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タイトル:「多言語混在状況を前提としたアフリカ記述言語学研究の新展開」(令和5年度第3回研究会)

日時:2024年2月11日(日曜日)午後2時より午後6時

場所:AA 研小会議室(302)およびオンライン会議室

1. 古閑恭子(AA 研共同研究員, 高知大学)

「アカン語のいわゆる「状態形」について」

2. 仲尾周一郎(AA 研共同研究員, 大阪大学)

「アラビア語ピジン・クレオールはクレオール単一起源説への反証となるか?」

3. 品川大輔(AA 研)

「スワヒリ語内陸変種の構造的バリエーションを把握するための類型論的調査に向けて」

4. 全員

「ビジネスミーティング:国際WS開催および成果公刊について」

本プロジェクトの2023年度第3回研究会は、上記日時において7名の参加者を集めてハイブリッド形式で開催された。第1発表の「アカン語のいわゆる「状態形」について」においては、アカン語動詞の屈折形の一つである「状態形/継続形(stative/ continuative/ durative)」と呼ばれる形式について、それがどのような動詞語幹と共起しえて、またどのような意味を表すかについて、多様な意味領域の例を用いて実証的に検証した。第2発表「アラビア語ピジン・クレオールはクレオール単一起源説への反証となるか?」においては、初期のクレオール発生論としての単一起源説が、Derek Bickertonによって提唱されたいわゆる Bio-programming 仮説の台頭によって影響力を失っていく過程において、その反証の論拠として Bickerton 自身によって言及されたジュバ・アラビア語が、実態としては Bickerton の主張とは異なり、ポルトガル語を含む多様な言語との実質的な言語接触によって形成されてきた歴史的経緯を、多様な文献資料を参照することで論証した。第3発表の「スワヒリ語内陸変種の構造的バリエーションを把握するための類型論的調査に向けて」においては、近年のスワヒリ語バリエーション研究によって、具体的な変種の言語特徴についての情報は断片的ではあれ明らかになりつつあるものの、それらが網羅的に把握されている状況にはほど遠いことを確認したうえで、構造的バリエーションをより有機的に把握するためのパラメーター設計について論じた。最後にビジネスミーティングが行われ、AA 研ジャーナル別冊を媒体とした成果公刊論集に関する具体的なスケジュールについて検討した。

文責:品川大輔

アカン語のいわゆる「状態形」について

古閑恭子

アカン語（ニジェール・コンゴ語族クワ語派）には状態形／継続形(stative/continuative/durative)と呼ばれる活用形がある。状態形は、（動作の結果の）状態の持続を表す（Osam 2008, Christaller 1875）。Christaller(1875: 58)によると、状態の持続は動格的 active であっても非動格的 inactive であっても良い。しかし動格的な状態とはどのようなものだろうか。

状態形をとることのできる動詞は限られている。まず、原則として状態形しか取れない動詞（語彙的状态動詞）がある。de「（名前が）...という」、nim「知っている」、nyem「妊娠している」、te「...に住んでいる」、sõ「大きい」、sõ「（頭に）載せている」、wo「ある／持っている」、sua「小さい」、se「似ている」、do「愛する」、te「（言葉が）わかる」、wa「長い」など。状態形は低声調のみによって表される。

- (1) ɔ=sõ adésóá.
3SG=be.big.STA load
彼は重荷を負っている。

- (2) ɔ=wo fié.
3SG=have.STA house
彼は家を所有している。

- (3) me=te Twii.
1SG=understand.STA Twi
私はチュイ語がわかる。

動作を表すと思われる動詞で状態形しか取れないものが見つかっている。nam は移動を表す動詞だが状態形しか取れない。nam は具体的な動作を含意しない（移動手段を問わない）。一方具体的な移動の形態を含意する nante「歩く」は状態形をとることができない。(4)に対して(5)は目の前の動的展開を含意する。

- (4) ɔ=nam.
3SG=roam.STA
彼は歩いて（移動して）いる。

- (5) ɔ=ɔ-nanté.
3SG=PROG-walk
彼は歩いている。

二つ目は、変化結果としての状態が維持される動詞である。da「寝る」、gyina「止まる、立つ」、fua「(手に) 持つ」、kura「(手に) 持つ」、kita「(手に) 持つ」、hye「着る」、fura「身に纏う」、bo「(スカーフを) 巻く、(動物を) 紐で繋ぐ」、fri「貸す、借りる」、tare「引っ付く」、taa「詰まる」、si「立つ」、fri「貸す／借りる」、go「緩める」など保持や姿勢変化を表す変化動詞が見つかっている。これらの動詞は、習慣形(a)、進行形(b)、完了形(c)など他の活用形と併せて状態形(d)も取る。

- (6) a. (dabíaa) o=gyíná !há.
everyday 3SG=stop.HAB here
(毎日) 彼はここで立ち止まる。
- b. o=o-gyíná !há.
3SG=PROG-stop here
彼は立ち止まりつつある。
- c. o=a-gyíná !há.
3SG=PRF-stop here
彼は立ち止まってここにいる。
- d. o=gyina há.
3SG=stop.STA here
彼はここに(しばらく)立っている。

- (7) a. (dabíaa) Kofi kitá síká.
everyday Kofi hold.HAB money
(毎日) コフィはお金を持つ。
- b. Kofi i-kitá síká.
Kofi PROG-hold money
コフィはお金を持ちつつある。
- c. Kofi á-kitá síká.
Kofi PRF-hold money
コフィはお金を(手に取って)所持している。
- d. Kofi kita síká.
Kofi hold.STA money
コフィはお金を持っている。

- (8) a. (dabíaa) nsúó=nó taá adwaayé.
everyday water=DEF get.clogged.HAB bathroom
(毎日) 風呂場に水が詰まって溜まる。
- b. nsúó==nó o-taá adwaayé.
water=DEF PROG-get.clogged bathroom
風呂場に水が詰まって溜まりつつある。

c. nsúó==nó á-!táá adwaayé.

water=DEF PRF-get.clogged bathroom

風呂場に水が詰まって溜まっている。

d. nsúó==nó taa adwaayé.

water=DEF get.clogged.STA bathroom

水が風呂場に溜まっている。

(9) a. (dabíáá) ɔ=gó ne=nsám.
everyday 3SG=loosen.HAB 3SG.POSS=palm
彼は（いつも）気前がいい。

b. ɔ=ɔ-gó ne=nsám.
3SG=PROG-loosen 3SG.POSS=palm
彼は（だんだん）気前が良くなっている。

c. ɔ=a-gó ne=nsám.
3SG=PRF-loosen 3SG.POSS=palm
（いつもはそうでないが）彼は気前が良くなった。

d. (nansa=yí deε) ɔ=go (*ne=nsám).
three.days=this topic 3SG=loosen.STA 3SG.POSS=palm
（ここ数日）彼は気前がいい／弱い。

(10) a. ɔ=hyé átaadée.
3SG=wear clothes
彼は服を着る（ex.毎日）。

b. ɔ=ɔ-hyé átaadée.
3SG=PROG-wear clothes
彼は服を着ているところだ。

c. ɔ=a-hyé átaadée.
3SG=PRF-wear clothes
彼は服を着ている。

d. ɔ=hye ataadée.
3SG=wear.STA clothes
彼は服を着ている。

同じように変化結果を表す活用形（完了形）と状態形はどう違うのか。完了形は動作を含意するが、状態形は動作を含意せず現前の静的な状態を表すようである。インフォーマント（30歳代男性）によると、(10.c)は、例えば風呂場から出てきた人についての発話で、(10.d)は、例えば服を着ていないと思っていたが実は着ていることに気づいた時の発話だという。やや特殊な例として、(11)の fri「離れる、出発する」は変化結果をもたらすようなものではないように思えるが、状態形を取ることができる。

