

The Gulf-of-Guinea creoles as Macro-Sudan belt languages?

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1 Introduction

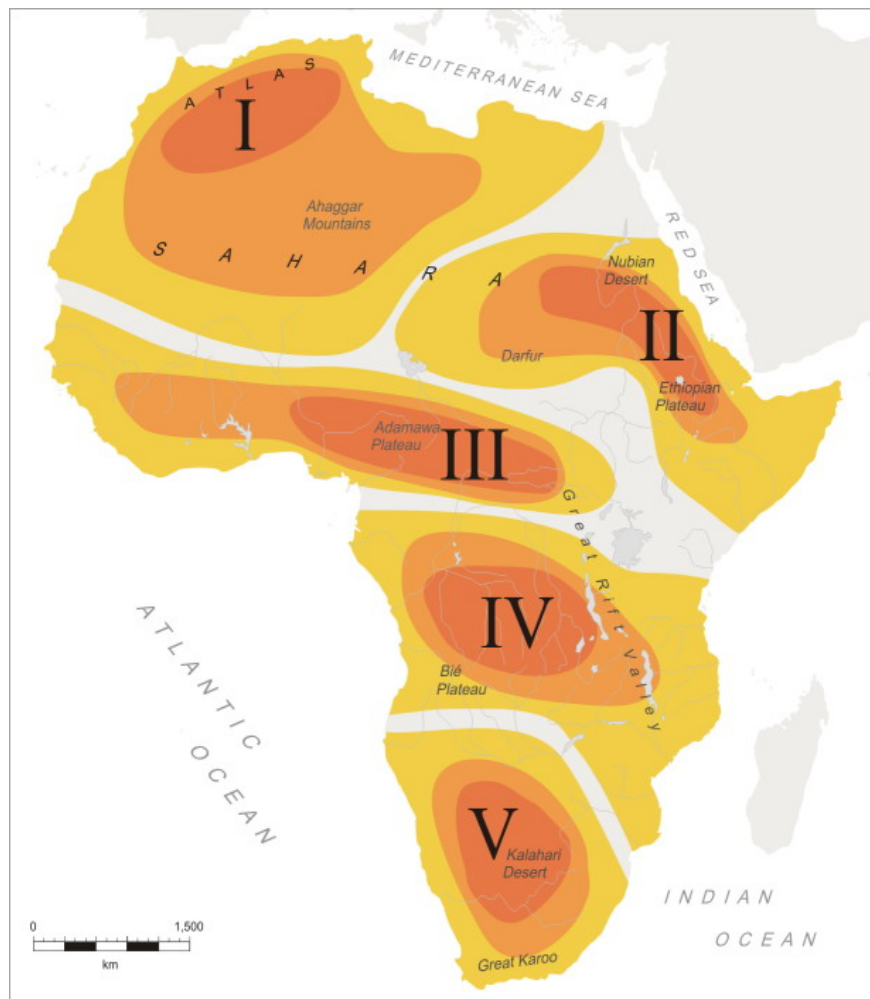
- + several possibilities to explain the historical origin of a feature within languages
- > relevant hypotheses for the Gulf-of-Guinea creoles, including "multiple causation":
 - coincidence
 - universal trends
 - Portuguese "(super)strate"
 - Niger-Delta "(sub)strate"
 - Bantu~Kongo "(ad)strate"
 - other later contact languages
- + 2-phase model of early history of Gulf-of-Guinea creoles (simplified, Hagemeyer 2011):
 - (I) **Portuguese "superstrate" + Niger-Delta "substrate" > founder or proto-creole**
 - (II) **Later contacts partly in different places with various other languages: Kongo, Kimbundu, (Standard Portuguese, ?Caboverdiano)**
- > problematic distinction between influence during "speciation" and later contact because of short time between foundation of proto-creole and new African contact influence
- + Bantu impact indeed less extensive than assumed by Ferraz (1979) > Güldemann (2013):
 - a) promising candidates for Kongo influence:
 - palatalization
 - single liquid /l/
 - final (double) negation
 - ? 1st-person singular bound pronoun allomorphy
 - ? focus-sensitive repetition of subject pronoun
 - b) indeterminate between Bantu vs. Edoid~Niger Delta influence:
 - vowel harmony
 - syllable structure
 - ideophones
 - ? reduplication
 - ? vowel elision and coalescence at word boundary
 - c) doubtful or even unlikely for Kongo influence:
 - clause coordination
 - emphatic 1st person singular *ami*
 - resumptive oblique in relatives
 - 'be with' instead of 'have'
 - nominal plural marking by means of 3rd plural *nē*

