

New Insights into Substrate Influences on the Afro-Atlantic Creoles

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Creolization and the Agency of Marginalized Peoples

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.

Creolization & Colonial Boundaries

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 continua 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 Matrix that Shapes Afro-Atlantic Creole Spaces

The emergence of the Atlantic Creoles has been a complex and dynamic process involving substrate, superstrate, universal, poly-genetic, 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.

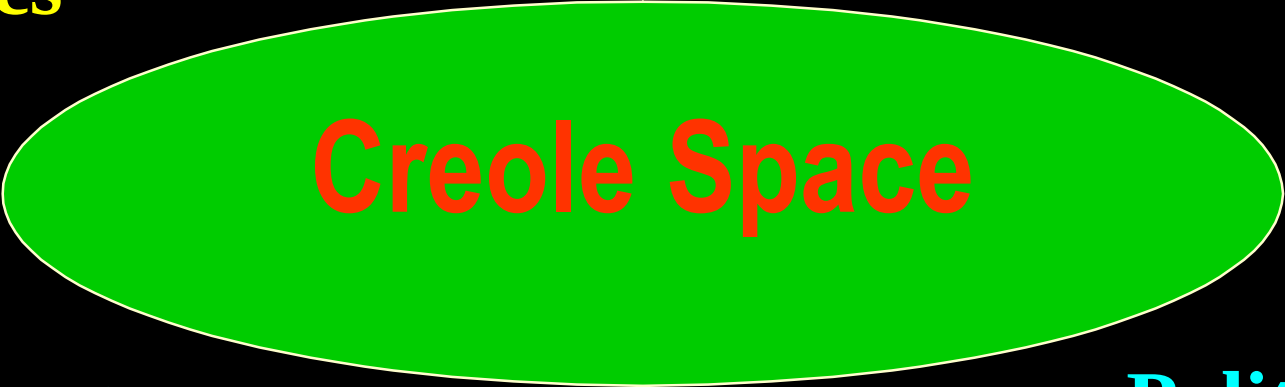
Socio-Historical Matrix for Colonial Afro-Atlantic Creolization

European Propertied Classes

Ideologies

Politics

Economics



Creole Space

Economics

Politics

Ideologies

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

AFRICAN DESCENDED, INDIGENOUS DESCENDED & FEMALE WORKING PEOPLE

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.

THE ENGLISH (pre-1800)

- **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)

- **Agendas:** Main vectors of Calvinist Elitism. Create the Models & Laws for rigidly Racialized Capitalist Slave Societies. No Church for slaves. Alliance with Sephardim. Main sponsors & protectors of English & French sugar colonies.
- **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.

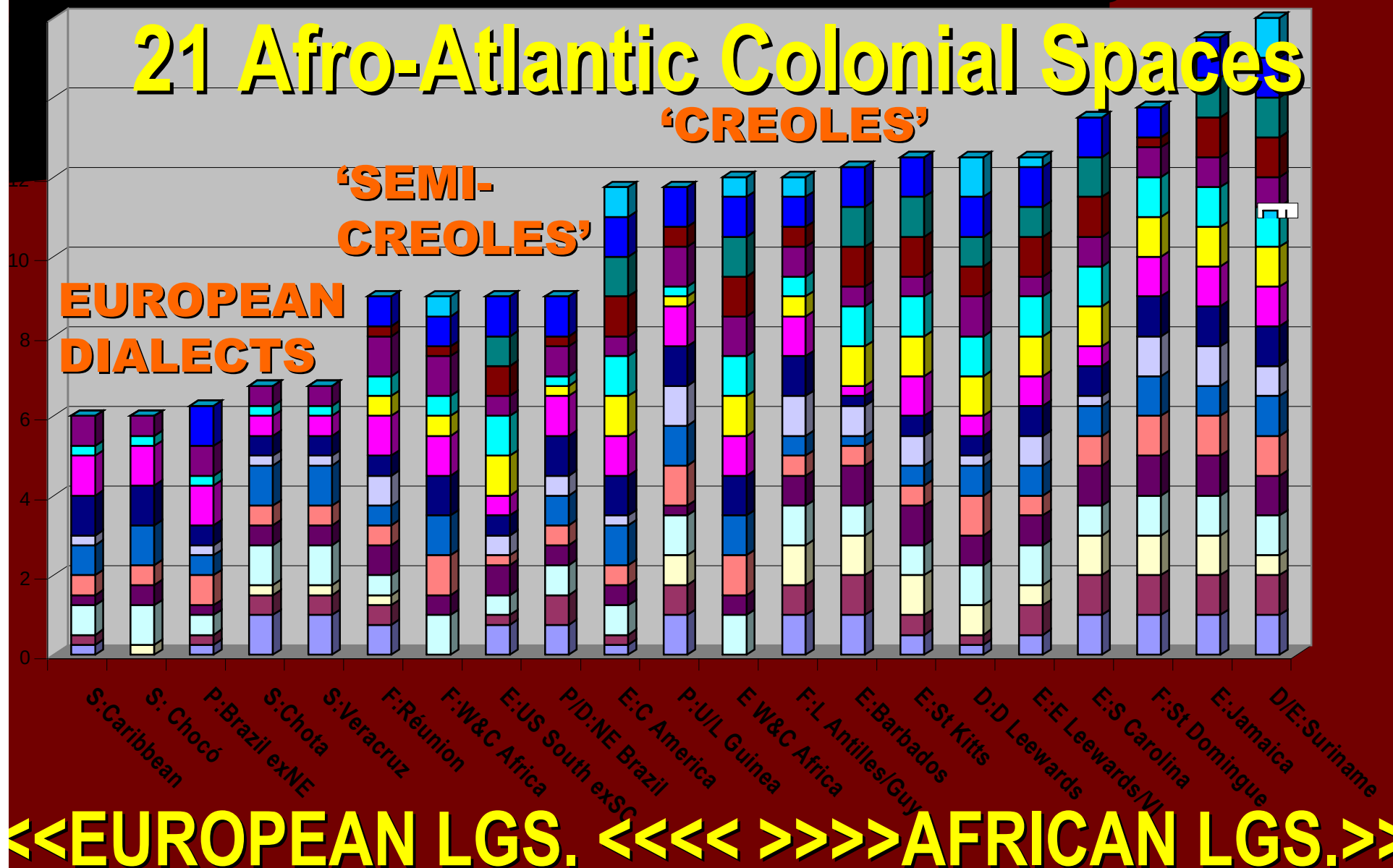
THE PORTUGUESE (pre-1800)

