New Insights into Substrate Influences on the Afro-Atlantic Creoles

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SPCL Conference, Accra 2-6 August 2011
In our work, we attempt to acknowledge the fact that marginalized working peoples of African, Indigenous, & European descent and marginalized working women actively formulated, stubbornly advocated, and often successfully implemented their own political, economic, and cultural agendas throughout the history of the Afro-Atlantic and that this agency on the part of these marginalized peoples played a major role in the emergence of Afro-Atlantic Creole languages and cultures.
We also attempt to transgress the divisions of the Afro-Atlantic into the colonial enclaves of the Portuguese, the Spanish, the French, the Dutch, and the English in order to begin to identify the continuua of political, economic, and ideological factors that constitute the Matrix which shaped the Creole Spaces from which all of the languages of the Afro-Atlantic emerged.

We therefore affirm that the commonly recognized continuities in the creolization of cultures across the entire region under all colonial powers must also be extended to language.
Different Creole Spaces Yield Different Outputs for Creolization

Our results help to answer such questions as:

1) Why do the results of creolization differ in different areas of the Afro-Atlantic?
2) Why are proto-West African Atlantic Creoles important but not sufficient predictors of Creole outputs, contra McWhorter (2000)?
3) Why can’t the creole spaces in Réunion, Chota, Veracruz, and Chocó be meaningfully utilized to predict ‘classical’ creole outputs, contra Chaudenson (2001) and McWhorter (2000)?
The emergence of the Atlantic Creoles has been a complex and dynamic process involving substrate, superstrate, universal, polygenetic, and monogenetic mechanisms. The operation of these mechanisms was further shaped by the multidimensional matrix of political, economic, and ideological forces that resulted from the juxtaposed agendas of the largely European descended propertied classes and the largely African descended working classes of the region.
Socio-Historical Matrix for Colonial Afro-Atlantic Creolization

European Propertied Classes

Politics

Ideologies

Economics

Creole Space

Economics

Ideologies

Politics

African/Indigenous/Female Working Classes
Africanized European Languages &
Europeanized African Languages

TWO TYPICAL OUTPUTS from the Creole Space
that typify the creolization of language and
culture in the Afro-Atlantic include the following:

1) a pre-racialized and pre-capitalist output, which
resulted in what can be readily recognized as
Africanized forms of European languages, such
as Brazilian Portuguese and Caribbean Spanish

2) a racialized and capitalist output, which resulted
in what could be considered to be Europeanized
forms of African languages, such as Guené,
Saramaccan, and other ‘classical’ Creoles.
PRE-RACIALIZED CREOLIZATION: AFRO-INDIGENIZATION OF EUROPEAN BLOODLINES, CULTURES, LANGUAGES

- Propertied European Descended Peoples: Tenuous hold on colonial enclaves, European Men mix with African and Indigenous Women.
- African and Indigenous Descended Peoples: Theft of labor and land, Many become Renegades and Maroons
- Non-Propertied European Descended Peoples: Indenture, Many become Renegades and Maroons with Indigenous and African Peoples
PRE-RACIALIZED Atlantic Creolization: Broad but Covert Substrate Influence

European Propertied Classes

Catholicism/Universalism

Classical Imperialism

Smallholder/"habitation"

Africanized European Forms:

Brazilian Portuguese & Caribbean Dialects of Spanish

Subsistence: Mainstream

Inclusion/Engagement

Inclusion/Pluri-Culturalism/Pluri-Identification

African/Indigenous/Female Working Classes
RACIALIZED CREOLIZATION: EUROPEANIZATION OF AFRICAN CULTURES AND LANGUAGES

- **Propertied European Descended Peoples:**
  Apartheid, Imposition of absolute racialized labor discipline, Co-habitation outlawed

- **Non-Propertied European Descended Peoples:**
  Co-opted by propertied classes to Police racial divides, Hunt escaped African slaves, and Continue the theft of Indigenous land

- **African and Indigenous Descended Peoples:**
  Resistance to Apartheid, Creation of separate Europeanized African ‘Creole’ Languages
RACIALIZED Atlantic Creolization: Overt but Narrow Substrate Influence

European Propertied Classes

Calvinism/Elitism

Racialized Exclusion

Agro-Industrial plantation

Europeanized African Forms: ‘Classical’ Creole Languages

Subsistence at Margins

Multifaceted Resistance

Identification, Counter-, and Dis-Identification

African/Indigenous/Female Working Classes
Agendas: Subsistence economics, Inclusive politics, Pluri-culturalism, Pluri-lingualism, and Pluri-identification

Pre-racialized Phase: Success in containment and subversion of the European colonial project and European cultures, languages, and bloodlines via extensive ethnic mixing, going renegade, and marronage

Racialized Phase: Challenge to colonial domination via (grand, petit, and micro) marronage. In response to apartheid, fostering of Afro-Atlantic counter-identities and cultures
THE SPANISH (pre-1800)

- **Agendas:** Classical/Feudal Ideology of Empire as a Centralized, Urban, Christianizing, Civilizing Mission, *Siete Partidas*, Smallholdings

- **Pre-racialized Phase:** Many working class Spanish joined Indigenous and African peoples as renegades and in *marronage* outside of colonial enclaves. Even in colonial enclaves, mixing and subversion of European culture and language predominates.

