Towards identifying Bantu Zone H features in Santome

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1 Historical linguistics: preliminaries

1.1 How to explain shared linguistic features
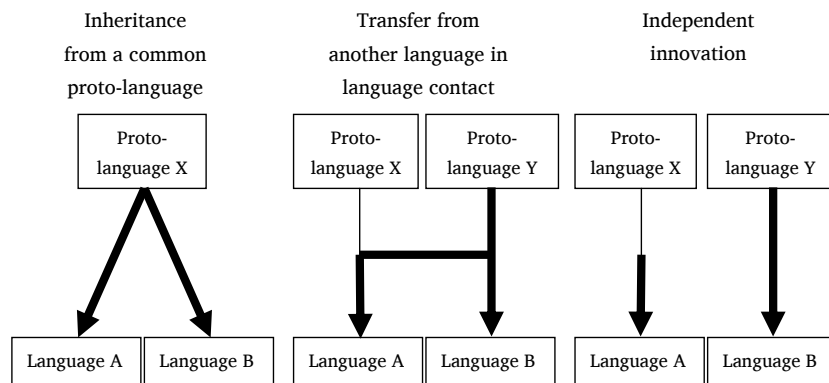

Figure 1: Three scenarios as to how two languages come to share a linguistic feature

1.2 "Individual-identifying" evidence (Nichols 1996)

+ diagnostic "individual-identifying" evidence in historical linguistics excludes coincidence and universal trends = linguistic feature (set) whose:

"probability of multiple independent occurrence among the world's languages is so low that for practical purposes it can be regarded as unique and individual."

(1)   Indo-European: *widh(e)w(a) 'widow'
- with four consonant-like segments
- assume 20 consonant phonemes > probability of any C in any position is 1 in 20

w   0,05
y   0,05
dh   0,05
w   0,05

> 0,05 x 0,05 x 0,05 x 0,05 = 0,000 006 25
> 6 independent cases (= languages) in a million

(2)   Germanic: good~bett-er (En.), gut~bess-er (Ge.), goed~bet-er (Af.) > *gVt~*bVt-
- assume 20 consonant phonemes > 0,05
- assume 5 vowel phonemes > 0,2
> 0,05 x 0,2 x 0,05 = 0,0005 for one stem = 5 cases in 10000 with one of the two stems
- both stems
- chance that either stem falls into one of the two categories > 0,5
> [0,05 x 0,2 x 0,05 (for gVt)] x [0,05 x 0,2 x 0,05 for bVt] x 0,5 = 0,000 000 125
> 1 independent case in 10 million

1.3 Creoles and historical linguistics

+ creole linguistics in the past created a range of "extreme" theories to explain why the languages are the way they are: "monogenesis", "bioprogram", "creole proto-type", ...
+ explanations referring to "superstrate" and "substrate" fare relatively well if they are not historically ad hoc/arbitrary
> e.g., "cafetaria principle" (Dillard 1970, Bickerton 1981) in "substrate" explanations is confronted with the problem of actuation-propagation of a feature in the speech community (cf. Thai where the king decreed not to use the numeral classifier *tua* for elephant and horse in the royal register (Aikhenvald 2000: 349))
+ creoles are particularly suitable for historical-comparative work, because they:
    - display synchronically diverse data to be evaluated historically
    - can form language families after "speciation" of proto-language with subsequent
        - divergence   > phylogenetic family tree   and
        - convergence > contact-induced isoglosses
    - display historical data before "speciation" regarding population sources, their
        timing, and demographic importance, which is unavailable in canonical
        language families
+ assumed simplified model for Gulf-of-Guinea creoles~Santome (cf. Hagemeijer 2011):
(I)   Portuguese "superstrate" + Niger-Delta "substrate" > proto-creole
(II)   Later contacts: Kongo, Kimbundu, (Standard Portuguese, ?Caboverdiano)
+ hypothesis for Bantu~Kongo influence on Santome needs to be plausible compared to:
    - coincidence
    - universal trends
    - Portuguese "superstrate"
    - Niger-Delta "substrate"
    - other contact languages
> problematic distinction between influence during "speciation" and later contact because
    of short time between foundation of proto-creole and new African contact influence
> includes possibility of "multiple causation"