- (11) a. o=fri Kumásé na ɔ=bá (dabíáá).
 3SG=leave.HAB Kumase and 3SG=come.HAB everyday
 彼はクマシからここに（毎日）くる。
- b. o=o-fri Kumásé á-kɔ nkran.
 3SG=PROG-leave Kumase CON-go Accra
 彼はアクラに向けてクマシを出発しようとしているところだ。
- c. ɔ=a-fri Kumásé á-kɔ nkran
 3SG=PRF-leave Kumase PRF-go Accra
 彼はアクラに向けてクマシを出発した。
- b. o=fri Kumásé.
 3SG=leave.STA Kumase
 彼はクマシ出身だ（父方の祖先発祥地）。

結果状態ということであれば他の様々な変化動詞でもいけそうであるが、実際は状態形を取れる変化動詞はかなり限られている。例えば bue「開く」、ware「結婚する」、gye「取る」、han「貸す（賃貸）」、fem「貸す」は完了形あるいは習慣形で結果状態を表すが、状態形をとることはできない。

- (12) a. mpómá=nó á-!búé.
 window=DEF PRF-open
 窓が開いている。
- b. *mpómá=nó bue.
 window=DEF open.STA
 （目の前に窓が開いているという意味で）

- (13) a. ɔ=a-waré.
 3SG=PRF-marry
 彼女は結婚している。
- b. *ɔ=ware.
 3SG=marry.STA
 （既婚であるという意味で）

- (14) a. ɔ=a-gyé síká.
 3SG=PRF-get money
 彼はお金を受け取った。
- b. *ɔ=gye síká.
 3SG=get.STA money
 （お金を所持しているという意味で）

- (15) a. ɔ=hán dán wɔ me=nkyén.
 3SG=rent.HAB house in 1SG.POSS=beside
 彼は私から家を借りている。
- b. *ɔ=han dán wɔ me=nkyén.
 3SG=rent.STA house in 1SG.POSS=beside
 (借り手であるという意味で)

- (16) a. ɔ=fɛ̀m=me síká.
 3SG=lend.HAB=1SG money
 彼は私に金を貸している。
- b. *ɔ=fem=me síká.
 3SG=lend.STA=1SG money
 (貸しがあるという意味で)

私はこれまで、結果状態がもたらされる動詞でなければ状態形をとることができないと思い込んでいた。ところが最近偶然、結果状態をもたらない動作動詞（継続動詞）にこの活用形をとるものがあることに気づいた。ton「売る」、to「(雨が) 降る」、kyini「歩き回る」が見つかっている。

- (17) a. ɔ=tón nám.
 3SG=sell.HAB fish
 彼は魚を売っている。(商売)
- b. ɔ=ɔ-tón nám.
 3SG=PROG-sell fish
 彼は魚を売っているところだ。
- c. ɔ=a-tón nám.
 3SG=PRF-sell fish
 彼は魚を売ってしまった。
- c. (enné deɛ) ɔ=ton nám.
 today topic 3SG=sell.STA fish
 (今日は) 彼は魚を売っている。

- (18) a. (nansa=yí deɛ) nsúó tó.
 three.days=this topic rain fall.HAB
 (最近) 雨がずっと降り続いている。
- b. nsúó o-tó.
 rain PROG-fall
 雨が降っている。

c. nsúó a-tó.

rain PRF-fall

雨が降った。

d. (beyε nawótwé=yí deε) nsúó to.

almost week=this topic rain fall.STA

(最近) 雨が降っている。

(19) a. dabiaa o=kyíni.

everyday 3SG=stroll.HAB

彼は毎日歩き回る。

b. o=o-kyíni.

3SG=PROG-stroll

彼は歩き回っている。

c. ɔ=a-kyíni

3SG=PRF-stroll

彼は歩き回った。

b. (nansa=yí deε) o=kyini.

three.days=this topic 3SG=stroll.STA

(ここ数日) 彼は歩き回っている。

習慣形は習慣的行為を表すのに対し、状態形は普段とは異なる振る舞いを表している。インフォーマントによると、(17.a)は生業として魚を売っている、のような時に使うのに対して(17.d)は例えば商売人ではない人が一時的に魚を売っている、のような場合に用いる。(18.a)「雨が降り続いている」に対して(18.d)は、例えば雨季が終わって本来雨は降らない時期だが一時的に降っている、のような時に使う。いずれの状態形も意外性を含意する。属性の用法もある。(20.a)は「私たち」の習慣的行為を表すのに対し、(20.b)は「良い魚を売る」ことが「アクラ」の特徴であることを表す。

(20) a. ye=tón nam pá wo Nkran.

2PL=sell.HAB fish good in Accra

私たちはアクラで良い魚を売る。

b. ye=tón nam pá wo Nkran.

2PL=sell.STA fish good in Accra

アクラは良い魚を売る (ことで知られる)。

継続動詞を用いて一時的振る舞い、出来事や性質を表すのであれば他のいろいろな動詞もこの活用形を取れそうだが、そうではない。(21)～(24)は状態形がいけそうな動詞だが、状態形を取ることはできない。

- (21) a. $y\epsilon=du\acute{a}$ kookóo wɔ Kumásé.
 1PL=grow.HAB cacao in Kumase
 私たちはクマシでカカオを育てている（カカオ農家）。
 b. $*y\epsilon=dua$ kookóo wɔ Kumásé.
 1PL=grow.STA cacao in Kumase
 （クマシはカカオ栽培で知られているの意味で）
- (22) a. $y\epsilon=t\acute{o}$ kookóo f'ri né=papá nkyén.
 3PL=buy.HAB cacao leave.HAB 3SG.POSS=father near
 私たちは彼の父のところからカカオを買う（買い物／取引している）。
 b. $*y\epsilon=t\acute{o}$ kookóo fri né=papá nkyén.
 3PL=buy.STA cacao leave.STA 3SG.POSS=father near
 （取引をしているという意味で）
- (23) a. $\text{ɔ}=p\acute{a}m$ adéé.
 3SG=sew.HAB clothes
 彼女は服を縫う（仕立て屋）。
 b. $*\text{ɔ}=pam$ adéé.
 3SG=sew.STA clothes
 （仕立て屋であるという意味で）
- (24) a. $o=d\acute{i}$!dwá.
 3SG=do trade
 彼は商売をする（商売人）。
 b. $*o=di$ dwá.
 3SG=do.STA trade
 （商売人であるという意味で）

まとめると、状態形は変化動詞であれば現前の結果状態を、継続動詞であれば一時的性質や振る舞いを表すと言えそうである。ただし同じような意味の変化動詞、継続動詞であっても状態形を取ることができるもの、取ることができないものの区別があり、動詞のどのようなプロパティが関わっているか、今後詳しく調べたいと思っている。

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DO ARABIC PIDGINS AND CREOLES CONSTITUTE EVIDENCE AGAINST MONOGENESIS?

