</td>
<td>Ókutala</td>
<td>Kotala</td>
<td>Olhar</td>
<td>Regarder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>Okusola</td>
<td>Kolinga</td>
<td>Amar</td>
<td>Aimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Ulume</td>
<td>Mobali</td>
<td>Homen</td>
<td>Homme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manioc</td>
<td>Utombo</td>
<td>Kwanga</td>
<td>Mandioca</td>
<td>Cassave/Manioc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Pokati</td>
<td>Kati</td>
<td>Meio</td>
<td>Milieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwife</td>
<td>Ombwiya</td>
<td>Mobotisi</td>
<td>Parteira</td>
<td>Sage-Femme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>Asenjele</td>
<td>Mabele</td>
<td>Leite</td>
<td>Lait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>Olombongo</td>
<td>Mbongo</td>
<td>Dinheiro</td>
<td>Argent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Onjali yu ukai</td>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>Mãe</td>
<td>Maman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nephew/Niece</td>
<td>Ocimumba</td>
<td>Mwana mwa yaya</td>
<td>Sobrinho/</td>
<td>Neveu/ Niece</td>
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<td>Sobrinha</td>
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<td>Okuyikula</td>
<td>Kofungela</td>
<td>Abrir</td>
<td>Ouvrir</td>
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<td>Parents</td>
<td>Epata</td>
<td>Baboti</td>
<td>Família</td>
<td>Parents</td>
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<td>Pass Away</td>
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<td>Kokufa</td>
<td>Morrer</td>
<td>Mourir</td>
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<td>Oliverupa</td>
<td>Nguba</td>
<td>Jinguba</td>
<td>Cacahuète</td>
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<td>People</td>
<td>Owini</td>
<td>Bato</td>
<td>Gente/Povo</td>
<td>Gens</td>
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<td>Omunu</td>
<td>Moto</td>
<td>Pessoa</td>
<td>Personne</td>
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<td>Okufendela</td>
<td>Kosambela</td>
<td>Orar</td>
<td>Prier</td>
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<td>Pregnant</td>
<td>Omisi</td>
<td>Ekama</td>
<td>Grávida</td>
<td>Enceinte</td>
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<td>Presently</td>
<td>Noko</td>
<td>Sikawa</td>
<td>Depois</td>
<td>Maintenant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Soma</td>
<td>Mama Mokonzi</td>
<td>Rainha</td>
<td>Reine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queen consort</td>
<td>Nasoma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Esposa do rei (Wife of King)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rain</td>
<td>Ombela</td>
<td>Mbula</td>
<td>Chuva</td>
<td>Pluie</td>
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<td>Road</td>
<td>Etapalo</td>
<td>Nzela</td>
<td>Estrada</td>
<td>Route/Chemin</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ewe</td>
<td>Libanga</td>
<td>Pedra</td>
<td>Pierre</td>
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<td>Okupekela</td>
<td>Kolala</td>
<td>Dormir</td>
<td>Dormir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thank You</td>
<td>Tua Pandula</td>
<td>Natondi yo mingi</td>
<td>Obrigado</td>
<td>Merci beaucoup</td>
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<td>That</td>
<td>Oco</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Aquilo</td>
<td>Ceci; Cela</td>
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<td>Water</td>
<td>Ovava</td>
<td>Mai</td>
<td>Água</td>
<td>Eau</td>
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<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>Etu</td>
<td>Bisso</td>
<td>Nós</td>
<td>Nous</td>
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<td>Woman</td>
<td>Úkäi</td>
<td>Mwasi</td>
<td>Mulher</td>
<td>Femme</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Ewa</td>
<td>Eee</td>
<td>Sim</td>
<td>Oui</td>
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</table>

My own work in translation has taken me many places; however, I enjoy working in my hometown of Chicago. In the past, I conducted translation for asylum seekers and refugees; yet, in January 2016, Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago asked me to give translation of a scripture and a prayer in Congolese Lingala for the annual Maafa Black History month celebration. In KiSwahili, Maafa means tragedy or great disaster. During a previous Black History month celebration, I became a member of Trinity UCC after over a decade of visiting.

As a member, I chose to serve where and how I could within the Africa Ministry. Thus, I was honored when the church gave me several texts to translate from English into Lingala: the Hebrew Shema (Sh’ma Yisrael), and a prayer for the ancestors, written in English by Rev. Dr. Otis Moss III. In 2018, I was asked to produce yet another Lingala translation, this time of Acts 8:26-28.

The translations appear below:

Sunday, February 7, 2016 at 11 am service
Invocation and Prayer in Congolese Lingala

Bisso tobeleli Bozalisami\textsuperscript{146} mwa Yo na ntongo oyo ya lelo. Bisso totondi Yo mpo na bolingo na Yo, mpe mpo na Nguya ya Yo. Lelo, mokolo oyo, bisso tokanisi bankoko ba bisso, mpe bisso tosambeli na maloba ya bango, bankoko ba bisso:

Obongisa bisso, Yesu, Obongisa bisso. Obongisa bisso, mpo na totambola mwa ntango molayi. Obongisa bisso, mpo na bisso tobondele mwa makasi. Obongisa bisso, mpo na bisso toyemba na mongongo makasi. Obongisa bisso, mpo na bisso tokokende liboso atako mpasi, atako mobangi, atako tembe, mpe Eee, atako nkanda.

Bisso tosengi Yo olongola ekulusu eye te, kasi okopesa bisso makasi mpo na tokoba komema yango ti mokolo ntango bisso tokokufa. Eee, Obongisa bisso, Yesu, obongisa bisso.

Na Nkombo ya Yesu bisso tobondeli; Mpe libota liya Njambe, bato baye balingi Njambe, tokoki koloba, Amen!

We invoke \textbf{Thy presence} this morning, thanking You for Your love and Your power. On this day, we remember our ancestors and pray with the words of our ancestors:

Fix us, Jesus, fix us. Fix us, so that we can walk on a little while longer.
Fix us, so that we can pray on just a little bit harder. Fix us, so that we can sing on just a little bit louder. Fix us, so that we can go on, despite the pain, the fear, the doubt, and yes, the anger. We ask not that You take this cross from us, only that You give us the strength to continue carrying it onward \textquoteleft \textquoteleft til our dying day. Oh, fix us, Jesus, fix us.

In the name of Jesus, we pray; and the people of God, who love God, may say, Amen.