2 Bantu influence in Santome according to Ferraz (1979)

+ general tendency to favor Bantu H~Kongo influence over Niger delta~Edoid influence

+ recurrent use of African data which is geographically and demographically unlikely as a source for Santome features

2.1 "Phonology"

2.1.1 Features ascribed to Bantu~Kongo influence

P(a) "Palatalization" (F22-4, 41-3, 51-3, 54-5, 110-1)

+ Santome with partly complementary distribution of alveolar and palatal consonants:

/t, d, s, z/   vs.   /c, j, š, ž/ #_/i, ĩ, y/

+ Southern Kongo: [t, s, z] are in full complementary distribution with [tʃ, ʃ, ʒ]
representing just three phonemes, as obstruent alveolars are palatalized before a high front
vowel: [+alveolar, −sonorant] > [+palatal] #_[+high, −back]

+ Edoid languages don't show this situation (Elugbe 1986)

P(d) "Lambdacism" (F36-7, 112)

+ Santome: single liquid consonant /l/

+ Kongo: only one liquid, usually /l/, with allophones (Lumwamu 1973: 37-9, 42-3)

+ Edoid: at least two, sometimes even more than two liquid phonemes (Elugbe 1986: 32ff)

2.1.2 Features ascribed to both Bantu~Kongo and Niger Delta influence

P(b) "Vowel harmony" (F43-6, 49-51, 55, 111)

+ Santome: vowel harmony "in the properties frontness, height, etc." (Ferraz 1979: 111)

(3)   i   u
       e   o
       ɛ   ɔ
              a

+ Bantu: height harmony (Hyman 1999, 2003: 46-7; Maddieson 2003: 15-23)

+ Edoid: (advanced) tongue-root harmony (Elugbe 1986: 41-2, 47-8)

> major question: What is the nature of the vowel system and its harmony in Santome?

P(c) "Syllable structure" (F46-9, 55, 111-2)

+ Santome: majority of CV, some CVV, few complex syllable onsets /Cl/, /SC/

+ CV, CVCV, CVV in both Edo and Bantu

> indeterminate with respect to specific source, but investigate status of complex onsets

2.2 "Grammar"

2.2.1 Features ascribed to Bantu~Kongo influence

G(b) "Compounding of sentences" (F79-80, 112-3)

+ Santome: sentence coordination with overt conjunction 'and', possible deletion of subject
in equi-subject contexts

(4)   *e   bɛ   e   bila   kontlɛ*
       3S   go   3S   do.again   find:3S
       he went and found it again (Ferraz 1979: 79)

(5)   *e   pasa   Ø   škiva*
       3S   pass   dodge
       he went past and doged (Ferraz 1979: 80)

+ compared to Kongo structures with sequential auxiliary

(6)   *bele   kuna   ezandu   baza   nikuna   nkindu*
       2:go:PFV   to   market   2:SEQ:do.then   start   ?row
       they went to the market and stirred up a row (Bentley 1895: 984)

> universal trend for possible asyndetic coordination as in (4), even Portuguese

> construction in (5) far more similar to sequential verb serialization as in Edoid

> Kongo structure in (6) is not asyndetic and comparable to either (4) or (5)!: auxiliary *za*
'do then, proceed' (?< Proto-Bantu 'come') is dedicated to encoding 'and then', is itself
marked as sequential, and indexes the first subject

G(c) "Emphatic pronoun" (F63-4, 67, 113)

+ Santome:

(7)   *ami   n-ga   bɛ*
       1S.EMPH   1S-IPFV   go
       as for me, I am going (Ferraz 1979: 113)

+ associated with Kongo constructions involving an oblique pronoun in addition to verbal
cross-reference, either between independent subject pronoun and verb or alone after verb

(8)a. *mono   kwame   n-sumb-idi   yo*
       1S.PRO   OBL:**1S**   **1S**-buy-PFV   4DEM
       I bought them

   b. *bele   kwau*
       2:go:PFV   OBL:2
       they have gone (Bentley 1887: 579)

> structural (cf. two preverbal pronouns in Kongo) and functional parallels far from clear; but cf. §3.2 below

> universal trend of topicalization by means of emphatic pronoun?