Shuichiro NAKAO*

Abstract. In the old debate on the origin(s) of pidgins and creoles, non-European-based pidgins and creoles were presented as disproof of the ‘monogenesis’ theory, supposing that they are not derived from (or even influenced by) Afro-Portuguese Pidgin and its possible precursor, Mediterranean Lingua Franca, which were deemed to be the ‘proto-pidgin’ by the proponents of this theory. This article examines this assumption critically and makes clear that (i) there are cases of pidginization of Arabic in the Mediterranean Basin directly related to Mediterranean Lingua Franca, (ii) they could be linked with the modern Arabic creoles Juba Arabic and Nubi, and (iii) the Arabic creoles show indirect influence from Portuguese or agents who were in contact with Portuguese. Although this study does not support any previous versions of the monogenesis theory, it warns against underestimating its potentials as a heuristic approach.

Keywords: pidgins and creoles, monogenesis theory, Mediterranean Lingua Franca.

1. Introduction¹

The contemporary references in creolistics almost unanimously introduce ‘monogenesis theory’—the idea that all (European-based) pidgins and creoles descended from a single Afro-Portuguese pidgin (e.g., Schuchardt 1882; Whinnom 1956; Thompson 1961; Taylor 1961) or, even earlier, the medieval Mediterranean Lingua Franca (Whinnom 1965)—as a now abandoned explanation for the recognized similarities between these languages (Todd 1974, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Holm 1988, Sebba 1995, Velupillai 2015). The main fact used to refute monogenesis presented by these authors is the existence of

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¹ This study is mainly based on the author’s presentation in 2017 at Creolistics Workshop XI, with an addition of Section 4. This study is funded by KAKENHI (Grant Number: 19K13160).

‘certain pidgins and creoles which clearly developed without any direct Portuguese influence,’ such as non-European-based pidgins and creoles (DeCamp 1971: 24, and the sources already cited above; see also Owens 1980).² A typical example of this discourse is found in the following words by Bickerton (1979: 5–6):

[I]n recent years there have come up some very, very strong arguments against this [monogenesis] theory. For instance, in the southern Sudan around the town of Juba there is found a variety of creolized Arabic known as Juba-Arabic which apparently came into existence because of the British using Arabic-speaking soldiers in their attempt to drive a railroad from the Cape to Cairo. [...] They kind of got bogged down in places like the southern Sudan, and the *askaris*, who were Arabic speakers, settled there and intermarried with predominantly Chadic-speaking people in and around Juba, and sooner or later, of course, the Arabic which had been pidginized became creolized because there were now native-born speakers of Juba-Arabic. [...] So, there’s no possibility that the Portuguese or anyone influenced by Afro-Portuguese pidgins could ever have had anything to do with the marking of Juba-Arabic. Nobody had ever gone into that area; it was totally unknown to Europeans or their cohorts until the late 19th century, so that it was entirely within the Arab sphere of influence. So the theory of monogenesis will not explain similarities that exist between Juba-Arabic and the other creoles.

This story, used by Bickerton to pave the way for his Bioprogram Hypothesis, is a total fiction full of contradictions that cannot be taken seriously. The first known non-Africans who visited what is today Central Equatoria (i.e., the Juba area) was the group of explorers including a few Europeans led by a Turkish officer named Selim Qapudan under the Ottoman-Egyptian flag in the years 1839–1842. In the next period, a number of

² On the other hand, the mechanism of relexification (evidenced notably by *Media Lengua*) is widely accepted. Interestingly, Whinnom’s (1965) version of the monogenetic theory is neglected in the context of this discussion (see, e.g., den Besten, Muysken & Smith 1994), and the possibility that Mediterranean *Lingua Franca* gave birth to pidgins other than Portuguese pidgin was not explored. However, recently Nolan (2023) argues the link between Mediterranean *Lingua Franca* and *Français Tirailleur*.

Europeans were involved in trade or missionary work in that region (Gray 1961; Santi & Hill 1980; Simonse 1992), where they used Arabic as a lingua franca with local speakers of various Nilo-Saharan and Ubangian languages (but no Chadic languages). The presence of Europeans in the region is as old as the introduction of Arabic. The first British soldiers came to Central Equatoria in 1897 from the Ugandan side with their Arabic creole (i.e., Nubi)-speaking subordinates who had fled from there in the 1880s. Although they learned and used it as a military language in Uganda and (South) Sudan, the British have nothing to do with the emergence of this language (Nakao 2016, 2017, 2018).³ To be sure, no historiography on South Sudan has examined its possible connection with Portuguese (pidgin) or the Mediterranean Lingua Franca (abbreviated: MLF), but this fact does not prove that they have no historical relationship.

This study is an attempt to examine if it is really possible to present Arabic pidgins and creoles as disproof of monogenesis theory. Section 2 introduces morphologically reduced varieties of Arabic recorded in the 16–19th-century Mediterranean Basin closely related to Mediterranean Lingua Franca. Section 3 examines the (possible) links between these Arabic varieties and modern Arabic creoles of the Nile Valley. Section 4 demonstrates other (possible) influences of Portuguese and Portuguese-influenced Congolese languages on Arabic creoles. Section 5 concludes the discussion.

2. Mediterranean Lingua Franca and Mediterranean Pidgin Arabic

MLF, one of the oldest known pidgins, was once spoken on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean Basin and has been attested since at least as early as the 14th century, although these attestations are sporadic and often unauthentic. The lexifiers of MLF have been a focus of study for more than a century (Schuchardt 1909=1979; Whinnom 1965; Selbach 2008; Operstein 2022), as it attests to doublets/triplets from various Romance languages, notably Italian and Spanish (and Portuguese; Aslanov 2014), as well as from

³ Rather, the British created their own version of Pidgin Arabic (called Bimbashi Arabic), probably inspired by the Juba Arabic's predecessor (Nakao 2016). The misinterpretation that equates Bimbashi Arabic to the early form of Juba Arabic is attributed to Prokosch (1986).

Arabic and Turkish to a lesser extent.⁴ MLF has thus been conventionally characterized as a Romance-based pidgin, and there has been a consensus that Arabic was never the major source to be regarded as its ‘lexifier’ (see Aslanov 2014; Operstein 2022: 150). At the same time, the fact that a number of ‘MLF’ sources attest to a reduced variety of Arabic has been largely neglected.

An old example is from the 16th-century Italian comedy *Zingana* by Gigio Artemio Giancarli (Giancarli 1545=1991), in which the utterances of a Romani lady is expressed by a sort of code-mixing consisting of (mostly Italian-based) MLF and a reduced Arabic variety (Pellegrini 1972; Contini 1994; Tommasino 2006), as exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. *Ane izi di luog di luog,*
 1SG come now now
mi benir adessa, adessa.
 1SG come now now
 ‘I am coming just now.’
- b. *Mi sene cal el nes andor enti,*
 because all DEF people wait 2SG
per far che tuto 'l gente bardar bel ti
 because all DEF people wait for 2SG
 ‘because all the people are waiting for you’

Although the representation of the ‘Arabic’ part is obscure and morphologically less stable (e.g., with regards to the sporadic realizations of inflection) than the Romance (‘MLF’) part, at least there would be no reason to think these two languages are unrelated, given the word-to-word structural correspondence and the shared reductive tendency in both morphologies, or to neglect this Arabic variety in the field of pidgin studies.

