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Nina Pawlak

Warsaw University

THE EARLY STAGES OF CREOLIZATION: HAUSA FROM JOS (NIGERIA)¹

Introduction

Contact phenomena are hardly put to generalization in demonstrating the nature of historical-linguistic process of language transformation. The early stages of language creation recognized as 'pidginization' and 'creolization' (in the latter case, the type of structure rather than the social designation is meant) trigger off various research interests and activities which try to develop the mechanisms of language change. Thomason and Kaufman's model of contact-induced language change (1988) made the ground for development of human language universals in the process of creolization. In more recent years, numerous studies on particular pidgins and creoles from around the world attempted to create a universal theory of creolization (e.g. DeGraff 1999). However, many questions relevant to understanding the nature of pidgins and creoles are still under discussion. Two points of theoretical debates are important in this respect: the question whether universal or substrate-induced language changes are responsible for particular features of creoles (Holm 2000) and, the problem of genetic affiliation of the creole languages (Thomason 2002; Mufwene 2003; Thomason 2003).

Most creoles discussed in the literature have developed from European languages (English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish). Their origin is commonly linked to slave trade or other population displacements, African component is therefore very common in the restructured systems. Certain varieties, such as Pidgin English spoken in Nigeria, Krio spoken in Sierra Leone, Portuguese Creole spoken in Guinea-Bissau, have also developed and gained considerable importance

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and acceptance in Africa. African-based creoles and pidgins, such as Kituba, a simplified form of the Kongo language, and Fanagalo (Fanakalo), based widely on Zulu, are well-established means of inter-ethnic communication. As they originated long time ago, their features represent the advanced process of language creation and change.

In Africa, pidginization and creolization very often applies to languages which have become *lingua francas* (Heine 1978: 219). African-based pidgins at their initial stage of development are poorly described, the documentation refers mostly to the contact of rather homogenous language structures of the Bantu languages (e.g. Heine 1979).

The paper discusses the features of Hausa in its non-native variety, the form of which may be numbered among pidgins. The presentation is based on linguistic material collected in 1999, extensively explored in the description of Plateau Hausa (Pawlak, 2002; Pawlak 2003). With reference to the predicative statements of the previous publications, the particular features of Hausa in different pidgin varieties are being compared from their common areal perspective.

Sociocultural and historical context of Hausa variety from Jos

There is much in common of non-native Hausa variants in many regions of West Africa. Zima (1977: 139) specifies its characteristics as follows: "This is the variant of Hausa, used by those speakers of various local African languages, for whom Hausa is a *lingua franca* on particular social and stylistic basis: the commercial usage prevails, especially at local markets. [...] This variant of Hausa is obviously to be analyzed in terms of inter-language contacts, and a very considerable interference from the native languages of the speakers appears, as well as a certain tendency to a "simplification" of the Hausa system. In our opinion, this variant of Hausa is very close to a sort of pidgin Hausa".

In Jos, which is a city of Nigerian Plateau region, Hausa has performed the function of *lingua franca* for centuries. Being a trade language, it was easily accepted by the immigrants coming to the area. As a language of local rulers, it was a dominant medium of communication in pre-colonial time. British administration considerably strengthened its sociolinguistic function, mainly by incorporating Hausa into the educational system. Many small ethnic groups have marginalized (or even abandoned) their ethnic language in favor of Hausa. In present-day Nigeria, the Plateau variety of Hausa is still recognized as the language of state administration and local *lingua franca*, but its social prestige has become reduced, especially among non-Muslim societies.

The Plateau variety of Hausa differs from the language of the mother area, as it is influenced by contact with other languages of the area. Ethnic and linguistic situation shows great complexity here. In Jos, three great African language families

meet in one place. Chadric (and therefore Afroasiatic) family is represented by Hausa, but also by some other languages, such as Angas, Goemai, and Mwaghavul. The Niger-Congo family finds its representatives in important Nigerian languages such as Yoruba and Igbo, but also in Fulfulde and the languages of the Plateau-subgroup (Birom, Eggon, Rukuba, Izere). The speakers of Kanuri testify the Nilo-Saharan representation in the region.