\textsuperscript{146} The word \textit{Bozalisami} means \textit{Holy Spirit}; however, the affixes added to the verb \textit{kozala} (to be) give the deeper meaning of You (pl. or formal, represented by the second person plural verb prefix \textit{Bo}-) cause creation or \textquoteleft \textquoteleft You cause existence to be.	extquoteright \textquoteright This term, spirit or presence, differs from simply the indigenous Lingala or Kikongo and Kimbundu terms for God, \textit{Nzambe} or \textit{Njambi}, and the term spirit (elimo) may have negative connotations. I used \textit{Bozalisami} in place of \textit{Thy presence}. 
Sunday, February 7, 2016, 6pm service
Unison Scripture is from Deuteronomy 6: 4-9. (Hebrew Sh’mah) in Congolese Lingala

Kolimbola Mibeko… munkanda motoba, bafalaze minei ti libwa

Yoka, Eee, Yisraele! Yawe azali Nzambe ya yo, Yawe kaka moko. Mpe osengeli kolinda Yawe Nzambe ya yo na motema na yo mobimba mpe na molimo na yo mpe na makasi na yo nyonso ya bomo. Mpe maloba oyo nazali kopesa yo mitindo lelo esengeli kozala na motema na yo; mpe osengeli kokotisa yango malamu-malamu na kati ya bana ba yo mpe kolobela yango ntango okofanda na ndako na yo mpe ntango okotambola na balabala mpe ntango okolala mpe ntango okolamuka. Mpe osengeli kokanga yango lokola elembo na loboko na yo, mpe esengeli kozala na elongi na yo lokola mwa nsinga oyo bakangaka na elongi; mpe osengeli kokoma yango likolo ya makonzi ya ekuke ya ndako na yo mpe na bikuke na yo.

"Listen, O Israel: The LORD IS our God, the LORD alone. 5 And you must love the LORD your God with all your heart, all your soul, and all your strength. 6 And you must commit yourselves wholeheartedly to these commands that I am giving you today. Repeat them again and again to your children. Talk about them when you are at home and when you are on the road, when you are going to bed and when you are getting up. Tie them to your hands and wear them on your forehead as reminders. Write them on the doorposts of your house and on our gates."

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Sunday February 4, 2018, 11 am
Acts 8:26-28, Congolese Lingala

Mokanda ya Misala, munkanda mwambe, mpe bafalaze ntuku mibale na motoba tii ntuku mibale na mwambe (Filipe mpe MuEtiop)


Acts 8:26-28 New International Version (NIV)
Philip and the Ethiopian

26 Now an angel of the Lord said to Philip, “Go south to the road—the desert road—that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza.” 27 So he started out, and on his way he met an Ethiopian eunuch, an important official in charge of all the treasury of the Kandake (which means “queen of the Ethiopians”). This man had gone to Jerusalem to worship, 28 and on his way home was sitting in his chariot reading the Book of Isaiah the prophet.
The purpose of commemorating the Maafa at Trinity United Church of Christ each February stems from the necessity to reconnect with African origins as African American people. Furthermore, the use of African indigenous languages in opening prayer asserts the linguistic relativity and bodies of knowledge associated with pre-colonial African people, from whom much of the Congregation descend. Often, within the African diaspora, individuals may pour libation for the ancestors. I have witnessed such practices done in Yoruba in various locations in the Americas. I have not studied the Yoruba language of present-day Nigeria, and therefore did not know what diviners would have been saying during such ceremonies in various places over the years. For myself, the invocation to prayer and scripture in African indigenous languages during the month of February connects us to Spirit and to the words of our ancestors. Thus, the services in Chicago may best mirror the active engagement of collaboration and unity in the IECA missions from 1880 to the present-day manifestations of the Congregationalist Church in the Americas, seeking to unite under common beliefs and objectives of peace.

In my own capacities, I engage in the act of translating from English to Lingala, for such occasions, for public service. However, the Swadesh list above shows that one cannot carry out the process of literary and literal translation with simple ease. A multiplicity of texts, dictionaries, and manuscripts become necessary. Reflecting upon my own experiences as a translator, I think back to how French language opened other worlds to me. In this manner, I cannot translate Congolese Lingala terminology outside of la Francophonie or an imagined or real world of intertextual analysis within a greater reality of French-speaking cultural groups in Africa, Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Thus, I find myself relying heavily upon British linguist anthropologist and missionary Malcolm Guthrie’s (1939, 1951, 1966) Grammaire et dictionnaire de Lingala: la langue universelle actuellement parlée sur les deux rives de la partie centrale du fleuve Congo. Coupled with Guthrie, I must consult René van Everbroeck’s (1985) Maloba ma lokóta : dictionnaire lingála : lingála-français, français-lingála. From here, I verify and cross reference my translations with Eyamba Bokamba and Molingo Bokamba’s (2004) Tossolola na Lingála: Let's speak Lingála: a multidimensional approach to the teaching and learning of Lingála as a foreign language.

Returning to Louise Rosenblatt (1938 & 1978) in connection with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s translation of the work of Jacques Derrida (1976), I consider the transactionalist processes of speaking, reading, and writing, especially within a plethora of regulated, documented, and policed languages as a continuum of praxis in action through practice, which can never cease. Perhaps the goal towards perfection in literacy, linguistics, and agricultural sciences parallels the search and quest for God for Guthrie, Sanders, Chatelain, Coles, and Tucker, as discussed above in their works as Euro-American missionaries and translators.

Separating Coles from the other European and Canadian missionaries and translators, one must see him as both a diasporic citizen and subject of the Euro-American project of colonial conquest. Given the paternalistic undertones and pro-Western language of his autobiographical
memoir, one understands that Coles did not see himself as an Angolan living among the Ovimbundu, but certainly as “a good American” as he refers to several farmers near Galangue who followed his instructions and techniques. Thus, for Coles, “American” equates to a Weberian Protestant work ethic. The ways in which Black people create text and context, while being placed in texts and social situations becomes of significant importance here, for the sake of the memoir, the autobiography, the autoethnography, and the greater contexts of translation. In *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the “Racial” Self*, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1987) addresses the act of signifying as a black linguistic intertextual rhetorical style,

“by which a second statement or figure repeats, or tropes, or reverses the first. Its use as a figure for intertextuality allows us to understand literary revision without resource to thematic, biographical, or Oedipal slayings at the crossroads; rather, critical signification is tropic and rhetorical. Indeed, the very concept of Signifyin(g) can exist only in the realm of the intertextual relation.”

For Gates, the slave narrative takes on crucial meaning, as well, given that “above all else, every public spoken, and written utterance of the ex-slaves was written and published for an essentially hostile auditor or interlocutor, the white abolitionist or the white slaveholder, both of whom imposed a meaning upon the discourse of the black subject” (105). Thus, I read Samuel Coles *Preacher with a Plow* as both an authentic account of his time in Angola in the 1920s through the 1950s, while understanding the linguistic codes for its time, as being social markers specific to a particular era. Likewise, as Coles describes his journey out of the Jim Crow South towards Angola as a bootstraps story for a boy with no shoes, accounts of fleeing the neo-slavery conditions of sharecropping South for Angola, his perceptions of Angolan poverty present both helpful and slightly problematic statements. For instance, Coles mentions first arriving in the country and seeing children with swollen feet, who have no shoes and certainly no bootstraps. Thus, acts of reading historical documents, memoirs, and other linguistic forms require various layers of translation.