Some other examples come from the 19th-century Mediterranean Basin. After the French occupation of Algiers in 1830, MLF became known as *Sabir* and also underwent

⁴ For example, *lavorar* (< Italian) vs. *trabajar* (< Spanish) ‘work,’ *locou* (< Spanish) vs. *maboul* < Arabic ‘crazy,’ *ti* (< Italian) vs. *enta/enti* (< Arabic) ‘you (SG)’ (see the sources cited above).

structural transformation (Nolan 2023). Although a thorough comparison between the two stages have yet to be conducted, *Sabir* has more French and Arabic (and Berber) words than did MLF. For example, Thierry-Mieg (1861: 104, Algeria) explains its lexical composition as ‘one half from Arabic’, ‘one quarter from (more or less) French’ and the rest ‘from Italian or Spanish or directly from Latin (with modifications)’. The examples given by the same author (2) and his contemporary authors (3) seem to justify this description with regards to the increase of Arabic and French components compared to the earlier sources (Ar.=Arabic, Fr.=French, It.=Italian, Sp.=Spanish). Although no study has categorized it as such, this variety of MLF, in which Arabic words dominate, could be considered an instance of ‘Arabic-based pidgin’ descended from MLF/Sabir.

- (2) a. *Bono la France, makach bono l’Afrique; moi aimer la France beseff.*
 good France NEG good Africa 1SG love France very
 It. Fr. Ar. It. Fr. Fr. Fr. Fr. Ar.
 [‘France is good, Africa is not good; I love France very much’] (p. 276)

- b. *Macache andar B’jaïa el ioum, andar rhedoua*
 NEG go Béjaïa today go tomorrow
 Ar. It. place name Ar. It. Ar.
 ‘Don’t go to Béjaïa today, go tomorrow.’ (p. 311)

- (3) a. *Enta macache narf el arabi?*
 2SG NEG know DEF Arabic
 Ar. Ar. Ar. Ar. Ar.
 ‘You don’t understand Arabic?’ (Adam 1859: 216, Algeria)
- b. *Toi makache sabir l’arabe? – Makache.*
 2SG NEG know Arabic NEG
 Fr. Ar. Sp. Fr. Fr.
 [‘You don’t know Arabic? – No.’] (Carteron 1866: 414, Algeria)

The use of the Algerian Arabic negative existential (*maka(n)š* ‘there is no’) as a general negative marker, as represented in the above instances, is one of the major

features of MLF/*Sabir*. An early attestation of it is found in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605), in *Lela Zoraida*, a 'Moorish' lady, cries out:

- (4) *¡Si, si, María; Zoraida macange!*
 yes yes Maria Zoraida NEG
 'Yes, yes, [I'm] Maria; not Zoraida.'

While *makaš* is more common, another variant *mafīš* ('there is no' in eastern Mediterranean Arabic dialects), is also attested in Algeria (5). The latter form is also attested in Libya, Egypt, Eritrea and Lebanon (6). To these, we could add (7) from the travelogue from the Levant by the 16th-century Italian traveler Ludovico di Varthema (see Contini 1994) as the oldest attestation.

- (5) *Salah mafish andar imshi fisa el mercanti.*
 Salah NEG go go fast DEF merchant
 'Salah cannot run and go help his master.' (Tristram 1860: 371, Algeria)

- (6) a. *Iu ma-fish poder dormire, molte bulci.*
 1SG NEG can sleep many fleas
 'I cannot sleep; there are many fleas.' (Migliorini 1963: 696, Libya c. 1911–1912)
- b. *ana mafiche aramie, mafiche kaddap, mafiche charmonta.*
 1SG NEG thief NEG liar NEG prostitute
 'I am not a thief, not a liar, not a prostitute.' (Voilquin 1866: 408, Egypt)
- c. *ana meschine, subook, lakin ana maufish, beg.*
 1SG poor good but 1SG NEG beg
 'I may be poor, it is well, but I will never beg.' (Salt 1814: 450, Eritrea)
- d. *Mafisch Hakim! Mafisch Hakim!*
 NEG doctor NEG doctor
 'I am not a doctor! I am not a doctor!' (Mayr 1815: 44, Lebanon)

- (7) *Migenon, migenon, suffi maffis.*

mad mad holy.man NEG

‘He is mad, he is mad, he is not holy (not a saint).’ (di Varthema 1510=1863)

The existence of this innovative construction is significant since this grammatical change is unattested in traditional Arabic dialects (but see Section 3)⁵ and cannot be explained by Romance influence, either. In other words, these attestations are best understood as a common innovation in the Mediterranean Arabic pidgin(s).

3. Mediterranean pidgin(s) and African Arabic pidgins/creoles

Besides the Mediterranean Basin, the same innovation is attested in Arabic pidgins and creoles spoken in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially Chadian Arabic pidgins (Turku, spoken in colonial southern Chad, or its modern descendant Bongor Arabic) and Nubi (Tosco & Owens 1993), as shown in (8). In these languages, a negative particle derived from Sudanese/Chadian Arabic *māfi* ‘there is no’ is postposed to the predicate.⁶

- (8) a. *ánà árfù máfi* ‘I don’t know.’ (modern Nubi, Uganda, 2014)
 b. *arufo mafî* ‘unaware’ (Nubi, Uganda; Cook 1905)
 c. *ána árifu mafî* ‘I don’t know.’ (Bongor Arabic, Chad; Luffin 2007)
 d. *ana arfou mafî* ‘I don’t know’ (Turku, Chad; Muraz 1931)
 1SG know NEG

Although it is not attested in modern Juba Arabic (henceforth JA) except as a sort of prohibitive marker (9), similar examples are sparsely attested in colonial South Sudan (10) and Sudan (11). In MLF, like in JA, *makaš* could be postposed in a type of prohibitive construction (12).

⁵ Superficially, a similar construction is found in modern Middle Eastern Arabic pidgins and foreigner talk (e.g., Bakir 2014; Avram 2018), but we will not argue on this point in detail.

⁶ The negative-final word order is accounted for as a substrate (Central Sudanic or Ubangian) influence (Tosco & Owens 1993), but the use of the existential form is not. Modern Juba Arabic and Nubi data cited here were collected by the author over the period 2009–2021 at various sites.

