

Areal typology in Africa and its significance for the history of Afro-European creoles

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1 Introduction: The history of pidgin and creole languages and the APiCS

+ major preoccupation of creole linguistics: explaining why creoles are the way they are
> almost to the detriment of answering other equally interesting questions, or even simply documenting them (cf. APiCS vs. WALS)

+ APiCS provides data to better assess history of the languages just like the history of any other language

> first step: identify first their synchronic differences and similarities

> second step: determine the best explanation for why certain languages share certain features
> historical vs. non-historical (e.g., “universals”)

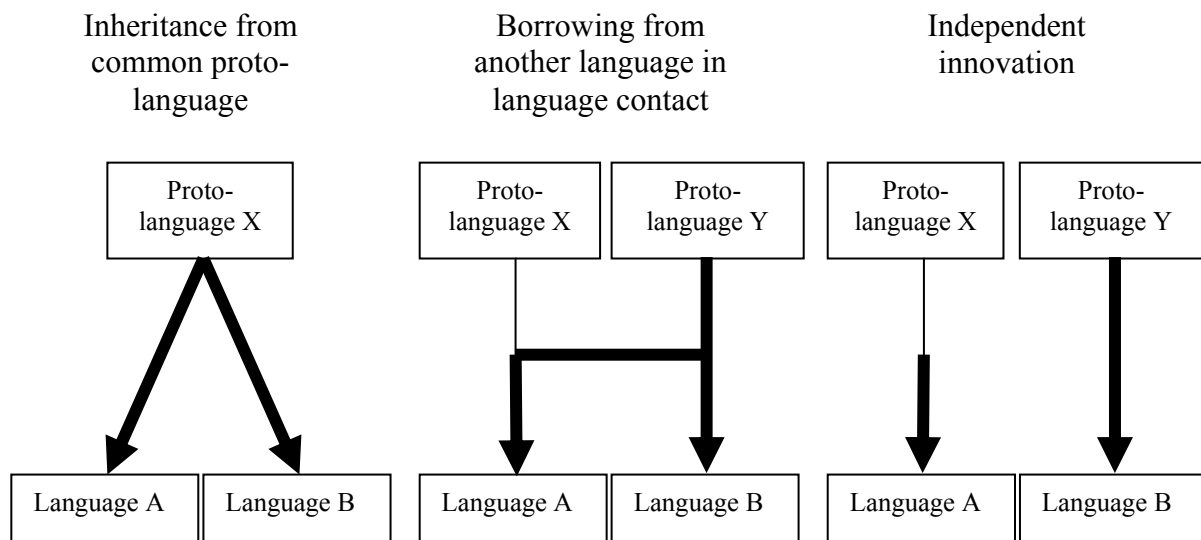


Figure 1: Three historical scenarios for explaining shared features between languages

+ different types of grouping creole languages on different levels of abstraction:

- “creole proto-type”: Bickerton’s (1981) “bioprogram”, McWhorter (2005)
- creole language groups with some common sociohistory, e.g., as the result of European sea-faring expansion (< “monogenesis”), trade languages, plantation creoles etc.
- creole lexifier-related groups: English-based, Arabic-based, Malay-based, etc.
- creole areal groups (determined largely by indigenous contact languages):
 - > **African-influenced** vs. Asian-influenced
 - > **Atlantic African** (cf. Muysken’s (2007) “Atlantic” linguistic area) vs. Indic African
 - > **African** vs. Caribbean

...

> true language families: **Gulf-of-Guinea creoles**

> individual languages: Santome vs. Principense vs. Angolar vs. Fa d’Ambô

> **lower levels most accessible to/?most interesting for a historical linguist**

- + APiCS as an important step forward: “extremist” theories empirically testable and falsified
- > creole languages differ markedly from each other in spite of possibly:
 - comparable sociohistory > extreme universalist untenable
 - identical lexifier language > extreme superstratist untenable
 - similar substrate languages > extreme substratist untenable (cf. Hatian vs. Saram.)
- ...

- + nevertheless, creoles do pattern into more coherent groups according to geographical areas (e.g., contrast between European-lexified creoles in Atlantic and Indic, etc.)
- > substrate as best explanation for areal patterns - fares overall better than other explanations

- + in line with earlier research (e.g., Boretzky 1983, Mufwene (ed.) 1993, Migge (ed.) 2007)
- > areal typology in Africa as a possible tool for a more refined approach - differential substrate analysis instead of “cafeteria principle” (Dillard 1970, Bickerton 1981)