2 Towards the areal affiliation of Gulf-of-Guinea creoles

+ direct linguistic comparison most effective, but at present still hampered by lack of data
 > areal typology in Africa as additional, if less precise, heuristic > Güldemann (2009) (cf. also Hagemeyer 2011)

2.1 Macro-areal typology in Africa

- + 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)
- > avoid feature interdependence (e.g. word order correlations, medial~final verbs in verb-final languages, etc.)
- + identified features surveyed across all sufficiently known lineages
- > according to secure families, not to Greenberg's (1963) "supergroups" like Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Kordofanian, because large linguistic contact area is alternative to unproven genealogical entity
- + proposed macro-areas of Africa (Güldemann 2010) > **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, Kenya, northern Tanzania



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

2.2 The Macro-Sudan belt

+ pre-figured by Greenberg's (1959, 1983) “African core area”

+ established in more detail by Güldemann (2003, 2008) and Clements and Rialland (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

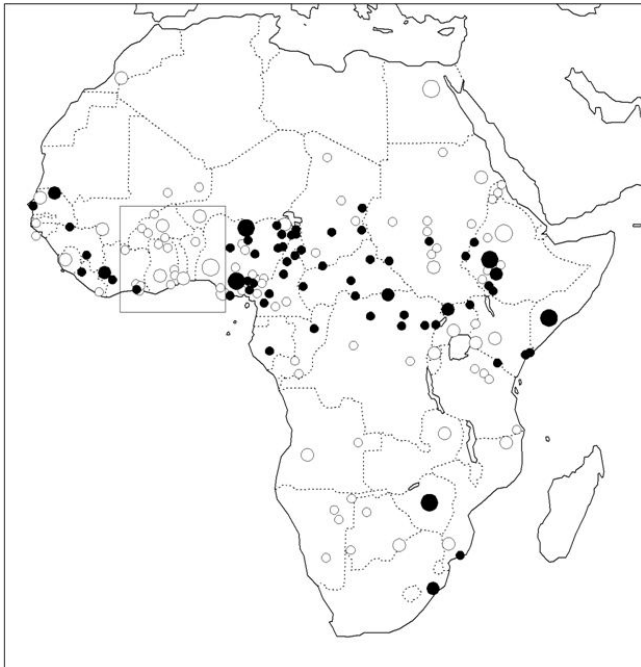
Table 1: Families partaking in the Macro-Sudan belt

Feature	Source(s)	(Sub-area)
Implosive consonants	Maddieson (2005a)	
Labial-velar consonants	Maddieson (2005c)	
Three and more level tones	Maddieson (2005d), Clements and Rialland (2008)	
Nasalized vowels	Hajek (2005)	
ATR vowel harmony	Hall et al. (1974), Dimmendaal (2001), Maddieson (2005b)	
“Lax” question prosody	Rialland (2007), Clements and Rialland (2008)	
SBJ-(AUX)-OBJ-V-X order	Gensler and Güldemann (2003)	
Post-V/clause-final negation	Dryer (2009), Idiatov (2010)	
‘(Sur)pass’ comparative	Greenberg (1983), Stassen (2005)	
Logophoricity	Güldemann (2003)	
Serial verbs	Dimmendaal (2001)	(Gulf-of-Guinea coast)