For myself, the work of translation places me within the linguistic continuum both inside and outside of the texts, in a space of multiple consciousness of place and time required for the languages of the speakers and auditors. In this sense, the collective bodies of knowledge of oppression and power contribute to how I translate and perpetuate knowledge formation and transmission within discourses that would previously have excluded my ancestors, and which excludes my fellow African Americans and my sisters and brothers of Africa, the diaspora, and elsewhere. Thus, within the languages of elite education, I interpret and translate for communal unity of the masses first; however, I remain acutely aware of the accuracies and the tone (in more ways than one) of the translations I provide, such that little gets lost in translation, while my autonomy and freedom does not enslave me to the master narrative of domination and oppression. With Creole languages and marginalized indigenous African languages, such

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practices of freedom from the master meta-narrative allows one to free the archives into truthful meanings and interpretations for all to uncover the essence of being imbedded in layers of language and historical sediment. Thus, I seek to educate self and educate others for liberation. Overall, a unique form of Black consciousness for self, other(s), and the world link my anthropological methods with respect to African linguistic and socio-cultural anthropology.

Steve Biko died for his beliefs pertaining to the humanity of Black people. For Biko in the late 1970s, the phrase “black is beautiful” meant that South Africans, and people of color around the world, must “begin to look upon yourself as a human being.” In his preface to Biko’s *I Write What I Like*, Archbishop Desmond Tutu notes the religious nature of Black Consciousness as a liberating ontology that and “movement surely of God.” Analyzing the double consciousness and aspects of self-love associated with the political agenda of Black Liberation Theology linked with Black Consciousness negates the colonial rhetoric of oppression which can “actually make many of them doubt whether they were indeed God’s children. That [Tutu has] described as almost the ultimate blasphemy.” Ultimately, a humanistic education of Black empowerment of Ubuntu and the interconnectedness of Spirit, Nature, and God, becomes critical to the anti-imperialist practice of creating equality for children of the Earth of all genders, colors, and even manner of creation, as we embrace plurality. Above all, education remains central to this corrective process.

Africa in Museums (Museums in Africa):
Anthropology & Education

Museums can both negate the existence of a people and serve as an epicenter of cultural revitalization and indigenous peoples education, whereby restoring local epistemologies. When properly constructed, the museum educates the insider and the outsider, teaching all to respect everyone. For Africans and African Americans, linguistic preservation rooted in cultural anthropology on the ground, initiated by local people native to the terroir, with an agenda of self-perpetuation, disrupts the processes of complete assimilation and ethnocide within Euro-American society, akin to epistemicide via linguicide and linguifam, as previously discussed in Chapter One. Thus, we find a solution to the problems at hand: education. However, the solution does not come easily; neither, can one find the solution in methods rooted in pedagogy and andragogy connecting ideologies and practices of the global South to the North. Hybrid pedagogies must address the needs of people with multidirectional power dynamics.

With this in mind, it becomes necessary to analyze three sites: Africa Museum in Tervuren, Belgium (literally across the street from the city-limit of Brussels); Hampton University Museum in Hampton, Virginia; and Dundo Museum in Lunda Norte Province in Angola, as well as the town’s pedagogy and anthropology institutes at Universidade Lueji a Nkonde (named for the ancestral queen of the Lunda people). In this sense, three things become apparent: 1) colonial

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149 Ibid, pp. xv-xvi.
space reifies difference and oppression within matrixes of power; 2) diasporic spaces and autonomous African American institutions had and continue to have transformative influences in the formation of identity, cultural preservation, and epistemological production; and 3) these practices of revitalization must take place on the ground and diffuse outwards throughout the diaspora, or else knowledge will remain housed, isolated, and reinvented in the global North, where people in situ, within the terroir of the geolinguistic terrain might find themselves perpetually erased and considered foreigners to their own indigenous knowledge production.

Within museology, Freeman Tilden stands out as a primary figure in cultural resource management and preservation. With *Interpreting Our Heritage*, first published in 1957, Tilden establishes a seminal work for the United States National Park Service. The author notes that the interpretation of objects in the museum or national park requires six main principles:

1- Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.

2- Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.

3- Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

4- The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

5- Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.

6- Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentations to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.  

The interpreter, for Tilden, must have love for the work, and passion. If there is no love or passion, the act of interpreting, or assembling an exhibit, will be incomplete and ineffective, or sterile. Considering the collection of tasks placed upon the interpreter, Tilden asserts “the work of the specialist, the historian, the naturalist, the archaeologist, is fundamental then. Without their research the interpreter cannot start.” Thus, the interpreter and the specialist are not always one and the same. However, knowledge of the exhibit, its presentation, and the organization of the display fall upon the interpreter. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991) highlights the

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151 Ibid, p. 49.
In the Introduction to this dissertation, I wrote about walking through the halls of Africa Museum in Tervuren, Belgium. Prior to my first trip to Belgium in 2002, I watched a 1990 documentary by Raoul Peck entitled *Lumumba, la mort d’un prophète*. In the film, Peck connects his childhood in Haiti to the sudden migration of his family to Congo during the dictatorship of Papa Doc (François Duvalier). A cadre of Haitian families went to francophone Africa, particularly the former Belgian Congo, as educated French-speaking black doctors, lawyers, and technical experts. Within this autoethnography, Peck walks through the halls of Tervuren, at the Royal Museum of Central Africa, steps from the periphery of Brussels-Capital. Peck presents images of the small cemetery in Tervuren, which the public cannot access, which houses the bodies of the Congolese colonial subjects who died during the Brussels International Exposition of 1897 as part of the human zoo. Years later in 1904, Ota Benga would find himself part of the human zoo at the St. Louis World Fair (the Louisiana Purchase Exposition). For the MuTwa (pygmy) from the Kasai River region of Congo, life in the United States brought him to the human zoo in Missouri, and later at the Bronx Zoo in New York City, eventually committing suicide.\(^{153}\)

Violent epistemologies of eugenics would have guided the racist beliefs of the people who mistreated Ota Benga and others within human zoos. Particularly of note, one must consider the human zoos of Euro-America, and the exploitation of Sarah Baartman, an enslaved !Khoisan woman taken from present-day South Africa to be displayed in London in 1810 by Hendrik Cezar. Known as the “Hottentot Venus,” Baartman would be exhibited in a cage and with animals in the circus in England and France until her death in 1815.\(^{154}\) Upon her death, Sarah Baartman would be dissected by a team of zoologists, with her skeleton and remains on exhibit in Paris at the Musée de l’Homme until the 1970s.\(^{155}\) Without question, this type of interpretation and display serve only to perpetuate epistemologies of rape, violation, and inhumanity. With respect to Tervuren, Hochschild (1999) notes Africa Museum “houses one of the world’s largest collections of Africana” (p. 292); however, the journalist postulates “in none of the museum’s twenty large exhibition galleries is there the slightest hint that millions of Congolese met unnatural deaths” due to the brutal methods of collecting rubber, gold, and diamonds in King Leopold’s Congo Free State. Hochschild asserts “the stolen land, the severed hands, the shattered families and orphaned children, underlie much that meets the eye” in the museum (p. 293). With Sarah Baartman at the Museum of Man in Paris, the body of the African woman would be


\(^{155}\) Ibid, p. 10.
disrespected and brutalized in life and in death, only finding repatriation in Jacob Zuma’s South Africa in 2002.