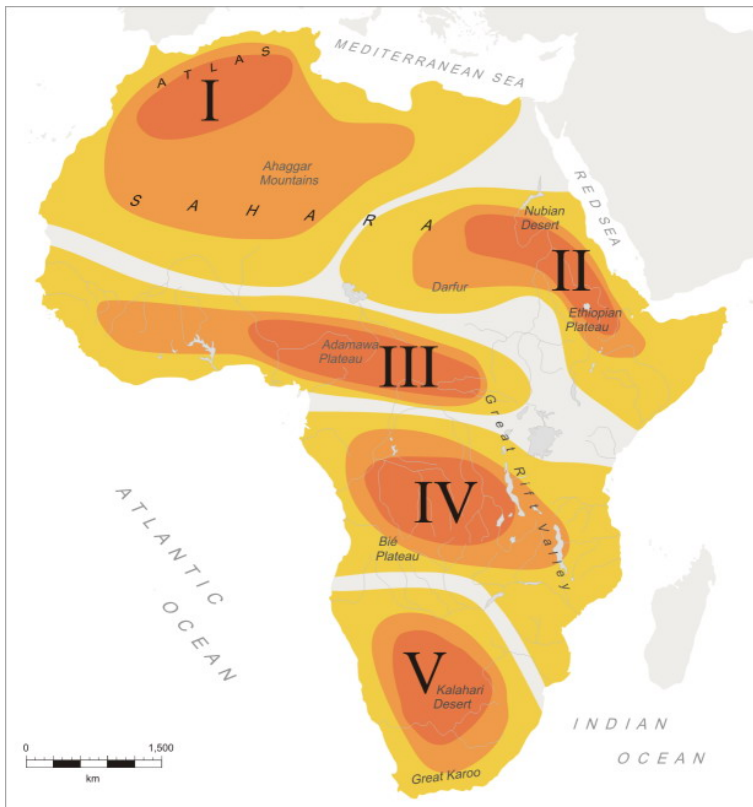
2 Recent advances in macro-areal typology in Africa

1.1 Introduction

- + linguistic area:
 - wide sense = distribution of features according to a "compact" geographical entity
 - > independent of historical explanation
 - narrow sense = distribution of features according to a "compact" geographical entity, which is not well explained by genealogical inheritance > "contact area"
- + pan-African survey of diagnostic linguistic features for the identification of large geographical areas with some type of linguistic commonality
 - (a) restricted geographical scope (except Greenberg 1959, 1983; Heine 1975, 1976)
 - (b) between languages unrelated according to Greenberg's (1963) lumping classification
- + types of areas:
 - (1) genealogically and typologically homogeneous areas > (recent) spread zones
 - (2) large-scale clustering of diagnostic isoglosses whose geographical distributions do not correlate with distributions of genealogical language groups
- + different types of areal isoglosses (importance in the order of appearance):
 - (1) "cross-linguistic quirks" (Gensler 2003), e.g. clicks
 - (2) "continental diagnostics" (typologically unremarkable, but areal), e.g. word order
 - (3) subareal features (can, but must not be quirky)
- + identified features surveyed across all sufficiently known lineages
 - > according to secure families, not Greenberg's (1963) "supergroups" like Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Kordofanian - large contact area is alternative to unproven genealogical entity

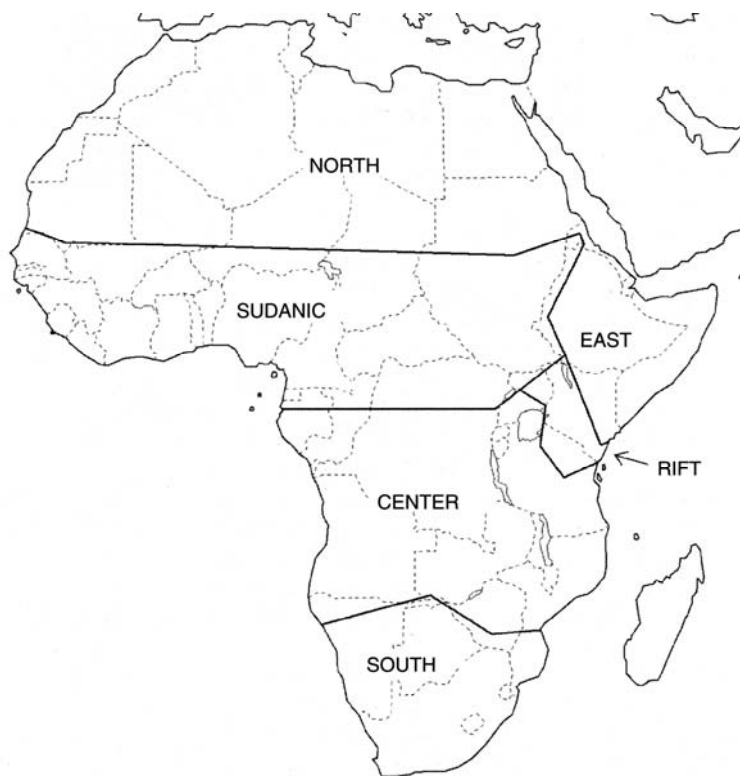
1.2 The macro-areal profile of Africa

- + proposed macro-areas (Güldemann 1998, 2003, 2005, 2008, forthcoming) > **Map 1**
 - (I) Sahara spread zone - as genealogical offshoot of (II)
 - (II) Chad-Ethiopia
 - (III) Macro-Sudan belt
 - (IV) Bantu spread zone - as genealogical offshoot of (III)
 - (V) Kalahari Basin
- > one larger area unaccounted for: southern Sudan, Uganda, Kenia, northern Tanzania