Table 2: Relevant linguistic features of the Macro-Sudan belt

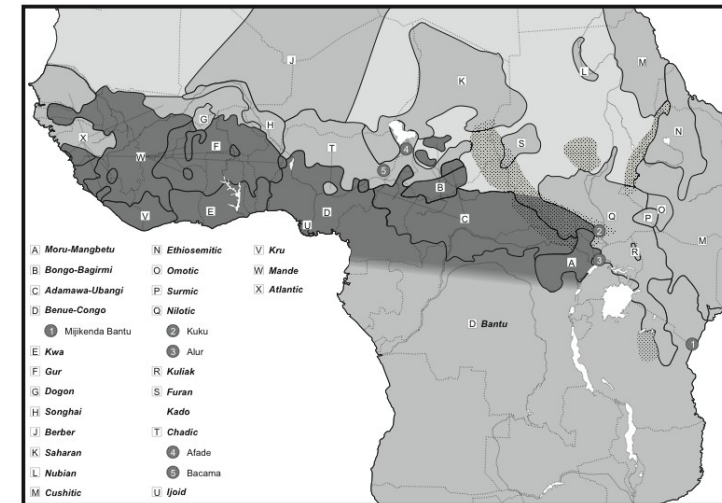
- + Bantu overall differs markedly from the Macro-Sudan belt, except for northwestern-most languages which partake in many respects with their common areal context rather than genealogical Bantu type (cf. Güldemann 2011)
- + some of the features also relevant in the Bantu spread zone
- implosive consonants
- Post-V/clause-final negation (cf. Güldemann and Hagemeyer 2006)
- comparative construction with '(sur)pass'
- > features not relevant in the Bantu spread zone are potentially diagnostic for a Macro-Sudan affiliation

2.2.1 Implosive (= glottalic ingressive) consonants



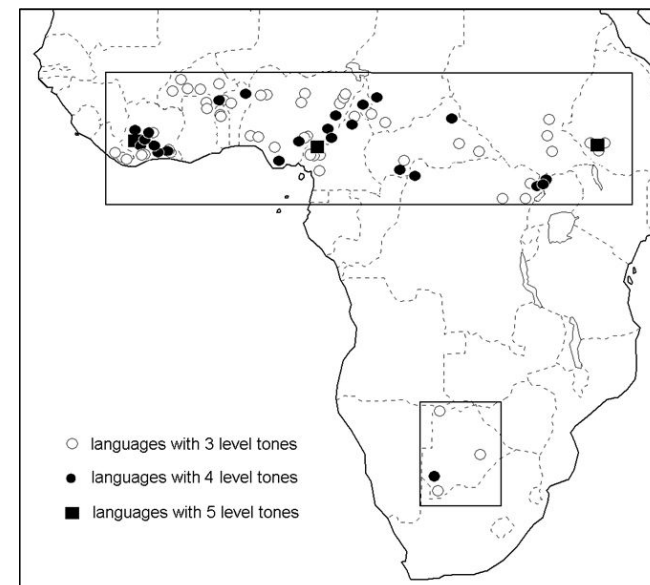
Map 2: Voiced implosives in Africa (Clements and Rialland 2008)

2.2.2 Labial-velar consonants



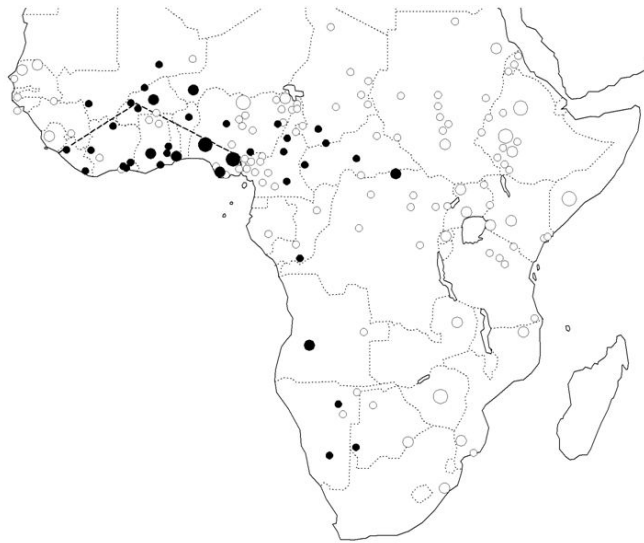
Map 3: Labial-velar consonants in Africa (Güldemann 2008)