Being a second language of many bilingual speakers (or even the third language of multilingual speakers) Hausa has developed its regional variety commonly recognized as Plateau Hausa which is not a homogenous system. The data allow distinguishing two distinct levels, representing two classes of language-development patterns. It is the modification of the language from the Hausaland proper on the one hand, and the varieties termed often as simplified or pidginized languages on the other. The first variety integrates the features of native and non-native forms; the second variety relies on a new grammatical system. This is the latter one that will be discussed here in detail. Therefore, the label Plateau Hausa is basically referred to this variety.² In spite of numerous differences between idiolects, non-native Hausa of this kind is mutually understandable between the speakers of various regional languages and is regarded to have gained the status of "stable pidgin". The words "pidgin" and "creole" are used as technical terms to illustrate the contact language that arose under specific social circumstances.

Plateau Hausa as a result of language interference

In Jos, Hausa has a great communicative function in cross-ethnic relations, sanctioned by tradition and historical events. At the same time, it is put in a permanent contact situation, which results in the process of interference at any level of social communication and every communicative code. Plateau Hausa is not a homogenous structure. Being a part of a wide interference *continuum*, it is widely used by representatives of larger groups living here, such as Yoruba and Igbo. The primary languages of various speech communities constitute the *substratum* (substrate) of the Plateau Hausa variety. Their relevance to non-ethnic variety of Hausa may be understood as the influence of a bilingual speaker's mother tongue on his secondary language (Lehiste 1988: 60).

²The sociolinguistic position of Hausa in the Plateau area narrows the modified ethnic variety in modern times, whereas the trends existing in simplified varieties will supposedly spread over the population of Jos (Pawlak 2002:90).

Hausa spoken in Jos shows the ways of modification of the superstrate language in a heterogenous substrate environment³. Idiolectal manifestations of Hausa, as exemplified by individual variants⁴ of Igbo (I), Birom (B), Mwaghavul (M), Fulfulde (F) and the two Yoruba native speakers (Y¹, Y²), make the ground for studying mechanisms of language change in the early stages of its development.

Linguistic results of interference

Suprasegmental level of interference

Hausa is a tonal language, the distinctive surface tones are: high (H) tone and low (L) tone, as well as their combination in sequence HL, i.e. falling tone (F). There is no raising tone.

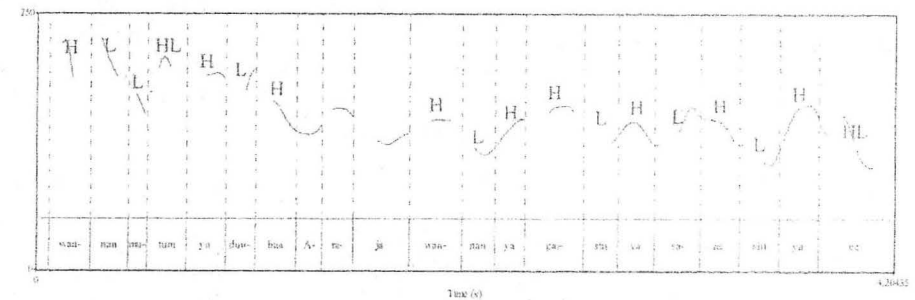
Among the idiolects recorded, the *substratum* languages of non-native Hausa variety are also tonal, the only exception is Fulfulde. Acoustic parameters of underlying Hausa tones (H, L or HL) in the recorded texts were subject of a separate investigation, the results of which may be illustrated by the following diagrams: (Kowalczyk 2002)⁵:

³ The recordings of non-native variety under discussion refer to the language of elder generation of speakers who didn't acquire formal education in Hausa. Apart from Hausa, they also use Pidgin English in inter-ethnic communication.

⁴ Language material to illustrate this variety basically refers to the "Warkau" radio program of PRTV broadcasting, which contains stories and tales in Hausa presented by non-Hausas.