Map 1: Linguistic macro-areas in Africa before recent large-scale colonizations

+ largely comparable results by Clements and Rialland (2008) based exclusively on phonological features – differences not relevant for the present topic > **Map 2**



Map 2: Six phonological zones in Africa (Clements and Rialland 2008: 37)

> the following creole-related discussion largely restricted to potentially relevant African contact languages > Macro-Sudan belt and Bantu spread zone

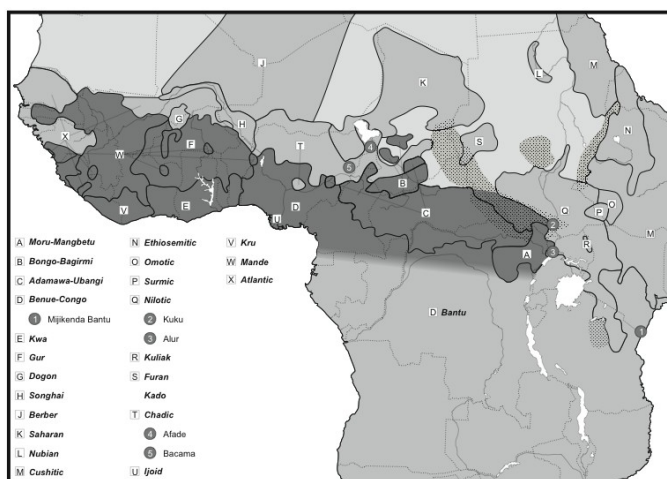
1.3 The Macro-Sudan belt

(= Greenberg's (1959, 1983) "African core area", see Güldemann 2008)
 - genealogical composition > **Table 1**

Family	Stock	Greenberg's Supergroup
CORE		
Mande	-	NK
Kru	Niger-Congo	NK
Gur	Niger-Congo	NK
Kwa	Niger-Congo	NK
Benue-Congo (except Narrow Bantu)	Niger-Congo	NK
Adamawa-Ubangi	Niger-Congo	NK
Bongo-Bagirmi	Central Sudanic	NS
Moru-Mangbetu	Central Sudanic	NS
PERIPHERY		
Atlantic	(Niger-Congo)	NK
Dogon	-	NK
Songhai	-	NS
Chadic	Afroasiatic	
Ijoid	-	NK
Narrow Bantu (Benue-Congo)	Niger-Congo	NK
Nilotic	East Sudanic	NS

Table 1: Families partaking in the Macro-Sudan belt

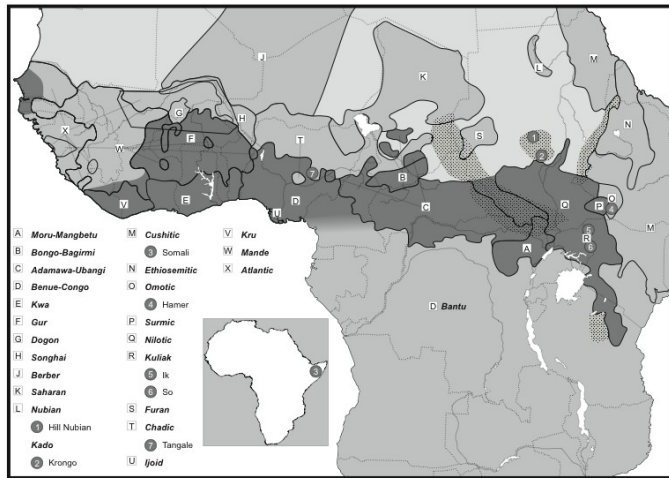
- implosive consonants (Maddieson 2005a)
- labial-velar consonants (Maddieson 2005c) > **Map 3**



Map 3: Labial-velar consonants in Africa

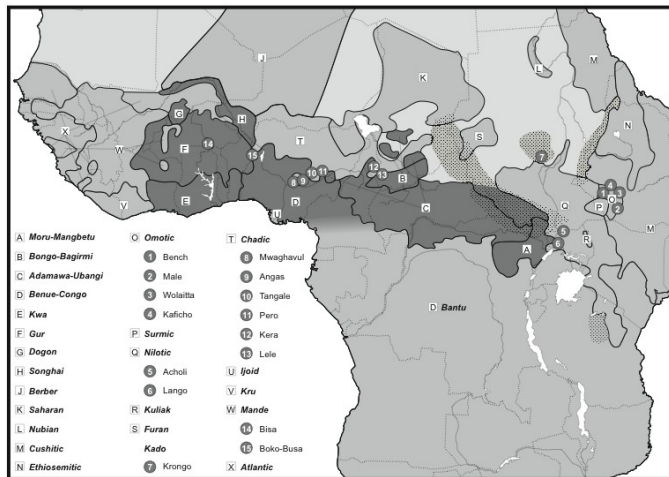
- labial flap consonants, sub-areal feature in the east (Olson and Hajek 2003)
- three and more level tones (Clements and Rialland 2008, Maddieson 2005d)

- vowel nasalization (Hajek 2005)
- ATR vowel harmony (Hall et al. 1974, Dimmendaal 2001, Maddieson 2005b) > **Map 4**