Returning to Peck’s documentary walk through the colonial Belgian museum in Tervuren, one recalls the dismembered and liquified bodies of Lumumba, Okito, and Mpolo in January 1961. This violent history of dissolving historical epistemologies with the power of empire stand to represent the original purpose in the construction of the colonial Belgian museum. Jean Muteba Rahier (2003) asserts that the articulations of primitive and savage Africa serve to perpetuate the myth of a country and territory without history and in need of a colonial project to invent itself as a nation and world power. The museum represents a critical site of contact in the colonial metropolitan center. The fact that Tervuren sits at the immediate border at the edge of Walloon French-speaking Brussels-Capital and the beginning of the surrounding Dutch-speaking Flemish region of Flanders only adds to the dualism of geographies upon which the artificial reality of the colonial museum space must overlap and entangle. In Selling the Congo: a history of European pro-empire propaganda and the making of Belgian imperialism, Matthew G. Stanard (2011) highlights the role of the Musée du Congo belge as essential to perpetuating and embodying the unified state and the overseas arm of small, yet global Belgium around the world.

For myself, upon entering the museum for the first time on Veterans Day 2002, the exhibit shocked me. At the entrance, I noticed three golden statues. One by O. Jespers, entitled, Negresse a l’amphore depicts a bare breasted African woman carrying a vase possibly of water on her head. Two separate golden by A. Matton displayed a European man in Greco-Roman long ropes and long beard, with several nude African children in his arms. One golden statue portrays the caption “La Belgique apportant la civilisation au Congo,” whereas the other statue by Matton reads, “La Belgique apportant le bien-être au Congo.” In 2002, the books, documentaries, and feature-films I had consumed about Congo and Belgium no longer represented stored archives, but became actively engaged and living archives before my eyes; yet, the intensity of the colonial project within the massive warehouse of death known as a museum caused me to question whether a museum could ever truly portray African people in a positive light. Luckily, I could reflect upon childhood visits to the DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago, founded by Dr. Margaret Taylor Burroughs. Today, training in museology allows me to know what to expect before entering a new museum space.

With Hampton Museum at Hampton University, the collection of African indigenous art becomes particularly significant because the museum remains owned and operated by an Historical Black College-University founded in 1868. The Sheppard Collection carries the name of the benefactor and alumnus William Henry Sheppard, who sold his Kuba art to Hampton Institute in 1911.157 When Sheppard began donating Kuba raffia cloth and other rare pieces to his alma mater, founder General Samuel Chapman Armstrong intended to create a museum that

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would use the priceless materials for instruction and learning. One must note the relationship Sheppard shared with the Kuba royal court, while being considered a *makuba* and not a foreigner. In this regard, additions to the collection after Sheppard died came directly from the Kuba royal family, with the brother of the current sitting king having studied and graduated from Hampton University. One should note that Hampton Institute served as a Normal school, or teachers college, not only for African Americans in the Reconstruction and Jim Crow era US South. The University also became a training school for Native American teachers. For instance, Susan La Flesche Picotte studied at Hampton. A member of the Omaha people, she would become the first Native American woman to earn a medical degree from a university in the United States, and to work as a physician.

When one visits Hampton University Museum today, one finds four particularly interesting collections. First, upon entering, on the first floor the Sheppard Collection welcomes the visitor. The interpreter has carefully displayed a large image of Sheppard at the entrance of the exhibit, which includes carefully displayed and labeled artifacts from the Kuba people. The function of the objects can also be found under the descriptions. Moving deeper into the welcoming and culturally affirming space, positive images of African people introduce the visitor to artifacts from people outside of the Kasai region of the Democratic Republic of Congo, including the Ashanti of Ghana. Next, an exhibit on the programs at Hampton University shows images of nursing and applied medical students from the past before one enters a gallery dedicated to Native American art. Here, we enter muddy waters, as the origins of the Native American teacher training program at Hampton has a connection with the Richard Henry Pratt who would go on to establish the Carlisle Indian schools in Pennsylvania. Pratt first sent Native American warriors to Hampton after the US government incarcerated them.

All the same, these objects may not have been stolen from Native American people and Africans with the same force or intentions as one finds in Tervuren. Cultural preservation in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century would not have the same legal language and advocacy stance as today with respect to the rights of indigenous people. Therefore, one must consider the art collection at Hampton as valuable for managing to capture the artifacts of people of color within an era of massive cultural erasure. As one moves upstairs in the Museum, one finds a priceless collection of extremely well-known US African American art and artists from Henry Ossawa Tanner, Jacob Lawrence, and Elizabeth Catlett. The museum has more material stored away unavailable to the public. Going back to 1911, the purchase of Sheppard’s art by Hampton University started to give African Americans a sense of pride in our ancestry, as noted in the *Southern Workman* (see Hultgren & Zeidler 1993: 24). With time, New Negro scholar or Harlem Renaissance Movement pioneer Alain Locke became particularly interested in the collection, and helped to increase the prestige and volume by creating an exhibit in New York, paired with Belgian diplomat Raoul Blondiau, which Locke convinced Hampton trustee George Foster Peabody to purchase to add to the Kuba collection of the University (p. 25). Even though

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158 Ibid, p. 16.
159 Ibid, p. 19.
there may be links to colonialism and imperialist acquisition, the goal of preserving and using African art to teach African Americans in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) stands as a testament to the difficult work of reconnecting and maintaining ties to the continent for diasporans. I have not visited the Galangue room at Savery Library at Talladega College, the alma mater of the Coles and the McDowells; however, I imagine their artwork and donations have intrigued students in Alabama about the possibilities of Africa.

In Dundo, in the province of Lunda North, in far Northeastern Angola, walking distance from the border with Congo, the people clearly know the legacy of Queen Mulunda, Lueji a Nkonde. The university preserving her name (ULAN) owes a great deal to anthropologist Fonseca Sousa. In Dundo, the Portuguese diamond mining company Diamang established forced and grossly underpaid labor systems where local populations extracted their country’s resources for the profit of Portugal. All the same, simply forcing workers to do a task did not suffice. Coupled with the control of the body, the control of the mind required Diamang to create a colonial museum in Dundo, now under the control of the provincial ministries of education and culture, directed by ULAN Professor Fonseca Sousa. All the same, a deep rewriting of colonial attempts of cultural and linguistic erasure have necessitated the creation of linguistics programs at Universidade Lueji a Nkonde at Dundo, focusing on Lunda-Chokwe proverbs, with Portuguese translations. One can read these proverbs in the bound book or listen to them on the CDs that the rector of ULAN-Dundo gave me. The museum does not have collections at its disposal equal to Tervuren, or even Hampton. Fears of theft keep the museum under safe lock and key. Efforts and remodeling the space were underway when I was on the ground in 2016, and we hope that the museum will continue to be a site of liberating education in the Lunda region.

