The diversity of diverse

Zoom on multilingual regional systems on the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa

Many thanks to – merci – diina jogehëfi – danke

The Crossroads transcribers
Aime Cesaire Biagui, Alpha Mane, Laurent Manga, Jeremie Sagna, Lina Sagna & David Sagna

Anne-Laure Vieillé
Samantha Goodchild
Rachel Watson
Chelsea Krajcik
Miriam Weidl
Abbie Hantgan
Alexander Cobbinah

The Leverhulme Trust

All research participants in Agnack, Djibonker, Brin & Essil

Alain-Christian Bassène
Multilingual and mobile individuals

- Between 3 and 10 named languages spoken
- Repertoires are dynamic because of:
  - Fostering
  - Marrying in/out
  - Economic, religious and ritual mobility
- Old and new mobility patterns co-exist
- Ethnicity is not aligned with language

A woman moved to another linguistic setting as part of a fertility ritual.

A child fostered from outside the language area.

The Christian « Bainounk » Hélène Coly turned into the Muslim « Mandinka » Teye Suko as part of the gubos ritual.

Shared cultural practices

- Initiation rites
- Masked dances
- Fertility rituals (kanyalen/gubos)
- Exogyny
- Wet rice cultivation
- Religion (« path of the forebears », Christianity and Islam)
- Many rituals are timed across the area and involve all groups, although they have ethnic labels

Sacred grove & mask dance performance in Niamone.
Places as ideological home bases for patrimonial languages

- Its affiliation with an (ethnic) group and/or a code
- Its language
- A place

Baïnounk-Jóola

Gu-bëeher

Ji-bëeher

Baïnounk

U-/Ñan-bëeher

Important: patrimonial deixis

Patrimonial identity and language in the Lower Casamance

- Landlords: descendants of the (remembered) founding clan
- Landlords have land rights and can receive strangers

Patrimonial language associated with landlords; strangers don’t claim this language, even if they speak it

Brooks 1993; Lüpke 2016
Patrimonial identity and language based on selective ideologies

Many inhabitants of a place are ideologically erased from representing it.

Languages at the field sites

French (Romance)
Kriolu (Portuguese-based)
Mandinka (Mande)
Bambara (Mande)

Wolof, Lebu
Bayunk (Gunyaarmoko, Gujaheer, Guehieh...); Buy (Kasanghay, Kombina)
Basari, Bedile, Konyagi, Tanda, Bapen
Biabafa, Badlarante
Fula (Pular, Pulaar, Fulfulde...); Sereer
Palor, Ndut, Noon, Laala, Saafi
Nalu; Bagu Fore; Baga Mboteni
Garjo, Konohe, Fraase
Fanny, Balatal, Kasa, Kwaataay, Koron, Ejamat, Keeraak...; Bayot?
Bok, Cur, Bassareul; Pepei; Mankanya
Kamona, Kagaaga, Kajoko

Pozdniakov & Segerer (forthcoming)
East is east?

Microdiversity in a linguistic area

Friederike Lüpke
flz@soas.ac.uk
SOAS, University of London

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Indexing and plural without gender exponene in Baïnouk Gujaher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allite-rative</td>
<td>di-toomi di-buni</td>
<td>bu-toomi bu-buni</td>
<td>i-toomi i-buni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NCDi-lemon AGRdi-good</td>
<td>Ncbu—lemon AGRdi-good</td>
<td>Nci-lemon AGRi-good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ani-mate</td>
<td>ji-fek a-buni</td>
<td>ji-fek-ŋ i-buni</td>
<td>ji-fek-ŋ i-buni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NCji-pig AGRa-good</td>
<td>NCji-pig-PL AGRi-good</td>
<td>NCji-pig-PL AGRi-good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>caabi a-buni</td>
<td>caabi-ŋ a-bun-ŋ</td>
<td>caabi-ŋ a-bun-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>key AGRa-good</td>
<td>key-PL AGRa-good</td>
<td>key-PL AGRa-good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Definite article in Baïnounk
Guñaamolo and Guñun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>si-deen</em> NCsi-kapok</td>
<td><em>mu’-deen</em> NCmun-kapok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si-deen-o</em> NCsi-kapok -DEF</td>
<td><em>mu’-deen-o</em> NCmun-kapok -DEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: Guñaamolo

Consonant mutation in Gugëca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>a-diin a-reena</em> NCa-well AGRa-one</td>
<td><em>ga-liin ga-naandi</em> NCga-well AGRga-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to-kur ta-teena</em> Ncto-house AGRta-one</td>
<td><em>jo-xur ja-naandi</em> NCjo-house AGRja-two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Language ecology partly shaped through Mandinka and Kriolu languages.

Presence of noun class systems in all these languages stabilizes paradigms.

Systems have partly aligned: triadic paradigms only attested in Jóola and Nun languages; plural suffix and default indexing only in Nun.

Innovation of animate indexing, micro-variation between animate and default indexing.