- (9) *àlélà dòurijà máfi.* ‘No walking [out] today (due to the curfew).’ (JA)
today walk.NMZ NEG.EXS
- (10) a. *Hathab emsik dalwagti mafish* ‘There is no wood carrying now’
wood take now NEG (Junker 1890: 405, Tosco & Owens 1993)
b. *Anna arif mafie* ‘I don’t know’ (Orlebar 1981: 47, South Sudan, late 1930s)
1SG know NEG
c. *arif mafeesh* ‘[I] don’t know’ (Fothergill 1911: 163, South Sudan)
know NEG
- (11) *Enta Kidhāb, ana Kidhāb, imsik māfīsh*
2SG liar 1SG liar take NEG(.EXS)
‘You are a liar, I am a liar, take there is not [i.e., no hard feelings]’
(Floyer 1850: 71, Nakao 2016)
- (12) *Veder besef, togar macache.*
watch very touch NEG
[‘Admire me, but do not touch!.’] (Girardin 1879: 60, Sabir, Algeria)

Despite the ostensible geographical distance, the attestations of this construction would hint at a link between the Mediterranean Basin and the Sub-Saharan Africa. There are a few other shared features between MLF/Sabir and Nubi, such as the fossilization of the vocative particle *yā* (Nubi *yòwélè* ‘boy, son’ vs. MLF/Sabir *yaouled* ‘boy, son, garçon,’ Gochet 1888) and the use of the etymological imperative verb forms as the uninflected verb form (Nubi *ásrùbù* ‘drink’ vs. MLF/Sabir *cherob* ‘to drink,’ Thierry-Mieg 1861), which are unattested in traditional Arabic dialects. To these we could add a number of Romance loanwords in Nubi, such as *fèndèdǵijà* ‘decoration’ (MLF/Sabir *fantasia*) and *kùbànjà* ‘accompanies’ (MLF/Sabir *compagnio*), although they are also found in Egyptian-Sudanese Arabic dialects. It is also worth remembering that a few Maghreb Arabic isoglosses (*dyel-ak* ‘yours,’ *meskin, meskin besef* ‘very, very poor’) are

recorded in colonial southwestern South Sudan under Belgian occupation (Luffin 2004).

However, the identification of the actual path(s) by which these isoglosses were shared is problematic. This is not because there are few contacts between the two worlds, but rather, because there have been too many direct and indirect interactions between them since time immemorial. A direct and apparent case is the French intervention in Mexico (1861–1867), in which the Ottoman-Egyptian battalion consisting of (South) Sudanese soldiers were sent to Mexico to fight against the Maximilian I (Hill & Hogg 1995). Ali Gifoon, one of these South Sudanese soldiers later recalled that they communicated with Algerian (‘Zouave’) officials in their respective, different varieties of ‘Arabic’ (Machell 1896), which might resemble the Arabic varieties cited in Section 2.⁷

However, this case is irrelevant to the emergence of the Arabic creoles, since their oldest attestation dates back to the 1850s (a marginal note on a grammar of Bari, the major substrate of JA; Anonymous, n.d.), as shown in (13).

(13) Bari	(reduced) Arabic
<i>ǰondi</i>	<i>ana ǧibù</i>
<i>ǰò keman</i>	<i>gibu nar</i>

The left column is in Bari, *ǰòndí* ‘bring (antipassive imperative)’ and *ǰòù kímán* ‘bring fire’ (imperative), while the right column is in a reduced variety of Arabic. They are comparable with modern JA *ána jibù* ‘I brought’ and *jibù nâr* ‘bring fire’, where the etymological imperative form (plus the fossilized object pronoun *-u* ‘it, him’ as a verbal ending) is used as the uninflected verb (Nakao 2017). In other words, the precursor of the modern Arabic creoles had become stable before the Ottoman-Egyptian militarization of South Sudan in 1860s.

There is another possibility that the Mediterranean Arabic pidgin was brought by the early Europeans, Ottoman Turkish agents or African slaves from the Mediterranean Basin to South Sudan. As hinted at in Section 2, there is a good amount of evidence that

⁷ Judging from the Arabic phrases recorded by Machell (1896), Ali Gifoon’s Arabic was not a pidgin. Prokosch (1986) suggests the possible link between Algerian Tirailleurs (‘Turcos’) and Turku, without reliable historical evidence. Tosco & Owens (1993) instead suggest that Turku was brought from South Sudan by the slave soldiers under Rabih Fadlallah.

reduced varieties of Arabic were spoken by Europeans (and African slaves) in 19th- and 20th-century Egypt and Sudan, where the above-mentioned features are attested (Nakao 2016). A study on the multilingual situation and heavy language contacts in Egypt by the early 19th century has yet to appear.

4. Possible pre-modern foreign influence in Central Equatoria

It is, *pace* Bickerton (1979), not reasonable either to consider ‘Portuguese or someone influenced by Afro-Portuguese pidgins’ completely irrelevant to the history of South Sudan and Arabic creoles, although the influence cannot be a direct one. Githiora (2008) mentions that Yanga of Mexico, the first African maroon to revolt in the New World in the early 17th century, was presumably a Bari from the Juba area and was shipped via Angola. Although this story needs more historical support, it could suggest that Portuguese-influenced slavers from the Congolese side entered South Sudan before the 19th century.

Although not directly related to Portuguese, Congolese lingua francas (possibly) influenced by Portuguese (and West African Portuguese pidgin; Samarin 1991, 2013), Bangala/Lingala and Kikongo/Kituba, could have influenced Arabic creoles or their substrate languages in one way or another. For example, archaic JA *pàràtā* ‘money’ (Portuguese *prata*) and Bari *kópò* ‘cup’ (Portuguese *copo*) are apparently Portuguese loanwords via Bangala/Lingala, a Bobangi (Bantu)-based pidgin spoken in Western/Central Equatoria in South Sudan and northeastern Congo. Bangala was introduced to South Sudan by the Belgian Congolese soldiers who occupied a part of Central Equatoria (‘Lado Enclave’) after defeating the Mahdists in 1894 (Meeuwis 2019). As this chronology reveals, Bangala is irrelevant to the emergence of Arabic creoles and had no influence on Nubi.

This does not mean, however, that (Portuguese-influenced) Congolese influence does not predate the 1890s, because there are several words of Congolese origin shared by both JA and Nubi. A typical example is JA *màkákù* and Nubi *kákù* ‘monkey’ (also Sudanese Arabic *kakko*, Tamis & Persson 2013, probably via JA), which is from Kikongo *di-káku*, *ma-káku* ‘monkey, monkeys’ (Bentley 1887; borrowed by Portuguese as

macaco). Also, some of the oldest Nubi sources attest to the lexeme *bongo* ‘cloth’ (Cook 1905; Meldon 1913 gives it as a ‘Lendu word’, cf. Nakao forthcoming), which is ultimately from Kikongo *mbongo* ‘cloth, money’ (Bentley 1887; originally meant ‘raphia cloth’, which was used as a currency in the Congo basin).⁸

Some terms related to New World plants were introduced to South Sudan via the Congolese side. JA synonyms *báfírá* and *gwándà* ‘cassava’⁹ can be traced back to Zande (*gbàvùrà* and *gbándà* ‘cassava’, Blench 2014), spoken on the South Sudan-Congo-Central African borderlands. JA *pòndú* (in Bari *pàndú* ~ *kwàndú*) ‘cassava leaf’ is a Bangala/Lingala loanword. Also, the Kikongo word *mpinda* ‘peanut’ (Bentley 1887), also attested in Atlantic creoles (e.g., Papiamentu, Saramaccan, Jamaican Creole), might have a link with JA/Nubi *pìrindà* ‘(peeled) groundnut stew’.¹⁰ Tosco & Owens (1993) trace the Turku word *potopoto* ‘mud’, shared with some Atlantic creoles such as Papiamentu, to ‘a coastal language via the Ubangui/Zaire river basins’ (p. 255). This onomatopoeic isogloss, widely distributed from West to East Africa (including Bangala; Meeuwis 2019), is also attested in JA (*pòtòpòtò*) and Nubi (*pòtòpòtò*).

In addition, although their borrowing path is unclear, JA has some additional Portuguese/Spanish words unattested in traditional Arabic dialects, such as JA *pàipài* ‘papaya’ (Portuguese/Spanish *papaia*, cf. Swahili *papai*, Lingala *paipai*, Bari *pàipài*) and JA *kòkó* ‘bogeyman’ (Portuguese/Spanish *coco*).