2.2.3 Three and more level tones



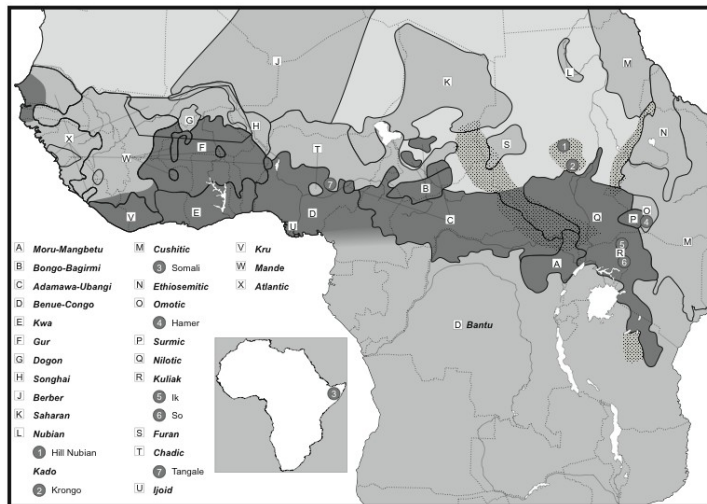
Map 4: Increased number of tone levels in Africa (Clements and Rialland 2008)

2.2.4 Vowel nasalization



Map 5: Contrastive nasal vowels in Africa (Clements and Rialland 2008)

2.2.5 ATR harmony



Map 6: ATR vowel harmony in Africa (Güldemann 2008)

2.2.6 “Lax” polar question prosody

+ abstract set of cross-linguistically unusual features of final question marking:

- open vowels
- L tones
- sentence-final falling intonation
- lengthening
- various combinations thereof

(1) Allomorphs of lax question prosody in Ncam (Gur)

a. -a appears after a consonant-final root:

ò cò : ì m̃ S/he walks ò cò : m̃ a : : Did s/he walk?

b. a final long vowel has extra length, with no change in quality:

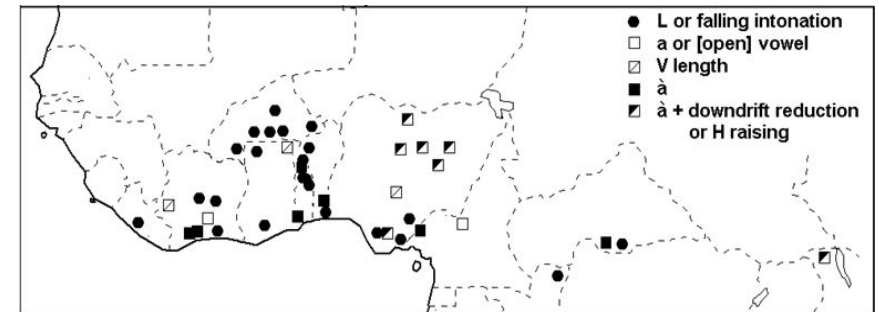
aí sū : It's rotten aí sū : : Is it rotten?

c. -a replaces a short final i, which is most often epenthetic:

ò ηájki S/he repaired ò ηájka : : Did s/he repair?

d. -a is added after other short vowels, where it undergoes a variety of assimilations

e. falling intonation, final lengthening and breathy termination are regularly present (Clements and Rialland 2008: 78)



Map 7: Lax prosodies in Africa (Clements and Rialland 2008)

2.2.7 Word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X

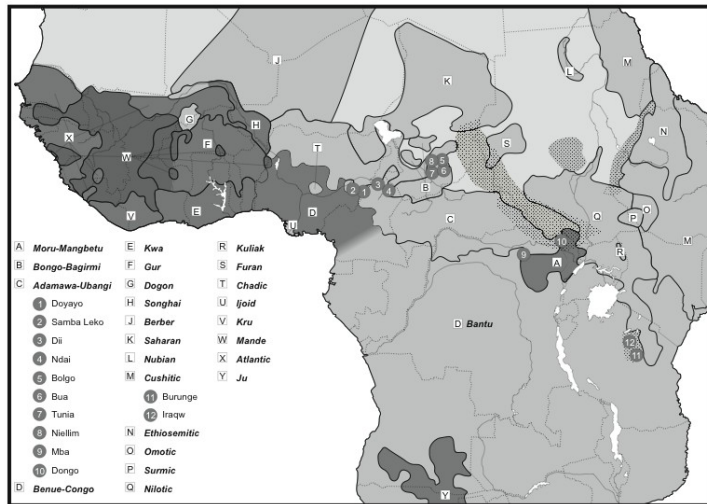
(2) Koranko (Mande)