Lüpke (2016a und b); Cobbinah (2010; in prep).
Settlement history of Djifanghor and classification of Guñun

- Village founded at the beginning of the 20th century by migrants from Tobor.
- Original settlement close to the river Casamance and the rice fields.
- Ca. 50 years ago village moved close to the road, founding new wards to both sides of it.
- Some districts exclusively or mainly Guñun; others Jóola and Mankanya

- South Western Baïnounk, together with the Baïnounk varieties Gubéeher (spoken in Djibonker) and Gubelor (spoken in Djibelor) (de Lespinay 1987)
- Shares cognates/loans with SW, NW and E varieties
- Shares the presence of a definite article -o with NW Baïnounk
- Shares a suffixed plural with all Nun-Buy languages
- Shares animate agreement with the E variety Gujaher

Quint (forthcoming)
Settlement history of Agnack

- Agnack Grand:
  - Founded by the great-grandfather of the current village chief
  - Founder moved from Sangaj, a now abandoned village ca. 20km south-west of Agnack

- Agnack Petit:
  - Is composed of an older Bainounk settlement called Guriñol and a newer street village
  - Street village attracts a cosmopolitan population  
    Lüpke (2016)

Marriage exchange between Ijaher and Ihaja communities

Map: Alpha Mane
Known facets of multilingualism and classification of Gugécer

- First Portuguese sources (late 15th century) already mention bond between Ihaja and Ijaher.
- Oral history remembers the Ihaja givers of women to the Ijaher.
- Marriage exchange is still in place.
- Ihaja claim to be and are bilingual in Gujaher, while the inverse doesn’t hold.
- Sister language of Bainounk in the new classification of Atlantic in the Nyun branch
- Only 32% lexical similarity in the basic lexicon (Wilson 2007)
- Shares initial consonant mutation with Guboy (Kobiana, Buy)
- Shares plural suffixes and default agreement with the Nyun group

Complex noun class system with similar organization
Definite marker -o
Suffixed plurals –V(ŋ) and default indexing
Animate indexing
Initial consonant mutation
Setting the Stage: Actors and Repertoires

EVIDENCE FROM CORPUS DATA COLLECTION

DJIBONKER
Multilingual Microdiversity

![Bar chart showing multilingual microdiversity in different locations.]

Zooming In

![Map showing zoomed-in view of specific areas.]

Brin, Djibonker, Essyl

- KUJ
- BAN
- GUB
- WOL
- FR
- MIX
Zooming In

Variation in argument realisation

The study looks at argument realisation in the three languages Jóola Banjal, Jóola Kujireray and Bainounk Gubëeher, with special interest on object ellipsis.

-> Referential Density ("ratio of overt to possible argument NPs", Bickel 2003) supposedly very resistant to language contact.

Gubëeher, KC, DJI060416AC4
Methodology

- Establish rate of ellipsis, for the three Crossroads languages in monolingual experimental data (pear film, Chafe [1980]).
- Identify factors that influence rates of ellipsis (language repertoire, social network, priming...)
- Compare intra-speaker data for pear stories told by the same speaker in different languages
  
  Corpus:
  
  - 15-20 pear stories in three languages
  - Coded in SPSS for valency, transitivity, type of object encoding (NP, pronoun, affix, ellipsis, other) and animacy
  - Rich sociological and biographical data on participants

Shared features of Crossroads languages

- Word order SVO-X
- Syntactic relations only marked by word order (no case marking)
- Obligatory subject agreement; pro-drop
- Series of special affixed object markers exclusively for animate arguments
- High flexibility of roots to appear in various valency frames
- “strong tendency to generalize transitive coding to nearly all semantic types of bivalent verbs (Bassène & Creissels 2013).”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Full object NP</th>
<th>Pronominal object</th>
<th>Affixal object (animate)</th>
<th>Ellipsis</th>
<th>Affixal object (inanimate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kujireray</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (-sila)</td>
<td>✓ (-om)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (Agr–o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjal</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (-cila)</td>
<td>✓ (-om)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (Agr–o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gubeeher</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ (-mër)</td>
<td>✓ (-Vm)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data

Argument realisation of all direct objects

banjal (176) 23.8% kujireray (419) 24% gubëeher (535) 33%
Argument realisation of inanimate direct objects

Djibonker Beenor
Object ellipsis rates for inanimate objects

Interpersonal variation
Rates of object ellipsis of inanimate
direct objects of individual participants

Gub = Gubëeher
Kuj = Kuji’eray
Ban = Banjal

Ellipsis rates for Gubëeher data

Gub = Gubëeher
Kuj = Kuji’eray
Ban = Banjal
Ellipsis rates of Kujireray data

PS1: 17.6%
XB: 55.6%
HAS: 55.6%
ACB: 55.6%
ALB: 55.6%
AID: 55.6%

Ellipsis rates of Banjal data

AD5: 25%
AB7: 25%
GS: 25%
BS1: 25%
AFB: 50%
HPS: 50%
AB8: 50%
HAS: 50%

51
52
Intrapersonal variation

HAS

01/03/2017
Language use data differentiating between individuals, places, genres and registers allow the development of nuanced models of multilingualism and language contact.

These data can be linked to data on micro-variation in social networks of individuals to capture language change in progress.

These data allow the development of multidimensional models of relatedness and contact.

On the basis of these data it is also possible to develop hypotheses for language evolution and change in situations where historical data are not available.