⁵ The diagrams are outputs of the computer speech analysis tools, in which the adopted symbols and Polish translations of the phrases have been preserved.

Igbo:

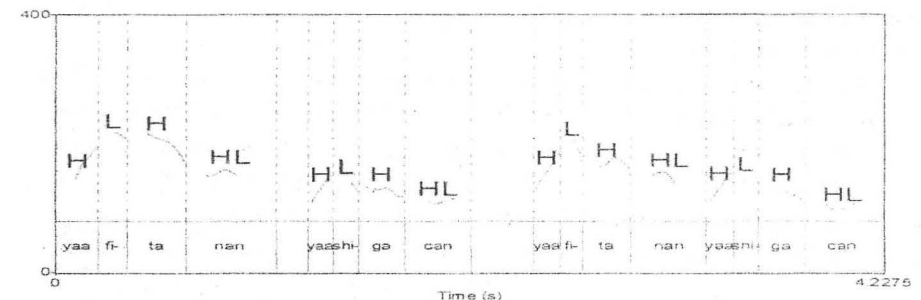


Wykres 23: Wannan mutum ya duba Araja wannan ya gaishi ya sane shi ya ce. 'Człowiek ten przyjrzał się Aradzi, pozdrowił ją i powiedział'

Wannan mutum ya duba Araja wannan ya gaishi ya sane shi ya ce 'The man looked at Araja, (then) he greeted her as he would know her, and said'

The most striking feature marked in the above diagram is the fact that the Igbo speaker realizes the distinction between high and low tones (in their relative dimension), but most of them are contour tones.

Yoruba:

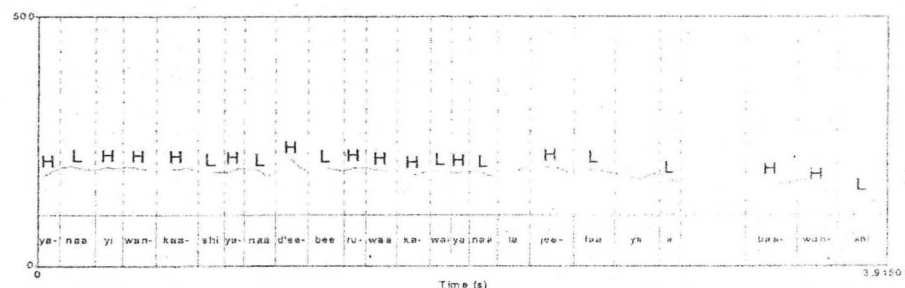


Wykres 31: Ya fita nan, ya shiga can, ya fita nan, ya shiga can. 'Wyszeli tedy, wszedł tamtędy'

Ya fita nan ya shiga can, ya fita nan ya shiga can 'He was leaving this way, he was entering that way'

As far as the Yoruba realization is concerned, it is to notice that the falling or rising tones substitute Hausa underlying high and low tones. The assimilation of the neighboring tones also occurs. The sequence HL (*cân*) is realized as LH.

Fulfulde:



Wykres 32: Yana yi wankashi, yana 'debe ruwa kawai, yana ta jefa ya a bawonshi. 'Bierze kapiel, rozlewa wodę, i przyska nią na-swojego służę'

Yana yi wankashi, yana 'debe ruwa kawai, yana ta jefa ya a bawonshi '(When) he takes a bath, he ladles out water (into a cupped hand) and splashes it on his servant'

The speaker of Fulfulde does not distinguish tonal difference between the syllables⁶. The significantly high level of some of them (*dēbē*, *jēfā*) may be connected with the recognized correspondence between an accent which the Fulfulde speakers put on the first long (heavy) syllable of two-syllable Hausa words (Abubakar 1991: 64).

In terms of linguistic interference, the interpretation of the above diagrams is that the tonality makes the significant barrier in acquiring second language. The situation in which both native and non-native languages are tonal, the feature of tonality is preserved in non-native realization, but the characteristics of the *substratum* tonal system are predominant in target language. The common feature, recognized for the three above presented variants is that they all have downdrift.