As Nuno Porto notes, Dundo Museum developed as a space of producing colonial images of indigenous Angolans in a negative light in comparison to superior images establishing Portuguese and European culture, within the confines of the time in which the museum would have been established in 1936, but also in the sense of establishing colonial time, with respect to forced labor of extraction. Sponsored by Diamang, the museum fixed notions of space, place, and imperialist ideologies of work-time and racial hierarchies within the narrative of cultural production and education, such that the Lunda and Chokwe people of the region near Dundo and in Lunda North Province could become psychologically conditioned to work for the Portuguese exploiters of the diamond mines. Today, the colonial era Ethnographic Museum of the Diamonds Company of Angola has been renamed Dundo Museum. Of course, the company designed the museum, with sections covering archaeology and geology, ethnology, folklore, ecology and botany, and history. According to Porto, the company hired trained experts, who by default become employees of the company, made to present the story and image of life, which Diamang wished to display. Porto notes that the museum held over 7,000 objects by the end of the 1940s, which were taken from the surrounding areas, mostly from the Lunda and Chokwe peoples. Like Tervuren, this colonial museum on conquered African soil became a graveyard for Lunda.

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artifacts, as company employees stole objects within the landscape, not simply plants and minerals, but also items of significant endogenous religious cultural value.

Thus, the reasserted and self-affirming, post-colonial, post-war, government-owned Dundo Museum serves many purposes. Certainly, the museum reestablishes local knowledge and local languages and mother tongues as the language of instruction. Furthermore, the museum under the direction of Fonseca Sousa remains linked with ULAN, established in 2009, to heal a country divided by civil war from 1975 to 2002, upon endogenous learning practices compromised and altered since the Portuguese arrived on the Atlantic coasts of Kongo-Ngola in 1483. African Americans can learn many lessons from Angolans in Dundo, just 15 miles south of the Congolese border. The Dundo Museum and the team of local experts like anthropologist Fonseca Sousa provide the essential background knowledge and establish the foundation upon which institutions of knowledge can stand the test of time. In 2015, Congolese millionaire art dealer and businessman Sindika Dokolo, and husband of Isabel dos Santos (daughter of the now-former President Jose Eduardo dos Santos), agreed to use his foundation to find Lunda-Chokwe art stolen from the Dundo Museum during the civil war. Some artwork has been found, but the 7,000 pieces which Diamang company social and natural scientists found under many unjust circumstances to place in the museum may remain lost from Angola forever due to the policies of extraction and disregard for human life, human culture and the perpetuation of existence, as the Northern hemisphere turned its head away from Angola from 1960-2002 as minerals, diamonds, oil, and precious cultural artifacts arrived in the global North. The same could be said of the four centuries of the trans-Atlantic slave trade dominated by the Portuguese, profiting Euro-American interests of white male capitalist patriarchal oppression of the rest of the world.

Understanding the interconnectedness of the Lunda and Chokwe people, who lived among each other exchanging technology and systems of governance, sheds light on the porous nature of political and cultural borders in pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. All the same, art historian Delinda Collier (2012 & 2016) describes the functionality of Dundo Museum in “Accessing the Ancestors: the re-mediation of José Redinha’s Paredes Pintadas da Lunda” as well as in her book Repainting the walls of Lunda: information colonialism and Angolan art. In both texts, Collier notes the significance of *sona* within the *mukanda* male initiation circumcision rites of passage, where one maintains codes of trust, honor and ethics. This system of *sona* was briefly described to me on the ground in Angola; however, I did not see the geolinguistic application of such a term to art in the Lunda Museum until returning to the United States and reading Collier’s book at the library of the Art Institute of Chicago. Essentially, Collier postulates that the forced commissioned murals and art work the Lunda and Chokwe people applied to the walls of Dundo Museum, at the demand of Diamang, places *sona* on the walls of the museum as dead, analog media of the physical world, versus colonial, digital media of the discreet, unseen, secret, and orderly catalogued systems of surveillance. However, the living practice of *sona* drawings in the sand constitutes a geometrical, mathematically complex set of relations containing learned bodies of knowledge held by the elders.

162 https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/10/arts/international/collector-fights-for-african-art.html
Collier notes these *sona* drawings outside of the dead space of Dundo Museum in the living world equate to what Western mathematics refers to as Eulearian paths, Eulerian circuits, with multigraph vertexes. The *akwa kuta sona* who draws these Eulearian paths must do so to perfection, causing Gerhard Kubik to refer to the *sona* as the Chokwe “library”, who makes note of how this intergenerational community of communication and transmission conveys knowledge of existing institutions while sharing endogenous epistemological paradigms related to abstract mathematical and logical thinking and also meditation, according to Collier (2012: 127-128). When considering the similarity in the unilinear *sona* drawings on the sand, I think of their resemblance to *mancala* boards, which serve another complex mathematical function in many sub-Saharan African societies. In 2009, I wrote about the complexities of ethno-mathematics, and technologies of logic and cognition related to numeracy and literacy, inspired by the work of the now late Sir Jack Goody. Concepts of mathematical computation and geometry have never been universal to all cultural groups, such that methods of counting and viewing the scientific world vary from society to society. Taking the *sona* Eulearian paths into account, not simply as artistic designs on the wall of Dundo Museum, one must understand such patterns as ethno-mathematics and systems of logic and abstract theoretical philosophical and intellectual inquiry. Thus, the elimination, or erasure, of such systems of thought without context concludes that *in situ* conceptualizations of indigenous arts, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics must become part of the overall social order of post-colonial educational paradigms that seek to revitalize the minutia of highly detailed intellectual historical processes of daily life. With Diamang reporting capital in the amount of $179,300,000 in capital in 1951, one wonders if we might ever be able to calculate the value of lost, stolen, and erased epistemologies within the cultural cemetery of Dundo Museum, plundered from the *terroir* alongside diamonds. Certainly, the mathematical and artistic reservoirs and funds of knowledge effaced from geolinguistic landscapes may never fully be repatriated to Angola.

Finally, one must consider the purpose of the Muana Puo (Mwana Pwo) mask among the Lunda-Chokwe. In the appendix, I provide a photograph of a Mwana Pwo mask that I purchased in Kinshasa in 2008, at the legal government-authorized art market in the Gombe district, on the Boulevard 30 Juin. The Angolan writer Pepetela composed a compelling novel about the Muana Pwo mask written in Angola in 1969, but published in Lisbon in 1976 and in Luanda in 1978. The years become significant, given the end of the war for independence and the fall of Portuguese colonialism in 1975, but the beginning of the Angolan civil war, vinte-sete de Maio (27th of May 1977). In the novel, set in an imaginary world and country, a group of powerful bats force less powerful ravens to produce honey to feed the more dominant group. The bats forced the ravens to eat their excrement, as a sign of their lower status, until a war develops, where the subordinate ravens seize a holy site controlled by the bats. Soon, a world of equality takes root, and the ravens live in peace. Thereafter, a love story develops between two ravens, of different socio-cultural groups. Their complicated story parallels the Angolan relationship with Portugal, as well as the complex ethnic strife in Angola, which divides ethnic groups. Finally, the functionality of the Mwana Pwo mask, as a balance between women and men, becomes apparent in the disharmonious relations within human societies, or between bats and ravens, and among

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163 Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (DIAMANG) 1952. Relatoria do Conselho de administração e parecer do conselho fiscal relativos ao exercício de 1951, para serem presentes a Assembleia Geral Ordinaria de 30 de Junho de 1952, Lisbon.
ravens themselves, almost harkening back to the Fanonian reference of internal strife after colonialism.