Map 4: ATR vowel harmony in Africa

- logophoricity (Güldemann 2003b) > **Map 5**
- (1) Kera (Chadic, Afroasiatic)
- a. $wə \quad mɪntí \quad tó \quad kóoré \quad vs.$
 3M.Sx QUOT 3M.S.LOGx go.away
- b. $wə \quad mɪntí \quad wə \quad kóoré$
 3M.Sx QUOT 3M.Sy go.away
 Er sagte, daß er weggehe [he said he would go] (Ebert 1979: 260)



Map 5: Logophoricity in Africa

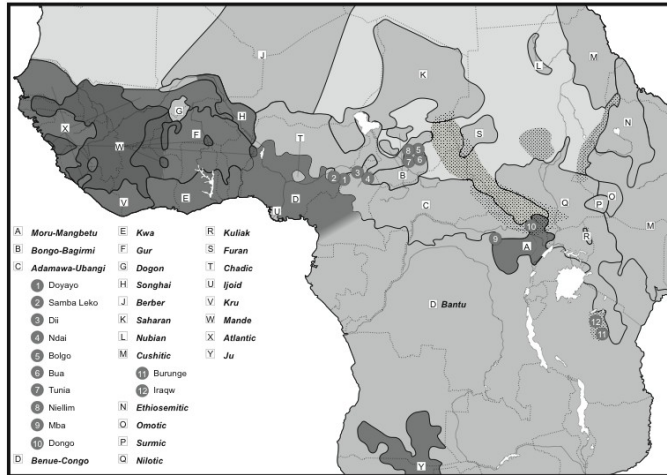
- serial verb constructions, sub-areal feature in the coastal center (Dimmendaal 2001)
- (2) Yoruba (Defoid, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)
- $mámá \quad mi \quad á \quad sọ \quad fún \quad mi \quad pé \quad \{...\}$
 mother 1S IRR speak give 1S QUOT
 My mother would tell me '... (Bamgbose 1966: 167)
- comparative construction of inequality with '(sur)pass' (Greenberg 1983, Stassen 2005)

- word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X (Gensler and Güldemann 2003) > **Map 6**

(3) Koranko (Mande)

ù sí wò lá-bùì yí rð

1S PROSPECTIVE that.one CAUS-fall water in
I'm going to throw her into the water (Kastenholz 1987: 117)



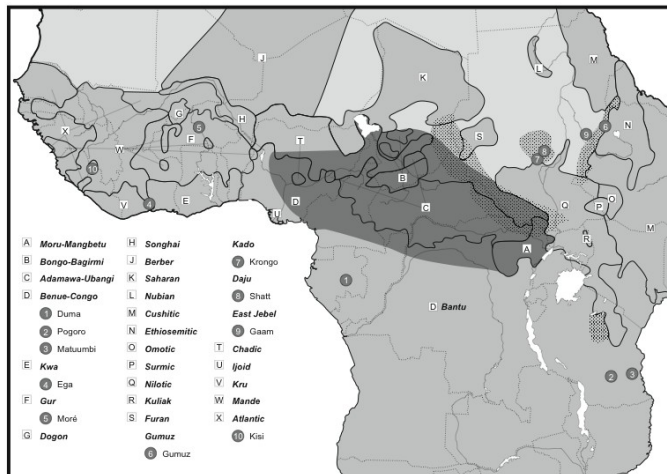
Map 6: Word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X in Africa

- word order V-O-NEG, sub-areal feature in the east (Dryer forthcoming) > **Map 7**

(4) Kisi (South Atlantic)

wàṅndó hénánj pò kónj lé

person love man that NEG
No one loves that man (Childs 1995: 260)



Map 7: Word order V-O-NEG in Africa

1.4 The Bantu spread zone

- + Bantu origins in (?the southern periphery of) the Macro-Sudan belt (Greenberg 1972):
- most closely related to eastern Benue-Congo, particularly Bantoid, languages in Cameroon and Nigeria > homeland of Pre- and Proto-Bantu in this wider area
- limits of Bantu, and hence its exact genealogical position, unclear (see, e.g., Nurse and Philippson 2003: 3-10); holds also for higher levels like Bantoid, Benue-Congo, etc.

+ Bantu and the Macro-Sudan features:

> **Bantu overall differs markedly from the Macro-Sudan belt, except for northwestern-most languages which partake in many respects with their area rather than the common “Bantu” type**