G(f) "Disjunctive pronoun in a preposition phrase" (F71-2, 114)

+ Santome: resumptive pronouns with prepositions in oblique relative clauses

(9) kɛ   mũ   ku   n-ga   vive   **ne**
     home   1S.OBL   REL   1S-IPFV   live   LOC:3S
     the house I am in (Ferraz 1979: 71)

(10) kwa   ku   a   ka   fɔla kasõ de   **kwe**
     things REL   IP   IPFV line coffin 3S.OBL   INSTR:2S
     the things they lined his coffin with (Ferraz 1979: 72)

+ ascribed to Bantu influence, based on examples in Zone S~Zulu (Ferraz 1979: 114)
> available Kongo data don't show this resumptive strategy (Laman 1912: 144-7, Lumwamu 1973: 176-8)

(11) tadi   di-bwidi   mu-ndele   ...
     5.stone 5-fall:PFV   1-whiteman
     the stone over which the white man tripped, ...(Laman 1912: 145)

(12) mbuka yi   tu-dí:lá   mínsie   ni   yá:yi
     9.place 9REL   1P-eat:?APPL   sugar.cane   ID   9DEM
     c'est ici que nous allons manger nos cannes à sucre (Lumwamu 1973: 177)

G(g) "Negation" (F114)

+ Santome: double negation with postverbal/clause-final particle
> likely Kongo influence according to Güldemann and Hagemeijer (2006)

G(h) "Form and semantics of some verb particles" (F88, 114)

+ Santome: predicate possession rendered by te 'have' or sa ku 'be with', ascribed to Kongo
> universal trend, even possible in Portuguese!

Nominal plural marking with nẽ (F60-1)

+ Santome: optional prenominal use of 3rd person plural pronoun nẽ to encode plural

(13) nẽ   mwala
     3P   woman
     the women (Ferraz 1979: 61)

+ ascribed to Bantu, based on emphatic prenominal plural pronoun in Zone S~Tsonga

> no obvious parallel in Bantu H, plural marking already by means of noun class prefixes
> plural words and clitics are attested in languages of the Gulf-of-Guinea coast belt (Dryer 2005) and are recurrently derived from 3rd person plural pronouns, nẽ itself with Edoid source > ?better parallel (cf. other cases in Atlantic creoles in Map 1)

Map 1: Nominal plural word and 3rd person plural pronoun (APICS)

Feature 25 – Nominal Plural Marker and 3rd Person Plural Pronoun
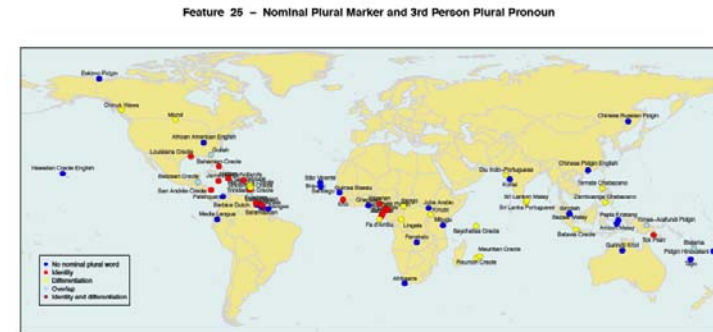
2.2.2 Features ascribed to both Bantu~Kongo and Niger Delta influence

G(a) "Ideophones" (F75-8, 112)

+ Santome: ideophones in construction with other parts of speech like verbs/predicates, adjectives, and nouns intensifying their meaning; or as stand-alone utterance in reply to greetings
+ acribed to both Bantu and Niger Delta languages
> more fine-grained analysis in all languages and comparison; for example, with respect to the prototypical constructional use of ideophones ~ lexical intensifier vs. stand-alone predicate (cf. Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz eds., 2001; Güldemann 2008; Dingemanse 2011)

3 Summary

3.1 Specific Kongo influence so far

3.1.1 Good candidates

- palatalization
- single liquid /l/
- final (double) negation

3.1.2 Indeterminate with respect to Edoid~Niger Delta languages

- vowel harmony
- syllable structure
- ideophones

> cf. "multiple causation" in historical linguistics!!!