4. Conclusion

This study has cast doubt on the oft-repeated assumption that Arabic pidgins and creoles are historically irrelevant to other (European-based) pidgins and creoles from various

⁸ There were some pre-Ottoman long-distance trade routes in South Sudan, such as the one stretching from the Sudan-Ethiopian borderland to Equatoria and then to Bunyoro in Uganda and the Swahili coast (Simonse 1992; Kurimoto 1995). Bari has a Coastal Swahili loanword *míngà* ‘Arabs’ (from Swahili *Mmanga* ‘Omani Arab’), which hints at the precolonial contacts of Arabs and South Sudanese ethnic groups.

⁹ The term *gwándà* is practically obsolete in JA but is used in Nubi and Bari. Modern Sudanese Arabic also attests to *bafra* ‘cassava’ (Tamis & Persson 2013), but the tonal representation of the JA form suggests that it has been borrowed directly from an African language (and perhaps diffused into Sudanese Arabic).

¹⁰ JA attests to the unpredictable insertion of /r/, e.g., *gìzázà* ~ *kìrjáyà* ‘bottle,’ *pùtùkù* ~ *pùtùkùrù* ‘(edible) hoof’.

viewpoints by shedding light on the possible links between the Mediterranean Basin, South Sudan and the Atlantic/Congolese worlds. In the course of the discussion, this study unearthed three new facts on the topic: the existence of morphologically reduced Arabic varieties once spoken in the Mediterranean Basin (Section 2), the grammatical change NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL > GENERAL NEGATIVE as a common innovation in distantly-related Arabic pidgins and creoles (Sections 2 and 3) and the possible pre-Ottoman long-distance trade between the Atlantic coast and South Sudan (Section 4).

The results of this study do not support any previous versions of the monogenesis theory, since they did not concern Arabic-based pidgins and creoles (perhaps due to the lack of data back then). However, they do support the most basic idea behind it: The world has exhibited complex interconnections throughout the history more than younger generations would imagine. Arabic-based pidgins and creoles are never products of simple Arab-African contacts, as many authors deemed, and the *a priori* denial of the link between European-based and non-European-based pidgins and creoles cannot be justified. The old monogenesis theories may no longer be tenable, but their methodology is still useful as a heuristic approach that inspires us to discover new historical facts on the ‘new’ languages.

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Abbreviations for glossing

1, 2	person	DEF	definite article	EXS	existential
NEG	negative	NMZ	nominalization	SG	singular

スワヒリ語内陸変種の構造的
バリエーションを把握するための
類型論的調査に向けて

品川大輔

「多言語混在状況を前提としたアフリカ記述言語学研究の新展開」 2023年度第3回研究会
2024-02-11 @AA研

1



Outline

1. スワヒリ語バリエーション研究
2. マクロ言語としてのスワヒリ語の分類
3. マイクロバリエーション研究：歴史、発展、現状（問題）
4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか
有意義なタテ／ヨコのバリエーションの把握に向けて

2

1. スワヒリ語バリエーション研究

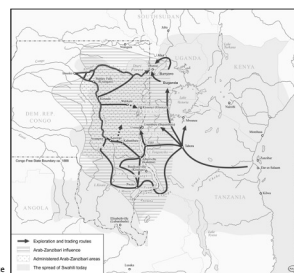
- ❖ AAHP 共同企画「スワヒリ語と音楽にみられる多様なダイナミクスとフェスのプロパティ」(2018-2020)
- ❖ Panel at Sintu 7: "Variation in Swahili: Micro-typology, sociolinguistics, diversification and language contact" (July 2018)
- ❖ 成果論文集: *Swahili forum* 26 (2019) *Special Issue: Variation in Swahili*
- ❖ 現在進行中のプロジェクト: "Grammatical variation in Swahili: contact, change and identity" (2021-2025, PI: Hannah Gibson) Funded by a Leverhulme Trust Research Project Grant
- ❖ 直近のイベント: "Research on Western Swahili 1st Workshop and Study Meeting" (Feb 17, 2024)
- ❖ 章論文: Nassenstein, Shinagawa & Furumoto "Swahili" *Handbook on the Spread of World Languages* (De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin & Boston)



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2. マクロ言語としてのスワヒリ語の分類

- ❖ Ethnologue (2023) = v26
 - Swahili (as a macrolanguage) [swa]
 - ↳ Swahili [swh]
 - ↳ Congo Swahili [swc]
 - ❖ ECS vs. 'Inland' Swahili (FN&S upcoming)
 - ECS (Polomé 1971)^[1, 2]
 - Inland Swahili
 - ↳ East
 - ↳ West ('Congo Swahili')
- ⇒ 分岐のルートはなんとなく分かっていて^[3]が、構造的な後ろ盾のある分類にはなっていない^[4]



¹²⁴ NSRF (Forthc.): 'The spread of the Swahili-speaking population from the coast into the interior of Tanganyika and from there further north to Buganda and Bunyoro and west into the Congo Basin took place on a large scale during the 13th century C.E., among others, brief outline of these movements in Liff (1979: 41) [...]. At early as the mid-1840s, expeditions set out from strategically located Tabora in Tanganyika to the northern kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda [...]. Numerous sources indicate that 1840 can be taken as the approximate time when the Zanzibari (and Nyamwezi, etc.) traders crossed Lake Tanganyika. Luffin (2020) gives 1850 as the approximate year of arrival of the "Arab-Zanzibari" groups in 1860 as the approximate years of arrival of the "Arab-Zanzibari" groups in

Nassenstein, Shinagawa & Furumoto (forthc.)

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2. マクロ言語としてのスワヒリ語の分類

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- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|---|---------------|
| Pre-country Swahili | [UCS] | Le Bretton (1936); Myers-Scotton (1972) | Kenya, Uganda |
| Kiseta/Kisetta | [STL] | Vieira (1980) | Kenya |
| Kenya Pidgin Swahili | [KPS] | Heine (1973, 1991); Heine & Kuteva (2007) | Kenya |
| Swahili | [KIV] | Goyvaerts (2007) in Bukavu, Nassenstein & Bose (2016) | Eastern DRC |
| Bunia Swahili /Ituri Kingwana | [BUN] | Nassenstein & Dimmendaal (2020) | Eastern DRC |
| Kisangani Swahili | [KSG] | Nassenstein (2015) | Eastern DRC |
| Shaba Swahili /Katanga Sw. /Lumbumbashi Sw. | [SHB]/[KTC]/[LBM] | Kapanga (1993)
Ferrari, Kalunga and Mulumba (2014) | Eastern DRC |
| Sheng | [SHN] | Ferrari (2004); Bosire (2008); Kenya Githiora (2018); among many others | Kenya |
| Engsh | [ESH] | Abdualrazzak & Osinde (1997) | Kenya |
| Burmujuma Sw. | [BJS] | Der-Houssikian (1986), Bert Bulundu (2010), Nassenstein (2019) | Burundi |
| Luha ya Mitani | [LYM] | Abdullahi & Kiedling (2009) | Tanzania |

[4] Comments to Shinagawa & Nassenstein (forthc.): "What is this classification based on? Categories I and III are different time periods, but category II is geographic. So that raises the question how this classification was created. The following text also doesn't make it clear whether these different varieties are distinguished on the basis of their linguistic properties, or whether they are different varieties mentioned/described in the literature ('documents')."