- **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* & *liberto* 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



COMBINED MATRIX WEIGHTS = SHAPE OF CREOLE SPACE = TYPE OF OUTPUT

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

‘CREOLES’ (EUROPEANIZED AFRICAN LGS.)

PORTUGUESE: U & L GUINEA **11.75**

English: British West & Central Africa **12**

French: Lesser Antilles and Guyanne **12**

English: Barbados **12.25**

English: St. Kitts **12.5**

Dutch: Dutch Leewards: ABC Islands **12.5**

English: British Leewards & Virgin Is. **12.5**

English: S Carolina **13.5**

French: Saint Domingue **13.75**

English: Jamaica **15.5**

Dutch: Suriname **16**

Matrix Weights: Guinea Isls vs. Brazil

SPACES FACTORS	UL Guinea - 11.75	NE Brazil – 9.0	Brazil exc NE - 6.25
Plantation Slavery	1	.75	0.25
Agro-Industrial	.75	.75	.25
Anti-Subsistence	.75	0	0
Africans:Others	1	.75	.5
Few Libertos	.25	.5	.25
Bozals Present	1	.5	.75
Settlers Absent	1	.75	.5
♀ Gardens/Mkts.	1	.5	.25

Matrix Weights: Guinea Isls vs. Brazil

SPACES FACTORS	UL Guinea - 11.75	NE Brazil - 9.0	Brazil exc NE - 6.25
Maroon Activity	1	1	.5
Renegade Activity	1	1	1
Local Control	.25	.25	0
Racist Laws	.25	.25	.25
Contact w/Africa	1	.75	.75
Non-Catholic	.5	.25	0
No Slave Church	0	0	0
Proto-WA Creole	1	1	1
Lexifier Unofficial	0	0	0

McWhorter's 'Missing Spanish Creoles'