- implosives
 - in Northwest Bantu, eastern coastal area, and southeast (Maddieson 2003: 28-9)
 - > feature does not separate Macro-Sudan belt from Bantu spread zone
- labial-velar consonants
 - in numerous Bantu languages of zones A, C and D
 - not in rest of Narrow Bantu
 - isolated occurrence in Mijikenda (E70), from labialized velars
- labial flap consonants
 - not in Narrow Bantu
 - isolated occurrence in Nyanja (N31a) and Shona (S10)
- three and more level tones
 - not in Narrow Bantu: predominantly H vs. L
 - exceptions: Kamba (E55), Chaga (E60), Nguni (S40) (Kisseb. and Odden 2003: 59)
- vowel nasalization
 - not in most of Narrow Bantu, but possibly to be reconstructed (Dimmendaal 2001)
 - isolated occurrence in Fang (A75), Gyele (A801), Teke (B70), Ngungwel (B72a), Bembe (H11), Umbundu (R11), Yeyi (R41) (Maddieson 2003: 23-4)
- ATR vowel harmony
 - not in most of Narrow Bantu
 - exceptions in the north, e.g., Nande (D42) (Maddieson 2003: 20-3)
- logophoricity
 - not in most of Narrow Bantu
 - exceptions in some Northwest Bantu languages
- serial verb constructions
 - not in Narrow Bantu
- comparative construction with '(sur)pass'
 - widespread in Bantu as a likely inherited feature > cf. (3)

(5) Swahili (G42d)

a-na-andika haraka kupita mimi
 1-PRS-write fast INF-pass 1S

He writes faster than me.

> feature does not separate Macro-Sudan belt from Bantu spread zone

- word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X
 - in some Northwest Bantu languages for pronoun objects
 - not in most of Narrow Bantu, but can be reconstructed for early Bantu chronolect:
 - S-(AUX)-O-V-X restricted to pronominal objects "petrified" as a morphotactic pattern in verbs: S-INFLECTION-O-VERB.STEM
- word order V-O-NEG
 - not in most of Narrow Bantu: generally with verbal prefix negation

(6) Shona (S10)

- a. *ndaí-dá* *ha-ndaí-dá*
 1S:HAB-want NEG-1S:HAB-want
 I used to like I did not used to like (Dale 1972: 266)
- b. *ndí-pé* *ndí-sa-pé*
 1S-give:SUBJ 1S-NEG-give:SUBJ
 I should/may give I should/may not give (Dale 1972: 264-5)

- more recent innovation (e.g., in Tanzania, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo);
negation reinforcement - Jespersen's cycle (see, e.g., Güldemann 1996: 256-8, 1999)

(7) Sorongo-Kongo (H16)

Ongwe cucuzitissa n Peteleco.

ongwe ku-ku-zitissa n Petele ko

you NEG:2S-FUT-love ? PN NEG

'Thou shalt not love Peter.' (Guinness 1882: 85)

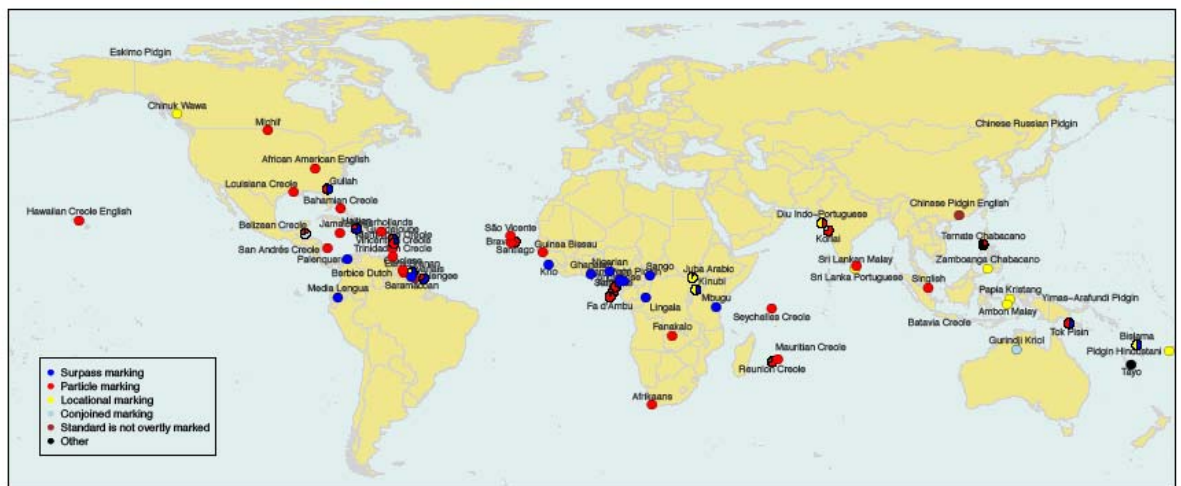
2 Afro-European creoles and African languages