The Mwana Pwo mask (spelled Muana Puo in Portuguese) symbolizes and honors all women as the producers of life. In Chokwe, mwana means child, while pwo translates as a woman who has given birth. In the male initiation ceremonies of the Chokwe, men and young initiates wear the Mwana Pwo mask while performing dances. The purpose of this rite of passage and the action of performance in Chokwe society symbolizes the equality of women and men, if not the superiority of women within the world as the source of all life. This equilibrium within indigenous meaning-making and cosmological expression enters into the realm of ethno-historical praxis for the continuity of human life and the overall social network and system. One may wonder what the theft and presence of countless Mwana Pwo masks signifies for the greater global village of humanity and for the local level of daily life on the ground in Kongo-Ngola for Chokwe people of Zambia, Cokwe of Angola, and Tshokwe of Congo who find themselves without vital pieces of art and of cultural expression for demonstrating and reifying balance, reverence, honorifics, and harmony within the quotidian. I first saw the Mwana Pwo mask at the Art Institute of Chicago, possibly in middle school. The DuSable Museum of African American art has replaced its permanent hall of African art, masks, and jewelry with paintings dating from Reconstruction and the New Negro era. All the same, countless other Mwana Pwo masks can be found at museums in Brussels, Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Detroit, but rarely in Angola and ex-Zaire, where Congolese millionaire and son-in-law of Angolan former President Eduardo dos Santos, Sindika Dokolo, hopes to repatriate art to Dundo Museum. One wonders if the countless Mwana Pwo masks around the world, as well as other Lunda-Chokwe art will ever be repatriated to Dundo Museum and to the Lunda region. Like diamonds and precious minerals, artwork and epistemologies related to Eulerian vertex mathematical philosophies have been extracted from the terroir, cultural soil, and geolinguistic life of Kongo-Ngola.

Repairing the Past in the Present

In November 2017, French President Emmanuel Macron announced, during a speech in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, that he planned to repatriate stolen African art on exhibit and in the archival storehouses in France.¹⁶⁴ In March 2018, the director of the Quai-Branly Jacques Chirac Museum postulated that this single Parisian museum contains 70,000 works of African art, which France should not keep hostage from a continent in need of its own cultural heritage.¹⁶⁵ For my own part, I do not have the power to repatriate hundreds of thousands of pieces of artwork to Africa. However, in my capacity as the resident anthropology and Africana studies professor at Malcolm X College in Chicago, I led a committee that built two history walls in the new college campus. In the process, I too, pride in the fact that my curriculum would appear on the walls for as long as the building should stand for the benefit of the community. In the introduction to this dissertation, I alluded to growing up on the South Side of Chicago, where STEM, literacy, foreign-language, and Black history were part of our daily curriculum at a place called

¹⁶⁵ https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/06/arts/design/france-restitution-african-artifacts.html
Emmanuel Christian School. Sadly, the public and Catholic schools one block from my house offered very little options, where my neighborhood playmates had difficulty reading and completing basic math. At nine years old, when my school took all of us to see Spike Lee’s *Malcolm X*, I asked my teenage neighbor and care-giver to tell me about her college, named for Malcolm X. Just ten years older than me, I looked up to her thinking she could answer every I had about El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, only to learn that there was no Black history curriculum at the College. At a young age, I started to contemplate the challenge of creating the Africana studies program at a college named for Malcolm X, where such courses had been eliminated during the difficulties of the Reagan administration and further defunded during the racially charged Council Wars in Chicago, where white aldermen refused to pass any bill proposed by Mayor Harold Washington, elected to office April 12, 1983. In the years that followed, programs for Black or Latinx Chicagoans suffered. Shiftig to the present, eight years into the job, I feel humbled that I have contributed to maintaining a rich legacy that inspires all who look upon the walls of the lobby, regardless of their major of study.

As a person who enjoys a healthy challenge, I choose to engage in a task because it benefits others and may prove difficult to others. When I find that I have the unique skillset, and when called to help, I do what is required. Therefore, the volunteer work I now do with the Angola Partnership Team (APT) may prove to benefit more than community college students in Chicago. When the civil war in Angola ended in 2002, Congregationalists, now within the United Church of Christ, reestablished links with IECA through a small group of people in the US state of Illinois and in Ontario, Canada, beginning with an exploratory committee. Above, I noted the Congregationalist British Canadian minister John Tucker, who grew up in a liberal working-class region of England, and served as a medical doctor and teacher in Angola. His work angered the Portuguese colonial governor for teaching reading, writing, and all subjects in Umbundu, which led to the establishment of Decree 77. Congregationalists disobeyed this decree, which aimed to deny MT (mother tongue) LoI (language of Instruction). All the same, MT LoI continued at the Protestant missions, but not at the Catholic missions. As a result, Angolans are known for having high levels of proficiency in spoken Portuguese; however, indigenous languages do not have the same status which one finds in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Thus, I noted when I lived in Brazil in 2004, people often asked me if I was Angolan. Strangely, I was preparing for work with IECA without knowing so. The exploratory committee brought together University Church in Hyde Park (Chicago) and Trinity United Church of Christ on the Far South Side, then pastored by Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Wright, Jr. The two congregations became key in the reformation and reestablishment of the international mission in 2003.

Formerly the chairwoman of APT, John Tucker’s granddaughter, Nancy Tucker Reed, maintained links with the country where she and three generations of her family lived as doctors, health care workers, and teachers, especially within Dondi school. Likewise, the Tucker family knew the Coles, McDowells, and other African American missionary families in Angola. APT, through UCC-IL now connects Angola, Canada, the United States. The first major accomplishment occurred in 2004 when Matthew Reed, the great-grandson of John Tucker, went to Lobito to establish the computer training lab at the Canata school. In 2017, there were 236 children enrolled in the Canata primary school, and 209 children completed the school year.
Reed, a UC Berkeley educated computer scientist, chose to go to Lobito on his own and with his own financial backing. The first official Illinois Conference delegation to visit Angola occurred in 2005, when Zuberi Badili, Rev. Jane Fisler-Hoffman, Amy Lahuita, Aris White, and Rev. Mike Solberg flew into Luanda and trekked to Huambo and Benguela. This mission was no safari by any means. In 2007, Donna Dudley began a two-year mission working with IECA’s Department of Social Development (DASEP). In this capacity, Dudley worked closely with Luis Samacumbi, communications director for IECA. Samacumbi also works on local United Nations initiatives in Angola. From my own time in Congo, I know that living two years in a post-conflict country can prove challenging.

