

The linguistic importance of language isolates: the African case

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1. ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

Endangered languages have become a major object of investigation over the last decade, due to the realization that linguistic, as well as biological, diversity is increasingly threatened by global societal and ecological changes. It is however clear that a complete description of even the most threatened languages – which number in the hundreds – is, unfortunately, well beyond the means of the scientific community. Defining clear criteria for the choice of priorities is crucial, both for justification of the investment of research time and for funding decisions. To take the case of one African country, Gabon, half of the 50-odd languages have less than 1000 speakers (from Hombert, 2009):

Table 1 Languages of Gabon

<10 speakers	<100 speakers	< 1000 speakers	< 10000 speakers	> 10.000 speakers
Batsi	Gevia	Apinji	Aduma	Fang
Irimba ??	Ivili	Baka	Akele	Kota
Yongwe??	Metombolo	Bakaningi	Bakwele	Myene
	Mwesa	Bongwe	Benga	Nzebi
	Ngubi	Koya	Getsogo	Obamba
	Tumbidi	Latsitsege	Gevove	Punu
	Kande	Ndambomo	Gisir	Sangu
		Ndasa	Lumbu	Teke
		Seki	Mahongwe	
		Shamayi	Mbaouin	
		Shiwa	Ndumu	
		Sigu	Shake	
		Simba	Ungom	
		Tsengi	Varama	
		Vungu	Vili	
			Wanzi	
			Wumbu	

Drawing from our African experience, we argue that endangered language studies should assign a high priority to the study of linguistic isolates - that is, languages with either questionable or unknown genetic affiliations. Specifically,

the investigation of linguistic isolates yields invaluable information for improving the general classification of the world's languages, for enriching knowledge of specific typological traits and for elucidating early population movements (in particular, in the case of "hunter-gatherer" languages being absorbed by languages spoken by invading agriculturalists).

Specifically, the place of the African continent as the home of *Homo sapiens* is generally not in dispute any more among paleontologists and geneticists. Human genetic diversity in Africa is much greater than anywhere else and the oldest remains of *H. sapiens* have been found there. On that account, it seems rather paradoxical that African linguistic diversity appears much lower than that in, say, New Guinea, whose oldest settlement surely does not predate c. 60,000 BP, or the Americas (30,000 BP ?). One should thus investigate the reasons for this apparent uniformity.

2. AFRICAN LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

A first answer which comes to mind is that linguistic diversity on the African continent has been underestimated by existing classifications. Ever since Greenberg (1963), the Africanist scientific community has by and large accepted his classification of African languages in four large phyla¹ : Niger-Congo (aka Congo-Kordofan or Niger-Kordofan), Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic and Khoisan. This classification was admittedly far from revolutionary in its broad outlines, since the Khoisan phylum was more or less identical with the click language group recognized at least since Bleek (1929), Afro-Asiatic was equivalent to the old Hamito-Semitic family, to which Greenberg boldly added not only the "Chado-Hamitic" languages of Westermann (long felt to be related to Hamito-Semitic, e.g. by the French semiticist M. Cohen), but also the Chadic ("non-Hamitic") languages that Westermann wanted to keep separate from the others on account of their lack of grammatical gender opposition. The other two phyla "Niger-Congo" and "Nilo-Saharan" were largely based on Westermann's West- and Ostsudansprachen, with a few modifications, like moving the Songhai group (Mali, Niger) into Nilo-Saharan, but most notably the provocative inclusion of Bantu languages as a sub-branch of the Benue-Congo family within Niger-Congo (although Greenberg himself acknowledged that Westermann tacitly supported this interpretation, while the French traditional Africanist school - Homburger, Delafosse, etc. - considered Bantu and "Sudanic" languages as the two branches of a "Negro-African" phylum).

There does not seem currently to be any doubt left as to the inclusion of Bantu into Niger-Congo, nor indeed about the cohesion of the latter, albeit with a great many disagreements about its internal structure. The unity of the other three phyla however is still disputed: least of all Afro-Asiatic, where it is only the place of

¹ In spite of his methodology being submitted to severe criticism from comparative linguists (Dixon, Campbell, etc.)