2.1 On differentiating adstrates in Atlantic creoles: less-diagnostic features

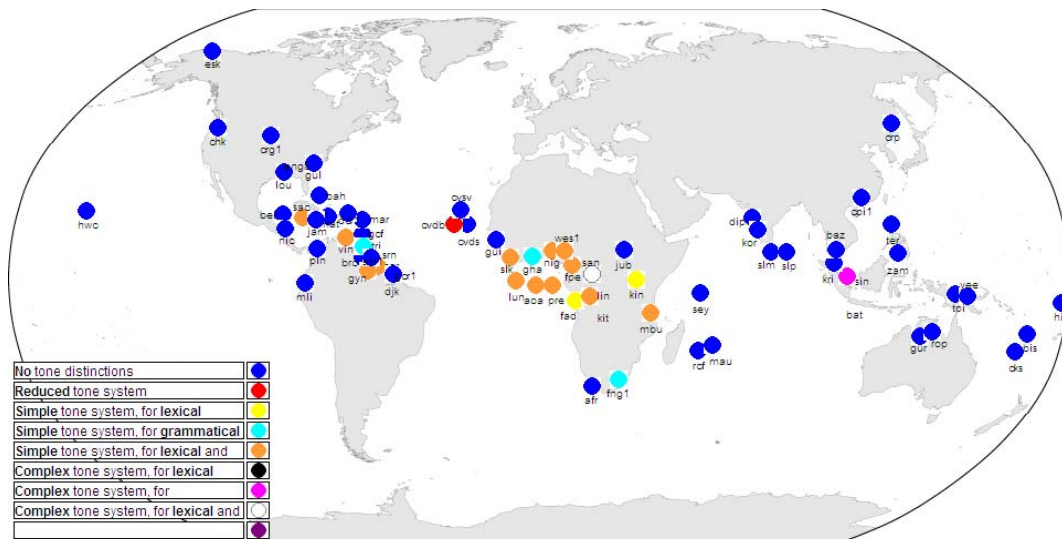
+ some features are partly shared by Macro-Sudan belt and Bantu spread zone - presumably due to genealogical origin of Bantu in its northern neighbour area > African "super-area"
> (?unconsciously) entertained previously in creole studies - cf. Gilman (1986)
- but see Afrikaans whose structural difference correlates with different areal-contact (and socio-political) history - Khoekhoe, !Ui (and Asian) languages as substrates

Map 8: Comparative standard marking (42)

Feature 42 – Comparative Standard Marking



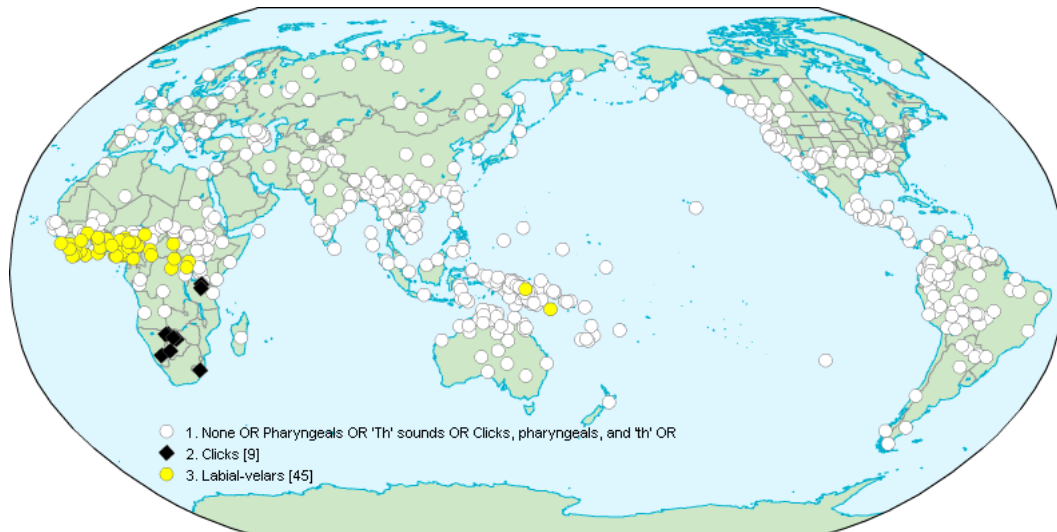
Map 9: Tone (120)



2.2 On differentiating adstrates in Atlantic creoles: diagnostic features

- + recognized role of quirks for the reconstruction of linguistic history (Gensler 2003), because it comes close to an individual-identifying feature in the sense of Nichols (1996)
- > labial velar consonants on the world level comparable to clicks

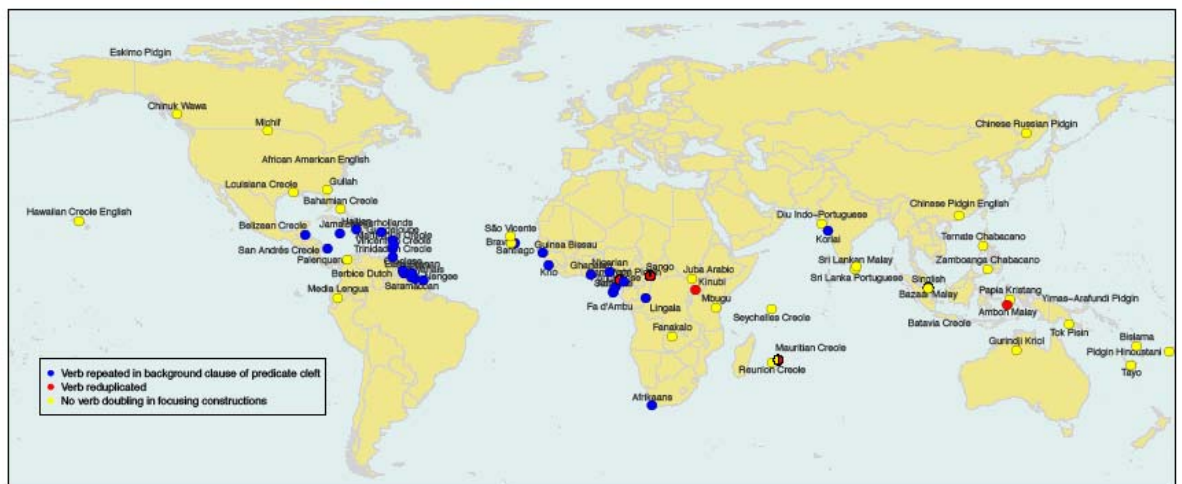
Map 10: Labial-velars and clicks on the world level (Maddieson 2005c)