- **Racialized Phase:** Comes very late to Spanish colonies (late 1700s). Too late for the creation of widespread and long-lasting Afro-Atlantic counter identities, cultures, and languages.
Agendas: Calvinist Elitism and Exclusion. Capitalist ideology of Empire as an Experiment in Maximal Labor Extraction. No Church for slaves. Rigidly Racialized slave societies.

Pre-racialized Phase: Limited ethnic mixing, very rapid transition to agro-industrial capitalism. Some working class English joined Indigenous and African peoples as renegades and in marronage outside of colonial enclaves.

Racialized phase: Comes very early to English colonies (mid 1600s), early apartheid leads to creation of widespread and long-lasting Afro-Atlantic counter identities & languages.
THE FRENCH (pre-1800)

- **Agendas:** Contradictory Colonial Enterprise. Begins similar to Spanish Catholic/Feudal model, but rapidly transitions to Dutch/English Racialized Capitalist model (especially under the Huguenots) in the late 1600s.

- **Pre-racialized Phase:** Some mixing, some subversion of European culture. Many working class French joined Indigenous & Africans as renegades outside colonial enclaves.

- **Racialized phase:** Earlier subversion of European forms gives way to creation of widespread and long-lasting Afro-Atlantic counter identities and languages.
THE DUTCH (pre-1800)


- **Pre-racialized Phase:** Very limited ethnic mixing, very rapid transition to agro-industrial capitalism. Cohabitation, going renegade, and *marronage* brutally suppressed.

- **Racialized phase:** Comes very early to Dutch colonies (mid 1600s). Early apartheid leads to creation of widespread and long-lasting Afro-Atlantic counter identities & languages.
Agendas: Divergent Colonial Enterprise. In places, similar to Spanish Catholic model, in others (under Sephardim) similar to English Capitalist model, but with less Racialization.

Pre-racialized Phase: Many working class Portuguese & Sephardim joined Indigenous & African peoples as lançados & in marronage. Ethnic mixing & subversion of European culture is widespread. Large mulatto & libero classes.

Racialized phase: Earlier subversion of European forms gives way to creation of widespread and long-lasting Afro-Atlantic counter identities & languages in the Guinea Islands, but this process is reversed in Brazil.
Factors which Shape the Contours of the Creole Matrix (pre-1800)

- Plantation Slavery
- Agro-Industrial
- Anti ♀ Subsistence
- Africans:Others
- Few Libertos
- Bozals Present
- Settlers Absent
- ♂ Gardens/Markets
- Maroon Activity
- Renegade Activity
- Local Control
- Racist Laws
- Contact w/Africa
- Non-Catholic
- No Church for Slaves
- WA Proto-Creole
- Lexifier Not Official

EACH FACTOR GIVEN A WEIGHT FROM 0 TO 1
Combined Matrix Factor Weights for 21 Afro-Atlantic Colonial Spaces

'CREOLES'

'SEMI-CREOLES'

EUROPEAN DIALECTS

<<EUROPEAN LGS. <<<< >>>>AFRICAN LGS.>>
AFRICANIZED DIALECTS OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Spanish: Greater Antilles, N SA Coast 6
PORTUGUESE: BRAZIL EXC. NORTHEAST 6.25
SPANISH: CHOCÓ, CHOTA, VERACRUZ 6.0-6.75

‘SEMI-CREOLES’
PORTUGUESE: NE BRAZIL 9
FRENCH: RÉUNION 9
French: French West & Central Africa 9
English: US South except South Carolina 9
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language/Region</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<tr>
<td>'CREOLES' (EUROPEANIZED AFRICAN LGS.)</td>
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<td>Portuguese: U &amp; L Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>English: British West &amp; Central Africa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>French: Lesser Antilles and Guyanne</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>English: St. Kitts</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch: Dutch Leewards: ABC Islands</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>English: British Leewards &amp; Virgin Is.</td>
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<tr>
<td>English: S Carolina</td>
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<tr>
<td>French: Saint Domingue</td>
<td>13.75</td>
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<td>English: Jamaica</td>
<td>15.5</td>
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<td>Dutch: Suriname</td>
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### Matrix Weights: Guinea Islvs vs. Brazil

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<tr>
<th>FACTORS</th>
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<th>NE Brazil – 9.0</th>
<th>Brazil exc NE - 6.25</th>
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<tr>
<td>Few Libertos</td>
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<td>.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bozals Present</td>
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<td>.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settlers Absent</td>
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<td>.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gardens/Mkts.</td>
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<td>.25</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Racist Laws</td>
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## McWhorter’s ‘Missing Spanish Creoles’

*M = McWhorter 2000; L = Lipski 2005*

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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Few Libertos</td>
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<td>.5 (L48)</td>
<td>.5 (L48)</td>
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<td>Bozals Present</td>
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<td>.5 (L48)</td>
<td>.5 (L48)</td>
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<td>Settlers Absent</td>
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<td>1 (M7)</td>
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<td>Veracruz-6.75</td>
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Conclusions

- By expanding our vision of creolization to encompass the entire Afro-Atlantic and to incorporate the agency of marginalized peoples:
  1) Different creolization outcomes can be accounted for in terms of differing socio-historical Matrices and Creole Spaces,
  2) The ‘Missing Spanish Creoles’ can be explained by a cluster of socio-historical factors including, but not exclusive to, the lack of Spanish slave factories in West Africa
  3) We find that Réunion, Chota, Veracruz, and Chocó can’t be used to test hypotheses concerning the ‘classical’ Afro-Atlantic Creoles