The second official Illinois delegation to Angola travelled in 2009, with Angela Arnold, Matthew Reed, Nancy Tucker Reed, and Rev. Tom Norwalk visiting Dondi, Lobito, and Elende. This same year, Rev. Mike Solberg swam the English Channel to raise funds for the construction of the Waku Kungo school. The school opened in 2010. Second Congregational Church of Rockford provided funds for a well that same year. In 2013 and 2015, delegations from Angola came to Illinois to visit local churches, and to take part in the United Church of Christ General Synod. The 2015 delegation included IECA Secretary General Rev. André Cangovi Eurico and Rev. Azevedo Bongo Gueve, Rev. Adelaide Catanha, and Luis Samacumbi. The delegation from Angola established connections with Advocate Christ Hospital in Oak Lawn, Illinois, which is owned and operated by the United Church of Christ. The delegation also visited Chicago Theological Seminary (CTS) in Hyde Park, on the campus of University of Chicago. The United Church of Christ owns and operates this seminary, which is separate from the University of Chicago. The partnership assists Luis Samacumbi with an online graduate degree program at CTS, which he pursues in addition to his duties with the United Nations in Angola, on top of his work for IECA as director of communications.

In October 2015, a third delegation of African Americans and white Americans from Illinois went to Angola at the invitation of IECA to celebrate the 135th anniversary of the church founded by Hampton alumnus Samuel Taylor Miller, William Bagster, and linguist William Henry Sanders, whose English-Umbundu dictionary remains the standard since publication in 1885. The 2015 delegation of Illinoisans visiting Angola included three African American ministers and one white American, consisting of two women and two men: Rev. Melbalenia Evans, Rev. Vertie Powers, Rev. Keith Scott, and Rev. Mike Solberg. Here, we see the global efforts of the progressive United Church of Christ, stemming from the Separatists and the Independents of seventeenth century England, becoming an abolitionist church in the Americas and in Angola, and today maintaining anti-sexist and anti-racist perseverance as border crossers. Moving forward, APT supports IECA with the construction of Dondi University, having hosted Angolan professors in training in Illinois. The transitional presidential government in Angola in 2017 has led to a restructuring of the national ministries of education and higher education, such that Dondi University could not open in March 2018 as scheduled. Also, two celebrations have been

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167 http://www.globalministries.org/africa_projects_waku_kungo_water_project
planned at Galangue for 2018 and 2023 to mark the 100th anniversary. The civil war devastated both Galangue and Dondi, therefore, much work will be needed to rebuild.

For my part, I hope to help as a linguist, cultural anthropologist, and historian. Similarities (cultural and socio-economic) exist within Congo-Angola and Chicago-Mississippi. Thus, I imagine future work in development in Africa and its Diaspora, which will have lasting impacts. Reflecting on ULAN in Dundo, Saurimo, and Malanje, as state funded universities, I plan to merge models from the state with private funds that protect the spirit and purpose of IECA at Dondi, Galangue, and Huambo where medical centers, primary schools, and universities have been created and will be expanded or reestablished on grounds where they once stood, at the request of the local chiefs and kings wishing to have their children educated, hoping to end Portuguese slavery, and seeking to eradicate locusts and other issues impacting agricultural production. I must admit that prior to my short visit to Angola with APT and IECA, I still questioned the role of missionaries in Africa. Overall, one must read multiple accounts of multiple historical groups in multiple locations to reassemble a complete perspective. Certainly, the abolitionist roots of IECA a decade before the Conference of Berlin impacts the spirit of the partnership today. The work of local and global development will never be easy, and it will always require combining partners in powerful and powerlessly marginalized spaces, working in multiple directions to willingly give of themselves for others.

Overall, this chapter aimed to present post-conflict educational and medical development, religion, and literacy as combined issues within the global domain of power + knowledge construction and perpetuation. As noted, a larger project could include comparative religious studies and comparative languages within those belief systems. Likewise, greater projects could analyze how Euro-American missionaries altered indigenous languages while attempting to preserve them. The Catholic-state funded and supported missions and schools in Congo and Angola differed from the Protestant North American and even Swiss translators mentioned. Overall, however, decolonizing science and democratizing knowledge becomes an ultimate goal within this ethno-historical anthropological linguistic analysis.

From the Umbundu word *Huvange* (big brother), one may question how such parlance entered into the consciousness and idea of Jesus today within the United Church of Christ. Certainly, pieces of Africa have returned to the Americas with the Black American missionaries who returned to their ancestral homeland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, only to return to the United States. One wonders if Guinness’ Michael Power has much to teach us on beer consumption, connections to one another through blood and other social networks, and concerning educational pursuits where multiple literacies in mathematics, texts, and geospatial knowledge bring about a connection to ubuntu, muntu, or other interconnected ontological underpinnings and epistemologies essential to being in harmony as a creature within Creation and the greater Universe. Of course, linguistic capacities exist for expressing vast intersecting angles of reality, drawn in the sands of time, painted on the walls of museums and colleges, and written in the texts of books.
Conclusion

Considering beer, one unearths bones and fossil remains, excavating ancient sites, and uncovering the chemical processes of medicinal antibiotic brews from times past in Nubian epistemologies. Of course, the loss of indigenous local drinks in era of colonial expansion reflects the purpose of exposing native populations to Western alcohol to control land resources, coupled with restricting their actions to labor tied to paying taxes and buying more potent potables to ease the pain of oppression and exploitation. Yvonne Chaka Chaka reminds South Africans of the not-so-distant past, where one could find the traditional ways of life linked kinship, agricultural production of the surplus grain from the soil, but within the devastating present of dually operating colonial systems of domination. Congolese soukous music videos produce another level of complicated realities in Africa, such that Heineken controls the flow of beer moving into conflict zones, and pays the salaries of the musicians dancing for beer. ABInBev holds a large stake in Congolese and global beverage markets, as well.

Thus, these problems are not simply true only for Congo-Angola, but also for the world. All the same, the indigenous beers and beverages consumed in Kongo-Ngola and elsewhere appear to fade with time in favor of mass produced drinks, giving populations less attachment to the means of production and to methods of consumption. With respect to the question of linguistics, the languages of music video advertisements shift the production of knowledge for the sake of improving the quality of life towards using words to make money. Similarly, the world of beer gives one the impression of freedom and control over one’s world, like Michael Powers of Guinness, who remains a deracinated, unattached, linguistically and culturally unfixed but effectively Anglophone while culturally Western and African. Again, these ambiguities serve the marketplace more than the collective elevation of the masses.

For blood, we see complex kinship obligations, as well as the relationship between Lueji and her brothers. How can sons beat and murder their father for not sharing palm wine? However, this crime banishes them from Musuumb, and makes Lueji a Nkonde queen of the Lunda empire that she expands. Her womb, or that of her cousin/sister Lukonkesha, falls in line with rules of uterine kinship, such that the Luba prince Lueji marries will produce a child with her blood, and the throne and royal bracelet will remain Lunda. The Lunda, Luba, and Chokwe people live in Kasai, and intermarry; yet, colonial borders determine who is Angolan and who is Congolese or Zambian. For the Kasai women protected by friends and in UN camps, countless others have fled Congo for Angola and Zambia in 2017 and 2018. One cannot write about colonial histories as though African politics existed outside of ethnic geographies of indigenous governance. This anti-local perspective removes all agency from local practices and customs of endogenous kinship practices. However, as time progresses, and as the Congolese state divides and dissects its own provinces for greater control in Kinshasa’s central government, weakening local regional governance tied to ethno-histories will produce a suicidal self-imposed colonial amnesia, such
that Fanon’s predictions become true as Europeans leave psychologically programmed colonized subjects working for the benefit of colonial institutions to efface self.