- > existence of labial velars in creoles as clear indication of profound influence by Macro-Sudan (rather than Bantu) languages

Map 11: Verb-doubling and focus (105)

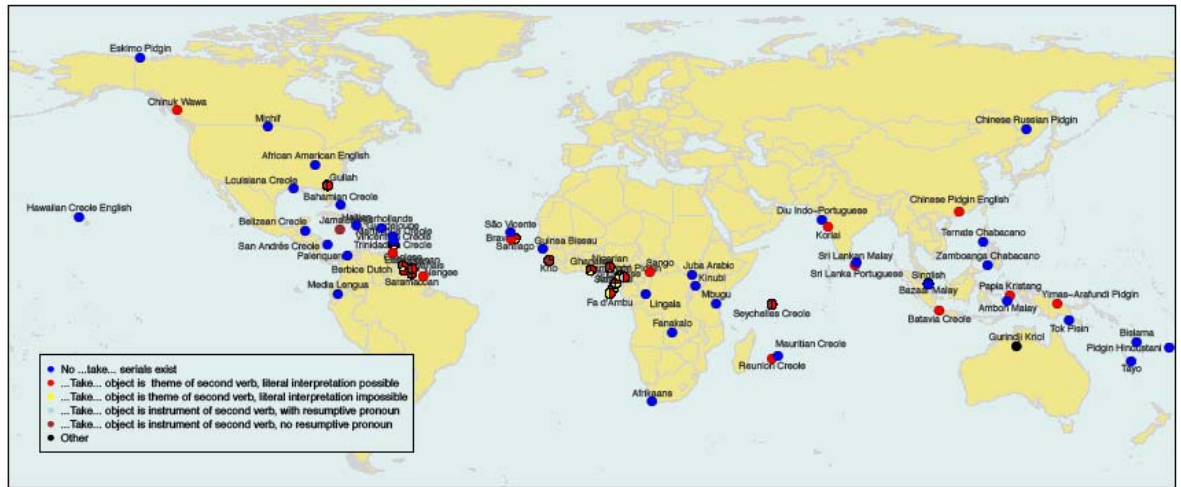
Feature 105 – Verb Doubling and Focus



- > not yet investigated areally in Africa but impressionistically some correlation with Macro-Sudan belt (see Manfredi 1993)

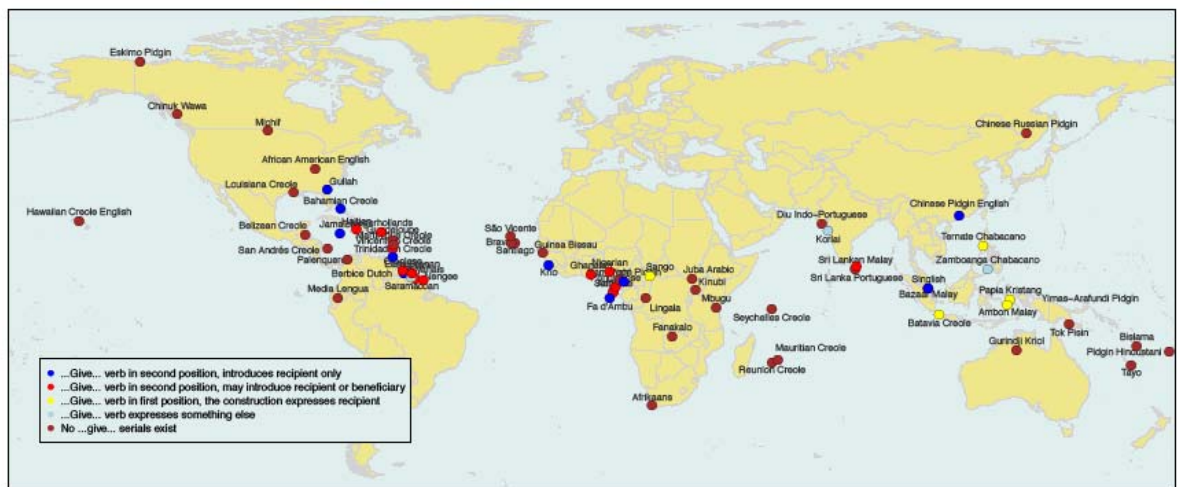
Map 12: 'Take' Serial Verb Constructions (85) (cf. also feature 69)

Feature 85 – ...Take... Serial Verb Constructions



Map 13: 'Give' Serial Verb Constructions (86)