⁶ It is to note, however, that the speaker of Fulfulde follows the distinctive length of Hausa vowels, whereas the speakers of Yoruba and Igbo do not.

Phonological level of interference

Lexical counterparts of Hausa words occurring in different idiolects are demonstrated in the following chart:

Standard Hausa	Non-native Hausa by				
	Igbo	Yoruba	Mwaghavul	Birom	Fulani
<i>mùtùm</i> 'person, man'	<i>mutum</i>	<i>muntum, muta</i>	<i>mutum</i>	<i>mantum</i>	<i>mutum</i>
<i>lōkaci</i> 'time'	<i>rokaci, rikici</i>	<i>lokosi</i>	<i>lokaci</i>	<i>lowaci</i>	<i>lokaci</i>
<i>ḡarāwō</i> 'thief'	<i>barayi</i>	<i>barawo</i>		<i>marawo</i>	<i>ḡarawo gujji(yo)</i>
<i>lābārì</i> 'news'	<i>labari</i>		<i>lapari</i>	<i>lapari</i>	<i>labari</i>
<i>kuḡi</i> 'money'	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kudi</i>		<i>kuri</i>	<i>huḡi, kuḡi</i>
<i>wannàn</i> 'this'	<i>wannan</i>	<i>wonā, wannan</i>		<i>wonnan</i>	
<i>mālām</i> 'mister'		<i>malā</i>		<i>malam</i>	
<i>māganā</i> 'speech, talk'		<i>mungana, munkana</i>		<i>mangana</i>	
<i>tāfi</i> 'go'	<i>tofi, tofe</i>	<i>tofi, tahi, tafi</i>	<i>tafi</i>	<i>tafi</i>	
<i>rānā</i> 'sun'			<i>lana</i>	<i>rana</i>	
<i>ḡauka/-i/-e</i> 'take'		<i>doka</i>	<i>dauki</i>	<i>dokha</i>	<i>ḡauki</i>
<i>bābba</i> 'big'		<i>baban</i>	<i>papan</i>	<i>mamman</i>	
<i>tsōrō</i> 'fear'	<i>suru</i>		<i>tsoro</i>		
<i>àlhaḡiyā</i> 'alhajiya'	<i>arhajiya, hajiya</i>			<i>lajiya</i>	
<i>kallō</i> 'watching'	<i>karo, karwa</i>		<i>kalle</i>		

As it may be observed, the non-ethnic pronunciation is characterized by sound replacement which is characteristic of individual idiolectal system. The regular equivalents of Hausa consonantal phonemes in particular idiolects are as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| (B) | z : c; z : j | <i>zūciyā</i> > <i>cuciya</i> 'heart'; <i>zūnubī</i> > <i>junubi</i> 'sin' |
| (I) | ḡ : gb; ḡ : dh | <i>ḡōyē</i> > <i>gboya</i> 'hide, conceal'; <i>būḡē</i> > <i>budhe</i> 'open' |
| (B) | ḡ : d; ḡ : r | <i>būḡē</i> > <i>bude</i> 'open'; <i>haḡā</i> > <i>hara</i> 'join, unite' |

- (M) d : t; d' : d *dadē* > *tade* 'be or last long'
- (F) k : h; s : sh; (d' = d) *kuḍī* > *huḍī*; *sōsai* > *soshe* 'well, correctly'
- (F) c : sh; s : sh *yanā cān samà* > *yana shan shama* 'he is over there, on top'
- (M) h : Ø; g : k *hàifē* > *aiwe* 'give birth to'; *gyārā* > *kiyara* 'repair, make neat'; *ganī* > *kari* 'see'
- (Y) h : Ø; k : k; sh : s *hàkurī* > *akuri* 'patience'; *shirū* > *suru* 'silence'

Comparison of the same lexical item in two idiolects representing one substrate language (Yoruba) shows similarities in their phonological representation:

Standard Hausa	Non-native Hausa in the idiolects of the Yoruba speakers	
	Y ¹	Y ²
<i>wani</i> 'certain'	<i>woni</i>	<i>woni</i>
<i>tàfi</i> 'go'	<i>tofi</i>	<i>tahi, tafi</i>
<i>cē</i> 'say, tell'	<i>se</i>	<i>she, ce</i>
<i>kuma</i> 'also'	<i>kumo</i>	<i>kumo</i>
<i>mùtūm</i> 'person'	<i>muntum, muta</i>	<i>muntum</i>
<i>zō</i> 'come'	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>

The substrate languages introduce into Hausa the sounds characteristic of their own inventory, such as /gb/ and /dh/ of Igbo, but more often typical Hausa sounds are modified on the basis of regular processes: palatalization (Birom), devoicing (Mwaghavul), lenition (Birom), simplification of the glottalized consonants (Birom, Yoruba). Hausa words with initial /h/ lose this sound in non-native pronunciation (Mwaghavul, Yoruba). The replacements made by the Fulani speaker correspond to the pairs of the permutation system typical of Fulfulde.

As for vowels, the counterparts are not regular even in one particular idiolect:

- (B) *irī* > *ari* 'type, kind'; *kōkari* > *kukuri* 'effort'; *zāi* > *jei* (Fut.); *idō* > *adu* 'eye'
- (Y) *ganī* > *gini* 'see'; *sanī* > *sini*; *gūmī* > *gome* 'perspiration'
- (I) *ganī* > *gina* 'see'; *shī kē nan* > *shi ka na* 'that's that'; *idō* > *edo* 'eye'
- (F) *zāi* > *jei* (Fut.)
- (Y) *kwānā* > *kwono* 'spend the night'; *yā nēmi* > *ya nomi* 'he sought'
- (I) *àbinci* > *abunci* 'food'; *tàfi* > *tofi* 'go'; *fitar* > *futare* 'go out'

In some instances, the source of modified structures can be found in morphophonological rules characteristic of the substrate language, as it is the case of Yoruba nominal compounds in which the second noun loses its initial consonant, or semivowel alternation typical of Fulfulde. Hausa phrases appear therefore in the following form:

- (Y) *wannàn yārò* > *wonon aro* 'this boy'
- (F) *bāyansà* > *bawonshi* 'his back'

Finally, some general phonotactic rules relating to syllable structure as well as metathesis may be responsible for their deviation from the canonic shape, like e.g.:

- (Y²) *mōtā* 'motor-car' > *mato*
- (I) *masārā* 'maize' > *samara*
- (B) *àljihū* 'pocket' > *lajihu*

Morphological level of interference

With reference to particular instances of the modified Hausa structures in non-native realization (Pawlak 2003), the following statement summarizes their morphological peculiarities: grammatical morphemes (including pronouns) are widely used but their function is largely reinterpreted. In some idiolects identification of pronouns undergoes mostly through the context, as the same form of the pronoun may be related to either 'he' or 'she' or 'you'. Noun plural morphemes or verb grade suffixes are used incorrectly from the point of view of their standard norm (Standard Hausa – SH), e.g.:

- (I) *barayi* 'thief' (SH: *ḡarāwō* 'thief', pl. *ḡarāyī*)
- (I) *ya futar a cikin masidisi* 'he left the car (Mercedes)' (SH: *fitar dà* 'take out, remove')
- (Y²) *Ka sayari kayanka* (i.e. SH: *yā sàyi kāyansà*) 'he has bought his goods'
- (Y²) *ya tafiyo* 'he went'; *yana tafi* 'he went' (SH: *yā tàfi* 'he went'; *yanā tàfiyā* he is walking, travelling')

Plateau Hausa (in its overall dimension) has developed a specific morpheme, i.e. final *ba* (SH: final morpheme of the double negation marker), which is also used in declarative sentences:

- (B) *Akwai wani dan sandan ba* 'there was a policeman'
- (F) *...sai ya juye da gudu ba* 'and he run away'
- (B) *Ya je ya shiga gidan yadi ba* 'he entered the shop with cloth'

(B) *Ni na riga na tafi ba* 'I have already gone'

Syntactic level of interference

There are many parallel syntactic structures in the idiolects under discussion. Plateau Hausa has a number of syntactic rules shared by speakers of non-native varieties. Reduplication as an exponent of grammatical function is very common, it expresses continuity, when used with verbs, e.g.:

(Y¹) *Ana tafi ana tafi* (i.e. *yā yi ta tàfiyā*) 'he kept on traveling'

Grammatical function is also attributed to verbs used in the finite-to-finite verb cohesion within VP, which is regarded to be typically creole structure (Sutcliffe 1999: 14:2). Various functions may be distinguished:

time:	(M) <i>an riga an manta da ita</i> 'she was already forgotten' /do sth previously – forget about her/
high degree:	(M) <i>sun fi so cuna</i> 'they love each other very much' /surpass – love – each other/
high degree:	(M) <i>kiya ya fi ya zuba ya kare</i> 'the drink was poured out completely' /surpass – pour out – finish/
manner:	(Y ²) <i>Ka tafi ba ka kira Alhaji</i> (i.e. <i>yā tàfi shī ka dāi</i>) 'he went alone' /go – not to call Alhaji/
aspect:	(F) <i>Ya dawo ya je ya dauki kayanshi kawai ya sa</i> /come back – go – take his cloth – put on/ 'he returned and put on his cloth'
imperative: :	(I) <i>ka zo ka gani</i> 'look' /come – see/

Demonstratives which constitute syntactic patterns of various kinds, are very common in the recorded texts (SH: *wannān* 'this, this one'; *wani*, pl. *wadānsu* 'some, someone'; *dīn* 'the very one referred to'):

- (I) *Akwai wurin wannan makabarta wannan* 'the grave was at that place'
- (I) *Wannan barayi wannan ya tashi* 'the thief got up'
- (F) *Wani gujjo wannan* 'this is/was the thief'
- (M) *Ya so gida iyaye dīn* 'he went to the parents' house'
- (M) *wadansu gida* 'houses'
- (B) *Ya kawo wannan abubuwa dīn ba* 'he brought that things'

Demonstratives may also come from substrate languages, e.g.:

(Y¹) *Ya bari wombi* 'let him leave that one'

(Y²) *Ga kudinka wo* 'here's your money'

(F) *wannan gujjo yo* 'this is/was the thief'

Creole-internal innovations of Plateau Hausa

Following general statement saying that the *substratum* typically affects the phonology of the adopted language (Lehiste 1988: 60), the sound inventory of Plateau Hausa in its pidginized varieties has many features that can be traced to parallel features in its substrate languages. They are easily identified in particular idiolects.

These varieties constitute a part of interference *continuum*, but not all individual variants are involved in the stabilization of the Plateau Hausa norm. The data show that the most common features are being incorporated into the newly-created norm, i.e. (Pawlak 2003: 299n):

- the loss of the opposition between glottalized consonants and their simple equivalents,
- the loss of initial /h/ (or its reduction to glottal stop).

The reduction of the consonantal system of Hausa also covers the loss of the opposition between rolled and flapped /r/, whereas the innovations refer to labio-dental articulation of /f/ and appearance of /p/.

Plateau Hausa remains a tonal language, as most of its non-ethnic variants preserve the feature of tonality. The length of vowel, however, seems to lose its distinctive character.

At the level of morphology there are many significant changes, but their interpretation may not rely on simplification and reduction of grammatical morphemes. It is rather reinterpretation of their function in particular idiolect. Morphological structure is in fact a set of morphemes characteristic of the target language, but they do not follow the rules of their regular use.