M = McWhorter 2000; L = Lipski 2005

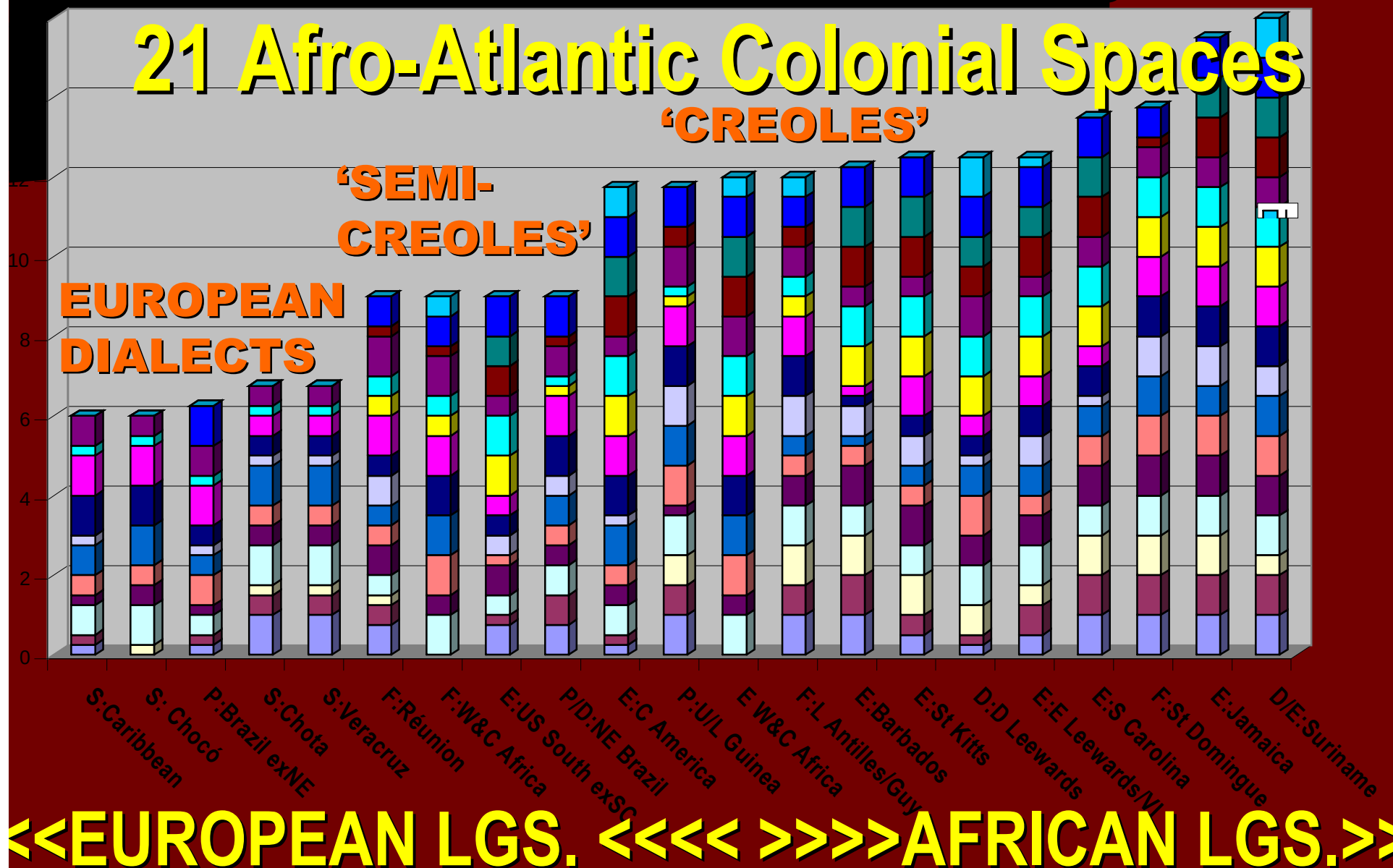
SPACES FACTORS	Chota- 6.75	Veracruz- 6.75	Chocó- 6
Plantation Slavery	1	1 (M10)	0 (mining)
Agro-Industrial	.5 (M10)	.5 (M10)	0
Anti-Subsistence	.25	.25	.25
Africans:Others	1	1	1
Few Libertos	.5 (L48)	.5 (L48)	.5 (L48)
Bozals Present	.5 (L48)	.5 (L48)	.5 (L48)
Settlers Absent	1 (M7)	1 (M7)	1 (M7)
♀ Gardens/Mkts.	.25	.25	0

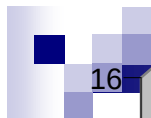
McWhorter's 'Missing Spanish Creoles'

M = McWhorter 2000; L = Lipski 2005

SPACES FACTORS	Chota- 6.75	Veracruz- 6.75	Chocó- 6
Maroon Activity	.5 (L120)	.5 (L120)	1 (L120)
Renegade Activity	.5 (L120)	.5 (L120)	1 (L120)
Local Control	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)
Racist Laws	.25 (L48)	.25 (L48)	.25 (L48)
Contact w/Africa	.5	.5	.5
Non-Catholic	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)
No Slave Church	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)	0 (L48-9)
Proto-WA Creole	0	0	0
Lexifier Unofficial	0	0	0

Combined Matrix Factor Weights for 21 Afro-Atlantic Colonial Spaces





16

14

12

10

8

6

4

2

0

- Lexifier Unofficial
- WA *Creole
- No Church for Slaves
- Non-Catholic
- Contact w/Africa
- Racist Laws
- Local Control
- Renegade Activity
- Maroon Activity
- ♀ Gardens & Markets
- Settlers Absent
- Bozals Present
- Few Libertos
- Africans :Others
- Anti-Sub sistence
- Agro-In dustrial
- Plantation Slavery

(S:Non-Caribbean)

(E/D: US North)

S:Caribbean

S: Chocó

P:Brazil exNE

S:Chota

S:Veracruz

E:US South exSC

P/D:NE Brazil

F:L Antilles/Guy

E:Barbados

E:S Carolina

F:St Domingue

E:Jamaica

D/E:Suriname

<<<<<AFRICANIZED EUROPEAN LGS <<<<<>>>>>EUROPEANIZED AFRICAN LGS.>>>>>

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