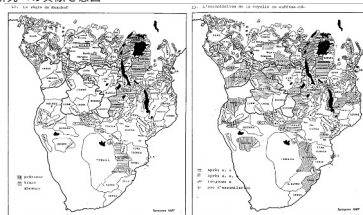
Nassenstein & Shinagawa (forthc.)

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3. マイクロバリエーション研究

- ❖ Bastin (1983) "Essai de classification de quatre-vingt langues bantoues par la statistique grammaticale"

- * 52の 'item-based' な音韻／形態／語彙的パラメター
- * 系統分類研究への貢献を意図



Bastin (1983: 82-85)

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3. マイクロバリエーション研究

❖ Marten *et al.* (2007) "Parameters of morphosyntactic variation in Bantu"

- * 抽象的な形態統語レベルのメカニズムを反映したパラメータ
- * 類型論研究への明確な指向性

Table 2. Parameters of the study

Object markers	Can the object marker and the lexical object NP co-occur?
1 OMI -only NP	Is co-occurrence required in some contexts?
2 OMI obligatoriness	Are there negative object markers?
3 OMI loc	Is object marking restricted to one object marker per verb?
4a One OMI	Are two object markers possible in restricted contexts?
4b Many OMI	Are two or more object markers freely available?
4c Free order	Is the order of multiple object markers structurally free?
Double objects	Can either object be adjacent to the verb?
5 Non word-order	Can either object become subject under passivization?
6 Non passives	Can either object be expressed by an object marker?
7 Non OMI	
Relative	Does the relative marker agree with the head noun?
8 Agree Rel mark	Is an object marker required in object relatives?
9a No OMI obj	Is an object marker disallowed in object relatives?
9b No OMI head	Is an object marker optional in object relatives?
9c No OMI optional	
Locative inversion	Is locative inversion thematically restricted to intransitives?
10 LI free	Are there different locative subject markers?
11 Full loc SMI	
Completive agreement	Is partial agreement with completive NPs possible?
12 Partial Agr	
Completive disjoint	Is there a (formal) distinction between completive disjoint forms?
13 Completive disjoint	Is there a (formal) distinction of nominal 'ones'?
14 Tense case	

Table 3. Values for ten Bantu languages

	Shona	Chaga	Hu	Bemba	Chik	Ngoni	Tswana	Lozi	Sesotho	He
1 OMI -only NP	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
2 OMI obligatoriness	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
3 OMI loc	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
4a One OMI	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
4b Many OMI	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
4c Free order	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
5 Non word-order	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
6 Non passives	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
7 Non OMI	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
8 Agree Rel mark	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
9a No OMI obj	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
9b No OMI head	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
9c No OMI optional	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
10 LI free	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
11 Full loc SMI	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
12 Partial Agr	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
13 Completive disjoint	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
14 Tense case	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

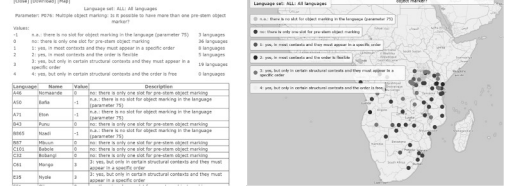
Marten *et al.* (2007)

3. マイクロバリエーション研究

❖ Marten *et al.* (2018) "Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation Database (BMV)"

- * 形態統語領域を網羅的にカバーする142のmicro-parameters (Guérois *et al.* 2017) [5]
- * 100以上の言語のデータを集約, inter-parametricな分析が可能に

Single Parameter Report



[5] Guérois, Rozenn, Hannah Gibson, and Lutz Marten. 2017. Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation. Available online at <https://zenodo.org/record/3958997/files/10.5281/zenodo.3958997>

3. マイクロバリエーション研究

❖ Marten *et al.* (2018) "Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation Database (BMV)"

P001	Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?	no	there is no augment in the language
P002	Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?	n.a.	there is no augment in the language
P003	Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?	3	CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking
P004	Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)	12	12 classes
P005	Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?	yes	(cl. 15 <i>ku-</i>)
P006	Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?	yes	(cl. 7 <i>ki-</i>)
P007	Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?	yes	(cl. 5 <i>ji-</i>)
P008	Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?	no	another strategy is used, either locative suffixation (parameter 10) or prepositional phrases
P009	Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?	no	another strategy is used, either locative suffixation (parameter 10) or prepositional phrases
P010	Locative nominal suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?	yes	
P011	Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?	yes	
P012	Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?	yes	(cl. 16 <i>pa-</i> , cl. 17 <i>ku-</i> , cl. 18 <i>mu-</i>)

3. マイクロバリエーション研究

❖ Marten *et al.* (2018) "Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation Database (BMV)"

P057	First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?	1	yes, in all contexts (all tense/ aspect/ mood)
P058	Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?	no	
P059	Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/ aspect/ moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like 'refuse/deny' for instance)?	no	all tense/ aspect/ mood constructions are negated by a negative prefix and/or a negative particle
P060	Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?	yes	
P061	Animate/human agreement: Can animate/human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership?	1	yes, without exception
P062	1st and 2nd person plurals: Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?	no	
P063	Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?	no	
P064	Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?	3	the verb may show partial agreement with only one of the coordinated nominals
P065	Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?	2	past time is divided into two (e.g. hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)
P066	Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?	1	there is a formal distinction between future and non-future only
P067	Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/ aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?	no	habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity are expressed through another strategy

3. マイクロバリエーション研究

9(1) | 2023

Special issue: Bantu universals and variation

Alternatives for reductionist approaches to comparative Bantu grammar

Mark L. O. Van de Velde

<https://doi.org/10.4000/la.9824>

Abstract | Index | Text | Notes | Bibliography | Notes | Illustrations | Citation | Author

RÉSUMÉS

ENGLISH | FRANÇAIS

Studies on most domains of comparative Bantu grammar are typically confronted with a huge amount of data and complex, interacting dimensions of variation. They tend to involve an initial methodological step of reducing this variation by classifying constructions, grammatical properties or entire languages into a finite set of types. This paper argues against such reductionist approaches to linguistic evidence and illustrates several methodological alternatives, one of which is here introduced as the scenario-based approach. I will argue that these alternative approaches are at least as good in managing data and finding generalisations as the reductionist approach, but that they give more reliable results and are better at discovering variation.