ń sí wò lá-bùì yí rò

1S PROSPECTIVE that.one CAUS-fall water in

I'm going to throw her into the water (Kastenholz 1987: 117)

+ possible restriction to pronouns and triggered by information structure, particularly in Benue-Congo (Güldemann 2007)



Map 8: Word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X in Africa (Güldemann 2008)

2.2.8 Logophoricity

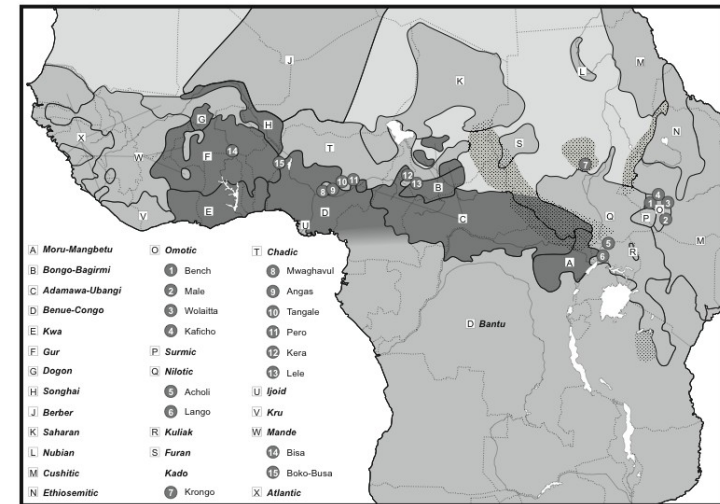
+ obligatory disambiguation of (non)coreference in reported discourse

(3) Kera (Chadic, Afroasiatic)

a. *wə mɪntí tó kóoré* vs.
3M.S_x QUOT 3M.S.LOG_x go.away

b. *wə mɪntí wə kóoré*
3M.S_x QUOT 3M.S_y go.away

Er sagte, daß er weggehe [he said he would go] (Ebert 1979: 260)



Map 9: Logophoricity in Africa (Güldemann 2008)

2.2.9 Serial verbs (in Gulf-of-Guinea coast subarea)

+ distinct type of multi-verb construction defined by structural and semantic-functional characteristics (cf., e.g., Stahlke 1970, Ameke 2003)

(4) Yoruba (Defoid, Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo)

mà má mi á sọ fún mi pé {...}

mother 1S IRR speak give 1S QUOT

My mother would tell me '... (Bamgboṣe 1966: 167)

2.2.10 Plural < 3P pronoun (candidate (subareal) Macro-Sudan feature)

+ recurrent incidence of a special type of plural marking:

Plural words are words whose meaning is like that of plural affixes, but they are separate words ... **Plural clitics** are probably best thought of as a type of plural word, whose position is defined syntactically in that they have a specified position within the noun phrase, but which attach phonologically to whatever word happens to occur adjacent to that position within a particular noun phrase.

> recurrent origin of such plural markers in 3rd-person plural pronouns

> still unclear relation between structural and etymological feature

2.2.11 Focus and verb doubling (candidate Macro-Sudan feature)

+ ongoing survey of a construction conveying state-of-affairs focus by focus-fronting the verb, parallel to term focus, but leaving the same (or a dummy) verb in-situ

(5) Aja (Gbe, Kwa, Niger-Congo)

[FOC] [BG]

óò, *dà* (*yí*) é *dà*

no cook FOC 3S cook

[The woman ate the beans.] No, she COOKED (them). (Fiedler p.c.)