3.1.3 Doubtful or even unlikely

- clause coordination
- emphatic 1st person singular *ami*
- resumptive oblique in relatives
- 'be with' instead of 'have'
- nominal plural marking by means of 3rd plural *nẽ*

3.2 Additional candidate features

1st-person singular bound pronoun (F62-3)

+ Santome: free allomorphy of 1st-person singular subject pronoun between homorganic nasal /N/ and high front nasalized vowel /ĩ/

(14)a. *ĩ-kɔpla*

   b. *n-kɔpla*   [ŋkɔpla]

    1S-buy

    I bought (Ferraz 1979: 21)

+ Kongo: grammatically conditioned allomorphy between homorganic nasal /N/ and high front vowel /i/, e.g., in Mbeko (Eastern Kongo)

(15)a. *i-ta-móna*   *ngóma*

    1S-PRS.PROG-see   drum

    I am playing [sic, ?seeing] the drum

   b. *n-gond-edí*   *ki-mbóko*

    1S-kill-PFV   7-antilope

    I have killed the antilope (Bostoen 2012: 2)

+ archaic alternative to bound subject pronoun /N/~/ĩ/: independent *ami* before verb (Ferraz 1979: 64) ~ similar to predicate structure in Edoid

> possible indication that bound form is innovative under Kongo influence

Focus-sensitive repetition of subject pronoun (F70-1)

+ Santome: marked genitive~"oblique" pronoun referring to subject placed in non-initial position after verb or auxiliary - function unclear but likely related to information structure

(16) *n-sa*   **mu**   *mɛza tasondu ka kumɛ* **mu**   *za*

    1S-PROG   1S.OBL   table   seated   IPFV eat   1S.OBL   already

    I am sitting at the table (of my own volition), already eating (of my own volition)

(17) *e*   *tasõ*   **de**

    3S   sit.down   3S.OBL

    he sat down of his own accord

(18) *e*   *kontinwa*   *ka*   *kanta*   **de**

    3S   continue   IPFV   sing   3S.OBL

    he continued singing of his own volition (i.e. despite having been told not to)

(19) *sū*   *sɔ*   *ka*   *šye*   **sū**

    2P.M   only   IPFV   leave   2P.M

    it is you who will leave

(20) *manda* *zõ* *be* **de**

    send   PN   go   3S.OBL

    send John away   (Ferraz 1979: 71)

+ Kongo: oblique pronoun after verb or initial independent subject pronoun sensitive to information structure (cf. "Emphatic pronoun" in §2.2.1)

(21) *menó*   **kwá:-ni**   *n-tè:lé*   *bó:*

    1S   OBL-1S   1S-say:PFV   thus

    c'est moi (en personne) qui ai dit cela (Lumwamu 1973: 126)

(22) (*menó*) *nžye:lé*   **kwá:-ni**

    1S   1S:go:PFV   OBL-1S

    quant à moi, je m'en vais (Lumwamu 1973: 127)

Reduplication (F58-60)

+ Santome: frequent reduplication with various functions

+ ascribed to the nature of Santome as a creole (Ferraz 1979: 108)

> need for fine-grained analysis with respect to different characteristics like targeted word category, reduplication type (full, partial, etc.) and function (intensification, repetition, distributive, ...); and comparison with patterns in Bantu and Edoid (cf. Schmorrte 2010)

Vowel elision and coalescence at word boundary (F28-9, 53)

+ Santome, as well as Bantu (cf. Hyman 2003: 48-9) and Niger Delta show such processes

> need of exact identification of processes and detailed comparison

More detailed description of Gulf-of-Guinea creoles!

More precise analysis of African contact languages!

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Abbreviations

APPL Applicative, EMPH Emphatic, INSTR Instrumental, IP Impersonal, IPFV Imperfective, LOC Locative, M Masculine, OBL Oblique, P Plural, PFV Perfective, PN Proper name, PRO Pronoun, PROG Progressive, REL Relative, S Singular, SEQ Sequential