With Bible, the chapter addressed geolinguistics and lexicography in detail, connected with the work of missionaries on the ground in Congo-Angola. Once upon a time, I questioned the work of missionaries in Africa, even while living in Congo. I could not fully embrace, nor fully deny the positive and negative aspects of the missionary agenda. I came to see the need of life-saving medicine, aircraft carriers filled with supplies to distant villages, and the sacrifice of Euro-American social death when vanishing into the sunset towards a foreign land; yet, I still pondered the motive, as many people might question the same of me with respect to Africa as an African American. For actual missionaries in Congo-Angola, who were of African American origins, the complexities of being Black but Euro-American in Africa produces a complexity of realities concerning the privileged subordinate. The realm of the sub-altern, lowered but elevated, between the colonial master and colonial subject, places the Black missionary in a silenced state, where one may speak, but the words must reflect Euro-American agendas, even when such thoughts may not be at the heart of the missionary agent. Perhaps, the greater ideological discourse of improving the lot of the impoverished native reifies perceived differences and similarities between Black colonial missionaries and marginalized African colonial bodies. The purpose in using language within this analysis serves to establish the depths of philosophical thought within greater context of Africanity, as well as struggles for liberation. The freedom of African people comes with the actualization and implementation of universal humanistic principles and rights for all. As such, one cannot deny the humanity of a person simply because they live in an area saturated with mineral wealth, or sharing kinship with enslaved Africans. Therefore, truly respecting all as sisters and brothers within the collective family of a Huvange (older brother) yields respect for all children of the same Spirit of Creation.

During Super Bowl 2018, an advertisement for an American pickup truck featured the well-known voice of an iconic figure. The commercial reduced Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. to short samples, excerpts, and soundbites from his thirty-nine-minute sermon *The Drum Major Instinct*. Sadly, it appears as though the children of Dr. King have no say in how their father’s voice and image might be used in selling a Dodge pickup truck, with lawyer Eric D. Tidwell wielding such powers over the estate. Much like the beer and soda advertisements in Africa mentioned in Chapter Two, the language and rhetorical style used to sale a motor vehicle takes the words of the prophetic preacher out of context for profit, hoping to convey that one does not need an education in books and letters to be a drum major, or to purchase their truck; however, the purpose and mission of the sermon has been erased within the capitalist urge to gain the minds and money of the consumer. On February 4, 2018, one could hear Dr. King speak, as though we were not commemorating *Maafa*, and the tragedies and triumphs of African descended people around the world, impacted by economic exploitation, slavery, and financial

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erasure and cultural exclusion. The advertising company chose to use the words Dr. King delivered February 4, 1968, as if to water-down fifty years since and five hundred years preceding the sermon.

In the full sermon, the Morehouse sociologist and theologian moves into Freudian debates of the dominant instincts of the ego, innately carrying the drum major instinct, wanting to be praised and the center of attention. Further along, Dr. King notes the faults of churches, organizations, and social groups that discriminate based on the wealth and professional titles of members, where everyone should be equal before God. King asserts the problems of being taken by the advertisement industry, mockingly saying:

In order to be a man of distinction, you must drink this whiskey. In order to make your neighbors envious, you must drive this type of car. (Make it plain) In order to be lovely to love you must wear this kind of lipstick or this kind of perfume. And you know, before you know it, you're just buying that stuff. (Yes) That's the way the advertisers do it.

Later in the sermon, Dr. King postulates very clearly how income to purchase ratios must relate to home purchases and automobile purchases if we are to remain afloat. Otherwise we live beyond our means, keeping up with the Joneses. Of the drum major instinct, King affirms:

You've seen people riding around in Cadillacs and Chryslers who don't earn enough to have a good T-Model Ford. (Make it plain) But it feeds a repressed ego.

And I got to drive this car because it's something about this car that makes my car a little better than my neighbor's car. (Amen)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. takes the time in this sermon to underscore the perils of whiteness, referencing his interactions with white jailers who locked him away. In these conversations, King asks how much money they earn, only to find out police officers are equally underpaid as African Americans. Thus, white police officers have every reason to march with Negroes and the oppressed in the 1960s. The same can be said of #Black Lives Matter today, where police officers in the early twenty-first century suffer among the 99% only to protect the status quo and

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170 http://www.ucc.org/the_drum_major_instinct
171 http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_the_drum_major_instinct/
the wealth that uphold and maintain the 1%. Towards the end of his sermon, King refers back to his scripture (Mark 10: 35-45), where James and John ask Jesus if they can sit on his right and left side, and be first among many. In order to be first, one must be a servant. In order to be a leader, one must be a servant-leader. King concludes his sermon by noting that Christ urged James and John to be first in moral excellence, service, and love by earning their true greatness by fitness and dedication by hard work towards others. King notes “everybody can be great because everybody can serve.”

The sermon goes on to describe the civil disobedience of Jesus Christ, which is the same story that would give Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Steve Biko power to press forward. There are so many great people in this world doing extraordinary things, and we may never know their names. Laura Nader urges her students to “Study Up” as well as know what occurs on the ground and below the surface. We must become contrarian, never following the status quo, but engaging in research that peers into the unexplored and underexamined, in order to correct misguided assumptions. In so doing, we connect dots, spaces, and places otherwise seen as unvoiced and rendered mute by colonial silences— the hegemonic forces of power that dominate this world. Entering boardrooms, elite spaces, and areas where dynamic decision-making occurs allows the anthropologist to justify the proper balance between the rights of the masses and means by which proper reform and change should occur. Locating the intersecting dynamics of power and applying the proper usage and distribution of one’s position comes with great skill. Translating the multiple layers of epistemologies and paradigms of inclusion and destruction require a keen eye, ear, and heart. Quantifying the interplay of gender, kinship, economics, and STEM with business marketing suggests a series of complexities. Fusing geosciences, linguistics, history, anthropology, and an array of natural and social sciences portrays a story of holism necessary for dynamic action.

This journey has been life-altering. All the same, as I route my roots in this ethnography, post-conflict development education, political history and sustainable agriculture become more vital. Moreover, the roots of language allow me to navigate these spaces as insider/outsider within Africana Anthropology. Thinking back, I needed to see the contrasting worlds of real life on the South Side of Chicago in order to journey to various places in Congo-Angola where this work became possible. This text sheds light on an endless continuum of schemata from which to tap into for dynamic work into the future. For Africana Anthropology connects the world for the purpose of peace for all.
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Appendix

Chokwe Mwana Pwo (Muana Puo) Mask from Lunda Region of *Kongo-Ngola* (Congo-Angola)