> recurrent within the Macro-Sudan belt, and particularly so in the Gulf-of-Guinea coast subarea, but not universal there and also recurs outside it (see below)

2.3 Macro-Sudan features and the GoG creoles

2.3.1 No information

F6 “Lax” polar question prosody

2.3.2 Feature absent

F7 Word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X

F8 Logophoricity

2.3.3 Feature present with likely Macro-Sudan contribution

F1 Implosive (= glottalic ingressive) consonants

F2 Labial-velar consonants: Lung’ie as the structurally conservative creole

F4 Vowel nasalization: also in Portuguese “superstrate”, rare Bantu cases unlikely source

F9 Serial verbs: Hagemeyer (2000), Hagemeyer and Ogie (2011)

2.3.4 Ambivalent/unclear historical status

F3 Three and more level tones

+ controversial analysis of prosody in creoles themselves: cf. Traill and Ferraz (1981), Gregoire and Schang (1998), Maurer (2008)

> that the existence of tone is entertained at all is remarkable, as it is not expected in “restructured” languages and indeed very rare in creoles (e.g., Saramaccan, Good 2004)

> all African contact languages are tonal (including Bantu with predominantly H vs. L), so that source is unclear

F5 ATR harmony

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

(6) i u
e o
ε ɔ
a

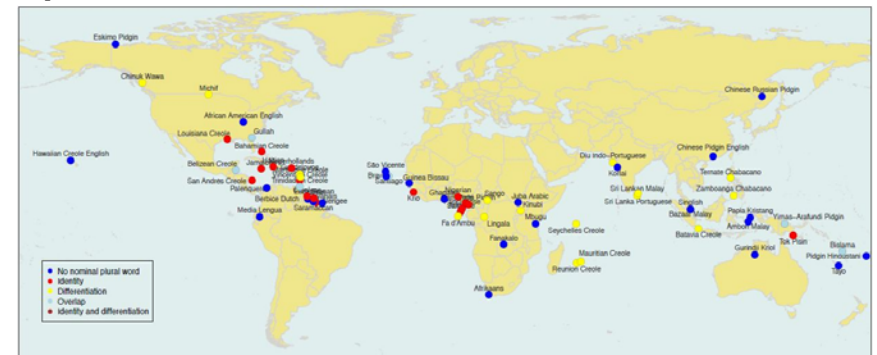
+ Bantu: height harmony (Hyman 1999, 2003: 46-7; Maddieson 2003: 15-23)

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

> major question: What is the exact nature of the vowel system and its harmony in the Gulf-of-Guinea creoles?

F10 Plural < 3P pronoun (candidate (subareal) Macro-Sudan feature)

+ present in Gulf-of-Guinea creoles as well as other Atlantic creoles



Map 10: Nominal plural marker and 3rd person plural pronoun (APICS 25)

> can result from direct copying or recent internal grammaticalization that reflects an earlier system without a grammatical plural

F11 Focus and verb doubling (candidate Macro-Sudan feature)

+ present in Gulf-of-Guinea creoles as well as other Atlantic creoles

> likely contribution of Niger-Delta substrate but not exclusively, because Bantu H languages also possess the feature (Hadermann 1996, De Kind et al. 2014)

No.	Macro-Sudan feature	GoG creoles	Bantu H	Portuguese
1	Implosive consonants	YES	NO	NO
2	Labial-velar consonants	(YES)	NO	NO
3	Three and more level tones	?(NO)	(NO)	NO
4	Vowel nasalization	YES	NO	YES
5	ATR harmony	?	NO	NO
6	“Lax” polar question prosody	?	?	NO
7	Word order S-(AUX)-O-V-X	NO	NO	(YES)
8	Logophoricity	NO	NO	NO
9	Serial verbs	YES	NO	NO
10	?Plural < 3P pronoun	YES	NO	NO
11	?SoA focus and verb doubling	YES	YES	NO

Table 3: Summary of Macro-Sudan features and Gulf-of-Guinea creoles

3 Summary

Areal signal of Macro-Sudan influence in Gulf-of-Guinea creoles is strong, particularly in view of the major non-African component.

Strong Macro-Sudan affiliation is yet another piece of evidence in support of the 2-phase model of Gulf-of-Guinea creole history.

Gulf-of-Guinea creoles present a strong case for assuming that substrates provide good explanations for individual creole profiles.

Macro-areal typology may turn out to be a useful heuristic for reconstructing historical trajectories of particular language families.

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