source: <https://journals.openedition.org/ila/9824>

4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

❖ Summary of structural characteristics in Sheng (Shinagawa 2007) [Sh.: Sheng, KCS.: Kenyan Colloquial Swahili, StS. Standard Swahili]

phonology	metathesis / Pig Latin	Jargonistic	Sh. <i>dibre</i> [dibre] < KCS. <i>brodi</i> < Eng. <i>bread</i> Sh. <i>kimbeke</i> 'cup' < StS. <i>kitombe</i> (< ki.ko.mbe)
	devoicing of voiced (non-prenasalized) obstruents	(NE) Bantu	Sh. <i>msee</i> 'friend, guy' [msee:] vs. StS. <i>mzee</i> 'old/respected person' Sh. <i>mase</i> [mase] < KCS. <i>maze</i> / <i>madhe</i> < Eng. <i>mother</i>
nominal morphology	shortening with -o	Nilote/Luo	Sh. <i>fiso</i> [fis-o] < (StS. <i>fizikia</i>) < Eng. <i>physics</i> Sh. <i>kibaro</i> [ki-bar-o] < StS. <i>kibarus</i> 'day laborer'
	derivational use of <i>-ma-</i> and <i>-ka-</i>	Bantu	Sh. <i>masee</i> [ma-see] 'best friend' < StS. <i>mzee</i> / <i>wazee</i> Sh. <i>kahatai</i> <i>katoko</i> [ka-hataisi ka-toko] 'a small piece of story'
verbal morphology and morphosyntax	regularization of irregular forms	Contact-induced simplification	KCS. <i>kujia</i> [ku-ja] 'Come!' (imperative) < StS. <i>njoo</i> KCS. <i>enda</i> [end-a] 'Go!' (imperative) < StS. <i>nenda</i>
	simplified concord	Contact-induced simplification	KCS. <i>watu mingi</i> , <i>magari mingi</i> vs. StS. <i>watu wengi</i> 'many people', <i>magari mengi</i> 'many cars'
	lack of applicative form	Contact-induced simplification	Sh. <i>Nunua masiwa wakeni</i> vs. StS. <i>Nunulia wageni maziwa</i> 'Buy milk for guests'
	'emphasis' marker <i>-eko</i> , <i>-aka</i> , <i>-ain/ya</i> etc.	Bantu	Sh. <i>ningependeke</i> vs. KCS. <i>ningependaga</i> vs. StS. <i>ningependa</i> 'I would like'

4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

❖ From item-based features

phonology segmental		supra- segmental	morphosyntax nominal morphology	verbal morphology	syntax
consonant	syllable structure	tone	noun class	TA	relative clause
lack of NC/VCV	existence of VV > VIV	existence of - <i>ágá</i> vs - <i>ágá</i>	existence of <i>ka-</i>	existence of - <i>ag</i>	existence of - <i>enye</i> as REL

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

❖ From item-based to system-based features

phonology segmental		supra- segmental	morphosyntax nominal morphology	verbal morphology	syntax
consonant	syllable structure	tone	noun class	TA	relative clause
lack of NC/VCV	existence of VV > VIV	existence of - <i>ágá</i> vs - <i>ágá</i>	existence of <i>ka-</i>	existence of - <i>ag</i>	existence of - <i>enye</i> as REL
devoicing at intervocalic positions	CV faithfulness	relevance of tonal contrast	types of noun class system	developmental stages of - <i>ag</i>	systems of REL marking

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	phonology
domain	segmental
component	consonant
feature	Does the phonological system require devoicing in intervocalic positions?

- (1) z, ð → s in Sheng (Mbaabu & Nzuga 2003: 22, 18)
- a. *mse* 'a man; a young man' cf. [StS] *mzee*
- b. *mase* 'female parent; mother' cf. [Eng] *mother*
- (2) v → f in Lubumbashi Sw. (Ferrari 2014: 20)
- a. *ndefu* 'Fr. barbe (Eng. beard)' cf. [StS] *ndevu*
- b. *kufuta* 'Fr. fumer' (Eng. pull) cf. [StS] *kuvuta*
- (3) g → k in Katanga Sw. (Kapanga 1993: 444)
- a. *kukonga* 'to hit (with a car)' cf. [StS] *kugonga*
- b. *mabeka* 'shoulders' cf. [StS] *mabega*

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	phonology
domain	segmental
component	syllable structure
feature	Does the phonological system allow hiatus?

- (4) VV → VIV in Shaba Sw. (Nagashima 1981: 13)
- a. *angala* 'shine' cf. [StS] *angaa*
- b. *yala* 'be full' cf. [StS] *jaa*
- c. *fula* 'wash (clothes)' cf. [StS] *fua*
- (5) VV → VyV or VwV or VIV in Lubumbashi Sw. (Ferrari 2014: 18, 20)
- a. *tembeya* Fr. 'marcher' (Eng. 'walk') cf. [StS] *tembea*
- b. *kuowa* Fr. 'épouser' (Eng. 'marry') cf. [StS] *kuoa*
- c. *kondalo* Fr. 'mouton' (Eng. 'sheep') cf. [StS] *kondoo*
- (6) VV → V / _ # in Katanga Sw. (Kapanga 1993: 443)
- a. *tamá* 'envy' cf. [StS] *tamaa*
- b. *jogó* 'rooster' cf. [StS] *jogoo*

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	phonology
domain	supra-segmental
component	tone
feature	Can tone be contrastive in any component of grammar?

- (7) Tonal contrast in Katanga Sw. (Kapanga 1993: 477-478)
- a. ni-na-fany-ákà kazi vs. b. ni-ri-kwend-ákà
SM1SG-prs-do-hab work SM1SG-pst-go-rmt
'I usually work' 'I went (distant past)'

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	morphosyntax
domain	nominal morphology
component	noun class
feature	How is the noun class system organised?

Noun class system in Lubumbashi Sw. (NS&F forthc.)

1 mu-	<i>mutu</i> 'person'	11 u-/lu-	<i>ukuta</i> 'wall(s)'
2 ba-	<i>batu</i> 'people'	12	
3 mu-	<i>muti</i> 'tree(s)'	13	
4 mi-	<i>miti</i> 'tree(s)'	14 u-	<i>urafiki</i> 'friendship'
5 ø-	<i>shamba</i> 'field(s)'	15 ku-	<i>kucheka</i> 'laughing'
6 ma-	<i>mashamba</i> 'field(s)'	16	
7 ki-	<i>kitu</i> 'thing(s)'	17 ku-	LOC (all)
8 vi- (bi-)	<i>vitu</i> 'thing(s)'	18	
9 (i)N-/ø-	<i>imbwa</i> 'dog(s)'		
10 (i)N-/ø-	<i>imbwa</i> 'dog(s)'		

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	morphosyntax
domain	syntax
component	relative clauses
feature	What type of relativisation strategies are attested?

(11) Lubumbashi Swahili (NS&F forthcoming)

bintu unanitendeya ni faux
 bintu ø u-na-ni-tende-i-a ni faux
 8.things rel sm2SG-prs-om1sg-do-appl-fv cop fake
 'the things you do to me are bad /fake'

(12) Relativization in Bunia Swahili/Ituri Kingwana (NS&F forthcoming)

nduku mwenye/nye lipika miye ko apa
 nduku (mwe)nye li-pika miye ko apa
 1a.sibling rel pst-hit o1sg cop here
 'the brother who hit me is here'

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4. どのような素性とその類型化が有効なのか

module	morphosyntax
domain	syntax
component	relative clauses
feature	What type of relativisation strategies are attested?

(13) Distribution of different relativisers in Sheng: Shinagawa (2019: 129-132)

- a. *I think mimi tu the only person mwenye nafanya ile kitu nafanya*
 I think mimi tu theonly person mw-enye na-fany-a
 I think pron1SG just theonly person PPx1-having SM1SG.prs-do-FV
 ile kitu na-fany-a
 dem.d9 7.thing SM1SG.prs-do-FV
 'I think I'm the only guy who does what I do.'
- b. *kuliletwa mabasi inaitwa mang'oro*
 ku-li-let-w-a ma-basi i-na-it-w-a mang'oro
 SM17-pst-bring-pass-FV 6-bus SM9-prs-call-pass-FV mang'oro
 'The buses called Mang'oro were introduced'

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