Feature 86 – ...Give... Serial Verb Constructions



+ serial verbs viewed as unmarked language structure by “universalists” - two problems:
 a) tendency to subsume a number of different constructions under an imprecise definition
 b) insufficient knowledge about global typology: in fact typologically quirky
 > in Africa two separate areas: Kalahari Basin in the south and central area of Macro-Sudan belt with a Kwa-Western Benue-Congo nucleus; not in Bantu spread zone including relevant substrate languages of the Kongo-Angola coast
 > Gulf-of-Guinea creoles (Hagemeyer and Ogie 2009)

Map 14: Nominal Plural Marker and 3rd Person Plural Pronoun (25)

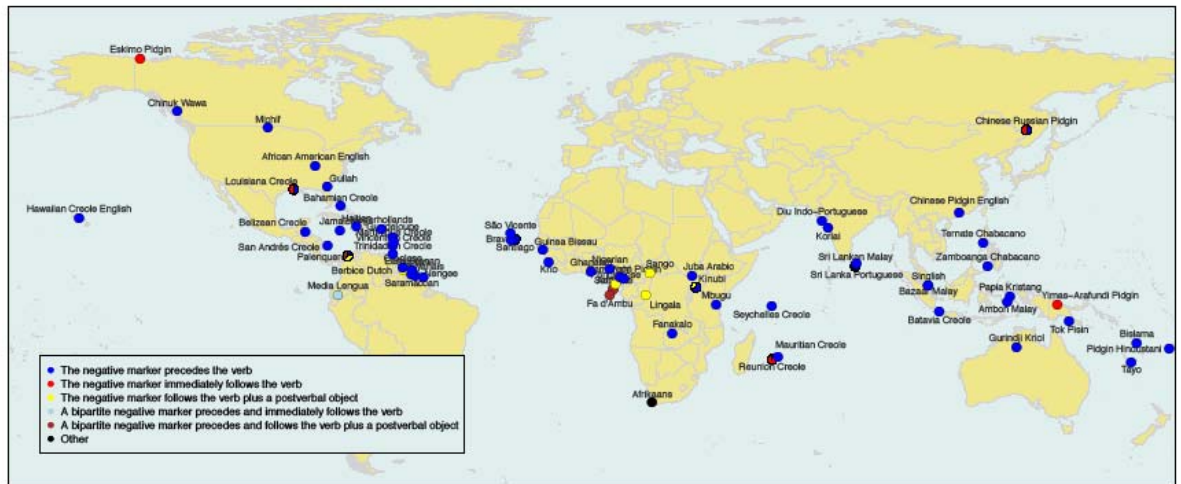
Feature 25 - Nominal Plural Marker and 3rd Person Plural Pronoun



> not yet investigated areally in Africa but impressionistically some correlation with Macro-Sudan belt

Map 15: Position of Standard Negation (101)

Feature 101 - Position of Standard Negation



+ feature of both macro-areas - not diagnostic? - but compare eastern non-coastal distribution in the Macro-Sudan belt as opposed to western coastal distribution in the Bantu spread zone and Kongo in particular (cf. §1.4 above)

> Schwegler (1991) + Dieck (2000) and Güldemann and Hagemeyer (2006): Kongo as the primary source of final negation in Palenquero and the Gulf-of-Guinea creoles, respectively (includes at least in the latter fine-grained variation according to clause types etc.)

> !!!difference: Kongo is the primary substrate in the former (Schwegler 2006) but a secondary adstrate in the latter - (Hagemeyer and Ogie 2009; Hagemeyer forthcoming a, b)

2.3 Substrate and adstrate in Afro-European creoles beyond the cafeteria principle

+ increasing recognition of the fact that some Afro-European creoles have an “unexpectedly” high level of influence from (a) particular African language(s):

- Berbice Dutch – Eastern Ijo (Smith, Robertson and Williamson 1987, Kouwenberg 1994)
- Palenquero – Kongo (Schwegler 2006)
- Gulf-of-Guinea – Edo (Hagemeijer forthcoming b)

...

+ founder varieties can be viewed after (possibly rapid) stabilization as subject to canonical contact-induced change > possible historical layering of African influences

> African languages are not always “substrates” in the canonical sense: modern Gulf-of-Guinea creoles can be viewed as the result of a Niger Delta-Portuguese-based founder creole with a later adstrate of Kongo-Angola Bantu languages

+ sequence of early colonial expansion could suggest that a historical layering of different African contact interference according to “West African adstrates before Kongo-Angola adstrates” could have been a more general pattern for early creoles

> intuitive feeling (as an Africanist) that most Afro-European Atlantic creoles look more like Macro-Sudan languages rather than Bantu languages

- not just because of lacking agglutinative morphology - applies also to many other creoles and can be motivated by contact-induced simplification

- but rather because of certain features which are typical for the Macro-Sudan belt but rare/absent on the world level, elsewhere in Africa, and in Bantu in particular

+ “deconstructing” creole as a type? - Ansaldo, Matthews and Lim (eds., 2007)

> viewing each language as an individual outcome of a complex contact history which is recoverable to a greater or lesser extent

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