Omotic (South-Western Ethiopia), or indeed its inclusion within the phylum that is still open to queries - at the very least for some of the component languages. But most Khoisan specialists do not now regard all click languages as being related: the inclusion of Hadza (Tanzania) is generally rejected, whereas of the other sub-groups the only one to form an accepted genealogical grouping is Khoe (which admittedly contains the largest number of languages), all other languages being potential isolates.

But the most disputable phylum appears to be Nilo-Saharan : even setting apart the case of Songhai, whose inclusion is rejected by many specialists, it is notable that the final elaboration of the phylum by Greenberg took place fairly late: in his original classification, published in the early '50's, he only recognized an "Eastern Sudanic" group, included along with "Central Sudanic" and two smaller language groups, Kunama and Berta, within a larger "Macro Sudanic" or "Chari-Nile" phylum. Only in his 1963 book was the decision taken to join "Macro Sudanic" with "Central Saharan" (Kanuri, Teda, Zaghawa), Songhai and three smaller groups of the Ethiopia-Sudan region (Maban, Fur and Koman) which had been left isolated in the first version.

One of the most telling proofs of the problematic status of "Nilo-Saharan" is that two recent attempts at reconstructing "proto-Nilo-Saharan" (Bender 1996 and Ehret 2001) end up with two very different - in fact incompatible - internal classifications of the phylum. Even "Eastern Sudanic" which should presumably prove most resistant to restructuring does not escape entirely unscathed: Greenberg's "Teuso", (nowadays more generally called Kuliak, a remnant language group in eastern Uganda) is taken by Bender outside of the "Eastern Sudanic" family altogether, whereas Ehret firmly retains it (in fact many contemporary researchers would consider Kuliak an isolate).

2.3. It is thus quite likely that a number of languages have been misclassified, and indeed there is a growing feeling among specialists of various linguistic areas in Africa that about 12 to 15 languages should rather be classified as isolates. Our own feeling on the matter is that this figure might well be too low. Whatever the case, and even with this proviso in mind, there is still much less heterogeneity in Africa than in New Guinea (where no less than 60 different phyla have been identified - some of them with an admittedly very small membership - for a total of 800-odd languages).

Another cause for this loss of linguistic diversity should probably be sought in the expansion of food-producers (agriculturalists and/or pastoralists) into territories formerly inhabited exclusively by hunter-gatherers. The expansion of Bantu languages into Central, Eastern and Southern Africa constitutes a particularly telling example. Processes of state-building and other centralized or semi-centralized polities certainly played a role in more recent times, as exemplified by Vansina (1990) for the equatorial forest and Schoenbrun for the Great Lakes area (1998), among others. It can be surmised that expansion of chiefly power into ever-widening regions implied the concomitant growth of the language of the court at the expense of the languages of subject peoples.

3. IDENTIFYING AFRICAN LANGUAGE ISOLATES

Table 2 summarizes the information on the status of those African languages which have been considered linguistic isolates.

Table 2 Language isolates

Languages	Linguistic affiliation
≠Hoan (Botswana)	Used to be considered language isolate. Is now considered part of Khoe-Kwadi group
Aasax or Aramanik (Tanzania)	Probably South Cushitic; contains non-Cushitic lexicon
Bangi-me (Mali)	Strongly influenced by Dogon
Bung (Cameroon)	Probably Adamawan
Gomba (Ethiopia)	
Hadza (Tanzania)	Isolate
Imeraguen (Mauritania)	Hassaniyya (Arabic) restructured on an Azêr base (Soninke)
Irimba (Gabon)	Non-Bantu lexicon
Jalaa or Centuum (Nigeria)	Heavy Adamawa influence
Kara (Central African Republic)	
Kujarge (Sudan, Chad)	possible Chadic affiliation
Kwadi (Angola)	Used to be considered language isolate. Is now considered part of Khoe-Kwadi group
Laal or Gori (Chad)	Chadic substrate. Adamawa?
Lufu (Nigeria)	
Luo (Cameroon)	Extinct?
Mawa (Nigeria)	
Meroitic (Sudan)	Probably North Eastern Sudanic family
Mpre or Mpra (Ghana)	Probably not Niger-Congo
Oblo (Cameroon)	Unclear position within Adamawa. Extinct?
Ongota or Birale (Ethiopia)	Possibly Afro-Asiatic (Cushitic? Omotic?) Now speak Ts'amakko.
Oropom (Uganda)	Extinct?
Pre (Ivory Coast)	Probably Niger-Congo
Rer Bare (Ethiopia)	They now speak Somali
Sandawe (Tanzania)	Probably linked to Khoe-Kwadi group
Shabo (Ethiopia)	Nilo-Saharan?
Weyto (Ethiopia)	Eastern Sudanic or Cushitic?
Wutana (Nigeria)	
Yeni (Cameroon)	Extinct

4. UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES AND SUBSTRATA

When we talk of linguistic "isolates" we should look beyond the 12 to 15 languages which seem to remain unaffiliated and consider also languages whose broad characteristics allow their inclusion in an identified family or group without assigning to them a precise place in the genealogical tree- which might of course be partly due to defective information². We might mention here the cases of Dogon (Niger-Congo), Dahalo (Cushitic), Sandawe (Khoisan), Songhai and Kuliak (if their Nilo-Saharan affiliation is accepted) etc. Some of these languages exhibit features of exogenous origin which might prove extremely significant for an interpretation of their history. A notable example might be that of Dahalo, an undoubtedly Cushitic remnant language of coastal Kenya³, which has in its lexicon almost 100 lexical items containing clicks - these being of course unknown in other Cushitic languages and unrelated to other click languages of Eastern and Southern Africa. One should also keep in mind in this respect, the particular lexicon identified by Bahuchet in various Pygmy languages.

This in turn brings us to the whole question of substratum lexicon in African languages. Whereas in general *within* well-defined families, the amount of cognate vocabulary is important in the realm of basic terms - but not necessarily of cultural items, as even the example of Bantu languages shows - *between* families undoubtedly belonging to the same phylum, rates of cognation in basic vocabulary are very low. One might mention within Afro-Asiatic, the case of the various Cushitic subgroups in comparison with one another (Eastern vs. Northern, Central and even Southern) or even more strikingly the case of Berber with the rest of the phylum: whereas morphological features suffice to put beyond doubt the inclusion of Berber within the northern or "Boreo-afasian" subdivision of Afro-Asiatic, the amount of shared vocabulary with the rest of the phylum is amazingly small⁴. One could hypothesize that some of the idiosyncratic lexicon is due to some substratum element (Capsian?) present in Northern Africa before the advent of Berber speakers (around the 5th millenium B.C.) - a blending of the two populations - and hence their languages - would tally with the fact that there doesn't seem to appear any great discontinuity in lithic industries between epipalaolithic and neolithic times (Brett & Fentress, 1996). The same situation

² And indeed, out of 2,000-odd African languages, how many can be said to be classified on the basis of satisfactory data? Most of them are only known from short word lists, and if one excepts the 500 or so Bantu languages whose typological characteristics and genealogical closeness are normally sufficient to allow to classify them with some certainty, even from a word list, there remain several hundreds of languages (the Chadic group is a good example) whose classification must be taken on faith alone.

³ Classified as South Cushitic by Ehret (1974 and *passim*) but more likely to constitute an independent branch of Eastern Cushitic.

⁴ To the extent that Ehret (1995) excluded Berber altogether from his very liberal reconstruction of Afro-Asiatic lexicon.

probably obtains in many if not most African language families and a careful collating of lexical material should be able to shed much light on our subject.

5. CONCLUSION

It can thus be seen that by reevaluating Greenberg's comprehensive but over-synthetic classification and taking into consideration putative language isolates in the light of the previous discussion, we should be able to achieve a more elaborate list of some twenty different groups (major phyla + language isolates) instead of only four, which would put African language classification in a much less unique position in comparison with the rest of the world.

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