Features that determine the peculiarities of the newly-created system come not only from the substrate languages or from "the operation of linguistic universals of various kinds" (Thomason 2002: 105). Apart from lexicon and the inventory of morphemes, the superstrate language determines preservation of some of its structural features and creates new devices to mark them, as, for example, for the opposition between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants. In the idiolect of the Mwaghavul speaker, voiced consonants are regularly replaced

by their devoiced equivalents, but not the glottalized consonants which remain voiced (*daḍe* > *tade* 'be or last long').

One peculiarity is worth mentioning, especially in the context of broken grammatical system of non-native Hausa. Some Hausa irregular (or systemically exceptional) phrases are used correctly by the non-native speakers of any level of language competence. These phrases are in common use and therefore they are copied without any grammatical modification:

(I), (F) *je ka* 'go!'

(Y), (M) *kar ka damu* 'don't worry!'

What accounts for the features of the new system and for the rules of its grammar is syntax, i.e. patterns shared by users of non-native variety.

Plateau Hausa as a chain in language evolution

Plateau Hausa in its simplified or pidginized form represents a complex of language varieties which are the result of contact situation and interference. In a more generalized picture, it resembles the group of dialects of one language. Particular varieties discussed here display certain features that might represent offshoots of Hausa, as they have regular sound correspondences, reinterpreted grammatical morphemes and structural archaisms of the source language. Contrary to genetic tree relationship, however, this stage of development precedes integration of the individual variants rather than their further split to more independent units. Creole language being a social not only linguistic formation, would create a new structure which may not be treated as a descendant of the source language (often termed as lexifier) and does not fit with the genetic model.

Closing remarks

The non-native speakers of Hausa from Jos use simplified varieties of Hausa which represent 'broken' variants of the native (standard) language. These variants are used to transmit the content of the stories, including events, but also ideas and emotions. In this sense, they may be regarded as fully fledged languages that are linguistic systems in their own right, although vocabulary and syntactic devices are not sufficient for meeting all the communication needs of the speakers.

From historical and sociolinguistic perspective, they are examples of the early stages of new language systems being created in contact situation. It is the situation of bilingual communities which use one dominant language of

the area. In Africa, this kind of contact involving a number of structurally different languages is very common.

As the case of Hausa from Jos indicates, simplified and pidginized varieties integrate the processes of divergence and convergence within the languages of the area. They are individual variants that differ from one idiolect to another, especially at the level of phonology. What they have in common is their syntactic structure which significantly differs from ethnic Hausa. The mechanisms of language change "captured" in the course of language transformation illustrate common areal development rather than heritage.

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Xavier Luffin

Université Libre de Bruxelles
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

L'USAGE DE L'ARABE ET DE L'ARABO-SWAHILI EN AFRIQUE CENTRALE (CONGO, BURUNDI, RWANDA). PÉRIODES PRÉCOLONIALE ET COLONIALE

Résumé

L'usage de l'écriture et de la langue arabes en Afrique Centrale, avant l'arrivée des Européens puis durant la colonisation, reste un phénomène largement ignoré. Pourtant, plusieurs sources d'époque – essentiellement européennes – mais aussi des documents conservés dans les archives de plusieurs musées européens, dont le Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale (MRAC) à Tervuren (Belgique), indiquent que dès les dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle, suite aux contacts avec les marchands soudanais dans le nord et arabo-swahilis dans l'est du Congo, il était fait usage de l'arabe et de l'arabo-swahili, notamment dans la correspondance, mais aussi dans le cadre de l'éducation religieuse. Mais dès la fin du XIX^e siècle, la méfiance des autorités coloniales vis-à-vis des musulmans, et surtout le monopole des missionnaires dans le domaine de l'éducation marginalisèrent rapidement cette pratique.

1. Introduction

La présence de communautés musulmanes – arabes et africaines – en Afrique Centrale à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, soit peu avant la colonisation européenne, est bien attestée. Les sources concernant la présence de ces communautés – surtout sur le plan culturel – sont toutefois relativement limitées. Dans le cas de la Belgique par exemple, tout chercheur s'intéressant à l'Afrique Centrale est frappé par l'abondance de la littérature consacrée, durant